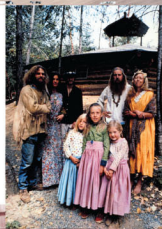


AMERICAN

An Encyclopedia of Nonconformists, Alternative Lifestyles, and Radical Ideas in U.S. History



Edited by
Gina Misiroglu

COUNTERCULTURES

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Introduction: ***American Countercultures—Nonconformists, Alternative Lifestyles, and Radical Ideas in U.S. History***

Provocative, protean, and elusive, the term *counterculture* defies pat explanations as surely as those who have participated in counterculture movements have defied the customs and conventions of their time and place.

It is useful to begin with the dictionary. *Culture* is defined by the *American Heritage Dictionary* (2006; fourth edition) as “the totality of socially transmitted behavior patterns, arts, beliefs, institutions, and all other products of human work and thought.” The prefix *counter-* means, of course, contrary to or opposing. A counterculture, then, is a movement that stands in opposition to the conventional “products of human work and thought.” It is a culture in its own right, but one whose core values and lifestyle stand outside the mainstream and that, actively or implicitly, seeks to *change* the status quo.

Another way of understanding the concept is by example. Today, most people associate the counterculture with a specific period in history—the 1960s—and the youth movement that flourished during that time. In fact, countercultures in the truest sense have played a prominent role in American history from the very beginning. And, as the entries in this work convey, countercultures may be essentially political, social, religious, or artistic in character.

This is not to say that the realms of interest cannot, or do not, intersect. Thus, for example, the Puritan settlers of colonial New England in the early seventeenth century, themselves separatists from the Church of England, established the civic and social authority of the Massachusetts Bay Colony as well the religious orthodoxy. Likewise, the temperance movement of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries began as a social reform effort—to improve public morals—and culminated in the political groundswell that enacted national Prohibition in 1919. In the post–World War II era, the Beat Generation of the 1950s and early 1960s, followed by the hippie movement of the 1960s, were at once countercultures of radical literature and music, nonconformist lifestyles and social impropriety, and antiwar politics.

Examples throughout the course of U.S. history—the full range of which are represented among the A–Z entries in this encyclopedia—underscore another characteristic that both muddles and animates the concept of counterculture. This is the very concept of change. Sometimes a counterculture becomes part of the dominant culture and thus becomes itself subject to opposition. Sometimes its ideals and leaders become the foundation of a whole new opposition movement. Sometimes it just fades away.

Thus, the Puritans of Massachusetts came to be challenged by such dissenters as Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and Mary Dyer. The cause of alcohol abstinence, at least as a definable movement, essentially died with the failure and repeal of Prohibition. And the youth counterculture of the 1960s, which challenged many of the same mainstream values as the Beat Generation before it—materialism, conformism, and middle-class social norms—would hear its rock and roll anthems used in commercial advertising before the end of the century.

At any moment in time, it may be difficult to distinguish the counterculture from the dominant culture. Why and how some live, grow, and transform, while others die or are co-opted by mainstream forces, remains something of a mystery, and an issue to consider in reading the wide-ranging articles in this encyclopedia.

Patterns and Types

While every counterculture in American history has been unique—by definition, every counterculture is different—certain patterns in the way countercultures form, the way they operate, and, in many cases, the way they fade away emerge on closer inspection. First, of course, countercultures coalesce and exist in opposition to the dominant culture in some way and represent either a rejection of that culture or a conscious attempt to reform it from without.

Second, countercultures occupy a space separate from that of society at large. Sometimes, this has meant physical separation, as in the case of the utopian communities of the nineteenth century and the back-to-nature communes of the late twentieth century. More often, however, the space is conceptual, a distance of mind and spirit that allows participants to live in ways distinct from the lifestyle of the dominant culture or to view the larger society from a critical distance. For example, hip-hop culture emerged in the physical space of late-twentieth- and early-twenty-first-century urban America, yet offered both a distinctive lifestyle and a critique of the dominant culture.

Third, countercultures offer a unique framework of ideas through which participants view their own identity and their relationship to society at large. Thus, in the radical labor-union culture of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Industrial Workers of the World allowed its members to rethink their role as citizens of a democracy, even as it offered them a new way to challenge their roles as workers in a capitalist system.

Other characteristics, while common, are not universal. Many countercultures, for example, are created and sustained by charismatic leaders, such as the colony established by Samuel Gorton, a dissident Puritan leader of the seventeenth century or, more notoriously, the homicidal cult “family” presided over by Charles Manson in the 1960s and 1970s. And while many countercultures do not seek to evangelize their beliefs, a good number either seek to recruit adherents—this is particularly the case with religious groups—or seek to change the larger society, as in the case of the temperance movement or the modern anti-globalization movement.

Finally, countercultures generally go through a life cycle, often beginning with a small group of adherents who follow the teachings of a charismatic leader. Separation from mainstream society—either physically, ideologically, or both—then takes place.

Next, the movement begins to grow, sometimes slowly and fitfully, as did that of the Zoarites, a religious society of the early nineteenth century. In other instances, the movement grows rapidly and to great size, as its ideas or lifestyle choices attract new followers. Such was the case with the populist political movement of the late nineteenth century and the civil rights movement of the 1960s.

In either case, many countercultures then go into decline for various reasons. For one, the counterculture may

develop an orthodoxy of its own that repels members who, by their very nature, tend to resist conventional thinking. For example, the Puritan dissidents in the Massachusetts Bay Colony were expelled from the colony. Because many of the people attracted to countercultures are independent thinkers, ideological and interpersonal rifts may develop inside the movement that may cause it to implode; this was the case among the late-nineteenth-century populists.

Finally—and importantly—because countercultures by definition represent a departure from and a challenge to mainstream values, lifestyles, and tastes, they often attract the wrath of outsiders. These opponents may be ordinary citizens who are offended by the unorthodox ideas or behaviors of a particular group, or they may be government officials at any level who feel compelled to exert their authority to protect and preserve social convention. Thus, while the Mormon Church ultimately thrived at its desert outpost in Utah, early adherents repeatedly were driven from settlements in the East by ostracism and violence—hostility that the U.S. government failed to prevent or punish.

By their very nature, countercultures defy categories. And while most examples of American counterculture defy easy categorization, history reveals a pattern of organizing principles and orientations. The anarchist and communist movements of the early twentieth century were primarily political in ideology and goals. The producer cooperatives of the late nineteenth century were founded as alternatives to the economic structures of the dominant capitalist order.

Other groups and movements have been based on shared identity, be it race (Black Muslims), gender (feminism), sexual orientation (the Mattachine Society and Daughters of Bilitis), or age (baby boomers and members of Generation X or Generation Y). Still other movements are artistically oriented, such as the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s, and the folk music revival of the 1950s and 1960s. More recently, the environmental movement has provided an overarching set of ideas and principles for counterculture, specifically those espoused by the deep ecology movement. Finally, of course, there is an unending succession of countercultures oriented around lifestyle choices and recreational interests, from nudists and health food enthusiasts to Polar Bear Clubs and skateboarders.

Of all the countercultures in American history, the earliest, the most ubiquitous, and arguably the most influential—from the Puritans, Quakers, and Amish of the colonial era to the Christian Scientists, Pentecostals, Moonies, and Scientologists of later centuries—have been the religious and spiritual ones. These movements have punctuated American cultural history like the “hallelujahs” of an exuberant church service.

Religious Countercultures

Because it involves the very highest of stakes—nothing less than the fate of a person’s soul and the moral strictures by which people live their lives and organize their society—religion often compels the kind of radical thinking and lifestyle choices that are at the heart of most countercultures. The first of America’s religious countercultures—arguably, the very first counterculture of any type in American history—was that of the Puritans. In many ways, it set the pattern for those that would follow.

As radical Protestant reformers in England, the Puritans had broken away from the established church. While they had been part of the larger English society, at least for a time, they created a separate social and ideological space, marrying, building friendships, and doing business among themselves. When hostile popular sentiment or government repression intruded upon that space, some members, called Pilgrims, sought physical separation across the Atlantic Ocean.

Still, the Puritans did not oppose all aspects of the religious orthodoxy. They simply believed the Anglican Church had not gone far enough in ridding itself of Catholic impurities—hence the derogatory label of “Puritans” applied by theological opponents. Indeed, virtually all religious countercultures in American history have coalesced around the idea of either improving the faith (such as the Shakers); reforming it to meet the needs of the contemporary world (the nineteenth-century Ghost Dance movement among Native Americans); or returning the faith to its

original, purer form (Christian fundamentalists of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries).

Puritanism also offered new ideas to live by and new ways of living. Predestination, the theological idea that God predetermined the fate of every human being at the beginning of time, was a radical new way to think about one's soul. Puritans could never divine God's will, but they could see signs of it in his favor. Living a morally upright life, working hard, and eschewing luxury and sin were signs that one had become a member of the "elect"—that is, those persons chosen by God to enter the kingdom of heaven. Likewise, other religious countercultures in American history, from the Quakers of the seventeenth century to the Black Muslims of the twentieth, have offered alternative ways of living and thinking that, believers hold, are sanctioned by a higher power.

While charismatic leaders were not necessarily the driving force behind Puritanism, followers did place great spiritual and secular power in the hands of their clergy. It was these men of the cloth, they felt, who best understood God's will and could interpret who was a member of the elect and who was not. Many later religious countercultures in American history, however, were organized around charismatic or even messianic leaders. Some of these leaders were relatively benign, such as Father Divine, a black Baptist preacher who created a cult following around himself in the early twentieth century. Others ultimately proved to be demonic, such as the Reverend Jim Jones, who led his Peoples Temple followers to the jungles of South America in the 1970s and presided over their mass suicide.

The Puritans settled into an orthodoxy that allowed for little dissent and was unable to adjust to the times. Such intolerance prompted a number of dissidents to break from the church and physically remove themselves from its authority. Similarly, the Mormon Church's official disavowal of polygamy—a central component of its original doctrine—in 1890 gave rise to breakaway fundamentalist sects that continue to defy public opinion and law enforcement into the twenty-first century. And, finally, while the Pilgrims merely sought separation from England, later Puritans, while not exactly evangelists in the modern sense of the word, had a larger agenda: to create a moral society that would become a model for England.

Subsequent religious countercultures generally have followed one of three models in their relationship to the society at large. A few, such as the Amish and Amana communities, following in the Pilgrims' footsteps, have sought merely a separate space for members to worship and live as they please. Most religious countercultures, however, have actively appealed for new adherents. Some have done so by setting a model of belief or establishing a way of life that others would want to join; the Quakers are a case in point. More often, however, religious countercultures have sought to bring in new members through evangelization. Examples are legion.

Political and Economic Countercultures

Political and economic forms of radicalism, in and of themselves, are not the basis for countercultures. Many adherents of dissident ideologies do not separate themselves from society at large, nor do they practice unorthodox lifestyles. For instance, the populists of the late nineteenth century, whose critique of the emerging corporate-dominated political order was radical for its (or any other) day, generally were salt-of-the-earth types: Socially conservative farmers and small businessmen of the Midwest and South made up much of the movement's rank and file.

At the same time, however, adherence to a radical ideology often does go hand in hand with a critique of mainstream social custom and practice. Some members of early nineteenth-century utopian communities—essentially economic experiments organized around communal labor, production, and surplus—also advocated and sometimes lived the doctrine of free love, which overturned traditional marriage arrangements, family organization, and sexual practices. Or, to take a more recent example, many followers of the late twentieth- and early twenty-first-century anti-globalization cause, a political movement critical of multinational corporate capitalism, also subscribe to a belief system critical of, and a lifestyle eschewing, many of the accoutrements of modern consumer culture.

This overlap aside, political and economic movements often embrace a distinct culture of their own. Sometimes,

as in the case of nineteenth-century utopianists who established Brook Farm in Massachusetts, New Harmony in Indiana, and other experimental communities, the countercultural elements were explicit. These communes were set up consciously as both economic and social alternatives to the increasingly commercial mainstream culture, and participants, often following charismatic leaders, separated themselves physically from the larger society. Such communal experiments often succumbed to predictable countercultural pathologies, as dissidents within the group resisted the new orthodoxy, creating rifts that could not be healed. This was the downfall of the most recent avatars of utopian communities, the hippie communes of the 1960s and 1970s.

But explicit separation from mainstream society was not necessary for a political or economic counterculture to emerge. The rural socialists, or “red farmers,” of the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Midwest lived within ordinary social convention, with their traditional families on individually owned farms. Nevertheless, they developed a culture distinct from the mainstream, with their own newspapers and social networks, including periodic wagon caravans and weeklong, revival-type outdoor encampments, where they listened to orators preaching the socialist gospel and commingled with fellow believers in a party-like atmosphere. In the middle years of the twentieth century, being a Communist meant not just subscribing to a political and economic ideology; it also meant attending concerts, dances, and get-togethers with fellow radicals—sometimes featuring communist-inspired performers such as Paul Robeson—and even sending children to communist summer camps.

Identity Countercultures

For much of American history, ethnic and racial diversity was not a particularly celebrated idea. Although the country was a meeting ground for peoples from four continents—Native Americans, Europeans, and Africans from the beginning, and Asians from the mid-nineteenth century onward—persons of non-European origin were shunted to the sidelines of U.S. society and culture.

Women were second-class citizens expected to defer to their fathers until marriage, and their husbands thereafter. Persons of alternative sexual orientation, such as nineteenth-century poet Walt Whitman, risked persecution or worse for being too open with their sexual proclivities. And while all age groups obviously have been represented in American society from its origins, the idea of a distinctive culture associated with teenagers and young adults or, for that matter, the elderly, had to await the prosperity of the twentieth century, when a growing middle class and government programs made it possible for the young and old alike to indulge in age-appropriate lifestyles.

Native Americans, of course, had their own cultures beyond the frontier, while African Americans, both slave and free, lived by necessity in a physically separate milieu with its own distinctive culture, shackled by poverty and shunned by mainstream white society. Women had their own social networks, even if—with the possible exception of the early years of first-wave feminism—a consciously created, identity-based women’s counterculture, politically focused or otherwise, was largely unknown in America until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Most of the early experiments in identity-based countercultural expression resulted from the same forces that produced the political and social radicalism of the era—that is, the dislocations caused by urbanization, modernization, and industrialization. The late-nineteenth-century Ghost Dance, for example, was a response to the final onslaught of white westward expansion, as tens of thousands of Native Americans put their tribal identities behind them and joined a pan-Indian movement that they hoped would help them to remove white people from their midst. Black separatism and nationalism, first emerging on a mass scale with Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association in the 1920s, was a response to the large-scale migration of African Americans from the rural South to the urban North.

But it was the post–World War II era that saw the great efflorescence of identity-based countercultures, from the civil rights and Black Power movements to second-wave feminist consciousness raising, the American Indian Movement, the Chicano Movement, and the age-based movements of hippies and Gray Panthers. Political agitation, a general easing of mainstream cultural conservatism, and growing economic abundance all were factors in the emergence of identity-based countercultures, but the process was ultimately dialectical. The various identity-based movements insisted on acceptance of alternative ways of thinking and living by mainstream society,

even as that acceptance made the social and political space available for the countercultures to emerge and thrive.

Nowhere has this process been more evident than in the gay and lesbian countercultures. Once shunned and persecuted, gay men and women began to agitate for equal rights and push their alternative lifestyles into the public forum beginning in the 1950s, becoming more open about it in the late 1960s and 1970s. While this led to cultural backlash at various times, it also created a growing acceptance of gay identity, particularly among younger Americans, even as it encouraged more closeted individuals to express themselves culturally.

Art and Counterculture

American history is dotted with artistic and literary countercultures, from the circle of artists, writers, intellectuals, and other assorted bohemians congregating at Pfaff's Cellar, a drinking establishment in Manhattan's Greenwich Village, in the mid-nineteenth century to the coffeehouses of San Francisco frequented by Beat writers in the 1950s to Andy Warhol's pop art "Factory" in 1960s and 1970s New York. Indeed, artists often have been at the forefront of nontraditional lifestyles, living in bohemian subcultures on the margins of "respectable" society.

It is in their work and creative vision, however, that artists and writers have played the most influential role in the history of American countercultures. Works of art and literature are, almost by definition, countercultural expressions, as they attempt to reformulate the way people see themselves and the world in which they live. Much art and literature entails an implicit—and sometimes explicit—critique of mainstream values and lifestyles.

It is not surprising, then, that cutting-edge art, music, literature, and film frequently have been appropriated by those pursuing alternative lifestyles and visions. Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1854), a book-length meditation on the spiritual costs of industrialization and materialism, inspired many nineteenth-century utopianists, while the hot rhythms of early jazz music spoke to a generation of "flappers" eager to shed their inhibitions and to challenge traditional sexual morality.

Still, it was not until the post–World War II era that art and counterculture became most intimately connected. In the 1950s, Allen Ginsberg's *Howl* (publicly recited in 1955), a frenzied poetic meditation on the emptiness of modern culture, and Jack Kerouac's bohemian novel *On the Road* (1957), offered critiques of the kind of social conformism that the beatnik generation was eager to confront, or escape.

A decade later, the poster art of Peter Max offered a vision of how psychedelic drugs such as LSD could help liberate the mind from conventional ways of seeing. And, of course, folk music and rock and roll provided an endless stream of antiestablishment lyrics, wailing guitar licks, and pulsing drumbeats for rebellious youth of the 1960s—from Bob Dylan's protest songs "Blowin' in the Wind" (1963) and "The Times They Are A-Changin'" (1964) to the Beatles' psychedelia-influenced album *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967).

Even intellectuals found their work appropriated by the counterculture. Philosopher Herbert Marcuse's call to rebel against the soul-killing effects of the bureaucracy—as put forth in such best-selling books as *One-Dimensional Man* (1964)—was taken up by New Left activists and countercultural iconoclasts of the 1960s and 1970s.

Lifestyle and Recreational Countercultures

Alternative lifestyles have been part of many, if not most, American counterculture movements, from the economic utopianisms of the early nineteenth century to the New Age spiritualisms of the late twentieth century. Yet some counterculture movements in the course of American history have been explicitly and primarily predicated on alternative lifestyles—either offering participants a new way of living, such as the back-to-nature communes of the 1960s, or a social network in which to indulge lifestyle choices, such as the goth youth culture that arose in the late 1970s.



The Woodstock open-air music festival, held on a dairy farm in upstate New York over three days in August 1969, was the culminating event of the 1960s hippie counterculture. More than 400,000 soaked in the music, rain, and communal vibes. (John Dominis/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

As components of larger counterculture movements, alternative lifestyles have been part of the American scene from early days. The Puritans, for example, believed that their strict adherence to biblical precepts offered an alternative way of living; the Shaker emphasis on simplicity was said to represent a distinctive new approach to material culture. Nevertheless, it was not until the post–World War II era that true lifestyle countercultures emerged in the full sense.

The key was economic growth and stability. While there have been countercultures based primarily on economic need—such as the hobo culture of the early twentieth century and the squatters movement of the latter part of the century—the broad-based prosperity afforded by modern consumer society offered the American people the leisure time, income, and freedom from financial insecurity to indulge in alternative lifestyles as a matter of choice.

Thus, beginning in the late 1940s, America saw a proliferation of lifestyle-based countercultures, though they took a variety of forms. Back-to-nature communes, the hippie culture in urban enclaves from San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury to New York City’s East Village, and others represented a rejection of abundance, as participants concluded that consumption and materialism were not the roads to happier, more fulfilling lives but rather obstacles to them. Other countercultural lifestyles were about purifying the self. Nudists dispensed with clothing, advocates of the Physical Culture movement emphasized athletics and clean living, and health food aficionados sought to rid the body of adulterated substances.

Not surprisingly, however, many alternative lifestyle cultures have been hedonistic in orientation—more about indulging the senses and reveling in materialism than denying those aspects of modern capitalist abundance. Central to contemporary American life, automobiles, along with motorcycles, have featured prominently in alternative lifestyles, from aficionados of hot-rods and lowriders to members of the Hells Angels.

Cabinet of Wonders

As revealed by even a cursory look at the contents of this work, the history of American countercultures is about many things—not just movements and people, but places (from academic Cambridge, Massachusetts, to hedonistic Venice, California) and events, whether occurring over many years (the civil rights movement), lasting

just a few days (the Woodstock music festival in 1969), or recurring on a regular basis (the annual Burning Man Festival). It is also about forms of artistic expression, whether entire genres (punk rock and outsider art) or specific works (*The Catcher in the Rye*, 1951, and *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, 1975); ideas and ideologies, whether political (pacifism and McCarthyism), economic (socialism and advertising), philosophical (existentialism and transcendentalism), or spiritual (Theosophy and Unitarianism); consumer products (the Volkswagen Beetle) and substances (marijuana); or that most un-counter-cultural phenomenon—the institution (the Democratic Party and the Apple Computer Company).

The history of American countercultures generally has reflected the political and social left wing (the Free Speech Movement and Weatherman), but from time to time it has included right-wing reactionaries (the Ku Klux Klan and white supremacists). In short, American countercultures have been as complex and diverse as the America they have critiqued, opposed, and, in many ways, irretrievably altered.

If, then, the dictionary definition that began this introduction provided a useful first step in understanding the nature and dynamics of American countercultures, the rest of this encyclopedia takes readers on a long and fascinating journey through time, space, and a wealth of bold ideas. A subject as kaleidoscopic as this can best be understood in all its diversity and elusiveness through the accumulation of historical example—a cabinet of wonders as engaging and informative as *American Countercultures*.

James Ciment

Abbey, Edward (1927–1989)

Novelist, essayist, and activist Edward Abbey was one of the most influential and radical environmentalists of the twentieth century. He is said to have introduced the Earth Day generation to the desert Southwest, describing the area's vast publicly owned wildernesses not only as spaces of pristine natural beauty, but also as touchstones of freedom. For Abbey and his hundreds of thousands of avid readers, the most important way to oppose the cancerous growth of industrial capitalism was by defending nature, humanity's first home.

Born on January 29, 1927, to a socialist farmer and a schoolteacher in the town of Indiana, Pennsylvania, Abbey developed a unique version of environmentalism. He rejected the Stalinism of the Communist Party in favor of the ideas of Russian anarchist Peter Kropotkin. In his master's thesis at the University of New Mexico, Abbey commented on the morality of political violence, concluding that sabotage is acceptable so long as no human is hurt.

Like many World War II veterans, Abbey had left behind the crowded East Coast, sinking new roots in the American Southwest. The lonely deserts of the Four Corners states (Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona) embodied for him a kind of individual freedom he found lacking during the 1950s of the conformist Dwight D. Eisenhower administration.

Western cities were doubling in population every decade, and Abbey came to believe that a corporate ideology of growth for growth's sake threatened the land he had come to love. From the moment he burned his first billboard, Abbey devoted himself to protecting the wilderness of his adopted home. While he did participate in the kind of direct action he called "night work," it was his environmental writing that mounted the most effective challenge to land development.

In his twenty-one books of fiction and nonfiction, Abbey developed a unique cross-pollination of anarchism and

environmentalism. *Desert Solitaire*, published in 1968 at the height of the 1960s counterculture, describes his experiences as a ranger at Arches National Park outside Moab, Utah. (Abbey served as a park ranger and fire watcher for the U.S. National Park Service from 1956 to 1971.) The book's polemical and lyrical essays show how close, firsthand knowledge of a specific place can inspire a deep environmentalist commitment.

Abbey was an instinctive contrarian, never shying away from an extreme stand. In his best-selling novel *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (1975), which inspired the founding of the radical environmentalist organization Earth First!, Abbey tells the rip-roaring tale of a band of four saboteurs who pull up survey stakes, sabotage road-building equipment, and derail coal trains, all to defend the deserts against profiteering by malignant energy corporations.

Likewise, in an infamous speech delivered at the University of Montana in April 1985, "The Cowboy and His Cow," Abbey accused Western ranchers of dependency on state subsidies and characterized the land as overgrazed. Indeed, he said, it was cow-burnt, covered with "hordes of disease-spreading brutes who trample soil and grass into dust and weeds."

Abbey's ideological pugilism sometimes led him, especially late in life, to take reactionary positions. In a widely reprinted article titled "Immigration and Liberal Taboos" (from his 1988 book *One Life at a Time, Please*), he argued for closing the border with Mexico, blaming poverty in the United States on Latin American immigrants. He concluded by recommending that people attempting to enter the United States be armed with rifles and sent back home to overthrow foreign governments put in power by Washington, D.C. In a similarly reactionary spirit, Abbey's remarks on gender frequently alluded to Social Darwinist ideas about the naturalness of male sexual dominance.

Despite his often controversial positions, Abbey remains a prominent counterculture icon in the American West. He is credited with inaugurating the radical environmentalist movement and introducing an entire generation to the canyons of the Colorado Plateau—an area that has since come to be known as "Abbey Country."

Until his death on March 14, 1989, Abbey remained a complex figure. He offered the following as his writer's credo: "Why write? Among many other reasons, to defend the honesty of man against the lies and lying institutions of caste and hierarchy and power, of church and state, of technology and war, the heavy machinery of domination that has been attempting for five thousand years to enslave us all."

Lance Newman

See also: [Deep Ecology](#); [Environmentalism](#).

Further Reading

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Abolitionism

Abolitionism was the doctrine and movement that called for the emancipation of all slaves and the end of the institution of slavery. The term has referred to somewhat different views and activities in different historical contexts.

Some abolitionists, particularly in the early years of the American movement, called for a gradualist approach; others fought for immediate emancipation. There also were disputes over whether, upon emancipation, former slave owners should be compensated for their lost property. In ideological and policy terms, nineteenth-century abolitionism in the United States also was distinct from the broader antislavery ideology, which often addressed nothing more than preventing the further expansion of the slave system into the new territories of the American West.

Early Abolitionism

Some of the first abolitionists were slaves themselves. From the very origins of the slave system in colonial North America during the early seventeenth century, Africans and African Americans fought to free themselves through rebellion, escape, self-purchase, and legal action. Black resistance to slavery ultimately led to abolitionism as a political movement in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, involving both free blacks and their white allies.

This movement inspired antislavery sentiment in the North, and it compelled a Southern white reaction that ultimately led to secession and civil war. Abolitionists did not by themselves bring about the American Civil War, nor did they achieve racial justice. Nevertheless, their movement to bring about the end of slavery profoundly affected America's social, cultural, and political landscape from colonial times through the end of the Civil War in 1865.

Among the most influential white abolitionists during the colonial era were members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers, a dissident sect that first settled in North America in the 1670s. Many Quakers became slaveholders upon arriving in the colonies, but their doctrine that God's inner light unites all humans and their strict adherence to nonviolence led some to oppose slavery. One of the first Quaker abolitionists was George Keith, who, in 1693, published *An Exhortation and Caution to Friends Concerning the Buying and Keeping of Negroes*. By the mid-eighteenth century, Quakers such as Benjamin Lay, John Woolman, and Anthony Benezet worked to convince their brethren of the sinfulness of slaveholding. In the 1760s and 1770s, Quakers ended their participation in the slave trade, and, by 1788, Quakers in New England, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia had freed their slaves.

During the Revolutionary period, African American abolitionists took the lead in pressing for an end to slavery. Black men fought on both sides in the American Revolution, and black abolitionists used the opportunity to press state legislatures to end slavery, especially in the North. By 1790, Connecticut, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Vermont all had abolished slavery. In the 1790s, Richard Allen and Absalom Jones, both former slaves from Delaware, established independent black churches in Philadelphia, thus helping to strengthen the foundation of the

nineteenth-century black abolitionist movement.

The Revolutionary era also saw the rise of the first organized white antislavery societies in America. Quakers led the effort among whites, but they were soon joined by non-Quakers. Some who joined the movement did so based on ideals of the common rights of all men, pointing out that slavery contradicted the values of the Revolution. Others based their support on religious beliefs, warning of divine punishment for slaveholding. Prominent Americans such as Benjamin Rush, Benjamin Franklin, Alexander Hamilton, and John Jay helped to organize antislavery societies in the new republic.

Unlike their successors, who would demand an immediate end to slavery and equal rights for blacks, abolitionists during the Revolutionary era sought gradual emancipation and limited citizenship for free blacks. Many white leaders of the new antislavery societies—as well as the new government—did not free their own black servants.

Radical Abolitionism

A third generation of both black and white abolitionists emerged by the 1820s, in the midst of the Second Great Awakening, a sweeping revivalist movement that was accompanied by a wave of social activism. In 1829, David Walker, a black man who had been born free in North Carolina during the 1790s and had moved to Boston during the mid-1820s, published his *Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World*, fueling a more militant, increasingly interracial abolitionist movement.

In the summer of 1830, after having read Walker's *Appeal*, a longtime social reformer and abolitionist originally from Newburyport, Massachusetts, William Lloyd Garrison, launched a speaking tour in which he called for the immediate, uncompensated end to slavery and the granting of black civil equality. In December 1833, Garrison and other abolitionists formed the American Anti-Slavery Society (AASS), the most influential abolitionist organization of that time.

The AASS was based in New York City, but abolitionists in other states soon formed their own antislavery societies. By 1837, there were 274 local societies in New York, 145 in Massachusetts, and 213 in Ohio; by the following year, the AASS claimed 1,350 local affiliates and 250,000 members. African Americans and white women participated directly in some of the local societies; in others, they formed auxiliaries.



The American Anti-Slavery Almanac was launched in the 1830s as the organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society. The society and its journal were the first to challenge the economic necessity of slavery and call for abolition. (Library of Congress)

In its 1838 Declaration of Sentiments, the AASS called for immediate emancipation without expatriation and the granting of all the rights and privileges of citizenship to freed slaves. Members relied on the tactic of "moral suasion" to spread their message across the North and South. The idea behind this approach was that, through propaganda and political agitation outside the halls of government, abolitionists could appeal to the better nature of slaveholders, persuading them to terminate their participation in an immoral system. Members of the AASS employed traveling speakers, distributed documents, published the weekly *Emancipator*, and coordinated petition drives and postal campaigns, all in an effort to arouse antislavery sentiment among both Northerners and Southerners, as well as in the U.S. Congress.

Despite its best efforts, the AASS proved shortlived. The organization disintegrated between 1838 and 1840, primarily because of internal disagreements over the relationship of abolitionists to the nation's churches, the feasibility and morality of an abolitionist political party, and the role of African American men and women, as well as white women, within the organization. By the early 1840s, American abolitionists had rallied around several key figures in the movement, most notably Garrison and Lewis Tappan, an evangelical New York merchant and founding member of the AASS. Garrison, who was left in charge of a much-diminished AASS, became more steadfast in his support of women's rights and his criticism of orthodox Christianity. He also increasingly adopted a doctrine known as nonresistance, which opposed all forms of human government that relied on the use of force. By 1843, Garrison was denouncing the U.S. Constitution as a proslavery document and calling for the dissolution of the Union.

Garrison and his radical allies were often attacked, both verbally and physically, for their ideas. In 1837, Illinois newspaper editor Elijah Lovejoy paid the ultimate price for his abolitionist ideals: He was murdered by a proslavery mob while defending his printing press. Lovejoy became the first white martyr to the abolitionist cause.

Dedicated to the elimination of slavery at all costs, Lewis Tappan embraced Garrison's radical doctrine of

immediate abolition and helped financially support Garrison's abolitionist paper, *The Liberator*. In 1833, Arthur Tappan joined his brother in organizing the New York Anti-Slavery Society and the American Anti-Slavery Society, for which Arthur served as president until 1840. The Tappan brothers resigned from the society in 1840, when its focus became more radical and drifted into other areas, including women's rights. After withdrawing their support from the AASS, they helped form the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, a conservative organization dedicated to moral suasion and political action as ways of ending slavery.

After 1848, with the opening of much of the Western frontier to white settlement, abolitionism grew from a radical cause to a national debate. Instances of radical abolitionism were played out in some locations. In October 1859, John Brown led a band of almost two dozen men in a raid on the federal armory at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (present-day West Virginia), in an attempt to initiate a large-scale exodus of slaves to the North. The result of this violent, yet ineffective, revolt was a highly publicized trial and Brown's execution.

By this time, however, moderate abolitionists had galvanized on a broader scale. The Republican Party, which was formed in the mid-1850s primarily by advocates of "free soil," "free labor," and "free men," became the new political voice for those Americans who opposed the expansion of slavery. In 1860, Republican Abraham Lincoln was elected president, resulting in the secession of eleven Southern states from the Union and the beginning of the Civil War. In the wake of the Civil War and emancipation, many abolitionists went South. They turned their energies to educating freedmen and freedwomen and to fighting for African Americans' political and economic rights.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [African Americans](#): [Garrison](#), [William Lloyd](#): [Quakers](#).

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Abraham Lincoln Brigade

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade (or Battalion) was a group of several thousand American leftists of various political stripes who volunteered in the late 1930s to fight for the government of Spain in its war against fascist rebels led by General Francisco Franco.

With much of Europe succumbing to fascism, many on the left in the United States and Europe saw the Spanish Civil War as a decisive conflict in the struggle between authoritarianism and democracy. During the war, which lasted from 1936 to 1939, Franco's forces received military aid from the fascist regimes of Germany and Italy. Supporting the Republican government were communists from the Soviet Union and antifascists from other

countries, including the United States.

In 1937 and 1938, a force of about 2,800 American volunteers fought for the Spanish Republic as part of a multinational force of 35,000 from fifty-two countries under the auspices of the Comintern, an organization of international communism. The American units included the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, George Washington Battalion, and John Brown Battery. All three were technically united with British, Irish, Canadian, and other nationals in the Fifteenth International Brigade.

The Great Depression of the 1930s had radicalized many students, unemployed workers, and intellectuals across the United States and Europe. Fascism, a right-wing doctrine embracing racism, authoritarianism, and military aggression, had originated in Italy under dictator Benito Mussolini and found expression in Adolf Hitler's Nazi Party in Germany, Spain's Falangist movement, and other parties and organizations in Europe and elsewhere.

Much of the democratic West, including Great Britain, France, and the United States, insisted on strict neutrality in the Spanish conflict. To many leftists, however, such a policy meant capitulation to fascism, as neither Nazi Germany nor Fascist Italy had compunctions about getting involved. When revolutionary Mexico and the Soviet Union sold arms to the Republican side, supposedly neutral France impounded the weapons. American corporations such as General Motors and Texaco sold trucks and fuel to Franco.

Embracing Marxist ideals and a spirit of revolutionary political activism, the Abraham Lincoln Brigade went to Spain committed to stopping the fascist takeover of yet another country. Even a 1937 U.S. State Department prohibition on travel to Spain failed to deter the Americans.

Lincoln Brigade members came from diverse backgrounds. They were laborers, intellectuals, students, and others from throughout the United States. Sixty percent or more were members of the Young Communist League or Communist Party. Others were socialists or Wobblies, members of a radical but nearly moribund union, the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Some were unaffiliated with any organized political cause. The brigade also was racially integrated, the first land-based fighting force in U.S. history to be able to make that claim.

As a rule, members resisted protocol and eschewed badges and privileges of rank; some contingents even elected their officers. Reporters such as Ernest Hemingway, Lillian Hellman, and Herbert Matthews assisted their efforts by promoting antifascism in the United States, helping recruit new members, and describing the events in war-torn Spain.

The Abraham Lincoln Brigade suffered nearly 750 deaths—a casualty rate much higher than that of American servicemen during World War II—and most members of the battalion were either wounded in battle or suffered from exposure-related illnesses. Ultimately the cause was lost, however, as Franco and the fascists won the war and ruled Spain until the dictator's death in 1975.

On the home front, Lincoln Brigade members became heroes of the American leftist movement. Their reputation suffered, however, after members supported the Soviet nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany in 1939. When the Soviet Union and the United States joined forces against the Nazis in World War II, members of the brigade were again embraced by many of their noncommunist former comrades on the left.

The U.S. government was less forgiving. When certain former brigade members tried to join the armed forces during World War II, they were classified as "premature antifascists" and rejected for enlistment. Others saw action in the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), where their European ties were useful in intelligence-gathering work.

During the Red Scare of the late 1940s and early 1950s, brigade members came under attack from government investigators and were blacklisted by employers. Although the vast majority of Lincoln Brigade volunteers who had been members of the Communist Party had long since left the organization, many remained active in progressive causes. Some served as mentors to members of the New Left in the late 1960s and early 1970s.

John Barnhill and James Ciment

See also: [Communism: Great Depression](#).

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Absinthe

Sometimes referred to as “the green fairy,” absinthe is a highly alcoholic green liquor made from a variety of aromatic herbs. It is said to have been invented in 1792 by Dr. Pierre Ordinaire, a French expatriate living in Switzerland, as a means of delivering the medicinal qualities of wormwood in a relatively palatable form.

The liquor is prepared from the leaves of common wormwood (*Artemisia absinthium*) and other ingredients steeped in alcohol, including licorice, star anise, fennel, hyssop, and angelica root. Many absinthe drinkers believed that wormwood was the source of its legendary hallucinogenic powers, but most modern scientific analysis attributes its effects to the very high alcohol content, sometimes as high as 70 or 80 percent. In addition, some less-reputable distillers used toxic chemicals to fake the brilliant green color and other characteristics of absinthe, further contributing to its toxicity and notoriety.

The traditional absinthe drink was prepared with a special slotted spoon on which a sugar cube was placed. Water was sluiced over the sugar and into a glass containing absinthe until the liquid turned a milky, greenish-white color. This correct color and consistency, called “louche,” indicated that the bitter taste of straight absinthe had been adequately diluted. Only a few daring individuals would drink absinthe straight.

Absinthe was popular in Paris at the end of the nineteenth century among artists and writers, including the Dutch painter Vincent van Gogh and the Irish poet Oscar Wilde. Postimpressionist painter Henri de Toulouse-Lautrec combined absinthe and cognac to produce a drink he called an “earthquake.”

The popularity of absinthe in America was largely restricted to the demimonde, or cultural underworld, of New Orleans, a city with deep ties to France. On Bourbon Street in the French Quarter (Vieux Carré), an establishment known as the Old Absinthe House had a spigot used solely for dripping water through sugar-loaded absinthe spoons.

By the beginning of the twentieth century, opposition to absinthe began to develop among people who disapproved of recreational intoxicants. An almost hysterical fear of absinthism led to the drink being lumped together with opiates and other powerful drugs. Exaggerated accounts of debaucheries committed by absinthe drinkers led legislators on both sides of the Atlantic to ban its production and consumption. The United States banned absinthe in 1912, almost a decade before Prohibition; even after the Twenty-first Amendment repealed

Prohibition in 1933, bans on absinthe remained in effect.

Despite its initial popularity, absinthe was of little interest to black marketers. Substitutes, usually with anise as the primary ingredient, appeared on the market for those interested in sampling the taste of absinthe without the legendary effects. Even as a new generation discovered mind-altering chemicals in the 1960s, they paid little attention to absinthe, preferring newer and stronger chemicals such as LSD or drugs such as peyote that were associated with non-Western religious traditions.

Until recently, it was illegal to produce or sell absinthe in the United States. In 2007, foreign-made absinthes, such as Lucid and Kübler, became available on the U.S. market, and St. George Absinthe Verte from St. George Spirits of Alameda, California, became the first brand of American-made absinthe legally sold in the United States in nearly a century.

Leigh Kimmel

See also: [Prohibition](#).

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Abstract Expressionism

Abstract expressionism was one of the most dynamic, influential, and uniquely American art movements in the nation's cultural history. Beginning at the start of the cold war in the late 1940s, the movement drew on such modernist styles as cubism, fauvism, and expressionism. Its best-known practitioners include Willem de Kooning, Franz Kline, Robert Motherwell, and Jackson Pollock.

Eschewing recognizable forms and the closed, circumscribed shapes of artists Pablo Picasso, Joan Miró, and Piet Mondrian, postwar artists instead concentrated on an aesthetic that emphasized the bold use of color and nonrepresentational masses in vivid, emotionally charged canvases that drew attention to the act of painting itself. Abstract, energetic, and heralded as spontaneous, abstract expressionism became synonymous with cultural characteristics of the postwar period: individualism, alienation, and decadence.

The term ultimately became associated with a particular method of painting that developed in New York City during the 1940s. Called "action painting" or "gestural abstract expressionism," it was a method in which the process was as important as the outcome, and a painting as a record of the action was even more important than

the artistic purpose of it. New York's collectors and critics were important supporters of abstract expressionism; San Francisco also was a significant site for action painting.

Pollock is perhaps the most famous of all postwar American painters. He graced the pages of *Life*, *Vogue*, and other major magazines during the late 1940s and 1950s, exemplifying the action aspect of abstract expressionism—*Time* referred to him as “Jack the Dripper.” In a famous 1951 photo essay by Hans Namuth, Pollock displayed his unique method of throwing paint across a canvas, which was lying flat on his studio floor, while he moved energetically around it.



The iconoclastic painter Jackson Pollock, variously revered and reviled for his drip method of “action painting,” was a central figure in the abstract expressionist movement and the New York avant-garde that spawned it in the late 1940s. (Tony Vaccaro/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

While Pollock dominated mainstream media coverage of abstract expressionism, lending the art movement a distinct machismo and bohemian decadence, women also participated. Pollock's wife, Lee Krasner, and Motherwell's wife, Helen Frankenthaler, were important artists in their own right. Jay deFeo was one of the few female stars of San Francisco's Beat literary-artistic scene.

For the artists themselves, abstract expressionism represented a revolutionary aesthetic that allowed them to explore and articulate the fears and anxieties of an alienating consumer culture and the atomic threat. Critical of modern society and supremely individualistic, abstract expressionists tended to avoid association with any one political ideology. Yet the inherent open-endedness of abstract expressionism lent it a subversive quality in the conservative era of cold war ideology, McCarthyism, and red baiting. Congressman George A. Dondero (R-MI) made a career of attacking modern art by equating it with communism, and, in 1951, the Los Angeles City Council accused abstract painters and sculptors of being unconsciously manipulated by the Kremlin.

Postwar art critics responded by downplaying or ignoring leftist interpretations of abstract expressionism, instead emphasizing its form, individuality, and freed expression. Clement Greenberg, a New York art critic and abstract expressionism's most influential supporter, shed his socialist leanings and claimed that American art was foremost in the world, with abstract expressionism as the most emblematic of the nation's new cultural prestige. Critics and museum curators were so successful at recasting abstract expressionism that the U.S. federal government supported exhibitions featuring representative works that traveled abroad in 1948, 1950, and 1956 as examples of

American freedom and cultural superiority.

Fraught with cultural and political contradictions, abstract expressionism remained a dominant movement for more than a decade. Private collectors and major museums paid significant sums to hang its works.

In the 1960s, disgusted by 1950s political conservatism, alienated by the claims of American cultural hegemony, and uneasy with the elitism of patrons and museumgoers, American artists began eschewing abstract expressionism. They moved on to new artistic styles and modes of commentary, such as pop art, junk art, and assemblage.

Sarah Schrank

See also: [Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [Surrealists](#).

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Acid Rock

Acid rock is a genre of music that emerged from the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco in the late 1960s. Its appearance was directly linked to that of the hallucinogen LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide) as a recreational drug, popularly known as acid.

The music features electric instruments, instrumental improvisation, long jam sessions, experimental tape effects, intentional feedback, and repetitive drum lines suggesting an effect of psychedelic drugs. Known as the “San Francisco sound,” it borrowed heavily from folk music and Chicago blues, incorporating riffs from Indian and Middle Eastern music. Acid rock was at its best when played live at dance clubs and accompanied by psychedelic light shows.

Acid rock evolved in the permissive atmosphere of San Francisco’s folk rock scene. Bands such as the Charlatans, the Grateful Dead, and Quicksilver Messenger Service had grown disillusioned with folk rock, went electric, and brought much of the leftist politics of folk music to their new ventures. Soon after these bands adopted the electric instruments of rock music, they were “turned on” to the Bay Area psychedelic scene, where novelist Ken Kesey and his followers, known as the Merry Pranksters, were introducing LSD to a growing youth community.

As a result of the introduction of psychedelic drugs, the San Francisco rock scene moved away from rock’s old clichés of sex and adolescent fantasy. The youth movement peaked during the 1967 “Summer of Love,” with an estimated 500 to 1,500 acid rock bands in the San Francisco area alone. The most notable were Jefferson

Airplane (which later became Jefferson Starship), Country Joe and the Fish, Moby Grape, the Doors, Jimi Hendrix's bands, and Santana.

The mantra of the acid rock community was the motto of psychiatrist-turned-guru Timothy Leary: "Turn on, tune in, drop out," a phrase he developed to promote the benefits of LSD. The musicians and fans of the acid rock community saw drugs and music as tools for changing the world and understanding the greater meaning of life. They believed that psychedelics, especially LSD, could serve as the impetus for cultural change. They called for retribalization, a move away from nationalism to smaller, self-sufficient communities. Their search for meaning came at a time when America was mired in the unpopular war in Vietnam and the civil rights movement was still facing violent resistance from local and state governments.

Fans of acid rock were heavily involved in the music and invested in its meaning. A prime example were the Deadheads, a loose community of individuals who traveled the country following the Grateful Dead. The intense involvement of fans with the band created a sense of community in which pharmaceuticals and ideologies served the music and the culture, rather than just the band and its celebrity. Such community building reached its zenith at the 1969 Woodstock music festival, a three-day event in upstate New York attended by up to half a million people.

Acid rock's surreal sound and visuals continue to be reflected in contemporary music. Bands such as Pink Floyd and Phish have achieved commercial success that has lasted from the 1970s and 1980s to the present day. Aspects of the acid rock scene also have been co-opted by such contemporary "art rockers" as Queen and David Bowie.

B. Keith Murphy

See also: [Grateful Dead](#); [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#); [Leary, Timothy](#); [LSD](#).

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Advertising

Advertising is the practice of creating and distributing messages that promote products, goods, and services. While advertising may not seem relevant to American counterculture other than as something to battle, the heritage, practice, and industry of advertising draw as much upon countercultures as upon the status quo. The countercultural voice in advertising struggles against conformity, whether against or in support of consumer society.

Advertising emerged in the nineteenth century as a challenge to tradition-bound society. Like popular tabloid newspapers and magazines, and new forms of entertainment, advertising catered to an emerging and expanding group of people who had lifestyles that fell outside traditional boundaries of class and gender. Yet, while it challenged traditional society, advertising also sought to develop effective means of controlling popular choices, thoughts, and actions.

In the twentieth century, a conception of people as susceptible masses that were easily swayed seemed to be borne out not only in rapidly standardizing advertising techniques that claimed, like Claude Hopkins's book *Scientific Advertising* (1923), to have discovered universal principles of effective advertising. A view of people as susceptible masses also seemed to be confirmed in the use of advertising techniques in support of government propaganda campaigns engaged in by the United States, Great Britain, Germany, and other countries during the two world wars. By the 1950s, claims by market researcher James Vicary to have discovered "subliminal advertising"—a technique of embedding hidden messages in advertising that were detectable only by one's unconscious—seemed only to reconfirm advertising's role in maintaining the status quo.

However, the counterculture and advertising informed each other in many ways, one being how advertising both drew upon and influenced various modern, countercultural artistic movements and styles. Because of the need always to be new to attract attention, advertisers developed new artistic styles, while they also were influenced by new trends in art. For example, the avant-garde technique of montage (the cutting up and pasting together of different pictures into a new composition) was quickly added to the advertising industry's visual repertoire. And, by the 1960s, advertising itself had become the topic of pop art by Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, David Hockney, and other artists.

The Creative Revolution

In the 1960s, the counterculture took a more central role in advertising through its presence in the so-called creative revolution. Bill Bernbach and his ad agency, Doyle Dane Bernbach (DDB), pioneered a newly hip, ironic, and thoughtful sensibility in their advertising. Bernbach embodied countercultural skepticism of authority in such sayings as "Rules are what the artist breaks." By the end of the 1960s, DDB's campaign for the Volkswagen (VW) Beetle helped turn a compact car that had been designed in part in Nazi Germany into a Flower Power counterculture icon.

The creative revolution helped popularize a new countercultural attitude. Rather than emphasize the fear of losing other people's admiration, respect, and acceptance, these ads emphasized the liberation of being different from everyone else. One of DDB's Volkswagen ads pictured an endless line of identical vehicles above the headline "Has the Volkswagen fad died out?" It went on to say how relieved VW was that people were no longer buying their cars in order to keep up with what other people think and do.

Instead of promoting a brainless acceptance that all one had to do to be happy was to buy mass-produced goods, these ads aligned themselves with a growing critical view of deceptive marketing techniques that tried to get people to buy more than they needed. One of DDB's 1960s Volkswagen ads showed a spotlighted Volkswagen and under it the headline "The '51, '52, '53, '54, '55, '56, '57, '58, '59, '60, '61 Volkswagen." The ad claims that other car manufacturers changed superficial features to get people to buy new cars more often, but that Volkswagen focused on making the car work better in order to give consumers a better value.

Helping fuel the creative revolution and the remaking of advertising was the upsurge in thinking about the importance of the then-new medium of television. Theories of the Canadian communications professor Marshall McLuhan—that the power of messages was a function of their medium rather than their meaning—emphasized ideas about the power of televised images, including those in advertising. McLuhan's notions were heavily promoted and adopted in the advertising industry by adman Howard Gossage and others.

At the same time that countercultural ideas infused the advertising industry, techniques from advertising infused countercultural political protests in such ways as the use of standard advertising formats on placards carried in marches that "promoted" napalm. Such examples criticized blithe acceptance of the use of the jellied gasoline as a military weapon during the Vietnam War.

Advertising Today

The three ways in which advertising and the counterculture are connected (modern art, hip consumerism, and

protests) have only merged more closely since the 1960s. Today's advertising commonly adopts the irony, fragmentation, and fast pace typical of postmodernist styles, with many television ads geared to younger audiences looking much like music videos. Advertising continues to make fun of the status quo and of conformity, while glorifying countercultural values and individual liberation.

Twenty-first-century ads further this approach in a number of ways. Ford Explorers help middle-class parents escape their entangling possessions, if only for a weekend. A frantic middle manager dresses down his underlings for dancing to boom-box music, but, by answering in ten seconds all the manager's questions about deliveries and supplies using Nextel systems, the dancers shake their booties at old-fashioned ways of doing things. The opening commercial for Apple's "Think Different" branding campaign begins by saluting "the crazy ones, the misfits, the rebels," and concludes by arguing, "the people who think they are crazy enough to change the world are the ones who do."

Other examples in the United States include street art from the barrios of East Los Angeles increasingly appearing in mass-marketing campaigns that enshrine the icon of rebel cool, the *cholo*, or Chicano gang member. As popular-culture critic Mark Dery put it in *Print* magazine, "Skinning the image of badness and selling it as off-the-rack rebellion is the stuff of marketers' dreams." And urban street protest marches form the backdrop for a 2005 fashion photo spread that appeared in *Harper's* magazine.

The counterculture continues to use advertising as a means of political protest in even more inventive ways. What is referred to as "subvertising" continues to be a means of protesting the involvement of advertising in perpetuating the status quo.

For example, New York artist Ron English alters existing billboards to parody standard advertising techniques and subvert their accepted messages. A billboard for Camel cigarettes redone by English shows a cartoon-camel baseball player passing a cigarette to a cartoon-camel child, with the headline "Camel Kids," which critiques how cigarette manufacturers design their advertising and marketing to entice young people to become smokers.

James Hamilton

See also: [McLuhan, Marshall](#); [Pop Art](#); [Volkswagen Beetle](#).

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African Americans

African American countercultures through the course of the nation's history reflect a divergence from both mainstream American society and, especially after the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, much of the African American community itself. As in many other cases, the resistance to cultural norms gave rise to movements that eventually were adopted into the mainstream, or the African American community at large.

Most scholars trace the beginning of African American culture in North America to the year 1619, when Dutch settlers imported the first twenty Africans (seventeen men and three women) to Jamestown, Virginia, as indentured servants. Although Africans were the only group forced to migrate to the American colonies in large numbers, they, like Europeans, forged new cultures by adapting their native ways to the new environment, often mixing their ideas with those of Native Americans and Europeans. Because of African Americans' slave status, however, their traditions were generally viewed as countercultural where they differed from English (and later other European) norms.

Indeed, oppression and segregation forced African Americans to create their own institutions. And while there always were differences in traditions and ways of life among African Americans because of their diverse origins, their common experiences in the colonies and independent United States melded them into a coherent ethnic group. After the end of slavery and state-sponsored segregation, African American countercultural activities displayed more of the diversity within the community.

Colonial America to the Civil War

From the first twenty who arrived in 1619, the number of Africans in the North American colonies increased to 750,308, almost 20 percent of the U.S. population, by the first official census in 1790. Of these people, only 59,557 were free. By the eve of the Civil War in 1860, the population of African Americans, most of whom were slaves, had increased to 4,441,830; in some Southern states, such as South Carolina, slaves outnumbered whites.

The earliest examples of African American countercultural activity came in four forms: (1) resistance and rebellion against slave owners; (2) leaving the colonies by escape or through organized movements back to Africa; (3) protests against slavery through a variety of abolitionist activities; and (4) the formation of alternative African American institutions.

Records of slave rebellions and conspiracies date to the seventeenth century and include burning down barns and houses, poisoning water supplies, and killing slave owners and their families. Slaves who participated in such activities risked their lives and often ended up executed, imprisoned, or maimed. The rebellions, which took place in both the North and the South, demonstrated the slaves' refusal to accept anything less than freedom itself.

As time passed, the number of rebellions and the level of resistance increased. Among the notable conspiracies and rebellions were those fomented by Gabriel Prosser (1800), Denmark Vesey (1822), and Nat Turner (1831). Uprisings such as these often were countered by new laws restricting collective action by and further limiting the activities of slaves and free blacks. Nevertheless, in the years leading up to the Civil War, more and more slave insurrections took place in the South and in new states such as Kansas.

Adding to the difficulties of maintaining order was the number of slaves who simply ran away from their owners. This problem had been prevalent even before the Revolutionary War, during which about 100,000 slaves became fugitives. Many slaves who won their freedom by fighting in the American Revolution on the side of the British immigrated to England or to British colonies in the Bahamas and the Caribbean.

In the decades leading up to the Civil War, the secret network of safe houses and rescuers known as the Underground Railroad facilitated the movement of slaves northward to Canada in direct opposition to federal legislation. Often with the aid of Underground Railroad operators, slaves used a number of means of effecting their escape, from forging identity papers to challenging legal norms in courts of law.

Less well known than Northern havens were the destinations for runaways in the South, including Georgia and

Florida, where Africans found refuge with Native American groups, such as the Creek, the Seminole, and the Choctaw. From 1817 to 1819, following a number of incursions into the Florida Territory to recapture escaped slaves, African Americans joined Native Americans in fighting federal troops in the First Seminole War.

Some African Americans felt that the best alternative for them was to return to Africa. In 1780, the African Union Society was formed by free blacks favoring resettlement. In 1811, Paul Cuffe, a wealthy merchant and philanthropist whose father had been a slave captured in Africa and whose mother was a Native American, sailed to Sierra Leone to make arrangements, returning four years later to help thirty-eight former slaves establish a new life there.

In 1817, African Americans in Philadelphia and Virginia protested the formation of the American Colonization Society, organized by John Calhoun and Henry Clay, two white Southern legislators, to send free blacks back to Africa. The action on the part of Calhoun and Clay was intended to get rid of the free black population while retaining the system of slavery with which Southern culture was now closely bound. The American Colonization Society achieved a measure of success, if not in convincing a large number of blacks to emigrate; in 1822, it founded the African colony of Liberia, which became home to more than 2,600 African American émigrés.

Protests against the institution of slavery began as early as the colonial period, mostly by Mennonites and Quakers, who objected on moral grounds. These protests set the tone for abolitionist movements, involving both whites and blacks, that would arise and grow strong in the early nineteenth century. In 1797, Prince Hall delivered one of the first speeches by an African American against slavery, to the members of the African Masonic Lodge in Boston. In 1808, the African Society of Boston issued a statement against slavery.

African Americans joined white abolitionists in forming the American Anti-Slavery Society in 1833. The Colored Female Anti-Slavery Society was founded in Connecticut and New Jersey the following year, and the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was founded in 1849. Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Frederick Douglass, Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, Henry Highland Garnet, Maria Miller Stewart, and Sarah and Grace Bustill Douglass were among the prominent figures in the abolitionist movement. Publications such as David Walker's journal *Appeal* (1796–1830) and Douglass's *The North Star* (1847–1851), also promoted the end of slavery.

Finally, to counter the effects of segregation in both the North and the South, African Americans formed alternative institutions to defend themselves, their way of life, and their faith. In the late eighteenth century, blacks began to form their own churches, fraternal organizations, civic organizations, mutual aid societies, labor unions, and suffrage clubs to encourage fair voting practices. For example, the African Lodge of the Honorable Society of Free and Accepted Masons of Boston became the first African American Freemasons when they formed in 1775.

Likewise, when white church leaders began to physically segregate African Americans, they formed their own congregations. Richard Allen of Philadelphia, a former slave, founded the Free African Society in 1787 to protest such treatment; in 1816, he founded the African Methodist Episcopal Church. Absalom Jones, another former slave, established the African Church of Philadelphia in 1794 under the same conditions. Such activities formed the bedrock of African American society, and it was from these organizations that future protest and countercultural activities would stem.

The Emancipation Proclamation in 1863, the Civil War, and a series of amendments to the U.S. Constitution following the war changed the status of the African Americans forever. The Thirteenth Amendment abolished slavery; the Fourteenth Amendment defined the nature of U.S. citizenship and guaranteed equal protection under the law; and the Fifteenth Amendment prohibited the use of race and previous slave status to prevent voting. Nonetheless, deeply embedded racial prejudices would lead to further injustices, protests, and countercultural activities among African Americans for more than a century to come.

Reconstruction to the Great Migration

Despite the end of slavery, cultural and ethnic differences were engrained in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century

American culture and remained a source of cultural conflict. African American countercultures following the Civil War largely revolved around the fight to implement the rights guaranteed by the new amendments, the establishment of separate African American institutions, and the continuing desire for African Americans to leave the South.

In the aftermath of the war, the rise of the Ku Klux Klan and other terrorist organizations brought an escalation of violence against African Americans. Lynching was rampant. Between 1880 and 1950, more than 3,000 African Americans were killed in racially motivated attacks by white mobs. In 1892 alone, 161 African Americans were lynched; in Memphis, Tennessee, three blacks were murdered for no more than operating a grocery store that competed with white businesses. Ida B. Wells, a journalist and early protester against the laws of segregation, took up an antilynching campaign that lasted for decades.

In 1880, African American women formed the Colored Women's Progressive Franchise Association to promote equal rights for women. In 1896, the National Federation of Afro-American Women joined with the National League of Colored Women to create the National Association of Colored Women, a self-help organization that set up day-care centers and early education centers, protested lynching, and fought for the right to vote.

African Americans set up their own educational systems, including colleges and universities; their own businesses, which often brought them into conflict with white business owners; and their own labor unions, because they were often excluded from labor unions run by whites. The year 1869 saw the first black labor meeting in the Convention of the Colored National Labor Union. And in 1925, African American labor organizer A. Philip Randolph created the nation's first bona fide black labor union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.

Opposing views on the best course for blacks in American society were reflected in the ideas of Booker T. Washington, a former slave and author of *Up from Slavery* (1901), and W.E.B. Du Bois, a Northern scholar who helped found the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and edited its journal, *The Crisis*, until 1934. Washington advocated a nonconfrontational approach anchored in hard work and vocational training, and he used his influence with the nation's leaders to raise money for schools in the South. Regarding Washington as an accommodationist, Du Bois believed in the importance of higher education for African Americans and advocated directly challenging the system of segregation in American society. While Washington strived to bring African Americans into the cultural mainstream, Du Bois pursued a more countercultural agenda. In fact, Du Bois ultimately abandoned American society altogether and immigrated to Africa.

The largest African American counterculture, however, was the Great Migration out of the South and into the Northern and Midwestern states. This came at the expense of Southern white landowners, who coveted African Americans as cheap labor and fought Northern recruiters, who often financed the moves and guaranteed jobs. At the turn of the twentieth century, with African Americans' prospects for equal rights giving way to Jim Crow laws (which institutionalized racial segregation), with their economic and educational prospects on the wane in the largely unindustrialized South, with labor shortages in Northern and Midwestern cities due to World War I offering job opportunities, and with their eagerness to better their lot, the migration began.

At the start of the Great Migration, approximately 90 percent of all African Americans lived in Southern states. The search for a better life led many of them to New York and Philadelphia in the East; to Chicago, Detroit, St. Louis, and Milwaukee in the Midwest; and to such burgeoning metropolises as Oakland and Los Angeles in the West. Beginning in 1910 and lasting until well after the end of World War II, the mass migration of African Americans deprived the South of much of its workforce and created a critical mass of African Americans in urban areas across the country.

The growth of African American artistic culture in New York City in the 1920s produced the Harlem Renaissance. This movement showcased the literary talents of poet Langston Hughes, novelist Zora Neale Hurston, and others; embraced new forms of dance and theater; and became the center of such countercultural musical genres as jazz and blues, which had been rejected in their most avant-garde forms by mainstream culture. The concentration of

so much creativity forced the recognition of African American culture and reinforced the self-esteem of many African Americans. Many of the artists who made their names during the Harlem Renaissance also would play a role in the civil rights movement later in the century.

The critical mass of African Americans in urban areas also gave rise to new religious sects and movements, such as the International Peace Mission of Father Divine (founded in 1919); the United House of Prayer for All People of the Church of the Rock of the Apostolic Faith of Bishop C.M. Grace (“Daddy Grace”), also founded in 1919; the Universal Negro Improvement Association of black nationalist Marcus Garvey (founded in 1914 in Jamaica and brought to the United States in 1916); and the Nation of Islam of Wallace Fard Muhammad and later Elijah Muhammad (founded in 1930 in Chicago). These organizations met the spiritual and social needs of the African American community and often helped them to deal with the realities of racism and the economic hardships of urban life in the North and Midwest.

World War II to the Modern Civil Rights Movement

The end of World War II and the return of U.S. soldiers generated sweeping changes in American society. The middle class expanded from about 13 percent to 46 percent of the population, due to educational opportunities made possible through the GI Bill, home purchases made possible by loans to veterans, and a general increase in wealth made possible by the growth of corporate America and the expansion of U.S. businesses into the world market. The new well-being of Americans as a whole created conditions more amenable to change in the status of African Americans, although efforts in that regard still tended to be viewed as challenges to established culture.

Following the success of *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954), the landmark U.S. Supreme Court decision that paved the way for school integration throughout the South, the civil rights movement began in earnest. On December 1, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, African Americans planned a boycott of the city’s public transportation to protest segregated seating and unfair treatment by white bus drivers, and especially the arrest of Rosa Parks, a respected member of the African American community who had refused to move to the back of a city bus. The boycott drew the entire community into action. Expected to last only a day, it continued until December 21, 1956, when African Americans were no longer required to sit at the back of city buses or yield their seats to whites.

The Montgomery boycott brought Martin Luther King, Jr., a new minister in Montgomery, to national prominence. His eloquence rallied the spirit of the community, and his strategy of nonviolent noncooperation provided a template for future protests in cities across the South. In addition, the commitment to nonviolence established a moral high ground from which African Americans could pursue their cause.

The civil rights movement culminated in the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which specifically prohibited discrimination in hiring, public accommodations, and education, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which eliminated loopholes that had prevented African Americans from voting. These victories were overshadowed by the assassination of civil rights activist James Meredith in Mississippi in 1966, and the assassination in 1968 of Martin Luther King, Jr., in Memphis. King’s death set off hundreds of riots in African American communities across the United States.

The civil rights movement was soon eclipsed, however, by other events, as the African American struggle spread from the South to the entire country, becoming increasingly more militant and even violent. The apparent unity of the movement began to shatter with the emergence of other counterculture factions with different agendas and interests—such as the Black Muslim nationalist movement, the militant Black Power movement, and others—both fractious and unifying.

The charismatic Black Muslim spokesman Malcolm X, after a trip to Mecca, left the Nation of Islam and founded his own mosque in Harlem in 1964, only to be assassinated the following year. Also in 1965, Maulana Karenga, a scholar and political activist in Los Angeles, founded US, an organization that promoted Pan-Africanism. Among his legacies also is the annual festival of Kwanzaa, a weeklong celebration of African American heritage initiated in 1967.

The Black Power movement, which became prominent in the turbulent late 1960s, was an expression of revolutionary sentiments on the part of a new generation of activist groups. Notable among these were the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), originally formed in 1960 to coordinate the series of lunch counter sit-ins begun in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, founded in 1966 by activists Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, with a ten-point program of militant self-defense.

Black Power rhetoric soon was espoused by a broader group of young people, becoming an expression of self-determination and acceptance of African American culture. It found further implementation in the black arts movement in Harlem and in the symbolism of the Black Power salute given by athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympics in Mexico City. Some attributed the loss of support from whites and more moderate blacks to the militant rhetoric and actions of movement participants who were perceived to be radicals.

Vietnam to the Millennium

African Americans were prominent in the major counterculture movements of the 1960s and 1970s, including the Free Speech Movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, the women's rights movement, and the gay liberation movement.

In the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, American society began to record a number of firsts on the part of African American citizens: Cheryl A. Brown became the first African American to compete in the Miss America pageant (1970); Shirley Chisholm became the first African American woman to run for president of the United States (1972); and Daniel "Chappie" James became the first African American four-star general in the history of the U.S. military (1975). At the same time, several major cities elected their first black mayors; the number of African American members of Congress rose steadily; and African American men and women took positions as federal judges and leaders of national service organizations.

During this period, black studies and African American history programs were established at colleges and universities across the country, albeit under protest from many mainstream academics. Temple University in Philadelphia became the first university to offer a Ph.D. in African American studies, in 1988.

As African Americans gained new prominence in the mainstream of U.S. culture, however, new criticisms of that culture and the participation of African Americans arose within the African American community. Specifically, attacks were leveled at the structural racism that still existed in society at large, which gave rise to new countercultures that were often intellectual in nature. African Americans became critics of other African Americans, abandoning the long-shared belief that criticizing the community was an act of betrayal. According to some commentators, improved social conditions created a culture of critique reflecting new gender, class, regional, and experiential differences in the black community.

The specific experience of African American women, for example, gave rise to black feminist ideology, as articulated in the writings of Patricia Hill Collins, Kimberlé Crenshaw, Angela Y. Davis, bell hooks, Alice Walker, and others. The emergence of the black feminist movement triggered debate and dialogue between African American women and men, and between black and white feminists. It also changed the way in which social oppression was viewed and treated, calling attention to the intersectionality of gender, race, and class. Thus, American feminism grew from a middle-class, white movement to a worldwide movement embracing women of all classes, ethnicities, and circumstances.

Controversy surfaced in October 1995 with the Million Man March in Washington, D.C. Organized by Louis Farrakhan and the reconstituted Nation of Islam, it was billed as a "day of reconciliation" to draw attention to the plight of African American males. However, not all African Americans felt that Farrakhan was a true representative of the community because of his anti-Semitism and demeaning comments about women. While some African American women supported the march and the purpose for which it was designed, others felt that it was exclusionary and constituted a return to the very conditions that had led to the rise of black feminism.

Among the largest issues to surface in the last years of the twentieth century was the identification of an urban underclass of African Americans. In 1987, William Julius Wilson, a sociologist at the University of Chicago, published *The Truly Disadvantaged*, bringing the problem to the attention of the public. He followed this with another book on the subject, *When Work Disappears: The World of the New Urban Poor*, in 1996. Wilson took the position that neither racial discrimination nor cultural tendencies were responsible for the plight of the poor urban black population. Rather, it was the fact that jobs once concentrated in urban areas—the very jobs, in fact, that had drawn so many African Americans from the South earlier in the century—were now concentrated in the suburbs and, therefore, out of the reach of the poorest blacks.

In the twenty-first century, a controversy surrounded comments by comedian and philanthropist Bill Cosby. Stirred by statistics on the plight of the black community in America—one third of homeless men and half of prison inmates were African American, with homicide as the major cause of death among young people—Cosby made a plea for a return to parenting and responsibility within the African American community. With Harvard psychologist Alvin F. Poussaint, he published *Come On People: On the Path from Victims to Victors* (2007), which urged black parents to reassert moral values in raising their children. Cosby became the object of criticism by others in the African American community, who accused him of blaming the victims, rather than the perpetrators, of social injustice.

The presidential candidacy and election of Barack Obama in 2008 marked a major turning point in the relationship between the African American community and the cultural mainstream. In one key respect, it signaled a measure of acceptance and level of participation in the political process never imagined, let alone witnessed, in previous generations. The enduring political and social effects, of course, remained to be seen.

Susan Love Brown

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Black Panthers](#); [Civil Rights Movement](#); [Douglass, Frederick](#); [Du Bois, W.E.B.](#); [Garrison, William Lloyd](#); [Harlem Renaissance](#); [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#); [Ku Klux Klan](#); [Slave Culture](#); [Underground Railroad](#).

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Afrocentrism

Afrocentrism is a political, social, educational, and scholarly movement that challenges traditional interpretations of the black experience in an attempt to encourage black nationalism and ethnic pride as a psychological weapon against racial oppression. Afrocentrists argue that traditional interpretations of the black experience have been marred by racism and are therefore suspect; many claim that the Eurocentric interpretation has led to the neglect and denial of African contributions in world history. The aim of Afrocentrism is to shift the focus from the traditional emphasis of Eurocentrism to an African-centered worldview of the black experience—indeed, of the history of the world and humankind. Afrocentrism occupies an integral place in the American counterculture in its challenge to traditional Eurocentric beliefs by promoting, through scholarly discourse, the African origins of humanity and African contributions to Western civilization.

Although Afrocentrism gained momentum in the mid-twentieth century, it was heavily influenced by several earlier black nationalist movements, such as Ethiopianism and Pan-Africanism in the nineteenth century, as associated with such individuals as Martin Delany and Henry McNeal Turner. All movements associated with Afrocentrism place an emphasis on black self-determinism, self-reliance, and ethnic pride.

Marcus Garvey, the Jamaican-born founder of the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA), and W.E.B. Du Bois, cofounder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), both played a major role in the development of Afrocentric ideas in the United States and abroad. Garvey was one of the first black leaders to promote the idea that Africa was the “mother of civilization.” His movement was the first and most successful black freedom movement with global proportions. Garvey’s organization swelled to an estimated 1 million during the 1920s, while the NAACP has become the largest and arguably most important civil rights organization in the United States.

The Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and the negritude movement of the 1930s also helped to facilitate the growth of Afrocentric sentiment with the activism of such scholars and intellectuals as Carter G. Woodson, founder of Black History Month and the Association for the Study of African American Life and History (ASALH); educator and cultural critic Alain Locke; and the Senegalese poet, politician, and cultural theorist Léopold Senghor. The origins of the concept of a black aesthetic and the importance of African contributions to world civilization are rooted in these movements. The Garvey movement subsequently influenced the creation of the Nation of Islam by Elijah Muhammad in the 1930s. (Malcolm X, as the chief spokesperson for the Nation of Islam in the 1960s, was the son of a Garveyite.)

The postwar decolonization of Africa, coupled with the social activism of African Americans in the United States during the 1950s and 1960s, led to the reemergence of Afrocentric ideology that culminated in the militant Black Power movement—which emphasized the creation of black political and cultural institutions across the United States—and its related black arts movement, which encouraged blacks to establish publishing houses, magazines, journals, art institutions, and African studies programs at the university level.

In the twenty-first century, Afrocentrism has become an all-encompassing social, political, cultural, and scholarly movement that encompasses such figures as Maulana Karenga, founder of the Afrocentric holiday of Kwanzaa; the Senegalese scientist Cheikh Anta Diop, who has written about the African nature of Egyptian civilization; and Molefe Asante, an influential figure in the concept of Afrocentrism and promoter and scholar of African American studies.

Hettie V. Williams

See also: [Black Power Movement](#); [Du Bois, W.E.B.](#); [Garvey, Marcus](#); [Malcolm X](#).

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Alcoholics Anonymous

Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) is an international organization dedicated to helping recovering alcoholics maintain their sobriety. It is often referred to as a “fellowship” for its emphasis on mutual cooperation and shared experiences.

AA traces its origins to a meeting in Akron, Ohio, in 1935 between a stockbroker named William Wilson and a doctor named Robert Smith. Wilson, born in 1895 in New York City, had been a hopeless alcoholic who had tried many times to quit drinking. In 1934, he encountered an old friend, Ebby Thatcher, who had achieved sobriety with the help of the Oxford Group, a nondenominational Christian organization headed by an Episcopal clergyman named Samuel Shoemaker. The Oxford Group had no rules, hierarchy, or organized membership lists and stressed the importance of spirituality and divine guidance in assisting members to solve their own problems.

Wilson was able to achieve lasting sobriety with the help of the Oxford Group and his doctor, William Silkworth, who believed that alcoholism was a physical disease as well as a mental obsession—an unorthodox view at the time. Following Wilson’s recovery, he joined the Oxford Group and tried to speak to other alcoholics about his sobriety, albeit with little success.

On a business trip to Akron in 1935, Wilson met Dr. Smith and shared his views and experiences about alcoholism. The idea of alcoholism as a disease struck a chord with the doctor, who dedicated himself to sobriety on June 15, 1935—regarded by AA as the date of its founding—and the two began speaking to other alcoholics in the Akron area. Eventually, Wilson and Smith split from the Oxford Group and formed AA chapters in Akron and New York City. By 1940, twenty-two American cities had AA chapters.

In 1939, Wilson and Smith published *Alcoholics Anonymous*—also referred to as the “Big Book” because of its size—which contained articles and case histories outlining the beliefs of AA. It became the cornerstone of the organization. In the process of compiling *Alcoholics Anonymous*, the two authors outlined the so-called Twelve Steps, a set of principles and guidelines that must be followed by an individual before achieving sobriety. The underlying philosophy of the Twelve Steps derived from the Oxford Group’s emphasis on self-examination, acknowledgment of personal shortcomings, redemption for wrongdoings, and helping others. Smith and Wilson continued their work with AA until their deaths in 1950 and 1971, respectively.

As of 2010s AA claimed more than 1.2 million members in the United States and nearly 2 million worldwide. Members typically meet in local groups—more than 50,000 in the United States alone—that vary in size from only a few people to several hundred. AA’s General Service Office is located in New York City and publishes a monthly newsletter, *AA Grapevine*. Despite its vast and ever-growing international membership, AA remains committed to the ideals and beliefs of its founders.

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Alcott, Amos Bronson (1799–1888)

The New England teacher, education reformer, and writer Bronson Alcott was a key contributor to the American philosophical movement of transcendentalism. He became famous for his unorthodox teaching methods, the controversial schools he founded and ran, and a utopian community he founded in the 1840s that was memorialized in the writing of his daughter, Louisa May Alcott.

He was born Amos Bronson Alcox on November 29, 1799, in Wolcott, Connecticut; he altered the spelling of his last name beginning in about 1820. The neighborhood was populated by Alcott relatives and provided the model for Bronson Alcott's later utopian visions of "consociate family," a community of friends and colleagues who chose to behave as an extended family.

From 1818 to 1822, Alcott worked as a traveling peddler in the American South. The journeys were financial failures but exposed him to the depredations of slavery and made him a committed abolitionist. From 1823 to 1828, Alcott taught school in Connecticut, where he eschewed the Calvinist model of "taming" students through fear and rote memorization. By contrast, Alcott based his approach on European reform theories and encouraged children to learn through observation and self-examination. Another important influence on Alcott's educational approach was the Second Great Awakening, the religious revival that swept the nation from 1800 to 1830, rejecting the doctrine of inherent sin and regarding childhood as an age of innocence.

Alcott's controversial methods brought him to the attention of the reformist May family of Boston. He married Abigail May in 1830. Through his wife, he met abolitionists Lydia Maria Child, Lucretia Mott, and William Lloyd Garrison, as well as the writers Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and George Ripley and the utopianist Robert Owen.

Although he lost interest in formal religious practice, Alcott remained an ardent Christian, and he modeled his teachings on Jesus's use of parables and conversation. In 1836, he joined Emerson and others in founding the Transcendental Club, a philosophical society based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, that encouraged pursuit of the divine through self-knowledge rather than through religious ritual, Scripture, or ministry. The transcendentalists rejected the Romantic movement of the age, which encouraged knowledge through the senses, and distrusted the materialism of the emerging industrial economy.

While his friends studied German philosophy and Eastern religions, Alcott favored the ancient Greek philosophers, especially Pythagoras, who insisted that morality must be embodied in daily living. Alcott read avidly about such subjects as dietary, health, and dress reform, as well as phrenology, women's rights, and abolition.

Alcott operated his first school in Germantown, Pennsylvania from 1830 to 1833, before moving to Boston. The Temple School, which he founded there in 1834, was initially popular but closed in 1837 amid controversy over his radically egalitarian methods. Visiting British author Harriet Martineau criticized Alcott's "indulgent" pedagogy, which individualized plans of study for each child. The school and its founder were further denounced for opposing corporal punishment of students and for admitting an African American child.

Alcott and his assistant, Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, defended their methods in *Record of a School* (1835) and *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* (two volumes, 1836–1837), but enrollment dwindled and the school closed in 1839. Despite the failure of the Temple School and other educational initiatives, Alcott's experiments in progressive democratic education provoked discussion—and attracted adherents—both in the United States and abroad. In England, admirers founded the Alcott House School in 1840.

In 1843, Alcott and fellow transcendentalist Charles Lane formed Fruitlands, a utopian "consociate family" community outside Boston. The Alcotts already had given up molasses and cotton to protest slavery, and now they rejected meat, dairy products, and wool as well, in their belief that subjugating other creatures was immoral. This strict regime discouraged converts, and Lane became fascinated with the celibacy of the Shakers; thus, Fruitlands failed within a year of its founding. The short-lived community's struggle with farming and practical morality were humorously recorded by Louisa May Alcott in *Transcendental Wild Oats* (1873).

After the failure of Fruitlands, Abigail Alcott supported the family by becoming one of the first salaried social workers in Boston. The four Alcott daughters joined her in leading literacy, nutrition, and sewing classes for the poor. The Alcott family remained active in the cause of abolition, housing runaway slaves as part of the Underground Railroad, joining protests against the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and sheltering the families of abolitionists William Lloyd Garrison and John Brown from angry mobs. Louisa May Alcott's books eventually provided financial security.

Bronson Alcott continued to teach, conducting conversations and lecture tours in communities as far away as St. Louis. His talent for drawing people in to philosophical reflection—especially on reconciling the desire for individual economic achievement in the new market society with the older values of communal life—attracted a wide audience. Alcott died on March 4, 1888, at the Boston home of his daughter Louisa May.

Janice Lee Jayes

See also: [Communes](#); [Fruitlands](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Algonquin Round Table

The Algonquin Round Table was a group of literary figures, mostly writers and press agents, who met regularly for lunch at the Algonquin Hotel in New York City during the 1920s. The members became a cultural institution, famous mostly for being famous, enjoying humorous conversation and games, and furthering each other's careers and reputations.

In 1919, the publicist of playwright Eugene O'Neill, John Peter Toohey, was looking to get some good press for his client. He invited Murdock Pemberton, press agent of the Hippodrome Theater, and Alexander Woollcott, the well-known drama critic for *The New York Times*, to lunch at the Algonquin Hotel. Woollcott refused to write the story proposed by Toohey; instead he changed the topic, regaling the party with stories of his days in Paris during World War I.

The afternoon was enjoyable and had the potential to strengthen the relationship between newspaper writers and publicists. The two agents soon organized another luncheon, inviting a number of New York theater critics. That event included representatives from nearly all of the twelve New York newspapers. The list would change over time to include about ten regulars and sometimes their guests, often actors and actresses seeking publicity.

Besides Woollcott, some of the other regular Algonquinites over the years were Woollcott's assistant, George S. Kaufman; Marc Connelly of the *Morning Telegraph* and a playwright; Arthur Samuels, editor of *Harper's Bazaar*; Robert E. Sherwood, a staff writer at *Vanity Fair*; Robert Benchley, editor of *Vanity Fair*, later a drama critic for *The New Yorker*, and a sometime actor; and Dorothy Parker, short story writer, poet, and *Vanity Fair* drama critic. As the group grew in reputation and social connections, it drew in new members, such as the well-known actor Harpo Marx, and the cost of annual membership was raised to \$1,000, further strengthening the group's exclusivity.

The group met for witty conversation, generally steering clear of serious topics, and became something of a mutual admiration society. At a time when newspaper columnists were both powerful and celebrated, members of the group kept each other's names in the papers and reviewed each other's books; this was particularly true of columnist Franklin P. Adams. These were not solitary writers who cherished the word on paper, but rather people who wrote to be funny or to make money.

The Algonquinites did not necessarily have a positive influence on each other. The humor would often turn vicious, and the great amount of time spent together at the lunches and frequent card games kept many of them from pursuing their work. Over time, some began to feel as if they were performers for the entertainment of others and that fame was overshadowing their accomplishments.

While most members were low-paid writers when they joined, the group's growing reputation brought social connections with the rich and famous, from actors to businessmen to gangsters. The success of many members eventually rendered the group obsolete; they no longer needed each other's encouragement or connections.

Over the course of the 1920s, America's worsening economic situation also struck at the wealthy culture that had nurtured the members' reputations. Regular members lost interest in the group, and, by the early 1930s, the Algonquin Round Table had officially disbanded.

Caren Prommersberger

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Ali, Muhammad (1942–)

Muhammad Ali achieved fame as the world heavyweight boxing champion and as an outspoken critic of American racism and social injustice.

He was born Cassius Marcellus Clay, Jr., on January 17, 1942, in Louisville, Kentucky, the son of a piano player. He grew up determined to help end segregation and empower African Americans. Standing 6 feet, 3 inches tall (1.91 meters), Clay came to the public's attention when he won a gold medal in the light heavyweight boxing division at the 1960 Olympic Games in Rome. He began to box professionally shortly thereafter.

By February 1964, Clay had earned a title fight against heavyweight champion Sonny Liston. Promising to “float like a butterfly, sting like a bee,” the brash young challenger entered the ring in Miami, Florida, with the confidence that would become his trademark. He stunned the boxing world by defeating Liston in a technical knockout.

The next month, Clay, a follower of the black nationalist Malcolm X, announced that he had changed his name to Muhammad Ali and joined the Nation of Islam, an African American religious and sociopolitical organization formed to restore the spiritual, mental, social, and economic situation of America's blacks. Ali brought politics into the ring and became a role model for young black men who were angry at racial and economic injustice.

Promoting himself as “The Greatest”—a claim with which many boxing historians agree—Ali reaped the ire of political and social conservatives, the admiration of radicals in the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Black Panther Party, and the praise of celebrities such as writer Norman Mailer and sports broadcaster Howard Cosell. With a heavy dose of media savvy, Ali adroitly turned himself into a global icon and inspired student rebels from New York to Berkeley with his opposition to the war in Vietnam and support for Third World revolution.

For the next decade, Ali's confrontational gestures put him repeatedly in the eye of public storms, especially in 1966 when he declared himself a conscientious objector and when he refused military service the following year, during the height of the Vietnam War. “No Vietcong ever called me nigger,” he had declared, expressing at once his condemnation of racism in the United States and his opposition to war as a political solution.

The U.S. government prosecuted him in 1967 for draft evasion in a case that gained international attention. Found guilty and sentenced to five years in prison, he filed an appeal and waited impatiently, on bail, for a reversal of the verdict and for public exoneration. The World Boxing Association (WBA) stripped him of his heavyweight title and banned him from the sport, but his fans and supporters called him “The People's Champ,” a title he accepted with pride.



Heavyweight boxing champion Muhammad Ali (left), a Black Muslim, joins supporters after refusing military induction in April 1967. His conviction on draft evasion charges was ultimately overturned by the U.S. Supreme Court on religious grounds. (Library of Congress)

Ali made his comeback in the early 1970s, after the U.S. Supreme Court reversed his conviction (*Clay v. United States*, 1971) and the WBA reinstated his boxing privileges. In March 1971, in a title bout billed as “The Fight of the Century,” Ali lost to reigning champion Joe Frazier in a unanimous decision. In October 1973, however, in a fight held in Zaire (the present-day Democratic Republic of Congo) and promoted as “The Rumble in the Jungle,” Ali defeated George Foreman with an eighth-round knockout to regain the heavyweight crown.

Ali continued to attract attention for his provocative remarks and the turns in his spiritual journey. In 1974, he converted from the Nation of Islam to mainstream Sunni Islam; in 1975, he published his autobiography, *The Greatest: My Own Story*. After a defeat at the hands of Olympic gold medalist Leon Spinks in February 1978, Ali retired from boxing. He made a brief return, only to retire permanently in 1981 with a record of fifty-six wins and five losses.

Diagnosed with Parkinson’s disease, Ali witnessed the gradual decline of his physical reflexes and the loss of his legendary verbal skills. In another return of sorts, he was welcomed as an American hero when he appeared in the opening ceremonies of the 1996 Olympic Games in Atlanta to light the Olympic flame. A beloved humanitarian, Ali has traveled widely and conferred with such world leaders as President Bill Clinton, South African civil rights leader Nelson Mandela, and Pope John Paul II to advocate for social and economic justice. In retirement, he settled in Berrien Springs, Michigan, with his wife Yolanda (“Lonnie”).

Jonah Raskin

See also: [Black Muslims](#); [Malcolm X](#); [Sports](#).

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Alice's Restaurant

Alice's Restaurant is the title of the 1967 debut album by singer and songwriter Arlo Guthrie (son of legendary folk singer Woody Guthrie) and the 1969 film adaptation of his song-story, "Alice's Restaurant Massacree." The comic, satirical song and film tell the story of Guthrie's arrest for littering in Stockbridge, Massachusetts, the ensuing trial, and his subsequent experience at a U.S. Army induction center when he was called up for the draft during the Vietnam War. Contrary to popular opinion, the story is based on actual events.

Directed by Arthur Penn, who cowrote the screenplay with Venable Herndon, the film stars Guthrie along with James Broderick, Stockbridge police chief William Obanhein ("Officer Obie"), and the judge in the real-life court case, James Hannon. Evidence photos from the actual trial appear in the trial scene of the film.

Guthrie and friend Ricky Robbins traveled to Stockbridge for Thanksgiving in 1965 to visit Alice and Ray Brock at their commune in the former Trinity Church on Division Street. Guthrie and Robbins hauled the Brocks' trash to the dump, but finding the dump closed, they deposited the refuse on top of another pile of garbage at the bottom of a ravine.

Later, the local sheriff found the illegal dumping and tracked down the perpetrators. Guthrie and Robbins were arrested, spent a night in jail, and appeared in court. They pleaded guilty, and they were fined twenty-five dollars each and ordered to clean up the garbage. When they arrived back at the church, Guthrie and Robbins wrote the first half of the song. Guthrie wrote the second half after the U.S. Army declared him unfit for duty. In the song and film, his ineligibility is given as a result of the Thanksgiving Day incident and his arrest for dumping the garbage.

The song made Guthrie a cult hero at the 1967 Newport Folk Festival, where he performed it to a standing ovation in the afternoon and twice more during the evening concert. These were among the most memorable performances of that year's festival; Guthrie's third performance of the song was the finale, bringing many of the star performers onstage for the last chorus.

The film was released on August 19, 1969, four days after Guthrie appeared at the Woodstock music festival in Bethel, New York, and there were countless showings at art film houses and on university campuses across the United States. Guthrie's Newport folk hero status and his historic Woodstock performance helped turn the film into a cult classic. Its appeal, Guthrie has observed, also was a function of its universal theme of the "little guy against a big world."

The film's antiwar, antiestablishment message and its glimpse into hippie culture during the 1960s made it popular among counterculture and mainstream crowds alike. It also foreshadowed America's experiment with communes and communal living; Ray and Alice's church/commune welcomes all who visit to share in the work and be part of the "family."

Guthrie has continued to adapt the song to more recent events. He revived—and revised—it during the Ronald Reagan administration (1980–1988), performing it at the 1985 Farm Aid concert in protest against selective service registration and President Reagan's heightened cold war rhetoric. A new version was released on a thirtieth-anniversary compact disc in 1997, *Alice's Restaurant: The Massacree Revisited*. The song also received radio play in protest against the Gulf War of 1990 to 1991 and the 2003 U.S. invasion of Iraq.

The themes of *Alice's Restaurant* have a timeless quality that has endured into the twenty-first century. Guthrie

was still on the road giving concerts, performing “Alice’s Restaurant,” and continuing his tradition of long song-stories.

Jeff Williams

See also: [Folk Music: Guthrie, Woody: Newport Folk Festival](#).

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Alison, Francis (1705–1779)

The Reverend Francis Alison was a Presbyterian minister and colonial educator who introduced the tenets and progressive educational curricula of the Scots-Irish Enlightenment to America.

Born in Donegal County, Ulster, Ireland, in 1705, Alison may have attended Francis Hutcheson’s academy in Dublin. Like other bright young Presbyterian boys in eighteenth-century Ulster, Alison made his way to Scotland. There he studied at the University of Edinburgh with professor of logic and metaphysics John Stevenson and graduated with a master of arts degree in 1733. Alison then pursued studies for the ministry, most likely at Glasgow University.

From what date Alison first planned to migrate to America is not known, but he did so soon after he was licensed to preach in Ireland, in 1735. Arriving in Maryland, Alison served as a tutor for the family of John Dickinson for a short period, before making his way to New London, Pennsylvania, where he was ordained in 1737.

In 1739, Alison founded the New London Academy, a school that provided students with the required grounding in classical studies as well as a smattering of mathematical and scientific subjects. Ezra Stiles, a prominent theologian and later president of Yale College, considered Alison the best classical scholar in America. But the curriculum at the academy was also notable for Alison’s introduction of Hutcheson’s moral philosophy, especially through the Glasgow professor’s *Short Introduction to Moral Philosophy* (1747) and *Metaphysicae Synopsis* (1742).

In the split between “Old Side” and “New Side” Presbyterians that occurred in America in the wake of the Great Awakening, a religious revival, Alison emerged as a leader of the moderate Old Side. He wrote pamphlets such as *An Examination and Refutation of Mr. Gilbert Tennent’s Remarks upon the Protestation Presented to the Synod of Philadelphia, June 1, 1741*, arguing against what he considered the unbridled enthusiasm of the revivalist New Side.

In 1752, Alison accepted an appointment as professor of moral philosophy and vice provost at the College of Philadelphia. His relationships with colleagues there were not without tensions. Alison and William Smith, the first provost of the institution, from 1755 to 1779, were often at odds, and Alison opposed fellow Philadelphian Benjamin Franklin’s efforts to make Pennsylvania into a royal colony.

Alison's instrumental efforts in spreading Scots-Irish Enlightenment ideas in early America gained him transatlantic renown. Glasgow University awarded him an honorary doctorate of divinity in 1755. Alison encouraged the Enlightenment in America in other ways as well. He was a long-standing correspondent of John Bartram, the American naturalist, a director of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and an early member of the Society for the Propagation of Useful Knowledge. Also, he helped spread Hutcheson's justification of political revolution.

It is not surprising that Alison was critical of the British Parliament's Stamp Act of 1765, which imposed a direct tax on the colonies. A number of his students—including Francis Hopkinson, Thomas McKean, James Smith, Charles Thomson, and George Read, among others—played prominent parts in the American independence movement.

Mark G. Spencer

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Altamont Free Concert

Although rock critics and promoters touted the final, free show of the Rolling Stones's 1969 tour as "Woodstock West," the December 6 concert at Altamont Speedway in California ultimately signaled an end to the peaceful, utopian era of the Woodstock Nation.

The Rolling Stones had been scheduled to play at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco with such acts as Crosby, Stills and Nash, the Flying Burrito Brothers, the Grateful Dead, and Jefferson Airplane, but the sheer number of anticipated concertgoers forced a relocation of the event. As thousands of fans made their way to California, the bands' crews scrambled to find an available venue large enough to accommodate the crowd.

Sears Point (now Infineon) Raceway in Sonoma, in Northern California, was chosen. The day before the bands were slated to play, however, the venue changed a second time—to the abandoned Altamont Speedway. Located about 30 miles (48 kilometers) southeast of Oakland, Altamont epitomized the desolate, high-desert landscape of inland Alameda County. Not only was the location a departure from Golden Gate Park's rolling greenery, but it also was poorly equipped to hold a free, public event of such magnitude. Unlike the stage at Woodstock the previous summer, which had been raised to separate the crowd from the performers, the stage at Altamont was hard to see from the audience and difficult to distinguish from the seating area.

The bands' choice for security further complicated the difficulties posed by the geographic location and technical situation. The Grateful Dead had hired members of the Hells Angels motorcycle club for security a number of times in the past, without incident. The Rolling Stones also had used members of the club for security at a show in London's Hyde Park the previous summer and had been pleased with the Hells Angels' ability to guard the stage and performers. The Hells Angels, however, were not trained as professional security officers, and they had a reputation for drinking alcohol and taking drugs, both of which were abundant at Altamont.

By the time the first act took the stage, approximately 300,000 people had arrived. Even during the initial performance, by Santana, fights were breaking out near the stage as the Hells Angels tried to enforce crowd control with their weapon of choice: pool cues. The violence escalated as the day progressed. Performers Gram Parsons and Grace Slick, among others, tried to quell the anger of the crowd and of the Hells Angels security staff, to no avail. One Hells Angel even assaulted and knocked out Marty Balin of Jefferson Airplane.

Finally, at about seven o'clock in the evening, as the Rolling Stones began to play their first set, a full-blown melee was taking place in the crowd near the stage. From that point on, the concert would be associated with death and violence.

In an altercation with some of the Hells Angels, an eighteen-year-old African American man named Meredith Hunter was beaten and stabbed to death. Although the incident was captured on film, the events immediately preceding the beating remain unclear. The Hells Angels member arrested for the killing, Alan Passaro, was tried for murder in summer 1972 and acquitted on grounds of self-defense. Hunter, it was said, had drawn a gun and pointed it at the stage.

Whatever the events that led to the violence, Altamont came to signify the dangers of crowd behavior at such mass events. For some, at least, it signaled the end of innocence for the 1960s counterculture.

Alison Perry

See also: [Hells Angels: Rolling Stones, The.](#)

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Amana Society

The Amana Society is the common name of a religious group formally known as the Community of True Inspiration. It is centered in seven small villages located 23 miles (37 kilometers) northwest of Iowa City, Iowa. Originally a dissenting religious community in seventeenth-century Germany, the Pietistic group migrated to the United States in 1844, where it adopted a communal lifestyle. It went on to become one of the longest-lived communal groups in American history.

After a series of financial difficulties and disagreements among members about lifestyle issues, including fashionable dress and the everyday use of the German language, Amana dropped its communal lifestyle in 1932. Two years later, member George Foerstner began the Amana Refrigeration Company, a walk-in cooler manufacturer owned by the society and sold to investors in 1950. As of the early 2000s, the Amana Society thrives as a Midwest tourist stop featuring arts and crafts, wineries, and family-style restaurants serving German cuisine. Many of the residents are descendants of people who lived in community at the time of the original settlement.

The Amana Society's origin lies in eighteenth-century German religious reform groups organized around prophets

whom followers believed were inspired by God. Largely as a result of persecution at the hands of hostile government and orthodox Lutheran church officials, the community decided to move to America. Land was purchased near Buffalo, New York, and approximately 700 members immigrated to their new home, which they named Ebenezer.

The constitution of the new community established a form of communalism in which the land and the means of production were held in common. The members of the community agreed to perform all necessary work in exchange for free room and board, an annual monetary allowance, and support in old age. In 1854, when the site at Ebenezer became too small, the group purchased a tract of land in east-central Iowa, which eventually totaled 26,000 acres (10,530 hectares).

At the new site in Iowa, members constructed residences, kitchen houses, craft shops, and all the other necessities of life. The community also built a 7-mile (11.3-kilometer) canal between two points on the Iowa River to provide hydropower for their mills. At the center of each of the seven villages was a large, plain church building. The community attempted to provide for all of its members' secular and spiritual needs from birth to death. For a time, it succeeded.

Beginning in the 1920s, however, several problems beset the communities. For one thing, members faced increasing encroachment from the outside world and challenges to their lifestyle. Problems of culture and lifestyle were exacerbated by economic difficulties and shoddy bookkeeping methods, as well as growing dependence on nonsociety labor to run some of its businesses. In addition, the younger generation became more resistant to the socially restrictive lifestyle at Amana, where everything from marriages to leisure time was regulated.

In 1932, the community undertook a reorganization known as the Great Change, which created two distinct entities. The Amana Society became the name for the community's profit-oriented, joint-stock business, and the Amana Church Society was the name of the organization responsible for its religious and charitable work. Every adult member received one share of Class A Common Stock, which entitled the member to one vote in the corporation's business decisions, as well as to full medical, dental, and burial benefits.

In the early twenty-first century, the Amana Society enjoys the amenities of contemporary American life, while it is still influenced by its communal past. It has worked to preserve the bucolic appearance of the original colonies through a strict land-use plan that prevents large commercial development.

The tourist industry is a good market for the crafts and trades pursued in the communal Amana settlements. Wine and beer shops, restaurants and groceries specializing in German cuisine, a furniture factory, and a wool business are all popular attractions with visitors to the historic sites and museum at Amana, Iowa.

Jeremy Rapport

See also: [Communes: Utopianism](#).

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American Indian Movement

The American Indian Movement (AIM) was founded in 1968 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, by Ojibwe activists, including Dennis Banks, Clyde Bellecourt, and George Mitchell. Inspired in part by the Black Power movement and the antiwar movement of the Vietnam War era, AIM joined the chorus of activist groups seeking to air social grievances, in this case on behalf of disenfranchised and oppressed Native American populations. AIM began by monitoring police activities and providing legal services for the Native American communities of Minneapolis.

During the 1950s, tens of thousands of Native Americans had been sent to live and work in Minneapolis, as well as Chicago, Denver, San Francisco, and other cities, as part of the federal government's termination and relocation programs, which sought to eliminate reservation lands, break up tribal identities, and force large-scale cultural assimilation. These newly urbanized populations faced the simultaneous difficulties of employment and poverty, police brutality, and culturally inappropriate schooling.

From the beginning, one of the major goals of AIM was to reverse the relative invisibility of Native Americans in mainstream media and popular consciousness. Most Americans believed that native peoples no longer existed, that they had died off or been killed off during the course of Western settlement. To change this perception, AIM developed a media-savvy approach to generate public awareness of Native American survival, while addressing the variety of issues facing indigenous communities, both on and off the reservation.

Said AIM supporter Russell Means of AIM's impact during the 1970s, "We put Indians and Indian rights smack dab in the middle of the public consciousness for the first time since the so-called Indian Wars... ?[AIM] laid the groundwork for the next stage in regaining our sovereignty and self-determination as nation."



Dennis Banks (left) and Russell Means (center), leaders of the activist American Indian Movement, answer media

questions during the occupation of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, in 1973. The siege called attention to Lakota Sioux grievances. (Agence FrancePresse/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

In 1970, Dennis Banks and Russell Means, a Lakota, attacked the mythology of Thanksgiving. Taking over the *Mayflower II* in Plymouth Harbor, Massachusetts, they denounced the history of anti-Indian violence and disputed the historical image of a friendly gathering of Pilgrims and Wampanoag Indians in the seventeenth century. Arguing from a Native American perspective, they claimed that Thanksgiving should not be a day of celebration, but should be recognized as a day of mourning. This protest and attempt to garner publicity set AIM's strategy: to seek out highly visible cultural sites or events, and to use them as a platform to make demands for social programs, free cultural expression, civil rights, and full recognition of tribal sovereignty.

In 1972, capitalizing on the highly publicized shooting death of Mohawk activist Richard Oakes earlier that year, AIM organized a national publicity event that would stretch from the San Francisco Bay Area to the nation's capital. (Oakes had been one of the leaders of the 1969 Alcatraz Island takeover, during which American Indian college students and activists had occupied the former federal prison, generating global attention for the conditions of urban Indian populations.)

Called the Trail of Broken Treaties Caravan, this cross-country procession protested the violation of treaty agreements with Native Americans. Leaving in autumn 1972 and stopping at reservations along the way to pick up more supporters, the caravan eventually made its way to the office of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) in Washington.

Just five days before the November presidential election, more than a thousand Native Americans gathered in the building where the BIA office was located and demanded to meet President Richard M. Nixon. Before any meeting could be arranged, however, police attempted to extract the protesters. The activists barricaded themselves inside the building, with many vowing to die before surrendering. AIM's occupation of the BIA headquarters ultimately forced the government to agree to address the issues raised by the caravan.

One of the more controversial events involving an AIM member came in 1977, when Leonard Peltier (Lakota and Ojibwe) was convicted of murder in a June 1975 shootout on the Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota. Tensions at Pine Ridge had been running high since AIM's seventy-one-day occupation of the village of Wounded Knee (located on the reservation) in 1973. During that occupation, more than 2,000 AIM members had sided with one faction of the Lakota against tribal council chairman Richard Wilson and his "GOON" (Guardians of the Oglala Nations) squad. The occupation, involving hundreds of officers from the Bureau of Indian Affairs, U.S. Marshalls, and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), as well as an array of heavy weapons, had resulted in the shooting of two Native Americans.

During the 1975 shootout with Peltier, one AIM member (Joseph Stuntz) and two FBI agents (Jack Coler and Ronald Williams) were shot and killed. Peltier was ultimately convicted of killing the two agents and sentenced to two consecutive life sentences. Activist organizations such as Amnesty International regarded Peltier as a political prisoner, alleging that the government had falsified evidence and arguing that the conviction should be overturned. Despite heavy grassroots support and numerous legal appeals, Peltier remained in prison more than four decades after the incident and has been denied parole.

One of AIM's most effective projects, at least in terms of public consciousness, has been the denunciation of Native American mascots used by schools and professional sports teams. To AIM and many American Indians, the mascots are racist and degrading images that deny humanity to native peoples and ignore their diverse histories and proud cultures. As early as 1968, Means began a campaign against the Cleveland Indians baseball team and its "Chief Wahoo" mascot. In 1991, AIM and other Native American activists and supporters staged their first major protest against a professional sports team. Sparked in part by the Minnesota Twins' advancement to the World Series, which pitted them against the Atlanta Braves, the Minnesota-based AIM held national press conferences and gathered crowds of protesters in front of the two stadiums.

A few months later, in January 1992, football's Super Bowl also would be played in Minneapolis, this time between the Washington Redskins and the Buffalo Bills. And, in 1995, Native American activists and supporters again gathered to protest the World Series when the Atlanta Braves played the Cleveland Indians as both professional baseball teams continued to use Native American mascots. AIM's protests at these major sporting events thrust the mascot issue before the public in a dramatic and enduring way.

Today, the American Indian Movement continues its work on the Peltier case and the use of "Indian" mascots in professional sports, while also seeking to halt the destruction of sacred Native American sites and preserve traditional lands. Along with environmental groups, AIM seeks protection for the San Francisco Peaks in Arizona, the Arctic National Wildlife Refuge in Alaska, and other places in America that face economic development and other disruptions of tribal life and culture.

Another of the organization's goals is to develop a global network among indigenous peoples. Using communication technologies such as the Internet, AIM is involved in new global initiatives that promise to generate international pressure on nations that ignore the rights of indigenous peoples and enhance the exchange of information and political strategies.

Natchee Blu Barnd

See also: [Native Americans: New Left](#).

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Amish

Like the Mennonites, the Amish are descendants of Swiss Anabaptist groups that originated in the early sixteenth century during the Protestant Reformation. Some Swiss Anabaptists, or Swiss Brethren, took the name Mennonite from Menno Simons, a Dutch Roman Catholic priest, who in 1536 renounced the Catholic faith and converted to Anabaptism. His followers, it is believed, adopted the name "Mennonite" to escape the ceaseless persecution Anabaptists suffered for their radical religious beliefs, which included condemnation of oaths, separation of church and state, refusal to bear arms, excommunication of unfaithful members, and rejection of infant baptism. The term "Anabaptist" means to baptize again, or to be rebaptized as an adult. Mennonites were the first German settlers in America, arriving in Germantown outside Philadelphia in the 1680s.

The Amish movement takes its name from Jacob Amman, a Swiss Mennonite leader who preached that the Mennonites did not strictly abide by the teachings of their namesake, Menno Simons. Amman and his followers broke away from the Swiss Mennonites in 1693, thereby establishing the Amish movement. The first Amish to settle in the United States arrived in about 1710 in Berks County, Pennsylvania. Later in the century, many settled

in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

As Anabaptists, the Amish do not consider infant baptism to constitute true baptism. Adult baptism is requisite for admission into the Amish church, and it is considered a solemn vow. Anyone who chooses to leave the church after baptism is spurned or shunned by the community. However, those who choose not to be baptized are not shunned by family and friends. The Amish deliberately segregate themselves from the rest of American society for religious reasons.

There are various sects of Amish. Old Order Amish maintain the practices best known in mainstream society. These practices include rigorous restrictions on the use of modern conveniences such as electricity, automobiles, and telephones. Other groups, such as the Beachy Amish and New Order Amish, use electricity and automobiles, among other modern conveniences, but they still consider themselves Amish. Named for Bishop Moses M. Beachy, the Beachy Amish left the Old Order Amish Church in 1927; the New Order Amish separated from the Old Order Amish Church in 1996. Underlying both schisms was the desire of some members for a more liberal interpretation of faith.

Old Order Amish homes are not wired for electricity, for fear that its use could lead to the acquisition of frivolous appliances such as televisions, which would introduce elements of the secular, modern world into traditional Amish life. Some Amish communities do use electricity for particular situations and purposes. Electric generators can be used in barns, especially to assist with milk production and other farm duties, and kerosene-powered refrigerators are found in some Amish homes.

Although the usual means of transportation for most Amish is the horse and buggy, some hire non-Amish drivers to transport them by automobile or van for specific purposes such as shopping and visiting distant family members. However, hiring a driver is never permitted on the Sabbath. The telephone, viewed as a disruptive device that invades a family's privacy, is found in few Amish homes. Those who do have phones typically have them installed in outbuildings shared by more than one family. These small buildings are strategically located away from the house to ensure that the telephone's use is inconvenient.

The Amish also are known for their distinctive style of dress. Women wear long dresses in dark, solid colors. They wear prayer coverings over their hair, which is considered a woman's crowning glory and is never cut. Young girls wear their hair in long braids; women wrap their hair in a bun. Heavy black bonnets are worn over the prayer coverings in cold weather. Most women wear a white or black apron over their dresses while at home; aprons are always worn during a worship service. A triangular cape is usually pinned to the apron; in cold weather, a wool shroud is worn in place of a coat. As a symbol of their plain and simple lives, the clothing is held together with straight pins or by hook-and-eye fasteners; buttons are considered showy adornments. Women do not wear makeup or jewelry of any kind, not even a plain wedding ring.

Amish men typically wear dark trousers with suspenders and a dark vest or coat. Broad-brimmed straw hats are worn during the summer and black felt hats in winter. Single Amish men are clean shaven; when a man marries, he grows his beard. Because moustaches are associated with both the military and the nobility that persecuted the Anabaptists in Europe, they are prohibited.

The use of a dialect known as Pennsylvania German is another means by which the Amish segregate themselves from the rest of society. They speak this dialect, sometimes referred to as Pennsylvania Dutch (a misinterpretation of the word *Deitsch*, which means German), at home and at worship services. Amish children are taught English in school, however. Children in grades one through eight typically are educated by one Amish teacher in one shared classroom. Amish teachers are unmarried women who have completed the eighth grade, the highest level of education available to an Amish child. An eighth-grade education is believed to provide the basic knowledge and learning skills needed in communal life; anything beyond that is considered superfluous.

Amish worship services are held every other Sunday at private homes; there are no Amish church buildings. Amish preachers, who have no formal theological training, serve for life and are selected from among the male

membership by the drawing of lots. Similarly, Amish bishops are chosen from among those serving as preachers. Each bishop presides over a district of approximately 170 members.

With an average of seven children per family, the Amish population is growing rapidly. When a district increases in size, its bishop is responsible for separating the congregations into smaller units. Members of the same extended family sometimes end up belonging to different districts. Each district is fully independent and has its own Ordnung, a set of unwritten rules that governs its members. The largest Amish communities are located in Holmes County, Ohio; Lancaster County, Pennsylvania; and Lagrange County, Indiana.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Mennonites](#).

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Amphetamines and Speed Freaks

Amphetamines are a class of stimulant drugs. They were developed in the nineteenth century but were not commonly used until the twentieth century, especially in the decades following World War II. The class encompasses amphetamine itself, as well as related compounds (including methamphetamine and dextroamphetamine).

Since 1970, amphetamines have been illegal in the United States without a prescription, although they were used recreationally for decades before that and were an especially prominent part of the counterculture in the years before cocaine and psychedelic drugs were popularized. Heavy users of amphetamines, sometimes called speed freaks, have remained a fixture in the drug culture.

Amphetamine was first called phenylisopropylamine, by Lazar Edeleanu, the young Jewish-Romanian chemist who synthesized it in 1887. The related compound, methamphetamine, was synthesized in Japan a few years later. Both were among many compounds derived from the alkaloid drug ephedrine and went largely unnoticed for the next forty years. Then, in 1927, a British chemist working at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), Gordon Alles, discovered what powerful stimulants these drugs were.

In previous work, Alles had studied a number of psychopharmacological substances, including peyote. His resynthesis of amphetamine was purchased in 1928 by the American pharmaceutical company Smith, Kline and

French and sold in inhalers under the name Benzedrine, for treatment of everything from cerebral palsy to caffeine jitters. The age of snake oils and nerve tonics had only just passed, and—while pharmaceutical companies were held to a higher standard than in the previous century—it was common for them to make the broadest claims possible about their products. There was little for which Benzedrine was not recommended as a remedy.

Amphetamine, as well as methamphetamine, dextroamphetamine, and other amphetamine-derived compounds, all work by releasing dopamine and norepinephrine from nerve endings and by further releasing serotonin when taken in large doses. These neurotransmitters then become concentrated in the synaptic cleft, the gap between cell membranes where neurotransmitters travel by diffusion. The effect, varying by dose, is a euphoric rush that puts off physical and mental fatigue, reduces the urgency of the need for sleep and food, increases mental focus, and is useful in treating attention deficit disorder (ADD), attention deficit hyperactivity disorder (ADHD), and depression.

Like other stimulants, even at low therapeutic levels, amphetamines can lead to insomnia and narcolepsy, nausea, low sex drive, and talkativeness. At the higher doses associated with recreational usage, these stimulants may induce anxiety and panic, compulsive behaviors such as teeth-grinding or smoking, paranoia, agitation, headaches, and even heart problems. Regular recreational users at high dosages, like most heavy drug users, tend to lose their urge to eat, have difficulty sleeping on a regular schedule, lose interest in personal hygiene, and can suffer from a compromised immune system and serious gastrointestinal or cardiac damage.

During World War II, amphetamine was widely used by American troops to alleviate fatigue. Methamphetamine was distributed among German troops; it was even added to chocolate bars called Fliegerschokolade (pilot's chocolate). German dictator Adolf Hitler is said to have received daily injections of it as an antidepressant.

During the late 1940s and 1950s, various brands of amphetamines became popular for both therapeutic and recreational uses in the United States, especially because of their stimulant effect. Users referred to the drugs as “speed,” “bennies” (from Benzedrine), “greenies,” or “bumblebees” (from the color of the pills) and used other slang terms. Their popularity as a diet aid helped introduce them to generation after generation of university students, who soon discovered—and spread the word—that they could study longer and with more intense focus after taking a couple of pills. Housewives and stay-at-home mothers relied on them as pep pills, around which there was none of the stigma that surrounded other drugs, particularly since prescriptions were easy to come by.

Although marijuana was the drug of choice for the hippies who followed them, the postwar Beat Generation favored speed long before it became a club drug in later decades. Beat novelist Jack Kerouac is rumored to have written the first manuscript of his classic stream-of-consciousness novel *On the Road* (1957) in a few speed-fueled days, though by his own account, the only stimulant he took at the time was coffee. Still, *On the Road*, like other Beat writings, has the feel of an amphetamine user, the gregariousness and rhythms of speech associated with speed freaks.

Professional baseball players also became known as users of amphetamines—referred to as “greenies” among major leaguers—as documented in several published memoirs. The steroids scandals of the early 2000s caused many commentators to bring up this previous era of performance enhancement. Amphetamines finally were officially banned by Major League Baseball in 2006, decades after being made illegal.

Although amphetamines were recognized as a social problem for years, they were not subject to significant legal control until 1970, when the Comprehensive Drug Abuse Prevention and Control Act was passed. This act defined amphetamines as Schedule II drugs (those legally available only with a prescription, and limited to a thirty-day supply with no refill). Other Schedule II drugs include cocaine, morphine, opium, codeine, and secobarbital.

Despite legal restrictions, amphetamines remain a popular club drug in cities on both coasts and retain their popularity on college and high school campuses throughout the United States as weight-loss and study aids. In recent years, the popularity of amphetamine prescriptions to treat ADD/ADHD and treatment-resistant depression has fueled the popularity of recreational uses of Adderall and other dextroamphetamine-based medications. Also, home-based methamphetamine labs deriving the drug from common prescription and over-the-counter medicines

have become a nationwide problem, especially in such Midwestern cities as St. Louis and Kansas City.

Bill Kte'pi

See also: [Drug Culture: Kerouac, Jack.](#)

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Anarchism

Anarchism is the political philosophy that rejects organized government and regards its abolition as a necessary precondition of a free and just society. Its basic tenet is that humanity flourishes most without imposed authority and external coercion. While anarchist ideas have been traced back thousands of years to ancient Greece and Taoist China, anarchism first emerged as a coherent political ideology in late-eighteenth-century Europe. It developed primarily in opposition to the rise of centralized states and industrial capitalism. By the end of the nineteenth century, anarchism was a mass revolutionary movement that attracted millions of adherents worldwide.

Anarchism has been described as a creative synthesis of its ideological cousins and political rivals, liberalism and socialism. While there is some truth in this claim, what chiefly distinguishes anarchism from both liberalism and socialism is its total rejection of the state—either as a feature of a free society or as a means to achieving that end—and its correspondingly greater emphasis on culture. While liberal political philosophy is concerned mainly (though not exclusively) with the relationship between the individual and the state, and with limiting state intrusions on the liberty of citizens, and while Marxian socialism accords primacy to the forces and relations of production, anarchism alone among the major modern political ideologies regards culture as a defining feature of both its social ideals and the means of achieving them.

Opposed to all forms of domination, whether in the home, the workplace, or the political arena, anarchists have articulated broad cultural critiques of contemporary society; they have envisioned revolutionary alternatives embodying such artistic values as self-expression, creativity, and free individual development. Not content simply to theorize or strategize revolutionary alternatives, anarchists also have embraced revolution in their daily lives, spawning an enormously creative counterculture consisting of free art, free schools, free media, and free love.

The Progressive Era

In the United States, this anarchist counterculture reached its most developed form in two periods: from the end of

the nineteenth century through the first two decades of the twentieth (the Progressive Era) and again in the 1960s.

In the first of these two periods, the most well-known site of anarchist counterculture was the Ferrer Center on New York City's Lower East Side. Opened in 1911, thanks in large part to the efforts of radical anarchist Emma Goldman, the Ferrer Center served as both a libertarian day school for children and an evening cultural center for adults. Among those who lectured or taught courses there, in addition to Goldman, were editor Leonard Abbott, writer Alexander Berkman, historian Will Durant, painter Robert Henri, birth control advocate Margaret Sanger, writer Upton Sinclair, and journalist Lincoln Steffens. Cultural activities at the center included theater productions, poetry readings, public lectures, political debates, art classes, and journal publications.



Anarchists march in New York City's May Day Parade of 1913. Led by Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, the anarchist political counterculture peaked during that decade. (Library of Congress)

The art classes conducted by Henri were an especially notable countercultural aspect of the curriculum. In stark contrast to orthodox academic art training, students were instructed to rapidly execute their drawings and color sketches from a live model within twenty minutes. According to Goldman, Henri and his co-instructor, George Bellows, helped create a spirit of freedom in the class that probably did not exist anywhere else in New York at that time. The efficacy of this approach was borne out in the subsequent art careers of Henri's pupils, most notably John Sloan and Man Ray.

Described by those who participated in its activities as bursting with life, with everybody working and creating, the Ferrer Center was perhaps the greatest success story of what later became known as the Modern School movement in America. However, it was by no means alone in its vigorous contestation of the dominant political culture of the time.

By the start of World War I, Modern Schools had been opened in Chicago, Detroit, New York, Philadelphia, Portland, Oregon, Salt Lake City, and Seattle. Unlike other educational experiments of the time, these were, for the most part, schools directed by workers for the children of workers. Their founders were mainly anarchists, and their aim was to create not only a new type of school but also a new, nonauthoritarian culture and way of life. Among the distinctive features of the Modern Schools were an emphasis on learning by doing, the absence of examinations and grades, and a rejection of memorization and rote learning in favor of a more student-centered form of education. Adult education was a staple of the schools, and, as at Ferrer, most encouraged radical independent activity, ranging from antimilitarism to labor activism to sexual liberation.

While most of the anarchist educational experiments in America lasted only a few years, some flourished for decades, including the Stelton School in New Jersey and the anarchist school at the utopian Home Colony in Washington State. The former opened in May 1915 when a bomb scare in New York City and the subsequent investigation and surveillance of the Ferrer School prompted its administrators to move the school to a rural location in the village of Stelton, New Jersey. The centerpiece of an anarchist utopian colony, the Stelton School carried on and developed the educational experiment begun at the Ferrer Center. In contrast to most schools of the time, attendance at Stelton was voluntary, there was no discipline or punishment, students pursued only those subjects that interested them, and craft education and outdoor pursuits featured as prominently as book learning. Insofar as longevity is one (but by no means the only) tangible measure of the success for such communal experiments, the Stelton colony was a success. It lasted almost forty years.

Nearly as long lasting was the Home Colony experiment, founded in 1896 near Tacoma, Washington. As at Stelton, settlers at the Home Colony believed that their anarchist ideals would be realized in part by means of unorthodox educational practices. They, too, experimented with radical politics, communal land holding, nudity, free love, and sexual liberation, all of which challenged the dominant norms of both their immediate neighbors and society at large.

This sometimes made for difficult relations with those who subscribed to more orthodox views. For example, at the turn of the century, Home colonists mailed out feminist and free love articles authored by one of their members, as well as issues of the aptly named paper *Discontent*; state authorities responded in 1902 by shutting down the Home Colony's local post office. In 1903, the state also passed a statute that curtailed the dissemination of anarchist literature from the colony. In spite of these and other external pressures, the colony survived for roughly a quarter of a century.

Less well known than the colonies, but no less an important part of the turn-of-the-century anarchist counterculture, were the numerous works of anarchist utopian fiction. Between 1890 and 1910, more utopian novels were produced than in the eighty years before or after. Anarchist authors were particularly attracted to the form, in part because of its propagandistic value at a time when anarchism was associated in the popular mind with bomb throwing and vague ideas about social reform. Their fiction suggested a very different, and far more constructive and concrete, image of anarchism. It also encouraged vigorous debate on a wide range of controversial topics, including women's emancipation, the institution of marriage, free love, sexuality and reproduction, voluntary motherhood, and the relationship between the social organization of intimate life and revolutionary sociopolitical change.

Some of these works of fiction were first published in *Mother Earth*. The most influential early-twentieth-century anarchist periodical, *Mother Earth* claimed a circulation of approximately 40,000 in 1911.

While other anarchist papers recorded smaller circulation figures, they made important and distinctive contributions to the American counterculture by representing a wide array of anarchist immigrant communities, most notably those of the Italians, Germans, Jews, Russians, and Spaniards. Between 1870 and 1980, these immigrant groups published some 400 periodicals in more than a dozen languages. One of them, the Yiddish newspaper *Fraye Arbeter Shtime* (The Free Voice of Labor), based in New York and Philadelphia, continued publishing for eighty-seven years (1890–1977).

The 1960s and Beyond

Such publications proved to be particularly important from the 1920s to the 1950s, when war, economic collapse, restrictions on immigration, and political repression took their toll on the American anarchist movement. Along with libertarian book clubs, poetry circles, and the like, anarchist periodicals served as a bridge between the vibrant anarchist countercultures of the early twentieth century and the 1960s.

Of particular note during this period was the group of poets and painters that joined Kenneth Rexroth's Libertarian Circle in post-World War II San Francisco. A pacifist and an anarchist, Rexroth believed in a model of human

development that led from personal freedom to an ethics of universal compassion by way of love. The primary forces impeding such development, he suggested, were the state and capitalism, which conspired to quantify and commodify all human relationships, and so destroy the integrity of the personality.

The Libertarian Circle was founded in 1946 for the purpose of countering such cultural depersonalization; while it survived for only three years, its impact on the subsequent development of the American counterculture was significant. Among those heavily influenced by its ethos were the founders of the Beat movement, which was inaugurated in October 1955 at a poetry reading in San Francisco at which Allen Ginsberg recited his new poem, *Howl*, to an audience that included writers Philip Lamantia, Michael McClure, Gary Snyder, Philip Whalen, and the master of ceremonies, Rexroth.

One of the most distinctive features of both the Libertarian Circle and the Beat movement was their commitment to a form of countercultural “personalist” politics, inspired in part by the pacifist anarchist tradition. In practice, this meant a rejection of traditional radical political strategies involving engagement with the structures of power, in favor of more personal attempts to “live the revolution now,” in part by establishing alternative cultural institutions that ran parallel to the old ones but had as little to do with them as possible. What is now commonly referred to as the 1960s counterculture grew out of these experiments, as increasing numbers of Americans decided to drop out of the cultural mainstream.

Young people in particular turned their backs on cultural expectations of marriage, career, and materialistic social climbing, and turned instead to a Beat lifestyle of voluntary poverty, sexual freedom, heightened consciousness, personal expression, and communion with nature. Some rejected social commitment altogether. Others embraced a form of social commitment based on values very different from those that predominated in mainstream American society.

Between 1965 and 1967, for instance, American youth flocked to the low-rent Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco and developed a communitarian subculture distinguished by residential collectives, shops run not only for profit but for the community, street festivals, and the pooling of money, food, and drugs. Much of this activity was anarchist in orientation. The members of a group named the Diggers, in honor of the radical, agrarian communards of seventeenth-century England, attempted to create a moneyless economy by recycling society's surplus goods. They also practiced a form of anarchic street theater intended to satirize the alienating and exploitive institutions of mainstream American culture.

In many respects, the American counterculture of the 1960s closely resembled its early-twentieth-century anarchist counterpart, even if many of its practitioners were unaware of this fact. The resemblance is particularly striking after 1967, when the counterculture grew by leaps and bounds, and millions of Americans chose to live in thousands of communes based on alternative norms and values. Most of these communes were urban, but a significant minority were not. Between 1965 and 1970, participants in the hippie counterculture created at least twice as many rural communes as had been established in all of American history.

In spite of their great diversity, all of the communes aimed to achieve ecological and direct, face-to-face forms of human association reminiscent of the craft-centered utopian visions articulated by anarchists such as Peter Kropotkin and sympathetic libertarian socialists such as William Morris at the end of the nineteenth century. In the 1960s, a similar vision of decentralized, self-governing organic community and pleasurable work was articulated by the anarcho-communist Paul Goodman, whose ideas exercised a profound influence on the American counterculture. Later, as the 1960s counterculture began to wane, both Goodman's ideas and those of Kropotkin inspired the literary imagination of Ursula K. Le Guin, whose 1974 anarchist utopian novel, *The Dispossessed: An Ambiguous Utopia*, stands as a lasting monument to the spirit of the American anarchist counterculture.

In the first decade of the twenty-first century, that spirit lives on in the decentralized networks of the alter-globalization movement, as well as in countless experiments in cooperative production and distribution, alternative media and art, and collective living. Some of the new countercultural forms that American anarchists have helped to develop since the 1970s have been primarily oppositional, designed to impede the flows of neoliberal state and

corporate power or to subvert their cultural expressions. Examples of such strategies and tactics include billboard subversion (the defacing, reshaping, and overpasting of billboards to challenge corporate gloss), the performance of live plays in front of surveillance cameras, hacktivism (the jamming or infiltration of computer systems and the subversive use of domain names to attack well-known corporate brands), and the creative use of transformative play (puppet theaters, circus performances, carnival, and the like) to disrupt international financial meetings.

Other contemporary, anarchist-inspired countercultural forms are consciously intended to prefigure or create alternatives to capitalism and the state. Examples include affinity groups (small, fluid, autonomous groups of activists united by friendship and a common desire to foment radical social change), Temporary Autonomous Zones (fleeting enclaves of freedom, such as the carnivalesque Reclaim the Streets protests), the cooperative movement, informal community networks such as communal kitchens and neighborhood assemblies, eco-communes, and the ever-growing network of independent media centers (intended to counteract corporate concentration in media ownership through the creation of alternative sources of information) and social centers.

The exuberance and creativity demonstrated by those who participate in such cultural experiments suggest that, contrary to popular belief and mainstream academic opinion, the American anarchist counterculture is still very much alive and thriving.

Laurence Davis

See also: [Anarchist Cookbook](#), [The Beat Generation](#), [Berkman, Alexander](#), [Goldman, Emma](#).

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Anarchist Cookbook, The

The Anarchist Cookbook, published in 1970, is a 160-page “recipe book for radicals” by William Powell. It offers a mix of philosophy, political ranting, and tips on revolutionary activism, including terrorist acts.

The volume begins with a “prefatory note” by Peter Bergman, a long, scholarly essay on anarchism and philosophy that has little to do with the rest of the book. This is followed by a short foreword and introduction by

the author, four chapters, a postscript giving advice to protesters in trouble with the law, and a bibliography.

The four main chapters are: (1) "Drugs," including means of identification, growing techniques, cooking recipes, chemical manufacture, and somatic effects; (2) "Electronics, Sabotage and Surveillance," giving instructions on the detection of bugging devices, broadcasting free radio, and "forms of sabotage"; (3) "Natural, Nonlethal and Lethal Weapons," including tips for hand-to-hand combat, notes on pistols and revolvers, and instructions on how to make tear gas in your own basement; and (4) "Explosives and Booby Traps," a how-to guide for making TNT, mixing blasting gelatin, and placing charges, among other instructions. The book includes a number of hand-drawn diagrams and personal observations and anecdotes from Powell, who claimed to have found most of his information in military and special forces manuals in the New York Public Library.

Despite its erudite preface, *The Anarchist Cookbook* has little to do with political anarchism; rather, it advocates nihilism, vigilantism, and terrorism. In the foreword, Powell wrote, "In this day and age, ignorance is not only inexcusable, it is criminal and perhaps fatal.... If the people of the United States do not protect themselves against the fascists, capitalists and communists, they will not be around much longer." From a twenty-first-century perspective, *The Anarchist Cookbook* is a product of its historical and cultural context, combining the survivalist philosophy, revolutionary spirit, reactionary offensive, antiwar sentiments, hippie escapism, youthful hubris, and utopian vision of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The book was originally published by Lyle Stuart, but the rights were sold in the early 1980s to Barricade Books. *The Anarchist Cookbook* remains in print and widely available today. A number of copycat publications have appeared in print and on the Internet, and American World Pictures distributed a film titled *The Anarchist Cookbook* (2002) that bears no connection to Powell's work.

The original handbook, nevertheless, continues to be controversial in the post-9/11 world, especially as a number of the "recipes" contained in it are chemically unsound, unstable, and dangerous to the maker, as well as any recipient. Indeed, the book is so error laden that it has generated its own conspiracy theories. These hold that the mistakes were made intentionally or that the book was written by the Central Intelligence Agency or Federal Bureau of Investigation to backfire on anyone attempting to follow its instructions.

"The book," Powell later wrote, "in many respects, was a misguided product of my adolescent anger at the prospect of being drafted and sent to Vietnam to fight in a war that I did not believe in.... The central idea to the book was that violence is an acceptable means to bring about political change. I no longer agree with this."

Julia Pine

See also: [Anarchism](#).

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Anderson, Laurie (1947–)

Multimedia performance artist Laurie Anderson emerged out of an eclectic New York avant-garde group of the early 1970s that also included musician Philip Glass, artist Keith Sonnier, self-termed "anarchitect" Gordon Matta-

Clark, and others.

Anderson was born in Chicago on June 5, 1947, the second of eight children in an upper-middle-class family. In 1969, she graduated from Barnard College in New York City and, in 1972, earned a master's degree in fine arts from Columbia University.

Her first major piece, which appeared in 1973, was a twelve-hour audiovisual portrait of Joseph Stalin. Since then, she has produced numerous music albums, writings, and exhibitions, as well as films.

The artist's earliest inspiration was the work of Beat-era voice-over artist Ken Nordine. Later influences centered on the post-punk and New Wave milieu of early 1970s New York. Her reputation and repertoire, rooted in the counterculture conflation of high art and pop art, grew out of her participation in collective performances, called "happenings," at that time. With its experimental nature, her work clearly challenges traditional forms of music, art, and performance.

Anderson's performances are often characterized by the use of electronic devices to create melodically eccentric sounds and evocative abstract images. They often center on her electronic violin playing and narrative word play. She has collaborated with musicians Peter Gabriel, Jean Michel Jarre, Brian Eno, and Lou Reed, and she has toured with the Beat writer William S. Burroughs. Her 1981 song "O Superman" was a surprise hit. It reached number two on the British music charts and expanded public interest in her work.

Anderson's best-known productions include the recordings *Big Science* (1982), *Strange Angels* (1989), and *Bright Red* (1994), as well as the film *Home of the Brave* (1986). Other notable works include the stage performance *The Nerve Bible* (1994), a retrospective that also appeared in book form as *Stories from the Nerve Bible* (1995); the autobiographical performance *Happiness* (2002); the multimedia event *Moby Dick: Songs and Stories from Moby Dick* (1999); and the double CD *Live in New York* (2002).

In 2003, Anderson was selected as the first recipient of the artist-in-residence grant from the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA). As a writer, performance artist, musician, filmmaker, and composer, she continues to produce challenging work that is increasingly associated with the postmodern. Productions since 2003 have included a live performance called *The End of the Moon* (2004); a stage review of modern American culture called *Homeland* (2008); and *Delusions*, a series of short mystery plays that jumps from the everyday to the mythic in music, visuals, and puppetry, which premiered in Vancouver, Canada, during the 2010 Olympic Winter Games.

G. Kim Blank

See also: [Performance Art](#).

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Anderson, Margaret (1886–1973)

Margaret Anderson was the founding editor of *The Little Review*, regarded as one of the most important English-language literary journals of the twentieth century for having provided an early outlet for the modernist literary movement. This journal published prose and poetry by T.S. Eliot, James Joyce, Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, William Carlos Williams, and William Butler Yeats, as well as drawings by Juan Gris and Francis Picabia, among others.

Margaret Caroline Anderson was born on November 24, 1886 (some sources give 1890, 1891, or 1893), in Indianapolis, Indiana. She briefly attended Western College in Miami, Ohio, but left school to pursue her talents as a musician. At the age of twenty-two, she moved to Chicago and began working for a series of magazines and newspapers while struggling to establish a career as a pianist. Her experiences as a writer and staff editor led her to start *The Little Review* in March 1914. Despite this literary turn in her career, her passion for playing the piano continued throughout her life.

Other individuals had important roles in shaping the magazine in its early years. Ezra Pound was the foreign editor from 1917 to 1919. Jane Heap, Anderson's partner as well as her business colleague, formally joined the staff in 1916 and took over as editor in 1923. But Anderson's forceful vision for the magazine as an "inspired conversation" among the producers, critics, and consumers of modern art and literature dominated the first several years of its publication.

According to scholar Jayne Marek, the literary importance of *The Little Review* went far beyond providing a venue for the luminaries of modernist literature. Anderson and Heap, Marek says, fundamentally altered the traditional role of the magazine editor. Refusing to remain passive facilitators of others' work, they engaged in active guidance and criticism.

In 1917, Anderson moved to New York, where she and Heap continued publication of their magazine. In March of the following year, *The Little Review* published its first excerpt of Joyce's modernist novel *Ulysses*. The serial publication set off the legal dispute known as the "Ulysses trial," in which Anderson and Heap were charged by the state of New York with "publishing obscene literature" and the U.S. Postal Service seized several issues of the magazine. The trial not only called upon the women to defend their right of free speech, they also felt their lesbian lifestyle was under attack.

The verdict went against Anderson and Heap. The magazine was declared obscene, the editors were fined, and *Ulysses* was banned in the United States. Anderson returned to the work of publishing *The Little Review*, but the loss of revenue from the postal confiscation and the chilled climate toward avant-garde writing crippled the journal's circulation. She left for Paris in 1923, turning over the editorship of the journal to Heap, who remained in New York. Anderson edited the final issue, from Paris, in 1929.

Anderson settled in Le Cannet on the French Riviera. She lived with the singer Georgette Leblanc, played and wrote music for the piano, and began her autobiography. She published three volumes of *My Thirty Years' War* before her death on October 18, 1973.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Magazines, Little.](#)

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Andrews, Stephen Pearl (1812–1886)

The life and work of Stephen Pearl Andrews encompassed a broad range of activities and countercultures that highlighted many of the social and political issues of nineteenth-century America. He was an ardent abolitionist who became known for his writings on anarchism and his advocacy of utopianism and free love. Andrews supported labor reform and women's rights, and he developed his own philosophy of government, as well as a universal language.

He was born on March 22, 1812, in Templeton, Massachusetts, the son of Elisha Andrews, a Baptist minister, and Wealthy Ann (Lathrop) Andrews. Following education in several settings, he moved to Louisiana in 1830 and taught at the Jackson Female Seminary and the College of Louisiana. He studied law and began to practice in 1833. It was in Louisiana that he first expressed his condemnation of slavery.

Andrews married Mary Ann Gordon in 1835; they had three sons. In 1839, the family moved to Texas, where he practiced law and was nearly killed for his abolitionist speeches. In 1843, he traveled to London to obtain funding for a plan to eradicate slavery in Texas. Although there was sympathy for the plan in some quarters, it failed to obtain the support it needed to proceed, and Andrews returned to the United States.

Settled with his family in Boston, he became involved in the application of phonographic technology for instruction and initiated a lifelong study of languages and linguistics. In 1848, the family moved to New York, where Andrews discovered the writing and teachings of anarchist Josiah Warren, becoming the leading disciple of Warren's views on "equitable commerce" and related philosophies of individual rights.

In 1851, Andrews assisted Warren in establishing Modern Times, a utopian experiment on 750 acres (300 hectares) on Long Island, New York, where the practice of equitable commerce was to be the guiding principle. The community found only limited success, however, as it became associated with the free love movement after the publication of Andrews's *Love, Marriage, and Divorce, and the Sovereignty of the Individual* in 1853. Modern Times did not achieve the objectives that Warren and Andrews sought, and they abandoned the project.

Andrews's wife Mary Ann died in 1855, and he married Esther Hussey Bartlett Jones the following year. In 1857, he established another utopian community, called Unitary Home, located on Fourteenth Street in Manhattan.

A philosophy he called universology, the "science of the universe" and the unity of knowledge, fueled many of Andrews's subsequent causes, including the concept of a universal government (pantarchy) and a universal language (alwato). Into the late 1860s, he further developed his ideas of universology, while becoming increasingly active in labor reform and women's rights.

In 1870, he began a collaboration with suffragist Victoria Claflin Woodhull and her sister, Tennessee Claflin,

whose *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* became a vehicle for Andrews to present his views on pantarchy and related issues. He later would endorse Woodhull as a candidate for the U.S. presidency. Two significant works by Andrews appeared in the early 1870s, *The Primary Synopsis of Universology and Alwato* (1871) and *The Basic Outline of Universology* (1872).

In his later years, Andrews continued to develop his own style of radical social thought, publishing in such organs as *The Radical Review* and *Truth Seeker*, while continuing to lecture on and teach about the many topics he championed. He died on May 21, 1886, in New York City.

James J. Kopp

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Communes](#); [Woodhull, Victoria](#).

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Anti-Freemasonry

Anti-Freemasonry (also called antimasonry) was a political movement of the early nineteenth century. It opposed the fraternal Freemason organization for, allegedly, having corrupting influence over the U.S. government and other major institutions, such as churches. The movement spawned a political party that elected a number of persons to state and national office in the early 1830s.

Hostility to Freemasons (or just Masons) had its origins in Europe and colonial America. It reached a peak following the 1826 disappearance of William Morgan, a former Mason who had just written an exposé of the secret order and threatened to reveal its secrets. Morgan, who was last seen in Batavia, New York, disappeared in September 1826, causing some to claim he had been abducted and killed by Masons.

A few Masons were indicted on minor charges in connection with the incident. Many residents of upstate New York became convinced that the Masons were responsible, and that their power, privilege, and influence allowed them to escape conviction. The antimasonry movement arose from the outrage about this case, and soon gained momentum as adherents worked to rid the nation of perceived vice, corruption, and subversion.

At its core, antimasonry was inspired by the belief that something had gone deeply wrong with the American experiment in republican government. In the 1820s, economic growth, geographic expansion, and individual mobility had produced rapid social, economic, political, and cultural changes that were keenly felt by the hard-pressed middle classes—farmers, artisans, shopkeepers, and other small-property holders. Among these groups, especially among those who followed orthodox Congregationalism or evangelicalism, antimasonry's message of regeneration found its strongest adherents.

According to the Anti-Freemasons, the Masonic Order was a secret, corrupt aristocracy that subverted both Christianity and the American republican order. Anti-Freemasons claimed that the Masonic oath pledged members

to defend fellow Masons against any charge, “murder and treason not excepted,” and required them to favor each other in all business, political, and social relations. The Anti-Freemasons also alleged that the oath required brothers to protect the chastity of females related to Masons, implying that they took sexual license against other women. Thus they were seen to impugn the virtue and piety of outsider women, who played a crucial role in the antimasonry movement.

Anti-Freemasons interpreted Freemasonry’s mystic religious oaths and practices as deistic and heretical. They alleged that Freemasonry encouraged the elevation of private interests over the common good, subverted the law and eroded equal rights by infiltrating government, subverted virtue by encouraging vice, and undermined revealed religion by espousing deism. Antimasons promised to restore virtue by purging Masons from office and by exposing their corrupt doings, which would then allow ordinary men and women to infuse public life with republican and Christian values.

United by a commitment to purge Masons from public life, the Anti-Freemasons were an important political force in Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, western New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio. There were antimasonry newspapers, public committees, political parties, and mass rallies in all of these states. Yet the Anti-Freemasons were unable to create a distinct policy platform that would distinguish them from the mass political parties that increasingly dominated politics in the 1830s. By 1840, they had been largely absorbed into the Whig Party.

Despite their rapid demise, the Anti-Freemasons’ charge that aristocratic elements would undermine the American republican order endured. Radical Republicans William H. Seward of New York and Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania began their political careers as Antimasons. And, in the 1840s and 1850s, some former Anti-Freemasons battled slavery by railing against an alleged cabal of slaveholders committed to subverting the American republic and the U.S. Constitution.

John Craig Hammond

See also: [Freemasonry](#).

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Anti-Globalization Movement

Since the late 1990s, members of a counterculture made up largely of activists, intellectuals, and students from all over the world have banded together in opposition to globalization, the rise of worldwide capitalism driven by technological advances in the manufacturing and communications industries.

Mainstream economists, intellectuals, and politicians view globalization as creating better living conditions for the world's peoples. Left-leaning scholars and activists disagree. Academics and analysts such as Walden Bello, Charles Derber, and Samir Amin contend that globalization results in "a race to the bottom," a systematic widening of the gap between rich and poor that expands the power of corporations and their executives, political elites, and the world's wealthiest individuals, while exacerbating the squalid living conditions of the world's 3 billion poorest people.

Groups as diverse as AIDS activists, union laborers, animal rights advocates, environmentalists, youth coalitions, and senior citizens have united against the exploitative practices that globalization is said to result in, such as fourteen-hour workdays, sweatshop working conditions, minimal pay, environmental damage, and the corporate patenting of indigenous knowledge in the fields of medicine and agriculture.

Through the coordinated efforts of organizations such as Global Exchange, Focus on the Global South, 50 Years Is Enough, and the International Forum on Globalization, there have been several successful protests, forums, and other events aimed at raising anti-globalization consciousness and disseminating information among people in all parts of the world. Protest.net, a Web site that provides information on upcoming globalization-related protests, has reported that thirty-six countries have hosted anti-globalization activities.

The defining moment of the anti-globalization movement occurred during the 1999 World Trade Organization (WTO) Ministerial Summit in Seattle, where thousands of people representing hundreds of different organizations gathered to support the rights of the world's poorest and most marginalized people. Since that event, anti-globalization activists have successfully organized and protested at such major meetings as the 2000 International Monetary Fund/World Bank (IMF/WB) Summit in Prague, in the Czech Republic; the 2001 Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) meeting in Quebec City, Canada; the 2001 Group of Eight (G8) Summit in Genoa, Italy; the 2003 FTAA meeting in Miami, Florida; the 2003 G8 Summit in Evian, France; the 2003 WTO Ministerial Conference in Cancun, Mexico; the 2006 G8 Summit in St. Petersburg, Russia; the 2007 G8 Summit in Rostock, Germany; IMF/WB meetings in Washington, D.C., in October 2007 and April 2009; and the 2009 G20 Summit in London, England.



The signal event of the anti-globalization movement was the massive demonstration in the streets of Seattle during the World Trade Organization summit in November 1999. (Kim Stallknecht/Stringer/AFP/Getty Images)

According to a report by the International Forum on Globalization (IFG), one of the central issues dividing citizen movements and corporate globalists is that “where corporate globalists see the spread of democracy and vibrant market economies, citizen movements see the power to govern shifting away from people and communities to financial speculators and global corporations dedicated to the pursuit of short-term profit in disregard of all human and natural concerns.” The future of the anti-globalization counterculture will be a response to the worldwide trend toward capitalist development.

Paul Miller

See also: [Slow Movement](#).

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Antinomianism

Antinomianism—from the Greek *anti* (against) and *nomos* (law)—is the belief that the grace of God excuses individuals and groups from any requirement to obey the laws of morality or ethics as given by the church or secular authority. Antinomians believed that God freely grants sanctification, love, and protection on whomever he chooses, regardless of the person’s behavior.

In areas dominated by Calvinist views of salvation and damnation as predestined states, individuals zealously examined their lives for signs of their eternal, preordained fate. The inevitable slip from perfect obedience could send an individual into mental anguish and nauseating fear of perpetual torment. In a sense, Antinomianism provided relief from such anxiety by removing behavior as a determinant of one’s true spiritual fate. It provided mental comfort for adherents by emphasizing God’s love and power to forgive. At an extreme, it could also be taken to mean that obeying any law, whether moral, scriptural, or even civil, was unnecessary.

In early seventeenth-century Massachusetts, those who questioned the ruling elite were branded “antinomians” by their opponents. Because the term implied a life of debauchery and heresy, it was not one they used themselves. Whether called the Antinomian Controversy or, more accurately, the Free Grace Controversy, the events of the mid-1630s threatened the leadership and dominant culture of Massachusetts.

The unique political situation there, in which Puritans controlled the Massachusetts Bay Company, the colony’s chartering corporation, ultimately gave the colonists the ability to make the laws of the colony. Because many had fled England fearing God’s imminent punishment of that country, both the ministers and the political leaders of Massachusetts sought to maintain order in the wilderness colony by creating a biblically based civil and religious

society, hoping to ensure divine blessing. Although all New England Puritans believed in the doctrine of freely given (unearned) grace, community leaders needed to balance that belief with a system of laws that the people would obey.

While the infant colony struggled to reconcile obedience and freedom, Anne Hutchinson arrived in Massachusetts from England in 1634. Following her minister, John Cotton, across the Atlantic, she and her family became respected members of the Puritan congregation in Boston. Anne's husband, William, represented Boston as a deputy on the Massachusetts General Court.

Anne Hutchinson, a respected midwife, led meetings to discuss the week's sermon. Initially intended only for women, these meetings became so popular that Hutchinson added a separate series for men; more than sixty people assembled in her home each week. In opposition to Puritan orthodoxy, she argued that one's behavior gave no clue to one's true spiritual state and that concern for outward behavior did not reflect one's inner state of grace. Hutchinson hinted that the colony's preachers, other than Cotton and her brother-in-law, John Wheelwright, emphasized a "covenant of works" at the expense of the "covenant of grace" and were unqualified to preach. The ministers resented the implication and denounced it as dangerous.

The majority of the First Church of Boston shared Hutchinson's concerns and asked to have Wheelwright join their ministry, although the congregation already had a second minister, John Wilson. With the church unable to achieve the required unanimous vote, Wheelwright left to lead another congregation. The Boston Church grew increasingly divided. In December 1636, Governor Henry Vane expressed fear that God's wrath would come down upon the colony because of division and erroneous preaching. He agreed with Hutchinson that the ministers put too much emphasis on actions and behavior and not enough on God's unearned grace.

In hopes of restoring peace, the General Court declared a colonywide day of fasting and humiliation. Invited by Cotton to preach that day to the Boston Church, Wheelwright harshly condemned ministers who implied that personal behavior can determine salvation or damnation. For his provocative sermon, the General Court in 1637 judged Wheelwright guilty of sedition (but not heresy). The Boston Church presented a petition in support of Wheelwright and his views.

Seeking to weaken the political power of the Antinomians, the General Court refused the petition and arranged to hold the next elections in Newton rather than Boston. Vane went before the General Court and urged that the Wheelwright petition be heard before the elections; John Winthrop and others insisted on holding elections first.

The General Court divided into two factions, with the larger group moving across the street to conduct the balloting. They chose Winthrop as the new governor, a position he had held previously. The General Court then proceeded to disenfranchise and banish the leaders of the Antinomian Controversy; anyone who had signed the Wheelwright petition was vulnerable. In addition, visitors from outside the colony were forbidden to stay more than three weeks, preventing an influx of Antinomians.

Massachusetts's churches held a General Synod to discuss the dispute's theological ramifications, declaring nearly a hundred errors on the part of the Antinomians. The synod also sought to limit two earlier privileges that had contributed to the spread of controversy: the freedom of members to question the ministry and to hold private meetings in their homes.

Although Hutchinson had not committed any political crime, the General Court held a trial seeking to banish her in November 1637. Hutchinson's quick wit and intelligence made her accusers look ridiculous, and the court appeared about to drop the charges against her. At that point, however, Hutchinson proclaimed that she knew she would be cleared of all charges because God had told her so. Ascribing authority to immediate personal revelation undermined the very foundation of the theocracy, and the court banished her from the colony. Hutchinson and her family fled to Rhode Island.

Because the crisis occurred at a time when the Massachusetts Bay Colony and its ruling conventions were in a state of flux, it had a decisive impact on the future shape of New England. Massachusetts's churches had been

unusual in allowing members and ministry to share authority. After the controversy, congregations became more formal in structure.

By branding Hutchinson an outsider, Massachusetts defined itself as a disciplined, traditional orthodoxy. The emphasis on controlling behavior would be a significant part of New England theology for the next hundred years, until the Great Awakening once again called into doubt whether or not a person's outward behavior was indicative of his or her prospects of salvation or damnation.

Melissa Weinbrenner

See also: [Dyer, Mary](#); [Hutchinson, Anne](#).

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Apocalypse Culture

Apocalypse culture is a literary and cultural milieu for those fascinated with eschatology, or the study of last things. Central elements in the eccentric orbit traversed by apocalypse culture include the ideas of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche and French writer Georges Bataille, the careers of psychopaths, deviant sexuality, ritual magic, fascism, and mind control.

Apocalypse culture emerged out of a West Coast, post-punk demimonde and underground culture of the 1970s. It first found its voice in the periodicals *RE/Search* and *Exit*, the catalogues of the Los Angeles-based Amok bookstore and press, and editor Adam Parfrey's seminal text *Apocalypse Culture* (1987), a collection of essays that defines itself as "an exhaustive tour through the nether regions of today's psychotic brainscape."

The apocalypse, understood in its broadest sense, is both a moment of radical negation and one of radical potential—a confluence that has provided a home for much of American counterculture. With its morbid fascinations and will to provoke, apocalypse culture picks up on the nihilist strands of punk rock and the decadent phase of 1960s counterculture typified by murderer Charles Manson and the Process Church (a defunct religious group that worshipped both Christ and Satan) sometimes referred to as "acid fascism." It makes clear the often-unstated stakes of radical counterculture: Untrammelled freedom is ethically ambivalent. In celebration of Nietzsche's injunction to move "beyond good and evil" and the English occultist Aleister Crowley's credo that "do what thou wilt shall be the whole of the law," apocalypse culture flirts with a libertinism that holds as much

potential for the retrograde as the radical.

One frequently cited, key figure is Boyd Rice, who recorded industrial/noise records under the sobriquet NON for some twenty-five years beginning in 1977. Rice is a prominent member of the Church of Satan and reputed onetime member of the White Aryan Resistance (WAR)—affiliated American Front. He consistently espouses a Social Darwinist perspective, celebrating a philosophy of might makes right.

Another well-known proponent is painter and performance artist Joe Coleman, known for his near-maniacal attention to detail and for the subject matter of his paintings—serial killers, doomed poets and musicians, visions of generative violence. Coleman captures the sensibility of apocalypse culture with his focus on dire portent and his examination of aberrance as a potential path to self-realization.

It might be argued that radical negation in its generative phase is, as Parfrey wrote, “an attempt to confront the terrifying void of a patently meaningless universe by challenging it at its own game, to remake zero by provoking it in every conceivable way.” However, by embracing the sickness said to signal the imminent demise of contemporary culture, the counterculture in apocalyptic mode can just as readily deny life as celebrate it.

Mark Harrison

See also: [Manson Family](#).

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Apple Computer

An innovative computer hardware and software company founded in 1976 by Steve Jobs and Steven Wozniak, Apple Computer won over a devoted following with its easy-to-use interface, handsome products, and cutting-edge technological developments. While IBM's personal computer (PC) soon replaced Mac hardware as the industry standard, and as Mac's operating system was displaced by Microsoft Windows for the vast majority of computer users, Apple has maintained an image as a countercultural company to the present day.

Apple began as a garage-based assembly operation for hobbyists' computers that shipped with little more than a central processor. The original machine was replaced in 1977 by the Apple II. Over time the Apple II introduced such features as a color display screen and multiple disk drives, innovations that define computers in the twenty-first century. Apple grew phenomenally in its early years, and sales of the Apple II eventually reached 1 million

units. But it was not only technical innovation that drove Apple, it also was design and marketing.

Wozniak was the company's brilliant young engineer; Jobs was its brilliant young salesman. Jobs took Apple far beyond hobbyists into the mainstream consumer market, delivering, as one of its early mottos had it, "Computers for the Rest of Us." Until Apple, computers were either primitive hacker toys or mainframes used by governments and corporations. By stressing utility for the layperson and by designing ever more user-friendly products, Apple prospered.

Jobs was forced out in the mid-1980s (the company floundered in his absence). He returned in 1997 to inspire Apple's most innovative computers, as well as the groundbreaking iPod, a personal music player with exceptional sales and influence.

Apple's real breakthrough came not with hardware, but with software. Drawing both on in-house work and research results that Xerox had gathered but never exploited, Apple produced the first commercial graphical interface, featured in its 1983 Lisa computer. Although the Lisa failed in the marketplace, it provided a glimpse of the future, departing radically from operating systems that required users to type in arcane codes. When the first Macintosh computer (Mac, for short) shipped, in 1984, it announced its friendly intentions with a large, apparently handwritten "Hi" on the box.

The Macintosh kick-started the field of desktop publishing, an entirely new technology that enabled users to create professional-looking documents without expensive hardware. The Mac also became an indispensable tool of multimedia designers. Similar easy-to-use software such as iMovie and GarageBand now brings near-professional-level video and music production capabilities to nonprofessional users.

Apple has had little success with corporations and government. IBM's PC, introduced in 1981, immediately became computing's de facto standard. Despite its cheeky advertisement when the PC shipped, "Welcome, IBM. Seriously," Apple ceased being a genuine competitor. Later, IBM was replaced as Apple's nemesis by Microsoft, which had written the IBM PC's operating system but shrewdly retained the right to market it to other hardware manufacturers. Microsoft soon became computing's leviathan. "The war's over," Jobs said when he returned to Apple, "and Microsoft won."

The Macintosh computer proclaimed that Apple—although itself a multibillion-dollar company—was not run by or made for the faceless drones of business. Apple's 1984 Super Bowl television ad showed a Technicolor young woman vanquishing an auditorium of black-and-white automatons in the thrall of Big Brother. Accordingly, the Mac's most loyal customers have remained home and education users, as well as multimedia designers.

Few multibillion-dollar companies can claim Apple's counterculture status. The Mac remains the computer that big business does not use, despite its elegant power, multimedia superiority, and users' devotion. The runaway success of the iPod, moreover, signaled a revolution in the music listening and purchasing habits of twenty-first-century American youth, in the recording industry, and, no doubt, the image of Apple. The introduction of the popular iPhone, a portable multimedia player and smartphone, in 2007, and of the iPad, a tablet computer, in 2010, likewise set new trends in personal telecommunications and computing technology while burnishing Apple's image as a trendsetter.

Arnie Keller

See also: [Hackers: *Whole Earth Catalog*](#).

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Armory Show

Held at the 69th Regiment Armory in New York City from February 17 to March 15, 1913, the Armory Show art exhibition challenged and changed academic and popular attitudes toward art, artists, and artistic practice. It is recognized as a seminal moment in Western art history, signaling a radical departure from nineteenth-century traditions and tastes. Officially titled the International Exhibition of Modern Art, the Armory Show displayed about 1,250 paintings, sculptures, and decorative works by more than 300 European and American modern artists. The show was the first widespread American exposure to the European avant-garde, and as such, it was treated harshly in the contemporary press.

Modern art generally was panned by American critics of the time as being aesthetically repellent and lacking in technique. It was, indeed, a sharp turn from the artistic values esteemed since the Italian Renaissance. Exemplified by the most scathingly criticized work of the Armory Show, Marcel Duchamp's *Nude Descending a Staircase, No. 2* (1912), modern art negated the most basic formulations and values of traditional, academic art in favor of growing interest in light, color, form, and material. It thereby deeply challenged the art establishment and its members, patrons, and critics.

Times were changing. Also in 1913, the renowned Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York City purchased French impressionist painter Paul Cézanne's *Hill of the Poor*. This was one sign that modernism was slowly making its way into the art establishment. Many art critics, while hostile to the work on display at the armory, nevertheless admitted that the show represented a major breakthrough in the history of art.

One group of American artists, trained in the art academies of Europe and the United States, was responsible for bringing the Armory Show to New York. The show had been on display in France, Germany, Italy, and England. In 1911, in reaction to conventional restrictions of the National Academy of Design, a frustrated group of modern artists—among them Gutzon Borghlum, Arthur B. Davies, Robert Henri, and Walt Kuhn—had formed the American Association of Painters and Sculptors.

These artists' manifesto proclaimed an abandonment of obligation to realistic depiction, casting aside allegiance to academic ideals in favor of a newfound freedom. In their modern world, artistic vision was not restricted to ideal forms, noble subject matter, harmony, decorum, and nature, but turned instead to visual expression that engaged fully with contemporary life. It was in the spirit of protest and freedom that they organized the Armory Show of 1913.

Laura A. Macaluso

See also: [Ashcan School](#); [Luhan, Mabel Dodge](#).

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Ashcan School

The Ashcan School, also referred to as the New York Realists, was a group of artists active in New York City in the early twentieth century who painted scenes of unglamorous city life. Maligned by critics as the “revolutionary black gang” and “apostles of ugliness,” the members of the Ashcan School were interested in subject matter regarded as inappropriate for works of fine art: alleyways, tenements, slums, and the people who inhabited these gritty urban places.

In about 1907, six artists who had been members of a slightly earlier group called The Eight—Arthur B. Davies, William Glackens, Robert Henri, George Luks, Everett Shinn, and John Sloan—as well as George Wesley Bellows, Alfred Maurer, and Guy Pène DuBois, founded the Ashcan School. The name for the group of artists was originally a pejorative label.

Both The Eight and the Ashcan School converged around artist and teacher Henri and his circle of students and peers, a diverse group of painters opposed to academic or traditional art. Henri was an influential teacher and an admirer of the American realism of Thomas Eakins.

Members of the Ashcan School had been frustrated by the restrictive procedures for displaying art at academic exhibitions. Rebelling against the status quo, the group organized a history-making exhibition in New York in 1908 that announced a decisive break with tradition. This was the first exhibit organized and selected by a group of American artists without a jury or prizes. Their rebellion against the academy led several of the artists to play key roles in what would be one of the most famous exhibits in the history of modern art, the Armory Show of 1913.

If conservative in style, Ashcan School paintings were revolutionary in content. Departing from the elite portraiture and genteel landscapes of the nineteenth century, the artists focused on urban scenes, particularly those exposing the shabbier aspects of city life. The intent of the Ashcan School was not eye-opening social commentary but rather the representation of urban life, with all parts intact. In this way, the Ashcan School was part of larger Progressive Era concerns about the social problems created by industrialization, immigration, and urbanization.

The titles of Ashcan School paintings signify the spontaneous moments of everyday life they were depicting, such as Robert Henri's *The Laundress*, George Luks's *The Boxing Match*, and George Wesley Bellows's *Steaming Streets*. In tandem with the departure in subject matter, Ashcan School paintings were characterized by a loose and spontaneous brush style, in opposition to the polished style taught in American art academies of the period. The fast handling of thick oil paint, which left individual brushstrokes visible to the naked eye, was another Ashcan School characteristic scorned by the critics. The painters often employed a dark, subdued palette in their work, a direct result of Henri's European education and travels, during which he studied the Dutch masters, such as Franz Hals, and the Spanish painters Francisco de Goya and Diego Velazquez.

The spirit of the Ashcan School was carried on by the mainstream realist and antimodernist style of American scene painting of the 1920s and 1930s, as in the work of such artists as Edward Hopper.

See also: [Armory Show: Sloan, John.](#)

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Asian Pride

The term *Asian Pride* refers to calls for pan-Asian solidarity. Internationally, the idea of Asian Pride has taken a variety of forms, from the “Asia for Asiatics” slogans of the Japanese military in World War II to twenty-first-century radical movements against globalization and Western corporations. In the United States, the concept emerged out of the Asian American movement of the 1960s and a feeling of isolation experienced by Asian Americans in a culture in which racial politics were dominated by the black/white dichotomy and the larger civil rights movement.

The combination of the postwar baby boom and the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965—which abolished the restrictions on numbers of incoming immigrants that had been in place since the Immigration Act of 1924—led to a sharp increase in the size of the Asian American population. The 1965 act created a series of occupational and family preferences that made mass immigration from Asia legal for the first time since the late nineteenth century.

Early waves of highly educated and very motivated immigrants from Asia experienced visible success entering the American middle class and sending their children to college, giving birth to the concept of Asian Americans as a “model minority.” Though nominally a compliment, the moniker ignored the fact that different segments of the Asian American population experienced different rates of success and pitted Asians against so-called less desirable ethnic groups and races in the United States, notably Latinos and African Americans. Though still a very small proportion of the U.S. population, Asian Americans reacted to both stereotyping and racism with calls for unity and political activism.

Inspired by rising counterculture and anti-Vietnam War movements in American cities and by the Cultural Revolution taking place in the late 1960s in the People’s Republic of China, Asian youth in the United States joined marches calling for civil rights, racial pride, and the creation of Asian American studies programs in U.S. universities. Some groups called for “Yellow Power,” a clear reference to the contemporary Black Power phenomenon and its calls for racial pride among African Americans. Others joined pan-Asian organizations such as the Asian American Political Alliance or Asian Americans for Action, which advocated social change and equality or protested U.S. policies in Asia, including the war in Vietnam.

As students adopted some of the more popular outward signs of radicalism, such as long hair or disregard for authority, they clashed with community elders who deemed such appearances and attitudes decidedly “un-Asian.” While some campaigned for revolution along the lines of Chairman Mao’s China, others took a more reform-minded approach to the community, and set up social service organizations or ran for elected office.

In 1968 and 1969, Asian Americans participated in “Third World” strikes at San Francisco State College and the University of California, Berkeley. Joined by students of other ethnic and racial heritage, the strikers called for the elimination of racism and the establishment of ethnic studies programs for the groups taking part in the

movement. In the late 1960s, many West Coast universities with high rates of Asian attendance responded by setting up Asian American studies programs. Early programs had a decidedly radical bent, but as American university education moved toward a diversity curriculum for all students in the 1980s, these programs found new life.

As the Asian American population in the United States has grown and diversified, the challenges of maintaining a united movement have intensified. The extreme religious, cultural, ethnic, and linguistic diversity among the cultures and countries that fall under the general heading of “Asian” mean that there are few traditions that all Asian Americans share. Moreover, although their numbers are increasing, Asian Americans continue to represent only a very small proportion of the total population of the United States, and the lack of nationally recognizable leaders associated with Asian Pride or the Asian American movement means that few outside of the community are aware of its history.

Today, the Asian Pride concept is vocalized most often by Asian American youth, often born of immigrant parents and growing up torn between two cultures. The phrase is sometimes spelled “AZN Pride” and represents an appreciation of a specific East-West hybrid culture and the shared challenges of American youth with cultural roots in Asia.

Meredith Leigh Oyen

See also: [Black Power Movement](#).

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Astrology

Astrology in the Western tradition is the interpretation of the positions of planets, asteroids, and other astronomical bodies through the twelve signs of the zodiac—Aries, Taurus, Gemini, Cancer, Leo, Virgo, Libra, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Capricorn, Aquarius, and Pisces—and the twelve houses, which represent different spheres of life. A system of “aspects”—including conjunction, trine, square, sextile, and opposition—is used to describe the relationship of the sun, moon, and planets to each other and to key points on the horoscope chart, especially the ascendant, descendant, and mid-heaven. The uses of astrological interpretation vary from descriptive, as in characterizing one’s personality based on the position of heavenly bodies at birth, to predictive, as in forecasting future events.

History

Astrology was widely practiced as both a magical art and a science (astrologers also were astronomers) in

medieval times in Europe and the Middle East, both at royal courts and as a popular entertainment for commoners. In Europe, the Protestant Reformation of the sixteenth century, a movement to purge the church of abuse and false doctrine, forced astrology underground.

In the British North American colonies, astrology was very much outside of mainstream Puritan culture in the seventeenth century. A community of astrologers in Germantown, Pennsylvania, during the 1690s called itself the Chapter of Perfection; these astrologers also were interested in Freemasonry and Rosicrucianism (an esoteric movement whose adherents emphasized principles of the occult, mysticism, and spiritual enlightenment).

Farmers' almanacs of the early eighteenth century contained extensive astrological information; etchings and engravings provide further evidence of the practice of astrology in colonial America. In the 1770s, the War of Independence often was depicted allegorically through astrological motifs, with America depicted as Cancer, the Crab, standing victorious.

The most influential figures in eighteenth-century American astrology were Ebenezer Sibley, a Freemason, who created the most famous astrological chart of the American Revolution, and John Varley, a painter and astrologer who was influential for his horoscopes of the newly discovered planet Uranus. In the context of Enlightenment thought in both Europe and America, however, the practice of astrology remained outside the intellectual mainstream.

The nineteenth century was a time of revival. The year 1816 brought the publication of James Wilson's *A Complete Dictionary of Astrology*, the first published book with instructions on casting a horoscope. One of the most famous astrologers of the century in the United States was Luke Broughton, who published a number of influential texts in the 1860s and taught thousands of Americans how to construct a horoscope chart.

In the last quarter of the nineteenth century, astrology became closely entwined with other esoteric movements, especially Theosophy, which emphasized reincarnation and karma. *The Primer of Astrology and American Urania*, published in the 1890s by William Henry Chaney, a student of Broughton, was one of the most influential American astrology texts at the turn of the twentieth century.

One of the chief occupations of many popular astrologers in the nineteenth century was to create and interpret the horoscope charts of famous world leaders, such as the French general and emperor Napoleon Bonaparte and U.S. President Abraham Lincoln. Identifying the exact place and time of a leader's birth, it was believed, would reveal the potential for genius and predict triumph or failure. Itinerant, charlatan astrologers focused on creating horoscope charts for common people, often women. These horoscopes would focus on prospects for love, marriage, wealth, and money, the same subjects focused on in popular astrological texts today.

Few women practiced the "science" of astrology until Evangeline Adams, a charismatic astrologer practicing in New York in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, brought it to the attention of the American public through her books, consulting business, and radio show. Reaching the height of her popularity in about 1930, Adams had thousands of listeners and a number of celebrity clients. She was said to have predicted New York's Windsor Hotel fire of 1899 and the stock market crash of 1929. Despite her popularity, Adams was arrested several times for practicing astrology, which was illegal in New York State.

Adams's success coincided with two major events in the history of popular astronomy that took place in 1930: the opening of the Adler Planetarium, America's first planetarium, in Chicago, and the discovery of the planet Pluto. In the 1930s, spectacular discoveries in astronomy, astrophysics, and planetaria provided the public with a hobby and with entertainment related to the stars that was sanctioned by the scientific community, widening the gulf between those who were skeptical of astrology and believers.

Modern Astrology

Astrology fell off in popularity during World War II and amid the conformism of the 1950s, but it underwent a resurgence in the 1960s and 1970s with the rise of the counterculture and New Age movements. Its reentry into

the popular consciousness was evidenced by the hit song of the Fifth Dimension in 1969, “Aquarius/Let the Sun Shine In.” Still, the foremost astrologers of the day, including Llewellyn George, Linda Goodman, Robert Hand, Isabel Hickey, Derek and Julia Parker, and Sydney Omarr remained anonymous with the general public, rising to stardom only among members of a small subculture.

Astrology was a definite subculture of the 1960s—an occult practice that individuals, often women, practiced, although it was still very much an underground pastime. By the 1970s, books such as Linda Goodman’s *Sun Signs* (1968) and Robin MacNaughton’s *Sun Sign Personality Guide* (1977) began to appear. MacNaughton’s text was a groundbreaking mass-market book whose popularity itself marked the rise of modern everyday astrology. It was about this time that horoscopes began appearing as a regular feature in America’s newspapers and popular magazines.

The trend toward cultural diversity in America extended to the field of astrology in the last quarter of the twentieth century, as Chinese, Vedic, American Indian, and Celtic systems of astrology all gained in popularity. Astrology texts marketed to marginalized groups, especially feminists, African Americans, gays and lesbians, and the Wiccan community, became popular among those subcultures.

Astrologers began to reach out to academics in other disciplines, especially history, cultural studies, and psychology, with texts increasingly informed by scholarship in these fields. Isabel Hickey’s *Pluto or Minerva: The Choice is Yours* (1973) and *Astrology: A Cosmic Science* (1974) were heavily influenced by Jungian psychology. In addition, a number of scholarly histories of astrology, such as Derek and Julia Parker’s *History of Astrology* (1983), were written by practicing astrologers.

In the 1990s, astrology became a key component of the millenarianism movement. Some astrologers believed that the person who would usher in the Second Coming anticipated in the Christian religion was born with Pluto in Libra during the years from 1972 to 1984.

In the twenty-first century, astrology became a tool of conspiracy theorists, following the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon of September 11, 2001. The horoscope chart for the United States (cast for July 4, 1776) was compared with the charts of President George W. Bush and other government officials and with the positions of astronomical bodies on September 11, 2001.

The Internet has proven a boon not only to conspiracy theorists, but also to the do-it-yourself astrologer, with sites such as the Swiss-based Astrodienst (www.astro.com) providing free software to cast customized horoscopes and chart interpretations. In addition to Web sites for serious astrologers, there has been an explosion in popular sites catering primarily to women and offering rudimentary horoscope interpretations, along with magazine-inspired features such as quizzes.

Despite the strong ties between astrology and New Age countercultural groups, ubiquitous forms of astrology such as newspaper horoscope columns, horoscopes for housecats, popular Web sites, and online astrology readings have become decidedly mainstream in American culture. Millions of Americans now turn to horoscopes for insights into their own personalities and for predictions and advice about love, career, money, and health. Thus, the divide between mainstream and esoteric astrology, between the horoscopes read in periodicals and those cast and utilized by “true believers,” continues to widen.

Amanda Grace Tigner

See also: [New Age](#).

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Atheism

Definitions of atheism have varied over time as the definition of God has grown more complex. In simplest terms, an atheist is someone without God, or someone who does not believe in, or denies the existence of, God or any other spiritual entity. Closely allied are agnostics—from the Greek meaning “without knowledge”—or those who insist that any proof of God’s existence is beyond human knowledge.

Atheism has never been as widespread in the United States as it has been in most other modern nations. Estimates vary, but less than 5 percent of the population professes not to believe in a god. The majority of these people are agnostics.

Several reasons have been cited for this. Some ascribe it to the fact the United States has never had an established church against which people have had to rebel in order to bring about social and political reform, as in France and Russia, for example. Others argue that the separation of church and state in America has resulted in a kind of competitive free market for churches, denominations, practices, and theological thinking, in which religion as a whole has flourished. Still others suggest that belief in God has become so central to the American identity that to deny God’s existence is un-American.

Atheism as a Pejorative

For most of American history, the term *atheist* has seldom referred to a person’s general disbelief in God. Instead, much as Socrates was condemned for being an atheist because he questioned the Greek gods, or early Christians were persecuted for refusing to worship Roman deities, Americans have been condemned chiefly for not believing in the Christian God, and especially the God of a Protestant church. The word was used as a pejorative for differing, or dissident, religious beliefs rather than a denial of God’s existence.

In the 1620s, Plymouth Plantation Governor William Bradford condemned fellow Englishman Thomas Morton for his “licentiousness,” “dissolute life, and “profaneness,” and charged him with maintaining “a school of atheism.” Morton was a Christian, albeit too liberal a Christian for the Puritan Pilgrim Bradford; he also incurred Bradford’s anger for praising some elements of Native American culture as being superior to those of the Puritans. Half a century later, Massachusetts settler Mary Rowlandson, who was captured by Native Americans during King Philip’s War (1675–1676) and kept as their prisoner, condemned her captors as “atheistical, proud, wild, cruel, [and] barbarous.”

A more widespread fear of atheism, of which Henry More’s *An Antidote Against Atheisme* (1652) was a seminal

document, arose in England in the seventeenth century. That fear did not spread to British America for another century, but when it did, as in England, the chief threat was perceived to be a new way of thinking called deism and branded “atheistical.” A product of the Enlightenment, deism challenges the long-held view that God plays a direct and immanent role in the lives of individuals and the conduct of society; instead, it maintains, God creates natural laws by which the world is governed. Deists did not deny the existence of God but were critical of revealed religion, especially its more miraculous or supernatural elements. Among deism’s most influential European adherents were the writers and philosophers Denis Diderot, Thomas Hobbes, David Hume, and Voltaire.

Several of the American founders harbored deistic sentiments, among them Benjamin Franklin and John Adams. American Revolutionary War hero Ethan Allen drew criticism for his deist tract, *Reason, The Oracle of Man* (1785). Even Thomas Jefferson was charged with being an atheist for his deistic tendencies. But the early American most savagely attacked was patriot Thomas Paine, for his book *The Age of Reason* (1797). Even a century later, President Theodore Roosevelt referred to Paine, author of the influential Revolutionary tracts *Common Sense* and *The Crisis*, as a “filthy little atheist.”

Golden Age of American Free Thought

The world of Theodore Roosevelt was quite different from that of Thomas Paine. Historians such as James Turner have argued that for Americans of Paine’s day, the idea of not believing in God was not only rare, but “a bizarre aberration”; to give up belief in God, it was widely agreed, one had “to abandon not merely the best but the only really coherent scientific explanation of the world.” By Roosevelt’s day, however, disbelief had become a plausible alternative to the still dominant theism. What had intervened was the undermining of the principal proofs of God’s existence that had dominated Western thought for centuries—proof based on a literal reading of the Bible.

In the face of scientific evidence to the contrary, some abandoned Christianity altogether for atheism and agnosticism, a term coined by Thomas Huxley in 1869. Most, however, retained their faith in God and revealed religion. Indeed, there was a resurgence of Christianity, albeit in new or at least different forms. Church membership rose dramatically, and new theologies were developed to meet the crisis of challenges to the old beliefs. Nevertheless, the counterculture of disbelief held firm.

Atheists and agnostics advanced their cause through organizations such as the Free Religious Association and the American Secular Union, as well as periodicals such as the *Truth Seeker*. Perhaps their greatest asset in the nineteenth century was “Great Agnostic” or “Pagan Prophet” Robert Ingersoll. As the historian Susan Jacoby has written in *Freethinkers: A History of American Secularism* (2004), “Without him, the golden age of American freethought is as difficult to imagine as abolitionism without Garrison or the first wave of feminism without Stanton.” Ingersoll’s public lectures, especially “Why I Am an Atheist,” delivered during the 1870s and 1880s, were well attended and highly regarded. As he also maintained an impeccable public persona and a respected place among the nation’s attorneys and Republican Party leaders, he added respectability to the cause.

Modern America

The event that most directly impacted atheism in twentieth-century America was the Russian Revolution. In brief, the Soviet leadership’s attack not only on capitalism, but also on religion, provoked the first assault on godless communism in America—the first Red Scare, from 1917 to 1920. The targets of the campaign were homegrown socialists and radical labor leaders, many of whom were jailed, as well as a number of immigrants who publicly espoused those causes and were deported. Nevertheless, atheists and agnostics continued to defend, and even advance, the separation of church and state.

In 1925, nonbelievers organized the American Association for the Advancement of Atheism, the most explicitly antireligious movement in America to date. In 1928, nonbelievers organized the Humanist Fellowship (it became the American Humanist Association in 1941), which espoused “nontheistic humanism.” And a prominent group of humanists, led by philosopher and educator John Dewey, published *The Humanist Manifesto* in 1933 (with a second manifesto in 1973).

But the most public articulation of religious nonbelief came in the highly publicized Scopes “Monkey Trial” of 1925 in Dayton, Tennessee, pitting the evangelical political figure William Jennings Bryan—a three-time presidential candidate and a former secretary of state—against the high-profile agnostic defense lawyer Clarence Darrow. The case settled nothing. John Scopes was convicted of violating a Tennessee law that made it illegal to teach evolution in school, but the verdict was reversed by the state supreme court on a technicality. Bryan was publicly humiliated when he took the stand to testify on the meaning of the Bible, but to his followers, Bryan’s death soon after the trial made him a martyr to the cause. Rather than being the last gasp of anti-evolutionism, as some saw the Scopes trial, it became only round one of the debate between evolution and creationism.

The period from the end of World War II to the 1960s was a study in contrasts, as public religion reached its high mark in America and secularists made their greatest gains in maintaining, even advancing, the separation of church and state. The result was the seemingly improbable reenergizing of both evangelical religion and secular civil libertarianism. On the one hand, the cold war rekindled and stoked to new heights the fear of godless communism, bringing a new revival of religion as well. Public expressions of faith included the addition of “under God” to the Pledge of Allegiance in 1954 and the adoption of “In God We Trust” as the nation’s motto in 1956.

At the same time, a series of U.S. Supreme Court cases, beginning with *Everson v. Board of Education* (1947), advanced the cause of divorcing government from religion, especially in public schools. Justice Hugo Black set the tone for these decisions by declaring in *Everson*, “The First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state. That wall must be kept high and impregnable.”

The seeming incongruence of secularist success at a time of rampant religiosity can be explained to a large extent by the establishment of a new secularist-liberal alliance, whereby secularists gained the support of religious liberals for causes upon which both could agree in exchange for secularist willingness not to attack religion per se. The most notable exception to this unwritten rule was the outspoken atheist Madalyn Murray O’Hair.

O’Hair was both the product of the separationist movement of the 1940s and 1950s and the leading figure of the counterculture movement of the 1960s to attack religion and advance the cause of atheism. She became the first prominent American to publicly proclaim herself an atheist, whereupon *Life* magazine in 1964 labeled her “the most hated woman in America.” O’Hair is best known today as the person whose Supreme Court case, *Murray v. Curlett* (1963), made teacher-led Bible reading and recitation of the Lord’s Prayer in public schools unconstitutional. But for the next thirty years and more—on television and radio, in the press and through her many books, as well as in hundreds of public appearances—O’Hair led a public crusade on behalf of American Atheists (her organization) against a long list of what she perceived as violations of the separation of church and state. Among these were the use of the phrases “under God” in the Pledge of Allegiance, the printing of “In God We Trust” on U.S. currency, and the tax-exempt status of religious organizations.



Atheist Madalyn Murray (later O’Hair) shares a moment with her sons after winning a 1963 U.S. Supreme Court case in which mandatory prayer and Bible readings in public school were declared unconstitutional. (Library of Congress)

With O'Hair's murder in 1995, American atheism lost its most prominent figure. Her organization would continue to survive, but without O'Hair it lost visibility. Other groups, such as the Freedom from Religion Foundation, and individuals such as Michael Newdow, who also campaigned to have "under God" stricken from the Pledge of Allegiance, have kept the fires of atheism alive.

Any significant resurgence of atheism in contemporary America, however, has been hampered by the response to the events of September 11, 2001, and the heightened religiosity, or at least public expressions of faith, that have followed. Some believe that atheism in America is yet to have its day, but they are in the minority, by far. As even O'Hair was forced to admit near the end of her career: "I don't think atheism has a chance in the future.... [The] window of opportunity for nonreligion has closed, not only in the United States but perhaps in the world."

Bryan F. Le Beau

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Aurora Commune

The Aurora Commune was one of two socialistic communes established by German immigrant William Keil, who sought to create a utopian existence with his followers. It operated from 1856 to 1881 in Marion County, Oregon. Aurora was a late entry in a series of communes established in antebellum America as part of a movement to perfect human beings and human society, along lines laid out in Christian Scripture and, in some cases, socialist writings.

Keil, a short, stocky, gray-bearded man, was a mystic healer and self-proclaimed physician. He was referred to as Dr. Keil, although he lacked formal medical education. Once a follower of the Methodist faith, Keil had come to believe that the correct way to abide by God's law involved full participation in a communal society in which all members contributed to the welfare of the group. In 1844, he founded the Bethel Commune in Missouri, but he left that community to start a colony of believers in the western United States, where he believed there was greater potential for expansion. Keil and several families relocated to a remote forest area in Oregon where he established Aurora. The communards were primarily German immigrants. People outside the commune often referred to it as "Dutchtown."

Like the earlier commune at Bethel, Aurora was founded on newly settled territory. The size of the property was

significant—almost 18,000 acres (7,284 hectares)—and the commune, significantly larger than its predecessor, had 300 to 400 members at various times. Keil functioned as the society's religious leader, as well as its physician and civic authority. The governing structure at Aurora was based on the family model, in which each family in the community possessed a separate residence. The economic system was communist in spirit. All property was maintained in common, and all funds derived from labor were placed in a general treasury and evenly distributed among members. Children were expected to follow the teachings of their parents and Dr. Keil. In addition to religious instruction, the youngsters were given free education in rudimentary subjects by tutors from the commune.

There was a well-defined division of labor. Communards labored at sawing logs, blacksmithing, clothing manufacture, carpentry, and other jobs. Aurora also produced vegetables and fruits in large gardens and boasted some of the finest orchards in the area. The goods that were not consumed normally were sold, mostly to neighboring farmers.

In 1872, Keil, who owned the entire property, divided the land among the communards. He died of heart failure in 1877, and the members began to disperse over the next few years. Aurora officially dissolved in 1881, one year after the dissolution of Keil's Bethel Commune.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [Communes](#).

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Austin, Texas

Set in the Texas hill country along the banks of the Colorado River, the capital city of the Lone Star State has been a crossroads for unexpected musical combinations since the 1920s, when jazz and blues players crossed paths in its African American neighborhoods.

Bluegrass and swing met in Austin's dance halls over the following decades. Then, in the early 1970s, the intersection of rock and country gave Austin its unique signature in American popular culture. The blend of singer-songwriter, Western swing, psychedelic rock, two-step, blues, and Latin rhythms created a unique sound. It appealed to both rock and country listeners at a time when rock was losing its lyrical edge and mainstream country music was relying on the polished, orchestrated arrangements known as the Nashville sound.

The Austin sound was something quite different, a rough-edged music with an uninhibited willingness to experiment with new sounds and different lyrics. Guy Clark, Steve Fromholz, Willie Nelson, Townes Van Zandt, and Jerry Jeff Walker personified the song-slinger-with-guitar who attracted listeners—as likely to be old cowboys as young hippies—to such city venues as the Armadillo World Headquarters, the Broken Spoke, the Cactus Cafe, and the Soap Creek Saloon. Doug Sahm, whose music fused elements of rock, blues, and country, called the city “Groover's Paradise.” Songwriter Michael Martin Murphey nicknamed its musical inhabitants “cosmic cowboys.”

In 1975, Austin style and music became more widely known with the premiere of *Austin City Limits*, a live concert program recorded in the studios of the local public television station and distributed nationally by the Public Broadcasting Service (PBS). At first intended to showcase Texas music (Nelson taped the pilot show), it soon grew to include many flavors of original American music. It is now the longest-running live music program in the United States. It still features performances by Texas artists such as Ruthie Foster and Alejandro Escovedo, along with such international stars as B.B. King, Rosanne Cash, and Bonnie Raitt. Austin now bills itself as the live music capital of the world.

The city remains a magnet for rising musicians as well, now as likely to be alternative country or punk rock bands as country songwriters and folk singers. Over the years, it has been home to or a launching pad for the careers of such diverse artists as country songstress Nanci Griffith, Americana songwriter and singer Kelly Willis, the alternative rock band Los Lonely Boys, folk singer Caroline Herring, bluegrass maverick Peter Rowan, progressive bluegrassers the Two High String Band, and Mexican American singer-songwriter Tish Hinojosa, each of whom has found success outside the mainstream music business.

Those hippies and cowboys in the 1970s audiences got to talking at a time when politics and lifestyles kept their counterparts in other parts of the country disconnected. Thus began a confluence of laid-back ambiance and mutual acceptance that continues in the city. In addition to having a lively music scene, and perhaps because of it, Austin remains a politically liberal bastion in a very conservative state.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Folk Music](#).

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Baby Boomers

Between the years of 1945 and 1964, 76 million babies were born in the United States. This unprecedented demographic phenomenon came to be dubbed the “baby boom,” and the cohort “baby boomers.”

From the beginning, baby boomers have been a most fortunate population. They grew up in a period of post–World War II prosperity; they are the healthiest generation on record; they were socialized by parents who followed the child-centered guidance of Dr. Benjamin Spock, whose best seller, *Baby and Child Care* (1946), fostered permissiveness and treated transgressions indulgently; and new schools were built for them, and they entered college in record numbers. Baby boomers also were the first group to be raised on television, which fostered a sense of generational identity: They watched the same shows, listened to the same news, and laughed at the same jokes.

Ingrained in the Counterculture

The first baby boomers began to move into the workforce in the early to mid-1960s. A majority of white boomers

had been raised in suburbia, their parents pursuing the American Dream. For many, the civil rights movement opened their eyes to the facts that African Americans were not welcome to pursue the same dream and that individuals in positions of authority were not always trustworthy.

By 1964, boomer alienation and anger were further aroused by the escalation of the Vietnam War. The brutal realities of the war were a nightly feature on television, and opposition to the conflict continued to mount. Those of draft age were primarily baby boomers. What ensued was a profound loss of faith in the leadership of the adult generation, seen as a web of lies and deceptions about a war that few could justify.

For radical groups, such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Vietnam was an example of a U.S. policy of racism and imperialism, and they called for nothing less than revolution. The civil rights movement turned militant, as organizations like the Black Panthers espoused Black Power—a movement that sought to redress years of social, political, economic, and cultural oppression and victimization of African Americans by the dominant white society.

Opposition to the Vietnam War proved to be a political rallying point for the student movement and the counterculture. It exerted a major influence on the American political scene and led to dramatic events, such as President Lyndon B. Johnson refusing to seek reelection in 1968, violent demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago that summer, and the Watergate scandal, which led to the resignation of President Richard M. Nixon in August 1974.

The radical questioning of authority evident in the civil rights and student movements also gave rise to the hippie movement, the country's largest and most flamboyant counterculture. Hippies defined themselves in opposition to the dominant "straight" world, and their dominant catchphrase was "Make love not war." As epitomized by the Summer of Love in and around San Francisco in 1967 and by the Woodstock Music and Art Fair in Bethel, New York, two summers later, hippies espoused nudity, free love, and the use of mind-expanding drugs as the path to enlightenment.

The hippie subculture had its own rituals, music, poetry, and literature, as well as a fascination with New Age spiritual practices, such as astrology and paganism. Some hippies opted out of mainstream society completely, moving to rural areas and living in communes in an attempt to transcend materialistic values. The theme of the counterculture was a libertarian one of self-exploration and personal authenticity, in contrast to what they regarded as social conformity or conventional respectability. A zealously nonjudgmental attitude prevailed, a rule of "Do your own thing."

The imperatives of personal authenticity and self-discovery were reinforced by the women's movement, which urged women to reject traditional social-role limitations. Women were encouraged to raise their consciousness, rethink their self-identities, and discard preconceptions about women's capacities and autonomy. The message was given a powerful impetus by the availability of the birth control pill after 1960, which allowed women to assert greater control over their sexuality.

Homosexuals and lesbians, aggrieved by the stigma that surrounded their lifestyle, began their fight for gay liberation. Together, the black, women's, and gay liberation movements began to change the face of American society. Traditional gender roles, the structure of the family, and the values handed down by their parents' generation were all called into question.

Overall, the baby boom counterculture sought to repair the bad, reject the unacceptable, and embrace the new and different. A love of the environment and a desire to protect it became a movement in its own right, and brotherhood among all people became a core principle and oft-repeated song refrain. The counterculture burned itself out in less than a decade, but it left a legacy in the enduring baby boom motto: "Question authority!"

Legacy

The broader picture of the baby boom generation goes beyond the clichés of the counterculture. On the one hand,

baby boomers were raised in an era of unprecedented affluence and national omnipotence. On the other hand, they came of age in a time that recognized more limited resources and diminished American power.

In various ways, it has been observed, this combination of disparate cultural forces has led the boomer generation to indulge in an ongoing quest for personal satisfaction and the finer things—sometimes criticized as sheer narcissism and greed. As a generation, the boomers have always seemed to want it all: cheap energy, consumer plenty, low taxes, governmental entitlements, ageless beauty, and an ever-rising standard of living.

On the other hand, many of the older boomers were involved in the civil rights movement and in protests against the war in Vietnam. They later extended the call for social transformation into other areas of their lives. In enforcing a new liberalization of sex and romance, they insisted on everyone's right to satisfaction and self-realization. This meant liberalizing not only married couples, but also unmarried partners, no matter their sexual orientation.

It has been no small source of discussion among historians as to how the boomer generation—born into national wealth and power, raised on the promise of limitless potential and self-worth, reared on television and advertising, and enthralled by the wonders of modern technology, science, and medicine—will inform and guide upcoming generations.

Leslie Rabkin

See also: [Black Panthers](#): [Black Power Movement](#): [Spock, Benjamin](#): [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Backus, Isaac (1724–1806)

Isaac Backus was a prominent New England Baptist minister, a champion of religious liberty in the fledgling United States, and a delegate to the First Continental Congress. One of the most widely known evangelical orators in eighteenth-century America, he preached devoutness of faith and, at the same time, advocated religious freedom and the separation of church and state in the new republic.

He was born near Norwich, Connecticut, on January 9, 1724, to parents of the political and social elite. The little historians know of his early years shows the heavy influence of his mother, especially after the death of his father in 1740. The following year, when the Great Awakening religious revival made its way to Norwich, Backus's mother had a conversion experience. Soon thereafter, Isaac and two of his brothers went through similar rebirth experiences. Joining the ranks of "New Light" converts, Backus also followed his mother in joining the Bean Hill Separate Church. He decided, as well, that he had been called to spread the gospel and did so as an itinerant

preacher in Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Massachusetts.

Backus settled in Titicut, Massachusetts, in 1747, and lived there for the rest of his life. He was ordained in 1748 and married Susanna Mason the following year. Backus and his wife came to support the requirement of full-immersion baptism. In 1756, he founded the Middleborough Baptist Church, of which he remained the pastor for the next fifty years, until his death.

During the 1750s, Backus increasingly relied on his pen to support his causes. He published *A Discourse Showing the Nature and Necessity of an Internal Call to Preach the Everlasting Gospel* (1754) and *A Short Description of the Difference Between the Bondwoman and the Free* (1756), in which he opposed infant baptism. He also began work on *A History of the New England with Particular Reference to the Denomination of Christians Called Baptists*, which would eventually be published in three volumes (1777–1796) and is still widely consulted by historians.

Backus published numerous pamphlets throughout his career, as well as frequent polemic in the newspapers of early America. Perhaps his best-remembered publication is *An Appeal to the Public for Religious Liberty* (1773), in which he argued not only for the separation of church and state but also for civil disobedience in support of that principle. Among contemporaries, however, his *Government and Liberty Described* (1778), in which he spoke out against state-supported churches, may have had greater impact.

Politically, Backus supported the American Revolution, opposed the uprising of Massachusetts farmers in Shays's Rebellion of 1786, and backed the U.S. Constitution of 1787. He played an influential role during Philadelphia's First Continental Congress in 1774, when he joined other Massachusetts Baptists in lobbying the state delegations for a guarantee of absolute religious liberty. Backus backed Thomas Jefferson based on the common ground they shared in their support of the principle of deism.

He also was a founder of the College of Rhode Island (later Brown University), the first Baptist institution of higher learning in America, in 1764. Isaac Backus died in Massachusetts on November 20, 1806.

Mark G. Spencer

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Baez, Joan (1941–)

Folksinger, songwriter, and guitarist Joan Chandos Baez has recorded albums across five decades. She is widely known for her distinctive soprano voice and haunting vibrato, musical tastes ranging from centuries-old British folk ballads to tunes by contemporaries Bob Dylan and Phil Ochs, and an outspoken commitment to left-of-center political causes.

Born on January 9, 1941, on Staten Island in New York City, Baez came to the attention of Vanguard Records as a teenager, when she sang several tunes as a guest of Bob Gibson at the Newport Folk Festival in Rhode Island in 1959. This gathering of traditional, new folk, and topical singers was fertile ground for what would become the folk music revival of the 1960s. It also sowed the seeds for Americana and contemporary folk strains of the twenty-first century.

Baez's first recording, a self-titled disc on Vanguard in 1960, offers distinctive interpretations of Appalachian ballads, spare arrangements of British folk songs, and a dramatic Mexican story of defying authority even in the face of death, "El Preso Numero Nueve." The album captured widespread attention upon its release and is now considered a folk classic.

As a Hispanic, Baez often felt like an outcast in the various American communities where she grew up. Her father, who had immigrated to the United States from Mexico as a child, was a well-known physicist who took teaching jobs at several universities. As an adult, Joan transformed her experience of childhood alienation into compassion for others who felt the sting of discrimination. In addition to giving concerts and donating money, she put her income and physical safety on the line to support racial integration during the 1960s. She refused to perform before segregated audiences. Taking an even more personal stance, she walked black children to school alongside Martin Luther King, Jr., in Mississippi.

Baez was also outspoken in her opposition to the Vietnam War and the military draft, commitments that arose from her immersion in the principles of nonviolence. For a time, she refused to pay a portion of her taxes in protest against the war. She participated in frequent protest marches and gatherings, for which she was sometimes jailed. Baez made her political points from the stage as well as outside the concert hall, which angered some who felt she should not mix her politics with her art. Although she became a lightning rod for criticism (cartoonist Al Capp satirized her in his nationally distributed *L'il Abner* comic strip with a character named Joanie Phonie), Baez was also widely regarded as a voice of conscience for her generation. During the 1970s, she cut back on live performances to focus on recording and working for political causes. She returned to the stage in 1985 to open the Live Aid benefit concert.



Folk musician and activist Joan Baez sings out against the Vietnam War and the Selective Service draft at a rally in New York's Central Park in 1968. Baez was a mainstay of the political and social counterculture of the 1960s and beyond. (Bernard Gotfryd/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Among the songs with which she is most associated are “Joe Hill” and “We Shall Overcome,” both of which she sang at the Woodstock music festival in August 1969, “The Night They Drove Old Dixie Down,” and “Diamonds and Rust,” which she wrote. She has inspired such artists as folk and country Grammy winner Emmylou Harris, Hispanic composer Tish Hinojosa, and Irish singer Mary Black.

Although she has performed songs in a broad range of styles and genres, Baez has remained essentially a folk singer throughout her half century of music making. She also continues to be widely associated with the counterculture and leftist political causes. In the early 2000s, Baez maintains an active career performing and recording songs by contemporary voices of conscience such as Dar Williams and Richard Shindell, and remains an active and vocal critic of injustice and political shortcomings wherever she sees them.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Dylan, Bob](#); [Folk Music](#); [Newport Folk Festival](#).

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Baker, Chet (1929–1988)

Trumpeter, flugelhorn player, singer, and band leader Chet Baker was a pioneer in West Coast jazz of the 1950s, a style characterized by its lyrical nature, softer dynamics, and minimalism. Derived from the “cool jazz” of the late 1940s, it allowed musicians more freedom to improvise. Baker recorded more than 900 songs and 100 albums.

Born on December 23, 1929, in Yale, Oklahoma, Chesney Henry Baker was the only child of Vera Pauline Moser and Chesney Baker, Sr., an aspiring semiprofessional guitarist who worked in oil fields. In 1931, Chesney Sr. joined a band that performed live hillbilly music on the Oklahoma City radio station WKY.

In the 1940s, Chet Baker learned trombone, but he switched to trumpet, inspired by jazz trumpeters Harry James and Bix Beiderbecke. In November 1945, he enlisted in the U.S. Army. Stationed in Berlin, he discovered jazz on the U.S. Armed Forces Radio Service, heard music performed by big band leaders Stan Kenton and Woody Herman, and became fascinated by the sounds of jazz trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie.

Released from the army in 1948, Baker moved back to his parents' home briefly, but he was arrested for possession of marijuana and subsequently reenlisted in 1950. First assigned to the Sixth Army Band at the Presidio in San Francisco, he was transferred to Fort Huachuca in the Arizona desert. One of Baker's duties was to play reveille each morning. He went AWOL (absent without official leave) from the service in 1951. After psychiatric treatment, he was discharged and deemed “unacceptable to Army life.”

In 1951, saxophonist Charlie Parker chose Baker to play with him for a series of engagements from among many fine trumpet players because Baker played in a pure and simple style. In 1952, he joined saxophonist Gerry Mulligan in a pianoless quartet and explored West Coast jazz, a style that differed from the hard bop of New York City.

The omission of the piano as a harmony instrument was unusual in jazz at the time. It meant that the other instrumentalists could play more freely, not being restricted by chords. The ensemble made more effective use of counterpoint and melody, with an understated rhythm section, which soon became the trademarks of West Coast jazz. This music was quintessentially minimalist—characterized by intentionally simplified rhythms, melodies, and harmonies—a countercultural style that continues to exert appeal in the present day. The pianoless quartet format also allowed Mulligan to experiment extensively with improvisation. Baker's singing was often softer and smoother than that of the bebop artists who were popular at the time.

Baker and Mulligan experimented with communal living, their families sharing a house during the early 1950s. Baker was arrested several times for marijuana or heroin use, drug habits that caused him to be deported from Switzerland, Germany, and Britain. In the summer of 1966, he was assaulted in San Francisco and lost part of a tooth. Within two years, the condition of his teeth had deteriorated to the extent that he had to be fitted with dentures and did not play the trumpet for three years.

Baker died in Amsterdam as a result of a fall from a second-story hotel room on May 13, 1988. His self-destructive lifestyle became as much a part of his legend as his musical genius.

Ralph Hartsock

See also: [Jazz](#).

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Baker, Josephine (1906–1975)

As a stage entertainer, social activist, and humanitarian, Josephine Baker was an important figure in the American counterculture through her transmission of American Jazz Age culture to Europe in the 1920s and her activism against the status quo of segregation. Although she is known primarily for her exotic performances as a dancer and singer, Baker served as an important advocate for social justice by refusing to perform before segregated audiences (she was known to demand the seating of black patrons before she went on stage); through her work as a Red Cross nurse during World War II; and through her various charitable works, including the adoption of twelve children from around the world “to prove” that children from different ethnicities can live together peacefully.

She was born Freda Josephine Carson in St. Louis, Missouri, on June 3, 1906, to Carrie McDonald and Eddie Carson, a vaudeville drummer. She also had a stepfather, Arthur Martin, Carrie McDonald’s second husband. Josephine’s introduction to show business came at an early age. Having dropped out of school at the age of twelve, she first found work cleaning houses, babysitting, and waitressing. At age thirteen, she met and married her first husband, Willie Wells. She would marry three more times after her divorce from Wells, and keep the name of Willie Baker, her second husband, whom she married in 1921.

Baker began her show business career in the 1920s, at the height of segregation and discrimination against African Americans. She started out with such acts as the Jones Family Band and the Dixie Steppers, first as a costume girl and then as a dance extra. It was with the Dixie Steppers that she began to incorporate a comedic flair into her act. Still a teenager, she began attracting attention at the Plantation Club in New York City and then on Broadway in the musicals *Shuffle Along* (1921) and *Chocolate Dandies* (1924).

She left New York for Europe in 1925 and created a sensation in Paris with her exotic dancing. She was first noticed at the Théâtre des Champs-Élysées in *La Revue Nègre*. Before the end of the decade, she became one of the most photographed women in the world as a result of her performances of her topless “banana dance” at the Folies Bergère, a music hall, during the 1926–1927 season. She pushed the boundaries of artistic and social convention, both on stage and off. She also went on to star in movies such as *Zou-Zou* (1934) and *Princess Tam-Tam* (1935).

Baker felt the sting of racism when she returned to the United States in 1936 to perform with the Ziegfeld Follies and American audiences rejected her. So began her career as a crusader for social justice.

She settled permanently in France. During World War II, she put on shows for the troops and was active in the French Resistance as an underground courier. She would smuggle messages written on her sheet music in invisible ink across enemy lines, and she also served as a sublieutenant in the Women’s Auxiliary Air Force. The French government later awarded her the Medal of Resistance, and she was named a chevalier in the prestigious Legion of Honor.

Returning to the United States, Baker was refused entry into New York City’s famous Stork Club in 1951. Thereafter, when performing in the United States, she demanded that her audiences be integrated. Her acceptance in America finally came in 1973, when she received a standing ovation at Carnegie Hall in New York City.

Baker died on April 12, 1975, after suffering a cerebral hemorrhage. The first American woman to be buried with French military honors, she was laid to rest before a crowd of an estimated 20,000 mourners.

See also: [Civil Rights Movement](#); [Jazz](#).

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Baldwin, James (1924–1987)

Novelist, essayist, and playwright James Baldwin was one of the most visible and respected literary figures in the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. As an African American intellectual and homosexual in mid-twentieth-century America, he was doubly alienated from mainstream society. He found refuge in the bohemian world of New York City's Greenwich Village and, later, the expatriate community in Europe.

James Arthur Baldwin was born on August 2, 1924, in Harlem in New York City, to Emma Berdis Jones and an unknown father. When he was three years old, his mother married David Baldwin, the son of a former slave, who was a factory worker and lay preacher. At the urging of his stepfather, Baldwin joined the Church of Mount Calvary of the Pentecostal Faith in 1938, and, at age fourteen, he became a preacher. In later years, he would express contempt for his youthful religious activities.

After attending high school, Baldwin worked at a number of menial jobs in New Jersey. He moved to Greenwich Village in 1944 in order to support his family after the death of his stepfather. Failing in his first attempt to complete a novel, he began writing for magazines such as *The Nation* and *The New Leader*, and eventually gained notoriety for a controversial essay, "The Harlem Ghetto," published in *Commentary*.

In 1948, Baldwin received a Rosenwald Foundation fellowship and immigrated to Paris, where he lived for the next nine years. After publishing a number of essays, in 1952 he visited Switzerland to finish the semi-autobiographical novel *Go Tell It on the Mountain* (1953), in which he explores the religious and social maturation of a boy in a racist and repressive society. The award of a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1954 allowed Baldwin the freedom to travel in Paris, New York, and Istanbul, and to continue to create socially relevant, psychologically insightful literature.

His second novel, *Giovanni's Room* (1956), focuses on a young man torn between homosexual love and love for a woman. The next, *Another Country* (1962), is a wide-ranging treatment of homosexual, bisexual, and interracial love. During this time, Baldwin published two collections of essays, *Notes of a Native Son* (1955) and *Nobody Knows My Name* (1961), which address the social, cultural, and personal issues of importance to him as a black

man in America.



An impassioned literary voice during the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, James Baldwin was alienated from the social mainstream, both as a black intellectual and as a homosexual. He took up residence in France, where this portrait was taken. (Ulf Andersen/Getty Images)

Baldwin became actively involved in the civil rights movement. In 1963, he published *The Fire Next Time*, a powerful and highly acclaimed two-part essay that predicted a social apocalypse in America if the question of racial harmony was not addressed. The play *Blues for Mr. Charlie* (1964) and memoir *No Name in the Street* (1972) also attack racial prejudice and discrimination in America.

Baldwin's later works display a more restrained approach to racial issues. The nonfiction works *The Devil Finds Work* (1976) and *The Evidence of Things Not Seen* (1985), for example, thoughtfully explore the history of race relations in the United States. Novels such as *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968), *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974), and *Just Above My Head* (1979) reveal Baldwin's continuing fascination with homosexuality and with the place of music in black culture.

None of Baldwin's later books, however, achieved the critical success of his earlier work. He died of stomach cancer in St. Paul de Vence, France, on December 1, 1987.

Brett F. Woods

See also: [Civil Rights Movement](#).

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Baldwin, Roger (1884–1981)

Roger Nash Baldwin was one of the founders, in 1920, of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), the nation's foremost nonprofit organization devoted to "defending and preserving the individual rights and liberties guaranteed to every person in this country by the constitution and laws of the United States." Serving as the ACLU's executive director throughout its first thirty years, Baldwin came to be regarded as one of the most notable American civil libertarians of the twentieth century.

Born on January 21, 1884, to an affluent family in Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, he graduated from Harvard University in 1905 with both bachelor of arts and master of arts degrees in anthropology. He then moved to St. Louis, Missouri, became a social worker, and served as the chief probation officer of the St. Louis Juvenile Court. Baldwin achieved a national reputation with his 1914 book (coauthored with Bernard Flexner), *Juvenile Courts and Probation*, and through his role as secretary of the National Probation Association, helping create the nation's first federal probation laws.

In 1909, Baldwin attended a lecture by the anarchist Emma Goldman, who became a friend and mentor, and opened up to him the world of radical politics. During this period, Baldwin had his first involvement with a civil liberty case, which revolved around his defense of the right of Margaret Sanger, the birth control advocate, to make public speeches.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, Baldwin joined the pacifist movement. He became a member of the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM), an organization that lobbied against U.S. entrance into the war and later for a negotiated peace. He became head of the National Civil Liberties Bureau (NCLB), an arm of the AUAM, founded to defend conscientious objectors and wartime dissidents, including members of the radical

Industrial Workers of the World (IWW).

In 1918, Baldwin was called up for military service. In an act of solidarity with wartime resisters, he refused to serve, a violation of the Selective Service Act that resulted in his arrest, a celebrated trial, and his spending a year in prison. Soon after his release from prison, Baldwin came to New York City, joining with like-minded reformers, such as Jane Addams, John Dewey, and Norman Thomas, who recognized the need to protect the civil liberties embodied in the Bill of Rights. This concern led to the creation of the ACLU, with Baldwin selected to head the organization.

Under Baldwin's guidance, the attorneys and staff of the ACLU moved to defend and preserve individual rights and liberties guaranteed by the constitution. Among their early cases were that of the Italian-born American anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, accused of murder in what became a notorious political trial (1921) during the post-World War I Red Scare; the censorship (1920) of James Joyce's novel *Ulysses*, confiscated as obscene by the U.S. Postal Service; the Scopes Trial (1925), in which a young teacher in Tennessee was prosecuted for instructing his students on the theory of evolution; the Scottsboro Boys case (1931), in which nine black teenagers in Alabama were accused of the gang rape of two white girls; and the civil rights violation by the U.S. government during World War II whereby more than 120,000 Japanese were removed from their homes and held at War Relocation Centers.

Baldwin visited the Soviet Union in 1927 and wrote a 1928 book praising the Russian regime. But he later became disillusioned with Soviet Communism when Joseph Stalin signed the German-Soviet Nonaggression Pact in August 1939. This led to a revision of the ACLU charter, banning anyone affiliated with totalitarian organizations from serving on the union's board of directors.

In 1947, the Department of War invited Baldwin to assist in developing civil liberties agencies in Japan, South Korea, Austria, and Germany. After his retirement from the ACLU three years later, he became a consultant to the United Nations' International League for the Rights of Man (now the International League for Human Rights).

Baldwin died at his home of heart failure on August 26, 1981.

Leslie Rabkin

See also: [Goldman, Emma: *Industrial Workers of the World: Sacco and Vanzetti Case*](#).

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Baraka, Amiri (1934–)

A controversial poet, playwright, and community activist, Amiri Baraka (who published early works under his birth name, LeRoi Jones) is best known for a series of searing dramas about urban African American life during the

mid-to late 1960s, when the civil rights and Black Power movements were transforming the black experience in America.

Everett LeRoi Jones was born in Newark, New Jersey, on October 7, 1934, to Colt LeRoy Jones, a postal supervisor, and Anna Lois Jones, a social worker. He attended Rutgers University in his home state, and received his bachelor of arts degree in 1954 from Howard University in Washington, D.C. He then spent three years in the U.S. Air Force.

In 1957, Jones settled in Greenwich Village in New York City, the heart of the Beat literary scene. Over the next five years, later regarded as his "Beat period," he associated with such bohemian literary figures as Allen Ginsberg, Frank O'Hara, and Gilbert Sorrentino. With the assistance of his first wife, Hettie Cohen, Jones founded the influential avant-garde literary journal *Yugen*.

In 1961, he garnered the respect of literary critics for his first volume of poetry, *Preface to a Twenty Volume Suicide Note*. He established his reputation as a playwright and radical voice of black America with the 1964 play *Dutchman*, dramatizing a shocking symbolic confrontation between whites and blacks; the play won an Obie Award (given for off-Broadway theater productions). He extended his reputation, and militancy, in two plays produced off Broadway in 1964 and 1965, *The Toilet* and *The Slave*, which depict the confrontation between a black revolutionary poet and a white female friend.

Following the assassination of Black Muslim leader Malcolm X in 1965, Jones became fully immersed in black nationalism and the black arts movement, the literary and artistic branch of the Black Power movement. He divorced his wife, a white woman, moved to Harlem, and opened the Black Arts Repertory Theatre/School (BART/S) to bring original African American drama, music, art, and poetry to the people and streets of Harlem. In 1967, he published a collection of black nationalist poetry titled *Black Magic*, which details his emotional transition from life in white culture to black identity and pride.

Also in 1967, after moving back to Newark, Jones married African American poet Sylvia Robinson and founded Spirit House, a cultural, educational, and spiritual center offering workshops, performances, and impromptu gatherings for the African American community. The following year, he edited *Black Fire*, an anthology of African American writing, with Larry Neal and produced a play, *Home on the Range*, as a benefit for the Black Panther Party.

It was in 1968, as well, in the aftermath of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., that LeRoi Jones changed his name to Imamu (meaning "spiritual leader") Amiri Baraka (meaning "blessed prince"); he later dropped the title Imamu from his name. He also founded and became the leader of his own Black Muslim organization in Newark, called Kawaida.

By 1974, however, Baraka had abandoned his black nationalist views, which he considered racist, in favor of a Marxist-Leninist philosophy and the fight for the working class. He dropped the spiritual title Imamu and focused his efforts on political activism and education. He has taught at a number of institutions, including the New School for Social Research and Columbia University in New York, Yale University in Connecticut, and George Washington University in Washington, D.C. From 1985 until his retirement in 1999, he was a professor of African studies at the State University of New York at Stony Brook.

In his retirement, Baraka continues to write and speaks frequently at colleges and universities throughout the country, addressing the social, sexual, psychological, and artistic implications of race in the United States. He has been honored with a number of literary prizes and awards, including fellowships from the Guggenheim Foundation and the National Endowment for the Arts, the PEN/Faulkner Award, the Rockefeller Foundation Award for Drama, and a lifetime achievement award from the Before Columbus Foundation.

Joann M. Ross

See also: [Black Arts Movement](#); [Black Power Movement](#).

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Barnes, Djuna (1892–1982)

Djuna Barnes was a modernist fiction writer, poet, journalist, and dramatist whose literary reputation rests largely on a single work, the novel *Nightwood* (1936). In her time, however, Barnes was prominent in the bohemian scene of Greenwich Village during the 1910s, and in the expatriate community of Paris and other European cultural centers during much of the 1920s and 1930s.

The influence of her family history can be seen in much of her work. Barnes was born on January 12, 1892, on a rural farm near Cornwall-on-Hudson, New York. She was educated by her father, Wald Barnes, a failed artist, and her paternal grandmother, Zadel Turner Barnes, a feminist. Wald Barnes was a polygamist who forced his theories of sexuality on his family: He brought his mistress into the family home when Djuna was five, and Djuna was raped at age sixteen with her father's consent and knowledge.

Djuna Barnes went to New York City in the early 1910s, eventually writing and illustrating for most of the city's major newspapers, including the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* and the *Press*. Her most provocative early reporting was a story for *World Magazine* in 1914 about what it was like to submit to force-feeding.

The following year, she moved to Greenwich Village and published her first book, *The Book of Repulsive Women: 8 Rhythms and 5 Drawings*. It was the first modern literary novel in English to broach the theme of lesbianism (a decade before the publication of Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness*).

Her apartment in Greenwich Village became a common meeting place of avant-garde artists and writers, contributing to the image and reputation of the Village as a center of bohemian culture. Barnes also was a member playwright for the amateur—but enduringly influential—Provincetown Players theatrical collective, which by then was also based in Greenwich Village.

Barnes traveled to Paris for the first time in 1921 on assignment, and her time in that city brought her into contact with such notable literary figures as T.S. Eliot, James Joyce, Ezra Pound, and Gertrude Stein. Although Barnes was influenced by their work, her personal relationships played a prominent role in her writing as well. *Ryder* (1928), heavily influenced by Joyce's *Ulysses*, is an autobiographical novel with a lusty protagonist based on Wald Barnes. *Ladies Almanack* (also 1928) is a satiric chronicle of the salon and lesbian circle of heiress Natalie Barney, a friend of Barnes's in Paris.

Perhaps the most important relationship of Barnes's life was that with Thelma Wood, with whom she lived for

eight years. Barnes once stated, famously, "I'm not a lesbian. I just loved Thelma." Although both *Ryder* and *Ladies Almanack* were dedicated to Wood, 1928 marked the end of her and Barnes's time together.

The disintegration of her relationship with Wood became fodder for *Nightwood* (1936), Barnes's major work. Before its publication, Eliot edited the novel out of concern that Barnes's discussions of sexuality and religion would be censored. In his introduction to the published work, Eliot praised the novel's prose style, stating that only those trained in poetry could fully appreciate it.

Barnes returned to the United States permanently in the late 1930s, and she lived reclusively in Greenwich Village until her death on June 18, 1982. Despite the near poverty of her later years, she continued to write. *The Antiphon* (1958), a drama dealing with the same subject material as *Ryder*, was translated into Swedish and produced in Stockholm in 1962. Her last work, published in 1982, was a collection of nursery rhymes for adults titled *Creatures in an Alphabet*.

Sarah McHone-Chase

See also: [Bohemianism: Greenwich Village, New York City](#).

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Barnum, P.T. (1810–1891)

The most influential American showman of the nineteenth century and self-proclaimed "prince of humbugs," P.T. Barnum had a genius for media manipulation and an understanding of human nature that made his life story a classic American rags-to-riches tale.

Phineas Taylor Barnum was born on July 5, 1810, into a large family in Bethel, Connecticut, where his father was a storekeeper. He began his working life as a clerk and lottery-ticket salesman. At the age of twenty-five, he fell into professional showmanship when he purchased an old, nearly disabled black slave named Joice Heth, said to be 161 years old. Promoting her as the former nurse of George Washington, Barnum capitalized on the patriotic sympathies of far-flung audiences and earned a fortune on tour. When Heth died in 1839, it was determined that she had not been more than eighty years old.

Two years later, Barnum purchased Scudder's American Museum in New York City, renamed it the Barnum American Museum, and institutionalized his business of, as he called it, "humbuggery." Rather than make false and outrageous claims outright about his acts and exhibitions, however, Barnum mounted massive publicity campaigns inviting the public to witness the curiosities firsthand.

For example, he brought in two hit attractions in 1842: the midget Charles Sherwood Stratton, billed as "General Tom Thumb," and, with Boston impresario Moses Kimball, the so-called Feejee Mermaid, said to be half mammal and half fish. For the latter, Barnum invited audiences to view a dead body and determine for themselves if, indeed, it was that of a mermaid from the South Pacific. He went so far as to publish both false denunciations and letters of support from experts so as to generate controversy, and hype, for the Feejee Mermaid. Although most visitors could tell that the body was merely the preserved tail of a large fish crudely sown to the stuffed torso of a

monkey, they had a good laugh and left with the idea that other people might be fooled.

Presenting human “freaks,” exotic animals, plays, and lectures—all as wholesome entertainment for middle-class families, in contrast to the city’s vaudeville, burlesque, and minstrel shows—the Barnum American Museum lasted twenty-seven years. Barnum rebuilt the museum after the original facility burned down in 1865. When the new building was razed by fire three years later, he abandoned the business, primarily because its Manhattan neighborhood had become working class and was less attractive to middle-class family audiences.

Barnum keenly understood that in a time of rapid economic change, Americans were concerned about consumer fraud and eager to prove their own discernment. As the nation’s industrial urban centers absorbed more and more people, life seemed more anonymous, and the individual felt more powerless. What a laborer produced and what a consumer purchased were determined increasingly by the impersonal forces of the marketplace. Misrepresentation seemed rampant, as salesmen and advertising commonly made unfounded claims that bilked the unwary of their hard-earned money.

In his 1866 book, *Humbugs of the World*, Barnum wrote that every person was anxious to test his or her own judgment in evaluating the new culture of trade, its benefits, and its dangers. As a way to help Americans cope with the changes in modern life and commerce, he felt that his own entertainments offered an opportunity for the same exercise in judgment.

Barnum presented the public with acts and attractions that became American icons, from his curiosities of the 1840s, to vocalist and media sensation Jenny Lind, the Swedish Nightingale, in the 1850s, and, beginning in 1871, his most influential and enduring venture, the Dan Castello, William Cameron Coup, Barnum & James A. Bailey Circus—also known as the Barnum and Bailey Circus, “The Greatest Show on Earth.” Later purchased by the Ringling Brothers, it became world famous as the Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey circus.

In addition to his career as a showman, Barnum was active in politics and the temperance movement. He served two terms in the Connecticut legislature (1865–1866) and one term as mayor of Bridgeport (1875–1876), where he was the founding president of Bridgeport Hospital and where the Barnum Museum still operates today. In accordance with the egalitarian spirit of his amusements, Barnum was an enthusiastic Jacksonian Democrat until around 1860. Although he had started his career by purchasing a slave, he came to support the abolition movement while maintaining a traditionally Republican belief in open markets.

Barnum was a religious man who absorbed the belief in human perfectibility current during the Second Great Awakening. His advocacy of temperance was a sincere attempt to reform the morality of the people he served—a philosophy brought to bear in his entertainment ventures as well. The employees of his circus were barred from drinking and gambling, for example, in the hope that they might set an example for ticket purchasers.

In 1855, he published the first of his autobiographies, *The Life of P.T. Barnum*. Revealing the inner workings of the entertainment industry and celebrating the ethic of a self-made man who eschewed alcohol and laziness, it was one of the most commercially successful autobiographies ever published in America. His *Art of Getting Money, or, Golden Rules for Making Money*, was published in 1880. P.T. Barnum died on April 7, 1891.

Susan Nance

See also: [Circus and Carnival Culture: Freaks, Freak Shows, and Freakatoriums](#).

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Beach, Sylvia (1887–1962)

The American bookseller and publisher Sylvia Beach was a literary force in France in the early decades of the twentieth century, serving as a mentor and friend to many American writers who relocated to Paris during and after World War I. As the owner-operator of the English-language bookstore and lending library Shakespeare and Company, Beach provided an unofficial home to the so-called Lost Generation of expatriate American writers and published the first complete edition of James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* in 1922.

She was born Nancy Woodbridge Beach, on March 14, 1887, in Baltimore, Maryland. Her father, Sylvester Woodbridge Beach, was a minister at the First Presbyterian Church in Baltimore. Frail and unhealthy as a child, Sylvia often missed school but became an avid reader of poetry, language, and philosophy and escaped into books as often as possible.

In 1901, her father was named assistant pastor to the American Church in Paris, and the family relocated to France for the next three years. In Paris, Sylvia immersed herself in art and culture and fell in love with the country. The Beaches returned to the United States in 1905, when Sylvia's father became a pastor in Princeton, New Jersey, but France was not forgotten. With her sisters, Sylvia returned often, sometimes for months at a time. In August 1916, she returned to Europe for good.

Witnessing the tragedy of World War I in person, Beach felt compelled to join the cause. She enlisted in the *Volontaires Agricoles* (Agricultural Volunteers), working in Touraine for two months picking grapes and bundling wheat, and then served in the Red Cross. While consumed with helping the war effort, she also was concerned about her future plans and career aspirations. In 1918, back in Paris studying literature, she met Adrienne Monier, the proprietor of a bookshop. The young Frenchwoman would become Beach's life partner and would play a pivotal role in helping Beach realize her life's ambitions. In 1919, with Monier's help, she opened the doors to the first English-language bookshop in Paris.

Shakespeare and Company became a creative and intellectual center for English-speaking expatriates in France. Among its shelves, Beach forged friendships and business relationships with the greatest writers of the time, including T.S. Eliot, F. Scott Fitzgerald, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, Ezra Pound, Gertrude Stein, and William Carlos Williams. She introduced the writers to one another, secured typists for their manuscripts, received their mail, offered criticism on their drafts, and published some of their work. Described in her memoirs as "a club without a name," the shop was a popular gathering place for literary talent and those interested in it. "There were no tables and no drinks," she wrote, "but the people made it a hangout.... ?The people knew each other only as The Crowd."

In 1922, Beach made literary history by publishing James Joyce's groundbreaking modernist novel, *Ulysses*. The work had been serialized in an American literary magazine and banned from publication in book form after being judged obscene, but Beach believed in the literary merits of the work. The first 100 copies were printed in Dijon,

France, and Beach continued to distribute the book even after it had been barred from sale in both Great Britain and the United States.

She also published Joyce's *Pomes Penyeach* (1927) and *Our Exagmination Round His Factification for Incamination of Work in Progress* (1929), a collection of critical essays on Joyce's *Finnegan's Wake*. Beach's support of Joyce's work secured her reputation in literary circles. Shakespeare and Company remained popular among the literary set and commercially successful into the early 1930s.

In the depths of the Great Depression, the shop began to struggle. With the support of friends and literary patrons, however, it remained open even after the fall of Paris to the Nazis in 1940. Beach was imprisoned for six months during the war, after which, in late 1941, she finally closed the doors of Shakespeare and Company.

She later wrote a memoir of the bookstore and Parisian culture during the 1920s and 1930s, titled *Shakespeare and Company* (1959). She also granted use of the name to an American entrepreneur who opened another English-language bookstore at a different Left Bank location. Sylvia Beach died in Paris on October 5, 1962.

Melissa Williams

See also: [Bookstores, Alternative](#); [Lost Generation](#).

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Beat Generation

The Beats, or the Beat Generation, were a group of American countercultural writers who achieved notoriety in the late 1950s and 1960s for their irreverent, anticonformist, radically experimental drug- and jazz-influenced literary themes, forms, and lifestyle. The Beat aesthetic was a reaction to 1950s mainstream American culture. Members of the Beat Generation tended to blur the boundary between their work and their lives, writing about extremes of experience with drugs, music, homosexuality, non-Western religion, and a rambling bohemianism.

Three friends, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and William S. Burroughs, made up the nucleus of the group. Other influential figures include the poets Gregory Corso, Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Michael McClure, Peter Orlovsky, Gary Snyder, and Philip Whalen, and the novelist John Clellon Holmes. The movement originated in New York City, where several of the leading figures had been raised or attended university, and later found a home in San

Francisco.



Novelist Jack Kerouac (left) and poet Allen Ginsberg, leading lights of the Beat Generation, peruse a text together in 1959. Spontaneous and nonconformist in lifestyle as well as writing style, the Beats rejected conventional consumer society and literary standards. (John Cohen/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The Beats' work is distinguished by its experimental form, high energy, and emphasis on confessional or autobiographical subjects. It has a strong antimaterialist bent, opposing the sociocultural conformity of mainstream America and advocating self-exploration and self-expression, especially through drugs, music, spirituality, and open-minded engagement with the world.

The novelists, poets, and other figures of the Beat Generation came to be associated with the popular media stereotype of the "beatnik" as a black-clad, bongo-playing, goatee-sporting, beret-wearing, reefer-smoking dropout. That image dissipated with the growing recognition of their sheer artistic talent and social influence, especially on the hippie movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Origins of the Term

The word *beat* was essential in bringing a sense of identity to the group. The term draws on a dense network of cultural associations. After World War II, it was mainly used by jazz musicians as a slang expression for down-and-out—down on one's luck and exhausted by life—while carrying the musical connotation of being "on the beat." In 1944, the use of the term by a Times Square hustler, Herbert Hunke, came to the attention of Burroughs, who passed it on to Ginsberg and Kerouac at Columbia University. According to Ginsberg, Hunke's original street slang meant to be "exhausted, at the bottom of the world, looking up or out, sleepless, wide-eyed, perceptive, rejected by society, on your own, streetwise."

Kerouac added a more spiritual association. Drawing a connection with the words *beatific* and *beatitude*, he suggested that to be beat was also to achieve a higher level of insight or enlightenment. Kerouac first used the term *Beat Generation* in an interview with his friend John Clellon Holmes, who then referenced the phrase in his novel *Go* (1952). With its depictions of Kerouac, Ginsberg, and the wanderer Neal Cassady, *Go* has been called the first Beat novel, even though it reflects Holmes's ambivalence about the movement. The protagonist, Paul Hobbes, struggles to reconcile the riotous existence of his friends with his desire to live a stable life with his wife.

The idea of beat captured the attention of critic Gilbert Millstein when he reviewed Holmes's novel, and he commissioned an article from the writer to explain it. "This Is the Beat Generation" appeared in *The New York*

Times on November 16, 1952, and the term entered public discourse. By the late 1950s, the word had become a synonym for anyone living a bohemian or rebellious life.

Major Works

Ginsberg's poetry collection *Howl and Other Poems* (1956), Kerouac's novel *On the Road* (1957), and Burroughs's novel *The Naked Lunch* (1959) are regarded as the preeminent, defining texts of the movement.

Ginsberg's long poem *Howl*, a hallucinogenic rant against materialism and a crying out against the suffering of the powerless, established him as an important new voice in American letters and a leader of the Beats. It is at once a denunciation of contemporary American life, a confessional love poem to Carl Solomon (whom he had met during a brief stay in a psychiatric hospital in 1949), and a declaration of life's "Holiness."

Soon after the poem's release, Ginsberg encountered problems with federal authorities for its explicit language. In March 1957, the second printing was seized by customs officers while en route from the City Lights bookstore in San Francisco, where it had been published. Lawrence Ferlinghetti, the proprietor of City Lights Books and a significant poet, had anticipated such problems and had obtained assurances of legal support from the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). Ferlinghetti was briefly arrested by San Francisco police for publishing what was deemed literature likely to corrupt juveniles. The legal interventions ultimately lent the work an air of notoriety, however, not to mention free press coverage in such national magazines as *Time* and *Life*. The judge at the book's obscenity trial ruled in Ginsberg and Ferlinghetti's favor, finding the poem to be of "redeeming social importance." *Howl* has since become one of the most anthologized works in postwar American letters.

The year 1957 also brought the publication of the next seminal Beat work, Kerouac's second novel, *On the Road*. A semi-autobiographical stream-of-consciousness account of road trips across the United States, the novel recounts the turbulent friendship between Sal Paradise (a thinly disguised Kerouac) and the charismatic Dean Moriarty (based on Neal Cassady). Also represented in the stories are fictional versions of Ginsberg (Carlo Marx) and Burroughs (Bull Lee). The novel is noted for its vivid descriptions of jazz music, hitchhiking, fast driving, a changing postwar America, and spiritual and narcotic experiences. The novel expresses a fascination with aspects of Mexican and African American life, anticipating the disillusionment with mainstream white identity that would be a salient feature of the 1960s counterculture.

On the Road was immediately hailed as a modern classic. Millstein, writing in *The New York Times*, described the novel as "the most beautifully executed, the clearest and most important utterance yet made by the generation Kerouac himself named years ago as 'beat' and whose principal avatar he is."

Burroughs's novel *Naked Lunch*, the third major Beat text, is different from anything produced by Kerouac or Ginsberg—or anyone else ever before. Charged with powerful images of degradation and surreal sexual violence, *Naked Lunch* has lost none of its shock value since it first appeared. Written while Burroughs was hiding out in Tangiers and addicted to opiates, the novel pioneers the experimental "cut-up" technique he developed in later writings. Cut-up is the literary equivalent of cutting a printed page into sections and rearranging them to break with established, rational order. Darker and more satirical in tone than the work of Burroughs's contemporaries, *Naked Lunch* exposes the deranged underside of the American psyche based on its author's own experiences as a drug addict.

Naked Lunch was originally published in Paris in 1959; a U.S. edition would not appear until 1962. Sections were published in a student-run magazine at the University of Chicago in 1959, but copies were confiscated by U.S. postal authorities, and the magazine's editor, Paul Carroll, was prosecuted for distributing obscene material through the federal mail. When the full book edition was published in the United States, it was immediately banned by courts in Boston. An extended legal battle culminated in a landmark decision in 1966 by the Massachusetts Supreme Court, which found that the book did not violate obscenity statutes.

Other Beats

Among the poets, writers, and artists who achieved prominence in the late 1950s and early 1960s and who shared artistic and social concerns with Ginsberg, Kerouac, and Burroughs was the poet Gregory Corso, sometimes referred to as the “fourth Beat.” Corso was a rebellious outcast whose muscular poetry found its most powerful expression in *Bomb* (1958), a denunciation of the atomic age typeset in the shape of a mushroom cloud.

Ginsberg’s reading of *Howl* in San Francisco during the late 1950s helped bring together the East Coast Beats with a group of avant-garde poets in San Francisco and Berkeley. Referred to as the San Francisco Renaissance, the latter group was part of a larger movement of writers, visual artists, and performers that had been flourishing in the city in the decades after World War II. The founding figures of the San Francisco Renaissance included poets Kenneth Rexroth and Madeline Gleason, whose coming together with the Beats produced a bold new direction in postwar American literature. The Beat Generation ceased to be a small coterie of friends and emerged instead as a literary movement and national phenomenon, now heavily based on the West Coast.

Foremost among the West Coast Beats were Snyder and Ferlinghetti. Snyder’s work combines his interest in Zen with a strong ecological emphasis. His first collection, *Riprap* (1959), included poems about hitchhiking and working as a mountain ranger. *Turtle Island* (1974) won a Pulitzer Prize, and was followed by *Left Out in the Rain: New Poems 1947–1986* (1986).

Ferlinghetti, already at the center of San Francisco’s literary scene and the Beat culture as the owner of City Lights Books and publisher of *Howl*, also contributed to the Beat movement as a poet in his own right. His collections include *A Coney Island of the Mind* (1958), *Starting from San Francisco* (1961), *Back Roads to Far Places* (1971), *Wild Dreams of a New Beginning* (1988), *When I Look at Pictures* (1990), and *A Far Rockaway of the Heart* (1997).

Poems and other work published by such West Coast Beats as Michael McClure, Harold Norse, and Kirby Doyle revealed their shared interests in Eastern religions, hallucinogenic experiences, and the natural world.

The 1960s

Despite the deaths of Kerouac and Cassady in the 1960s, the spirit of the Beat Generation continued to evolve and take new form. A variety of figures formed a bridge between the Beats and the hippie counterculture movement of the 1960s, including the “American Rimbaud,” Bob Kaufman, poet and peace activist Ed Sanders, singer-songwriter Bob Dylan, and novelist Ken Kesey, author of *One Flew Over the Cuckoo’s Nest* (1962).

Shaped by a similar rejection of mainstream American values, these individuals became increasingly political during the 1960s, reacting to escalation in the Vietnam War and the rise of Black Power and other minority protest movements. Throughout this period, Ginsberg and Burroughs remained influential figures in the American counterculture, producing some of their best work long after the original Beat Generation had passed.

James Miller

See also: [Baraka, Amiri](#); [Buddhism](#); [Burroughs, William S.](#); [Ginsberg, Allen](#); [Kerouac, Jack](#); [Rexroth, Kenneth](#).

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Beatles, The

Arguably the most influential band of the rock-and-roll era, the Beatles was a group of four musicians from the industrial city of Liverpool, England: guitarist John Winston Lennon, bassist James Paul (Paul) McCartney, guitarist George Harrison, and drummer Richard Starkey (Ringo Starr). The Beatles were the vanguard of the so-called British Invasion of English rock groups into the United States, and the group created the signature pop-rock sound that defined the 1960s. The witty and cheekily upbeat band of Liverpoolians also became the highest-grossing entertainment act of the twentieth century.

Social Revolution

Unlike earlier pop acts, the Beatles did not consist of one starring front man, such as an Elvis Presley, backed by less essential sidemen. The band was always a unit and a collective enterprise, despite the obvious centrality of the Lennon-McCartney songwriting duo.

The group's dynamic was consonant with the emerging egalitarian ideals of 1960s England, where an extremely class-conscious society's long-standing tradition of social stratification was beginning to give way to upward economic mobility based on merit rather than on inherited wealth and privilege. In addition to the commercial success achieved by the Beatles's compelling and surprisingly sophisticated brand of pop music, the very fact that four young everymen from England's northern hinterlands found such enormous success performing and recording their own compositions, rather than songs chosen for them by music industry executives, conveyed a message of hope and optimism to which youthful audiences around the world responded with unparalleled enthusiasm.

Although the compositions, recordings, and performances of the Beatles were both critical and commercial successes, the band's initial conquest of the United States also was abetted by fortuitous timing. When the "Fab Four" performed before a television audience of more than 70 million Americans on *The Ed Sullivan Show* on Sunday, February 7, 1964, the assassination of President John F. Kennedy—which took place on November 22, 1963—was still a recent trauma. A grieving nation's desperate need for escape and succor doubtless had much to do with the fervency with which American teens embraced the band.

Throughout 1964, the Beatles cemented their status as beloved international stars with further appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, U.S. and world concert tours, album releases, and an innovative and witty movie debut in *A Hard Day's Night* (1964). The film presented a fictionalized, comedic account of a typical day in the band's hectic life that put the audience on a first-name basis with the performers, intimately showcasing each Beatle as a natural movie star with a distinctive personality—John as the acerbic "smart one," Paul as the ballad-crooning "cute one," George as the understated "quiet one," and Ringo as the lonely, melancholy funnyman.

Success piled on success for the Beatles through the next year, with a second film, a romp titled *Help!* The movie's slapstick-comedy-with-a-rock-soundtrack formula was later emulated by many pop-culture icons, from the Monkees to Scooby-Doo.

Maturity and Countercultural Leanings

By the summer of 1966, the pressures of nonstop touring and recording had taken their toll on the band, as had the controversy that swirled about them in the United States over remarks Lennon had made in a British interview comparing the Beatles's popularity to that of Jesus Christ. The Beatles stopped touring, concentrating instead on constructing ever-more-elaborate music in the recording studio. These compositions would have been extremely difficult to perform live, given the technology of the day.

As the individual band members matured—they had all still been in their early twenties back in 1964—so did their musical expression. Songs such as the McCartney composition “Yesterday” (1965), the groundbreaking, psychedelic Lennon composition “Strawberry Fields Forever” (1967), and albums such as *Rubber Soul* (1965) and *Revolver* (1966) proved that the Beatles were serious artists rather than a mere flash-in-the-pan bubblegum act.

Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band (1967), a “concept album” in which the Beatles subsumed their own identities within that of the record's eponymous fictional band, not only showcased the group's increasingly sophisticated music. The album also demonstrated their innovative, experimental performance and recording techniques, which included the use of random tape loops and exotic instruments such as the Indian sitar.

Harrison began to flower as a composer in his own right during these years. His artistic growth curve would culminate in his 1969 Beatles hits “Something” and “Here Comes the Sun” (from the 1969 album *Abbey Road*), as well as a successful post-Beatles solo career.

Liberated artistically both by drugs such as marijuana and LSD and by their unprecedented clout in the recording studio, the band grew and experimented artistically throughout the 1960s. They only occasionally missed the mark commercially, as was the case with their poorly received self-produced film, *Magical Mystery Tour* (1967).

The Beatles always captured the zeitgeist of their times. As the 1960s progressed, their lyrical content frequently intersected with the rising Flower Power movement and the drug counterculture. This thrust the Fab Four into the role of trendsetters in everything, from clothing to hairstyles to recreational drug use, and surrounded the band members with no small amount of controversy.

The band members' restless aesthetic questing, along with the advent of new wives and girlfriends, inevitably led to stresses in their group dynamic and the establishment of individual agendas beyond the framework of the Beatles. These tensions were exacerbated by the drug-overdose death of longtime manager Brian Epstein on August 27, 1967.

The group continued working together for the next two years. Its music, however, recorded on albums such as *Magical Mystery Tour* (1967), *The Beatles* (1968; better known as the “White Album”), *Abbey Road* (1969), and *Let It Be* (1970), increasingly became the artistic statements of individuals more than the collective work of a group.

Cultural Legacy

Although the four band members disbanded acrimoniously in 1970 and began pursuing solo careers, fans held fast to the hope of a Beatles reunion throughout the next decade. The murder of John Lennon in New York City on December 8, 1980, dashed this hope but failed to dampen public enthusiasm for the band and its artistic legacy.

The three surviving Beatles reunited in the mid-1990s to assemble *The Beatles Anthology*, a documentary film (1995), a three-volume audio CD collection (1995–1996), and a hardcover book (2000) detailing the “official” version of Beatles history. Included in the audio collection were the first previously unreleased Beatles songs to appear in a quarter century, “Free As a Bird” (1995) and “Real Love” (1996). Both were based on 1970s-era Lennon demo tapes, which were fleshed out and completed in the studio by the remaining Beatles. They clearly transcended their countercultural beginnings, as McCartney's rendition of classic Beatles tunes at the 2005 Super

Bowl half-time show amply illustrated.

The Beatles's song catalogue was exposed to new audiences yet again in 2006. It was the soundtrack for *Love*, a Cirque du Soleil performance tour with songs digitally remastered by the Beatles's original producer, Sir George Martin, and his son, Giles Martin. Also that year came the release of the Julie Traynor musical film *Across the Universe*, featuring thirty-four Beatles compositions and an original story line that ties them together.

Harrison died of cancer on November 29, 2001. Despite the fact that only two members of the band remain alive, Paul and Ringo, the cultural legacy of the Beatles remains evergreen. Fully remastered recordings of all original Beatles albums were released in both mono and stereo versions in 2009.

Michael A. Martin

See also: [Lennon, John](#); [LSD](#); [Marijuana](#); [Rock and Roll](#).

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Bebop

The modern jazz style known as bebop (sometimes referred to as rebop or bop) originated in the early 1940s. It is generally credited to saxophonist Charlie Parker, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, and pianist Thelonius Monk.

Parker, nicknamed "Bird," is regarded as the greatest saxophonist in modern jazz history. Gillespie, known for his mastery of the trumpet, conveyed a melodic and harmonic language that was supremely innovative and unpredictable. Monk, with his unorthodox melodies and unusual chord progressions, is known as the most influential and challenging of the bebop composers/performers. Together, they forged a musical style associated with the early days of World War II.

The term *bebop* is an onomatopoeic expression of the quick, two-note phrase often played in unison by the lead

instruments to mark the conclusion of major sections of the music or to introduce the beginnings of improvised solos. Rather than using melodies and harmonies based on the major and minor, seven-note diatonic scales (comprising five whole steps and two half steps) traditional in the West, bebop is based on the more colorful chromatic scale (twelve equal half steps).

The typical bebop combo consisted of an alto saxophone, bass, drums, and piano—a much smaller instrumentation than the dance orchestras emblematic of swing, the popular big-band jazz style of the 1940s. Swing relied heavily on written arrangements, utilized popular melodies, and functioned primarily as dance music. Bebop featured complex melodies and harmonies, varied rhythms, faster and more agitated tempi, and elaborate improvisations. Historically, bebop has been viewed as a reaction against the popular and commercially more successful swing style, though some music critics and historians maintain that bebop evolved naturally from swing, with the U.S. role in World War II playing a major part in the transition.



Bebop pioneer and trumpet master Dizzy Gillespie (beret) keeps the beat during a 1948 jam session. His small-group compositions, like those of other bebop innovators, represented a complex, technically demanding departure from popular swing music. (Allan Grant/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

The drafting and voluntary enlistment of musicians into military service, the gasoline shortages and rationing of goods on the home front, and the ban on album recording implemented in 1942 by the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) as a method to conserve resources are a few of the reasons cited for the decline of swing and the advent of bebop during World War II. Others view bebop as a response to the closing of dance halls and the emergence of after-hours clubs, perceived as disreputable, smoked-filled places. With the advent of smaller combos came a subculture that promoted the musicians as artists rather than merely performers; and these artists were different and separate from the mainstream. The bebop culture promoted a philosophy of nonconformity, and rebellious teenagers, regardless of race or socioeconomic class, embraced the music.

The appearance of bebop marked the paradigm shift from jazz as music primarily for dancing and entertainment to jazz as music for serious listening and appreciation. Accordingly, bebop musicians were elevated from background entertainers to serious artists of great skill and technical ability. Despite its attributes, bebop never achieved the popularity or commercial success of swing. The style and its practitioners often were criticized for being inaccessible, and the technical demands of bebop created an elite echelon of musicians that eliminated all but the most talented. Bebop, however, has had more influence than any style before it on all the jazz styles that have followed. Many contemporary musicians judge younger, less experienced players by their aptitude for performing bebop.

See also: [Jazz](#).

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Be-Ins

Be-ins were spontaneously planned, loosely organized gatherings identified with the counterculture of the late 1960s and inspired by the first Human Be-In, held in San Francisco on January 14, 1967. Advertised as a “Gathering of the Tribes,” the Human Be-In took place in the Haight-Ashbury district, a focal point of counterculture activity on the West Coast during the 1950s and 1960s. The stated purpose of the event was to bring together various elements of the California counterculture—poets, artists, musicians, political activists, and social critics—in a demonstration of solidarity and a celebration of the ideals, modes of expression, and lifestyles of the era, emphasizing freedom of expression in art, drugs, and sexuality and growing opposition to the Vietnam War.

This initial Human Be-In was so named in homage to the nonviolent civil rights sit-ins of the early 1960s. It featured appearances by numerous counterculture icons of the 1950s and 1960s, including the Grateful Dead rock band, poet Allen Ginsberg, comedian Dick Gregory, and activist Jerry Rubin. Psychologist Timothy Leary, a featured speaker, encouraged attendees to “Turn on, tune in, drop out,” coining a now-famous phrase that articulated the counterculture ethos of free inquiry, consciousness expansion, communal living, and rejection of conventional societal norms that had inspired the event.

The 1967 Human Be-In brought national media exposure to the West Coast youth counterculture, giving rise later that year to the mass migration and social phenomenon known as the Summer of Love, which attracted thousands of idealistic youth known as hippies to the Haight-Ashbury community, along with reporters, talent scouts, criminals, tourists, and others seeking financial gain, recreation, and anonymity. Exposure of Haight-Ashbury to a national media audience spread counterculture ideals, fashion, music, and art to other communities in the United States and abroad.

Yet as the American media capitalized on popular fascination with the counterculture, many of its elements were presented to the public in a superficial, heavily censored, or commercialized light. As its terminology became part of mainstream popular culture, the suffix “-in” emerged as a trendy way to designate various gatherings. One of its most prominent manifestations in conventional popular culture was *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In*, which first aired on the NBC television network in January 1968. The commercialization of the Haight-Ashbury scene prompted many participants and observers to identify the summer of 1967 as the end of the hippie era in San Francisco.

The 1967 Human Be-In inspired numerous similar events across the United States and around the world in the late 1960s with themes and content similar to those of the original. Yet none of the later events attracted as large an audience or achieved comparable media notoriety. Some of these, such as the Central Park Be-In held in New York City on March 26, 1967, were advertised as “be-ins,” while others did not use the term at all.

Many of these events eschewed the first Human Be-Ins focus on intellectual and artistic inquiry, instead emphasizing more hedonistic aspects of the counterculture, such as drug use and sexual activity. In the 1990s and 2000s, a series of technological conventions titled “Digital Be-Ins,” held in the San Francisco area and other locations, cited the 1967 Human Be-In as inspiration.

Michael H. Burchett

See also: [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#); [Leary, Timothy](#); [Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In](#).

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Bellamy, Edward (1850–1898)

Best known for his utopian novel *Looking Backward 2000–1887* (1888), Edward Bellamy was a nineteenth-century writer and critic who envisioned an egalitarian society based on socialist principles. His ideas, especially as described in *Looking Backward*, possibly the world’s most popular utopian novel, inspired many other economic and political thinkers, including philosopher John Dewey, sociologist Thorstein Veblen, economic historian Charles Beard, Pulitzer Prize–winning journalist William Allen White, and Socialist Party leaders Norman Thomas and Eugene V. Debs.

Born in the industrializing town of Chicopee Falls, Massachusetts, on March 26, 1850, Bellamy was raised in a Baptist household; religion would be a constant theme in his life and writings. Reticient and physically frail as a youngster, he also was very intelligent.

He began the study of law as a young man but entered the field of journalism instead and moved to New York as a freelance writer—an unsuccessful excursion that soon found him back in his hometown as an editor for a nearby newspaper. After publishing some essays and his first novel, *Six to One* (1873), he decided to devote his full time to writing and produced a number of published works, especially in the area of socialist politics.

In 1888, Bellamy published his highly successful *Looking Backward*, a novel about a man who, suffering from a bout of insomnia before his wedding, goes into a deep sleep and awakens 113 years later, in the year 2000. The new world the protagonist observes is a utopian society, made perfect on the strength of socialist principles. The work is a critique of the individualistic American ethos, and Bellamy invites the reader to consider the possibilities of a socialist alternative. With its dreamy style and convergence of romance and politics, the novel became a major success and one of the best-selling works of American fiction in the nineteenth century.

The influence of the book was almost immediate, as socialist organizations called Nationalist Clubs, or, more informally, Bellamy Clubs, began springing up after its publication. The term *nationalist* was used by Bellamy to characterize his socialist ideology, which advocated state ownership of such services as utilities, railroads, and telegraph lines.

The first of the Bellamy Clubs was formed in early 1889 in Boston under the name the Boston Nationalist Club

Number One. It was attended by such prominent writers of the day as Edward Everett Hale and William Dean Howells. Other clubs were started in major cities of the East, such as New York and Washington, D.C., and quickly spread to the West, most notably California, which had the most Nationalist Clubs in the nation. Within a year, nearly fifty clubs were formed throughout the United States with a reported 6,000 members, owing largely to the popularity of *Looking Backward*.

In 1889, some of Bellamy's followers in Boston established a magazine called *The Nationalist*, edited by Henry Willard Austin as a publication of the Nationalist Educational Association. Two years later, Bellamy himself created a new weekly magazine, *The New Nation*, which promoted his ideas of nationalization. The magazine dissolved in 1894 as the nationalist movement began to dissipate and the Nationalist Clubs began to dissolve.

Bellamy produced a sequel to *Looking Backward*, *Equality*, in 1897, but it did not begin to approach the attention and accolades accorded to its predecessor. Around the same time, Bellamy's health began to fail due to tuberculosis. He died of the disease on May 22, 1898, at age forty-eight.

Bellamy's ideas on nationalism created a movement in the United States based on the idea that state control should be exerted by the intelligentsia rather than the workers, an idea that differed from Marxist theory. Although his views fell out of favor with many, *Looking Backward* continues to intrigue readers, and his ideas on nationalism continue to be studied by those interested in political and social counterculture movements.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [Socialism](#).

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Ben & Jerry's

Ben & Jerry's is an ice cream manufacturing and retail chain that was founded in 1978 in Burlington, Vermont, by Ben Cohen and Jerry Greenfield. Their corporate strategies and social involvement inaugurated the age of "societal marketing," the idea that a commercial enterprise should take into account the best interests of society as well as consumer preferences and its own profits.

From the moment of its birth, Ben & Jerry's integrated the everyday practices of the company with a set of socially progressive values that the founders defined as "caring capitalism." In this approach, the profit orientation of a corporation is not only compatible with a socially progressive agenda, it is informed by it. Prominent among Ben & Jerry's social values are preserving the environment, recognizing the role businesses play in the local community,

and making a commitment to peace in the world and helping the disempowered.

Cohen and Greenfield were born in Brooklyn, New York, in 1951, and both attended junior-high school in Merrick, Long Island, where they became friends. After graduating from high school, both struggled in higher education and the professional world. Cohen dropped out of college twice, working as a potter, janitor, cashier, and security guard. Greenfield, disappointed after having been rejected twice for medical school, settled for work as a lab technician.

In 1976, the two men drifted back together, living as roommates in Saratoga Springs, New York, where they made plans to start a food business. Although both had worked in ice cream companies as teenagers and Cohen had experimented with making ice cream as a teacher, their decision followed strict business logic. The key marketing point was that ice cream was less expensive than many other food products.

In 1978, after extensive research, they opened their first ice cream parlor in Burlington, Vermont, a college town with little competition for their product and customers with a social conscience. As children of the 1960s, Cohen and Greenfield understood that America's youth—especially college students—had become socially conscious and eager to participate in public affairs. From the beginning, the two ice cream entrepreneurs recognized their social responsibility, incorporating progressive values into their company's management philosophy, relations with the community, and commercial marketing. They sought to build loyal customers who would buy Ben & Jerry's products not only because of their fresh ingredients, innovative flavors, and great taste, but also because they symbolized a commitment to social justice.

In 1988, for example, the corporation helped establish the "1 percent for peace" nonprofit initiative, which sought to redirect 1 percent of the nation's defense budget to peace-promoting projects and activities. To support this effort, Ben & Jerry's released the Peace Pop, a chocolate-coated ice cream bar on a stick with information on the program. The program gave rise to a permanent activist group known as Business for Social Responsibility, with national offices in New York and San Francisco.

Ben & Jerry's also introduced the "Eco-pint" carton, made from unbleached brown paper with nontoxic, printable clay coating. This ice cream packaging became the American food industry's first container manufactured from unbleached paperboard.

In succeeding years, the company launched a variety of other environmental initiatives, including a partnership with the World Wildlife Fund to open Climate Change College and a collaboration with Save Our Environment.org to fight global warming. The concept of societal marketing extended to the design of products and choice of ingredients. With the introduction in 1989 of a flavor called Rainforest Crunch, the corporation chose nuts that would increase the demand for living rainforests, help to raise public consciousness about disappearing rainforests through the marketing and advertising campaign, and redirect a portion of the ice cream sales to benefit rainforest preservation efforts.

Despite its innovations, the Ben & Jerry's approach is clearly part of a mainstream process in American business. In the 1970s, consumer marketing entered a phase characterized by the notion of market segmentation, in which demographics inform the content of advertising and such abstract concepts as youth and lifestyle are promoted as much as the products themselves. Although Ben & Jerry's has certainly indulged in market-segmentation strategies, it has reconciled the capitalist profit incentive with a progressive ideology, making the latter both a product and a corporate cause. Thus, Ben & Jerry's reflects the counterculture values of the 1960s brought to the corporate world. Its founders' desire for consciousness raising led to a financially successful company and marketing phenomenon in its own right.

In April 2000, Cohen and Greenfield announced that they were selling the company to Unilever, a major international manufacturer of food, home care, and personal grooming products. The founders maintained that the Ben & Jerry's brand, natural ingredients, and commitment to "global economic and social missions" would be preserved.

See also: [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco.](#)

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Berkeley, California

Located on the eastern shore of San Francisco Bay, Berkeley was a focal point of the American youth counterculture movement of the mid-to late 1960s. The movement was opposed to the Vietnam War, racial injustice, and the middle-class social and cultural values pervasive at the time. It brought to Berkeley, along with the rest of the San Francisco Bay Area, several counterculture efforts including the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley (UC Berkeley) and the civil rights, antiwar, hippie, and Black Power movements.

The Berkeley counterculture grew out of a series of events in the early 1960s, the largest of which were protests against a 1960 House Committee on Un-American Activities hearing in San Francisco to investigate purported communist activities in the Bay Area. The protests began when Douglas Wachter, a UC Berkeley student, was called to testify. Several hundred noisy demonstrators showed up. They were locked out of the hearing and dispersed from the steps of San Francisco's City Hall with fire hoses. This was recorded and broadcast that evening on national news programs. The next day, 5,000 demonstrators were there, including several thousand longshoremen, their support drawing even more press coverage. Rather than discouraging such "subversive" activities, the protest attracted more leftist students to Berkeley.

At the same time, UC Berkeley had become known around the world, and attracted international students and professors to the city. They brought their social, cultural, and political customs and beliefs. In addition, many organizations in Berkeley had become involved in issues that UC Berkeley students focused on, including free speech and other civil rights. For example, the Berkeley School Board held two interracial conferences, in 1961 and 1962, to end de facto segregation in the city's schools, and appointed a committee to recommend a program for school desegregation. In 1968 this made the Berkeley School District the first to undertake non-court-ordered mass busing in the United States.

Other prominent civil rights activities in Berkeley included the nation's first shop-ins, at a local supermarket in February 1964. They were organized by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to protest the store's practice of excluding blacks from employment. The Free Speech Movement at UC Berkeley, also organized in 1964, saw massive protests against the university's policy of restricting student speech. By 1965, the movement had gained momentum and began to focus on broader national and world issues, including the Vietnam War.

Beginning in 1966, the on-campus and off-campus movements increasingly joined forces to oppose the war, organizing on a massive scale. The once-peaceful protests became increasingly violent and characterized by rioting. By the late 1960s, the demonstrations had moved off campus onto Telegraph Avenue, putting increasing

strain on the relationship between the counterculture and the “establishment” of local business owners, government, and law enforcement. The escalating confrontation between protestors and law enforcement culminated in May 1969 at People’s Park, a university-owned lot that students and community members wanted to turn into a public park. The conflict led to several days of rioting and a two-week occupation of the city by the U.S. National Guard.

Aside from the protests, the counterculture began to affect the everyday life of the city. This was particularly true in areas south of the university, where the convergence of student activists, hippies, street people, and black militants gave rise to a number of communal-living groups committed to social, cultural, and political change. The cultural changes centered on Telegraph Avenue, which saw the spread of European-style coffeehouses, secondhand bookstores, newsstands, art galleries, restaurants, and alternative media such as underground newspapers and radio stations. Berkeley became one of the few U.S. cities to sell foreign newspapers, cigarettes, and coffee and to show foreign films.

A number of notable businesses were started during this time, including the *Berkeley Barb*, first published in August 1965 by lawyer Max Scherr. One of the nation’s first underground newspapers, it covered the antiwar and civil rights movements and included events and activities associated with the counterculture throughout the Bay Area. The *Berkeley Barb* remained in publication until late 1980. Another icon was Cody’s Bookshop on Telegraph Avenue. Owners Pat and Fred Cody organized student peace marches and started community services, including the Free Clinic, a collectively run facility that was still operating in 2010.

The counterculture movement also influenced food and dining in Berkeley, culminating in the establishment of the Gourmet Ghetto district on Shattuck Avenue between Rose and Hearst streets in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The restaurants there featured food that took the counterculture’s slogan “you are what you eat” to mean that only the best ingredients, organically grown by a local or small grower, should be used.

The cornerstones of the Gourmet Ghetto are two iconic Berkeley institutions, Peet’s Coffee, which brought gourmet coffee to the corner of Vine and Walnut streets in 1966, and the Cheese Board Collective. The latter was opened in 1967 by Elizabeth and Sahag Avedesian, who granted equal wages and management authority to all workers. Today, it remains wholly owned by its members and has expanded the menu to include pastries, pizza, and specialty breads.

Perhaps the best-known restaurant in the neighborhood is Chez Panisse, a modest bistro started by Alice Waters and Paul Aratow in 1971. Its original recipes and use of fresh, local produce earned it a reputation as the birthplace of what has come to be known as California cuisine.

The large public protests in Berkeley subsided with the end of the Vietnam War in 1974, but the liberal politics associated with the counterculture movements of the 1960s had become entrenched in the cultural and political life of the city. This was evidenced by the election and tenure of Ron Dellums, a Democrat who in 1971 became the first African American to serve Northern California in the U.S. Congress and the first openly socialist congressman since World War II. He served until 1998, when he resigned his seat, and was elected mayor of nearby Oakland in 2006.

Judith Gerber

See also: [Black Power Movement](#); [Free Speech Movement](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Berkman, Alexander (1870–1936)

Alexander Berkman was a prominent anarchist activist and theorist of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Although born in Lithuania, he lived and worked in the United States for most of his adult life and played a central role in radical activities there for more than three decades, until his deportation in 1919. Berkman is most famous for his attempt to assassinate the industrialist Henry Clay Frick in 1892, which led to his equation in the public mind with the stereotype of an anarchist as a wild-eyed émigré given to random violence whose goal was the destruction of American society. Berkman was a prolific writer, and many of his works are still influential today, including *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* (1912) and *Now and After: The ABC of Communist Anarchism* (1929).

Berkman was born Ovsei Osipovich Berkman on November 21, 1870, in Vilna, Lithuania, the youngest of four children in a prosperous Jewish merchant family. He grew up in St. Petersburg, Russia, where he adopted the name Alexander. At the age of eighteen, he immigrated to the United States.

Berkman settled in New York City, where he worked as a typesetter for *Freiheit*, a newspaper published by the German American radical Johann Most, and he became part of the radical counterculture that was thriving in the city at that time. Like many in that counterculture, Berkman was acutely aware of the contrast between the promise of America as a land of freedom and prosperity, and the reality for most people, particularly the working poor. It was during this time that he met fellow anarchist Emma Goldman, who became his lifelong companion and colleague.

Berkman embraced the concept of “propaganda by the deed” (from the French *propagande par le fait*), which justifies acts of violence (such as the assassination of public figures) as a necessary means to bring about social and political revolution. In 1892, Berkman attempted to assassinate steel magnate Henry Clay Frick in retaliation for his violent strikebreaking activities. The act did not advance Berkman's cause, however, and may, in fact, have damaged it by garnering sympathy for Frick, who was seriously injured but survived.

Berkman was sentenced to twenty-two years in prison, of which he served fourteen. After his release in 1906, he continued his radical activities, including writing for Goldman's paper *Mother Earth*. In 1916 and 1917, Berkman published an anarchist journal, *The Blast*, in San Francisco.

Berkman and Goldman opposed World War I and were repeatedly incarcerated for their campaigns against conscription. They were targeted during the Palmer Raids of 1919 to 1921, a controversial crackdown on the far left by the U.S. Department of Justice and the Immigration and Naturalization Service. As a result of their long association with anarchist and radical causes, Berkman and Goldman were deported to the Soviet Union in 1919.

Berkman was impoverished in his later years, earning only a meager income from his writings and translations. After unsuccessful prostate surgery that left him in constant pain, he committed suicide on June 28, 1936, in Nice, France.

See also: [Anarchism: Goldman, Emma](#).

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Berlin Heights Commune

In 1856, free love activists Joseph Treat, Francis Barry, and Cordelia Benschoter established the Berlin Heights Commune, a farming community also known as the Free Love Farm, in Berlin Heights, in the north-central part of Ohio near Lake Erie. Historically, the term *free love* refers to a social movement that dates to the nineteenth century and promotes the principle that love relationships should not be regulated by law, thereby rejecting traditional marriage.

By 1857, the Berlin Heights Commune was advertised in John Patterson's *Social Revolutionist* and other reform periodicals. With the leasing of the Davis House, the community's only hotel, an archaic water-cure establishment, twenty people could be accommodated in their quest for a better life. The harsh winter of 1857 to 1858 cast the region and the entire nation into a recession, which, in turn, put strains on many families. The Berlin Heights Commune attracted a wave of converts.

Not everyone was emotionally ready to dissolve their marriages, pool their resources, and live communally. Those who did, however, often enjoyed an improved socioeconomic status. This was especially true for the women who joined, often widows or runaway wives. Berlin Heights was an egalitarian society in which women's rights were fully embraced. Reproductive choice, property ownership, preservation of surnames, and opportunities for economic self-sufficiency were among the many rights and privileges afforded to the women of Berlin Heights.

Because the women often wore their hair short, sported knee-length dresses over trousers, and practiced vegetarianism and temperance, the Free Love Farm women often were the subject of ridicule. Writing under the name Artemus Ward, humorist Charles F. Browne penned a highly derogatory satire about the members of the Berlin Heights Commune in an article titled "Artemus Ward Among the Free Lovers" (1858).

Contemporaries of the Berlin Heights communards who lived in the more well-known utopian society founded by John Humphrey Noyes in Oneida, New York, also were practitioners of free love. As a result of expanding railroad connections in the mid-nineteenth century, residents of Berlin Heights traveled frequently between northern Ohio and Oneida, and when the number of Berlin Heights residents eventually waned in 1866, some sought membership in the Oneida Community.

One of the more famous inhabitants of Berlin Heights was spiritualist Thomas Cook, the editor of a small monthly periodical called *Kingdom of Heaven*. Advocating what he referred to as the "love principle," Cook renounced his marriage vows in 1860. Refuting the authority of the state to govern his private life, he did not seek a legal divorce; rather, he "gave" his wife her freedom, along with the responsibility for their five children. By the late 1860s, Cook had settled in Berlin Heights with the remaining members of the original Free Love Farm.

The founders of the Berlin Heights Commune were some of the first to leave. Treat, sued for defaulting on the

Free Love Farm's mortgage, left the area shortly after the property was sold at a sheriff's auction in 1857. Barry and Benschoter moved to Illinois, where their son was born in 1860. They later returned to Ohio, then moved to New York City, and finally settled in Portage County, Ohio.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Communes](#).

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Berrigan, Daniel (1921–), and Philip Berrigan (1923–2002)

Roman Catholic priests best known for their participation in radical Vietnam War protests, Daniel and Philip Berrigan were central figures of the Catholic Left, a loosely organized group of liberal clergy, nuns, and lay Catholics active in social justice causes. Their religiously inspired, nonviolent civil disobedience made the brothers poster boys for the antiwar movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Their willingness to sacrifice themselves for a larger cause inspired thousands of people of faith to pursue lives of nonviolent resistance.

The fifth of six sons of an Irish-German Catholic family, Daniel was born on May 9, 1921, in Virginia, Minnesota. Philip followed on October 5, 1923, in Two Harbors, Minnesota. Daniel was a shy, bookish child; Philip was a burly, handsome all-star athlete. Despite their outward differences, the brothers shared a deep, abiding faith and a passion for social justice.

By his senior year in high school, Daniel heard his calling and joined the Jesuits immediately thereafter, in 1939. Ordained in 1952, he became increasingly involved in local antipoverty and antidiscrimination activities, while enjoying a burgeoning reputation for profound and provocative poetry, winning several national prizes.

Philip followed a somewhat different path to faith-based nonviolent resistance. In 1942, he studied for just one semester at St. Michael's College in Toronto, Canada. Then, in 1943, he was drafted by the U.S. Army. His exposure to virulent racism and excruciating poverty in the American South during combat training, followed by the horrors of war in Europe—where he served in the artillery in the Battle of the Bulge and other campaigns—convinced Philip that the ills of society must be confronted directly.

Returning to college after the war, Philip graduated from Holy Cross University in 1950 and immediately entered the seminary of St. Joseph's Society of the Sacred Heart, an order dedicated to serving the African American community. Ordained as a Josephite in 1955, he led community activities, taught classes at inner-city schools, and provided spiritual guidance.

By the early 1960s, it had become increasingly difficult for the Berrigan brothers to reconcile their deeply held religious convictions with the federal government's reticent stance on civil rights and its escalation of the Vietnam War. Philip traveled to a 1963 civil rights march in Jackson, Mississippi, with the intent of being jailed for the cause, only to be recalled by his superiors before carrying out his act of civil disobedience. Daniel took part in the historic marches from Selma to Birmingham, Alabama, with black civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., in March 1965, and he negotiated the release of prisoners of war in Vietnam.

In 1964, the Berrigan brothers, along with prominent Catholic priest, Trappist monk, and author Thomas Merton, cofounded the Catholic Peace Fellowship, the first Catholic antiwar organization in America. The brothers' vehement and vocal opposition to the government's prosecution of the Vietnam War irritated the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, but their steadfast opposition to violence and social injustice inspired thousands, especially liberal Catholics, to reject the status quo.

As the military draft absorbed an alarmingly high number of poor, black youth, Philip Berrigan saw the need for more direct resistance. He and a growing number of followers staged public protests, picketing the houses of the military chiefs of staff and other administration officials. By 1967, he believed it was time for a dramatic symbolic gesture.

On October 27, Philip and three fellow protesters entered the Custom House in Baltimore, Maryland, and poured blood on Selective Service System records on file there. He was arrested and sentenced to six years in prison.

The following May, Philip joined with Daniel and seven followers in raiding the Selective Service offices in Catonsville, Maryland, stealing hundreds of draft files and ceremoniously burning them in the parking lot with homemade napalm. The Catonsville Nine, as they became known, were convicted of conspiracy and destruction of government property in October 1968.

Philip became the first Catholic priest to be jailed for civil disobedience over the Vietnam War. He was sentenced to three and a half years (to run concurrently with his six-year term for the Baltimore incident). Daniel received a three-year sentence.

With the help of fellow radicals, in 1970 both brothers went into hiding prior to imprisonment. They surfaced periodically over the course of the next several months, showing up at antiwar rallies and delivering fiery antiwar sermons, and then slipping away. The embarrassment to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Catholic Church delighted counterculture and antiwar activists. Later that year, however, both brothers were apprehended and taken into custody.

Daniel gained early release because of ill health. A government informant later implicated Philip in a plot to kidnap National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger, but the resulting trial, held in 1972 in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, ended in Philip's acquittal on appeal.

The eventual withdrawal of American troops from Vietnam did not diminish the brothers' opposition to war. Both served additional time in prison for the confrontational activities of the Plowshares Movement, a campaign of civil disobedience launched in 1980 and dedicated to the abolition of nuclear weapons. Over the course of the next two decades, the group carried out and was convicted of dozens of felonies and misdemeanors in the United States and other countries.

Philip Berrigan left the priesthood in 1973 after secretly marrying Sister Elizabeth McAlister, a nun involved in the Harrisburg debacle. They spent years in and out of prison for their antiwar activities and together founded Jonah House, a faith-based nonviolent resistance community in Baltimore. Philip died of cancer on December 6, 2002.

Daniel Berrigan remains an active member of the Jesuit community, continuing to write and speak. Living in New York City, he has taught at Fordham University, also serving as poet-in-residence, and he has ministered to AIDS hospice patients.

Ann Youngblood Mulhearn

See also: [Civil Rights Movement](#); [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Bethel Commune

The Bethel Commune was a socialistic community near Hannibal, Missouri, from 1844 to 1880. Its charismatic leader, William Keil, sought to establish a utopian existence for its members. The communards of Bethel practiced a unique blend of individualism and communism and, despite early hardships, were able to increase their membership to more than 1,000.

Keil, a mystic preacher and self-proclaimed physician, had come to America from Germany in 1838. After spending several years in the cities of the Northeast, he made plans to move to a rural area and start a new religious colony. He had left the Methodist faith, believing that the correct way to live God's law involved a communitarian existence in which all members contributed to the welfare of the group. Enlisting a few people from other communes, he established the Bethel Commune on government land.

The first years were difficult for Bethel's inhabitants. Food, clothing, and shelter were in short supply, and disease and desertion nearly led to its early dissolution. The residents who remained, all of whom were German descendents, saw the commune grow and prosper for a few years. The property was expanded to nearly 4,000 acres (1,600 hectares), and the communards could take part in farming, blacksmithing, log milling, tanning, carpentry, and other trades. In addition to several stores, there were private homes, a hotel, and a church. Formal education was not a priority of the communards, who regarded it as less important than training in a trade.



The utopian Bethel Commune, founded by German charismatic William Keil in northeastern Missouri in 1844, became a close-knit community of modest means. It peaked at about 1,000 residents before Keil's departure in the mid-1850s. (*Library of Congress*)

Keil served as the community physician (he was referred to as Dr. Keil), head of government, and spiritual leader, despite having no formal training in any of these areas. The government structure was simple, consisting of a president (Keil), a deputy-president, and a group of trustees. The members practiced simple and moral living, eschewing luxuries, based on an unyielding faith in their spirituality. The community emphasized love, forgiveness, selflessness, morality, and other Christian principles that were reinforced by the leader. It was a tightly knit community whose members were not allowed to marry outsiders.

As time passed, communards drifted away, and the membership began to wane. When Keil left the area in 1856 to form a larger commune in Oregon called Aurora, many of the Bethel inhabitants followed. From 1856 to 1863, approximately 400 members left Bethel, many to avoid being drafted into the American Civil War.

Keil died of a heart attack in 1877 at Aurora. By 1876, only 175 members remained at Bethel, which dissolved completely by 1880.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [Communes](#).

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Bicycles

The introduction of the bicycle in American society offered ordinary citizens the possibility of freedom as never experienced before. The vehicle provided a new, completely independent mode of travel that held the promise of true equality. At the height of its popularity in the 1890s, the bicycle seemed an ideal response to its era, representing true progress. It ushered in fads in tourism, health, and exercise, and led to societal changes as well, with long-lasting effects.

Although the first bicycle was brought from Paris in 1865 and enjoyed fleeting popularity, the vehicle really caught on in the United States in the 1880s after the development of the safety bicycle, which incorporated such features as two equal-sized wheels, chain-gear drive, a diamond-shaped frame, and pneumatic tires. These improvements, coupled with increased production and significantly lower prices, led to the bicycle boom of the 1890s. At the beginning of the decade, there were an estimated 150,000 cyclists in the United States; by 1896, the number of bicycle riders had reached some 4 million.

The first avid cyclists came from the upper and middle classes, whose members had the extra income and leisure time to pursue the hobby. Soon, however, declining prices made the bicycle available to people from all walks of life.

Dismissed as a fad in its early days, the bicycle became ubiquitous in U.S. cities and small towns by the mid-1890s. It was regarded as an unparalleled mode of transportation and a revolutionary force in society. Until that time, private travel had been possible only on foot or horseback. The relatively high speed that could be attained on a safety bicycle made for travel that was not only cheaper and faster, but proved exhilarating for riders as well. The many Americans who became obsessed with it were labeled “scorchers.”

Life in America’s rapidly changing, industrialized society was increasingly hectic and stressful. Ironically, the technology that made this new society possible also gave its citizens a means to escape it, as the bicycle allowed riders to leave the city quickly and easily. Indeed, industrialization meant that more people were living increasingly sedentary lifestyles, and bicycling was touted as an ideal form of exercise. The cyclists of the 1890s played a central role in promoting the doctrine of Physical Culture—the idea that physical activity is essential to good health.

New patterns of recreation and leisure also emerged during this period, with bicyclists establishing the prototype of modern tourists. As large groups of middle-and upper-class riders began going on long tours, service industries sprang up to cater to their needs, including hotels, repair shops, and restaurants. Maps showing the best cycling routes were eagerly sought after, and cyclists began demanding more and better roads. Cycling enthusiasts also formed clubs and leagues dedicated to their pastime, such as the League of American Wheelmen (founded in 1880), and they took part in a growing network of tournaments and outings.

The democratizing qualities of the bicycle were inherent in the way the machine was operated: Regardless of the operator’s social status, it had to be pedaled. The bicycle also allowed its owner to cross regional and social boundaries. Women were especially affected by the advent of the bicycle, attracted by its healthful benefits as well as the potential freedom from the family and home. Although some contended that bicycles led to immodest and inappropriate behavior on the part of women, such concerns were soon dismissed by society at large. Fashions also changed, as women shed corsets and long skirts for clothing better suited to riding—leading to the popularity of bloomers, for example.

The boom began to wind down beginning in the late 1890s, as the bicycle lost its novelty and early automobiles came on the scene. In the United States, the bicycle came to be regarded as a juvenile amusement for much of the twentieth century.

A second, smaller bicycle boom in the 1970s was precipitated by interest in the new ten-speed bicycle and the energy conservation movement. In the mid-1970s, the League of American Wheelmen was revived and renamed the League of American Bicyclists. The mountain bike furthered the resurgence of recreational cycling in the

1980s and 1990s and into the twenty-first century.

While it seems unlikely that the United States will again experience a bicycle boom such as that of the early 1890s, cycling remains a popular recreational activity, competitive sport, and means of transportation in some locations, especially cities. Its enduring countercultural appeal derives primarily from its identification as an environmentally responsible means of transportation.

A number of organized events emphasize the environmentally friendly and political aspects of cycling. Among these are Critical Mass, held in major cities on the last Friday of every month since the early 1990s; Midnight Ridazz, held on the second Friday of each month in the Los Angeles area; and Bikes Not Bombs, which repairs bicycles and sends them to Third World nations. The Rails-to-Trails Conservancy has been working since 1986 to promote the conversion of abandoned railroad beds into bike trails.

A number of U.S. cities also have focused on the creation of bike trails for recreation and transportation. Community bicycle programs have been created to provide cheap or free use of bicycles in some cities.

Sarah McHone-Chase

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Bierce, Ambrose (1842–1914?)

Ambrose Gwinett Bierce was a writer, poet, and critic famous for his scathing wit and grim humor, and for contributing to the realism movement in American literature. Writing in the years of Western expansion that followed the American Civil War, his contemporaries included writers Stephen Crane, Theodore Dreiser, William Dean Howells, and Mark Twain.

Bierce was an outspoken pessimist whose editorial columns and reviews could make or break aspiring young writers, although he is best remembered today for his short stories and a collection of satirical definitions titled *The Devil's Dictionary* (1911). Bierce used his writing talent to voice his strong opinions and political stances on topics such as corruption in Washington, his fierce opposition to American military involvement, and the burgeoning careers of his fellow writers. Bierce wrote vehemently against oppression in all forms, whether religious, racial, or political, often espousing views that were unpopular at the time and put him at risk of gaining many enemies.

Bierce was born on June 24, 1842, into a poor farming family in the small religious community of Horse Cave, Ohio. He was the tenth of thirteen children in the household and spent much of his youth entertaining himself with his father's uncommonly large library. When he was a small child, the Bierce family moved to Elkhart, Indiana, where he remained distant from his peers and disparaging toward his rural community.

In 1861, at the outset of the Civil War, Bierce enlisted in the Union Army. Fighting in some of the most horrific battles of the conflict, including Shiloh, Chickamauga, Murfreesboro, and Chattanooga, he witnessed carnage and

savagery. These experiences left their mark on the psyche of the man who later came to be known as “Bitter Bierce.”

In 1866, Bierce traveled west as a civilian engineering attaché on an expedition into Indian Territory. Arriving in San Francisco a year later, he settled down and began his long career in journalism.

Bierce soon gained notoriety as a sharp-tongued and darkly humorous critic and social commentator in a newspaper column called “The Town Crier.” The column, published regularly in the *San Francisco News-Letter and California Advertiser*, routinely savaged local political and cultural personalities Bierce deemed worthy of reproval. He rose to the position of editor of the *News-Letter* before leaving for England with his new wife, Mary Ellen Day.

Bierce and his wife spent the next three years in England. During this time, Bierce collected his writings into three books of essays, satires, and short stories. In 1876, he returned to San Francisco and continued to publish scathing commentaries and reviews, this time, in a column called “The Prattler” in the newly founded *Argonaut* magazine. In 1887, he was hired by newspaper giant William Randolph Hearst for the *Examiner*. Bierce would write for Hearst for the next twenty years.

It was during this period that Bierce wrote most of the material for which he is best remembered, including many pieces detailing his experiences in the Civil War, written in stark, unromantic prose. His most famous and most anthologized short story, “An Occurrence at Owl Creek Bridge,” was published in 1890. It is the best example of Bierce’s fiction, displaying an unsentimental, realistic style and a tendency toward the grotesque and supernatural. The story tells of Confederate sympathizer Peyton Farquhar’s escape from hanging and subsequent flight from Union soldiers, leading to the revelation at the story’s end that the hanging had been successful, and Farquhar’s “escape” had been the imaginings of a mind in the throes of death.

The Devil’s Dictionary was assembled in 1906 as *The Cynic’s Word Book*, a collection of cynical definitions that Bierce had started in his column. Marriage, for example, was defined as “the state or condition of a community consisting of a master, a mistress and two slaves, making in all, two”; religion was defined as “a daughter of Hope and Fear, explaining to Ignorance the nature of the Unknowable”; birth was “the first and direst of all disasters”; and voting was “the instrument and symbol of a freeman’s power to make a fool of himself and a wreck of his country.”

As a writer for Hearst’s *Examiner*, Bierce was thrust into national attention several times, often for the controversial nature of his work. In 1896, Hearst sent him to Washington, D.C., to expose the deceptions and bribes behind a bill that industrialist Collis P. Huntington was attempting to push through Congress to excuse Huntington’s railroad company from a \$75 million debt to the government.

As Hearst led a major journalistic push to urge America’s entrance into what would become the Spanish-American War, Bierce became an outspoken opponent of the conflict, retaining his job only because of Hearst’s realization that controversy was good for business. Bierce remained a critic of American military endeavors throughout the next decade, denouncing war because it was war, rather than for specific political reasons. He also often sided with the minority or the oppressed in his editorials. He spoke out against racial discrimination and religious persecution, publicly condemning both the violent movement in San Francisco against Asian immigration and the lynching of a group of Mormons bound for Utah.

The last years of Bierce’s life were marked by tragedy. He had separated from his wife after discovering evidence that she was having an affair, and in 1905, a year after filing for divorce, she succumbed to illness. Two sons also preceded Bierce in death (he was survived by a daughter).

Restless, Bierce crossed into Mexico to witness the Mexican Revolution in 1913. He was never seen or heard from again. Rumors of his death spread north (including one rumor that he died fighting alongside the Mexican revolutionary general Pancho Villa in 1914), but no facts were ever substantiated—a mysterious end to an often controversial life.

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Biker Culture

Although motorcyclists have been on the road since the early years of the twentieth century, the outlaw image connected with motorcycling is a phenomenon of the post–World War II era. It was then that the non-mainstream motorcycle rider transformed into the biker, seen alternately as a social predator and a counterculture hero. In part a product of American popular culture—film, television, magazines, and books—the biker has become an ingrained social type, recognizable by his appearance and attitude no less than by his mode of transport.

Subculture Roots

When William Harley and the Davidson brothers began manufacturing motorcycles in 1903, they did not expect that their machines would become associated with one of the most notorious subcultures in American society. Harley-Davidson initially imagined that their vehicles would be used for basic family and personal transportation. In the 1920s, for example, Harley-Davidson began producing motorcycles with sidecars for the purpose of transporting wives and children. But with the advent of affordable automobiles, epitomized by the Ford Model T, motorcycles were recast primarily as recreational and sport vehicles. In the 1920s and 1930s, motorcycle clubs were formed for the purpose of competing in races, performing stunts, and gathering for group rides and other events.

The biker subculture as it is known today began to take form as veterans returned home from World War II. Many of these men, especially those who had been pilots during the war, found domestic life staid and constraining, and longed for the adventure that flying had afforded them. A shared sense of alienation and desire to flout the conventions of postwar life prompted some of them to form motorcycle clubs such as the Hells Angels and the Boozefighters. These clubs devised their own codes of conduct, detailing appropriate behavior among members, proper roles for women, and rules governing the initiation of new members. Biker behavior often was intentionally at odds with conventional social mores.

Bikers wore jackets or vests emblazoned with “colors,” or their club’s insignia, to signify membership. Many also adopted other modes of appearance—long hair, facial and ear piercings, ragged denim—to illustrate their allegiance to a subculture community. After the American Motorcycle Association (AMA) issued a report in the late 1940s that asserted the “outlaw” element constituted only 1 percent of motorcyclists, biker-club members adorned their vests or jackets with a “1 percent” badge to celebrate their position on the fringes of the mainstream.

The public became aware of this growing subculture in 1947, when bikers, including members of the Boozefighters, disrupted a rally sponsored by the AMA in Hollister, California, and further disruption followed in the small town. A photographer from *Life* magazine was on the scene, and the July 21 issue included a full-page picture of one of the renegade bikers. The menacing photo—which showed the biker on his machine, beer bottles scattered around him (some have since speculated that the scene was staged)—became the first iconic image of the biker subculture, portraying their kind as dangerous predators.

The Hollister incident became the basis for *The Wild One* (1953), a film starring Marlon Brando that follows the antics of motorcycle club members. Depicting bikers as rebels and nonconformists, the film added to their allure in American’s burgeoning youth culture.



Marlon Brando’s portrayal of a motorcycle gang leader in The Wild One (1953), based on a violent incident at Hollister, California, in 1947, helped affirm the image of the rebel, outlaw biker. (Central Press/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Evolution of an Image

By the 1960s, motorcycle clubs were making national headlines, often for alleged involvement in assault and rape cases. Thomas Lynch, the attorney general of California, issued a report in 1964 that characterized them as a social menace. The press continued to detail criminal allegations against them and position them as social miscreants.

Then “gonzo” journalist Hunter S. Thompson spent a year riding with the Hells Angels and wrote a book about the experience (*Hell’s Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga*, 1966). It defused much of the hysteria surrounding bikers by presenting them as mostly uneducated and unskilled men making a life for themselves in a society that otherwise had no place for them.

In the 1960s, motorcycle clubs had a tumultuous relationship with the counterculture. Members of the

counterculture viewed bikers as “holy primitives,” outlaws who embodied the spirit of their cultural protest. Beat novelist Ken Kesey arranged for the Hells Angels to spend an evening with his Merry Pranksters at his home in La Honda, Oregon. Allen Ginsberg wrote two poems about them. Bikers became visible fixtures in the Haight-Ashbury section of San Francisco and other sites of counterculture activity. However, bikers often were stridently patriotic, and they disapproved of the antiwar movement. At times, some club members violently attacked those protesting the Vietnam War.

Approximately forty movies were made about motorcycle clubs between 1966 and 1973. Most were low-budget productions shown in drive-in theaters and depicting biker protagonists in the mythic garb of the cultural outlaw. The apotheosis of the biker movie was *Easy Rider* (1969), which focused on the cross-country journey of two bikers seeking freedom on the open road.

In December 1969, the Rolling Stones rock band hired the Hells Angels to act as security guards at a free concert at the Altamont Speedway outside San Francisco. Aspiring to be “Woodstock West,” Altamont was an all-day music festival that was marred by outbreaks of fighting. Toward the end of the concert, concertgoer Meredith Hunter was stabbed to death during an altercation in front of the stage. It was alleged that Hunter had brandished a gun; a member of the Hells Angels was tried and acquitted on the grounds of self-defense. The incident marked a symbolic end to the love affair between bikers and hippies, as well as to the decade that had forged their union.

In the decades that have followed, the biker’s place in the American cultural lexicon has both changed and stayed the same. In the 1970s, television provided an image of the domesticated biker in the character of Fonzie in the series *Happy Days*. Still a cool outsider, he also was a moral character and closer to the mainstream, comfortable living side by side with his middle-class neighbors.

The 1980s gave pop culture the ironic biker in the person of multimillionaire magazine publisher Malcolm Forbes, who formed a motorcycle club called the “Capitalist Tools” with friends. Other celebrities and public figures also were featured riding motorcycles.

The 1990s also saw the rise of biker fashion, as the outlaw look, more than its attitude or behavior, became popular with motorcyclists of all social classes. At the same time, motorcyclists, manufacturers, and organizations, such as the AMA, various brand-related clubs, and Ride to Work, sought to transform the public view of most motorcyclists as average American enthusiasts, sport riders, and commuters. While bikers and biker clubs still existed, a subculture that had long been defined by its marginality in American society had largely gone mainstream.

Allison Perlman

See also: [Altamont Free Concert](#); [Easy Rider](#); [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#); [Hells Angels](#); [Rolling Stones](#). [The](#).

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Birth Control Pill

In 1960, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) approved the birth control pill, the first oral contraceptive product and medication ever designed for purely social rather than therapeutic purposes. Within a year of its introduction, the oral contraceptive became the birth control method of choice for more than 400,000 American women. The number tripled the following year and reached some 5 million by 1965. Today, an estimated 12 million women in America are “on the Pill.”

Mothers of the Pill

The force behind the legalization of birth control and its availability to women was the nurse and activist Margaret Sanger. It was she who coined the term “birth control” in 1914 and opened the first birth control clinic in the United States in 1916. For decades, the indefatigable Sanger challenged federal and state laws to allow the distribution of birth control information and contraceptive devices to women. Her wholehearted ambition was to find the perfect contraceptive that could rescue long-suffering women from repeated, unwanted pregnancies.

By the 1950s, Sanger’s mission was to seek a contraceptive pill that would be as easy to take as an aspirin—a pill that would be cheap, safe, and effective and provide female-controlled contraception. She found a financial sponsor in the International Harvester heiress Katherine McCormick and a medical expert in human reproduction in Gregory Pincus. Their collaboration ultimately led to the development of Enovid, the first oral contraceptive, and its approval by the FDA.

Social Implications

The Pill became a significant factor in the feminist movement of the 1960s, as American women embraced what was a radical concept at the time: that they, like men, enjoyed sex, had sexual needs, and should have sexual freedom. For feminists, both young and old, it provided a major step forward in female empowerment.

A pill to inhibit normal fertility and avoid unwanted pregnancy allowed women to overcome the double standard in sexual mores, take charge of their own sexuality, and, for the first time in history, break free of their reproductive imperatives. Because the Pill is almost 100 percent reliable in preventing pregnancy, it provided an opportunity to be sexually adventurous without the fear of unplanned pregnancy. For couples, the Pill was a breakthrough that made it possible to control the size and timing of their families. All in all, it was one of the most socially significant medical advancements, revolutionizing birth control by its effectiveness.

The Pill also helped trigger what became known in the 1960s as the sexual revolution, in which a diffuse counterculture movement espoused revolutionary changes in sexual attitudes and behaviors. Central to the movement was a growing acceptance of sexual encounters between unmarried adults. Throughout this period, men and women engaged in their first acts of sexual intercourse at increasingly younger ages, with the average age of first marriages rising correspondingly. This meant that young men and women had more time available to acquire sexual experience with partners before entering into long-term monogamous relationships. In addition, the growing number of marriages that resulted in divorce, as well as a lessening of the stigma attached to it, provided further encouragement for men and women to engage in nonmonogamous sexual activity.

The counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s was associated with public displays of nudity and a new openness about sexual ideas and practices, such as living with the opposite gender outside of marriage, sex as a “turn-on,” and the philosophy of free love. All of this contributed to the awareness that brought the Pill to the forefront of the sexual revolution.

Religious Response

The growing popularity of the Pill caused an uproar among religious figures and institutions over the appropriate role of sex and its relationship to reproduction.

The Roman Catholic Church strongly protested against the legal use of oral contraceptives. On July 25, 1968, Pope Paul VI addressed the issue in an encyclical titled “*Humanae Vitae*: On the Regulation of Birth,” in which he officially reaffirmed traditional Catholic teachings on contraception and abortion. Specifically, the encyclical forbade “any action which either before, at the moment of or after sexual intercourse, is specifically intended to prevent procreation.” According to Catholic Church doctrine, oral contraceptives violate the purpose and nature of sex and distort what God intended.

Although many Protestants and other non-Catholics used various forms of birth control, a number of conservative Christian organizations—such as the Christian Medical and Dental Associations—posed strong objection to almost all forms of birth control.

In the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, a concerted counterrevolution on the part of the Religious Right has attempted to turn back the sexual revolution. Advocates of this movement have sponsored new organizations, elected supportive political representatives, lobbied for applicable legislation, and sought to defund sexually progressive social programs and to fund more conservative ones.

Perspectives

The Pill first came on the market as a form of medical technology, but its cultural ramifications have been profound and enduring. The new freedom it offered women caused a shift in male-female relationships, raising new complexities.

New sources of gender conflict were created as well. For example, while the Pill relieved women of the burden of unwanted pregnancies, it also laid the responsibility for contraception entirely on them. The widespread acceptance and use of the Pill led men to expect or assume that a woman would “go on the Pill” when a couple undertook a sexual relationship.

Questions about side effects and safety also have altered feminist responses to the Pill. As early as 1964, researchers began to examine some of its health effects. Unlike other prescription medications, perfectly healthy women were taking the Pill for long periods of time, even though little was known about the long-term health hazards. By the 1970s, while Planned Parenthood maintained its strong support for the Pill, some feminists came to see it as a poorly tested contraceptive foisted on women through the collusion of the drug industry and the medical profession. The woman’s health movement was created, in part, out of controversy over the Pill.

Since its introduction, more human beings have swallowed the Pill than any other prescribed medication in the world—neither to cure an illness nor to prevent one. The total number of users has been estimated at more than 100 million worldwide, consuming the Pill by the hundreds of billions. Its use has raised enduring religious and moral issues, while its effects of separating reproduction from the sexual act and giving women control of their own fertility have caused nothing less than a global social revolution.

Leslie Rabkin

See also: [Feminism, Second-Wave](#); [Free Love](#); [Sanger, Margaret](#); [Sexual Revolution](#).

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Black Arts Movement

The black arts movement (BAM) was the artistic offshoot of the Black Power movement of the late 1960s, the militant effort to establish a political and economic base for blacks independent from that of whites. Paralleling the social activism of the Black Panther Party and other groups, BAM encompassed the fields of literature, art, theater, and dance roughly from 1965 to 1976. It represented an attempt by African American artists to merge a black aesthetic with the spirit of social activism through a rejection of the traditional norms of American art and literature. While it ultimately involved such notable writers as Maya Angelou, Toni Morrison, and Ishmael Reed, the movement extended beyond literary and artistic circles, directly influencing the creation of black studies programs at colleges across the United States.

In a 1968 essay titled "The Black Arts Movement," Larry Neal (the writer and co-editor of the BAM manifesto, *Black Fire: An Anthology of Afro-American Writing*, 1968) declared BAM an "aesthetic and spiritual sister of the Black Power concept." Although "Black Power!" was a phrase made popular by civil rights activist Stokely Carmichael in 1966, it was the poet LeRoi Jones (later known as Amiri Baraka) who coined the term *black arts*.

The death of Black Muslim leader Malcolm X in 1965 and the "exodus" of Jones from Manhattan's Lower East Side to Harlem is said to mark the beginning of the black arts movement in America. Jones is perhaps the best-known African American writer of his generation, recognized as a poet, publisher, and music critic and the Obie Award-winning playwright of *Dutchman* (1964).

Jones's move to Harlem led to the creation of the Black Arts Repertory Theatre/School (BART/S), a collective workshop and performance center for poets, writers, actors, and musicians. Similar organizations included Umbra, a collective of young black writers concentrated on Manhattan's Lower East Side, and the Harlem Writer's Guild. US, a black nationalist group established by Kwanzaa founder Maulana Karenga, and the revolutionary action movement (RAM) were two more organizations instrumental in shaping the ideological goals of the black arts movement.

BAM encompassed the work of pro-activist editors such as Neal; poets such as Nikki Giovanni and Sonia Sanchez; and stage performers and playwrights such as Ron Milner. The journals *Black America*, *Soul Book*, and *Black Dialogue* served as vehicles for the writings of African Americans. A coalition of individuals in various artistic fields, such as LeRoi Jones and actor-producer Barbara Ann Teer, founder of the National Black Theatre, created programs and associations to advance a black aesthetic. Robert MacBeth's New Lafayette Theatre, also in Harlem, served as a forum through which African American culture was put on display specifically to attract white audiences.

Amid a rising conservative backlash in the mid-1970s, along with the decline of civil rights activism and the demise of the Black Power movement, BAM also began to wane. Its demise was further hastened by criticism from black feminists that it was misogynistic and homophobic.

In addition to the creation of a new black aesthetic and a number of notable works, the legacy of the black arts movement includes a greater recognition of the black experience in academic circles and the creation of such influential journals as *The Black Scholar* and the *Journal of Black Poetry*.

See also: [Baraka, Amiri](#); [Black Power Movement](#).

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Black Mountain College

Founded in the autumn of 1933 by educator John Andrew Rice, Black Mountain College was an extraordinary experiment in education and communal living near Asheville, North Carolina, close to the village of Black Mountain. Although the school lasted only a little over two decades, it left a strong imprint on modern American art and music.

Rice founded the college with other faculty from Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, with the intention of creating a new type of educational institution. It would not be bound to stultifying traditions and formality, but devoted to creative collaborations between the arts and humanities, and the human and natural sciences. Rice was an early Rhodes scholar whose experiences of the decentralized residential college system at Oxford University in England may have informed his ideas about how Black Mountain should be structured.

The college was formed as a collective, owned and run by the faculty, with student input into both school governance and the curriculum. All students and faculty ate in a common dining hall, and the members of the community were responsible for maintaining the campus buildings and grounds. The unconventional curriculum disposed of the traditional grading system and allowed students to decide for themselves when they were prepared for the challenging final examinations.

What truly distinguished the college from its inception, however, were the talented faculty and students, who were committed to collaborative learning in this unique environment. Over the years, the faculty included artists Josef and Anni Albers, Willem de Kooning, Fannie Hillsmith, Albert William Levi, and Robert Motherwell; poets Robert Creeley and Charles Olson; composers John Cage and Arnold Schoenberg; conductor Heinrich Jalowetz; choreographer Merce Cunningham; architect Buckminster Fuller; and physicist Theodore Dreier. The rolls of talented students over the years were one of the college's great strengths. They included some of the most important figures in post–World War II American art: Joseph Fiore, Betty Jennerjahn, Ray Johnson, Kenneth Noland, Robert Rauschenberg, Cy Twombly, and Susan Weil.

The instruction and collaboration between faculty and students (learning often flowed in both directions, according to faculty and alumni), as well as the intensive communal environment, made the college “a microcosm of the artistically vital New York scene with the intimacy of summer camp,” according to scholar Martin Brody. The

impact of Black Mountain College on the mid-century American avant-garde is evident not only from the artistic products and events produced during the college's life span—such as Cage's "Williams Mix" tape collage (1951), Schoenberg's symposium on twelve-tone music held during the Summer Music Institute of 1944, and the famous yet short-lived literary journal *Black Mountain Review*—but also in the artistic collaborations and conversations that far outlived the college's formal existence.

Despite its creative vitality, the one area in which the college had long-standing difficulty was finances. After twenty-three years of operation, it was the inability to attract funding or large numbers of students (at its peak, the college enrolled approximately ninety students) that forced the school to close its doors in the autumn of 1956.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Communes](#); [Schools](#); [Alternative and Experimental](#).

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Black Muslims

Black Muslims are members of the Nation of Islam (NOI), a religious sect with a black nationalist ideology that was founded in 1930s. They have both inspired many in the African American community with their religiosity, self-discipline, and strong ideological convictions and frightened many white Americans with their militancy and hostility toward the nation's dominant white culture.

Origins and Founding Beliefs

In summer 1930, Wallace Fard, a Detroit street peddler of mixed African origin, established the Lost-Found Nation of Islam. Claiming to be a prophet of Allah—he went by a variety of titles, including Wali Farrad, Professor Fard, Farrah Muhammad, F. Muhammad Ali, Wallace Fard Muhammed, and sometimes even Allah—he began preaching an alternative account of human creation. In his version, white people were the work of an ancient mad scientist named Yacub. Fard said whites enslaved the original black people of Earth, whom he called the Tribe of Shabazz, robbing them of their African names and keeping them bound with Christian names.

To free themselves, Fard claimed, blacks had to abandon their Christian monikers and adopt Islamic ones, or use an X to symbolize their lost names. He also suggested combinations of X and other letters to symbolize spiritual

rebirth. Fard taught that blacks should engage in businesses that would allow them to achieve financial independence from whites and, in line with traditional Islamic theologians, he held that women were weaker creatures and needed men and the temple to protect them from temptation.

Fard's doctrines differed from orthodox Islamic teachings not just in the creation myth, but also in the emphasis on black nationalism, which he absorbed from the teachings of Marcus Garvey's Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). The UNIA was founded in 1914 as an African American self-help and back-to-Africa movement.

Fard also borrowed a number of ideas from Noble Drew Ali, the founder of the Moorish Science Temple of America in 1913. Noble Drew Ali taught that American blacks were not of Ethiopian origin (as some early black nationalists espoused), but rather Moors from Africa, descendants of the Moabites of Canaan. Finally, Fard used stories from the Bible, the Koran, books on Freemasonry, the teachings of Joseph F. "Judge" Rutherford, leader of the Jehovah's Witnesses, and other sources. Fard's writings include *The Secret Ritual for the Nation of Islam* and *Teaching for the Lost-Found Nation of Islam in a Mathematical Way* (dates unknown).

Fard's initial preaching came at an opportune time. By the early 1930s, the Moorish Temple was defunct, and Noble Drew Ali had died. The UNIA was in rapid decline, a victim of federal government harassment, corruption, and financial difficulties. Moreover, African Americans, first to be fired from ever-scarcer jobs, were feeling the brunt of the Great Depression and feeling lost in the urban environments to which many had recently migrated from the rural South.

Fard's message attracted many of the semiliterate, impoverished blacks that the UNIA had served, among them an unemployed factory worker named Elijah Poole. In 1923, the former sharecropper and son of a Baptist preacher had migrated from Georgia to Detroit. After listening to Fard in 1931, Poole came to believe that the preacher was God incarnate, converted to the Nation of Islam, and changed his name to Elijah Muhammad.

At about this time, Fard organized the Fruit of Islam—a body of men trained in religion and self-defense—and the Muslim Girls' Training Class, for elementary school-age girls. The school caused Fard to run afoul of the law, because it was not accredited. After being arrested several times, he mysteriously disappeared in 1934.

Elijah Muhammad took charge of the NOI and moved the headquarters to Chicago, but tensions among several factions prompted him to spend the next seven years traveling across the United States spreading Fard's message. Muhammad ran afoul of the law during World War II, when he recommended that black men not participate in the military unless instructed to do so by Allah. He was convicted and sent to prison in 1942 for conspiracy to commit draft evasion and sedition, and not released until 1946.



The self-proclaimed “Last Messenger of Allah,” Elijah Muhammad, speaking here at the 1961 annual convention of the Nation of Islam, led the movement from 1934 until his death in 1975. After his passing, the Black Muslims split into competing factions. (Frank Scherschel/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

The Malcolm X Era

Despite the nation's prosperity in the late 1940s and early 1950s, many blacks, including veterans, chafed at the continuing racial oppression in America, both north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line. Among the dissatisfied was Malcolm Little, a former petty criminal serving time in a New York prison, where he was introduced to the teachings of the NOI. He converted in 1952, changing his name to Malcolm X.

Charismatic, articulate, self-disciplined, and extraordinarily hardworking, Malcolm X quickly rose through the ranks of the NOI. He also founded and edited the weekly newspaper *Muhammad Speaks*, which grew to have a circulation of 500,000. By the early 1960s, Malcolm X seemed to challenge Elijah Muhammad himself as the leading public face of the organization.

Malcolm X preached a fiery message of black self-defense and nationalism, including the idea that a “black state” be formed out of several Southern states. Such a message challenged the nonviolent, integrationist ideas of the mainstream civil rights movement and drew a fearful and sometimes angry response from the white mainstream press and public.

It was during this period that Black Muslims entered the larger public consciousness. To many white conservatives, the NOI represented a new black militancy rooted in the hatred of whites and a willingness to use violence to achieve its ends of a separate black nation. To more liberal whites, Black Muslims served as a warning that white racism inevitably produces an angry and violent African American backlash. The sentiment was captured in the title of a widely viewed 1959 CBS television documentary on Malcolm X, *The Hate That Hate Produced*.

Two developments led to Malcolm X's formal break with the NOI in 1964. First came rumors in 1963 that Muhammad had engaged in sexual affairs with young NOI members, which Malcolm later said Muhammad confirmed to him in private. Second, Malcolm X made a pilgrimage to Mecca in 1964 that opened his mind to the idea that an alliance for social and racial justice could be forged between African Americans and progressive, nonracist whites, refuting the NOI's strict adherence to black nationalism. The trip to Mecca also revealed to him how far from true Islam the message of the NOI had strayed.

Shortly after his return home, Malcom X resigned from the NOI and formed a rival organization known as Muslim Mosque, Inc. Meanwhile, his growing fame was making Muhammad and many of his followers jealous. On February 21, 1965, Malcolm X was assassinated in New York City by three black gunmen who were believed to be associated with the NOI.

Reorganization and New Leadership

Meanwhile, the NOI had begun to lose influence in the black community, as rival and more explicitly political organizations such as the Black Panthers gained appeal with disaffected African Americans. Upon Elijah Muhammad's death in 1975, he was succeeded by his son Wallace Muhammad, who, within two years, had reorganized the NOI as an orthodox Muslim organization, the World Community of al-Islam in the West (WCIW). The changes, especially the downplaying of black nationalist elements, did not suit everyone in the NOI, however, including the leader of the powerful Harlem mosque, Louis Farrakhan (born Eugene Walcott).

A member of the NOI from the age of ten, Farrakhan had initially sided with Malcolm X in the dispute with Elijah Muhammad, but he had turned against Malcolm X when the latter broke with the NOI. Some historians suspect that Farrakhan may have had a hand in Malcolm X's assassination, though there has never been hard evidence to that effect. Shortly after Elijah Muhammad's death, Wallace Muhammad had removed an increasingly disaffected Farrakhan from his Harlem post.

In 1978, Farrakhan, separated from the WCIW, refounded the NOI on more strictly black nationalist terms. While rebuilding the organization, Farrakhan earned a reputation for racist and anti-Semitic utterances. He also made an alliance with Libya's radical leader, Muammar Qaddafi.

In 1995, Farrakhan helped organize one of the largest demonstrations in American history, the Million Man March in Washington, D.C. Its message was one of black male responsibility to family, community, and society. In 2000, Imam Warith Deen Muhammad (formerly Wallace Muhammad) and Farrakhan publicly reconciled at the NOI's annual Saviors' Day convention, which marked the Nation of Islam's seventy-year anniversary in United States.

Andrew J. Waskey and James Ciment

See also: [Black Panthers](#); [Garvey, Marcus](#); [Malcolm X](#); [Universal Negro Improvement Association](#).

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Black Panthers

A radical black political organization of the 1960s and 1970s, the Black Panther Party (BPP, originally called the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense) was founded in 1966 by activists Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California. Authors of a ten-point program proclaiming “what we want, what we believe,” the BPP founders created a party that would become a national political and cultural phenomenon with chapters in cities such as Seattle, Los Angeles, Kansas City, New Haven, Baltimore, New York, and Chicago.

According to the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), a government campaign to disrupt domestic radical political organizations, the BPP's calls for black militancy constituted one of the major threats to American national security in the 1960s and 1970s. Though the Black Panthers did promulgate the idea of African American armed self-defense against police abuse and brutality, they also were involved in peaceful efforts to alleviate poverty and improve conditions in the largely inner-city neighborhoods in which they functioned.

The Black Panthers, as an autonomous black liberation organization, embodied both the validity of revolutionary black nationalism and the need to forge dynamic multiracial united fronts to fight injustice. Organizing armed community patrols to fight police brutality, breakfast programs for children, independent media, and community health programs, the Panthers for a time forged a socialist ethic of popular self-management through direct action in urban, working-class African American communities, and became an international inspiration toward a free society.

The Panthers were the self-proclaimed children of civil rights activist Malcolm X, the organization of the new political power he had identified, alienated street youth, and prisoners who aspired to redeem themselves through political activism. The BPP was also profoundly influenced by the Chinese Marxist military and political leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), anti-imperialist theorist Frantz Fanon, and Robert Williams, a renegade National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) leader who built a popular militia to defend his North Carolina community from the Ku Klux Klan. In addition, the party had links to insurgent national liberation movements and defiant communist regimes in Algeria, China, Cuba, Mozambique, and Vietnam.

The BPP was known for a militaristic media image and the macho cultural ethos personified by Eldridge Cleaver in black beret, leather jacket, and sunglasses. The Panthers' rank and filers, however, were often women holding unsung positions as community organizers. These dynamic activists included Elaine Brown, Safiya Bukhari, Kathleen Cleaver, Ericka Huggins, and Assata Shakur, among others.

In the late 1960s and the 1970s, the BPP was the object of concerted efforts at repression and disruption by local, state, and federal law enforcement. Not a few became political prisoners for their underground military operations and propaganda.



Members of the militant Black Panther Party take to the streets of New York City in 1968 to protest the trial of cofounder Huey Newton for the manslaughter of an Oakland, California, policeman. Newton was found guilty, but the verdict was later overturned. (MPI/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Chicago's Fred Hampton and Mark Clark were among the most prominent members killed by police. They were shot in December 1969. The group known as the New York Panther 21 was tried for planning to bomb public places; it was acquitted in 1971. Also that year, "Soledad Brother" and author George Jackson was gunned down by California prison guards. John Huggins and Bunchy Carter of Los Angeles were among the other Black Panthers who became martyrs to the movement. They were killed by a rival black nationalist organization called the United Slaves, led by Maulana Karenga. The conflict between the two groups, according to government documents, had been instigated by the FBI.

Nevertheless, the Panthers were divided internally, both philosophically and organizationally. Especially substantial issues marked the division between East and West Coast chapters. While Newton, Seale, and the Oakland leadership counterposed class struggle to African cultural nationalism, the New York chapter was founded on the Harlem tradition of not seeing these two concepts as mutually exclusive. While some Panthers began to run for office on the Democratic Party ticket as reformers, others formed the Black Liberation Army and began to carry out guerrilla operations against banks and police. Newton's centralization of authority in Oakland and hoarding of funds from sales of the party newspaper also became sources of contention.

The contributions of the BPP to the American counterculture were many, including new terminology (the pejorative "pig" for police and the military); fashion (leather jackets, berets, and dark sunglasses); and image making and propaganda (widely seen posters of Panthers posing with firearms). Liberal white supporters of the Black Panthers engaged in what was called "radical chic" by adopting these cultural accoutrements and convincing themselves, to a greater or lesser degree, that they were in solidarity with underprivileged people in the United States and around the developing world. On a more serious note, the Panthers elevated the place of prisoners and youth in the black freedom struggle of the day.

The BPP has many legacies. Without its activism, many public schools would not have had breakfast programs for children from low-income families. Many Head Start-type early-childhood education programs were initiated, public health clinics were funded and expanded, and traffic lights were installed in urban African American communities. If only out of fear of the BPP's alternative example, the black community developed as an electoral constituency and expanded opportunities for blacks to become middle-class professionals.

Furthermore, the dream of a black, autonomous community free from white supremacy has been passed on through Black Panthers who remain political prisoners and the activists who defend them. These include Shakur, Geronimo Pratt, Sundiata Acoli, and the death-row prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal.

Matthew Quest

See also: [Black Muslims](#): [Black Power Movement](#): [COINTELPRO](#): [Malcolm X](#): [Newton, Huey](#).

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Black Power Movement

The Black Power movement was a broadly conceived militant national movement of the late 1960s and early 1970s that sought to redress ongoing social, political, economic, and cultural oppression, marginalization, stigmatization, and victimization of African Americans by the dominant white society. Black Power advocates— informed by the global anticolonial struggles of people of color, dissatisfied with the pace of change in the post– World War II United States, and frustrated by the accommodationist rhetoric of older, more conservative civil rights leaders—turned inward to black communities, black cultures, and African traditions in an attempt to empower themselves.

In 1966, during a voter registration drive in Greenwood, Mississippi, civil rights worker Stokely Carmichael was arrested and jailed. After his release on bail the same evening, Carmichael, who had been arrested more than two dozen times previously, publicly expressed his anger and frustration. Nonviolent acts of civil disobedience, he said, were not working as a means of social protest. Blacks had been “saying freedom for six years without success,” he went on, and the time for change had come. “What we gonna start saying now is Black Power,” he declared. The crowd repeated the slogan, “Black Power!”

The “Black Power!” slogan and culture emerged out of a growing sense of anger and frustration within the black community, especially among young African American civil rights workers and poor urban blacks. Aimed primarily at creating a political, cultural, and economic base independent of that of whites, the Black Power movement directly challenged the integrationist politics of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and his Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Although some white Americans considered the Black Power movement a call for

race war, which given the mounting urban violence during the mid-1960s did not seem implausible, young African Americans considered it a logical next step in the ongoing civil rights struggle.

Organized by Huey Newton and Bobby Seale in Oakland, California, in September 1966, the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (later shortened to the Black Panther Party) was one of the most visible and influential Black Power organizations. The Panthers advocated community service and promoted self-defense for blacks, started a newspaper called *The Black Panther: Black Community News Service*, instituted a breakfast program for poor children, and wrote the “Black Panther Party Platform and Program” (1966), which they distributed throughout the black community. The platform included, among other things, restitution from the government for generations of slave labor, self-determination for black communities, full employment, and adequate housing.

The Panthers regarded blacks as essentially a colonized people living within the United States, and they considered the police an occupying force within the black community. They sought to mobilize poor and working-class urban blacks in an effort to combat what they considered an oppressive white power structure in the United States and abroad.

The Panthers were not alone. By the end of the 1960s, Black Power groups had emerged in most of the nation's cities, north and south. Students at colleges and universities as diverse as San Francisco State, the University of Mississippi, Columbia University, and Cornell University, and groups ranging from autoworkers to athletes and artists and entertainers all organized under the “Black Power!” slogan. Among the more active organizations were Columbia University's Black Student Congress, the Onyx Society of City College in New York, FMO (For Members Only) of Northwestern University, the Olympic Project for Human Rights, the Dodge Revolutionary Union Movement (DRUM), and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers. In the summer of 1967, more than 1,100 delegates attended the First National Conference on Black Power in Newark, New Jersey.

In the realm of culture, the Black Power movement manifested itself as a search for authentic African-inspired expression that represented a challenge to the aesthetics and ideals of the larger, white-dominated culture, as well as the middle-class, integrationist aspirations of older African Americans. Eschewing the neatly groomed and conformist fashions of mainstream civil rights leaders, Black Power activists wore their hair long and natural in the Afro style and doffed suits for dashikis, colorful flowing shirts that represented an Afrocentric fashion statement. Black Power advocates also adopted more militaristic fashions to better represent their growing sense of being enmeshed in an economic, political, and cultural battle. The ubiquitous black leather jacket and black beret worn by many activists are powerful icons of the late-1960s counterculture.

In descriptions of themselves, Black Power advocates challenged the dominant white society and their own elders by discarding the old-fashioned and condescending term *Negro* for *black* or *Afro-American*, and adopting the expression “Black is beautiful.” In perhaps the most memorable expression of the movement, black track-and-field stars John Carlos and Tommie Smith defiantly raised their fists in the Black Power salute during the playing of the American national anthem at a 1968 Olympic Games award ceremony in Mexico City. The two sprinters were denounced as unpatriotic and even subversive by many white—and some black—leaders.

Infighting and sabotage by the federal government in the form of the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO), a government campaign to undermine radical political organizations, ultimately led to the disintegration of the Panthers and other high-profile Black Power groups.

In the end, Black Power activists were not successful in eradicating poverty, segregation, discrimination, and social injustice, nor were they able to bring “power to the people.” They were, however, quite successful in decolonizing the minds of a generation of African Americans who abandoned processed hair and other aspects of white culture and reveled in their blackness.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Black Panthers: Carmichael, Stokely](#); [Civil Rights Movement: COINTELPRO](#);

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Blavatsky, Helena (1831–1891)

Helena Petrovna Blavatsky's idiosyncratic distillations of Hinduism and Buddhism are rightly understood as primary source material for occult and alternative religious practice in twentieth-century American culture. As the founder of the Theosophical Society and its esoteric teachings of Theosophy—the study of God or divine wisdom—Madame Blavatsky is credited with introducing the knowledge of Eastern religions to the West, including the ideas of karma (cause and effect) and reincarnation (surviving death and being reborn into a new body).

She was born Helena Petrovna Hahn to an aristocratic Russian family on July 31, 1831 (by the old Russian calendar; August 12 by the modern calendar). At the age of seventeen, she abandoned a brief, unsatisfactory marriage to a government official and entered into a peripatetic life that would take her throughout Europe and eventually, in the summer of 1873, to the United States. As a lifelong devotee of the esoteric, Blavatsky was drawn to U.S. shores by her interest in American spiritualism, then immensely popular.

At the age of forty-two, Blavatsky traveled from Paris to New York. After a year of scraping by, sewing purses and pen wipers, and a brief, unsuccessful flirtation with animal husbandry (a chicken farm), she met her partner and champion, journalist for the New York *Daily Graphic* Colonel Henry Steel Olcott. They were both at the Eddy farm in Chittenden, Vermont, the center of a then-resurgent American interest in spiritualism. Olcott had been writing a series of articles on Chittenden for the *Daily Graphic*. Blavatsky was, by this point, long conversant with matters spiritual. She claimed to have been in communication for some twenty years with two Mahatmas—roughly translated, “great souls,” highly evolved beings whose ongoing mission was to oversee the spiritual advancement of individuals and civilizations.

Blavatsky and Olcott took to one another immediately and began a long and by all accounts platonic relationship. In contrast to her brief, ill-advised marriage to fellow exile Michael Betanely (a bigamous relationship since she had not divorced her first husband), Blavatsky's chaste relationship with Olcott was lifelong.

In New York City in 1875, Blavatsky began *Isis Unveiled* (1877), the text that would reveal to the world the content of her ongoing communication with the Mahatmas; it became the founding text of Theosophy. September of that year saw Blavatsky's establishment of the Theosophical Society, a group devoted to collating and

distributing “knowledge of the laws of the universe.”

Failing initially to generate a substantial following stateside, Olcott and Blavatsky left New York for India in December 1878. In Madras (present-day Chennai), the two established the headquarters of what was to become an international movement, leaving the affairs of the U.S. branch of the Theosophical Society to founding secretary William Judge. By 1896, U.S. membership in the organization had reached 6,000.

The turn to the East for spiritual authority constitutes perhaps *the* fundamental leitmotif of a long countertradition in American religion. That tradition arguably began with the Buddhist leanings of American transcendentalism, but first bore popular fruit with the late-nineteenth-century rise of Theosophy and that of its charismatic leader. The perceived and actual constraints of organized religion, Christianity in particular, are a recurring concern in American counterculture, and the emergence of Theosophy was a key moment in the religious response to those constraints.

Theosophy puts forth a proposition that is central to most New Age religions: All religions and wisdom traditions are fundamentally one, each being a different face presented to the material world by the divine. It was Blavatsky’s self-appointed task to articulate the links among various religious and esoteric traditions, discern their shared roots, and describe their ongoing effects on culture and society. It was a task convened in two central texts, *Isis Unveiled*, first published in 1877, and *The Secret Doctrine*, which came out in 1888. Much of the “wisdom” proffered within these texts was ostensibly communicated to Blavatsky by various Mahatmas. Blavatsky is of note as well for the figure she cut as a woman in an overtly sexist Victorian America. Prone to mannish dress and public fits of rage, an avid smoker of tobacco and hashish, she dramatically transgressed the norms of feminine propriety. William James’s Society for Psychical Research captured something of her character in its assessment, published as “Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research, Part IX”: “For our own part, we regard her neither as the mouthpiece of hidden seers, nor as a mere vulgar adventuress; we think that she has achieved a title to permanent remembrance as one of the most accomplished, ingenious, and interesting imposters of history.” Blavatsky died in London, England, on May 5, 1891.

To this day, the Theosophical Society has had an immense influence on American occultism and alternative religion; it is estimated that no fewer than forty-six organizations have emerged directly from the original society. This lineage extends to the United Lodge of Theosophists (ULT), the Theosophical Society based in Pasadena, California, and the Theosophical Society based in Adyar, Chennai. The latter organization alone boasts ninety-seven active lodges in the United States.

In addition to Blavatsky’s influence on these and other theosophical organizations, it should be noted that the very language and structure of New Age thought are based in large part on terms and conceptions she created, synthesized, or popularized. Regardless of her spiritual bona fides, the writings of Blavatsky and her followers continue to exert an immense influence on New Age spiritualities into the twenty-first century.

Mark Harrison

See also: [New Age: Theosophy](#).

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Bloggers

Weblogs, commonly referred to as blogs, are Internet sites that allow individuals to communicate and share information and opinions—usually in text form—in a virtual environment. Individuals who contribute content to blogs are known as bloggers. Bloggers write personal content that chronicles their lives, comment on current events, and offer opinions on a range of topics. Bloggers are motivated by a desire to share their creativity through personal reflection, to exchange knowledge, or to have their opinions heard. They are able to create blogs using free Internet-based services such as Blogger, Movable Type, or WordPress, which allow anyone interested in taking part to quickly create and distribute content.

Bloggers, as a group, received national and international attention for their coverage of the 2004 presidential election, which went beyond the scope of the mainstream media. During a September 2004 television broadcast by CBS News, anchorman Dan Rather reported on a story regarding President George W. Bush's National Guard record. Shortly after the broadcast, bloggers began posting entries that questioned the authenticity of the documents on which the story relied. The uproar on the part of bloggers led to a more thorough investigation of the matter, which finally led to a retraction and apology on the part of CBS.

Despite widespread criticism of the “blogosphere” (as the world of blogging is known) by the conventional media, this incident demonstrated the power of bloggers to fact-check the reporting of a major national news organization. Bloggers have continued to monitor mainstream media and the way information is disseminated. Blogs such as the Drudge Report (www.drudgereport.com) and the Huffington Post (www.huffingtonpost.com), founded and run by Matt Drudge and Arianna Huffington, respectively, offer a new means of revealing facts and disseminating opinion. The Drudge Report, in fact, was the first source to break the Monica Lewinsky scandal in 1998.

Print publications and television news programs continue to be challenged in the timeliness and accuracy of their reporting by bloggers, who have attracted many readers away from traditional print media or, at the least, provided a supplementary source of news and information. Bloggers build communities of readers around specific news and current events, professions, and recreation activities. As bloggers are able to change the flow of information and challenge the distribution of information from traditional sources, anyone interested in contributing content is able to disseminate his or her point of view.

Blogs can be found on any range of topics based on an individual's interest, from simple journals of daily life to an in-depth focus on a particular subject. A blog called the Counterculture Criteria (http://noise.typepad.com/counterculture_criteria/) seeks to create an environment in which members of the counterculture can communicate freely. ComicMix (www.comicmix.com) is a blog for those whose interests range from comics and graphic novels to video games. It's Getting Hot in Here (<http://itsgettinghotinhere.org>) is focused on providing youth with an outlet for discussing environmental issues.

Even groups traditionally not associated with technology have embraced blogging. Librarians, for example, have become bloggers in large numbers. Sites such as Librarian (www.librarian.net) and the Shifted Librarian (www.theshiftedlibrarian.com) provide a channel for librarians to discuss issues important to them.

As popular bloggers become celebrities based on their blogs, there have been consequences. For example, Kathy

Sierra of Creating Passionate Users (http://headrush.typepad.com/creating_passionate_users/), a popular technology-related blog, began receiving death threats in 2007 because she was a high-profile woman in the male-dominated technology field.

The ability for interaction between bloggers and readers has developed a culture in which fact checking is a community responsibility. Even though a blogger is a single individual working at a computer, the software and the Internet environment help create a community of users. Already this new counterculture has had a major influence on the mainstream culture—to the point that blogs have become common in conventional media outlets, such as newspaper, magazine, and television news network Web sites.

Michael LaMagna

See also: [Internet](#).

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Blue Man Group

Blue Man Group is an innovative performance troupe known for creating unusual stage productions that blend mime, rock music, humor, creative lighting, and audience participation. The trio of performers is easily identified by a blue, gooey greasepaint that covers their exposed skin and latex caps, as well as by their utilitarian dark clothing. In their own words, “Blue Man Group is a creative organization dedicated to creating excitement-generating experiences for our audience and ourselves.”

Formed in the 1980s in New York City by Phil Stanton, Chris Wink, and Matt Goldman, Blue Man Group began with impromptu performances on the street and in the underground cabaret scene, before moving on to full-length, choreographed shows. Common themes in these shows include information, science, and technology. Musical interludes are provided by percussion-based, custom-made instruments that emit interesting and often unusual sounds. Blue Man is an accomplished musical group, with recorded albums and a Grammy nomination to their credit.

Blue Man Group has demonstrated universal appeal, stimulating the senses of young and old alike. Mechanisms for creating unique experiences include improvisation, audience participation, and interaction between performers and audience. Attendees are encouraged to wear casual clothing, for all the activity that may ensue. Shows offer a wide range of sensory stimulation, including lights, sound, confetti, and even water or paint that may splash on the first several rows, otherwise known as the “poncho section.”

Blue Man Group is variously regarded as high brow for its depth of character, humor, and social commentary—information overload is a common theme, demonstrated by multiple scrolling messages—and low brow for its seemingly nonsensical messages, such as paper streamers or confetti dropping from the ceiling.

Early on, Blue Man Group developed a near-cult following for its avant-garde approach. As the creators evolved from street performance to staged performance art and finally to a permanent show at New York's Astor Place Theatre in 1991, they studied vaudeville as a way to push the boundaries of the cultural norm. Differentiation from standard entertainment built a grassroots following largely by word of mouth. Fans often have been described by show reviewers as "faithful" and "devoted."

Far from being a fad, however, Blue Man Group has endured and stayed fresh by remaining innovative and experimental. Its loyal fan base constitutes a kind of subculture in its own right, with members attending performances multiple times and connecting with each other at online and live venues.

Blue Man Group has helped develop its fan base by providing as many opportunities as possible to attend live shows, including long-running theatrical productions based in Boston, Chicago, New York, and London. Larger, more elaborate shows are based in Las Vegas and Berlin. Additionally, Blue Man Group tours extensively throughout the United States in a kind of "rock tour" format. The fan community is further augmented through online message boards on the Blue Man Group Web site, official message postings, chat sessions, a fan club called Blue Man Library, and a podcast, *Switchback*.

The enduring success of Blue Man Group has demonstrated the appeal in the United States and much of the rest of the world of lighthearted, message-filled, sensory stimulation delivered by nonstereotypical characters that defy categorization or classification.

Todd Anderson

See also: [Performance Art](#).

Further Reading

Blue Man Group. <http://www.blue-man.com>

Blue Man Library. <http://www.blue-man-library.com>

Blues Music

Blues music is characterized by minor-key melodies, slide-and string-bending techniques that fill guitar notes with as much emotion as the human voice, and lyrics that evoke the hardships and impermanence of life, especially as endured by generations of blacks in America.

Culturally, the blues style arose from the confluence of musical forms brought to the American South by slaves from different parts of Africa with the gospel and folk traditions already present. The style further evolved through the confrontation of that music with the harsh conditions of strange landscapes, strange people, and hard physical labor. The cadences of work songs, set to the rhythms of chopping cotton and cutting sugarcane and timber, marked the origin of the blues. The lyrics spoke of hard work in the present, hopes of better days ahead, and relationships good and bad that filled workers' minds as they labored.

Roots

Blues music developed primarily among African Americans in a geographical arc from the pine forests of northern Florida through the wiregrass of Alabama, the dark soil of the Mississippi Delta, the bayous of Louisiana, and west to the Hill Country of Texas, with branches flourishing in the Piedmont of North Carolina and up the Mississippi River through Tennessee and Arkansas. There were variations among regions, with the Delta favoring solo guitarists, New Orleans adding piano and horn, and Texas blues bringing in Western swing rhythms. Across those changes and places, it remained a music that gave first place to emotion and that was based on a mix of African and Western musical heritages.

In the years before World War I, this rural style took a quick swing uptown as Memphis composer W.C. Handy published sheet music for "Memphis Blues" in 1912 and "St. Louis Blues" in 1914. Around the same time, music producer Perry Bradford saw a market for black musicians among black audiences at segregated traveling stage shows. Many of the singers who recorded the so-called theater blues of the prewar era were women who had their first performing experiences in vaudeville. They recorded tunes such as Mamie Smith's "Crazy Blues," often called the first blues hit; Sippie Wallace's "Mighty Tight Woman," a double-entendre tune that reached a new generation decades later through the recordings of white blues woman Bonnie Raitt; and Bessie Smith's classic "T'aint Nobody's Business If I Do."

Down in the Delta, men were singing the blues, too. Charley Patton, who grew up on the Dockery Plantation in central Mississippi, spiced up his live shows with flashy moves, such as playing guitar behind his back and between his legs. But it was his growling, impassioned, almost desperate-sounding vocals that made an impression on contemporaries such as Lightnin' Hopkins, Skip James, and Robert Johnson, as well as musicians of later generations, including Eric Clapton and John Hammond, Jr.

Robert Johnson perhaps most personified the essence of Delta blues and the blues life itself. Johnson made his living as an itinerant musician, playing a range of tunes that would appeal to his audiences in juke joints and clubs in the Deep South. At the time of his death in 1938, at age twenty-seven (under mysterious, perhaps violent, circumstances), he had recorded only twenty-nine songs. Yet Johnson's music proved a legacy so influential that it has affected almost every blues musician, and many who work in other genres, right up to the present day. Delivered in a high, moaning voice backed by fluid, idiosyncratic guitar playing, such songs as "Dust My Broom," "Hell Hound on My Trail," "Terraplane Blues," "Come On in My Kitchen," "Sweet Home Chicago," and "Stones in My Passway" cast a dark light on the lives, lifestyles, and emotions that give rise to the blues.

Post-World War II

When blacks moved to the North after World War II, they took their music with them. In Chicago and other cities, the blues took on an urban outlook in rhythm and lyrics as electric instruments joined the band. What had been primarily a songster-driven music now developed a stronger instrumental dimension with the work of such artists as B.B. King, James Cotton, and, in Texas a generation later, Stevie Ray Vaughan.

Electric blues influenced and merged with rock music, finding outlets and connections in the music of Clapton, the Rolling Stones, and the Doors. The acoustic Delta tradition and its musicians found a home in the folk music revival of the 1960s and the singer-songwriter movement of the 1970s, fueling the work of Raitt, Bob Dylan, Maria Muldaur, and Chris Smither.

Musicians of both rock and folk styles found an authentic reference to the roots of the blues in the extensive field recordings of Southern blues, gospel, and folk music, made by John and Alan Lomax as they traveled across the American South in the 1930s and 1940s, which were issued by the Library of Congress. The Lomaxes had found treasure troves of handed-down blues tunes among the inmates of Southern prisons, especially Parchman Farm (Mississippi State Penitentiary), in conditions not far removed from those of the birth of the blues in slave times.

Traditional blues players of both Chicago and Southern styles also were rediscovered by the folk revival musicians of the 1960s. Several traditional blues players, including John Lee Hooker, Son House, and Mississippi Fred McDowell, saw flourishing careers in their later years with the appreciation of these younger musicians and their

audiences.

Despite its mainstream acceptance, blues acquired and nurtured a reputation as music of the back rooms and back roads. Songs about prison life, drug addiction, and murder, forthright and double-entendre songs about sex, and songs lyrically and melodically drenched with emotion identified the music and those who played and listened to it as part of the counterculture rather than the mainstream of society in the twentieth century. It was not nice music, and whether one was deeply or casually involved in it, the blues—especially in its urban settings—was seen as hip, daring, or both. White listeners and players, as well as those who presented blues in their clubs and allowed the races to mingle there, defied long-established social ideas and rules that did not change appreciably until the 1970s.

In the twenty-first century, blues music continues to speak to the human condition with emotion, passion, and humor through the music of artists, black and white. These modern blues musicians include Raitt, King, Smither, Keb' Mo', Marcia Ball, Rory Block, Cyd Cassone, Corey Harris, Taj Mahal, Koko Taylor, and such next-generation artists as John Mayer, Kenny Wayne Shepherd, Shemekia Copeland, Susan Tedeschi, Jonny Lang, and Sean Costello.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Dylan, Bob](#).

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Body Arts

Body arts are ways of adorning the body for aesthetic rather than functional purposes. The body may be altered temporarily, as in the case of cosmetics or body painting, or permanently, as in the case of tattooing or piercing.

Many cultures around the world have traditions of body arts. There is a long history of body arts in the United States. Members of various Native American cultures painted their bodies for special occasions, tattooed themselves, or sported facial piercings. Body arts became a widespread American phenomenon in the 1980s and 1990s. Prior to that time, body arts among non-Native Americans, especially permanent body modification, were confined to a handful of subcultures.

Tattooing

Prior to European contact, many North American native peoples, including the Ojibwa, Cree, Sioux, Crow, and others, practiced tattooing to ornament the body, to facilitate communication with the spirit world, and to ward off disease. By the mid-1800s, tattooing practices among many Native Americans declined, as their customs changed in response to European infiltration of the New World.

In 1891, Samuel O'Reilly improved upon a machine that had been invented by Thomas Edison and created an electric tattoo machine, which he used in the first tattoo shop in the United States, located in Chatham Square in New York City. Sailors often visited the shop to get pigs or roosters tattooed on their feet as symbols of good luck to prevent drowning; other members of the armed forces asked for military insignias. In the early 1900s, a few men and women tattooed their entire bodies and exhibited themselves in circuses.

As American youth culture and the movement toward free expression began to blossom in the 1950s and 1960s, tattooing was adopted by various countercultural groups. Motorcycle gangs developed a unique style that often included tattoos. A common Latino youth tattoo was a small cross or three dots between the thumb and forefinger as a sign of Latino identity. Prison inmates often engaged in crude forms of tattooing, using handmade equipment and inks. Many American prison tattoos were (and still are) religious in theme or conveyed specific messages. For example, a teardrop tattooed near one eye usually signified that the bearer either had killed someone or had a friend killed in prison.

Today, prison tattoos are common among inmates, and some may be marks of gang affiliation. Other specific subcultures also sport specific tattoos. Members of white supremacist groups typically are tattooed with the initials of the organization to which they belong or with the Nazi swastika. Some college fraternities also encourage members to get a particular tattoo or other body modification.

Proliferation of Forms

Beginning in the 1970s and 1980s, other forms of body art, including piercing, also were adopted by various counterculture groups in the United States. Many members of the punk subculture adopted both tattoos and piercing as a way to set themselves apart from the mainstream. The underground gay subculture began to explore piercing as a form of adornment and a way to mark homosexual identity.

The first professional piercing shop in the United States, the Gauntlet, which opened in San Francisco in 1975, originally catered mainly to a gay clientele. For some, piercing also could be an exploration of sadomasochist sexual activity in the form of "play piercing," in which one person pierces another with needles that are later removed.

Body modification experienced a renaissance in the 1990s, when a new tattoo machine allowed for finer lines, and new inks allowed for more brilliant colors that were less susceptible to fading. In the early 1990s, fashion designer Jean Paul Gaultier exhibited tattooed models on the runway. Rock musicians, sports stars, and other celebrities contributed to the popularity of body modification by publicly exhibiting their own tattoos and piercings.

Tattooing and piercing reached a new level of professionalization with the advent of tattooing and piercing magazines, professional conventions, and licensing laws and health regulations for tattoo and piercing shops. Also, a new way to remove tattoos, using a laser, was much less painful than previous methods and left little scarring. This reduced some peoples' reluctance based on the permanence of tattoos and further increased their use as body art, even among more mainstream groups.

While certain forms of body modification, such as small tattoos or navel piercings, became common by the first decade of the 2000s, more extreme body arts also had developed in the Modern Primitive movement and "neo-tribal" style of body modification. These two trends share an adoption of body art styles and practices from other cultures, such as Inuit, Polynesian, or Maori style tattoos; certain forms of piercing, like a labret pierce through the skin between the chin and lower lip adopted from an Inuit culture; and practices like stretching a hole in the earlobe with a plug borrowed from various African tribes. *Modern Primitives*, a term taken from a book of the same name published in 1989 that features body modification, indicates extreme body modification practices, such as genital or facial piercing, branding, scarification, and body implants.

Some individuals attempt to transform their entire body into a work of art. The Enigma, a male stage performer tattooed in blue puzzle pieces over the entire surface of his body, is a prime example. Another is Katzen, a

musician and tattoo artist who has adorned herself with cat stripes, attempted to modify the shape of her ears to be more catlike, and tried to implant a tail as well.

While the term *neo-tribal* refers to a more casually adopted style, the Modern Primitive movement involves the most extreme body art, which remains relatively rare, but is practiced by a small core of devotees.

Kim Hewitt

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Bohemianism

The term *bohemianism* traditionally refers to an attitude of nonconformity and dissent from middle-class and mainstream values, typically expressed through an alternative lifestyle and artistic endeavors. Bohemian culture first emerged among the middle-class youth of Paris in the nineteenth century and was characterized by the supreme valuation of aesthetic pursuits over the strict work ethic that had grown out of the Industrial Revolution. The bohemian lifestyle typically entailed an aloof, detached attitude—or the affectation thereof—toward prevailing cultural norms, as well as voluntary poverty, sexual experimentation, transience, altered states of consciousness through drug use, and the elevation of unrestrained self-expression as an ideal.

Bohemianism thus provided disillusioned Parisian youth with an outlet to express their disapproval of the direction the modern world was taking. The term itself reflects a mistaken belief that Gypsies, in whose lower-class neighborhoods young French artists congregated at the time, came from the Central European region of Bohemia (now part of the Czech Republic). In any event, the lifestyle, attitudes, and artistic inclinations of the early bohemians recurred in subsequent antinomian movements, including the Beat, hippie, and more recent American countercultures.

Bohemian as a descriptive term became prominent after the publication in 1845 of Henri Murger's collection of short stories, *Scènes de la Vie de Bohème* (*Scenes of Bohemian Life*), which later inspired Giacomo Puccini's opera *La Bohème* (1896). Cafés became the focal point of bohemian culture, providing meeting places in which to discuss philosophies of art and existence, creating a community out of a group of people with otherwise loose and tenuous connections to one another.

The Parisian bohemians, as opposed to other countercultural groups, had little interest in direct political action, preferring instead to drop out of society and focus on personal vision and artistic self-expression as the height of

meaningful experience. Withdrawing from the practical pursuits of their bourgeois parents, bohemians turned inward, experimenting with substances such as opium, belladonna, and absinthe to find alternatives to the expectations of society.

Strains of Romanticism ran strong in bohemian culture through the valorization of peasant life and a nostalgic yearning to return to a primitive “golden age,” free from the modern industrial mechanism of work and capitalistic social stratification. The later distortions and amplifications of expressionism, Dadaism, and surrealism, as well as the chaotic forcefulness of the poetry of Arthur Rimbaud and Charles-Pierre Baudelaire, reflect a similar resistance to industrial commodification, the new urban landscapes, and the bourgeois class.

The bohemian obsession with the value of aesthetic expression emerged from Romanticism’s focus on intuition and imagination over rational logic and reason. In particular, the writings of philosopher Jean-Jacques Rousseau on the purity of man in his natural state, without the imposition of social conceptions of “good” and “bad,” were highly influential on the disaffected middle-class youths of Paris.

In the early 1900s, the movement spread throughout Europe, manifesting itself in London in the form of the literary Bloomsbury group. Virginia Woolf and E.M. Forster are among the more famous members of that group, which carried on many of the antithetical themes of the Parisian bohemians and previous antinomians, including outspoken pacifism and open sexual experimentation.

In Germany, the Wandervogel, or Roamers, appeared in the mid-twentieth century. They were the disillusioned sons and daughters of the newly prosperous postindustrialization middle-class burghers. They often could be found wandering the countryside, putting on musical and dramatic performances in attempts to align themselves with what they perceived as the simpler, closer-to-nature values of the rural working class. The advent of World War II, however, drastically changed the face of European bohemianism, and many of the ideals and practices of the Wandervogel were put to infamous use by the German Nazi Party.

Early American Bohemian Culture

In the early 1900s in the United States, New York City’s Greenwich Village became the center of American bohemianism. It was a haven for artists, writers, intellectuals, activists, and others who rejected bourgeois values, materialism, and sexual and artistic norms—among them Djuna Barnes, Maxwell Bodenheim, E.E. Cummings, Mabel Dodge, Marcel Duchamp, Max Eastman, Joe Gould, Eugene O’Neill, Jack Reed, Edna St. Vincent Millay, William Carlos Williams, and Thomas Wolfe.

The writer Malcolm Cowley, a member of the so-called Lost Generation, participated in the Greenwich Village scene and wrote that, after World War I, a completely new set of bohemian ideas separated his generation from the one before it. In *Exile’s Return: A Literary Odyssey of the 1920s* (1951), Cowley summarized the bohemian ideals that were prevalent by 1920, as follows: (1) the idea of salvation by the child, that standardized society and its conventions destroy the gifts of childlike innocence and intuitive wisdom; (2) the importance of self-expression and creativity; (3) living for the moment and not living for the future; (4) the idea of paganism, that the body is a temple in which nothing is unclean, but rather “a shrine to be adorned with the ritual of love”; (5) a strong belief in personal liberty, that any law or convention that prevents full self-expression and enjoyment should be abolished; (6) female equality, that women should be the economic and moral equals of men, and be allowed the same freedom of expression; (7) the idea of psychological adjustment, that people in modern society are unhappy and maladjusted because they are repressed; and, finally, (8) the idea of “changing place,” or the importance of traveling and living in other cultures, and a love of the exotic. These ideas were to reappear in subsequent American countercultural and bohemian movements, and eventually they were diffused throughout American society at large.

Greenwich Village and the Lower East Side in the early 1900s also were hotbeds of a more politically charged form of bohemian subculture. Labor strikes and the rise of unionization entranced the dissatisfied and socially aware youth. Socialism and anarchism began to gain adherents, as pamphlets and magazines poured out of the

Village, spurred by the incendiary ideas of people such as Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, who called for an end to the class system, by violent means if necessary. The outbreak of World War I and the aftermath of the Russian Revolution fractured the scene, and eventually much of such sentiments were suffocated beneath tighter government watch and increasing fears of communism.

During the 1920s, a number of American bohemians relocated to Paris, seeking an escape from the political climate at home and a more affordable lifestyle. Meanwhile, given the soaring rents in Greenwich Village and the increasing presence of tourists and poseurs, the bohemian scene there began to decline. Still, Lower Manhattan retained its fair share of nonconformists and avant-garde antinomians, while uptown, bohemian ideas were present in the Harlem Renaissance movement and at salons hosted by the African American arts patron A'Leila Walker.

Bohemianism persisted in other parts of the United States as well, such as the artistic community in Carmel, California. It even had adherents such as train-riding hoboes and drifters, or mobile bohemians (“hobohemians”).

Post-World War II Bohemianism

World War II and the unleashing of American atomic power changed the face of modern bohemia even more drastically. The Beat writers brought a certain nihilism to the bohemian lifestyle and aesthetic sensibility, living between the threat of mass annihilation posed by nuclear proliferation and the empty escapism they saw in mainstream consumerism. The beatniks, as the Beats also were known, sought to live in the continuous and visceral experience of the present moment, searching for spiritual fulfillment, taking cues from Eastern religions, mysticism, French existentialism, and the spontaneous and urgent free-form bebop style of African American jazz musicians such as Charlie Parker and Dizzy Gillespie.

Familiar bohemian trends were central to the Beat lifestyle—antibourgeois attitudes, libertine tendencies, antimaterialism, the physical and spiritual transcendence symbolized by the open road, sexual experimentation in the forms of promiscuity and homosexuality, and the seeking of “ecstatic moments” through the use of drugs such as marijuana, opium, barbiturates, and methamphetamines.

Sprawling, jazz-influenced works of literature such as Jack Kerouac's rambling novel, *On the Road* (1957), and Allen Ginsberg's extended free-form poem, *Howl* (1956), romanticized the bohemian spirit in images of poetry readings in coffeehouses, all-night discussions of philosophy and art, and constant, spontaneous motion. The alienated Beats tended to valorize street life and the African American working-class hipster, making use of black slang expressions and the aesthetic freedom of jazz in their own artistic and social endeavors. A more apocalyptic and surrealistic Beat vision was epitomized by the influential novelist William S. Burroughs, whose writings depicted an American society doomed and rotting from within, plagued by evil technology, violence, addiction, consumerism, and paranoia.

From the 1940s to the 1960s, singers Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and others involved in the folk music revival were less nihilistic than the Beats and more politically active, yet they often promoted the bohemian themes of personal liberty, self-expression, social justice and equality, antimaterialism, coffeehouse culture, and a veneration of ordinary people and others who were marginalized in society.

By the tumultuous 1960s, folk music was flourishing (promoted by such up-and-coming young performers as Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, and others), and hippies replaced the Beats as the primary youth bohemians. Originating among educated middle-class youth in the Haight-Ashbury and Telegraph Avenue districts of San Francisco and Berkeley, California, the hippie ethos can be found in the famous admonition of acid guru Timothy Leary to “Turn on, tune in, drop out.” In response to what they saw as the staid and static values of the older generation, hippies, like the Beats, rejected materialistic and technocratic society.

Often adorned in a bricolage of colorful and fanciful clothing styles, hippies encouraged personal freedom, peace and love, communalism, hedonism, psychedelic spirituality, and alternate modes of perceiving the world in their

efforts to discover a more meaningful existence. The sudden availability of LSD was a major influence, as was the use of marijuana and other drugs in the attempt to transform consciousness and gain spiritual insight. Some, like novelist Ken Kesey and his cohorts, the Merry Pranksters, sought to “freak out,” or shock, the mainstream culture into a deeper awareness of existence through “acid tests” and their legendary cross-country bus excursion. Musical acts of the day echoed the psychedelic culture, as rock groups and performers such as the Grateful Dead, Jimi Hendrix, Jefferson Airplane, and the Doors experimented with elaborate studio recording techniques, surreal lyrics, and exotic instrumentation.

Hippies sought a romantic revival and a return to simpler ways of life, often adopting Eastern religions and Native American styles, and eschewing material possessions and traditional sexual constraints as overbearing conformist pressures in larger American society. While embracing bohemian values and often “dropping out” of society, many to communes, hippies also were actively involved in influencing social change, participating in Vietnam War protests, the civil rights movement, and the feminist and environmentalist movements.

Neo-Bohemianism

After the 1960s, as the hippie movement declined in a wash of excessive drug use, fragmentation, and politicization, some commentators declared that American bohemianism was dead. Others argued that bohemia was killed by “yuppies” (young urban professionals) and middle-class, white-collar workers moving into hip neighborhoods such as Greenwich Village, destroying traditional bohemian and artistic communities.

Bohemia did not die, however. It was just displaced, as bohemians created new communities in places where the rent was cheap. In New York City, for example, after Greenwich Village became unaffordable, artists and others moved across town to the East Village, and then to nearby Alphabet City, or Hoboken, New Jersey, or Greenpoint or Williamsburg in Brooklyn.

In the twenty-first century, large communities of bohemians living together in specific urban areas may be in decline because of gentrification, but bohemian ideas continue to be disseminated through zines and the Internet, the reflection of a more diasporic bohemian community that is dispersed across the United States, with networks of bohemians meeting online and exchanging ideas in cyberspace cafés. Bohemian tendencies have persisted in numerous subcultures, including the punk and post-punk movements in their various permutations, as well as in the rave and club culture and post-rave techno-tribalism.

Bohemian values also are evident at alternative events such as the Burning Man Festival, Rainbow Family Gatherings, and other Temporary Autonomous Zones. Bohemian ideas have been kept alive at artistic centers such as the Nuyorican Poets Café in Manhattan and also may be found in varying degrees among New Age travelers, surfers, neo-tribalists, postmodern hoboes, and other subculture groups.

While bohemian ideals may be embraced at a subcultural level, bohemianism as a cultural phenomenon continues to fascinate broader American society. In 1996, *Rent*, a Broadway reinterpretation of Puccini’s *La Bohème*, garnered national attention. The popular musical focused on a group of struggling artists, many of them gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgender, living in the East Village and Lower East Side of New York and embracing a bohemian lifestyle in pursuit of their artistic ideals. The image of starving bohemians, willing to sacrifice everything for their art, has an enduring popular appeal.

In the twenty-first century, bohemian ideas pervade American society. These ideas, in diluted form, are widely accepted, especially by the educated class, resulting in the emergence of “bobos”—bourgeois bohemians, a new upper class that combines aspects of bohemianism with capitalist ideology. In fact, some cultural critics argue that bohemian and countercultural values have been completely co-opted by corporate America and have become a central part of capitalist orthodoxy and advertising strategies. From this perspective, the ideas and symbols of bohemian dissent and countercultural rebellion have been appropriated and mass-marketed, then sold back to the public in the form of chic bohemian styles, cool subcultural commodities, and alternative lifestyle products that are irresistible to the “rebellious” consumer.

Bohemian ideas and values have been a central aspect of numerous counterculture movements in the course of American history and have had a significant influence on mainstream culture and consciousness. The death, renewal, commercialization, and transformation of bohemianism will continue to be an object of interest to observers of American culture and neo-bohemians in the years ahead.

Daniel Wojcik and Robert Dobler

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Bebop](#): [East Village, New York City](#): [Folk Music](#): [Greenwich Village, New York City](#): [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#): [Harlem Renaissance](#): [Hippies](#).

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Bookstores, Alternative

From the 1950s through the 1970s, alternative bookstores served as counterculture centers that attracted political, social justice, environmental, peace, feminist, New Age, and free speech activists. Meccas for all kinds of outsiders, they offered difficult-to-find hardcover titles as well as affordable “pocket books”—paperbacks that were often disdained by “legitimate” bookstore owners (and their patrons), who did not consider them real books.

Independents traded in used books and magazines and were primary sources of underground periodicals such as *Rolling Stone*, *The Village Voice*, *Zap Comics*, *The East Village Other*, the *Berkeley Barb*, and the *San Francisco Oracle*. After offset printing made publishing more affordable, some, like the Eighth Street Bookshop in New York City and City Lights Books in San Francisco, established small presses of their own or launched publications like City Lights' *Journal for the Protection of All Beings*.

Alternative bookshops were always more than businesses. Their owners generally were activists whose passions ran the gamut from radical politics to opposing censorship, promoting experimental literature and fiction, and encouraging ethnic and local writers through open readings. They employed book lovers, students, and academic dropouts who functioned more like librarians and research assistants than store clerks.

Because music was such an integral part of the counterculture, alternative booksellers often provided performance

space, and many sold new and used recordings. In the early 1960s, Jerry Garcia, the vocalist and guitarist of the Grateful Dead, periodically used Kepler's Books in Menlo Park, California, as a rehearsal hall. The surrounding Stanford University community became a counterculture hub in the 1960s and 1970s, with Stewart Brand's Whole Earth Truck Store and the People's Computer Company (an early techie mecca) just blocks from Kepler's (whose owner, Roy Kepler, was imprisoned as a conscientious objector during World War II and later served as executive director of the War Resisters League).

Other stores, like Seattle's Red and Black Books Collective, established in 1973, were run as cooperatives. Like-minded leftists volunteered to work a number of hours each week to keep the enterprise going. An urban phenomenon, counterculture bookstores could be found where rents were cheap—near universities, in immigrant neighborhoods, and in conclaves of poets, writers, and artists.

City Lights, one of the more famous independent enterprises, opened in 1953 at the corner of Broadway and Columbus Avenue in San Francisco's North Beach district. Its founders, artist and poet Lawrence Ferlinghetti and publisher Peter Martin, modeled it after George Whitman's Mistral English Language Bookshop in Paris. Ferlinghetti had discovered Whitman's salon for writers, artists, and free thinkers during World War II. It was initially a competitor of Sylvia Beach's Shakespeare and Company, which closed in 1941 when the Nazis invaded Paris (Whitman later purchased and reopened Shakespeare and Company). Beach had edited and published James Joyce's manuscript *Ulysses* after established publishers, who considered it obscene, refused to publish it.

Like the Mistral and Shakespeare and Company, City Lights Books became a haven for counterculture Beat poets, including Allen Ginsberg, Michael McClure, Kenneth Rexroth, and Gary Snyder. City Lights Publishers began publishing their work in paperback in 1955. Like Beach, Ferlinghetti was drawn into an obscenity trial, in his case for publishing Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems* in November 1956. Now considered an American classic, *Howl* caught the attention of censors with its vivid depictions of drug use and homosexuality.

The East Coast's Eighth Street Bookshop, the largest of the independents, was located in New York City's Greenwich Village. Owner Ted Wilentz, who lived upstairs, operated his bookstore like a low-rent literary salon. According to Bill Reed, author of *Early Plastic* (2000), the store functioned as a "mail drop, social club, post office, loan department, and employment agency for much of New York's literary avant-garde." Like City Lights, it established its own press, Corinth/Totem, in the late 1950s and published several poetry series—including the work of San Francisco poets Gary Snyder and Philip Whalen; Black Mountain poets Robert Creeley and Charles Olson; New York poets Barbara Guest and Frank O'Hara, and black poets LeRoi Jones, Clarence Mayor, Tom Weatherly, and Jay Wright.

In 1964, activist Ed Sanders opened the Peace Eye Bookstore in a former kosher meat market on New York City's Lower East Side. Sanders published *Fuck You: A Journal of the Arts*, and his shop attracted political satirists, artists, antiwar activists, and musicians. Sanders joined with musician Tuli Kupferberg to form the Fugs, a satirical folk/rock band that performed at Vietnam War protests all over the country.

In 1968, Peace Eye sponsored one of the earliest underground comics-art exhibits, including the works of Robert Crumb and Art Spiegelman. Sanders also threw a memorable book party for yippie leader Abbie Hoffman's *Revolution for the Hell of It* (1968). As a community service, Peace Eye ran a free neighborhood printing center, which produced flyers, poetry booklets, and newsletters for neighborhood activists and their organizations.

By 1970, approximately 7,000 independent booksellers were operating across the United States. Since 1980, however, they have steadily lost ground to superstore chains, such as Barnes and Noble and Borders, and to Web outlets, such as Amazon.com. With the coming of urban gentrification, many owners were unable to keep up with rent increases and were forced to close. A shift in undergraduate concerns from social and political issues to economics and business also took a toll on the alternative shops, as did the contracts university administrators signed with large bookselling chains to manage their campus bookstores.

By the early twenty-first century, the passion for revolutionary ideas, books, and music that had fed the alternative

bookstore culture was in obvious decline, and with it went many of the intellectual community centers they had spawned. As Linda Bubon, the owner of Women and Children First, a long-standing feminist bookstore in Chicago, observed, “There is a struggle going on for public space, something that is desperately needed in a democracy.”

Mary Stanton

See also: [Beach, Sylvia](#); [Beat Generation](#); [City Lights Books](#); [Comics, Underground](#).

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Boston Marriages

The term *Boston marriage* refers to a relationship between women who set up a household together, independent of men. Such relationships were most common in New England in the nineteenth century, particularly in conjunction with the community of young women who took advantage of new educational opportunities at such all-women colleges as Vassar, Smith, and Wellesley. The women involved in Boston marriages were not necessarily college educated, but they were likely to challenge the gender norms of their era by being financially independent (either through their own earnings or through family allowances or inheritance), career minded, and a feminist or suffragist.

Some, but not all, of these relationships were romantic or sexual in nature. When they were, the women might exchange rings to symbolize the significance of their relationship, might commit to monogamy, and often owned property jointly, planned vacations and traveled together, and shared family holidays and celebrations.

Boston marriages were typically characterized by affection and intimacy, though the extent to which partners engaged in sexual activity is unclear. These relationships were not necessarily lesbian in the sense in which the word is used today. During this period in American social history, women were understood to have little sexual drive, and the inclination toward same-sex affection or romance was widely regarded as asexual in nature. The view of women as being asexual allowed many women in Boston marriages to have socially accepted relationships that were not suspect for gender or sexual inappropriateness. Affectionate friendships—also called “romantic friendships”—between same-gendered persons were common for both men and women before the twentieth century. After World War I, platonic Boston marriages were arrangements of convenience for many women who had lost their husbands in combat.

The term *Boston marriage* gained prominence after the publication of Henry James’s novel *The Bostonians* in 1885, apparently inspired by his sister, Alice James, who shared a Boston marriage with a woman named

Katharine Loring. Another noted Boston marriage associated with the literary world was that between Maine writer Sarah Orne Jewett and her companion Anne Fields. Jewett wrote about the dynamics of Boston marriages in her novel *Deephaven* (1877).

As terminologies, identities, and understandings of same-sex relations expanded, the practice of the Boston marriage began to decline. Later, the emergence of a true lesbian identity and an open lesbian community created new opportunities for women to construct social identities and engage in relationships more suited to their needs and preferences. It is worth noting as well that while Boston marriages were available for women, there was no similar term or construct for the intimate relationships of men.

Daniel Farr

See also: [Lesbian Culture](#).

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Bowery B'hoys and G'hals

The Bowery B'hoys and G'hals were street gangs that inhabited the Lower East Side of New York City primarily in the decades before the American Civil War. "Bowery" is an anglicized version of the Dutch word for farm, and the Bowery remains a prominent thoroughfare that runs through this area of Manhattan, roughly from Chatham Square to Cooper Square.

The spellings of *B'hoys* and *G'hals* reflect the Irish pronunciations common to the neighborhood. Shaped by poverty and life on the margins of society, these largely Irish gangs gained an early reputation for crime, violence, and an anarchic spirit. The girls shared with the boys the same streets, criminality, and alienation from genteel culture.

Together, they created a separate slang and fashion that distinguished them from mainstream society. Expressions such as *bender* (anything great, spectacular), *blow out* (a feast), *corn g'hals* (rowdy girls), *big bugs* (important people), *cheese it* (quit it, stop it), *lam him* (beat somebody), *shucks* (worthless), *a brick in one's hat* (drunk and hung over), and many others constituted a rich vocabulary that helped identify the Bowery gangs as wild and rebellious youth. There was an active subculture that was the antithesis of mainstream American middle- and upper-class life and society.

Girls dressed in bright, secondhand finery of one-piece dresses with fitted bodices and attached skirts. Corsets were mandatory; undergarments were not. The boys were distinguished by their black frock coats, black stovepipe hats, red shirts, black flared pants, high-heeled calfskin boots, black vests, slicked hair, and muttonchop whiskers. Their entertainment was found in places such as the Bowery Theatre, where they made up enthusiastic and rowdy

audiences for the popular blackface minstrel shows of the day.

Streets north of the Five Points slum district attracted other Bowery gangs, who were far from progressive in their politics but equally violent and criminal in the pursuit of their interests. William Poole, also known as Bill the Butcher, became a well-known member of the Bowery B'hoys gang of the 1840s (by this time often referred to as Bowery Boys) and saw himself as a leader of the Republic of the Bowery. His gang battled Irish rivals such as the Dead Rabbits and Tammany Hall, the Democratic Party machine that controlled New York City politics at the time, and promoted the Know-Nothing Party politically. With its anti-Catholic, anti-immigration agenda, the Know-Nothings profited from the wave of Irish immigration in the late 1840s. In later years, the Bowery youth gangs contributed to such violent social upheavals as the New York draft riots of 1863—a series of revolts over federal legislation to draft men to fight in the Civil War—which provided an excuse for settling grievances, real or imagined.

The Bowery B'hoys and G'hals proved to be useful tools in the struggle for political control of New York City. The gangs resorted to intimidation to muster votes on behalf of their preferred candidates. When granted leadership roles by politicians such as Irish-born U.S. Representative Mike Walsh, they could even exert pressure on the city's establishment.

These were turbulent times in American history, and the rough-and-tumble streets fed an emerging working-class radicalism that sought to expand the concept of equality on many different levels. To some historians, the Bowery gangs symbolized an early form of class consciousness, expressed as political struggles between the haves and have-nots. At times, the gangs professed a progressive political agenda, tinged by criminal instincts, that had an impact on poets such as Walt Whitman but caused uneasiness, at best, among many in the general public. The Bowery gangs also inspired such writers as Herbert Asbury, whose interest in crime and transgression inspired a novel titled *The Gangs of New York* in (1928).

The tradition of the Bowery gang gained new popularity during the Great Depression of the 1930s, largely through Sidney Kingsley's Broadway play *Dead End* (1935), which dramatized the relationship between slum life and crime. The Depression made poverty a pressing reality and focus of social action for millions of Americans. This was particularly the case for Kingsley and other members of the Group Theatre movement who held left-wing views. Such politics would later place many members of this group on the Communist blacklist after World War II.

The Dead End Boys or Bowery Boys format later became a Hollywood entertainment phenomenon, with nearly 100 films released in twenty years. In most cases, the most subversive and countercultural elements of the original Bowery B'hoys and G'hals had been sanitized for public consumption. But some contemporary films such as *Gangs of New York* (2002), directed by Martin Scorsese, have re-created the nineteenth-century atmosphere in which the Bowery gangs flourished, the rough edge of street life revealing the sometimes deadly mix of power and politics on the streets of New York.

To modern historians, the Bowery B'hoys and G'hals represent America's first youth counterculture that was as provocative as the hip-hop culture of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Theirs was a vulgar, threatening, and often violent presence in the overcrowded streets and tenements of Lower Manhattan. The gangs reflected the rapid growth of New York City in the mid-nineteenth century and the many social problems that came with it.

Theodore W. Eversole

See also: [Gangs and Gang Culture](#).

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Bowie, David (1947–)

British rock musician David Bowie rose to prominence in the late stages of the British Invasion of the 1960s and early 1970s, during which a number of musical artists from the United Kingdom—from the Beatles, the Rolling Stones, and the Who to Led Zeppelin, Pink Floyd, and Bowie—attained major commercial success in the United States. Bowie, like other British rock artists of the period, drew from sources such as African American music and Eastern religions that were outside the cultural mainstream of Europe and North America to inspire counterculture trends in music, fashion, and lifestyle.



Innovative British rock star and actor David Bowie epitomized the glam rock culture of the early 1970s with his

transgender personae, carnivalesque live performances, and intergalactic themes. (Terry O'Neill/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Born David Robert Hayward Jones on January 8, 1947, he spent his childhood in the Brixton section of London, England, and in nearby Kent, where he studied music and drama and developed a reputation for fighting and delinquency. He began singing with various blues bands in the London area, using the name David Jones in the mid-1960s and later adopting the stage name David Bowie to avoid confusion with Monkees singer Davy Jones.

Although he released an eponymous first album in 1967 and wrote songs for other artists, Bowie failed to attract a large audience until the release of the single "Space Oddity" in 1969 brought him a measure of fame in Great Britain. The following year, he abandoned the acoustic folk-influenced style that characterized his previous work for a harder-edged style featuring guitarist Mick Ronson, with whom he would work for the bulk of the 1970s. Bowie's collaborations with Ronson differed from other hard-rock music of the era by incorporating theatrical and literary elements into his compositions and stage performances.

Like many of his contemporaries, Bowie embraced several countercultural phenomena during his early career, from the mod subculture of mid-1960s England to the cocaine-fueled disco craze of 1970s America. Yet he is most closely identified with the glam rock movement of the early 1970s, which was characterized by ambiguous sexual imagery, hard drug use, and elaborately theatrical live performances.

Bowie and other male glam performers often appeared in public wearing makeup and women's clothing, and Bowie claimed in interviews to be bisexual (although he later denied these claims). By distorting traditional gender roles, glam rock presented a direct challenge to the cultural norms that had prompted adverse reactions to earlier counterculture male fashion statements, such as long hair and sandals, that traditionalists viewed as effeminate.

The flamboyant clothing and costumes of glam rockers also echoed the excessive personal behavior in which many, including Bowie, engaged. His drug use and eccentricity became legendary during this period, but his work remained popular and critically acclaimed. His 1972 album, *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars*, is considered one of the most influential glam rock recordings and one of the best rock albums of the 1970s. *Diamond Dogs* (1974) and *Young Americans* (1975), including the hit single "Fame," were other major recordings of this period.

Bowie remained active as a recording artist for the remainder of the twentieth century, garnering critical acclaim and popular notoriety with such hit recordings as the album *Let's Dance* (1983). He also drew praise for his work as an actor, music-video director, and record producer. His work and public persona gained increasing respectability, as it was introduced to audiences of various ages and backgrounds.

By the end of the twentieth century, Bowie had become part of the cultural mainstream as a respected "elder statesman" in the world of popular music. Artists considered outside the cultural mainstream, however, have continued to cite his work as an influence.

Michael H. Burchett

See also: [Glam Rock](#).

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Branch Davidians

The Branch Davidians are a small, loosely organized religious group whose teachings strongly reflect American fundamentalist Protestant apocalypticism. They believe that people live in the violent, final period of history, soon to be ended in a great apocalypse by God. One congregation of this group received an inordinate amount of public attention in February 1993. Investigation of charges of weapons stockpiling and child abuse caused the federal Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, Firearms and Explosives (ATF) and the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to raid the congregation's compound in Waco, Texas. Its members, under the ardent minister David Koresh, offered armed resistance. The result was a standoff and siege that lasted fifty-one days. The siege ended in a massive show of government force, resulting in a near-total burning of the compound and more than eighty deaths, mostly of Branch Davidians, including women and children.

Government representatives claimed that the fire was an accident and that there was credible evidence that at least some of the inhabitants died by gunshots from within the group itself. Nevertheless, the "Siege at Waco" quickly became a potent symbol of resistance against government power in many circles of the right-wing American counterculture.

Branch Davidian history is rooted in the large Protestant denomination known as Seventh-Day Adventists (SDA). Although the SDA denomination itself began as an apocalyptic movement in the nineteenth century, it has since more or less joined the mainstream of American Protestantism. For this reason, it periodically produces so-called reformers who claim that the denomination has strayed from, and needs to be called back to, God's truth. Schisms often are the result of such reformers' work.

One such split, occurring in the 1930s, produced the Davidian Seventh-Day Adventists, who understood themselves to be in the vanguard of reestablishing the biblical Davidian Kingdom on earth as a prelude to the apocalypse. The Branch Davidians were the result of a schism within the Davidians themselves. Although the countless splits and schisms among American fundamentalist Protestants focus on theological and doctrinal issues, they result as much from issues of personality, social class, and the intergenerational struggle for leadership control. Such also was the case with the Branch Davidian schism.

The tragic events associated with the Siege at Waco appear in retrospect to represent a textbook case of what not to do in dealing with a countercultural group such as the Branch Davidians. Primed by their readings of biblical prophecy to expect nothing but oppression, persecution, and subterfuge from the government, the Branch Davidians interpreted every attempt on the part of federal agents to negotiate as trickery.

Furthermore, convinced that a violent battle between the forces of good and evil is inevitable, and that any such confrontation could be the spark that prompts God to bring history to its conclusion, the Branch Davidian negotiators were much less panicked by facing superior force than government negotiators thought they would be. At a number of points during the siege, negotiators were literally speaking different languages: that of rational, cost/benefit calculation on one side versus emotion-soaked prophetic poetry on the other side.

The congregation at Waco was only nominally supported by other Branch Davidian congregations. Disputes between Waco's Koresh and other ministers already had alienated this congregation from others in the sect. Members of these congregations have subsequently made claim to the Waco property and removed all traces of monuments there to the leadership of Koresh.

See also: [Cults](#).

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Brando, Marlon (1924–2004)

Marlon Brando was an American actor whose work on stage and screen over the course of more than fifty years forged a new direction in the craft and was acclaimed by critics and the viewing public alike. Trained in method acting—whereby the actor attempts to enter the thoughts, feelings, and psychological condition of the character being portrayed—Brando became the leading proponent of a new, more naturalistic form of drama that resonated with post–World War II audiences. His sex appeal broadened the limits of what was permissible on Broadway and in mainstream movies, and the conduct of his private life contributed to an image of independence and rebelliousness. He rebelled against then-prevalent social norms concerning married life, tormented studio heads and producers with demands calculated to offend them, and dedicated significant time and energy to social activism. The civil rights movement, Indian fishing rights conflicts, and capital punishment were among the issues to which he committed his time and money. His activities on behalf of social causes included marching outside the prison where convicted rapist Caryl Chessman was executed in 1960, and joining Native Americans in a number of acts of civil disobedience.

He was born on April 3, 1924, in Omaha, Nebraska, to Marlon Brando, Sr., an accountant and businessman, and Dorothy Pennebaker, a housewife with artistic aspirations. Brando was a troubled student, in part a consequence of his mother's alcoholism and marital problems between his parents, which culminated in their divorce when he was eleven. After the end of his secondary education in 1943, Brando followed his older sister Jocelyn to New York, where she was an aspiring actress.

In New York, Brando became a student of the Stanislavski system of acting, which emphasized emotional honesty and the use of personal memories to evoke it, a method advanced by drama teacher Stella Adler. Within a short time, Brando was earning parts in a variety of plays and attracting the attention of writers and producers. It was his appearance in Tennessee Williams's 1947 play *A Streetcar Named Desire* that secured his fame and the place of method acting in American drama.

Moving on to Hollywood, Brando made some forty feature films during the course of his career, including one he directed, the “anti-western” *One-Eyed Jacks* (1961). A succession of hits followed the film version of *Streetcar* in 1951 (for which he won his first Academy Award nomination), including *Viva Zapata!* (1952), about the Mexican revolutionary Emiliano Zapata; *The Wild One* (1953), about a biker gang; and *On the Waterfront* (1954), about

corruption in New York's dockworker unions.

Resisting the public adulation that came with film success, Brando stayed out of the limelight and consistently made films that reflected his politics. He won two Academy Awards for Best Actor during his career, one for *On the Waterfront* and one for *The Godfather* (1972). In a widely publicized snub of Hollywood, he sent an actress posing as an Indian to accept his Oscar for *The Godfather*. The gesture served two purposes for Brando: to mock what he regarded as the artificiality of the ceremony and to provide a national forum to decry the treatment of Native Americans.

The Godfather and the acclaimed *Last Tango in Paris* (1972) ended an artistic dry spell for Brando that had lasted through the 1960s; during that time, he had appeared in many films that critics deemed beneath his talent (generally comedies, thrillers, and westerns). When he did accept a role, his reasons usually were based on the politics of the film or the filmmakers. When he agreed to media interviews, it was under the condition that he could devote as much time as he wanted to promoting his cause. Indeed, he had to fight to win the role for which he is best known, of Don Corleone in *The Godfather*.

Capitalizing on his renewed fame, Brando asked exorbitant prices for subsequent films—including *Superman* (1978) and *Apocalypse Now* (1979)—but he continued to prefer works that reflected his political concerns. Among these were *The Formula* (1980), a film about the oil industry, and *A Dry White Season* (1989), an anti-apartheid film.

Brando's later years were rife with personal tragedy. He was married four times and acknowledged eight children; three more were adopted. One son served time in prison for shooting his half-sister's boyfriend, and that daughter later committed suicide.

After years of battling obesity, Marlon Brando died of respiratory failure in Los Angeles on July 1, 2004.

D.K. Holm

See also: [Film, Hollywood](#).

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Brautigan, Richard (1935–1984)

Richard Brautigan was an American novelist and poet whose style developed during the final years of the Beat Generation of writers and the formative years of the hippie movement.

He was born on January 30, 1935, in Tacoma, Washington. He never knew his father; his parents divorced before his birth and his mother raised the boy in the Pacific Northwest. Following a childhood marked by abuse and

abandonment, Brautigan was briefly confined to a mental hospital after throwing a rock through a police station window in 1955. He moved to San Francisco the following year, where he married Virginia Adler in 1957. They had a child, Ianthe Brautigan, in 1960 and divorced in 1970.

In San Francisco, Brautigan became involved with the city's growing counterculture movement. He read poetry at rock concerts and helped publish underground newspapers with the Diggers, a street theater and social activism group whose sociopolitical agenda incorporated theater and New Left, antiwar, civil rights, and anticapitalist themes. During this time, Brautigan also developed friendships with a number of Beat authors, including Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Allen Ginsberg, and Michael McClure.

Brautigan published his first poem in late 1956. Two collections of poetry followed, *The Galilee Hitchhiker* (1958) and *Lay the Marble Tea* (1959), both of which were published by small presses, and neither of which was critically acclaimed. Brautigan's first novel, *A Confederate General from Big Sur* (1964), is in part about an agreement between the narrator and a drifter to believe in a Confederate general who is not mentioned in any history books. The novel blends a comic sensibility with cynicism, deals with the loss of innocence and idealism, and uses the sparse language and vivid, metaphorical imagery, themes, and styles Brautigan would employ in subsequent works.

Trout Fishing in America (1967) was Brautigan's next published work, although it was written in 1960, before *A Confederate General from Big Sur*. The novel *Trout Fishing* criticized American capitalism for its commercialization of the environment, which frustrated the narrator's desire for an authentic relationship with nature, and robbed its characters of the benefits such a relationship would inspire. Readers in the hippie movement were highly receptive to this message, and the book was widely reprinted in 1969, making Brautigan one of the most popular of the 1960s counterculture authors. The book went on to sell 2 million copies, and several hippie communes named themselves after it. In the spring of 1967, Brautigan was appointed poet-in-residence at the California Institute of Technology.

Despite his popularity among counterculture readers, Brautigan became increasingly disillusioned with many countercultural ideals, especially those of the hippie movement, though he continued to consider mainstream America an unsuitable alternative. His third novel, *In Watermelon Sugar* (1968), reflects this development, describing life in an idyllic pastoral commune called iDEATH, whose maintenance depends on a denial of identity, emotional attachment, history, and intellectual development. The work also critiqued the hippies' idealized vision of nature, one that Brautigan had himself seemed to share in earlier works.

After 1970, Brautigan continued to write, although his popularity declined with the waning of the hippie counterculture, and his work became increasingly unpopular with literary critics. Later books include the novels *The Abortion* (1971), *The Hawkline Monster* (1974), *Willard and His Bowling Trophies* (1975), *Sombrero Fallout* (1976), *Dreaming of Babylon* (1977), *The Tokyo-Montana Express* (1980), and *So the Wind Won't Blow It All Away* (1982), as well as four books of poetry and *Revenge of the Lawn* (1971), a short-story collection.

By the early 1980s, Brautigan was struggling with depression and living alone in Bolinas, California. On October 25, 1984, he was found dead in his home of a self-inflicted shotgun wound.

Skylar M. Harris

See also: [Beat Generation](#).

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Brisbane, Albert (1809–1890)

Albert Brisbane was the leading American disciple of Charles Fourier, a French utopian socialist whose scheme for social reform was based on the concept of small cooperative communities, or phalanxes.

Born on August 22, 1809, in Batavia, New York, the son of James Brisbane, a wealthy landowner, and Mary (Stevens) Brisbane, he was educated at home and in a local schoolhouse. He attended boarding school for two years in Flushing, New York, and then embarked in May 1828 on a six-year tour of Europe.

He studied first at the Sorbonne in Paris, with the philosopher Victor Cousin, and then went to Berlin to study with Georg Wilhelm Hegel in 1829. After further travel in Europe, Brisbane returned to Paris, where he encountered the teachings of Henri de Saint-Simon, a utopian socialist who had died in 1825. Brisbane took the message of Saint-Simonianism to Berlin in late 1831, and there read Charles Fourier's *Traité de l'association domestique agricole* (1822). He returned to Paris in 1832 specifically to study with Fourier and, over the next two years, developed his ideas alongside other Fourierist disciples.

Brisbane returned the United States in 1834 with the goal of establishing a model phalanx, but his effort was preempted by poor health and the economic upheaval of 1837. Dedicating himself to spreading the word about Fourier to American audiences, he published *Social Destiny of Man* (1840), a condensed version of Fourier's philosophy that advocated a revamped model of the concept of the phalanx. Brisbane also lectured in several cities, where he helped establish Fourier clubs.

He found an influential advocate in Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*, who agreed to run a daily column by Brisbane on associationism (the psychological theory that mental processes follow a sequence of increasingly complex ideas, in a kind of stream of consciousness, accordingly to certain laws of association). The column ran from March 1842 to September 1843, with a compilation published in book form as *Association; or, A Concise Exposition of the Practical Part of Fourier's Social Science* (1843). That same year, Brisbane also began the *Phalanx*, the official organ of the Fourier movement, which ran for two years.

Beyond propaganda, Brisbane continued his attempts to establish phalanxes in America. His most notable effort was in the conversion of Brook Farm, the transcendentalist community in Massachusetts, to Fourierist beliefs in 1845. The most enduring community was the North American Phalanx in Red Bank, New Jersey, which Brisbane helped to organize in 1843 and which lasted until 1855. Other phalanxes were established in Michigan, Wisconsin, and elsewhere, while other utopian communities of the period adopted Fourierism briefly. By the late 1840s, the movement had lost much of its momentum.

Brisbane moved to other pursuits, including travel, music, and astronomy, although he continued to champion the Fourierist philosophy for the rest of his life. And while Fourierism never found a strong foothold in America, it served as a catalyst for other reform movements, including abolitionism, women's rights, free love, and individualism.

In his later years, Brisbane turned to inventing; among his notable innovations were pneumatic tubes for road transportation, improved ship propellers, and enhancements to underground fertilization systems. He continued to travel extensively and died on May 1, 1890, in Richmond, Virginia, while touring the United States.

See also: [Communes](#): [Transcendentalism](#): [Utopianism](#).

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Broadside

Homespun and informally produced, *Broadside* was the influential and often controversial magazine of the 1960s folk revival published in New York City by musician Agnes “Sis” Cunningham and her husband, writer Gordon Friesen. Early editions provided a creative outlet for California-based activist and musician Malvina Reynolds, an up-and-coming Bob Dylan, and other urgent, if less-known, voices. *Broadside* would make a home for the political and social observations of Eric Andersen, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, Pete Seeger, Lucinda Williams, and many other leading lights.

The first issue appeared in the winter of 1962, and publication continued intermittently for the next twenty-six years. A new version appeared in 1982 and remained in print until the latter part of the decade. The simple, mimeographed pages of the original *Broadside* featured topical songs considered too strong for commercial music outlets or the mainstream press, many of them agitprop (agitation-propaganda) compositions about the civil rights movement.

A desire to share and disseminate music on timely subjects, especially protest songs, motivated Cunningham and Friesen to start the publication in a corner of their living room on an old printer donated by the American Labor Party. Both were left-wing political activists who had relocated to New York from their native Oklahoma in the 1940s. With a commitment to music and a passion for left-of-center social and political issues, they saw the power of topical songs to move people but observed that the major music publications of the day were not presenting them. Thus *Broadside* was born, initially as an outgrowth of jam sessions and conversations among like-minded musicians in Cunningham and Friesen’s home.

The couple chose the name *Broadside* after the colonial-era publications that distributed topical ballads, stories, and scandals on single printed sheets. It was a quick, populist method for getting out the news in the days before mass newspapers.

In the early days of *Broadside*, lyric writers addressed such issues as the threat posed by nuclear stockpiling during the cold war, racial discrimination, and the Vietnam War. Songs appearing in the magazine included such antiwar anthems as Dylan’s “Blowin’ in the Wind” and Seeger’s “Waist Deep in the Big Muddy,” and Len Chandler’s civil rights–based lament “I’m Goin’ to Get My Baby Out of Jail.” The publication became required reading for musicians of the American counterculture and anyone interested in cutting-edge, non-mainstream composition.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the pages of *Broadside* were filled with lyrics that commented on a new set of issues,

especially gender discrimination, environmental concerns, and other wars. It remained a shoestring venture for Cunningham and Friesen, however, and problems of health and finances forced them to cut the issues back from twice-monthly to twice-yearly publication by the mid-1970s. Cunningham and Friesen gave up control of the publication in the early 1980s, but regained it as part of an eight-person collective in 1987 and continued publication until the end of the following year.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Dylan, Bob: Folk Music](#); [Seeger, Pete](#).

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Brook Farm

The Harvard College graduate and former Unitarian minister George Ripley purchased property in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, in 1840. The following year, with his wife, Sophia, his sister, and fifteen others, Ripley founded the transcendentalist utopian commune Brook Farm.

Ripley's vision of heaven on earth centered on the establishment of this community based on social reform. The community was dedicated to the abolition of slavery and class distinctions and the establishment of equal education and economic rights for all. Brook Farm's members signed Articles of Association and formed a joint-stock company officially known as the Brook Farm Institute of Agriculture and Education. Each share entitled the owner to voting rights and granted the privilege of educating one child within the facilities.

The most eminent of the early members were writer Nathaniel Hawthorne and painter Sophia Peabody, who later became Hawthorne's wife. Brook Farm soon became an intellectual and cultural retreat for many prominent New England literati who embraced transcendentalism, including Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Henry David Thoreau. Although Hawthorne and Peabody did not remain at Brook Farm for an extended period, Hawthorne depicted a fictionalized version of socialist life at the commune in his novel *The Blithedale Romance* (1852).

The transcendentalist movement of mid-nineteenth-century New England emerged in opposition to doctrines espoused by the established religious authorities, most notably those of Unitarianism as taught at Harvard Divinity School. According to transcendentalist principles, the individual is an extension of the universal spirit and should be able to live harmoniously and humanely with others by freely following the moral authority of his or her own conscience. At its core, transcendentalism promoted the belief that one's ideal spiritual state transcends one's physical self, so that true harmony is attained through the merging of mind, body, and spirit.

Ripley originally envisioned Brook Farm as a successful agricultural venture, with the members working the land to offset the price of their room and board. Those who did not labor were charged a fee of \$4 per week to live on the property. In keeping with the transcendentalist principles, physical labor was considered essential to the ideal of achieving a balance of good physical, mental, and spiritual health. There was, however, an attempt to make the

jobs as interesting as possible. For example, reading stands were attached to the ironing boards, enabling one to read while ironing. Variety also was recognized as crucial to success, and members regularly changed duties in an effort to avoid tedium and boredom.

The property in West Roxbury, which is now within the city limits of Boston, was situated on sandy, gravelly soil and was not conducive to planting crops, but it could support a dairy farm. In addition to agricultural pursuits, members labored primarily as carpenters and cobblers. The manufacture of small household items, such as lamps and coffee pots, as well as the establishment of a small printing business, were other business pursuits at Brook Farm.

During its operation, from 1841 to 1847, Brook Farm grew to include 208 acres (84 hectares) and housed more than 120 members. The community purchased additional houses and built dormitories to complement the original farmhouse, which was referred to as "The Hive," and served as a community house where meals were shared. A workshop measuring 60 feet (18 meters) by 40 feet (12 meters) and a large greenhouse were erected by the members as well.

It was the establishment of the educational enterprise, which included schools at all levels from primary to college preparatory, that proved to be Brook Farm's most notable and financially profitable achievement. With a faculty composed entirely of Harvard and Radcliffe graduates, the Brook Farm Institute was celebrated as one of the finest boarding schools in New England. Harvard recommended the school and its curriculum to students preparing to enroll in the college.

Over time, the community became inspired by the socialist teachings of Charles Fourier, a French scholar who espoused the view that human nature, though basically noble, is corrupted by commerce, and that harmonious communal living will liberate humankind from this corruption. On May 3, 1845, Brook Farm was reorganized into a Fourierist commune and renamed Brook Farm Phalanx. (*Phalanx* was the term Fourier used for commune.) Ripley began publishing a weekly magazine, *The Harbinger*, committed to addressing social and political issues, and it became recognized as the official U.S. Fourierist publication.

Although financial difficulties were escalating, the Brook Farm association agreed to undertake the construction of a phalanstery, an enormous house to accommodate the entire community of 120. This impressive structure was to symbolize a new beginning for the community, and it was hoped that it would attract new members with additional resources to the community. Unfortunately, as soon as the building was constructed, it caught on fire and burned to the ground. Because it was not yet insured, the structure was a total loss. Instead of representing a new beginning, the charred remains of the building came to symbolize the broken spirit of the membership. Within a few months of the tragedy, only thirty members remained.

In an attempt to raise capital, Ripley sold at auction several hundred volumes from his library, which was considered one of the finest personal collections in the United States. Brook Farm still could not recover financially, however, and bankruptcy proceedings were completed in 1847.

During the American Civil War, the state of Massachusetts used the land as a training camp for Union soldiers. In 1870, the property was purchased by the Association of the Evangelical Lutheran Church for Works of Mercy, which established an orphanage there, known as the Martin Luther Orphan Home.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Brisbane, Albert](#); [Communes](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Fuller, Margaret](#); [Ripley, George](#).

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Brown, H. Rap (1943–)

H. Rap Brown's varied and eventful life as a civil rights activist, chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC; a direct-action civil rights organization of the 1960s), justice minister of the Black Panther Party, fugitive, prisoner, and Muslim spiritual leader encapsulates much of the postwar African American experience of militancy and resistance.

Hubert Gerold Brown was born on October 4, 1943, in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. His involvement in the civil rights movement began in 1964 while he was studying at Howard University in Washington, D.C. After working for the Mississippi Summer Project to register voters, he became chairman of the Nonviolent Action Group (NAG), the local SNCC affiliate, in 1965. In that capacity, Brown was invited to be part of a delegation that met President Lyndon B. Johnson at the White House to discuss police repression of civil rights protests in Alabama. Brown's verbal confrontation with the president caused widespread outrage, and brought the young activist to national attention, when it was reported in the press. In 1967, Brown succeeded Stokely Carmichael as chairman of the SNCC.

Like his predecessor, Brown abandoned the organization's philosophy of nonviolent protest against segregation and advocated armed resistance to white oppression. Reflecting the shift in ideology and purpose, the organization under his leadership changed its name from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee to the Student National Coordinating Committee.

Brown's term of office marked one of the most violent periods in twentieth-century American history, as the pacifism of the first generation of civil rights protest gave way to the more militant proclamations of Black Power. A political-cultural ideology, Black Power emphasized racial pride and challenged white hegemony by calling on African Americans to take control of their own interests.

In a July 1967 speech in Cambridge, Maryland, Brown urged black people to arm themselves and be ready to meet violence with violence. "If America don't come around," he is alleged to have said, "we're going to burn it down." The event set off a round of violence and arson that razed parts of the city's black neighborhood. Brown was arrested and charged by the state of Maryland with incitement to riot, the first in a series of protracted legal maneuverings between the black power advocate and state and federal authorities.

In 1968, Brown formalized his commitment to armed struggle when he left the SNCC and joined the Black Panthers, a political group that emphasized armed self-defense as part of its community-centered, radical-socialist politics. "Violence is as American as cherry pie," he declared. Over the course of the next two years, Brown was repeatedly arrested and detained as the Federal Bureau of Investigation's (FBI's) covert Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) sought to harass black militants and subvert their activities.

Meanwhile, like other black militants such as Huey Newton and Eldridge Cleaver, Brown had become something of a celebrity darling among the liberal elite. His radical chic was confirmed in 1969 with the publication of his memoir, *Die Nigger Die!* With its strident rhetoric and predictions of revolution and race war, the autobiographical polemic captured the mood of defiant anger among radicalized black men and the appeal of radical causes to left-leaning society figures of the time.

In 1970, having failed to appear in court for trial on charges of inciting a riot and carrying a gun across state lines, Brown was placed on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Most Wanted list. Despite his profile, he managed to disappear without trace for the next eighteen months. He resurfaced in 1971, when he was wounded in a shoot-out with police and arrested after a bar hold-up in New York City. He was convicted of robbery and spent the next five years in the upstate Attica Correctional Facility.

During his time behind bars, Brown converted to orthodox Islam and changed his name to Jamil Abdullah al-Amin. After his release on parole in 1976, he settled in Atlanta, opened a grocery store, and became the leader of the National Ummah, one of America's largest Black Muslim groups.

Although he had renounced violence, in March 1995 he was implicated in the fatal shooting of Deputy Richard Kinchen and the wounding of Deputy Aldranon English in an incident near his mosque. Several leading national Islamic organizations, including the Islamic Society of North America and the American Muslim Council, appealed in his defense, pointing out discrepancies in the circumstances of his arrest and the charges brought against him. Despite their efforts, he was sentenced to life without parole in March 2002.

James Miller

See also: [Black Muslims](#); [Black Panthers](#); [Black Power Movement](#); [Civil Rights Movement](#).

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Brown Berets

The Brown Berets were a collective of Chicano youth who emerged in and around Los Angeles during the 1960s to protest the cultural and racial discrimination they experienced in school, at the hands of police, and in the court system. Although the group's members did not begin with an extreme agenda, they eventually evolved into a militant branch of Chicano civil rights activism.

Origins

The Brown Berets officially were formed in late 1967 and early 1968 under the leadership of activists David Sanchez and Carlos Montes, both of whom had been involved in lobbying against racism in their Los Angeles neighborhoods. Sanchez and Montes organized the Berets after witnessing police beatings—and the deaths of Chicanos in police custody in 1967—and coming to the conclusion that peaceful protest was insufficient to protect their neighborhoods from such attacks.

Sanchez served as “prime minister” of the Brown Berets and, under his direction, members began to wear the signature uniform of brown berets and field jackets. Although the strict dress code suggested alliances with other civil rights activist groups, such as the Black Panthers and Puerto Rican Young Lords— both of whom wore uniforms in order to identify themselves as part of their respective groups—the Brown Berets’ uniforms were worn to present a visibly unified front against the uniformed police officers.

The group organized protests against police brutality, recruited local youth to work on outreach programs such as a free neighborhood health clinic, published the newspaper *La Causa*, and helped to build coalitions to protest the Vietnam War. In these ways, Brown Berets were determined to counter negative stereotypes of Mexicans and Mexican American youths that led to them being treated by mainstream society as intellectually inferior, ethically questionable, and second-class citizens.

Prior to forming the Brown Berets, Sanchez, Montes, and other friends had worked with the Young Chicanos for Community Action (YCCA), a group established by high school students in 1967 to address inequities in public education and to protest episodes of police brutality in East Los Angeles. At school board meetings, YCCA members presented demands for changes in the curriculum and expressed their belief that Mexican American culture was being systematically repressed within the school system in the areas of language, history, college preparation, and faculty hiring practices. The youth also picketed the police, and, as a result, they often became targets of police investigation and harassment.

As violence escalated through 1967 and into 1968, high school students who protested school board decisions were increasingly subject to police intervention at meetings and expulsion from school. By early 1968, many of the original YCCA members had graduated from high school. This, combined with their desire to confront oppression at the political level, led to the creation of the Brown Berets.

Community Activism

Although the Berets continued to support the school reform agenda for which East L.A. high school students were lobbying, they began to serve the broader Chicano community in two primary capacities.

First, they saw themselves as a necessary line of defense between the Anglo police and the Mexican American community. In this regard, they often supported protesters against police repression. For example, the Berets accompanied protesting students during the March 1968 “blowouts,” when thousands of Chicanos from East L.A. high schools walked out in frustration over discriminatory practices whereby, for example, they were being automatically tracked into vocational school rather than college-prep coursework.

The Berets also spoke out against cultural discrimination in the courts. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, in self-published news outlets and public demonstrations, they called for changes in the racial profile of the police force and of juries. Their goal was to increase minority representation—across minority groups—within institutions that traditionally had been Anglo-dominated, so that a minority person in the justice system would have access to law officers more familiar with the local neighborhoods and to trial by a jury of his or her peers.

Second, the Brown Berets were vocal against the Chicano death rate in the Vietnam War. As other Beret chapters emerged in the Southwest, and in partnership with such other Chicano activist groups as El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (The Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán), a multichapter, university-based student organization that emerged in 1969, the Berets helped organize protest moratoriums against the war, as well as sit-ins and occupations of strategic locations, in the early years of the 1970s. At such events, Chicanos celebrated their culture in many forms, including street art, posters, dance, speeches, plays, and poetry readings.

As the Berets worked to expose and counteract discrimination and brutality against Chicanos, violence with the police continued to escalate. This often was complicated by the Berets’ explicit recruitment of gang members and former juvenile prisoners to their ranks.

Additionally, since Beret members regarded protecting their community from police brutality as one of their primary

missions, they adopted a policy of active resistance and fighting back rather than passive or nonviolent policies. They often interfered with police at protests in order to let someone else escape a beating; for example, they stood between students and police during high school blowouts, and the Berets suffered injuries and the death of at least one of their members during a Vietnam War protest on August 29, 1970.

Disbandment

In the face of internal conflict over their primary mission, police infiltration, and grand jury indictments on conspiracy charges (beginning in 1968 in the Los Angeles County system, against four members of the Berets, including Sanchez and Montes), and government infiltration by the counterintelligence branch of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (which created distrust in the chapters as no one knew who might be arrested, when, or by whom), Sanchez officially disbanded the Brown Berets in 1972. Because the chapters were largely autonomous and spread out, there is no complete record of chapter numbers or sizes. Most estimates range from fourteen chapters in the Southwest to ninety chapters nationally at the height of the movement, in 1970.

Since that time, Brown Beret chapters have reopened, but with different agendas than their Chicano Movement predecessors. While they continue to address youth issues within their communities, today's Brown Berets eschew the paramilitary aspects of the group's earlier activities.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Black Panthers: Chicano Movement](#).

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Brownson, Orestes (1803–1876)

Orestes Augustus Brownson was an early-nineteenth-century political philosopher, editor, social reformer, and religious critic. A restless and mercurial intellect, he established, then abandoned, a workers' movement, a free church, and two quarterly journals. The single consistent theme throughout his religious, literary, and political work is his commitment to social justice. A true free thinker, he refused to remain faithful to any position or institution that did not reflect his views at the time. Because of his shifting attitudes and concerns, he defies easy classification or categorization.



New England theologian and social commentator Orestes Brownson underwent a series of religious conversions, joined the transcendentalist movement, and finally broke with it to join the Catholic Church. Through it all, he championed the cause of the poor. (Library of Congress)

Born in Stockbridge, Vermont, on September 16, 1803, Brownson was sent to live with relatives after his father's death in 1805; he remained with them until he was fourteen. The puritanical family raised him in the Congregational church, and Brownson began struggling with his religious beliefs at an early age. That struggle would last throughout his adult life as he successively joined and became disillusioned by the Presbyterian, Unitarian, and Universalist churches, although he served as a minister in each. It was not until 1844, when he converted to Roman Catholicism, that he found a faith he could sustain.

As a young man, Brownson was apprenticed to a printer, and he later became a writer, editor, and publisher. In 1829, he served as corresponding editor of the New York–based, socialist-leaning *Free Enquirer* newspaper, a position that brought him into association with the paper's publishers, reformers and free thinkers Robert Dale Owen and Fanny Wright.

Brownson began advocating communal living experiments such as Brook Farm in Massachusetts and became a member of the Transcendental Club, a group—including writers and social reformers Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, Theodore Parker, and Henry David Thoreau—that met to discuss transcendental ideas and the general state of American culture. Transcendentalism, with its emphasis on individualism, self-reliance, and the search for truth, appealed both to his religious sensibility and to his growing social conscience. Ultimately, however, Brownson judged the transcendentalists, especially Emerson and Thoreau, as too cerebral and lacking the will to implement the social reforms they advocated, and he broke with them.

Through his own writing, including essays in the *Boston Quarterly Review*, the *Democratic Review*, and *Brownson's Quarterly*, and in his book *The American Republic* (1857), Brownson commented on nearly every major political event between 1830 and 1860 and critically examined the “American experiment”—the democratic republic, free of class distinction, in which an individual could succeed through his or her own effort. While he praised the national experiment, he had reservations about how democratic systems opened themselves to abuse. For example, Brownson detested capitalism, because it exploited workers, promoted new class distinctions, and

supported expansionist actions such as the Mexican-American War.

In 1839, Brownson became active in Democratic Party politics, believing that the Democrats stood against the forces of privilege and monopoly. He was greatly disappointed when the Whigs roundly defeated the Democrats in the 1840 election, declaring that his faith in “the wisdom of the people” had been shaken.

That year, he established a short-lived workers’ party, which evolved into the Society for Christian Union and Progress, a model progressive church anticipating the early-twentieth-century Social Gospel movement. Christ was not merely interested in a man’s soul, Brownson observed in *New Views of Christian Society and The Church* (1840), but in a kingdom of peace and justice for the poor. In his book *The Laboring Class*, also published in 1840, Brownson warned that “the coming of the Kingdom of God means a fundamental reorganization of society.”

Brownson’s last foray into politics was with the Republican Party in 1862, when he was nominated for an unsuccessful run for the U.S. Senate. He stood for universal male suffrage and states’ rights, maintaining that the federal government had no authority to dictate policy to the states. For that reason, he also was against abolition. While he did not believe that slavery was morally right, he felt that it was a greater evil to take power away from the states. He went so far, based on his labor experience, to attest that slave life often was better than life for a wage earner, since wage earners were considered not only valueless but also highly replaceable within the capitalist system. Despite these views, Brownson supported Abraham Lincoln in the presidential election of 1860.

One of Brownson’s key contributions is the articulation of a principle that was to be tested in both the civil rights and the counterculture movements of the twentieth century. He concluded that government, not religion, was the appropriate agent of social reform and that lasting reform is predicated on institutional change. He believed that individual ethical, political, and even economic reforms are nothing more than patchwork solutions. Brownson’s spiritual descendents would use this principle to identify and articulate the systemic roots of social ills such as institutional racism, de facto segregation, and corporate sexism.

Brownson died in Detroit, Michigan, on April 17, 1876.

Mary Stanton

See also: [Transcendentalism](#); [Unitarianism](#).

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Bruce, Lenny (1925–1966)

With a provocative mix of politics, personal revelation, and profanity, Lenny Bruce rewrote the rules of comedy in the 1950s. He earned himself both a place in the law books, fighting obscenity charges, and a reputation as a

pioneer of modern American stand-up comedy and social satire.

Born Leonard Alfred Schneider on October 13, 1925, he grew up in the suburbs of Long Island, New York, and was raised separately by his divorced parents and other relatives. Joining the U.S. Navy in 1942, he saw action in World War II but was dishonorably discharged in 1946 after feigning homosexuality.

After changing his last name to Bruce in 1947, he began doing stand-up routines at small New York nightclubs, which led to an appearance on CBS's *Arthur Godfrey Talent Scouts*. The television appearance boosted his career sufficiently for him to eke out a living as a comic, frequently emceeing at burlesque venues.

By the mid-1950s, Bruce was working better clubs and television shows, earning mainstream notice as an obscene but very funny comedian. By 1960, he was consistently pushing the envelope of socially acceptable subject matter. He was reviewed as "sick" by such establishment media as *Time* magazine, and Walter Winchell's influential column dubbed him "America's Number 1 Vomic." At the height of his career in 1960 and 1961, despite the "adults-only" tag on his act, Bruce performed to sold-out audiences at New York's fabled Carnegie Hall.

Not a conventional stand-up comedian, Lenny Bruce was a master of the *spritz*, a free-form, rapid-fire, nothing-sacred delivery of wisecracks, one-man shticks, and satire. One moment he would impersonate a bishop ministering to lepers ("Look, ah, nothing personal, but, ah, don't touch anything, OK?"). The next moment he would be a B-movie killer refusing the good Father Flotsky's plea to surrender ("Yadda yadda yadda, Father!"). Bruce was known for simultaneously mixing sexual politics and standard comedy: "My mother-in-law broke up my marriage; my wife came home and found us in bed." His first performance after President John F. Kennedy's assassination in 1963 began with a sigh, a long pause, and finally, "Poor Vaughan Meader," a reference to the comedian-impersonator whose entire act consisted of aping JFK.

Bruce's first arrest for obscenity took place in 1961 in San Francisco. By 1965, he had been taken into custody seventeen times across the country. At first, he considered his legal problems free publicity. He was convicted of obscenity charges only twice, and one of the convictions was overturned. Despite testimony on his behalf and public expressions of support from other entertainers, artists, journalists, and crusaders for First Amendment rights, however, he was sentenced in December 1964 to four months in a workhouse. Although he was set free on bail during a protracted appeals process, the string of arrests had caused his bookings to dry up, and his career went into decline. In 1965, nearly broke, Bruce asked a federal court for protection from police harassment.

After 1965, Bruce lived mostly in seclusion, heavily addicted to heroin. He gave his final performance on June 25, 1966, at San Francisco's Fillmore Auditorium. Less than two weeks later, on August 3, 1966, he was found dead of a drug overdose in his house in Hollywood. He was forty years old. In 2003, Governor George Pataki of New York granted an official pardon for his 1964 obscenity conviction.

Arnie Keller

See also: [Heroin](#).

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Buddhism

Along with Hinduism and Jainism, Buddhism is one of the so-called dharmic religions—those that embrace the moral concept of *dharma*, a natural order in the universe that provides a model of proper conduct— that developed in ancient India. The various forms of Buddhism all derive from the teachings of Siddhartha Gautama, the Buddha, or “enlightened one,” who lived from about 560 to 480 B.C.E.

From India, Buddhism spread throughout Asia in succeeding centuries. A variety of branches, schools, and sects were formed in different locations at different times. Zen Buddhism, a movement that emphasizes meditation as a path to enlightenment, emerged in China (as “Chan Buddhism”) in the seventh century and later spread to Japan and other countries.

Few, if any, Buddhists lived in the United States until the first Chinese immigrants arrived in the nineteenth century. Although Buddhist temples were built in San Francisco’s Chinatown and elsewhere on the West Coast, the general public remained uninterested, uninvolved, and uninformed for the rest of the century. Unlike Christian churches and Jewish synagogues, the few nineteenth-century Buddhist temples in America had no clergy in residence. They were places of prayer and worship, but not vectors for the spread of Buddhism. Not until the twentieth century did Buddhist clergy arrive in the United States.

In the meantime, Buddhism was known primarily to intellectuals. Transcendentalism, the philosophical movement that flourished on the East Coast in the 1830s and 1840s, was informed by Eastern religion in general, as were aspects of the Unitarian Universalist church, which had originated in America as early as the turn of the nineteenth century. The Buddhism known to intellectuals was largely the form practiced in India, where it was introduced to British colonials. Later in the nineteenth century, American scholars became familiar with German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche’s sympathy with Buddhism (though more attention was paid to his condemnations of Christianity).

During the Progressive Era of the early twentieth century, changes in religious thinking after the Third Great Awakening—including the Social Gospel movement, new debates about modernism in the Protestant denominations, the advent of Reform Judaism, and a general feeling of ecumenism—helped promote interest in the life and teaching of the Buddha among American readers. Actual participation in Buddhism still remained rare, however, especially outside of California.

In California, a small number of white Americans had converted to Buddhism during the latter part of the nineteenth century, enough to support several magazines. Although the Chinese had first brought Buddhism to the country, it was the Japanese who became most involved in its popularization. In the first decades of the twentieth century, a number of Buddhist teachers from Japan were hosted by Californians, and several relocated permanently to the United States. As a result, Japanese Buddhism—especially Zen—became the most popular strain among American converts. The Harada-Yasutani tradition, or Sanbo Kyodan Zen, was especially popular, beginning in the years after World War II (though it retained a minority status in Japan).

Philip Kapleau, an American student of founder Yasutani Haku’un, had been introduced to Zen while working as a court reporter in the Tokyo War Crimes Trials (1946–1948). After returning to the United States, he published *The Three Pillars of Zen* (1965), a practical guide to Zen that emphasized its universal appeal, in any cultural or ethnic context. The book remains one of the most popular English-language works on the subject to the present day.

Several American writers of the Beat Generation in the 1950s were practicing Buddhists, or closely familiar with the religion, and were instrumental in making it a central element of the counterculture movement. Poet Allen

Ginsberg and novelist Jack Kerouac discussed Buddhism frequently, the former adopting it as his primary belief system (later embracing Hinduism and the Hare Krishna movement), and the latter incorporating Buddhist philosophy into his native Catholicism. Kerouac's novel *The Dharma Bums* (1958) explored the early days of the Beats after Ginsberg's reading of his poem *Howl* (1956) and Kerouac's friendship with Gary Snyder, a Beat poet and Buddhist who practiced a self-taught form of *zazen* (meditation).

The Dharma Bums is not a Buddhist text in the sense that *The Three Pillars* is, but it lays out a number of conversations about enlightenment, consciousness, the self, and wisdom that reinforce a long-held understanding of Buddhism on the part of Westerners: that it is more a philosophy than a religion and that adopting it neither betrays nor requires the abandonment of a formal religion (such as Christianity) that one has been raised with. This was a popular idea among American Catholic intellectuals before and after World War II, which contributed to the exposure of Buddhism; books and sermons comparing the ideals and sayings of the Buddha and Christ became common. Rather than finding a false prophet in the Buddha, many American Catholics found independent verification of Christian teaching.

The Zen koan, for example, a parable or riddle that could not be fully understood by rational means, was said to offer a parallel with the parables of Jesus. The Beats and others embraced the spiritual liberation, the antimaterialism, and the very paradoxes of Buddhism.

Buddhism and Eastern religion in general remained fixtures of the counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1974, author Robert Pirsig named his book—which would become a counterculture classic—*Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, even though it had little to do with Buddhism per se. The title was a play on that of the Buddhist text *Zen in the Art of Archery* (1948) by Eugen Herrigel, which had been popular on college campuses years before.

Bill Kte'pi

See also: [Beat Generation: Pirsig, Robert M.](#)

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Bukowski, Charles (1920–1994)

Charles Bukowski was a poet, short-story writer, and novelist who gained notoriety and a cult following beginning in the 1960s for his terse and painfully honest writing and his famously self-destructive persona. The street life of Los Angeles provided the subject matter for much of his work, earning him the nickname “Poet Laureate of Skid Row.”

Bukowski was born in Germany on August 16, 1920, to an American soldier and German mother. He grew up in

Los Angeles, and lived there for the rest of his life. Bukowski's father was strict and abusive, his mother submissive. When Bukowski left home, he dedicated himself to a life of writing. After his early attempts at publication failed, however, he wrote nothing for a decade, working a variety of odd jobs and drinking heavily.

Bukowski returned to writing in the 1950s, supporting himself by working for the U.S. Postal Service. He began to gain recognition in the 1960s within the Los Angeles literary community, although critics were bitterly divided over the value of his work. In 1963, one Los Angeles publisher declared him "Outsider of the Year"—faint praise, but recognition nonetheless.

In his poems and prose works, Bukowski dealt honestly with his drinking problem, his complex relationships with women, and his own meditations on the meaning of masculinity and humanity. Characteristically blunt, scatological, and obscene, his writing was somehow elegant as well, and often funny. Bukowski's literary alter ego, Hank Chinaski, was the basis for his hard-drinking macho public persona. That image often obscured the dedication and care that Bukowski brought to his writing. He was nothing if not prolific, producing thousands of poems, hundreds of short stories, and several novels and screenplays—more than fifty books in all, published during his life or posthumously.

Bukowski continued to gain attention during the 1960s. By the end of the decade, he was able to quit his post office job and work full-time as a writer. He gave his first public readings in 1973, which contributed to his public recognition—and dubious reputation. The readings, in which he insulted and swore at the audience and paused between poems to expound on his philosophy, were an instant sensation. An award-winning documentary film about them, *Bukowski* (1973), was aired on public television and helped make him a cult celebrity.

After the film's release, Bukowski received a grant from the National Endowment for the Arts and began giving readings across the country. His public persona and the blunt honesty of his writing gained him notoriety and a measure of fame and financial success. While his writing garnered mixed critical reaction, many readers were vehement in their support. Bukowski was especially lionized in his native Germany, where translations of his works were extremely successful among book buyers.

Bukowski gained more public notice when a semibiographical film, *Barfly*, was released in 1987. Starring Mickey Rourke, the movie chronicled Bukowski's years as an alcoholic drudge before his writing gained recognition. The film won minor acclaim, and Bukowski's participation (he wrote the screenplay) opened new doors for him. He continued to work until the end of his life.

Bukowski died of cancer on March 9, 1994. A steady stream of reprint editions, as well as several posthumous publications, have preserved his reputation in the years since.

James L. Erwin

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Buntline, Ned (ca. 1823–1886)

Ned Buntline was the pseudonym of the American journalist, writer, and publisher Edward Zane Carroll Judson. Best known as the promoter of Buffalo Bill, and also known as “King of the Dime Novelists,” Buntline was as much an invention of the public imagination as a shaper of it.

Even the details of his birth are clouded by speculation, with dates ranging from 1820 through 1823, and birthplaces noted in both New York and Pennsylvania. The most commonly cited among these is March 20, 1823, in Stamford, New York, as stated in his biography but called into question elsewhere.

Judson, who had used the name Ned since boyhood, added the surname Buntline (a nautical term for the rope at the bottom of a square sail) to his pseudonym to shield his identity after writing “The Captain’s Pig,” an autobiographical tale of a prank he played on his captain while sailing with a U.S. Navy squadron. That short story, published in 1844, marked the beginning of Buntline’s extensive literary career and the genesis of a colorful persona.

A prolific writer, Buntline wrote for and edited a number of periodicals from the 1840s until his death in 1886. Among these were the *Knickerbocker*, *Western Literary Journal and Monthly Magazine*, *Prairie Flower*, *Empire State*, *New York Weekly*, and the *Banner Weekly*.

In 1844, Buntline started a periodical called *Ned Buntline’s Own*, which he would produce intermittently over the next twenty years. After 1846, Buntline wrote more than 400 novels, with such titles as *The Comanche’s Dream* (1860) and *The Mysteries and Miseries of New York* (1848).

The highlight of Buntline’s colorful career came in 1869, after the July skirmish at Summit Springs, Colorado, in which Major Frank North slew the infamous Chief Tall Bull. Buntline intended to write North’s story, but North’s distaste for journalists forced him to look elsewhere for a hero. He found an outgoing, attractive, and rugged stand-in in young William F. Cody, who, in Buntline’s hands, was transformed from an often inebriated hunter and scout into a Western icon.

Buntline’s promotion of Buffalo Bill, combined with his dime novels, played a significant role in American cultural mythmaking. The melodramas and Wild West shows offered their audiences a romantic, adventurous, exoticized West that stood in stark contrast to the increasingly staid, urban life of the East. Their images of treacherous Indians, rugged terrain, and hypermasculine heroes would fuel both expansionist ambitions and American national identity in the nineteenth century and beyond.

The chronicle of Buntline’s exploits also includes six marriages and his being hanged for murder. In the case of the hanging, Buntline had been condemned for the fatal shooting of Robert Porterfield in a duel on March 14, 1846, and he survived the lynching only because the rope was secretly cut by a friend. Porterfield had challenged Buntline to the duel after it was suggested that Buntline had had inappropriate relations with Porterfield’s wife.

Buntline gained additional notoriety for his role in the Astor Place Riot of 1849, a working-class, anti-British demonstration in New York City that resulted in the deaths of twenty-one rioters. Buntline was arrested, fined, and sentenced to a year’s imprisonment.

After his release, Buntline’s career took a turn toward high-profile politics, as he traveled the country giving temperance lectures (in spite of his own heavy drinking). In 1852, he became a key figure in the Sons of ’76, or the Know-Nothing Party, an anti-immigrant, anti-Catholic organization whose name reflected its extreme secrecy.

Buntline continued writing until his death on July 16, 1886. His literary output included novels, newspaper articles, poetry, at least one hymn, and the play *The Scouts of the Prairie*, which played at Niblo’s Garden in New York in 1873 and launched Buffalo Bill’s stage career.

Cynthia J. Miller

See also: [Temperance Movement](#).

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Burning Man Festival

An alternative arts festival held annually in the Nevada desert since the early 1990s, Burning Man was founded by Larry Harvey, a member of San Francisco's countercultural art community. The first festival was a spontaneous event to mark the Summer Solstice on June 21, 1986. Harvey and his friend Jerry James built a wooden figure of a man that stood 8 feet (2.4 meters) tall, and, with about twenty friends and bystanders, burned it on Baker Beach in San Francisco. From these unlikely origins, an enormous experimental community arose.

In the 2000s, the festival has attracted more than 30,000 participants each year; by 2008, the number had grown close to about 50,000. Now an eight-day event, Burning Man is held the week before and including the Labor Day holiday in the challenging climate of the Black Rock Desert of Nevada. (Temperatures in this desert region may range from 40 degrees Fahrenheit at night to over 100 during the day.)

The spirit of Burning Man challenges participants to become part of a temporary planned community at what has come to be known as Black Rock City, located 120 miles (193 kilometers) north of Reno and the largest town in Nevada's Pershing County for the duration of the festival. The event has become so large that year-round planning by many people is required to bring it off successfully. There are few organizational principles, but there are rules governing health, safety, respect for others' experience of the event, and environmental concerns. Participants must bring in everything they need for the duration of their stay, including their own water, and must take everything with them when they leave.



The Burning Man Festival, an eight-day celebration of creative experimentation, temporary communal living, and participatory free expression, is held annually in the Black Rock Desert of Nevada. It culminates in the burning of a giant human effigy. (Hector Mata/AFP/Getty Images)

The bywords of the event are “creative participation involvement”; mere observation is discouraged. In the weeks leading up to the event, individuals set up art installations, build the structures needed to accommodate the tens of thousands of participants, schedule performances, and develop hundreds of theme camps. In addition, each annual festival follows a unique artistic theme, designated by Harvey. Themes in the past have included “The

Wheel of Time,” “The Body,” “The Floating World,” and “Psyche: The Conscious, the Subconscious, and the Unconscious.”

What attracts such large numbers of people to this event is not only the creative art installations, artistically designed vehicles, theme camps, and Burning Man himself—now nearly 40 feet (12.1 meters) tall— but also the “anything goes” ethic of the community itself. Public nudity and sexual activity coexist with religious shrines, musical performances, and children’s events. The festival attracts radical and countercultural participants from around the United States and other countries. Individuals and groups who experience hostility, confinement, and discrimination in their own communities regard the festival as a place where they can express themselves freely.

With these freedoms, however, has come commercial abuse. In recent years, Harvey has brought lawsuits against unauthorized videographers who have attempted to market videos of nude women at the festival. As a result, camera equipment is restricted, as are activities that risk commercial exploitation of what organizers and most participants still value as a radical experiment in art, self-expression, and spontaneous community.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Free Love: San Francisco, California.](#)

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Burns, Otway (1775–1850)

Otway Burns was the operator of an American privateer (an armed private ship licensed to attack enemy shipping) and a pro-abolition Southern politician. As one of the most famous privateers of the War of 1812, Burns was considered a hero, but his association with the Southern antislavery movement, as well as his stubborn defiance of the old regime in North Carolina, eventually led to his downfall.

Born near Beaufort, North Carolina, in 1775, Burns went to sea at an early age. In 1812, when the United States found itself at war with Great Britain, a group of North Carolina businessmen whose shipping had been interrupted by the war offered to pay Burns, by then an enterprising young sea captain, to help protect their shipping.

The British navy’s 600 ships were stretched thin at times between 1812 and 1815, largely because of the amount of territory the British had to control. The fledgling American navy, by contrast, had a mere sixteen ships with which to defend the U.S. coast. Burns received a license, or letters of marque, from the U.S. federal government, authorizing him to seize and capture British vessels. In addition to legalizing his activities, the license guaranteed that, in the event of capture, Burns and his crew could only be held as prisoners of war rather than hanged as pirates.

Unlike pirates, who acted indiscriminately and often raided even their own country's shipping, privateers would only attack enemy vessels during a time of war. Consequently, from the era of the American Revolution through the War of 1812, the U.S. government relied heavily on men such as Otway Burns to help augment the efforts of its navy.

Although Burns considered himself a patriot, others regarded him as little more than a licensed robber. Privateering was indeed a profitable business. As compensation for their services, the U.S. government agreed that Burns and the crew of his ship, the *Snap Dragon*, would receive a share of whatever spoils they managed to capture from the British. The total value of shipping captured by the *Snap Dragon* was more than half a million dollars. By the end of the war, Burns was a rich man.

Despite his success and fame, however, Burns continued to be regarded as a maverick. In 1821, he was elected to the North Carolina state legislature. His opposition to slavery, unusual for a Southerner, made him many enemies. Throughout his political career, which ended when he was voted out of office in 1835, Burns refused to endorse bills that would prohibit the eventual emancipation of slaves, advocated the repeal of acts making it a crime to teach slaves how to read, and opposed legislators who wanted to keep free blacks out of North Carolina.

Many people in the established eastern counties of North Carolina, particularly the landed gentry, considered Burns a traitor when, in the 1830s, he supported the creation of new western counties. Slaveholders were not as powerful in the mountainous western parts of the state, and, by creating new counties, men such as Burns attempted to redraw the lines of power.

The town of Burnsville was named in his honor, but Burns was never fully accepted by mainstream society. After losing his seat in the legislature, he was appointed keeper of a lighthouse on the Outer Banks of North Carolina. There, having lost most his fortune, he died on October 25, 1850.

Michael Taylor

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [African Americans](#).

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Burroughs, William S. (1914–1997)

Variously referred to as Uncle Bill, “El Hombre Invisible,” and William Lee, the avant-garde novelist and artist and notorious drug addict William S. Burroughs was a protean figure in the American literary underground. He was a central figure in the Beat Generation of artists and writers, a primarily literary movement that countered the prevailing middle-class culture of 1950s America.

He was born William Seward Burroughs II on February 5, 1914, in St. Louis, Missouri, the grandson of the inventor of the Burroughs adding machine. He attended private high school in St. Louis and went on to Harvard University in 1932, working summers as a cub reporter for the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*. After graduating from Harvard in 1936, he continued his exploration of gay lifestyle and culture in Europe, drifting through a series of unfulfilling jobs back in the United States and becoming a drug addict while living in New York.

He enlisted in the U.S. Army in the aftermath of Pearl Harbor—only to be given a disability discharge for depression—and settled in New York with friends, including Jack Kerouac. Despite his sexual preference, Burroughs was married twice. His marriage to Joan Vollmer Burroughs ended in Mexico in 1951 with her accidental shooting at Burroughs's hands. The event prompted him to write.

His first three novels—*Junkie* (1953; originally published as *Junk* and reissued in 1977), *Queer* (written in 1953, published in 1986); and *Naked Lunch* (published in France in 1959 and in the United States in 1962)—echo the French poet Charles Baudelaire's call for a "systematic derangement of these senses." These works also reflect some of Burroughs's preferred topics: drugs (heroin) and sex (with men). From his perspective, humans are fundamentally sick creatures and human culture is pathological. As a seminal figure and mentor of the Beat Generation, Burroughs propagated a powerful sense of the decay of American civilization and the liberating power of aberrant behavior—leitmotifs in the counterculture of the 1960s. His themes of drugs, altered states of consciousness, space travel, and criminal behavior constitute avenues of escape that have carried literary appeal through three generations of hipsters.

In collaboration with painter and writer Brion Gysin, a fellow tenant of the "Beat Hotel" in Paris during the early 1960s, Burroughs developed creative devices that he referred to as the dream machine and the cut-up. The former consists of a column of paper, perforated by specifically shaped and arranged holes, and rotated, with a light bulb hung in its center, on a record turntable at 78 rpm. The user, seated before the machine with eyes closed, is struck by rapidly oscillating waves of light, the effect of which is ostensibly to induce a trance state characterized by graphic visions of religious icons and other optical effects.

The cut-up is a method for short-circuiting rational thought. In his ongoing effort to break the bonds of language, Burroughs worked with Gysin to develop a method by which a printed page is cut into sections and rearranged in a predetermined fashion. At the formal level, the method was intended to advance writing, which in Gysin's view was "fifty years behind painting." By allowing the physical manipulation of text and the application of montage techniques, Burroughs and Gysin hoped to close the gap. As a tool for writing, the cut-up was said to disrupt the relationship between words and phrases as dictated by syntax—a technique for violently disrupting rational linguistic codes.

While his 1964 novel *Nova Express* represented the first systematic application of the cut-up method in published form, the development and initial application of the method had taken place around the time *Naked Lunch*—Burroughs's most famous work—was published in Paris in 1959. A loosely linked series of hallucinatory vignettes or "routines," *Naked Lunch* was marked by its vivid and sordid imagery no less than the fertile imagination of its author, but the work became best known for the highly public obscenity trial that followed its American publication in 1962 by Grove Press.

In the latter part of his career, Burroughs continued to write as well as work as a film actor (*Drugstore Cowboy*, 1989), librettist (Robert Wilson's *The Black Rider*, 1991) and spoken-word performer (with John Giorno and Laurie Anderson, among others). He also continued to create works of visual art. At his home in Lawrence, Kansas, where he moved from New York in 1981, Burroughs pursued some of the same goals and obsessions that had driven his writing and life—guns, chance, and the vistas opened by attention to detail—in his so-called shotgun paintings (pieces of plywood rent by shotgun blast and splattered with containers of paint).

By the time of his death on August 2, 1997, Burroughs had gone from a reviled, marginal literary figure to an artist who commanded respect in the academy and popular culture. He had been elected to membership in the American Academy of Arts and Letters (1984) and was widely recognized as an American cultural icon.

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Ginsberg, Allen](#): [Kerouac, Jack](#).

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Cambridge, Massachusetts

The city of Cambridge, Massachusetts, has been a meeting place for those whose thoughts and actions run counter to prevailing culture since almost as far back as its settlement in 1630. Known originally as New Towne, it was one of several settlements founded by John Winthrop, governor of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Along with Watertown, Dorchester, and Boston, the settlement, based around what is now Harvard Square, originally was intended to be a place where Puritans, who sought a simpler and more disciplined form of religious and social practice than they enjoyed in England, could live according to their principles.

In 1636, a college to train ministers, devised along the classic English model of tutorial studies, was founded in the town; the school was later named after John Harvard, who donated his library to the college. Although it trained ministers, Harvard College was not affiliated with the Puritans or any other religious group. There also was a small community of Anglicans who lived and flourished economically in the city. Several of their houses in an area known as Tory Row, as well as Christ Church, where they worshipped, still stand.

In the eighteenth century, the town found itself growing away from England and toward the politics of revolution. Once things began to unravel between colony and mother country, those on Tory Row found it best to flee, many resettling to the north in Nova Scotia. In 1775, days after the outbreak of the Revolutionary War, Cambridge Common became a camp of more than 20,000 men volunteering for service, and Harvard canceled classes so that more soldiers could be housed on its campus.

Also in 1775, General George Washington took command of the Continental Army in Cambridge. There is a story that he did so under an elm tree on Cambridge Common, though this has not been substantiated by historical research. The image of the elm tree (the actual tree fell prey to disease in the 1920s) remains a symbol of freedom, and Washington made his headquarters in the city and housed his family there for a number of months.

Artists and scholars, students, musicians, politicians, immigrants, and refugees all have found homes in Cambridge since its founding. As the university and the city began to grow in the nineteenth century, Cambridge became the home of notable poets and writers, including Richard Henry Dana, Margaret Fuller, and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.

There also had been a small African American community in the city since its beginnings. With the controversy over slavery heating up nationwide in the mid-nineteenth century, the combination of education, religious progressivism, and proximity to the transportation hub of Boston made Cambridge a welcoming place for those who held countercultural views on the institution of slavery.

Abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison lived in the city, as did several African Americans who were pioneers in their fields, including Maria Baldwin, who taught black students in her home. Among her students were the scholar and civil rights leader W.E.B. Du Bois and John J. Fatal, who helped escaped slaves make it to the free North in the 1840s. Garrison published *The Liberator*, an influential abolitionist newspaper, and the city had a racially integrated school system by 1850. In the time before and during the American Civil War, fugitive slaves and those advocating the end of slavery found themselves welcome in the city.

As the twentieth century unfolded, representatives of the newly formed and politically controversial Irish Free State (later the Republic of Ireland) toured America seeking resources to support their new government. They found strong financial and political support among the residents of Cambridge.

Perhaps one of the best-known and most dramatic expressions of Cambridge's counterculture came in the early 1960s with the work of Harvard professor Timothy Leary. Experimenting with drugs in his research, Leary advocated the "Turn on, tune in, drop out" lifestyle that became a guiding principle of the hippie culture. In the late 1960s, anti-Vietnam War rallies and protests came to Harvard Square and other parts of Cambridge, as did bombings and street demonstrations associated with those times.

At Harvard and the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), the burgeoning computer culture of the 1970s and 1980s saw a counter movement of software developers and computer hackers. Most prominent among them was Richard Matthew Stallman, known for his pioneering of the free software license GNU (General Public License), among other things.

Counterculture also has found expression in Cambridge's take on the arts, particularly music. The American Folklore Society was founded in Cambridge in 1888; Harvard professor Francis James Child authored a six-volume collection of ballads and folk songs (1882–1898) that remains a source of information and inspiration to storytellers and musicians from many genres more than a century later.

In the late 1950s and early 1960s, while most of the country listened to such mellow crooners as Patti Page and Frank Sinatra, Cambridge's Club 47 (now Club Passim) became a hub for performers of the folk music revival and its attendant counterculture scene. Future folk revival superstar Joan Baez made her debut at Club 47 in 1958. Bob Dylan, Carolyn Hester, Chris Smither, and Dave van Ronk all played there early in their careers, offering music that ranged from political broadsides to personal introspection, and leading the way to the singer-songwriter style that continues today. Shawn Colvin, Nanci Griffith, and Bruce Springsteen were among those who came as players and audience members.

The people of Cambridge have a long history of movements and lifestyles that run counter to prevailing lines of thought, from the time of the city's founding fathers to present-day seekers of alternative choices in politics, arts, and personal styles. Although not every citizen agrees with every cause, Cambridge remains a place where counterculture in politics, lifestyle, and the arts is often as strong, and certainly as visible, as are mainstream ideas.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Garrison, William Lloyd](#); [Leary, Timothy](#).

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Carlin, George (1937–2008)

Irreverent, profane, politically radical, and willing to tell jokes on taboo subjects, ranging from sex and drugs to religion and mainstream American culture, the stand-up comic and recording artist George Carlin became especially popular among hippies and other members of the counterculture in the 1970s. He continued to entertain audiences into the twenty-first century.

George Dennis Carlin was born in New York City on May 12, 1937. His parents separated a year later, and he was raised by his mother in the Morningside Heights neighborhood of Manhattan. He quit high school at age fourteen and joined the U.S. Air Force three years later. While stationed at an airbase in Louisiana, he began working off base as a disc jockey on a Shreveport radio station.

After being discharged from the service in 1957, Carlin began his full-time career with small radio jobs in Boston and Fort Worth. In 1960, he left Texas for Hollywood with radio friend Jack Burns, and they formed the nightclub comedy team of Burns and Carlin. Performing stand-up routines, the duo got radio work, recorded an album, and appeared on *The Tonight Show* before parting ways in 1962 to start solo careers.

During the rest of the decade, Carlin performed stand-up in New York City's Greenwich Village, appeared on television, and recorded his first solo album (*Take Offs and Put Ons*, 1966). In a prelude to future controversies, a Las Vegas hotel fired him in 1969 for using the word *shit* on stage.

Carlin achieved lasting fame in the 1970s, transforming his physical appearance from clean-cut conservative to long-haired, bearded hippie. He also transformed his humor, recording several best-selling albums on the Little David label. Later considered comedy classics, these early albums contained profanity and groundbreaking commentary on drugs, sex, politics, religion, and mainstream culture. In 1972, he was arrested after a concert in Milwaukee for performing his famous “Seven Words You Can Never Say on Television” (or “Seven Dirty Words”) routine.

In 1973, Carlin's album *FM and AM* won a Grammy Award. In 1975, he hosted the very first broadcast of *Saturday Night Live*, and he taped the first of his many cable television performances for Home Box Office (HBO) in 1977, earning a prominent place in American pop culture.

Perhaps most significantly, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Federal Communications Commission v. Pacifica Foundation*—a 1978 case about the daytime radio broadcast of Carlin's “Dirty Words” routine—that the government could ban the use of certain words from the public airwaves during hours when children might hear them. Despite the Court's decision, Carlin remained popular with both mainstream and counterculture audiences.

Overcoming health problems and drug addiction, Carlin continued recording albums and television concerts throughout the next two and a half decades. Since the late 1980s, his humor took aim at organized religion, big business, consumer culture, and the perversion of the English language. His album *Jammin' in New York* won a Grammy Award in 1992.

Meanwhile, branching out into other creative avenues, Carlin played the role of Mister Conductor on the popular

children's television show *Shining Time Station* (1991–1993), and he appeared in the films *Bill and Ted's Excellent Adventure* (1989), *The Prince of Tides* (1991), *Dogma* (1999), and *Jersey Girl* (2004). His 1997 book, *Brain Droppings*, became a surprise best seller, as did *Napalm and Silly Putty* in 2001.

Regarded by fans as something of a philosopher, Carlin remained popular for articulating often unpleasant and sometimes acerbic, but usually hilarious, truths about the way Americans live, or pretend to. The comedian, who died of heart failure on June 22, 2008, was hailed by critics as a cultural renegade, and one of America's most relevant—and funniest—comedians.

Roy L. Sturgeon

See also: [Radio](#).

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Carmichael, Stokely (1941–1998)

As head of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, a direct-action antiracist organization) during the tumultuous late 1960s, a chief proponent of the Black Power movement, and a revolutionary Pan-Africanist, Stokely Carmichael galvanized and fundamentally altered the course of the civil rights movement and contributed to the development of African American consciousness. His most notable achievement as leader of the SNCC was popularizing the ideology of Black Power during the 1966 Meredith March Against Fear in Mississippi, but Carmichael's career began when he was a student and lasted the rest of his life.

Born on July 29, 1941, in Port-of-Spain, Trinidad, and raised in New York City, Stokely Standiford Churchill Carmichael became involved in radical activism as a student at Howard University in Washington, D.C., after studying Marxism and attending a 1960 protest against the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The following year, he was arrested for participating in the Freedom Rides bus campaign against racial segregation in the Deep South.

In 1965, Carmichael was among the founders of the all-black Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO), an independent political party that led voter registration drives and organized marches for civil rights in the Alabama Black Belt. Perhaps the LCFO's most lasting contribution to the freedom struggle, however, was the choice of a black panther as its logo. According to LCFO chairman John Hulett, the panther was selected because the animal will fight for its life when cornered.

Carmichael rose to the forefront of the civil rights movement and received national media attention in 1966 when he popularized the phrase "Black Power!" Riding the wave of that phrase and the prevailing sentiment of the African American community, Carmichael sought to nationalize the goals of the civil rights movement and extend them beyond mere voting rights and the end of segregation. For Carmichael, this meant tackling larger cultural, social, and economic issues that disproportionately afflicted the African American community, including underemployment, inferior housing, and inadequate schools.

Believing that capitalism and racism were operating in tandem to oppress African Americans, Carmichael devised an anticapitalist, black nationalist platform for the SNCC that represented a secular alternative to the dogmatic, fundamentalist program said to have been espoused by Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad as leaders of the Nation of Islam. Moreover, Carmichael helped broaden the SNCC's antiracist agenda to include Marxist criticisms of capitalism, a denunciation of the Vietnam War, and a rejection of white, bourgeois values and culture.

Carmichael's identification with Africa and African values was crucial to his definition of Black Power and his refusal to recognize integration as the primary goal of the civil rights movement. His countercultural view is perhaps best characterized by Martin Luther King, Jr.'s description of Black Power as "the view that American society is so hopelessly corrupt and enmeshed in evil that there is no possibility of salvation from within."

For Carmichael, Black Power was a holistic revolutionary program that celebrated traditional African communal values, asserted the necessity of a positive African American identity, and advocated a political program that alienated white liberal allies in the civil rights movement. He espoused the psychological necessity of African American self-determination and considered white efforts to organize the black community superfluous. Black Power, as he defined it, was an ideology in which cultural and political aims were inseparable.

Carmichael's Pan-Africanism influenced his 1978 decision to honor his two revolutionary mentors— Kwame Nkrumah, the first president of Ghana, and Sekou Touré, the first president of Guinea—by changing his name to Kwame Ture.

Before succumbing to prostate cancer on November 15, 1998, Carmichael dictated his memoirs to longtime comrade Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, who transcribed and organized the text. Carmichael's autobiography, *Ready for Revolution*, was published in 2003.

As a political radical and critic of mainstream, middle-class society, Carmichael was a product of the 1960s youth rebellion. However, the seriousness of his activity as a political organizer and his assertiveness as an African American working for cultural and political autonomy combined to make him a more significant threat to the establishment than his peers in Students for a Democratic Society and the hippie movement.

David Lucander

See also: [Black Power Movement](#): [Civil Rights Movement](#): [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#): [Malcolm X](#).

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Carroll, Jim (1950–2009)

Jim Carroll, a poet, writer, and punk rock musician from New York City, was catapulted to quasi-fame in America's counterculture with the publication of his autobiographical book *The Basketball Diaries* in 1978. Graphically detailing his life as a teenage basketball phenomenon, heroin addict, and prostitute, *The Basketball Diaries* achieved a notoriety and commercial success that often overshadows the lasting influence of Carroll's gritty, personal, expository style on literature and music.

He was born on August 1, 1950, to an Irish Catholic working-class family. He attended various Catholic schools in New York City, eventually earning a scholarship to the prestigious Trinity School. It was there, inspired by the writings of Jack Kerouac, that Carroll recorded the events of his teenage years in stark, unself-conscious detail, morphing from a typical twelve-year-old to a heroin-addicted male prostitute on the fringes of the notorious New York drug scene.

Carroll left school, becoming increasingly involved with artist Andy Warhol and his avant-garde art and counterculture movement. Proclaimed a prodigy by such legendary Beat writers as Kerouac and William S. Burroughs, by age seventeen Carroll was a published author and poet, and a member of Warhol's inner circle. The allure of New York's vibrant but drug-saturated art scene soon faded, however, and Carroll used the proceeds from *Living at the Movies* (1973), a collection of poems penned while comanaging Warhol's Theater, to fund his move to California.

While in California, Carroll kicked his drug habit and continued to write, publishing *The Basketball Diaries* aboveground. A chance encounter with ex-flame, poet, and punk icon Patti Smith inspired Carroll to try his hand at music. He pulled together a band, recorded a few demos, and signed with Rolling Stone Records. Despite critical acclaim for the brutal edge to Carroll's lyrics, the 1980 debut album, *Catholic Boy*, included the Jim Carroll Band's only commercially successful single. The single was "People Who Died," a lyrical punk/rap ode to friends and acquaintances who had met untimely deaths, many drug connected. After fulfilling the terms of his recording contract, Carroll retired from the music world and returned to writing.

The sustained success of Carroll's works, the cult status of his band's early albums, and his draw as a speaker attest to his continuing influence on various factions of American culture. Carroll's cathartic, über-realistic portrayal of addiction, recovery, self-loathing, sexual exploration, and self-discovery inspired many modern literary, music, and film projects, such as Irvine Welsh's *Trainspotting* (1993), James O'Barr's graphic novel *The Crow* (1981) and the goth cult character it is titled after, and *Put Your Tongue to the Rail* (Genus Records, 1999), a showcase of Philadelphia musicians heavily influenced by Carroll.

Carroll collaborated with a number of notable musicians, while enjoying a lucrative career reading his works and giving spoken-word performances. The 1995 release of *The Basketball Diaries* as a feature film, starring Leonardo di Caprio, cemented the unintentional transformation of Jim Carroll, the literary countercultural savant, into Jim Carroll, the bourgeois provocateur. Uncomfortable to a degree with the adulation and emulation of his life and work, Carroll continued to write and perform spoken-word pieces to his death from a heart attack in New York City on September 11, 2009.

Ann Youngblood Mulhearn

See also: [Beat Generation: Heroin.](#)

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Carson, Rachel (1907–1964)

The author, scientist, and naturalist Rachel Louise Carson wrote scientifically grounded works that inspired readers with her love of nature. Her most notable book, *Silent Spring* (1962), sparked a public outcry against the use of chemical pesticides and helped shape the ecology movement of the 1960s and 1970s.

Born in Springdale, Pennsylvania, on May 27, 1907, Carson grew up on a nonworking farm just outside the city. As a girl, she spent innumerable hours with her mother and lifelong best friend, Maria McLean Carson, reading and hiking in the nearby forests. These quiet hours instilled in Carson two enduring loves that would shape her career and her place in history: nature and the written word.

Carson pursued a career in biology, but she never lost her love for writing and the natural world. While enrolled at the Pennsylvania College for Women in Pittsburgh in 1924, she encountered a young biology teacher named Mary Scott Skinker, whose infectious enthusiasm inspired the young Carson to study the subject. After graduating with a degree in biology in 1928, Carson enrolled in graduate school at Johns Hopkins University, where she earned her master's degree in marine zoology in 1932.

She subsequently worked for the information division of the U.S. Bureau of Fisheries, initially producing a series of radio scripts called *Romance Under the Seas* to explain the subject of marine life to the general public. Assigned to write a synopsis of the series, Carson produced such a remarkably florid piece that her boss rejected it for government publication and told her to submit it to a literary journal. She published the resulting essay, "Undersea," in the *Atlantic Monthly*, marking her entry into the literary world.

She published her first book, *Under the Sea Wind*, in 1941. Her second book, *The Sea Around Us* (1951), reached the best-seller list and allowed her to resign from her government position to become a full-time nature writer.

Carson's writing sparked popular interest and conveyed a love for the intrinsic beauty of nature, while remaining grounded in scientific research. *Silent Spring*, an exposé of the harmful effects of agricultural chemicals on humans and the environment, constituted her greatest writing achievement. Based on the research of leading biologists, the book captivated readers with its musings on the beauty and wonder of nature. At a time when most American scientists and chemical manufacturers lauded humanity's ability to conquer nature, *Silent Spring* questioned the wisdom of efforts to manipulate the natural environment and commented on the potential damaging effects of such actions.

Carson died of breast cancer on April 14, 1964, soon after the publication of *Silent Spring*. While many twentieth-century Americans had assumed that humans would benefit most by manipulating the environment, Carson's view, and that of the new ecological movement, saw people as but a small part of the complex and delicately balanced ecological system—one whose balance and beauty could be sustained only by minimizing human interference.

Steven Sheehan

See also: [Environmentalism](#).

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Cash, Johnny (1932–2003)

Popularly known as “The Man in Black,” American country-music singer and songwriter Johnny Cash was known for his rebel persona and dark songs—including the 1956 hit singles “Folsom Prison Blues” and “I Walk the Line”—that spoke to the heart of America while cutting at its underbelly. Personal friend and fellow country musician Kris Kristofferson said of Cash, “He stood up for the underdogs, the downtrodden, the prisoners, the poor, and he was their champion.” As a testimony to a career that appealed to fans worldwide, Cash’s posthumous album *The Legend of Johnny Cash* (2005) was certified platinum when it sold 1 million copies.

J.R. Cash was born in Kingsland, Arkansas, on February 26, 1932. At the age of three, he moved with his family to Dyess, Arkansas, just outside Memphis, Tennessee. The family was poor, so it was no small gift when his mother, Carrie Cash, gave him a guitar on his tenth birthday. That gift, and the family’s proximity to the center of the country-music recording industry, laid the foundation for Cash’s future as a musician.

After marrying Vivian Liberto in 1954, Cash moved to Memphis, the source of much of the music he had enjoyed in his youth. While working as a home-appliance salesman, he befriended amateur musicians Marshall Grant and Luther Perkins, and they began playing together.

The trio eventually earned a fifteen-minute spot on a local radio station and persuaded producer Sam Phillips of Sun Records (the future recording home of Jerry Lee Lewis, Roy Orbison, Elvis Presley, and other rock-and-roll legends) to turn out their first record in 1955. Cash wrote the songs “Hey Porter” and “Cry, Cry, Cry” and the trio—called Johnny Cash and the Tennessee Two—had their first release. The group’s popularity rose steadily as it went on tour, and Cash recorded some of his most famous songs during this early period.

The three musicians decided to split ways, and, in 1958, Cash signed a solo contract with Columbia Records in Los Angeles. The move to California allowed him to pursue more religious and political themes, reflected in such songs as “Lead Me Father,” “It Was Jesus,” and “Going to Memphis.” His lyrics often focused on the fringes of society, such as outlaws, or minority groups, such as Native Americans, but managed to resonate with mainstream audiences.

Cash’s simple rhythms and distinctive baritone voice made his albums and live performances ever more popular, and his music brought him unimagined financial success, but his personal life began a downward spiral. A growing addiction to painkillers culminated in his arrest in 1965, and his long absences from home led to his wife filing for divorce, which was finalized in 1968.

In February of the same year, Cash married singer and songwriter June Carter. Cash had first met Carter, a member of the Carter Family, one of the decade’s most popular country-western ensembles, backstage twelve years before, and the two had performed together. By the end of 1968, he succeeded in kicking his drug habit and released the live album *At Folsom Prison*.

The following year, Cash released another album of his famous prison performances, *At San Quentin*, which included the comical pop hit “A Boy Named Sue.” Cash went on to star in his own television variety hour and to cameo in several Hollywood films.

One of the most prolific recording artists of all time, in any genre, Cash released his 129th, and final, album, *American IV: The Man Comes Around*, in 2003. Its fusion of religious tunes and covers of songs by such contemporary artists as Nine Inch Nails and Sting earned Cash his eleventh Grammy Award.

Cash died of complications from diabetes on September 12, 2003, having sold more than 50 million records in his lifetime. He was one of only two men (with Elvis Presley) to be inducted into both the Country Music and Rock and Roll halls of fame.

Chris Rutherford

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Castaneda, Carlos (1925–1998)

Carlos Cesar Salvador Arana Castaneda was a controversial counterculture philosopher and writer often hailed as the literary embodiment of the drug-infused 1960s. Through his Don Juan series of books, Castaneda reached out to those who feared that modern civilization alienated them from their spiritual natures, and he provided them with guides to help explore older and more esoteric forms of knowledge.

In *The Teachings of Don Juan: A Yaqui Way of Knowledge* (1968), Castaneda described his 1960 apprenticeship to Don Juan Matus, a Native American shaman (sorcerer) who initiated him into what he called “non-ordinary reality.” During this period, Castaneda was studying anthropology at the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) and maintained that his conversations with Don Juan were real; the objectivity of his writings was later questioned. Castaneda based his 1967 master’s thesis on his field notes and was subsequently granted a doctorate for his third book, *Journey to Ixtlan: The Lessons of Don Juan* (1972), which had followed on the heels of his second book, *Separate Reality: Further Conversations with Don Juan* (1971).

Whether he wrote fact or fiction, Castaneda’s timing was exquisite and his works struck a chord with the public. He published during the turbulent 1960s and early 1970s, a period in which many Americans turned away from education, affluence, and even social movements as sources of personal happiness. Many turned inward, seeking inspiration or comfort from Asian religions, transcendental meditation, mysticism, music, and the mind-altering drugs endorsed by such counterculture icons as Timothy Leary and Ken Kesey.

Castaneda maintained that shamanic wisdom could not be understood in logical terms. Don Juan instructed him to renounce all desire for rational explanation and to use the psychotropic plants that Native Americans had used for centuries to assist them on their internal journeys: peyote (mescaline), jimson weed, and psilocybin mushrooms. Drugs, he maintained, are neither good nor evil in themselves, but they have the power to evoke strong emotions and enable the user to discover and/or explore possibilities inaccessible to the rational mind.

Castaneda described his yearlong apprenticeship to Don Juan as difficult, his drug experiences as both exhilarating and terrifying. At one point, he turned into a crow, and later he struggled with a witch for ownership of his soul. Although he wanted to trust Don Juan’s assertion that fear is the enemy of knowledge, he initially ended his training and returned to the secular world of modern America. It took him many years to attain the status of

shaman.

Castaneda's books all became best sellers. They were well written and credible, and they sent many admirers rushing to the Sonoran Desert, although none ever located Don Juan. Botanists maintained that hallucinogenic mushrooms never grew in that desert, and critics began accusing Castaneda of filling Don Juan's mouth with the ideas of other philosophers and writers: Ludwig Wittgenstein, Friedrich Nietzsche, and C.S. Lewis.

Critics also questioned Castaneda's account of his own background. Although he gave his date of birth as December 25, 1931, and the birthplace as São Paulo, Brazil, immigration records indicated that he was born in Cajamarca, Peru, on December 25, 1925. Castaneda claimed that his mother died when he was seven years old and that he was raised by his father, a university professor. His father was, in fact, a goldsmith, and his mother died when he was twenty-four.

Philosopher or con man, Castaneda profoundly affected the American counterculture. His books have remained in print into the twenty-first century. Defenders of Castaneda's work maintain that his writings contain deep spiritual truths that would be valid even if Don Juan Matus never existed. Castaneda died of cancer on April 27, 1998.

Mary Stanton

See also: [Hippies](#); [Kesey, Ken](#); [Leary, Timothy](#).

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Catcher in the Rye, The

J.D. Salinger's *The Catcher in the Rye* (1951) is a bildungsroman, or coming-of-age novel, that first achieved cult status and then found its way onto high school and college reading lists across the United States. The novel's protagonist, Holden Caulfield, has become—like Mark Twain's Huckleberry Finn, to whom he is sometimes compared—an icon of youthful alienation. In its twentieth-century iteration, Caulfield's adolescent rebellion may be credited with making existential angst (if not depression) fashionable. Written in provocative language and dealing with adolescent sexuality, this controversial book has been both venerated and scorned since its publication, while selling tens of millions of copies and being translated into dozens of foreign languages.

The novel takes place in a post–World War II era that is depicted as materialistic and conservative, marked by growing affluence, conformity, and fear of nuclear attack. Rebelling from an adult world that he sees as relentlessly “phony,” superficial, and dishonest, the exquisitely sensitive and judgmental Caulfield champions a nonconformity fabulously (and famously) symbolized by his red hunting hat. His quest for truth and for an

authentic identity as a protector of childhood innocence and honesty depends not only on championing individuality, but also on resisting the pressure to grow up. Maturity, for Caulfield, is necessarily connected to adult hypocrisy. Ironically, the novel is complicated by its first-person perspective—a flashback that Caulfield narrates from a psychiatric hospital.

More than half a century after its publication, *The Catcher in the Rye* remains at the center of debates over censorship and the First Amendment right to freedom of speech, occupying a position near the top of the American Library Association's list of banned books. In the twenty-first century, it has continued to be torn from library shelves, challenged for its sexual content, vulgar language, and subversive tone.

Critics have even condemned the novel for encouraging murder and suicide: Mark David Chapman, who murdered singer-songwriter John Lennon in New York City in 1980, was carrying a copy of the novel at the time of the shooting. The book also is criticized for inspiring John Hinckley, Jr., who attempted to assassinate President Ronald Reagan in 1981, and for influencing musician Kurt Cobain, who committed suicide in 1994.

Despite the book's notoriety, countless readers, both male and female, have identified with the isolated, lonely, and misunderstood Holden Caulfield. His expression of discontent and his paean to innocence, sincerity, and nonconformity have resonated with generations of teenagers. A favorite of baby boomers and their offspring, this core work of countercultural literature continues to speak to alienated adolescents everywhere who seek to resist authority.

Deborah D. Rogers

See also: [Baby Boomers: Salinger, J.D.](#)

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Catholic Worker Movement

The Catholic Worker Movement, founded in 1933, promotes the “justice and charity of Jesus Christ” by providing food and shelter to the needy. While its 185 communities worldwide are officially unaffiliated with the Catholic Church, each house is dedicated to Christian belief in the God-given dignity of every person and pursues the cause of social justice in a unique way.

The Catholic Worker Movement arose in New York City through the efforts of religious social activists Dorothy

Day and Peter Maurin. As a student in college, Day had struggled to reconcile her childhood Christian faith with a growing sense of responsibility for the urban poor. She had joined with several Greenwich Village socialist writers during and after World War I to protest what she saw as the excessive materialism and injustice of America's capitalist system. Following a period of intense spiritual searching, Day and her daughter, Tamar, left New York's bohemian community for the more structured world of Roman Catholic worship and tradition. It was there that she met the communitarian anarchist Maurin, who showed her how her newfound faith also provided fertile ground for a radical cultural politics. Under Maurin's tutelage, Day took a vow of poverty as an expression of solidarity with America's working and lower classes.



An ardent critic of American capitalism, social injustice, poverty, and war, Dorothy Day cofounded the Catholic Worker Movement with Peter Maurin in 1933 to address society's problems "in accordance with the justice and charity of Jesus." (Library of Congress)

On May Day 1933, in the midst of the mass unemployment of the Great Depression, Day and Maurin began handing out copies of their new periodical, *The Catholic Worker*, in New York's Times Square. Their mission was to offer readers a religious, small-group alternative to the secular, state-centered reforms of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal economic recovery program, which, they believed, would simply perpetuate the subjugation of individuals to impersonal economic and political forces. Communist and socialist organizing, they believed, also failed to live up to the divine standard of Catholic liturgy and fellowship, which Day now asserted was the only true communism.

By 1936, *The Catholic Worker* enjoyed a circulation of more than 150,000, primarily in New York City parishes. Sympathetic volunteers set up urban "houses of hospitality" as a means of instituting their communitarian piety. Worker houses in New York City promoted familial bonds among staff, while providing opportunities for them to feed, clothe, and shelter those hurt most by the Depression. Although they did lend occasional support to the labor movement led by the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), Day and Maurin's interests lay more in liberating Americans from industrialism and wage labor altogether.

To that end, Catholic Workers established their first farm commune, in Easton, Pennsylvania, in 1936. The commune was run on principles of worker agrarianism, after the manner of medieval monasticism, to stimulate cooperative hard work, ascetic discipline, and mutual respect, while nurturing participants' ties to God and nature. Both house and farm members set aside regular time for prayer and worship, and they held meetings each week to "clarify" the goals of their movement.

After losing significant support during World War II for its staunch pacifism, the Catholic Worker Movement recovered quickly and expanded operations during the postwar era. The commitment of members to nonviolence,

which they regarded as a natural extension of the teachings of Christ, became more pronounced during the social and political upheaval of the 1960s, when the organization joined student protestors against the Vietnam War.

Today, Catholic Worker houses and farms engage in a number of relief and resistance efforts, from combating inner-city poverty to aiding environmental causes and opposing the death penalty. The organization remains bound by hope for the kind of cooperative society that, in Maurin's oft-repeated words, "makes it easier for people to be good."

Mark Edwards

See also: [Communitarianism](#).

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CBGB

CBGB, a famous New York nightclub located at 315 Bowery in Manhattan, was founded by Hilly Kristal in December 1973. The rundown neighborhood, adjacent to Greenwich Village, consisted of industrial buildings and flophouses that housed alcoholics, drug addicts, and ex-convicts. Despite its unseemly location, however, CBGB thrived as a destination for punk bands throughout the 1970s and 1980s.

Kristal had operated a bar at the same location from 1969 to 1972, called Hilly's on the Bowery. The new club—with the full name CBGB & OMFUG (Country, Bluegrass, Blues, and Other Music for Uplifting Gormandizers)—was established as a venue for the musical styles indicated by its acronym, but it soon emerged as a legendary club for punk rock.

The first punk band to perform at CBGB was Television, whose debut concert was held on March 31, 1974. A number of other punk acts appeared at the club throughout the 1970s. These included leading bands and solo performers of the genre such as Blondie, the Fleshtones, the Ramones, the Shirts, Patti Smith, and Talking Heads. Kristal required that every band perform original music, thereby barring "cover" bands, or those that performed other artists' music exclusively.

CBGB gained further notoriety when one of its most frequent performing groups, the Ramones, was signed to a recording contract with Sire Records in 1975 and went on to superstardom. In addition, Kristal organized the Festival of Unrecorded Rock Talent in July and August 1975, which had on its roster several prominent punk rock bands. The event intentionally coincided with the Newport Folk Festival, a long-standing annual event in Rhode Island known for featuring musicians who would eventually become superstars. The CBGB festival was very well

attended, assuring its place as an iconic rock and roll destination.

During the early 1980s, CBGB continued to be a hot spot for bands touring in New York, among them Bad Religion, Living Colour, Sonic Youth, and Soul Asylum. Staying true to its origins as a punk music destination, CBGB also had so-called Sunday Matinees that featured hardcore punk bands, such as the Gorilla Biscuits, Reagan Youth, and Youth of Today. The 1990s also brought a varied mix of musical talent, such as Cowboy Junkies, Helmet, Lisa Loeb, and G. Love and Special Sauce.

During its later years, CBGB was often without heat and adequate plumbing. This did not keep a number of famous bands from making the landmark nightclub a stop on their tours. In the 2000s, headliners, such as Guns N' Roses, Alan Jackson, and Shakira, performed on its stage.

CBGB closed its doors on October 15, 2006, after a lease dispute between Kristal and his landlord, the Bowery Residents' Committee, which accused him of owing more than \$91,000 in back rent; Kristal claimed that he had never been notified of a rent increase. (The two parties had reached an agreement in 2005 that would allow the club to remain open for fourteen more months.) The final concert was performed by Patti Smith, who was joined by Flea from the Red Hot Chili Peppers and Richard Lloyd from Television. Hilly Kristal died of complications from lung cancer on August 28, 2007.

Lindsay Schmitz

See also: [Punk Rock](#).

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Cedar Tavern

The Cedar Tavern, also known as the Cedar Street Tavern, located at 24 University Place in the West Village of New York City, was a hangout for abstract expressionist artists and emerging literary voices in the 1950s. Painters, such as Franz Kline, Willem de Kooning, Robert Motherwell, Jackson Pollock, and Mark Rothko, met to talk theory and drink heavily. Poets such as Kenneth Koch and Frank O'Hara could be seen in the Cedar Tavern, as were the Beat writers Gregory Corso, Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and Jack Micheline. Tourists seeking a glimpse of a well-known artist or writer finally found their way into the crowded, smoky bar as well.

The Cedar Tavern was not considered one of New York's true literary hangouts, like the San Remo bar, the legendary White Horse Tavern, or the West End bar. It stood in contrast to the conservative values and style of post-World War II suburban society, featuring austere wooden tables, simple booths, and small tables. Patrons demanded that the room be free of jukeboxes or televisions. It was an unadorned public space to drink and smoke, often to excess, and talk. The Cedar Tavern was not a haven for all to come for understanding and acceptance. Rather, it was a place where established and newly emerging artists, both literary and artistic, gathered to discuss—or argue about—their ideas and inspirations. Pollock was known to challenge newcomers to fistfights, which usually resulted in his buying the person a drink; actual fistfights in the confines of the Cedar

Tavern were rare. Sometimes, in a drunken, macho mood, Pollock would harass Frank O'Hara for being gay; this did not keep O'Hara from liking to drink there and writing poems inspired by the conversations of the abstract expressionist masters. De Kooning and his wife, Elaine, often worked out their marital issues in the midst of their peers.

Artistic temperaments fueled by whiskey led to other outbursts and raucous behavior. Legend has it that Pollock, who eventually was banned from the place, ripped the door from the men's room. In an unrelated incident, Kerouac was reported as urinating into a sink, or an ashtray, depending on who tells the story.

The original Cedar Tavern burned in a fire and was reopened in 1963 three blocks north, at 82 University Place. The new location welcomed alternative voices, especially those who protested the Vietnam War, such as Tuli Kupferberg, the poet, publisher, and cofounder of the rock group the Fugs, and other counterculture figures. The bar finally closed in December 2006, to allow unrelated construction on the building.

Michael Susko

See also: [Abstract Expressionism](#); [Beat Generation](#).

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Chautauqua Movement

Chautauqua was a nineteenth-century educational experiment that pioneered the concepts of adult education and lifelong learning. Established in 1872 at a Methodist camp meeting site in a small resort town on Chautauqua Lake in western New York State, it was originally a two-week Bible institute to train teachers for the Sunday schools that had become a popular feature of Protestant churches. The Reverend John Heyl Vincent, editor of the *Sunday School Journal* and responsible for Sunday school programming for the Methodist-Episcopal Church, served as director, offering his students outdoor classes, swimming, a variety of recreational activities, comfortable lodging, and supplemental lectures in the sciences and humanities. As word spread about the quality of his program, applications increased.

In 1874, Vincent welcomed Lewis Miller, an Ohio industrialist and father-in-law of inventor Thomas Edison, as the

camp's codirector. Miller's generous financial contributions allowed the program to expand to eight weeks long. With Miller's organizational skill and Vincent's vision, Chautauqua thrived. More lectures were added, boardinghouses were constructed, and registration was opened to paying guests who had no connection to church work but simply wanted a stimulating summer vacation.

Vincent gave the participants access to theologians, politicians, explorers, writers, musicians, scientists, and orators, including former president Ulysses S. Grant, educator Booker T. Washington, social worker Jane Addams, and prohibitionist Carry Nation. Many of them, especially women, found in Chautauqua an alternative to the higher education that they had never been able to pursue. D.H. Post, writing in the August 1879 issue of *Harper's New Monthly*, praised Vincent for "meeting the wants of those to whom the doors of knowledge and culture have hitherto been locked and barred."

In its time, the Chautauqua concept was as revolutionary as the "freedom schools" and "people's universities" of the 1960s and 1970s. The format was so compelling that assemblies of "little Chautauquas" soon formed across the nation—the vast majority in rural communities.

By the turn of the twentieth century, there were more than 200 local chapters, and the "mother Chautauqua" had added a winter session and a Literary and Scientific Circle, offering home study through a guided reading program. In 1884, Vincent established Chautauqua University and granted diplomas for completing a four-year correspondence course. He also published the monthly *Chautauquan* and sponsored the first book-of-the-month club through the Chautauqua Press, founded in 1898.



Chautauqua assembly grounds, like this one in Indiana in 1908, attracted throngs of small-town Americans for secular adult education, culture, and entertainment. The Chautauqua movement peaked in the years leading up to World War I. (Library of Congress)

Vincent's intellectual curiosity, energy, and enthusiasm for adult education constituted the "Chautauqua idea," praised as both progressive and democratic. President Theodore Roosevelt called it the "most American thing in America." While the institute was nondenominational, it broadly subscribed to the tenets of the Protestant Social Gospel, a movement dedicated to alleviating suffering and injustice by changing society, rather than by saving individual souls. Chautauqua endorsed political reform, temperance, woman suffrage, and child-labor laws.

Although social reformer Edward Everett Hale maintained that "if you have not spent a week at Chautauqua you do not know your country," and populist William Jennings Bryan called it a "potent human factor in molding the mind of the nation," novelist Sinclair Lewis derided Chautauqua as "nothing but wind and chaff and the laughter of yokels," and psychologist William James called it "depressing and mediocre." Lewis and James considered it a poor imitation of its predecessor, the American Lyceum, a forum established in 1826 as a platform for lecturers such as Charles Dickens, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mark Twain, Oliver Wendell Holmes, and the abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher. Although the American Lyceum had inspired Vincent's work and he shared many of its objectives, Chautauqua was more inclusive, lighthearted, and anti-elitist. The Lyceum appealed primarily to Northeastern intellectuals, while Chautauqua's roots grew deep in the rural Midwest.

Like the lyceum movement, which had not survived the American Civil War, Chautauqua employed speakers'

bureaus to book lecturers. The most successful of these agents was James Redpath, a former abolitionist and journalist for the *New York Tribune*. In 1904, Redpath's Chicago booking agent, Keith Vawter, proposed that towns and villages that were unable support their own Chautauqua chapters sign up for his "circuit Chautauqua," which, like the circus, would return every summer.

A Vawter Chautauqua contract provided a three-to seven-day educational program of lectures, music, dramatic readings, and entertainment. He assumed all transportation costs and talent fees and hired work crews to set up and take down the tents he supplied for performance space. Local communities were responsible for selling tickets and guaranteeing coverage of any financial shortfalls. In 1907, Vawter's circuit included thirty-three towns. By then, the emphasis was clearly shifting from education to entertainment, and Vawter was booking opera singers, magicians, oompah bands, acrobats, and comedians. Chautauqua tents were pitched in more than 10,000 communities before World War I and had reached audiences totaling nearly 45 million.

Chautauqua remained a popular fixture of early-twentieth-century American culture, reaching its peak in the mid-1920s. The Great Depression, however, beginning with the stock market crash of 1929, sowed seeds of decline. Families were no longer able to afford tickets, and towns and villages could no longer guarantee booking-agent fees. By the time the Depression lifted, radio and "talkies" were offering year-round entertainment, and automobiles and paved roads had increased mobility, effectively ending rural isolation.

Unable to compete, Vawter retired in 1926, and most Chautauqua tents vanished by 1933. Interest in lifelong learning continued, however, fed by a growing demand for university-level adult education, extension courses, community colleges, and, later, such programs as Elderhostel, which combine vacation time and study.

Mary Stanton

See also: [Le Sueur, Meridel](#).

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Chávez, César (1927–1993)

Born into the early-twentieth-century U.S. Southwest, where the majority of Mexican Americans were trapped in cycles of poverty propagated by discriminatory labor practices, César Chávez devoted his life to effecting change

for migrant farmworkers, and he became one of the most prominent and influential leaders of the civil rights movements of the 1960s and 1970s. As a strict adherent to nonviolent protest and activism, Chávez organized strikes and boycotts, cofounded and directed labor organizations, campaigned with Democratic presidential contender Robert F. Kennedy for workers' rights, and successfully lobbied for agricultural labor reform.

Chávez was born in Yuma, Arizona, on March 31, 1927, the grandson of Mexican immigrants. After his parents lost their farm during the Great Depression, Chávez's family joined migrant workers in California to earn a living. As was the case for many children of migrant workers, Chávez was able to attend school only through the eighth grade; he then had to work in the fields to help support his family.

Despite this early end to his formal education, from a young age Chávez devoted much of his time to reading about and studying diverse topics, especially philosophy and history. Along with his personal experience of exploitative practices as a migrant worker and as a Mexican American, Chávez's readings shaped his philosophy with respect to farmworkers' rights and civil rights in general.

During the 1950s, Chávez worked with the grassroots Community Service Organization (CSO), a Los Angeles–based organization with chapters across California that sought to increase Chicano and Latino participation in political change. Initially recruited to help with CSO's voter registration project, Chávez served with CSO for many years—including a term as national director from the late 1950s to 1962. In the latter years, when he could not convince the CSO to devote more time to farmworkers' rights, he left the organization to form the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a nonprofit organization based in Delano, California, specifically created to organize workers and lobby for their rights.

At the time, in California and many other states, the formation of a union to negotiate wages and working conditions on behalf of workers was illegal. This left farmworkers largely at the mercy of employers, who treated them as second-class citizens because they were of nonwhite descent. Chávez worked with NFWA cofounder Dolores Huerta to join Mexican Americans in cooperation against discrimination and horrendous working and living conditions. Both Chávez and Huerta believed that the differences between employers and workers were exacerbated by long-standing stereotypes and racism in the Southwest. One of their main organizing goals was to encourage Mexican Americans to be proud of their culture and stand up for their rights.

In Delano, on September 16, 1965, Chávez spoke to Mexican American workers who were employed by local grape growers, and inspired them to join Filipino laborers in a collective strike against their employers. The success of his efforts that day contributed to Chávez's recognition as the central figure of the strike and a symbol of solidarity within the larger Chicano counterculture.

During the grape strike, the NFWA faced many obstacles, including extreme poverty, exacerbated by the fact that no one on strike could earn any money. Additionally, the strikers faced police brutality and other strikebreaking practices, as well as investigation by the U.S. Senate for including people alleged to be Communist sympathizers.

Chávez stood firm in his beliefs and consistently fought against racism and exploitation. Inspired by the teachings of peace activists Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Mohandas Gandhi, Chávez endorsed only nonviolent means of protest and activism. His stance often conflicted with that of other NFWA members, who—after years of frustrating experiences on the picket lines and in the courts—believed that Mexican Americans would not gain any ground with peaceful tactics.

In 1966, still in the early phase of the campaign against grape growers, Chávez led a march from Delano to Sacramento, in which the workers put their Roman Catholic faith and Mexican American identity proudly into the foreground. An image of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patron saint of Mexico and intercessor for indigenous peoples, led the march. The flags of Mexico and the United States, as well as the Aztec black eagle on the red flag of the NFWA (later the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee; UFWOC or UFW), were central to the battle to valorize the history and identity of Mexican Americans. In Sacramento, Chávez read from the *Plan of Delano*, a document by Luis Valdez, a key figure in the Chicano Movement. The text recounted the history of

Mexican and Mexican American exploitation in the United States, which Chávez evoked as an inspirational call for the strikers and other poor to persevere against oppression.

Chávez was also an advocate and practitioner of fasting on behalf of social justice and spiritual causes. In 1968, in the middle of a strike action, tensions were particularly high among the strikers. Chávez chose to fast, ultimately gaining national attention for the workers' cause. At the end of Chávez's twenty-five-day fast, Kennedy visited him to show his solidarity with the farmworkers and, as a fellow Catholic, to join Chávez as he broke the fast at mass.

In 1970, Chávez and other leaders of the UFW sat down with grape growers and negotiated to end the strikes, with the growers agreeing to substantial changes in the treatment of workers. Later in the decade, in the wake of contract disputes, Chávez coordinated an international boycott of grapes. This boycott resulted in further protections for farmworkers and, ultimately, passage of the 1975 Agricultural Labor Relations Act, which provided for the right of workers to unionize.

Chávez continued to fast, study, pray, and organize until his death on April 23, 1993. His work was an integral part of the entire Chicano Movement, and the victories in the fields for even the most uneducated Mexican Americans inspired the Chicano community as a whole to demand recognition for their place in U.S. society. Chávez took his place in history books as one of the most inspiring and effective leaders of the modern civil rights movement.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Latino and Latina Culture: United Farm Workers.](#)

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Cheech and Chong

Richard Anthony “Cheech” Marin and Thomas “Tommy” Chong, known as the comedy duo Cheech and Chong, became icons of the drug, hippie, and free love counterculture of the 1970s and early 1980s with their stand-up comedy routines, ten comedy albums, and seven feature films. Marin, who is Mexican American, played a *cholo*, or Chicano gangster from Los Angeles; Chong, a Canadian-born actor, musician, and songwriter of Chinese and Scotch-Irish descent, played a stereotypical burnt-out drug addict whose life centered on “getting high.”

Marin was born on July 13, 1946, in the barrio of East Los Angeles. He was one of eight children. Marin's father, a Los Angeles police officer, eventually moved his family to the city's San Fernando Valley section. Marin earned his nickname, Cheech, from *cheecharone*, a Chicano delicacy made of deep-fried pork skins, also known as cracklings. In later interviews, Marin described himself as a “wise-ass” who played hooky from high school, but still managed to graduate with straight As. He earned a B.A. in English from California State University, Northridge, in 1968 and moved to Vancouver, Canada, to flee the draft during the Vietnam War. It was in Vancouver that he met Tommy Chong.

Thomas “Tommy” B. Kin Chong was born in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada, on May 24, 1938, and grew up in a neighborhood of Calgary he referred to as Dog Patch. Chong’s father, a World War II veteran and truck driver, had moved the family to Calgary to be closer to a veterans’ hospital. Chong began his career as a rhythm-and-blues musician while still a teenager. After moving with his band to Vancouver, he bought an after-hours bistro called the Elegant Parlour, where he played music and entertained the local crowd. When his interests shifted to comedy, Chong formed City Works, a local comedy troupe that performed at the bistro. In 1968, he hired Cheech to perform with City Works for \$60 a week. The pair soon formed a comedy duo and headed out on the road, performing one-night stands down the West Coast to California.

Cheech and Chong were performing at the influential Troubadour Club in Los Angeles when they were spotted by a record-company executive and signed to a contract. Their first album, *Cheech & Chong* (1972), went gold, and their second, *Big Bambu* (1972) was voted the year’s number one comedy album. Their third release, *Los Cochinos (The Pigs)*, earned a Grammy Award in 1973 for Best Comedy Recording, and their fourth, *Cheech & Chong’s Wedding Album* (1974), extended their success.

Cheech and Chong’s first movie, *Up in Smoke*, directed by Lou Adler, was the runaway comedy hit of 1978; its box-office success made them the most successful film comedy duo of all time. Their second film, *Cheech & Chong’s Next Movie* (1980), directed by Chong, was critically acclaimed but marginally less successful at the box office. Nevertheless, the combined revenue for theatrical release of both films was more than \$160 million.

In the early 1980s, Cheech and Chong each bought homes outside Los Angeles, married, and had children. They continued to make albums and films together until 1985, after which the act broke up over creative differences.

Cheech went on to a successful career as a character actor in major Hollywood movies and became a collector of Latino art. Chong, however, was convicted of selling drug paraphernalia and served nine months in a federal prison in 2003 and 2004. Since his release, Chong has appeared on Broadway in a one-man show and guest-starred on the Fox network hit television series *That ’70s Show*, playing, predictably, an aging “stoner,” or marijuana smoker.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Marijuana](#).

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Chelsea Hotel

The Hotel Chelsea (dubbed the Chelsea Hotel or simply the Chelsea by guests) is the fabled residence of writers, artists, musicians, and bohemians on the West Side of Manhattan in New York City. A self-proclaimed “rest stop for rare individuals,” construction on the landmark red-brick building was begun in 1883, and it opened as an apartment cooperative the following year. The twelve-story structure, located at 222 West Twenty-Third Street,

between Seventh and Eighth avenues, was the tallest building in the city until 1902. The original co-op dissolved due to financial problems, and the Chelsea was converted into a hotel in 1905.

Among the literary lights who lived and worked in the Chelsea during its early years as a hotel were O. Henry, Edgar Lee Masters, and Mark Twain. It became a hotbed of leftist political ideology during the Great Depression, while a host of writers and poets found it a propitious place to work. Novelist Thomas Wolfe completed *Look Homeward, Angel* (1929) and *The Web and the Rock* (1939) while living there. Composer Virgil Thomson, who won the Pulitzer Prize for Music in 1949 for his film score for *Louisiana Story*, moved in in 1937 and stayed until his death in 1989. The poet Dylan Thomas died of alcohol poisoning under the hotel's roof in November 1953.

In 1940, the hotel was bought by an investment group at a foreclosure sale, and David Bard became the manager. He continued in that capacity until the mid-1960s, when his son Stanley took over; grandson David managed the Chelsea in the early 2000s. Over the years, the management of the hotel has sought to accommodate the creative and sometimes eccentric spirit of its tenants and respect their privacy above all else. The choreographer and dancer Katherine Dunham once used an upstairs corridor for a rehearsal of the opera *Aida*, complete with the large cast and two African lions. Andy Warhol made a film, *The Chelsea Girls* (1966), about the lives of his fashion "superstars" there. Science fiction writer Arthur C. Clarke, who wrote *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) while he was a tenant, once said the only hotel rule was "Bring out your own dead."

The names of residents and guests who have passed through the Chelsea's doors include a litany of the famous and infamous: Beat Generation writers William S. Burroughs, Gregory Corso, and Allen Ginsberg; playwrights Brendan Behan, Arthur Miller, and Tennessee Williams; musicians Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin, and Patti Smith; and visual artists Jasper Johns, Robert Mapplethorpe, and Diego Rivera. Folk singer Joni Mitchell wrote the popular song "Chelsea Morning" while living there. And it is believed that punk rock musician Sid Vicious murdered his girlfriend, Nancy Spungen, in Room 100 (later incorporated into four other apartments) in 1978.

Of the more than 400 rooms and apartments in the Chelsea Hotel today, about 75 percent are occupied by long-term residents. Paintings by present and former residents adorn the lobby, along with five commemorative plaques celebrating past tenants. The open stairway with iron railing leads up to a skylight twelve stories above the lobby.

The Chelsea continues to attract avant-garde artists and a bohemian clientele. While it now offers cable television and wireless Internet connections, it remains an enclave where residents are assured of their privacy and the freedom to create their art.

Jerry Shuttle

See also: [Beat Generation](#).

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Cherry Lane Theatre

Since opening in March 1924, the Cherry Lane Theatre has provided a venue for avant-garde dramatic artists and writers in New York's Greenwich Village. Today, it is the city's longest-operating off-Broadway theater.

Unhappy with the commercial playhouses of the time, the poet and playwright Edna St. Vincent Millay and members of the Provincetown Players chose to renovate an abandoned box factory at 38 Commerce Street. Since its founding, the Cherry Lane Theatre has been known for producing experimental performances not to be found in traditional commercial playhouses. Especially in the 1950s and 1960s, it provided a space for experimental performances connected with the counterculture.

In 1951 and 1952, the Cherry Lane Theatre was the home of the Living Theatre, an American stage company founded by painter Julian Beck and playwright and actress Judith Malina. Its performances provided an alternative to the commercialism and trend toward realism then prevalent in American theater. The plays had no structure or narrative and were more like poetry than traditional drama. In those two years, the group performed a total of nine plays, including *Desire Caught by the Tail* and *Faustina*. In 1952, the New York City Fire Department shut down the facility, canceling the group's final two plays, *Ubu Roi* and *The Heroes*, because the sets were deemed fire hazards. Some suggested that the closure actually was a reaction by municipal authorities to the nontraditional character of the productions.

The Cherry Lane Theatre also hosted musical performances. In 1952, it accommodated a series of folk music concerts; the performers included such counterculture figures as Pete Seeger and Bob Dylan.

Cherry Lane Theatre also played host to early performances of the Theatre of the Absurd, a group of plays written in the decades following World War II primarily by European playwrights. These plays attempted to dramatize the meaninglessness of life; they lacked meaningful plots and realistic characters and negotiated the line between art and chaos. Among these works was a staging of Samuel Beckett's *Endgame* at Cherry Lane in 1957. In 1962, the Cherry Lane Theatre hosted a series of Theater of the Absurd productions, featuring works by Beckett, Edward Albee, Fernando Arrabal, Jean Genet, Eugène Ionesco, Kenneth Koch, and Jack Richardson.

The theater also featured shows that depicted and commented on racial tensions in America. In 1964, for example, Cherry Lane mounted LeRoi Jones's *Dutchman*. In that work, as in others, Jones, later known as Amiri Baraka, focused on an interracial relationship and attempted to show how whites corrupted African American culture. The play won an Obie Award for best off-Broadway play in 1964.

In 1996, Angelina Fiodellisi took over the theater, hoping to revitalize the Greenwich Village landmark physically, financially, and artistically. She formed a nonprofit organization called Cherry Lane Alternative to mentor and support emerging playwrights. In addition to continuing the commitment to up-and-coming writers, the theater has revived popular plays from earlier decades, including Beckett's *Happy Days* (1961) and Jones's *Dutchman*.

Matthew J. Johnson

See also: [Greenwich Village, New York City: Theater, Alternative.](#)

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Chicago Seven

The Chicago Seven were anti-Vietnam War activists who were charged with criminal conspiracy and incitement to riot in the wake of violent protests outside the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. The trial, held from September 24, 1969, to February 18, 1970, was originally to include eight defendants— Rennie Davis, David Dellinger, John Froines, Tom Hayden, Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, Lee Weiner, and Bobby Seale. The case against Seale, a cofounder of the Black Panther Party, was later separated from the main proceeding.

In August 1968, the Democratic National Committee gathered in Chicago to formally choose a presidential candidate. Antiwar groups from around the country came to protest what they regarded as the party's lack of commitment to ending the conflict in Vietnam. Despite being denied a permit to rally near the convention, approximately 20,000 demonstrators— carrying signs, banners, and bullhorns—gathered at the site and encountered heavily armed municipal police. Under the direction of Mayor Richard J. Daley, the police promptly launched tear gas at the demonstrators, pummeled individual protestors with their batons, and arrested hundreds—all in front of the national television media.

Representatives from an array of left-wing organizations were among those arrested and charged. As cofounder of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), Hayden represented the student-based New Left; Seale was a leader of the militant Black Panther Party; Davis was the national coordinator for the National Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam (the Mobe); a longtime pacifist, Dellinger was affiliated with the wider peace and antiwar movement; and Rubin and Hoffman were the founders of the Youth International Party, a national organization, whose adherents were known as yippies, that actively protested the Vietnam War and was strongly identified with the American counterculture. Despite their significant contributions to planning the protest, no women faced criminal prosecution. Several members of the Chicago Seven had never even met each other before the protests at the convention.

Ramsey Clark, the attorney general for the Lyndon B. Johnson administration, declined to bring charges against the group in 1968. Early the following year, however, the newly installed administration of President Richard M. Nixon—in particular, Attorney General John Mitchell—having campaigned on promises of law and order, decided to seek criminal conspiracy charges.

Grand jury indictments were handed down on March 20, and the trial began in federal court six months later. Judge Julius Hoffman presided over the trial; U.S. Attorney Thomas Foran and District Attorney Richard Schultz prosecuted the case for the government; and civil rights and civil liberties lawyers William Kunstler and Leonard Weinglass represented the defendants.

From the beginning, Seale protested being tried with the other defendants. His lawyer, Charles Garry, could not be present because of medical reasons; Seale demanded to defend himself or be represented by a lawyer of his own choosing. Judge Hoffman denied both requests, and Seale began hurling accusations and epithets. On October 29, Judge Hoffman responded to the unremitting outbursts by ordering Seale bound and gagged in the courtroom—which he was for two days of the proceedings. Judge Hoffman finally declared the proceedings against Seale a mistrial and separated his case from that of the other seven defendants.

The trial also featured theatrical tactics from Abbie Hoffman and Rennie Davis, who donned judge's robes to mock Judge Hoffman and the political system. During questioning, Hoffman declared that he was a citizen of "Woodstock Nation." A number of writers and notable counterculture figures testified on behalf of the defendants, including author Norman Mailer and LSD advocate Timothy Leary.

On February 19, 1970, the jury found all seven defendants not guilty of conspiracy. Davis, Hayden, Hoffman, Dellinger, and Rubin were found guilty of the lesser charge of incitement to riot. Weiner and Froines were found not guilty on all counts. The outcome of the trial was as controversial as its conduct, prompting the antiwar counterculture to ask why it had been prosecuted in the first place and angering the more conservative establishment for the failure to punish “hippie radicals.”

Meanwhile, a report to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence, titled *Rights in Conflict* and published in December 1968, had blamed police actions for the violence outside the convention center.

To the media and many observers, the trial seemed designed to intentionally disrupt the antiwar movement. The charge of conspiracy demonstrated how strong a threat the Nixon administration considered the antiwar movement. The leveling of criminal charges against the leaders and spokesmen of the major counterculture groups suggested the seriousness with which their opposition was taken. To the political left, the members of the Chicago Seven were enshrined as heroes.

Andrew Hannon

See also: [Black Panthers](#); [Hoffman, Abbie](#); [New Left](#); [Rubin, Jerry](#); [Students for a Democratic Society](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Chicano Moratorium

The Chicano Moratorium is the name of both an anti-Vietnam War protest movement nationally active during the years 1969 to 1971 and a pivotal protest event organized by that movement that took place in East Los Angeles on August 29, 1970. Chicano activists opposed to U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War were especially vocal about the discrimination they saw as responsible for disproportionately high Mexican American participation and casualties.

Chicano activists regarded the statistics as appalling: While Mexican Americans constituted approximately 6

percent of the total U.S. population in the late 1960s, they accounted for approximately 20 percent of U.S. casualties in Vietnam. Activists also viewed these statistics as representative of deeper social issues affecting Chicanos, who were statistically less likely to finish high school than Anglo-Americans and were consistently encouraged by guidance counselors to take vocational classes instead of college-prep course work. Without access to higher education, they were especially vulnerable to the draft and more likely to enlist in the armed forces as a career choice. Although these trends were especially evident in the East Los Angeles school system, young people from East L.A. who met other Chicanos at national meetings—such as the Chicano Youth Liberation Conferences, held in 1969 and 1970 in Denver—realized that they were not alone.

In 1969, a number of activists formed a coalition to protest Chicano participation in the war. The coalition was called the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC). Principal members included Rosalio Muñoz, who had publicly resisted the draft by leading protests at the downtown Los Angeles Selective Service center during 1969, refusing to be inducted; the Brown Berets, a paramilitary Chicano youth organization headquartered in East L.A. from 1967 to 1972, led by David Sanchez; and representatives of El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (The Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán), a multichapter, university-based student organization that emerged in 1969 and still exists in the 2000s. This committee helped local communities organize antiwar rallies and protests in cities across the United States, including East L.A., Chicago, San Francisco, and Houston.



Members of the Brown Berets, a Chicano nationalist youth organization, stand watch during a National Chicano Moratorium Committee demonstration against the Vietnam War, held in Los Angeles in February 1970. (David Fenton/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

At the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference held in March 1970, the NCMC decided to organize a National Chicano Moratorium for August 29, 1970, in East L.A. The event was planned as a peaceful march and demonstration, to unite as many Chicanos from across the nation as possible and to raise the visibility of the Chicano protest to a new level. Prior to the moratorium, the Los Angeles protests had gathered approximately 2,000 people. On August 29, an estimated 30,000 Chicanos gathered for a march down Los Angeles's Whittier Boulevard, to what was then named Laguna Park.

During the march and in Laguna Park, the crowds displayed their unity by affirming both their stance against the war and their Mexican American heritage. Banners called for an end to Chicano deaths in Vietnam, with many

declaring that the greatest enemy was not North Vietnam, but social injustice in the United States. Marchers carried signs and flags proclaiming their Mexican heritage, including indigenous cultures. Especially prominent was the banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, a traditional symbol of Mexican Catholicism with which many Chicanos identified.

Finally, the crowds gathered in Laguna Park to listen to the rally speakers, including César Chávez, the California-based organizer whose primary focus was improving the living and working conditions of migrant agricultural workers, and Gonzalez, who was influential in shaping Chicano community organizations, especially Crusade for Justice, which he had founded in Denver in 1965. The demonstration was peaceful until mid-afternoon, when altercations with the police broke out.

Panic soon erupted, and police tried to clear the area using clubs and tear gas. Protesters responded by rioting, and the violence quickly escalated. Three people died, including Ruben Salazar, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter who had written extensively about the discrimination, poverty, and lack of access to education that Chicanos in Los Angeles faced. In his honor, Laguna Park is now named Ruben Salazar Park.

After the demonstration, members of the NCMC and other activists of the Chicano Movement renewed their commitment to addressing injustices in the United States against Mexican Americans. The violence of the National Chicano Moratorium galvanized activists and inspired Chicanos to continue to build coalitions with others sharing their causes, including joining national protests against the war and identifying more firmly with other minority-activist groups, such as those in the African American civil rights movement.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Chicano Movement](#).

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Chicano Movement

The Chicano Movement was a multi-organizational, national campaign during the 1960s and 1970s, in which an unprecedented number of Mexican Americans actively sought ways to increase the visibility of Mexican and Mexican American culture and history in the United States. The activists of the movement called themselves “Chicanos” as a way to declare that they belonged to a new cultural generation—they were not Mexican, not Mexican American, and not American, but rather a combination of all of these identities.

Chicanos from all over the United States created alliances to counter the systematic discrimination they suffered as a historically marginalized community. They did this through protests and occupations on land in the Southwest that had been seized from Mexicans and Mexican Americans through the course of history; labor strikes in California and the Southwest; the creation of a Chicano political party; national voter registration campaigns; protests and sit-ins for education reform, especially in East Los Angeles high schools; the organization of

demonstrations against the Vietnam War; media-reform campaigns that called on the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) to redress discrimination in television programming; and the display of public art that featured themes significant to Chicano history and culture.

Opposing Assimilation

For generations, many Mexican Americans had lived as second-class citizens in the United States, believing that once they became “American” enough, they would be assimilated into mainstream society. The youth of the Chicano Movement, and the adults who joined them, declared this assimilation both unattainable— from what they experienced daily in Anglo society—and undesirable, as they did not want to have to give up their culture in order to “fit in” to Anglo society.

Until the beginning of the 1960s, Mexican and Mexican American cultures were the objects of official and unofficial oppression at the hands of white society. Sanctions, especially strict in the U.S. South and West, prohibited such activities as voting if someone could not read English (even if that person was a U.S. citizen) or speaking Spanish in public forums (especially in public schools, where students risked expulsion if overheard speaking Spanish). The activists of the Chicano Movement focused attention on learning the history of the U.S. Southwest and the ways in which Mexicans and Mexican Americans had participated in that history, in order to be able to reintroduce their culture into mainstream discourse.

Chicano activists were especially interested in counteracting the repression of Mexican American history in textbooks, and two major historical events were pivotal in inspiring the movement: the 1848 Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, whereby half of Mexico’s territory was annexed by the United States; and the idea of Aztlán, an Aztec ancestral homeland prior to their move south into what is now central Mexico and long before the conquest of the New World by Europeans. According to mythology, Aztlán is located in the heart of the territory Mexico ceded to the United States in 1848. While the Treaty of Guadalupe was an ever-present concern for activists, it was not until the 1970s that the idea of a nation of Aztlán became central to the Chicano counterculture, especially among the youth.

Fighting for Land Reform and Civil Rights

In 1960, the Chicano activist Reies López Tijerina began investigating land treaties in New Mexico and discovered that many Mexican villagers had lost their lands in 1848—despite the Treaty of Guadalupe, which was intended to protect their property during the transition from Mexican to U.S. territory—because they had no written proof of ownership, or the U.S. court system would not recognize Spanish-or Mexican-issued land titles. In 1963, López Tijerina organized La Alianza Federal de Mercedes (The Land Grant Alliance), which fought for years to redress injustices sanctioned by U.S. courts in the wake of the treaty. The group staged protests and occupied lands in question all around New Mexico until being forcefully removed or arrested.

On June 5, 1967, La Alianza and López Tijerina stormed the courthouse in Tierra Amarilla, New Mexico, to demand that various tracts of land be returned to their rightful owners. Violence erupted as police and military personnel stormed the courthouse, and López Tijerina and his group were effectively silenced in the ensuing weeks. But the national attention to the demonstrations and court battles inspired other Chicanos to step up and fight discrimination in their communities.

Another major fight for rights was spearheaded by the grassroots Community Service Organization (CSO), a Los Angeles-based organization founded in 1947 by Fred Ross, with chapters throughout California, that sought to increase Mexican American and Latino voter registration. In the 1960s and 1970s, the younger Chicano generation saw the value of voting as a way to effect political change, and encouraged their peers and parents to register and to vote for politicians sympathetic to Chicano causes.

Young César Chávez was active in the CSO and worked at the front lines of voter registration drives during the 1950s and until 1962, when he left to begin his work organizing migrant laborers to stand up for better working

conditions and living wages. As cofounder of the National Farm Workers Association in 1962 (later the United Farm Workers), Chávez inspired Chicanos to organize politically on their own behalf and to support politicians such as Robert F. Kennedy, a vocal advocate for Mexican American rights in the U.S. Senate. By the 1970s, substantial improvements in worker conditions—including modified pesticide use and improved working conditions, better wages, and better housing—were achieved or in the offing for migrant workers.

In urban centers in the late 1960s, especially in East L.A., students began to speak up and demand change. By 1967, student organizations like the East L.A.–based Young Chicanos for Community Action (YCCA) routinely presented proposed changes to their school boards: improved Chicano access to education (especially bilingual classes and classes in Mexican American history); increased hiring of minority faculty and administrators; and a no-tolerance approach to racism on campuses. Groups allied with the YCCA included the Brown Berets, a paramilitary group founded in the late 1960s and led by David Sanchez, and El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (The Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán), a national multichapter advocacy group founded in 1969.

Fighting for Self-Determination and Political Power

In March 1969, Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, an activist based in Denver, organized the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, at which Chicano leaders from various projects came together to discuss ways in which they could present a united front against exclusionary mainstream society. One of the most important documents of the Chicano Movement originated at that conference: *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán* (The Spiritual Plan of Aztlán), a collectively written declaration of Chicano pride and community goals. *El Plan* asserted a racial and ultimately national identity of Chicanos as descendents of Aztec warriors, called to stand up and fight for their communities. *El Plan* evoked the community of *la raza* (“the race,” in this case, of mixed brown blood) and a war against Anglo society.

The tension between *la raza* and mainstream America was exacerbated by the war in Vietnam. Most Chicanos believed the war was unjust, and they were especially vocal against the drafting of young Chicanos to fight a war they did not support. In 1969, a number of activists formed the National Chicano Moratorium Committee (NCMC) to organize protests against U.S. involvement in Southeast Asia, most notably the East L.A.–based Chicano Moratorium. From 1969 to 1971, the NCMC helped local communities organize antiwar protests in cities across the United States, including East L.A., Chicago, San Francisco, and Houston. At these rallies, speakers and protesters decried the government’s blind eye toward Chicano deaths and urged Chicanos to stand firm against the draft. Another outcome of the shift toward Aztlán nationalism and away from Anglo society was the organization of the Chicano political party La Raza Unida (The United Race), founded in Crystal City, Texas, in 1969 as a kind of correction to the mainstream two-party system. Although Chicanos had counted the Democratic Party as an ally for many years, by the 1960s, and especially after the death of Robert F. Kennedy in 1968, many felt that the party was not making a real difference in ending racism. As a result, Chicanos became increasingly disillusioned about working within the “system,” and leaders of the community considered a separate political party essential to providing direct representation of their interests.

After Crystal City, the party spread throughout the nation, most notably in Texas, California (beginning with an Oakland-Berkeley chapter in 1970), and Denver. Although La Raza Unida lasted only from 1969 to 1974, the party’s conventions drew considerable attention to Chicano activism. Its legal branch, the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund, successfully challenged racist voting systems in Bexar County, Texas, in 1972, which led to changes across the country.

Media Representation and Visibility

Chicanos, largely based in Los Angeles, also united for representation in the media, focusing their attention on two areas: combating stereotypes and fighting for more industry hiring of Chicanos and other Latinos.

The Frito Bandito, an advertising mascot of the Frito-Lay snack food company, was regarded as emblematic of mass-media stereotyping, and the Mexican American community mounted a campaign to have the company stop

the ad campaign and drop the character. After four years of coordinated efforts, including boycotts, letter-writing campaigns to television stations and Frito-Lay, and antidefamation suits presented before the U.S. House Subcommittee on Communications and Power in 1970, the company pulled the Frito Bandito character from its ads in 1971.

Los Angeles Chicano activists also targeted local television stations, demanding more coverage of issues pertaining to the Chicano community and the hiring of more minority workers at stations. Through various government and legal channels, including an appeal to the FCC (responsible for ensuring that local stations respond to and reflect community interests), Chicano television producers were successful in creating and airing series on local Public Broadcasting System (PBS) stations and network affiliates, including the public affairs series *¡Ahora!* (1969–1970) and *Acción Chicano* (1972–1974). These shows and others like them were dedicated to airing program content, such as interviews and documentaries on community programs and issues, that allowed Chicanos to be the creators of their own material and the producers of their own stories and histories. Theater productions, poetry readings, murals, and other arts and media also included images and themes significant to the movement, through which Chicano artists attempted to make visible their culture in society.

For example, a grassroots theater movement accompanied the organizational efforts of the United Farm Workers (UFW) from 1965 to the early 1970s, in which students and other nonprofessional actors worked with migrant laborers to create plays about their working conditions and their hopes for change. From the late 1960s on, Chicano theater groups such as El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker's Theater, founded in California in 1965 by Luis Valdez) created plays that exposed the discrimination that they experienced in their workplaces, neighborhoods, and court systems. Plays also often included celebratory imagery representative of Chicano culture, such as Aztec warriors and Christian symbols.

Poetry was another artistic and motivational tool employed from the beginning of the movement, perhaps best exemplified by Rodolfo Gonzales's "I Am Joaquin" (*Yo Soy Joaquín*), an epic poem written in 1967 that recounts Chicano history and experience in the United States. "I Am Joaquin" and other poems were circulated at public gatherings, and works of prose fiction—such as Rudolfo Anaya's *Bless Me, Ultima* (1972), the story of a New Mexican Chicano—helped make Chicano characters worthy of a place in mainstream literature.

Other major areas of artistic mobility were painting, drawing, and sculpture, most publicly visible in mural art. In projects across Los Angeles and other cities, mural artists worked to preserve, celebrate, and create Chicano identity by incorporating images related to the causes of the movement. Examples include images of Che Guevara (a Latin American revolutionary figure with whose struggles against Anglo oppression Chicanos identified); César Chávez and the UFW's eagle symbol; Aztec historical and mythical figures; zoot-suiters (to commemorate the tension between Mexican American youth and Anglos in Los Angeles in the early 1940s); and symbols pertinent to local politics. Las Mujeres Muralistas (a collective of women muralists who worked in San Francisco's Mission District in the 1970s) illustrated race and gender issues in works of public art, and the group Los Four (an artists' collective founded in Los Angeles in 1973) worked with symbols of the Chicano Movement as well as elements of local East L.A. culture—including cars popular with young Chicanos, graffiti art, crucifixes, and Mexican masks.

Legacy

As Chicano groups made gains toward accomplishing the movement's agendas, opinions changed among coalition members. Divergent goals led to the dissolution of La Raza Unida, for example, and the rise of feminism challenged the often overtly masculinist rhetoric of Chicano national identity. Many of the groups formed in the heyday of the Chicano Movement took separate directions, and the national-coalition character of the movement faded.

The activists had succeeded in many areas, especially in increasing social awareness and acceptance of Chicanos in society, politics, and education, and, by extension, the acceptance of other Latino groups in the United States. While there remain Chicano artists, scholars, and others committed to ideals founded during the movement's initial years, notions of Chicano identity and community have since adapted to changing social and

political conditions.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Brown Berets](#): [Chicano Moratorium](#): [Los Angeles, California](#).

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Chicano Theater

Chicano social protest theater emerged in 1965 in Delano, California, as a project of the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA), a grassroots organization working there and elsewhere to coordinate migrant-fieldworker strikes against substandard working conditions and low wages. A young man named Luis Valdez created El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworker's Theater) to travel to various work sites in the United States and increase awareness of the strikes, raise money for workers who were unemployed while on strike, and provide a forum in which farmworkers could speak out about the injustices they were experiencing. Valdez's theater group worked alongside other artists and theater groups during the 1960s and 1970s, within the social struggle of the Chicano civil rights movement as a whole.

Early Years

The principal theater groups of the Chicano Movement included Valdez's El Teatro Campesino and the Teatro de la Esperanza (Theater of Hope), which was formed in 1969 out of a student theater collective at the University of California, Santa Barbara and officially took the name Teatro de la Esperanza in 1971. These groups and others inspired by them were not composed of professional theater actors, but rather of students and other nonprofessionals.

Chicano students, many of whom, like Valdez, came from farmworker backgrounds, experienced discrimination throughout their education and identified more with the laborers' position in society than with that of their university peers. From the inception of Chicano theater, participants identified with outsiders to mainstream culture and believed that the theater arts could be used to voice and act out opposition to discrimination, as well as to affirm Chicano identity and culture.

El Teatro Campesino, Teatro de la Esperanza, and other groups started out in the fields with a form of theater they called the *acto*. An *acto* is a one-act play or skit, usually with very basic guidelines instead of a fixed, detailed script. It would be performed in makeshift stage areas, such as a tent or the back of a truck. The actors,

both students and fieldworkers, used minimal (if any) props, and characters often were identified by signs around their necks or some basic costuming. The idea was to let the actors' imaginations and personal histories inform their participation. For example, in the skit *La Quinta Temporada* (*The Fifth Season*, collectively created by El Teatro Campesino in the mid-1960s), volunteer actors were given character types such as "Don Coyote" (the farm-labor contractor) and "Don Sotaco" (the naive farmworker), and they were encouraged to improvise based on their own experiences. As nonprofessional actors took the stage, playing themselves, their employers, or other characters, they were able to laugh at difficult situations and develop camaraderie among the group, while, at the same time, practicing speaking out at unjust treatment in a safe environment.

By the early 1970s, Valdez and other Chicano theater practitioners found that their paths were diverging from that of the farmworkers' movement. As they grew and matured as theater companies, and as they met with other activists at national meetings—such as the Chicano Youth Liberation Conferences in 1969 and 1970 in Denver—their work began to include other themes. For example, plays began to expose discrimination against Chicanos in the education system, the anger that many Chicanos felt toward the Vietnam War and the draft, and ongoing community issues such as police harassment and brutality.

Troupes began to move from the open-air tents of the fields into more formal situations, such as university stages and community theater settings. Efforts focused on common causes, such as Teatro de la Esperanza's collectively created *Guadalupe* (first performed in 1974), which, through a series of loosely structured *actos*, sought to expose systematic repression against Mexicans in the schools and other institutions of Guadalupe, California. Another influential work by El Teatro Campesino was *Soldado Razo* (*Buck Private*, created in 1971), which highlighted the barrio life of Chicanos as families and individuals faced the consequences of the Vietnam draft.

Stage plays celebrated Mexican and indigenous cultures, often incorporating the mythology of the Aztecs and their gods into the sets or story lines, and used iconography representing Chicano identity in the plays, such as the *calavera* (a skeleton figure symbolic of the life and death cycle); *La Virgen* (the Virgin Mary of the Catholic faith, or an idealized woman); and *la cucaracha* (the cockroach, a symbol of an Anglo view of Mexicans as brown and dirty, and used in skits to expose racism).

As these examples illustrate, language was an important aspect of the Chicano theater movement. Depending on the audience, plays were performed in different combinations of Spanish and English. In many cases, the use of "Spanglish" dominated, and authors chose from Spanish or English words or phrases, according to the significance needed. The artists recognized that some words held more significance to the audience in their original language than when translated—for example *la cucaracha* instead of "cockroach" or *patrón* instead of "boss" or "overseer."

Decline and Changing Directions

After the boom in Chicano theater from the mid-1960s to the late 1970s, many practitioners found it difficult to find work. Funding for the arts declined in the United States in the 1980s, and the Chicano civil rights movement that had flourished in the 1960s and into the mid-1970s was also losing steam; few Chicano theater groups survived past that time.

Valdez was successful in converting Chicano theater and art projects to the screen, most notably his play *Zoot Suit*. Valdez directed it first for the stage in 1978, and then as a film in 1981. The film stars Edward James Olmos, a prominent actor and activist from East Los Angeles. Additionally, El Teatro Campesino and Teatro de la Esperanza were able to tour internationally with their plays through the 1980s. Since then, they have continued to produce work that is performed frequently in California and the Southwest.

The politics of the *acto* and other play formats eventually expanded as feminism and other countercultures overlapped Chicano activism. To the present day, playwrights and actors who challenge dominant notions of class, race, gender, and sexuality feel indebted to the Chicano theater of the 1960s and the paths it opened.

See also: [Chicano Movement: United Farm Workers](#).

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Chick, Jack (1924–)

Jack Thomas Chick is a fundamentalist Christian writer, artist, and publisher most famous for producing a series of small comic tracts intended to aid evangelical Christians in witnessing to the public. Published as 3-by-5-inch (7.6-by-12.7-centimeter) black-and-white tracts, Chick Tracts are easily recognizable for the distinctive cartoonish style of Chick's artwork, as well as for the intense morality exhibited in the stories, many of which end in a character's banishment to eternal damnation. The apocalyptic millennialist beliefs shared by many fundamentalist Christians are heavily reflected in Chick's work.

The world as presented in these tracts is hurtling toward the apocalypse, pushed to destruction by foolish men and women caught in the shadowy machinations of a vast conspiracy of Satanists and Jesuits. The only hope for salvation lies in acceptance of Jesus Christ, who will return on Judgment Day. Laughing devils lurk at every turn, waiting to lead humanity astray. Tracts such as *This Was Your Life!* and *Somebody Goofed* offer explicit depictions of the fate of an unsaved soul, while *Doom Town* and *The Death Cookie* condemn, respectively, homosexuality and Catholicism.

Other Chick targets include Mormons, Jehovah's Witnesses, rock music, television, evolution, the New Age movement, Hinduism, and the United Nations. These and other subjects are attacked in tracts with titles such as *Bad Bob!*, *The Sissy?*, and *Party Girl*. Central to Chick's theology is the idea that people can be saved by faith alone—often repentant prostitutes and murderers ascend to heaven while charitable, though misguided, law-abiding citizens are cast into the lake of fire. Every tract features a relevant passage from the King James Bible.

Chick is believed to have been born on April 13, 1924, in Los Angeles. He grew up in Alhambra, California, where he showed aptitude for drawing and theater. As a high school student, he was nonreligious, and, as he would find out later, his Christian friends decided he would be the last person to accept Christ, due in large part to his use of foul language. After graduation, he received a scholarship to study acting at the Pasadena Playhouse, but, in 1943, after one year, he enlisted in the U.S. Army and was sent overseas to serve in Australia, New Guinea, the Philippines, and Japan. After three years, he returned to the Pasadena Playhouse and met the woman who would become his wife, Lola Lynn Priddle.

Chick's religious conversion occurred during a visit with his Canadian in-laws, when his mother-in-law asked him to listen to a broadcast of Charles E. Fuller's *Old Fashioned Revival Hour* radio program. While working at AstroScience Corporation in El Monte, California, Chick began to sketch religious cartoons on his lunch breaks. He

soon put together what would become his first tract, *Why No Revival?*, which he published with an \$800 loan from a credit union in 1960. His employer funded the next tract, and, within a few years, he had founded Chick Publications, which in the 2000s remains a small company, employing about thirty workers. Chick has said that he got the idea for distributing his work as comic tracts upon hearing that the Communist Party of China used similar methods to spread its message to workers throughout the country.

In the 1970s, Chick employed another artist to help with the production of his tracts. Although he remained unacknowledged for a time, the new artist's style was noticeably different from Chick's own, and there was much fan speculation as to the identity of the "good artist." In 1980, Chick revealed that the second artist was an African American pastor named Fred Carter, who remains the only artist other than Chick to work with him on the tracts.

After meeting anti-Catholic activist Alberto Rivera in 1979, Chick created some of his most controversial work. Rivera claimed to be an ex-Jesuit who had broken ties with the Vatican after learning of certain high-level secrets, including, as he explained to Chick, the role of the Catholic Church in the creation of Nazism, communism, and Islam, as well as the responsibility of the Vatican for the American Civil War, the assassination of President Abraham Lincoln, both world wars, and the Holocaust. Six issues of Chick's Crusader Comics were printed detailing Rivera's claims, illustrated by Carter. Christian bookstores across the country began to withdraw orders for Chick Tracts, and Chick resigned from the Christian Booksellers Association in 1981.

Chick continued to produce tracts and, by the early 2000s, had sold an estimated 500 million copies worldwide; they have been translated into more than seventy languages, from Spanish to Zulu. Noted underground-comics writers Robert Crumb and Daniel Clowes have expressed a fascination with Chick Tracts. The independence of Chick Publications, its focus on existential questions, and the simplicity and cheapness of production of Chick's work connects it with the small-press or self-published "comix" movement that emerged in the late 1960s. Chick has published more than 150 tracts, making him one of the world's most published comic book authors.

Robert Dobler

See also: [Fundamentalism, Christian.](#)

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Chomsky, Noam (1928–)

A celebrated linguist at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), Noam Chomsky won a following among political radicals in the United States and around the world beginning in the 1960s for his trenchant and highly

critical analysis of American foreign policy.

Avram Noam Chomsky was born in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on December 7, 1928. His parents, both Eastern European immigrants, worked as Hebrew-language teachers and influenced the young boy's growth as a thinker, educator, and activist. Chomsky attended a progressive elementary school, which published a political editorial he wrote at age ten, and Central High School of Philadelphia. He earned undergraduate and graduate degrees at the University of Pennsylvania (Penn), where he studied linguistics, mathematics, and philosophy, and served as a fellow at Harvard University while finishing his doctorate, which he received from Penn in 1955. He joined the faculty at MIT that year and has taught continuously there ever since.

His book *Syntactic Structures* (1957), his best-known academic work, introduced the revolutionary theory of generative grammar. *Syntactic Structures* and later related writings continue to provoke controversy and debate among scholars in disciplines ranging from linguistics to psychology, education, and philosophy.

Chomsky began engaging in public political discourse during the tumultuous 1960s. From the beginning, his views were highly critical of U.S. foreign policy and were said to resemble libertarian anarchism, a philosophy that is suspicious of hierarchies and seeks to end them if unjustified. For protesting the Vietnam War, he spent time in jail and ended up on President Richard M. Nixon's infamous "enemies" list.

Chomsky's first political book, *American Power and the New Mandarins* (1969), is widely considered one of the most damning accounts of America's role in Vietnam. Later books, including *Hegemony or Survival: America's Quest for Global Dominance* (2003), address issues associated with the Middle East, Latin America, human rights, terrorism, and the media.

With more than seventy books and 1,000 articles to his name, Chomsky is among the most cited living authors in the English language. In 1979, *The New York Times* called him "arguably the most important intellectual alive." He received the 1988 Kyoto Prize, the Japanese equivalent of the Nobel Prize, for his work in linguistics. He is extremely popular among university students in the United States and Canada, booking speaking engagements a year or two in advance.

Detractors call Chomsky anti-Semitic, a conspiracy theorist, and a Holocaust denier. They say he is unqualified to write about politics, because he is not formally educated in political science, that he writes with predetermined conclusions, rarely discusses America's enemies, and always portrays the actions of the U.S. government in the worst possible light. In the early twenty-first century, he remains a leading political dissident, gadfly, and leftist radical.

Roy L. Sturgeon

See also: [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Christian Science

The Church of Christ, Scientist, more commonly known as the Christian Science Church, emerged in America in 1879, following a personal healing experience thirteen years earlier by founder Mary Baker Eddy. Eddy was the youngest of six children raised by strict Congregationalist parents in New Hampshire. Early in life she rejected many of the teachings of that faith community, although she remained deeply committed to Christianity and the Bible.

From childhood, Eddy suffered from a host of physical ailments, including chronic problems of paralysis, seizures, and convulsions. From her suffering, she developed a strong interest in biblical accounts of early Christian healing. At the same time, she also was drawn to new forms of healing, such as homeopathy, herbalism, and naturopathic medicine, which were then sweeping the nation. For a time, she dabbled in the common occult practices of spiritualism and clairvoyance as well. From these beginnings, the Christian Science Church experienced an inconsistent rate of growth. Today, the church finds itself in slow decline.



At age forty-five, after turning to the Bible, Mary Baker Eddy unexpectedly recovered from injuries sustained in a fall. She went on to found the Christian Science Church and write its official text. (Library of Congress)

Early History and Beliefs

Like other organizations set to challenge the existing culture, the Christian Science Church evolved in the nineteenth century at a time of dramatic social and cultural ferment. Americans had just been traumatized by the

tragic suffering and upheaval of the Civil War; the ideas of Charles Darwin and Sigmund Freud and others had begun to challenge the assumptions of traditional religion; and American society confronted a series of economic and social problems that resulted from the unbridled rise of industrialism. The health and well-being of Americans also took center stage, as medical science diagnosed and cured a host of illnesses. The Christian Science faith appeared on the scene to connect modern science and traditional religion by offering a nominally scientific approach to human disease and suffering that nevertheless relied upon a restatement of Christian faith.

Following a sudden abatement of medical symptoms from a near-fatal injury incurred when she fell on an icy sidewalk in 1866, Mary Baker Eddy devoted three years to Bible study. She paid special attention to the words and life of Jesus in an attempt to understand why she had experienced such a miraculous cure. Eddy struggled to learn whether knowable laws governed spiritual healing, and she read the Bible and experimented with prayer to see if she could repeat her recovery. She soon tried her new healing methods on seriously ill patients whom medical doctors seemed unable to cure, and, in some cases, reported successful recoveries.

Convinced that physical illness itself was an illusion that could be cured by a clear perception and understanding of God, Eddy began to teach her views of religious healing to others. It was from these teachings that the Christian Science Church eventually emerged. Stepping further outside the cultural and religious mainstream, Eddy taught that she had discovered a principle of healing that could be located in a new understanding of God as an infinite Spirit not limited by the material sense of reality that she termed “error.”

Certain that she had discovered a lost Christian truth related to faith and healing, Eddy in 1875 published her controversial ideas in *Science and Health with Key to the Scriptures* to spread the new belief as widely as possible. The book sold just over 1,000 copies in its first edition, and it has sold more than 10 million copies in seventeen languages, as well as versions in Braille, on audiotape, and in software packages, in the years since.

The work describes Eddy’s discovery, practice, and teaching of what she called the “science” of Christian healing. After its publication, she remained devoted to the establishment of the new church. Eventually, thousands flocked to hear her lectures; others studied at her newly formed Massachusetts Metaphysical College in Boston from 1882 to 1889. Fully trained, these students—called the “Christian Science Practitioners”— spread across the country to heal the sick in ways consistent with the teachings of the new church, but out of line with both traditional modern medicine and conventional religious views on patient care.

The new religion spread by Eddy and her followers depended on a belief that the absolute perfection of God made impossible the divine creation of sin, disease, and death. None of these, therefore, could be real. According to their beliefs, evil and its physical manifestations are terrible lies about God and all of creation. Eddy even argued that the human body does not exist in any real sense but is only imagined.

The important requirement for Christians, as Eddy saw it, was to unmask the lies and reveal the true and eternal perfection of God’s creation. The error of evil can be remedied through a better spiritual understanding of one’s relationship to God, and this corrected relationship can enable spiritual healing. Thus, it is the foundational principle of Christian Science that disease or any other adversity can be cured or alleviated by prayerful efforts to fully understand one’s correct relationship with God.

Practice and Controversy in Modern Times

In practical, earthly terms, belief in the unreality of imperfection is the basis of the Christian Scientist’s characteristic and controversial reliance on prayer in place of traditional medical care. Practitioners also depend on prayer to help resolve personal issues, such as those associated with relationship difficulties, employment problems, and emotional distress. To many Christian Scientists, the correction of sin itself is more important than healing disease. Still, it is the healing of physical sickness that remains at the center of church activity and keeps the religion on the fringes of modern culture.

The church does not absolutely require members to forgo medical treatment, but most do so voluntarily because

their faith demands it and because they have come to believe reports of successful healing by faith alone. The pressure from other Christian Scientists to avoid medical care often is strong, leading members to tend to turn from traditional medicine even more. Many Christian Scientists do not rely on doctors, medicine, or surgery at all. The proper use of prayer and spiritual training is instead employed to battle the “nonreality” of illness.

While many dispute the precise numbers, the Christian Science Church claims more than 50,000 personal testimonies of successful healing since its founding. In most cases, these spiritual healings represent recovery from ailments not diagnosed or treated by medical professionals.

Whatever the actual numbers of spiritual healings, the Christian Science Church from the beginning has been subject to criticism and public controversy, with the relationship between faith and medicine the most common issue. Church members often have been charged with being merely faith healers; they respond that they do not claim to heal by the application of blind faith, but through a well-defined mental process that leads to the healing.

To those outside the church, healing that eschews scientific medical treatments is particularly questionable when it involves the health and well-being of children. In a small number of cases that received national attention in the 1990s, prosecutors charged Christian Scientist parents with manslaughter when their children died of curable diseases without having been treated by medical professionals. While most of the parents were legally exonerated, critics saw the deaths as irrational and unnecessary. Church members understood the tragedies as the result of poor spiritual guidance and an insufficient understanding and application of the Christian Science process of healing.

By the early 2000s, the “Mother Church,” as Christian Scientists call it, had grown to be a 14-acre (5.7-hectare) complex in Boston, Massachusetts. Built in 1894, and expanded in 1906, the church boasts one of the world’s largest pipe organs, as well as the Eddy Library for the Betterment of Humanity in an eleven-story structure, originally built for the Christian Science Publishing Society.

In 1908, Eddy began publishing the *Christian Science Monitor*. Along with the establishment of local Christian Science Reading Rooms, the newspaper has helped bring greater credibility to the church, while winning a number of Pulitzer Prizes and other awards for journalistic excellence.

Local branches of the Christian Science Church are subordinate to the Mother Church but are self-governing in terms of day-to-day affairs. Still, to be officially recognized, they must abide by the practices of the larger church and must follow a constitution that covers everything from the duties of officers to the discipline of members. Finally, the church is governed by a five-person board of directors that continues to follow the rules established by the founder.

The church has no ordained clergy, and Sunday services consist of hymns, prayer, and Bible readings, followed by interpretations from Eddy’s original writings. Every service includes the reading of her “Scientific Statement of Being,” read from the pulpit by men and women elected from the congregation to conduct the services. Wednesday services typically include testimonies of healing by members of the congregation, as well as comments by men and women “practitioners” who devote their time to spiritual healing. Members also congregate in small groups in Christian Science Reading Rooms to read and discuss Eddy’s work to aid in their spiritual development.

The church experienced a period of rapid growth during the first half of the twentieth century, reaching a membership of nearly 400,000 by some accounts. Since then, however, the numbers have gradually declined. Dozens of local churches have closed in recent years, and by some accounts there are currently fewer than 100,000 members worldwide.

Despite these declines, the Christian Science Church has undertaken an aggressive marketing campaign designed to attract new members. For example, church leaders are trying to find ways to promote the church as an active participant in contemporary discussions regarding mind/body connections and new forms of alternative medicine. They have been finding common ground with modern New Age groups. Convinced that through these

means they will find renewed organizational vitality, church leaders insist that new members will accept the spiritual truths articulated in the nineteenth century and will maintain that tradition for decades to come.

Since the late twentieth century, the Christian Science Church has attempted to connect with the larger culture by experimenting with electronic broadcasting. For example, the church purchased a Boston cable television station for the production of elaborate in-house programming and established a station for syndication with National Public Radio. As in the case of other religious groups seeking expansion through the media, however, a combination of rapid expansion, poor management, and insufficient funds led to the closing of most of these facilities, and the church lost an estimated \$250 million in these ventures, bringing it to the edge of bankruptcy.

Mary Baker Eddy conducted church affairs until her death in 1910. While members revere her as the discoverer of the faith and founder of the church, they do not regard her work as having added anything to essential Christianity. Instead, they believe that she elaborated on what already was understood and returned the faithful to a more accurate understanding of biblical truth. In 1921, the centenary of Eddy's birth, a 100-ton (90.7-metric ton) granite pyramid was dedicated on the site of her birth in Bow, New Hampshire. A gift from the Freemasons, the statue was later dynamited by order of the church board of directors. Reflecting the Christian Science rejection of cults of personality and sacred shrines, the board also demolished Eddy's home out of a fear that it would draw visiting pilgrims.

Today, the Christian Scientists remain a radical, though small, challenge both to mainstream religion and to the exclusive application of modern science to the problems of human health and disease. Their practice of spiritual healing keeps them on the fringes of modern culture.

Bart Dredge

See also: [Harmonialism: New Thought](#).

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Circus and Carnival Culture

The circus—long associated with an out-of-the-mainstream lifestyle, exotic attractions, and taboo appeal— began

in Britain during the mid-eighteenth century with demonstrations of trick horsemanship. It developed into traveling tent, or wagon, shows in Europe and the United States by about the 1830s. Larger train circuses soon were traveling the country, and, by 1910, there were about thirty, run by men such as James A. Bailey, Phineas T. Barnum, William C. Coup, the six Ringling brothers, and “Lord” George Sanger. The American carnival began in the late nineteenth century and got its name from street festivals of excess, dancing, and ridicule of the wealthy and powerful, such as New Orleans’s Mardi Gras.

With its sideshows and carnival areas, the circus appealed to virtually every popular interest and entertainment trend in the United States. It created a colorful juxtaposition of acts that was unique in show business: exotic animals, brass bands, clowns, trapeze acts, contortionists, vaudeville variety skits, “freak shows,” imported “curiosities,” historical displays, ethnological displays, fortune-tellers, games of chance, and more. The carefully timed and disciplined crews that erected, packed, and moved these circuses were a testament to modern labor and business organization for local people, who often closed their shops, skipped school, or otherwise found a way to spend the day watching circus crews at work.

Smaller wagon circuses known as “dog and pony” or “mud” shows persisted through the nineteenth century. Trained dogs might not be as glamorous as Barnum’s “Jumbo the Elephant,” but the smaller shows were more personable, catering to local humor and culture in ways that the train circuses, with their tight schedules and generic shows, could not. With time, however, the wagon circuses began to seem shabby to customers who were able to attend one of the bigger productions.

Commercial traveling carnivals emerged in the 1890s out of the sideshow acts and games associated with the circus, Coney Island’s amusement parks in Brooklyn, New York, and the world’s fairs. From seventeen carnival companies in 1902, the number traveling the country grew to about 300 in 1937, while the number of circuses had begun to decline. Carnivals, which absorbed workers and adopted acts from the circus, thus came to include more games of chance, as well as shooting galleries, mechanical rides, and medicine shows. Promoters sent their carnivals from place to place to coincide with agricultural fairs or annual civic celebrations, and they usually paid a commission or percentage of revenues to the community in which they set up for business.

Traveling circuses and carnivals constituted some of the earliest forms of truly mass entertainment in the United States, as ordinary people throughout the country experienced the same attractions. Circus and carnival owners sent advance crews to blanket communities with promotional flyers, posters, and newspaper ads to create audience enthusiasm. Exotic animals that periodically attacked their trainers, trapeze artists who fell to their deaths, big-top tents that collapsed onto crowds, and carnival hucksters who fooled their customers injected an element of danger and excitement into circus and carnival day.

Both circuses and carnivals presented the exotic and bizarre in ways that communicated accepted truths to audiences. Training tigers and elephants reasserted man’s power over nature. Ethnological exhibits of Native Americans and foreign performers reasserted white supremacy over ostensibly backward people. Disabled or otherwise physically unusual people presented as freaks gave viewers a chance to consider the medical or evolutionary implications of the “normal” human body.

The famous promoter P.T. Barnum worried that the circus would be open to attack from social reformers for the unconventional behavior and fraud said to invade small towns when the circus rolled in—a reputation that came to be associated with carnivals as well. Nineteenth-century critics pointed to the effects the performances had on social values and public morality. They were concerned, for example, that a woman in a short skirt performing tricks on horseback would challenge women’s subservient role in society. Public drunkenness and brawling also were part and parcel of circus or carnival day, as intoxicated customers fought with each other or became embroiled in contests with circus employees. And, of course, traveling shows removed needed money from the local economy. Rather than compete with the circus or carnival, some local business owners offered special sales to capitalize on the spending sprees in which otherwise-frugal audiences often indulged.

Circus and carnival workers presented audiences with a particular kind of counterculture, namely a tight-knit

community of producers, managers, performers, and laborers drawn from around the world. Carnival and circus people have long regarded themselves as a breed apart from mainstream society, often marrying other show people and raising children in the business.

Performers from Europe, Asia, and Latin America who work the circus and carnival circuit as acrobats, animal trainers, dancers, musicians, magicians, and fortune-tellers have been respected by many of their American colleagues, even as other immigrants often have not been by society at large. The commonality of interracial marriages and friendships in circus and carnival culture has stood in contrast to the racism frequently found among audiences and has further contributed to the unusual subculture of circus and carnival performers.

As the entertainment options open to American consumers have expanded, fewer traditional circuses survive today. Ringling Bros. and Barnum & Bailey, and circuses sponsored by the Shriners fraternal order, are among the most notable. One of the central issues for circuses in the twenty-first century is that of animal welfare, with many managers choosing to give up animal acts, as audiences and animal rights organizations have publicized cases of cruelty associated with training and the international trade in animals. Carnivals remain popular at agricultural fairs and other venues. Perhaps the greatest dangers they pose today are the same as in the past: large quantities of unhealthy food and rigged games of chance designed to empty visitors' wallets.

Susan Nance

See also: [Barnum, P.T.: Freaks, Freak Shows, and Freakatoriums.](#)

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City College of New York

The City College of New York (CCNY), located in Upper Manhattan and originally founded as the Free Academy in 1847, was the first free public institution of higher learning in the United States and the center of a radical movement among students and faculty during the Great Depression. Known as a college for the city's poor, CCNY was home to a number of controversial intellectuals in the 1930s. During this period, many Americans were concerned about the spread of fascism throughout the world and the possibility that the United States would become embroiled in a major overseas conflict, and the themes of antifascism and pacifism dominated the political activities at CCNY. The campus became known as a hotbed of activism, giving rise to grassroots organizations, sit-ins, and public expressions of dissent that presaged the counterculture movement of the 1960s.

The radicalism of CCNY's student body gained national attention in April 1934, during the First National Student Strike Against War, when police were called in to calm the tensions. Later that year, twenty-one students were expelled by the president of the school, Frederick B. Robinson, for disrupting an event honoring a delegation of

visiting students representing the Italian Fascist regime. Over the next several years, radical students and President Robinson clashed repeatedly, until he resigned in 1938.

In 1936, CCNY was home to the largest student sit-in of the time, as 1,000 students protested the firing of respected English faculty member and public supporter of communism Morris Schappes. Under mounting pressure from students and faculty, school administrators reinstated Schappes two months later. Also in 1936, a number of CCNY student activists traveled to Spain to fight against the fascist leader Francisco Franco. Thirteen students from the college died in the Spanish Civil War.

The college gained more national attention in 1940, when the British philosopher Bertrand Russell was offered a professorship. Russell was controversial for his liberal views on sexual freedom.

Then, between September 1940 and December 1941, more than 500 faculty, students, and administrators from CCNY faced subpoenas for allegedly taking part in communist activities. John Ackly, the CCNY registrar, was formally tried, and Schappes was convicted of perjury. The hearings led to fifty faculty members being dismissed, not reappointed, or forced to resign—the largest removal of college faculty in American history.

As McCarthyism gripped the nation in the 1950s, and the fear of a communist uprising swept across the country, CCNY radicalism diminished. The legacy of the radicals continued to echo throughout American college campuses in the 1960s, however, especially as the antiwar and civil rights movements gained momentum.

In 1961, CCNY became part of the City University of New York (CUNY). As the decade continued and the civil rights movement progressed, calls for open admissions became prominent. In 1969, a group of African American and Latino students forced a shutdown of the South Campus in Harlem and demanded that the student body, faculty, and administration reflect the racial and cultural identity of the area. It was finally decided that every New York City high school graduate would be offered a place in CUNY. This policy would last until the late 1990s, and opened the college door to many minorities.

Ultimately, the activism at CCNY during the 1930s helped bring the counterculture movement to college campuses across the nation. The college itself remains a multicultural institution of higher learning in New York City that continues to thrive in the twenty-first century.

Gavin J. Wilk

See also: [Communism](#).

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City Lights Books, located in the North Beach section of San Francisco, was a pioneering institution in the development of Beat literature and culture during the 1950s—a movement that countered the prevailing middle-class values of 1950s America—and went on to support alternative and radical writers in subsequent decades.

Founding

In 1950 the poet and writer Lawrence Ferlinghetti left Paris, France, and, after a cross-country train trip, arrived in San Francisco the following year. He began to establish himself in the local literary community by writing criticism for the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Several years later, while driving through North Beach, he happened to see Peter Martin, a local store owner, putting up a sign for his Pocket Book Shop. Martin's idea was to offer paperback books on a large scale.

At the time, paperbacks were either expensive, limited editions of avant-garde literature or pulp fiction that sold for 25 or 30 cents per copy. The books usually were associated with the primary place of purchase: drugstores and newsstands. Martin had created a pop-culture magazine called *City Lights*, named after the 1931 Charlie Chaplin film, and he started the paperback-only bookstore to fund the magazine. The magazine did not last, but the bookstore would become a center of bohemian culture.

In June 1953, with \$500 and a handshake, Ferlinghetti became half owner of what the partners called City Lights Pocket Book Shop. Located at 261 Columbus Avenue, City Lights soon became known as a place for people to browse and hang out. Ferlinghetti's philosophy—that art should be accessible to all people—was central to the development of the shop.

In 1955, Martin moved to New York, and Ferlinghetti paid him \$1,000 for his share of the business. Ferlinghetti's vision soon expanded to include publishing (a commonplace business model in Paris), particularly of inexpensive works that represented a broad perspective on political and popular culture, for mass consumption. A book of Ferlinghetti's own poems, *Pictures of the Gone World* (1955), was City Lights' first publication, but it was Pocket Poets Series Number 4, Allen Ginsberg's *Howl and Other Poems* (1956), that established City Lights as a powerful alternative voice in American publishing.

On October 13, 1955, Ferlinghetti heard Ginsberg deliver the anthem of a generation in a poetry reading at the Six Gallery. Poet Kenneth Rexroth was the master of ceremonies, and the evening also included readings by Philip Lamantia, Michael McClure, Gary Snyder, and Philip Whalen. Jack Kerouac, who had declined the invitation to read, passed around jugs of wine, while cheering the poets and exhorting the audience to respond to the energy unleashed by these young, unknown artists. It was the symbolic beginning of the San Francisco Renaissance.

Publication of Ginsberg's explosive *Howl and Other Poems*, with its shocking imagery and graphic sexual language, and support of the work during the subsequent obscenity trial established City Lights as a center for the dissemination of free—even subversive—ideas. As a countercultural entity, an alternative to institutions that reflected the American idealism of the 1950s, City Lights has beckoned, nurtured, and dispersed ideas and artistic innovators throughout the latter half of the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century.

Poetry Readings

The culture of City Lights inspired a movement of popular oral poetry, along with musical, often jazz, accompaniment. Although Ferlinghetti does not consider himself a Beat poet, the bookstore and publishing house provided impetus for Beat literature and a cultural space for Beat writers and thinkers to gather. Later, City Lights would launch the Poets' Theatre, a popular venue for mass poetry readings. City Lights, through its publications and by sponsoring public readings, also brought the Russian poets Yevgeny Yevtushenko and Andrei Voznesensky to the American consciousness.

City Lights continued to be a powerful alternative voice in the 1960s, publishing works by new writers as well as those called subversive and obscene by earlier generations. In 1961, Ferlinghetti joined Michael McClure and

David Melzer as coeditors of the first issue of the *Journal for the Protection of All Beings*. Its revolutionary spirit was reflected in contributions devoted to anarchist and pacifist themes, as well as to ecological ones, years before ecology became a national concern. That year, City Lights also published the first edition of what was conceived of as an annual, *City Lights Journal*, which addressed political and social issues of the day. The publication included contributions by little-known writers, characteristic of City Lights' devotion to presenting authentic voices, regardless of social or professional status. In 1966, the store opened a magazine section, in which it featured underground comics by such notables as Robert Crumb, broadening its subculture appeal even further.

While the counterculture of the 1960s grew older and college campuses became more sedate in the 1970s and 1980s, City Lights continued its tradition of publishing avant-garde poetry, fiction, and nonfiction. In the 2000s, the bookstore boasts both hardcover releases and quality paperbacks from all major publishing houses, as well as titles from smaller, more obscure specialty publishers.

Michael Susko

See also: [Beat Generation: Bookstores. Alternative: Ferlinghetti, Lawrence: Ginsberg, Allen.](#)

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Civil Rights Movement

The modern civil rights movement was the mid-twentieth-century struggle of African Americans to secure the liberties granted to all Americans by the U.S. Constitution. In the landmark 1954 case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the U.S. Supreme Court declared unanimously (9–0) that separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. The high court's ruling, which stated that the de jure racial segregation of the Jim Crow South violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution, overturned earlier decisions dating

back to the historic *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision of 1896. With the *Brown* decision and the subsequent *Brown II* ruling (1955), which compelled Southern states to desegregate “with all deliberate speed,” the African American struggle for freedom shifted from a movement centered upon legal challenges to Jim Crow, labor organizing, and Northern, interracial civil rights organizations to a predominantly Southern, black-led social movement rooted in African American churches.

Leaders Challenge Segregation

Emboldened by the *Brown* and *Brown II* rulings, African American civil rights leaders began to challenge segregation in the South through mass direct action or civil disobedience. The first major confrontation in this new era began on December 1, 1955, when seamstress and longtime civil rights activist Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a public bus in Montgomery, Alabama.

Following Parks’s arrest, E.D. Nixon, president of the Alabama chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Jo Ann Robinson, leader of the local Women’s Political Council; and fifty other community members met at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church to begin organizing a boycott of Montgomery’s buses. By December 5, the day of Parks’s trial, more than 90 percent of Montgomery blacks stayed off the city’s buses. Determined to desegregate the municipal transportation system, African Americans walked, carpooled, drove wagons, and even rode mules.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott lasted 381 days and cost blacks nearly a quarter of a million dollars, but it brought about a new grassroots social movement that would settle for nothing less than full integration. It also provided the movement with its most charismatic leader, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., and one of its most influential organizations, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

The SCLC, which emerged out of the Montgomery Improvement Association, believed in creating a “beloved community” through nonviolent direct action, which was the dominant guiding force during the early years of the civil rights movement. At 6 A.M. on December 21, 1956, King and his aides boarded a Montgomery bus and sat in the front, behind the driver. A protest that began as a call for courtesy and convenience on city buses ended with complete desegregation.

Despite *Brown*, *Brown II*, and the success in Montgomery, change came slowly in the South. Blacks faced tremendous resistance from Southerners determined to maintain white supremacy. Public opinion polls showed that 80 percent of white Southerners opposed school desegregation. Fearing a loss of Southern support in Congress, the administration of President Dwight D. Eisenhower did not officially endorse or support the *Brown* decision.

The desegregation crisis came to a head in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957, when the local school board refused to integrate the city’s Central High School. Facing pressure at home and abroad, the Eisenhower administration reluctantly federalized the Arkansas National Guard and called in 100 troops from the 101st Airborne Division to protect the nine African American students attempting to integrate the school. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus and the school board supporters backed down. Polls showed that 90 percent of whites outside the South approved of Eisenhower’s actions.

Grassroots Movement Expands

Following Montgomery and Little Rock, the grassroots movement took root and spread. Blacks across the South engaged in protests, boycotts, and demonstrations that often erupted spontaneously and only later drew the attention of black civil rights organizations and the national media.

In February 1960, four African American students held a sit-in at a Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Within weeks, a wave of similar protests, led by thousands of college students, swept across the South.

In April 1960, King and the SCLC sent Ella Baker, a longtime civil rights leader, to Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, to organize the students. Two hundred delegates showed up for the meeting. In discussions and workshops, students expressed their desire to remain nonviolent—the guiding philosophy of King and the SCLC—but they also demanded nothing less than full equality. Unlike King and the SCLC, student leaders regarded nonviolence as a political weapon, not as a fundamental moral philosophy.

Over the next three years (1960–1963), students—black men and women, and some whites—became the vanguard of the movement. In the 1961 Freedom Rides, and in kneel-ins (churches), read-ins (libraries), watch-ins (movie theaters), play-ins (parks), and wade-ins and swim-ins (beaches and other segregated waterfronts), young people came to compose the forefront of the movement. The struggle to end Jim Crow through direct action, to secure a federal civil rights law that would end discrimination in public accommodations and facilities and in hiring and employment, and to secure a federal voting rights act had truly become a mass movement.

In many ways, the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom marked the high point of the civil rights movement. It also laid bare the divisions that ultimately would end it. In August 1963, some 250,000 Americans—75,000 of them white—including nearly all of the prominent civil rights leaders in the nation, descended upon Washington, D.C.



The leaders of the civil rights movement join hands for the historic March on Washington in August 1963, a high point of the movement. A quarter-million blacks and whites congregated at the Lincoln Memorial for a succession of inspirational speeches. (Robert W. Kelley/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Disagreements primarily between older and younger movement participants concerning the pace and militancy of the movement, the level of cooperation with the white establishment, and the issue of economic empowerment versus civil rights had been bubbling beneath the surface for months. John Lewis, leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), revised his speech, because older movement leaders felt it would be too controversial. Black nationalist Malcolm X called the march “The Farce on Washington.” James Farmer, leader of the Northern-based, interracial Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), did not attend the march because he was stuck in a Los Angeles jail cell.

In 1964, movement participants got the legislation they desired. President Lyndon B. Johnson signed a federal civil rights act that, among other things, banned discrimination in public accommodations. Title VII of the 1964 Civil

Rights Act banned discrimination based on race and sex in hiring and employment practices and created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission to process grievances.

In 1965, President Johnson signed a federal voting rights act that banned the denial or abridgment of the right to vote based on literacy tests. Perhaps even more importantly, he empowered the U.S. attorney general or the District Court for the District of Columbia to review any legal changes that could affect voting in targeted areas. Under the new law, the attorney general also could appoint federal examiners and observers to monitor voter registration and local polling places.

Together, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 enabled African Americans to begin to enjoy the rights and freedoms that they had sought for 100 years, since the end of slavery.

The Movement Fractures

In 1965, amid mounting white violence, increasing American involvement in Vietnam, and the growing antiwar and Free Speech movements, the African American civil rights movement became irreparably fractured. The emergence of the Black Power movement, dominated by younger, more militant, urban blacks outside the South, fundamentally shifted civil rights discourse in the United States away from integration to economic, social, and political empowerment.

Despite the pleas of King and other moderates for nonviolence and cooperation, a black revolution seemed imminent to many African Americans, such as Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, who organized the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in Oakland, California, in September 1966. The Panthers advocated community service and promoted self-defense for blacks, started a newspaper, instituted a breakfast program for poor children, and wrote the *Black Panther Party Platform and Program*, which they distributed throughout the black community. The platform called for, among other things, restitution from the government for generations of slave labor, self-determination for black communities, full employment, and adequate housing. The Panthers considered blacks in the United States an essentially colonized people, and they considered the police an occupying force within the black community. Infighting and sabotage by the federal government ultimately caused the disintegration of the Panthers by the early 1970s.

King himself became more radical, at least rhetorically, in the years before his assassination on April 4, 1968, but he and other religious leaders never abandoned their desire to create a “beloved community” in the United States. Although it became fractured and ultimately diminished, the African American civil rights movement produced countercultural forces that forever altered the American social, political, and economic landscape. Much work remained, but racial and ethnic minorities made significant strides toward securing fundamental rights and freedoms during the period of the African American civil rights movement.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Black Panthers: Black Power Movement: King, Martin Luther, Jr.: Vietnam War Protests.](#)

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Clafin, Tennessee (1846–1923)

Tennessee Celeste Clafin was a medium, writer, suffragist, activist, editor, businesswoman, and politician active in New York City during the mid-nineteenth century. Along with her sister, Victoria Clafin Woodhull, she endured numerous scandals and successfully challenged gender roles and stereotypes of nineteenth-century American women.

Born on October 26, 1846, in Homer, Ohio, Clafin was surrounded by controversy and scandal from an early age. At five, she was famous for her purported skill as a clairvoyant. As a teen in Ottawa, Illinois, she dispensed medicinal care under her father's direction, including cancer treatments. When a poultice she applied led to a woman's death, Clafin and her father were accused of manslaughter. The family fled to Chicago.

In Chicago, Tennessee undertook the practice of "magnetic healing," and the family was accused of charlatanism and prostitution. After attempting to blackmail a local man, the Clafins left Chicago in 1864 to tour as a traveling medicine show, with Tennessee and Victoria eventually settling in Memphis to read palms. While there, Clafin met and married gambler John Bartels, whom she would divorce a year later.

The sisters moved to New York City in 1868, where they earned money by selling antiseptics and arousal guides to local prostitutes. Clafin met the wealthy industrialist Cornelius Vanderbilt in New York, and the two began an affair. The following year, Vanderbilt helped the sisters open a Wall Street brokerage firm, Woodhull, Clafin and Company, and the two became instant media darlings. Susan B. Anthony, the noted suffragist, visited the firm and praised the idea of women entering the world of business so dramatically.

It was during this time that Tennessee—or "Tennie C," as she rechristened herself—took to wearing men's clothing to work. She further tested gender rules by visiting restaurants without male accompaniment.

In 1870, the sisters started *Woodhull & Clafin's Weekly*, a journal that promoted woman suffrage, socialism, and reform, and provided a mouthpiece for Victoria's unsuccessful run for the U.S. presidency. Clafin attempted to enter New York politics in 1871, when she ran unsuccessfully for the Eighth Congressional District seat in a predominately German district.

The following year, the sisters were indicted for violating the Comstock Law by sending "obscene materials" through the mail, after accusing noted abolitionist Henry Ward Beecher of an adulterous affair in the *Weekly's* pages. Tennessee was touched further by scandal in 1872, when she wrote an article accusing a minor Wall Street figure, Luther C. Challis, of seducing two young girls during the infamous French Ball, at which New York society men were revealed to have cavorted with prostitutes. Challis sued Clafin for libel, but the case was dropped.

After Vanderbilt's death in 1877, his family paid for both sisters to leave the United States to avoid legal challenges to his will. The sisters settled in England, where Clafin was made a baronet after her marriage to Viscount Francis Cook in 1885. She became a noted society figure and died in London on January 18, 1923.

See also: [Suffragists: Woodhull, Victoria.](#)

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Clapp, Henry (1814–1875)

An editor, poet, translator, social reformer, and inveterate raconteur, Henry Clapp, Jr., inspired a group of artists, writers, journalists, and actors who became associated with Pfaff's Cellar, a subterranean meeting place for the bohemian crowd of antebellum New York City. Sometimes referred to as the King of Bohemia, Clapp inspired critical thinking, alternative lifestyles, social causes, and original writing in fiction, criticism, and editorials. In many ways, he helped to bring French bohemian life of the mid-1800s to the United States, exerting a distinct, out-of-the-mainstream influence on lifestyle, culture, and letters.

Born on November 11, 1814, in Nantucket, Massachusetts, Clapp devoted his early reformist energies to the temperance movement. In the late 1840s, he traveled to France as secretary to Albert Brisbane, a social reformer who wanted him to translate the writings of French utopian theorist Charles Fourier. Clapp became enamored of the writings of Charles Baudelaire and Honoré de Balzac, as well as of Parisian café life and bohemian culture, which he attempted to re-create when he returned to New York in 1850.

The literary and artistic center of the United States during the antebellum period was New England. Clapp and others in New York sought to establish that city as an intellectual and cultural center by presenting alternative voices. In 1858, Clapp founded the *Saturday Press* as New York's alternative to the *Atlantic Monthly*, primarily a New England publication. He is perhaps best known for his promotion of the third edition (1860) of *Leaves of Grass*, the classic collection of poems by Brooklyn's Walt Whitman.

Clapp also published such up-and-coming Western writers as Bret Harte. He published Mark Twain's story "Jim Smiley and His Jumping Frog" (a tale also known as "The Celebrated Jumping Frog of Calaveras County"; 1865), which launched Twain's literary career. Clapp also printed the work of women authors—not a common practice for publications at the time—including Sarah Orne Jewett, Juliette Beach, and the woman who perhaps most embodied the bohemian spirit, Ada Clare.

The first issue of the *Saturday Press* appeared on October 29, 1858. The magazine ran weekly until 1860. After the American Civil War, Clapp brought it back on August 5, 1865. Although it lasted only one year longer, the *Saturday Press* rivaled the *Atlantic Monthly* in presenting fresh American voices. In its short life, the *Saturday Press* stirred the imagination and creativity of its readers.

Clapp was known to do everything—from telling stories to editing his magazine to pursuing causes—with passion and conviction. Along with his fellow Pfaffians, as the other bohemians who met regularly in Pfaff's Cellar were

called, he rebelled against the puritanical and middle-class traditions and values that continued to influence America society in the mid-nineteenth century.

Clapp joined the abolitionist movement and was jailed for his antislavery protests. He translated Fourier's *The Social Destiny of Man* and works by Baudelaire and Balzac, among others. In the 1850s, after returning from Paris, he became actively involved with New York Free Love League. Believing that every person had the right to pursue an iconoclastic lifestyle in a society that often promoted traditional moral values, he was before his time in defending nonconventional sexual behavior.

Clapp had learned to be cynical early in life and, according to his peers, he became even more cynical and bitter in his later years—especially about American politics and customs. He drank heavily, and his drinking increased after the death of his closest friend, George Arnold, at age thirty-one, in 1865.

His final years dominated by drink, Clapp was admitted several times to the New York State Inebriate Asylum (now the Binghamton State Hospital). He died an alcoholic, broke and alone, on April 2, 1875.

Michael Susko

See also: [Bohemianism: Pfaff's Cellar](#).

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Clare, Ada (ca. 1836–1874)

Known as the Queen of Bohemia for her writings about the cultural demimonde of nineteenth-century New York City and her friendships with many of its denizens, Ada Clare embraced the city's cultural life as an actress, frequenter of the neighborhood bohemian bar Pfaff's Cellar, and contributor to the *New York Saturday Press*, a weekly magazine of the arts.

Jane McElhenney—who eventually adopted the name “Clare” and then “Ada Clare,” perhaps after a character in Charles Dickens's novel *Bleak House*—is believed to have been born in July 1836, in Charleston, South Carolina. The town was prospering in the mid-nineteenth century, on the strength of rice, cotton, and indigo cultivation in the area and shipping activity at its ports. McElhenney's family belonged to Charleston's privileged class. By the time she was eleven years old, however, she was living with her mother's father, who took her to cities in the North.

When she was about eighteen, she moved to New York and published her first works, love poems and stories, using pseudonyms. Her first sale was to *Atlas* in January 1855. Clare also sought out acting roles on the stage, appearing in *The Hunchback* in August 1855, followed in the next two years by *Love and Revenge*, *The Wife*, *Hamlet*, *The Marble Heart*, *Jane Eyre*, and *The Phantom*. Although her earliest performances were not outstanding, her notices improved.

Her artistic endeavors opened new social circles to her in New York. She met the celebrated pianist-composer

Louis Moreau Gottschalk, and they became involved in a brief but torrid affair. In 1857, Clare, who was by that time in Paris, gave birth to a son she claimed was Gottschalk's.

While in Paris, Clare wrote about theatrical productions for the *Atlas*. She returned to New York in 1859 and appeared in *Antony and Cleopatra*. She also pursued writing, publishing bold columns on topics of political and artistic concern in the *Saturday Press* and the *Leader* and associating with such literary stars as the poet Walt Whitman and the poet and actress Adah Menken. Clare became known as the "Queen of Bohemia." Bohemianism, as she defined it, was sympathy for "all things above and beyond convention." A bohemian, she added, is not a "victim of rules and customs; he steps over them with an easy, graceful, joyous unconsciousness."

Ever carefree and itinerant, Clare traveled to San Francisco in 1864, writing for the *Golden Era*. Then, while visiting Hawaii, she wrote a series of letters that were published in the *San Francisco Bulletin*. After appearing in a poorly received production of *Camille*, she returned to New York, where she published a novel, *Only a Woman's Heart*, in 1866. The book, which glamorized passion and ended tragically, was not commercially successful. Contemporary reviewers panned it for being disrespectful of social conventions; modern critics have tended to praise its insight and originality.

After joining a traveling stage company and playing in *The Merry Wives of Windsor* under the name of Agnes Stanfield, Clare married actor J. Franklin Noyes in September 1868. She continued acting after marriage; her last play was *East Lynne*, performed in Rochester, New York, in 1874. On March 4 of that year, she died from the bite of a rabid dog, suffered in the office of her theatrical agent.

Kelly Boyle Sagert

See also: [Bohemianism](#).

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Cocaine

Cocaine, an alkaloid extract of the coca plant (*Erythroxylon coca*), produces a feeling of intense euphoria and invincibility when inhaled or injected. It gained widespread popularity in America after a German chemist, Albert Nieman, first succeeded in distilling it in 1860. In the next several decades, cocaine became a common ingredient in medicinal elixirs and beverages, such as Angelo Mariani's *Vin Mariani* (a coca wine) and John S. Pemberton's Coca-Cola (introduced in 1886). Endorsements by psychiatrist Sigmund Freud and neurologist and former U.S. Surgeon General William A. Hammond helped increase its popularity, until the Harrison Narcotics Act of 1914 instituted the requirement of a prescription for purchases.

The drug surged in popularity again in the 1970s and 1980s, as the rock music culture, movies, and the disco scene promoted cocaine as hip, pleasurable, and energy inducing. The media influence, coupled with the sense of invincibility induced by the drug, reinforced the notion that a user could accomplish anything. Cocaine thus became associated with sheer fun and an upwardly mobile, ambitious, "yuppie" lifestyle. It became the drug of

choice among corporate professionals, attorneys, and athletes as well.

The high cost of cocaine generally limited its use to middle-and upper-class Americans, but it spread to the up-and-coming generation of college and suburban high school students. Cocaine paraphernalia, such as spoons, pipes, and preparation kits, contributed to the identity of the cocaine culture.

The advent of crack cocaine in the mid-1980s radically altered the effects, cost, availability, and demographics of the drug. Crack, derived from powdered cocaine mixed with baking soda and water, forms a rock that makes a crackling sound when burned. The intense, almost immediate rush obtained from crack diminishes within five to ten minutes, leaving the user with an all-consuming desire for more—making it much more addictive than snorted cocaine in powder form.

Crack cocaine is cheaper because it is less pure and sold in smaller quantities. It became more accessible to users from poor urban communities and a highly profitable business for inner-city gangs. As a result, the crack epidemic has brought higher incidence of violent crime, more drug-related deaths, the emergence of crack houses in abandoned or run-down buildings, higher rates of child abandonment, and a growing number of crack babies (children born to crack-addicted mothers) in American urban centers in the twenty-first century.

At the same time, the concern of mainstream America over crack use has exposed socioeconomic and racial biases about a drug hierarchy, in which cocaine is viewed more favorably than crack. For example, drug laws generally dictate much harsher penalties for users and sellers of crack than for those who consume and deal cocaine. Women who exchange sexual favors for crack are called “crack whores,” while women who do the same for cocaine are referred to as “snow bunnies.”

Jennifer Aerts Terry

See also: [Drug Culture](#).

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Coffeehouses

Coffeehouses haven taken a variety of forms in the counterculture, becoming widespread in the 1960s. Some were daily hangouts for students, artists, and activists, some were the sites of weekly concert series, and some

were nightly music venues. What they had in common—whether privately owned or sponsored by a church or a university—was an atmosphere that encouraged conversation and the sharing of ideas and music, a place where intellectuals, or at least those with intellectual interests, met for coffee and serious discussion. In this, coffeehouses followed their seventeenth-century British predecessors, known as “penny universities,” a penny being the cost of admission and one cup of coffee, the university education coming from the challenging political, social, and artistic ideas that were exchanged.



A group of U.S. Army veterans opposed to the Vietnam War gathers at a coffeehouse—a traditional hangout for the sharing of countercultural ideas, music, and literature—in Tacoma, Washington, in 1969. (John Bryson/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

In twentieth-century North America, the discourse was often framed in musical terms, and a number of coffeehouse headliners of the day went on to higher-profile careers. Folk singer Joan Baez made her first stage appearance at Club 47 (now Club Passim) in Cambridge, Massachusetts. Joni Mitchell, who would go on to a career as a top songwriter and performer in the folk, pop, and rock genres, hung out at L’Hibou in Ottawa. Future folk and country Grammy Award–winner Emmylou Harris played the Prism in Charlottesville, Virginia, in the late 1960s for the then-standard cover charge of less than a dollar.

Patrons and performers alike enjoyed coffeehouse concerts because of the intimate nature of the shows, as most such spaces held no more than 125 people at one time. The relaxed nature of the venues also encouraged performers to experiment with new material and to talk openly with their audiences, trends not witnessed in large concert halls.

A number of coffeehouses from the 1960s have survived changing musical tastes and continue to present intimate acoustic music shows, as do many places— now more likely called clubs or cafés than coffeehouses—that sprang up in the 1970s to continue the tradition. As of the early 2000s, the Prism and Club Passim were still open for business. (L’Hibou closed in 1975.) Other popular establishments that retain the spirit of the counterculture include Me and Thee Coffeehouse in Marblehead, Massachusetts, and the Cactus Cafe in Austin, Texas.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Baez, Joan](#); [Bohemianism](#); [Greenwich Village, New York City](#).

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COINTELPRO

The Federal Bureau of Investigation's Counter Intelligence Program, dubbed COINTELPRO, consisted of covert operations sponsored and organized by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), under the directorship of J. Edgar Hoover. Active from 1956 to 1971, COINTELPRO sought to infiltrate, disrupt, misdirect, and neutralize left-wing organizations such as the Communist Party, the Socialist Workers Party, the Puerto Rican independence movement, the student-led New Left, the underground press—indeed, virtually all of the key movements and organizations associated with the 1960s counterculture, especially antiwar and student groups. Targets of COINTELPRO included Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Black Panther Party (BPP), the American Indian Movement (AIM), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the women's liberation movement.

COINTELPRO's tactics included extralegal and illegal activities. Its more benign activities included the publication of derogatory cartoons, anonymous letters, and insinuating articles, and creating jealousies and suspicions among the staff and leadership of targeted groups. On a wider scale, COINTELPRO engaged in effectively planned and executed disinformation campaigns. Illegal tactics included bombing selected editorial offices and orchestrating the assassinations of BPP leaders Fred Hampton and Mark Clark. Such information about COINTELPRO became known to the public between 1968 and 1978, with new evidence and documentation continuing to appear into the 2000s.

Under COINTELPRO, the FBI worked closely with the National Security Agency (NSA), the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), military police, local law enforcement, and right-wing radical groups, which were enlisted in some of the bombings of underground press editorial offices. Covert operatives conducted surveillance on private citizens (e.g., Operation CHAOS, Project MERRIMAC, and Project Resistance), compiled lists of persons associated with targeted groups, sewed dissension among members, and dispersed negative media images for the public.

FBI agents infiltrated target groups and implicated staff members as undercover agents. They also posed as violent demonstrators and arranged to be interviewed in spontaneous media coverage of demonstrations and other protest events. Even nonviolent political groups would be infiltrated; COINTELPRO agents attempted to steer them toward illegal activities. A favorite tactic for disrupting the underground press was to continually arrest street vendors. Although the defendants always won their cases because of First Amendment protection, the accumulated court costs drove the publications into bankruptcy.

The FBI conducted an estimated 2,000 COINTELPRO operations before officially abandoning the program in 1971, under the threat of public exposure.

Jeff Williams

See also: [American Indian Movement](#); [Black Panthers](#); [New Left](#).

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Collins, Judy (1939–)

In the folk music revival of the 1960s, Judy Collins, Joan Baez, and Carolyn Hester were three women who rose above the field of emerging female musicians to endure as stars. In addition to her singing and musicianship, Collins's particular contribution to the musical scene was her restless search for the great song, the great lyrics, the fine idea artfully expressed, whether in the centuries-old lament of a grieving mother from Ireland, a pop tune from Beatles songwriter John Lennon, or a vivid, emotional vignette on the complexities of love from the young Canadian songwriter Joni Mitchell.

Judith Marjorie Collins was born in Seattle, Washington, on May 1, 1939, and grew up in Denver, Colorado. She studied classical piano with the respected teacher Antonia Brico and made her debut with the Denver Symphony at age thirteen. As a teenager, however, Collins fell in love with the acoustic guitar and the possibility of connecting emotionally with others through singing. Married at nineteen, with a husband in college and a young son, Collins followed her husband's suggestion to audition at a coffeehouse for a paid singing job.

Audiences were soon won over by her soprano voice, guitar playing, and ability to connect with listeners. A career was born. As Collins's star began to rise, her husband's academic career led the family to relocate to the East Coast. Collins soon became immersed in the Greenwich Village folk scene, playing top clubs and meeting musicians such as Eric Andersen, Bob Dylan, and Tom Rush.

Elektra Records founder Jac Holzman was taken with Collins's pure, rich voice and confident performing style, and invited the singer to record her first album, *Maid of Constant Sorrow*, in 1961. The album mainly was comprised of Anglo-Irish folk tunes, but, by the time of her third album, *Judy Collins Number 3* (1964), Collins was recording more of the adventurous folk music she already was sharing with her concert audiences—songs by Dylan, Woody Guthrie, Tom Paxton, Pete Seeger, and Billy Edd Wheeler—alongside traditional songs. At around the same time, she became romantically involved with Stephen Sills, of the rock trio Crosby, Stills and Nash, who composed the 1969 hit single "Suite: Judy Blue Eyes" as a tribute.

Whether considering older ballads or newly written pieces, Collins chose tunes that reflected her personal and political beliefs, including Dylan's stark antiwar indictment "Masters of War" and Gil Turner's civil rights anthem "Carry It On." Perhaps drawn by what she had learned from her love of older ballads, she made it a point to select songs that were timeless as well as topical.

Collins's generosity to unknown writers also opened doors for other musicians. Her recording of Mitchell's "Both Sides Now" and Leonard Cohen's "Suzanne" brought new listeners to the folk genre and those artists, as did her spare version of the traditional hymn "Amazing Grace," which became an unexpected radio hit during the Vietnam War in 1971.

Collins has continued to make records and perform live into the 2000s. She also has written several books and acted in theater and film. She remains committed to social causes as well, working for peace across the globe,

participating in the Campaign for a Landmine-Free World, and volunteering on behalf of the United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF).

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Dylan, Bob](#); [Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [Seeger, Pete](#).

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Columbia University

As the recognized birthplace of the 1950s Beat social and literary movement and the site of several high-profile political protests in the 1960s, Columbia University, located in the borough of Manhattan in the heart of New York City, developed a reputation as a seat of counterculture activity during the late twentieth century.

Several key figures of the Beat movement, such as writers Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsberg, and Lucien Carr, were students at the university and formulated their iconoclastic views of literature and society there. Many early poetry readings and legendary events in the creation of Beat culture took place either on or near the Columbia campus.

The New York-based folk music revival also inspired counterculture activity at Columbia in the 1950s and 1960s, as many of its students embraced the themes of social consciousness and political activism represented in folk music. The folk music revival was instrumental in laying the groundwork for the student protests of the 1960s and inspiring the participation of Columbia students in the civil rights movement. Several key figures of the folk revival, such as archivist Alan Lomax and musicians Art Garfunkel and David Bromberg, attended the university.

Columbia University was the site of a series of antiwar protests in 1968 that came to symbolize student radicalism in the late 1960s. The protests began with a brief demonstration on March 27 inside the university's main administrative building over the discovery of documents linking Columbia to the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), a weapons research firm under contract with the U.S. Department of Defense.

The following month, protesters, led by Mark Rudd of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and members of the Student Afro Society (SAS), grew more confrontational, occupying several campus buildings. Administrative offices were taken over on April 23, in protest against the proposed construction of a gymnasium whose design they perceived as segregationist. The protesters occupied campus buildings for several days, ransacking offices and demanding an end to the gym construction and the university's affiliation with the IDA. Although police surrounded the occupied buildings, the protesters were able to disseminate information to the press, including a famous photograph published in *Life* magazine showing a protester sitting at the president's desk smoking a cigar. Obtaining food and other supplies proved more problematic; on at least one occasion, students outside the buildings attempted to catapult food to the protesters.

The protests ended violently on April 30, when officers of the New York City Police Department stormed the occupied buildings, arresting over 700 protesters and injuring dozens of others. (SAS protesters, occupying a separate building, surrendered nonviolently with the assistance of civil rights attorneys.)

A second wave of demonstrations on May 17 and 18 resulted in more arrests and injuries. The demonstrations, despite the violence, were largely successful in meeting the objectives of the organizers, as the university subsequently abandoned plans for the gymnasium and broke its ties with the IDA.

The Columbia protests inspired demonstrations on other university campuses during the late 1960s and early 1970s, including the 1969 People's Park protest at the University of California, Berkeley, which involved a similar student occupation of university property. Columbia University also was the site of student demonstrations against the apartheid policy in South Africa in the 1980s and against U.S. immigration policy in the early twenty-first century.

Michael H. Burchett

See also: [Beat Generation](#); [Folk Music](#); [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Come-Outers

Although the term *come-outers* has been applied to adherents of various radical social movements that have opposed religious and social structures, it refers specifically to a religious and social reform movement in nineteenth-century America. The movement was most prevalent in the northeastern United States, though some sects spread as far as Canada.

The movement takes its name from the book of Revelations, verse 18:4: "And I heard another voice from heaven, saying, Come out of her [Babylon], my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues." Followers were urged to "come out" from corrupt religious and social organizations. Come-outerism also was loosely associated with a drive to become less subjugated to government, sometimes to the extent of advocating anarchism. Some adherents even objected to the U.S. Constitution, which enshrined structures and institutions that limited freedom, including, at the time, slavery.

Culturally, the influence of come-outers is squarely in the tradition of religious individualism, spiritualism, and piety; the belief that individuals need no intermediary between themselves and God; and a belief in voluntary self-discipline rather than subjugation to an authoritarian legal or governmental structure. It is strongly allied with freedom of speech, and its emergence coincided with the rise of abolitionism.

The amount and reliability of information about different come-outers varies. One sect, the Cape Codders—named for the Massachusetts peninsula where they practiced—was relatively well documented, with references dating to the 1840s. There was no physical church and no religious or social hierarchy. All members could preach or speak in front of the “congregation,” believing that all were equally qualified to do so, and that God needed no intermediaries. Disregarding the Sabbath, they met on any day that was convenient; how one lived one’s life superseded formal meetings in importance. They believed in self-government, piety, self-discipline, equality, and communal sharing of resources. These beliefs constituted a major cultural and social shift from the norms of the time.

Variations of come-outerism drew adherents from diverse classes. It proved popular among factory workers in Lynn, Massachusetts, for example, where the movement was sometimes referred to as “no-organizationism.” According to this iteration, all forms of organizational structure were evil. Among the adherents, however, were many one would today consider members of the professional, educated classes and its institutions: teachers, writers, lecturers, printers, publishers, clergy, and professors. The radical abolitionist and free speech advocate William Lloyd Garrison of Boston began publishing the leading antislavery journal of the movement, *The Liberator*, in 1831; by 1844, he and many of his followers were calling themselves “come-outers.”

Prominent among Garrison’s abolitionist associates were Sarah and Angelina Grimké, Theodore Weld, Lydia Maria Child and David Lee Child, and Wendell Phillips, all of whom became culturally influential through writing, lecturing, or both. Other prominent come-outers included Henry Clapp, Jr., editor of New York City’s *Saturday Press*, and Nathaniel P. Rogers of New Hampshire, one of the most fervent advocates of free speech of his time.

Additionally, after consideration of slavery and the desirability of abolitionism, many women who were involved in come-outerism looked at the marginality of their own lives and became increasingly active in the nascent women’s rights movement.

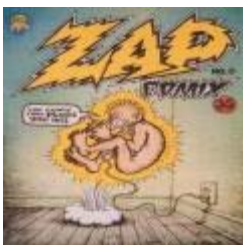
Stephanie R. Walker

See also: [Abolitionism: Garrison, William Lloyd.](#)

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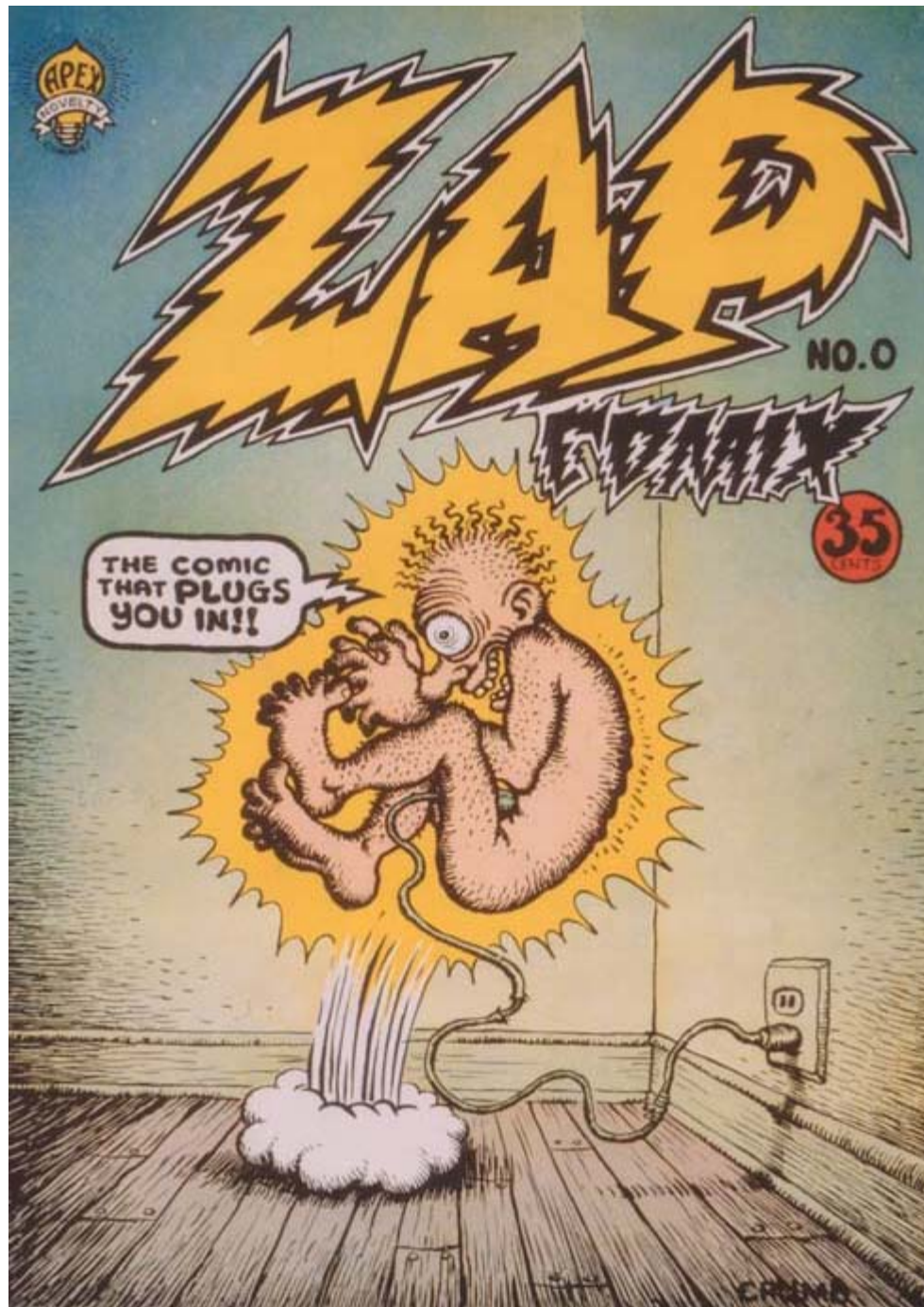
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Comics, Underground

Underground comics, or comix as they are more commonly called, played a vital role in the 1960s U.S. counterculture. Comix allowed for visual representations of the drug culture, antiestablishment sentiments, and other expressions of the movement. Comix, like their mainstream counterpart, the syndicated comic strip, helped sell underground newspapers. And, most importantly in terms of the development of the comics medium, early underground cartoonists and comix writers represented a new artistic vanguard and influenced a new generation of alternative-comics creators in the 1980s and 1990s.



Zap Comix, featuring the art of Robert Crumb, was published in San Francisco beginning in 1968. It was the first and most popular of the underground comics of the 1960s youth counterculture. (Library of Congress)

Origins

Underground comics in the United States date from 1968. A handful of comic strips similar to the undergrounds (e.g., Gilbert Shelton's *Wonder Wart Hog*, 1961, and Dan O'Neill's *Odd Bodkins*, 1963) had appeared in college newspapers, underground newspapers, some mainstream newspapers, and alternative magazines; some of these comics were self-published and distributed among friends. These were not considered undergrounds, however, because most were not regularly published, they had limited press runs, and they did not serve as an expression of the 1960s counterculture, still in its nascent stages. The most noted comic books of this period are *God Nose* by Jack Jackson (also known as Jaxon), published in Texas in 1964, and Frank Stacks's *Adventures of Jesus*, published in 1962.

Robert Crumb's *Zap Comix #1*, printed and distributed in San Francisco on February 24, 1968, generally is recognized as the first true underground comic. Inspired by *Zap*, cartoonists began flocking to San Francisco, and, within five years, 300 new comix titles were published and distributed. The four major comix publishers—Print Mint, Rip Off Press, Apex Novelties, and Last Gasp Eco-funnies—had more work than they could publish. New technology in offset printing made publishing relatively inexpensive and further contributed to the proliferation of the medium.

The appellation “underground” came from the environment where comix appeared, their form of production, and their content. Early strips were published in the underground press, including such publications as the *Los Angeles Free Press*, the *Berkeley Barb*, *The East Village Other*, and *Yarrowstalks*. The printing, publication, and distribution of comix bypassed the traditional means utilized by mainstream magazines and newspapers. Head shops, record stores, and other retail outlets catering to hippies, rather than newsstands, were the common distribution points.

Many mainstream and independent printing companies refused to handle underground comics, due to their content. Some of the early publishers were entrepreneurs involved in printing psychedelic concert and dance posters who were not afraid to venture into new territory. Comix aimed at breaking restrictions established by the Comics Code Authority, a comic-book censoring organization whose standards described strict editorial guidelines for depicting sex, crime, horror, and violence within the pages of comics. Undergrounds satirized social norms, violated social taboos, expressed antiwar and other antiestablishment sentiments, promoted various social protest movements, and celebrated the new counterculture of drugs (especially marijuana and LSD), psychedelic music, political and artistic freedom, Eastern philosophy, and liberal sex. Psychedelic posters, underground newspapers, and comix were the print media symbols of the counterculture.

Creators and Influences

Comix were heavily influenced by the horror comics of the 1950s, especially EC Comics, and satirical magazines such as *Mad* and *Help!* They also were influenced by the psychedelic dance posters produced by such artists as Victor Moscoso and Rick Griffin. And, according to Crumb, comix derived direct inspiration from psychotropic drugs.

In 1965, while in New York, Crumb knowingly took some bad LSD and was in and out of its hallucinogenic effects for more than two months. It was during this period that he created the characters Shuman the Human, Mr. Natural, and the Snoids. Crumb's name quickly became the best known in comix; he is often referred to as the father of the movement. Among his most familiar characters are Mr. Natural and Fritz the Cat. His slogan, “Keep on truckin,” became ubiquitous on T-shirts, bumper stickers, and counterculture paraphernalia; Crumb eventually sought copyright protection for the phrase and filed lawsuits against violators.

Among the many notable comix titles that have appeared over the years from important cartoonists are Shelton's *The Fabulous Furry Freak Brothers*, O'Neill's *Air Pirates* (the subject of a lawsuit filed by the Walt Disney Company in 1972, because it depicted Disney characters performing oral sex and smoking marijuana, among other activities), Bill Griffith's *Zippy*, and Justin Green's *Binky Brown Meets the Holy Virgin Mary*. Other influential cartoonists have included Jay Lynch, Spain Rodriguez, Art Spiegelman, Skip Williamson, and S. Clay Wilson;

other notable titles include *Bijou Funnies*, *Moondog*, *Mother Oats Comix*, *Slow Death*, *Tales from the Leather Nun*, *Yellow Dog*, and *Young Lust*.

While the mainstream comic-book industry of the era was dominated by white men, other groups, including women, gays, and African Americans, were better represented among comix cartoonists. This was especially true of African Americans, such as Richard "Grass[hopper]" Green and his 1972 *Super Soul Comix*.

Another African American underground cartoonist was Larry Fuller, the creator of *Ebon* (1969), a black superhero story; *White Whore Funnies* (1975), the first underground to have porn shop distribution; and *Adults Only Comics Magazine* (1976). He also edited the first gay comix anthology, *Gay Heartthrobs* (1975). Underground gay comix had appeared earlier than Fuller's *Gay Heartthrobs*, with *Harry Chess: That Man from A.U.N.T.I.E.* (1971) by Al Shapiro (also known as A. Jay) as one example. However, Fuller's work continued through the 1970s and into the 1980s.

In celebration of women cartoonists, Lee Marrs, Willy Mendes, and seven other women published the first all-woman comix anthology, *It Ain't Me, Babe (Women's Liberation)* in 1970. It contains the work of notable female cartoonists such as Michele Brand, Nancy Kalish, Meredith Kurtzman, Lisa Lyons, Willy Mendes, Trina Robbins, and Carole Sobocinski. Joyce Sutton Farmer and Lyn Chevli published the first all-woman collaborative comix series, *Tits'N' Clits*, in 1971. Cartoonist Roberta Gregory was part of the Wimmen's Comix Collective, which produced *Wimmen's Comix* in 1974; it included lesbian themes and was published by Ron Turner. In 1976, Gregory produced the lesbian-oriented *Dynamite Damsels*.

Underground comix emerged as one of the most popular forms of literature generated by the modern American counterculture. In 1968, Gary Arlington opened the San Francisco Comic Book Company, the first all-comix store in the city, which became a hub for cartoonists to meet and discuss projects. In 1973, the first comix convention was held in Berkeley.

By the mid-1970s, however, several factors had contributed to the demise of comix. During the early part of that decade, the cost of paper had soared, anti-drug paraphernalia laws had caused head shops to close their doors, and the end of U.S. involvement in Vietnam had brought about the waning of the antiwar movement. The underground press thus went into decline, and a number of cartoonists shifted their attention from sex and drugs to other themes, such as revisionist history, autobiography, and angst-filled coming-of-age stories.

Although underground comix have been faulted by some critics for perpetuating stereotypical gender and racial images and for disseminating misogynistic messages, they did provide a limited voice for women and minorities. They were also instrumental in advancing the sales of underground newspapers, opening the door for a freer press. But perhaps the greatest contribution of comix to American culture was in the comics medium itself. In breaking from the prevailing Comics Code of the day, comix opened the door for adult-oriented stories and complex plot structures that had long been popular in Europe, where comics were no longer seen as literature for children.

The undergrounds also created a market for self-published comics, and many underground cartoonists (Spiegelman and Gregory, among others) found mainstream commercial and critical success, and are still producing comics today. Some of the most notable titles include Spiegelman's graphic novels *Maus I: A Survivor's Tale: My Father Bleeds History* (1986) and *In the Shadow of No Towers* (2004), Gregory's *Naughty Bits* series, Harvey Pekar's *American Splendor* series, Joyce Brabner's graphic novel *Our Cancer Year* (1994), Gilbert and Jaime Hernandez's *Love and Rockets* series, and Spain Rodriguez's *My True Story* (1994).

Jeff Williams

See also: [Crumb, Robert](#).

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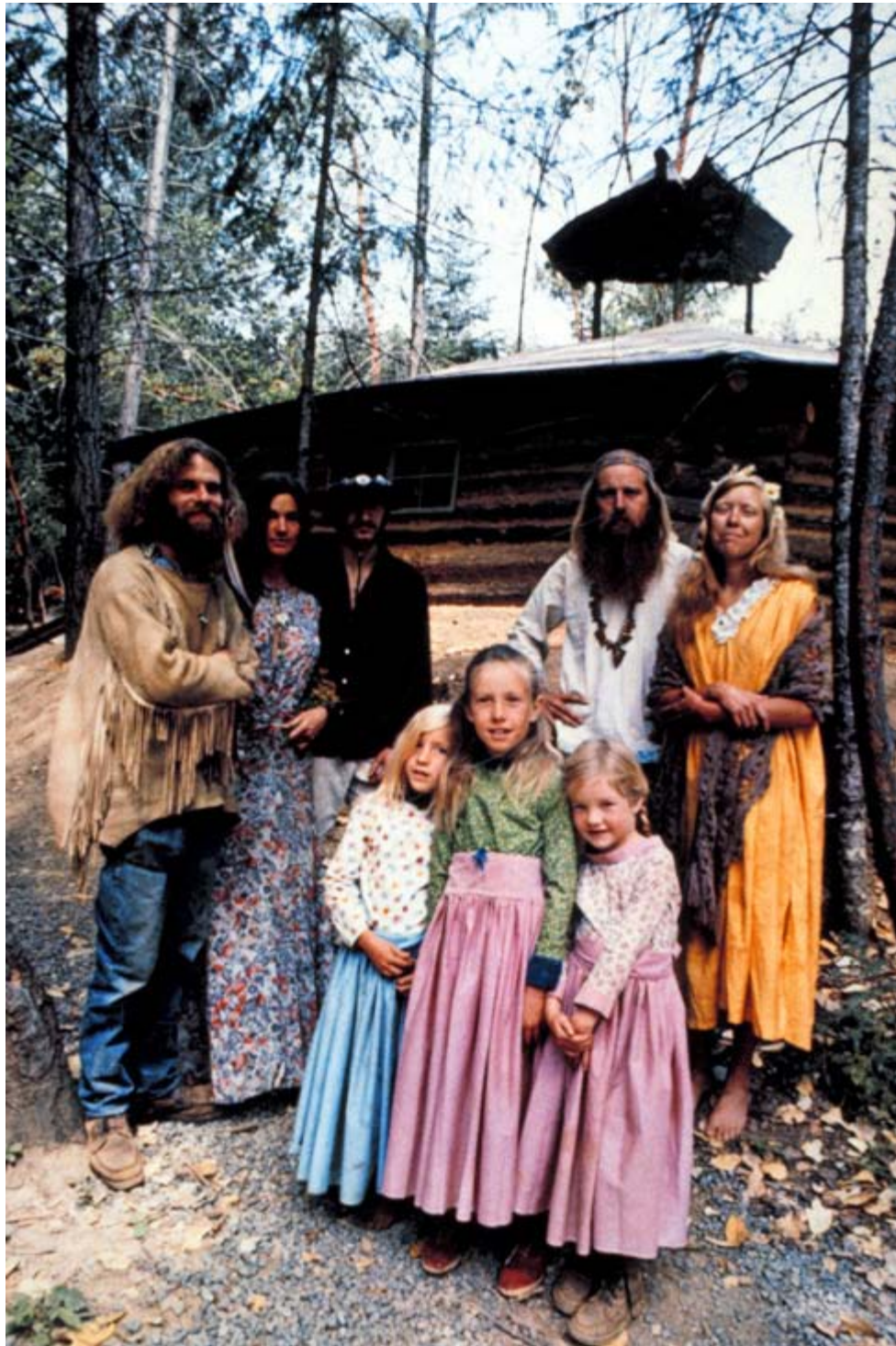
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Communes

Commune is one of many terms used to refer to communities in which residents share equally in the ownership of the property and most resources and all members contribute equally to the economics of the commune, typically through the division of labor; often, possessions are owned collectively. Other common terms for communes include *intentional community*, *cooperative*, *collective*, and *colony*.

Communes generally are distinguished as secular or religious and urban or rural. The establishment of most communal experiments in the United States, as elsewhere, has been motivated by the desire for a better way of life, either spiritually or economically, than that found in conventional society. By their very nature, therefore, most communes are countercultural entities. In attempting to identify distinguishing characteristics, however, it is essential to consider the motivation for their establishment, whether egalitarian, religious, or individualist-anarchist experiments.



Members of the Family of the Mystic Arts commune in Oregon pose in front of the home they built and shared in 1969. Hippie collectives, some of which remain in operation today, follow a long tradition of egalitarian, antiestablishment communes in America. (John Olson/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Secular, Egalitarian Communes

Egalitarian communes are based on the tenet that all members are equal within the society. Residents have equal access to all possessions, and all decisions are made by consensus of the group. Throughout the history of the United States, secular communes generally have been connected with a political or economic revolution, and many often existed only for a decade or less. Often, members within these communities are regarded with suspicion and are considered outcasts by those living in mainstream society.

From 1841 to 1847, the Brook Farm commune in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, established by transcendentalist and former Unitarian minister George Ripley, was one of the best-known egalitarian communes. The community was inspired by the socialist concepts of French philosopher Charles Fourier, who believed that it was necessary for people to share everything in order to enjoy a better lifestyle.

Fruitlands was another transcendentalist commune, founded by writer and educator Amos Bronson Alcott and abolitionist Charles Lane in Harvard, Massachusetts, in 1843. The social movements of the day—abolition of slavery, temperance, and vegetarianism—were espoused and practiced at the commune, which lasted less than two years. Though not successful as a secular communal experiment, the community was the subject of an interesting account written by Alcott's famous novelist daughter, Louisa May Alcott, in *Transcendental Wild Oats* (1873).

William H. Bennett founded two cooperative communes near Long Lane, Missouri. The first was the Bennett Cooperative Colony (1873–1877); the second was the Home Employment Cooperative Company (1894–1906). The latter was home to twenty members who referred to themselves as socialists, simply because they held all property and possessions in common. The cost of membership was \$300, and each member was required to work an eight-hour day. The 180-acre (73-hectare) property included houses, a store, a shingle mill, a broom factory, a barbershop, and a blacksmith shop.

Both of Bennett's cooperatives were established as a result of his dissatisfaction with Alexander Longley, who had organized the Friendship Community (1872–1877) near Buffalo, Missouri. Longley was one of five sons of a Universalist minister in Cincinnati, Ohio. Like Ripley, he also was inspired by the socialist concepts of Fourier. Eventually, Longley became disillusioned by Fourierism, moved his family to St. Louis, and began publishing *The Communist* (later renamed *The Altruist*). Many members of the Friendship Community, including Bennett, left because of Longley's desire to convert from Fourierism to Christian communism.

Secular communal societies were the ancestors of the antiestablishment communes prevalent in the United States during the late 1960s, whose inhabitants were dubbed "hippies" and were considered the epitome of the counterculture movement that rejected established institutions and vehemently opposed the Vietnam War. Many embraced Eastern religions, championed sexual liberation, and promoted the use of psychedelic drugs to expand one's consciousness. The largest enclave of hippies was established in the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco, and, by 1966, it was estimated that 15,000 hippies were living communally in the large Victorian apartments there.

The Twin Oaks Community, founded in 1967 on a 123-acre (50-hectare) tobacco farm in Virginia, is one of the most enduring egalitarian intentional communities in North America. About 100 residents live in eight large houses on the property. The houses are named after noted utopian communities of the past: Degania, Harmony, Kaweah, Morningstar, Nashoba, Oneida, Ta Chai, and Tupelo. The Twin Oaks Community is most noted for its hammock-making business and tofu factory. Some members are employed as computer programmers and construction workers. Many others labor within the community, tending the garden, preparing food, and cleaning the residences. Members typically work forty-two hours per week, for which they receive the basic necessities of food, housing, and clothing. Each member also receives medical care and a modest monthly allowance to be spent outside the community, which operates as a cashless society for members. As a secular community, Twin Oaks is religiously diverse; Christian, Jewish, Buddhist, and pagan celebrations all are observed. The anniversary of the community's founding, June 16, is celebrated as a holiday as well.

Two other communities are considered offshoots or daughter communities of the Twin Oaks Community: the Acorn Community, also located in Virginia, and the East Wind Community in the Missouri Ozarks.

Located 7 miles (11 kilometers) from Twin Oaks, on 75 acres (30 hectares), the Acorn Community was founded in 1993 as a result of overpopulation at Twin Oaks. Southern Exposure Seed Exchange, a mail-order seed business, is the primary source of income for the approximately twenty members living at the Acorn Community. The East

Wind Community, founded in 1973 on 1,045 acres (423 hectares) near Tecumseh, Missouri, owns and operates several businesses. The best known are East Wind Nutbutters, a nut-butter business; Slackjaw Drums, a drum-making industry; and Utopian Rope Sandals, a footwear enterprise. As in the parent community, members of the Acorn Community and the East Wind Community are required to work and hold all assets in common. In return for their labor, members receive food, clothing, housing, medical care, and a monthly allowance. Unlike the Twin Oaks Community and the Acorn Community, clothing is optional at the East Wind Community.

Ganas, another intentional commune of note, is located in the New Brighton section of Staten Island, New York. *Ganas* is a Spanish word meaning “motivation sufficient to act.” The commune was founded in 1979 and consists of ten partners who share ownership of ten houses and four commercial buildings that house retail stores. The focus is on recycling, and the stores sell used furniture and used clothing. The commune also includes an Internet café that sells organic espresso and used books. Seventy to eighty residents live in the houses at Ganas. In return, they either must pay rent or must work in the stores.

Religious and Spiritual Communities

Mother Ann Lee established the most successful and well-known religious communal society in the United States—the Shakers—in the 1770s. Officially known as the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, they were a radical offshoot of the English Quakers dubbed the “Shaking Quakers” by those outside the community.

The first Shaker settlement in the United States was located at Niskayuna (later Watervliet), New York, in 1776. The first organized community, however, was established at New Lebanon, New York, in 1787. Besides New York, the Shakers established communities in Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Maine, Ohio, Kentucky, Indiana, Georgia, and Florida. With their few remaining members living in a community at the Sabbathday Lake Shaker Village in New Gloucester, Maine, the Shakers today are recognized as the oldest surviving religious communal society in the United States.

Another successful religious commune was the Oneida Community, which flourished from 1848 to 1880 in Oneida, New York. Led by social reformer John Humphrey Noyes, the inhabitants at Oneida shared everything, including marriage partners. This practice of “complex marriage” was viewed by outsiders as adulterous and sexually immoral. In 1881, Oneida became a joint-stock company involved primarily in the production of flatware; the enterprise has continued to do business to the present day as Oneida Limited.

Another religious commune still in existence today, the House of David, was founded near the turn of the twentieth century. Established in 1902 by Benjamin Franklin Purnell, the House of David was known from the 1920s to the 1950s primarily for its barnstorming baseball teams (recognizable by their long hair and beards), which drew large crowds at amateur and semipro exhibition games around the country. At its peak, more than 900 members lived at the commune in Benton Harbor, Michigan. The group was also known for its world-renowned amusement park and zoo, which attracted as many as 200,000 visitors each season. As of the early 2000s only a few dozen members of the House of David still remained.

Founded in 1958 by Charles “Chuck” Dederich in Santa Monica, California, Synanon was one of the first and most infamous of what came to be known as the rehabilitation communes. Originally a drug rehabilitation program with an emphasis on spirituality and self-examination, Synanon began as a two-year residential program. However, Dederich, a recovering alcoholic himself, concluded that full recovery was never possible; thus, members could never graduate. Eventually, Synanon became an alternative community where members examined their lives and participated in group “truth-telling” sessions, which evolved from group therapy into social control, as members divulged their innermost weaknesses. Over time, women were required to shave their heads, men were forced to submit to vasectomies, and married couples were mandated to divorce. In an attempt to avoid paying taxes on the growing establishment, Dederich reorganized Synanon as the cultish Church of Synanon in the 1970s. After lengthy clashes with the Internal Revenue Service, Dederich faced charges of child abuse and tax evasion, and allegations of abduction, assault, and threats of violence were lodged against the facility or its members. Synanon

shut down permanently in 1989.

The Farm, a spiritual intentional community in Summertown, Tennessee, was established in 1971, when counterculture icon Stephen Gaskin led 300 hippies in a caravan of sixty buses, trucks, and vans from San Francisco to the Tennessee site. Members practice a so-called hippie spirituality, in which respect is shown to all religious practices and philosophies. They vow to hold all possessions in common and advocate pacifism, vegetarianism, natural methods of birth control, and natural childbirth. By 1979, 1,500 residents were living at the Farm. At the turn of the twenty-first century, there were approximately 200 residents.

Individualist-Anarchist Colonies

Another type of communal experiment, whose founding principle is contrary to that of the social or collective commune, is the individualist-anarchist colony. Rather than advocating joint ownership of all property and possessions, members of individualist-anarchist communities contend that property should not only be held privately, but that it should be disseminated through the open market.

Modern Times was an individualist-anarchist colony established in 1851 by Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews on 750 acres (304 hectares) at present-day Brentwood, New York. All land was bought and sold at cost. Members were paid for their labor in certificates rather than currency, and no one was permitted to make a profit. The certificates were used to trade for goods and services. Believing that crime was a result of man-made laws and authority, Warren refused to establish any penal system or police force in Modern Times. He spoke out against the institution of marriage as a social evil, and some members practiced polygamy. Pressure to conform to a less libertarian ideology resulted in the dissolution of Modern Times in 1864.

Other significant communes based on the principles of individualist anarchism were the Glennis Cooperative Industrial Company on Puget Sound in Washington (1894–1896), the Ruskin Commonwealth in Tennessee and later Georgia (1894–1901), and the Home Colony in Washington (1895–1919). The writings of Edward Bellamy were the inspiration for the founding of both the Glennis Cooperative and the Ruskin Commonwealth. Bellamy's best-selling novel, *Looking Backward* (1888), argued against capitalism and depicted a sweeping utopian reform that resonated with those espousing a new social order. When the Glennis Cooperative failed, three of its members— George H. Allen, Oliver A. Verity, and B.F. O'Dell— determined to create a new community for like-minded individualist anarchists, and the Home Colony was established near Puget Sound.

Both historically and presently, some communal ventures are a consequence of economic necessity, political or societal pressure, or religious obligation. The reasons for the establishment of a commune are as numerous and varied as the groups themselves. The universal constant in the success of any intentional community is the individual members' complete belief in and total commitment to the vision of the group.

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See also: [Alcott, Amos Bronson](#); [Anarchism](#); [Brook Farm](#); [Farm, The](#); [Hippies](#); [Lee, Ann](#); [Oneida Community](#); [Quakers](#); [Shakers](#); [Transcendentalism](#); [Vegetarianism](#).

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Communism

Communism is an ideology that advocates the abolition of class societies and the creation of a new social, economic, and political order in which people live free from class oppression and government authority. Communist doctrine is most closely identified with a particular interpretation of the theories of the nineteenth-century German thinkers Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels—that of Vladimir Lenin, Russian revolutionary theorist and founder of the Russian Communist Party. According to Lenin, communist society can come into existence only after a violent revolution to overthrow industrial capitalism. Such a revolution, he maintained, would require a radical consciousness on the part of workers, cultivated by a vanguard of party elite.

In 1917, with Russia suffering the depredations of World War I, a domestic faction called the Bolsheviks led an uprising that forced the abdication of Czar Nicholas II in March and replaced the provisional government that succeeded him with the first communist regime in world history in October 1917. Two years later, the Bolsheviks established the Communist International, dedicated to spreading the revolution throughout the world.

In a number of countries, socialists disaffected by their governments' participation in the war began to split off and form new communist parties. The United States was no exception, and an American communist movement was born in the years immediately following the war. Throughout the course of American history, however, a number of social and intellectual movements have existed that reflected some of the most important communist ideas, such as the breaking down of class distinctions.

Proto-Communist Ideas in the United States

During the period of territorial expansion and industrial development in the early to mid-nineteenth century, American social reformers set up experimental towns, such as New Harmony, Indiana, in which the population lived in a quasi-communistic fashion. Social labor was shared without regard to class distinction.

These so-called utopian communities were set up to exist outside the broader capitalist culture of the time. The inhabitants believed they lived according to a culture of sacrifice, sharing, and mutual assistance, one that was markedly different from the culture of personal acquisition, greed, and competition that characterized American society at large. Nevertheless, these utopian communities still functioned on a strong work ethic and sold their goods on the capitalist market.

Following the Civil War, the main thrust of communism in the United States was taken up by the nascent

socialists, who found their constituency in the growing industrial working class in Northern cities. The socialist parties of this period, such as the German Socialist Party, shared Marx's vision of creating a classless society. However, they also tended to argue that the goals of socialism could be best achieved through democratic politics and by working with labor unions to improve the working class's living conditions.

While many socialist parties retained a rhetorical commitment to revolution, they often tended to accommodate the growth of the capitalist system. American socialists from the 1880s to World War I tended to be either educated intellectuals who rejected the norms of the broader society or immigrant workers who were isolated from mainstream society and had experienced industrial conflict in their homelands.

In the early twentieth century, the American socialist and labor movements both underwent changes brought on by structural shifts in the capitalist economy itself. As capitalist production spread across the country and industry began to challenge agriculture for control of the economy, a large supply of unskilled labor became important to the development of American manufacturing.

An influx of immigrants created many organizational problems for the old craft unions of the American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the mainstream socialist parties—which mostly represented skilled workers from older immigrant groups. The older craft unions were unable to integrate these newer generations of unskilled workers, many of whom were not yet assimilated into American culture. New unions began to emerge that sought to represent the interests of all workers, while a burgeoning anarchist movement challenged the passivity of the established socialist parties.

The emergence of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW, or Wobblies) in 1905 was an important moment in this process. Many of the founding members of the American communist movement, such as John Reed and William "Big Bill" Haywood, were originally associated with the IWW. The Wobblies' belief in the principle of "one big union," an international body representing everyone who worked for a wage, put them at odds with the established unions of the AFL, which led to conflicts over organizing, strikes, and politics. Still, the IWW was much smaller than the AFL, and it tended to attract intellectuals, immigrant workers, and workers in the Western states.

Impact of World War I and the Russian Revolution

The direct spark for the development of a specifically American communist political movement came from Europe: the outbreak of World War I. Despite Marxism's assertion that working people across the globe shared the same fundamental interests regardless of nationality, many European socialist parties supported their nation's involvement in the war. This provoked a severe crisis in the global socialist movement, with many left-wing socialists breaking away from their respective parties to oppose the war. Almost overnight, new communist parties began to emerge in places such as Germany, Hungary, and Great Britain; these parties were based on the Bolshevik model, which had been responsible for the successful revolution in Russia in 1917.

In the United States, this movement began in 1919 with the expulsion of the Socialist Party's left wing from the party convention in Chicago. The left-wingers, led by journalist Reed, who had witnessed the Russian Revolution firsthand, promptly met to form a new party called the Communist Labor Party of America. Moreover, several communist-leaning elements associated with foreign-language federations broke away at about the same time to form the Communist Party of America. These elements, led by the Italian immigrant Louis C. Fraina, were mostly associated with immigrant workers.

Tension developed between the two new parties, as they debated which one was better able to lead the revolution in the United States. The members of Reed's Communist Labor Party were primarily Greenwich Village intellectuals or workers with a background in the craft unions. They argued that Fraina's party was too closely associated with immigrants to win the sympathy of American workers. Fraina argued that the revolution would depend precisely on these immigrant workers, many of whom had previous revolutionary experience in their homelands.

In 1919, the two parties sent delegates to the Communist International in Moscow, hoping to gain recognition from the Bolsheviks. Instead, the Communist International instructed the two parties to merge, a feat that was accomplished with some difficulty in 1921. The result of this merger, the early American Communist Party, was numerically small and made up mostly of intellectuals and immigrant workers. Its connection to the broader working class was tenuous at best, even though party members participated in strikes and agitated within the unions.

American Communists in this period, as they would throughout most of history, lived a life estranged from mainstream society, and their devotion to the cause of revolution and the class struggle became the defining characteristic of their lives. While many party members held jobs in the mainstream economy, they would not hesitate to uproot themselves and their families—for example, by changing careers or moving to a different city—for the greater good of society, which, in their view, demanded the proletarian revolution.

The situation of the early party was made even more tenuous by repression from the federal government. During the 1920s, U.S. Attorney General A. Mitchell Palmer led an effort to investigate, harass, and arrest Communists and suspected sympathizers. The so-called Palmer Raids took a heavy toll on the party. Many Communists were arrested and harassed, and many of foreign origin were deported or forced to flee the country.

During the 1920s and 1930s, the party went through a number of political shifts and several internal splits and factional disputes based on broader shifts in the world communist movement, such as the switch from opposing socialist parties to cooperating with them. Still, personal rivalries and theoretical differences specific to the United States played a part as well. These splits and cleavages came to define the movement and its adherents.

The Popular Front and Emergence of Trotskyism

In 1927, leadership of the American Communist Party (now the Communist Party USA, or CPUSA) passed to Jay Lovestone, a founding member of the party with a previous history in the Socialist Party. At this same time, James Cannon—the leader of a prominent faction opposed to Lovestone—attended the Sixth Congress of the Communist International in Moscow, where he encountered the ideas of Leon Trotsky. A coleader of the Russian Revolution and influential early polemicist, Trotsky had emerged as a strong critic of Stalin, who had taken over power in the Soviet Union following Lenin's death in 1924.

The party leadership, under orders from Moscow, expelled Cannon and his associates for their allegiance to Trotsky. Cannon went on to form the Communist League of America as the American wing of Trotsky's International Left Opposition to Stalin. The Left Opposition argued that Stalin's bureaucratization of Russia had turned the Soviet Union into a "deformed workers' state" and that a second political revolution in the Soviet Union had become necessary. The emergence of the Trotskyist movement marked the development of two alternative communist movements in the United States, which, despite their theoretical differences, played remarkably similar roles in American counterculture.

With the departure of Cannon's faction, the United States had a full-fledged Trotskyist party that competed with the original Communist Party. Although Cannon's party would undergo numerous splits and factional disputes of its own, Trotskyism has played an important part in the history of American communism over the years.

During the 1930s, the question of how Communists should organize the working class for the coming revolution and to what extent they should work within the existing unions was the subject of constant debate for both Stalinists and Trotskyists. For most of the Great Depression, the international communist movement argued that capitalism was collapsing, and the road to world revolution had opened.

The CPUSA responded by abandoning all work within the AFL and began an all-out attempt to organize broad industrial unions on a mass basis. Many Communists, regardless of their personal backgrounds, followed the policy of "going to the working-class" by taking factory jobs, so they could play a part in the formation of unions. During this period, the discipline of the party—whether Stalinist or Trotskyist—was paramount, as Communists

were expected to be willing to uproot their own lives and subsume their personal interests in order to follow the instructions of the party. For many, this might mean changing jobs, moving across the country, or even taking or leaving an intimate partner.

With the outbreak of World War II in 1939, the CPUSA followed the foreign policy interests of the Soviet state, which had signed a nonaggression pact with Nazi Germany. When Adolf Hitler attacked the Soviet Union in 1941, however, the Communist Party rallied to its defense and urged the American working class to support the war effort. Most of the Trotskyist groups also joined in support for the allied war movement. Across America, Communist and Trotskyist cadres found themselves on the same side once again, urging the working class to exercise labor discipline in the name of the war effort and recruiting young workers for the military.

These dramatic changes in policy, first supporting the Nazis and then becoming energetic recruiters for the Allied war effort, were characteristic of communist subculture throughout the twentieth century. As the needs of the Soviet state changed, so did the priorities, politics, beliefs, and entire worldview of American Communists.

Cold War Era

Following World War II, the Communist Party enjoyed a brief period of legitimacy, during which it was able to participate in American political life to a limited extent in coalitions with other parties. It played an important part in Henry Wallace's bid for president on the Progressive Party ticket in 1948, helping to organize and staff the campaign. However, this period came to a quick end with the emergence of the cold war between the United States and the Soviet Union, which put American Communists in allegiance with their nation's greatest enemy.

The right-wing political culture that dominated the United States in the 1950s drove Communists underground once again. Liberal groups who before had been willing to work in coalitions with Communists were no longer open to collaboration. The federal government began to require people to take loyalty oaths in order to qualify for public-service jobs, and Hollywood personalities suspected of sympathy to communism were blacklisted.

A Red Scare developed, led by Senator Joseph McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin. McCarthy set about to expose purported Communist infiltration of the U.S. government, recklessly ruining countless individual careers and instilling a witch-hunt mentality among the population. The fear that American Communists were divulging nuclear secrets to the enemy was a constant theme in popular culture. Communists reacted by developing a virtual siege mentality, where the fear of arrest and persecution was a paramount concern in local party cells.

By the time the Red Scare died down, the communist movement had suffered a tremendous toll. Numerous individuals had been imprisoned, countless people had had their careers ruined, and Communists Julius and Ethel Rosenberg had been tried and executed for divulging nuclear secrets to the Soviet Union.

Despite these difficulties, Communists of both orthodox and Trotskyist conviction played an important— if behind-the-scenes—role in the African American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. While many leaders of the nonviolent civil rights movement were reluctant to be identified with Communists, others—such as Black Muslim spokesman Malcolm X—openly collaborated with them. The popular African American singer Paul Robeson was criticized in mainstream media for his alleged communist sympathies during this period.

Robeson highlights an important feature of the communist counterculture throughout the twentieth century. During much of this period, Communists participated in cultural and artistic activity “as Communists.” In other words, attending a performance by Robeson or some other sympathetic performer was a symbol of one's commitment to the communist cause.

Local party cells organized such outings to help make communism more than a mere political affiliation, but a culture and way of life. The children of Communists were very much part of this movement; the phenomenon of so-called red-diaper babies was a central aspect of this period. Communists often sent their children to Communist Party youth meetings, classes organized by the party, and even summer camps. Being the child of a Communist at this time often meant being isolated from society at large and raised in a semicomunal fashion

along with other children of party members.

The 1960s and New Left

The emergence of the student protest movement of the 1960s was the most important event in the evolution of the American communist movement during the postwar period. As the student movement grew more radical, many activists turned to the teachings of Chinese communist leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung). The university-based Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) included a prominent Maoist-inspired faction. Groups such as the Weathermen and the Black Panthers began to argue for a strategy of urban guerrilla warfare against the state, based on Mao's ideas.

The emergence of Maoism in the 1960s added a new element to the communist counterculture. The American New Left focused less on the industrial working class and more on oppressed minorities as the driving force of the communist revolution. Therefore, the New Left appealed to the emerging generation of radical youth in ways that the Old Left could not.

Long-standing Communists now operated in a state of tension with the emerging counterculture. Many Old Left Communists rejected the new ideas of personal freedom and sexual libertinism as artifacts of a decadent capitalist society. Young New Left Communists, meanwhile, generally embraced the new cultural atmosphere—indeed, they were a driving force of it.

Owing primarily to the theory of strict party discipline that they took from Lenin, the CPUSA continues to function today, despite the demise of the Soviet Union. Several of the main Trotskyist groups also survive, although the relevance of both Soviet-style communism and Trotskyism to social emancipation has been increasingly called into question by a new transnational social movement opposing globalization.

In the early twenty-first century, it is unclear what role communism and communist ideas will play in the future of American counterculture. While many young activists implicitly and explicitly reference communist ideas in their opposition to globalization, they largely reject the strict party discipline. While it is likely that both the Communist Party USA and several Trotskyist groups will continue to play a role in organizing protests against war and globalization, they will likely remain as they are today: small political sects whose overall relevance to the broader movement for social justice is uncertain.

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See also: [Industrial Workers of the World](#); [New Left](#); [Socialism](#).

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Communitarianism

Communitarianism is a set of loosely associated philosophical and cultural commitments that place the value of community over—or at least on the same level as—that of the individual or any other political entity. Communitarians did not and still do not necessarily identify themselves by this term. The moniker derives from their diverse criticism of liberal philosophers who believe in the primacy of the individual. Instead of focusing on the individual, communitarians emphasize the social and shared nature of human existence and human experience. This collectivist outlook leads them to thoroughly reject the epistemological and ontological claims of philosophical liberalism on the grounds that it entails an unnatural, myopic focus on individual rights, duties, and obligations that are abstractly removed from the social contexts and communities in which people live their everyday lives.

Communitarians should not be confused with Marxists or communists, as they do not believe in submission to a centralizing or domineering political authority. Further, their belief in possibilities for social progress and mobility separates communitarians from many Marxists; communitarians do not hold strictly to the tenets of economic and historical determinism. Thus, they often find themselves at odds with both the cultural left and the cultural right on many social, economic, and political issues.

Communitarians entered the void between the mainstream, orthodox visions for political and social life. They attempted to redefine the questions that were being asked and tried to establish a new basis on which to judge the answers to these new questions, as well as preexisting ones.

The origins of the communitarian movement came about in the wake of the publication of John Rawls's *A Theory of Justice* (1971). The varied responses of more community-oriented political philosophers—including Alasdair MacIntyre, Michael Sandel, Charles Taylor, and Michael Walzer—centered on the ways in which Rawls misunderstood the self, devalued community, and tacitly promoted applying a universalistic perspective regarding modern Western values and ethics upon other societies.

Each of the aforementioned authors sought to respond to the dominant liberal tradition that Rawls had codified by publishing volumes in the 1980s that criticized the orthodox liberal assumptions about individuals and their relations to others. These philosophers illustrated the importance of communal ties and traditions to the social life of individuals. However, the books they produced were not the work of a cohesive movement and, although at points their writing was compelling, many of their arguments created strange bedfellows for theorists interested in justice. For example, the Indian caste system was used to illustrate what another form of justice could be.

Some of the criticisms leveled by the communitarians fell away as the philosophical conversation dubbed the “liberal versus communitarian debate” became increasingly more political. Yet the allegations of Rawls's having an atomistic understanding of the individual and claiming universal applicability of Western values to all populations despite their different histories and traditions prompted him to respond. Rawls's 1993 work, *Political Liberalism*, addresses some of the concerns germane to a more socially oriented conception of the individual. In his 1999 book, *The Law of the Peoples*, Rawls answers critics who allege that he sought to universalize his ideas beyond the traditions in which he grew up and lives. In the later volume, Rawls makes clear that the ideas he advocates may not be applicable to all social groups and political entities around the globe.

Communitarians hold to the view that if the world valued community more than it presently does, it would be a vastly different and significantly better place for everyone. Even without a unified communitarian philosophy, these various critics of the liberal status quo dared to ask questions that stepped out of the traditional boundaries of liberalism and represented a counterculture to the mainstream of political philosophy.

Their efforts have brought greater prominence to books, studies, and other initiatives that address concerns about the state of community in the United States and abroad. The impact of communitarian philosophy has been felt in a wide range of instances, from the political maneuvers of Bill Clinton's first presidential campaign, to protests against the World Trade Organization, to local efforts to cut polluting emissions when the federal government will not act.

There are, however, many unresolved questions about communitarianism. Chief among these is what the boundaries of communities will be in the future. From a communitarian perspective, how will evolving electronic communities shape future conceptions of individuality and community? How will communities come to interact with each other if there is no universal platform for judging human rights? How will conflicts among these groups be resolved when they have less and less common ground from which to carry on a dialogue?

Despite these looming questions, it is clear that communitarianism will continue to remain relevant to political theory for decades to come. What is less well known is if it will achieve its aim to re-center political discussions altogether and whether it will have an impact in the realm of everyday governance. The legacy of communitarianism lies in seeking a different path to a better future—a path that acknowledges and honors the importance of the social bonds that individuals have from the moment they are born.

Aaron Cooley

See also: [Communism](#).

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Con Artists

Con artists, also called grifters, swindlers, and hustlers, are professional, master manipulators who take advantage of unsuspecting subjects often referred to as “marks.” Their goal is to take advantage of the confidence of their marks using deception and exploitation. Grifters reject conventional standards of behavior by intentionally misleading a person or persons, generally of lesser skill or knowledge, with the goal of financial or other gain. Thus, the world of con artistry is a counterculture predicated on acquiring quick money from unsuspecting subjects using a variety of criminal activities.

The fundamental tenets of grifting have been seen throughout the course of American history. Con artists seek to exploit human weaknesses, such as greed, vanity, naiveté, and paranoia, as well as human compassion. Classic con artists are driven by a need to illustrate to the world how clever they are in terms of the meticulous planning and execution of their cons. Some of the most common forms of grifting in the United States and elsewhere are identity theft and impersonations, real estate and investment fraud, and various e-mail scams.

Grifting in America flourished during the nineteenth century. William Thompson, one of the first well-known con artists of the nineteenth century, was arrested and brought to trial for his scams in 1849. During the trial, the *New Orleans Picayune* used the term *confidence man* to describe Thompson’s character and his use of illegitimate

means to acquire personal property and material wealth. Such were his skill and persuasiveness that he could befriend strangers and walk off with their watches.

Another notorious swindler of the nineteenth century, financier Daniel Drew, built his financial empire on hustling cattle and fraudulent railroad deals. The term *watered stock*, or artificially inflated company shares, derived from Drew's scam of having his cattle drink water to gain weight before he sold them.

The counterculture of con artistry became more pervasive in the United States with the rise of mass media, such as radio, television, and the national press, in the twentieth century. Arrests for scams and schemes of all kinds were on the rise, with some kind of hustle seemingly associated with every major historical event and emerging trend, fad, or invention. In the 1920s, there were Florida real estate scams and Ponzi schemes, named for Charles Ponzi, who duped thousands of New England residents into investing in a postage stamp speculation plot. By the 1970s, popular Christian ministers, such as the Reverend Jimmy Bakker, used their television shows to exploit ministry members. As the twenty-first century began, scams to get monetary compensation on the part of persons who claimed to have survived the September 11, 2001, attacks on the World Trade Center were revealed. The biggest con of all was revealed in 2008, when Wall Street investor Bernard Madoff was arrested for what was described as a Ponzi scheme that bilked investors for some \$50–\$60 billion; Madoff pleaded guilty in March 2009 and was sentenced to life in prison.

One of the most pervasive cons of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries is identity theft, in which the grifter steals the identity of an individual (often in the form of a Social Security number, credit card number, or Web site password) and uses it to make purchases, execute transactions, or otherwise benefit illegally. Among the most notorious impersonators of recent decades is Frank Abagnale, a self-confessed con man who has paraded as a pilot, doctor, lawyer, and professor. He is best known for check forgery, as portrayed in the 2002 motion picture *Catch Me If You Can*, acquiring millions of dollars from various banks across the United States.

As in the past, today's con artists generally live as transients, which affords them the opportunity to use the same or similar scams on different marks. Many embrace a distinctive grifting lifestyle, forgoing a regular paycheck and the commitments of a mortgage and family. By the time a scam is discovered, the grifter often has escaped social, physical, and legal sanctions. Thus, a con artist's mobility is a functional behavior pattern that allows him or her to elude capture and evade punishment.

As ever, today's grifters rely on naive individuals who place their confidence in "get-rich-quick schemes" and believe what is "too good to be true." Some of the most-practiced cons of the twenty-first century are mortgage and investment frauds. Through the first quarter of 2006, according to the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), mortgage-fraud cases in the United States increased approximately 92 percent over 2003. Another common scam is one known as "phishing," which uses the modern technology of the Internet. Phishing allows the con artist to reach a very large number of individuals in a short amount of time. The grifter communicates with the mark by e-mail, pretending to represent an organization or company doing business with a bank or other financial institution, in order to extract personal information that can be used later to steal money. The e-mail messages are formatted exactly like those from the actual company. They ask the mark to "verify" personal information regarding an account—information that actually gives the grifter access. Thus, with all its benefits and conveniences, the Internet also serves as a vehicle to exploit unsuspecting marks, costing American citizens and companies more than \$100 million a year.

Grifters also rely on cultural and economic trends as cornerstones for modifying, improving, and developing new hustles. As the material artifacts of mainstream culture change, the counterculture of hustlers and the art of grifting remain ever-evolving forces in society.

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Conceptual Art

Conceptual art, also known as idea art, refers, primarily, to art produced during the 1960s and 1970s that eschewed the material and manner of execution and attached primary importance to its underlying concept and ideation. During this period, artists in North America, Europe, and Latin America sought to change the parameters of art production in order to subvert the political and economic systems surrounding it. Conceptual artists sought to break down the hierarchy of conventional media and to emphasize the role of the viewer in the production of meaning.

Conceptual art was not without precedent. In the early twentieth century, the Dadaists, and particularly Marcel Duchamp, questioned the valuation of the art object. Duchamp's "readymades" challenged the definition of art as he selected objects such as a bicycle wheel or a urinal and declared them art. They not only destroyed ideals of beauty and uniqueness but identified art as an intellectual rather than a material endeavor. By displaying his readymade objects in conventional exhibition spaces, Duchamp further questioned the monetary value assigned to art.

In the 1960s, American artists resuscitated Duchamp's ideas. Robert Rauschenberg was an early practitioner of conceptual art, but it was not until Sol LeWitt published the article "Paragraphs on Conceptual Art" in 1967 that the term and the aesthetic gained widespread attention. That year, Joseph Kosuth exhibited photographed dictionary definitions in his series *Titled (Art as Idea as Idea)*, while Lawrence Weiner radically forwent the production of any object at all, considering the conception of the artistic idea to be the completed project.

By ascribing greater importance to communicating an idea than to producing an art object, conceptual art had the potential to alter fundamentally the systems of art reception. Conceptual artists took over the role of the art critic, intellectually framing their own ideas rather than producing objects for a critic's evaluation. Conceptual art thus gave priority to the artist's intentions and made known the intellectual premise of the work, rather than favoring mere appearance. Conceptual artists, again following the example of Duchamp, also depended on the viewer as an active participant in the production of meaning.

The primacy of the idea made documentation a key component of conceptual art. On Kawara produced a continuous documentation of his daily life in *I Got Up* (1970), a series of postcards recording the time and location of his morning rising. Hans Haacke researched social structures and business transactions to highlight sociopolitical issues. His *Shapolsky et al...* (1971) included data sheets, photographs, and charts, revealing the

business practices of a New York slumlord.

Not definable as a true movement, conceptual art encompassed a wide range of media. By emphasizing the artist's idea over its material realization, conceptual art leveled the hierarchy of artistic media and took such disparate forms as paintings, found-object sculptures, photographs, films, live performances, and musical scores. The legacy of conceptual art endures in work by Martin Creed, Jenny Holzer, Barbara Kruger, Sherrie Levine, and many others.

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Conroy, Jack (1898–1990)

John Wesley “Jack” Conroy was a working-class author and editor who wrote about the struggles of workers from the 1920s through the 1960s. Although he enjoyed only limited commercial success, Conroy encouraged and mentored future generations of radical writers. During his lifetime, he remained true to his Midwestern roots, a fact finally embraced by his hometown when Conroy was near the end of his life.

Conroy was born in Monkey Nest, near Moberly, Missouri, on December 5, 1898. His father had studied for the priesthood before becoming a miner and labor union organizer. The elder Conroy was killed in a mine explosion in 1909, along with Jack's older brother and two half-brothers. Conroy's mother remarried when Conroy was thirteen. Her new husband was an alcoholic who could not support the family.

Also in 1911, Conroy began working in a Wabash Railroad car shop in Moberly and joined two railroad workers' unions, serving as recording secretary in one local. With no time to finish his formal education, Conroy read widely. He was greatly influenced by the classics republished by E. Haldeman-Julius in the Little Blue Books series.

By the time the United States joined World War I, Conroy was a devoted pacifist and opponent of capitalism. Nonetheless, he attempted to enlist in the U.S. Army but was turned down because of a heart murmur. After a brief time at the University of Missouri, he returned to his job in Moberly, only to be thrown out of work by the Great Railroad Strike of 1922.

Conroy spent the next five years riding the rails, working at menial jobs, and listening to other members of the working class talk about their lives, their hardships, triumphs, and dreams for the future. Such accounts provided the basis for many of Conroy's writings, such as *The Disinherited* (1933), an autobiographical novel that follows the adventures of a young man from a Missouri mining town as he travels around the country looking for work during the Great Depression.

In 1927, Conroy began writing on behalf of the disgruntled working class. Unlike other authors and intellectuals who were sympathetic to the plight of the American proletariat, Conroy could draw on his own experiences and family history. His first poems and essays soon began appearing in radical Midwestern magazines such as

Pegasus and *Northern Light*. Even as he coedited publications like *Spider*, *The College Radical*, and *Unrest: The Rebel Poets Anthology for 1930*, Conroy continued to work at factory jobs to support his family.

Conroy's writings garnered increasing attention, especially after his piece on unemployment appeared in the prestigious *American Mercury* in February 1931. H.L. Mencken, the magazine's editor, encouraged Conroy to continue writing about the workers' plight and their folklore, with a dash of Conroy's wry humor. The result was his most important novel, *The Disinherited*. Although it sold less than 3,000 copies, *The Disinherited* was praised by critics and influenced other radical writers.

Conroy continued his editorial work during the 1930s, founding the leftist journals *The Anvil* (1933–1937) and *The New Anvil* (1939–1941). Support from the American Communist Party provided a steady readership, although Conroy refused to align himself with the party. He encouraged and published unknown left-wing writers, such as Nelson Algren, Meridel Le Sueur, and Richard Wright, whose influence later became widespread.

He wrote a second novel in the proletarian genre, *A World to Win* (1935), during the Depression. It followed the lives of two half-brothers, one a laborer and the other an intellectual. Although separated early, the brothers are eventually reunited. The story is an allegory for Conroy's belief that America needed both elements to prosper, as well as his desire to combine them in his own life. The novel, however, was panned by critics and ignored by readers.

Conroy was employed by the Works Progress Administration in the late 1930s on various projects, including industrial folklore narratives and a study of rural black migration to Northern urban centers, *They Seek a City* (1945). He also lectured on folklore at a number of universities during the 1950s and 1960s, including schools in Alabama, Oregon, Minnesota, and Pennsylvania. To provide a steady income, he wrote for *The American Peoples' Encyclopedia*, a reference work intended for the general public and sold by Sears, from 1943 to 1966.

Asked to resign from his encyclopedia job in 1966, he returned to Moberly. In 1985, the city celebrated Jack Conroy Day in honor of its radical, and most famous, son. Conroy died on February 28, 1990, two years after suffering a debilitating stroke.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Communism](#).

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Conscientious Objectors, Draft Dodgers, and Deserters

Military conscription, or compulsory enlistment in the armed forces, has been a controversial—and, at times, volatile—issue during the course of U.S. history as it has placed in direct conflict two core American values: patriotism and individual freedom. Although most Americans have accepted their service obligations in times of

national need, a substantial minority have opposed, evaded, or, in other ways, resisted them.

Methods of avoiding military service have included conscientious objection, outright draft dodging, and desertion. A conscientious objector (CO), according to the Selective Service System, “is one who is opposed to serving in the armed forces and/or bearing arms on the grounds of moral or religious principles.” In 1971, the U.S. Supreme Court restricted CO status to persons morally or religiously opposed to *all* wars, not a specific one. CO status may “not be based on politics, expediency or self-interest” and requires proof of a pattern of previous behavior consonant with CO beliefs.

The most common illegal method of resisting military conscription—or draft dodging—is simply to ignore one’s induction notice and either hide from the authorities or leave the country, a frequent practice during the Vietnam War. Others avoid the draft legally. Some join the National Guard or Reserves, while others procure draft deferments or exemptions. Deferments and exemptions are granted to persons who support dependents, work in jobs considered essential by the government, pursue higher education, or have physical or psychological conditions that preclude service.

Finally, deserters are persons inducted into the armed forces who then refuse to serve or who go absent without official leave (AWOL). Punishments for desertion have varied but may include the death penalty.

Early Resistance

Each time the United States has imposed a military draft (generally during wartime), it has incited opposition that reflects fears of government tyranny or conscientious objection to bearing arms. Some colonial governments conscripted men into local militias, which provoked resistance from religious pacifists such as Quakers, Mennonites, Amish, and Moravians. Even among the general population, conscription was unpopular during the American Revolution. Several colonies, including Pennsylvania and Rhode Island, allowed young men to avoid conscription by paying a fee.

Desertion was a more serious problem. An estimated 20 to 25 percent of colonial soldiers went AWOL annually during the Revolution. Indeed, desertion remained an issue for the nation’s all-volunteer force during the War of 1812 and the Mexican-American War of 1846 to 1848; annual desertion rates ranged between 7 and 15 percent.

The first national drafts occurred during the American Civil War, in both the Union and the Confederacy. Only about 2 percent of Union soldiers were conscripted, however, and another 6 percent were paid substitutes. Even so, the draft was opposed by pacifist religious groups, communal utopians, civil libertarians, and those who refused to fight for a cause they did not support. In July 1863, passage of federal legislation making able-bodied men between the ages of twenty and forty-five eligible for induction led to the bloody New York Draft Riots, in which more than 300 people died.

The Union draft law was especially controversial because the wealthy could buy their freedom by paying a \$300 fee or hiring a substitute. In the Confederacy, the price was \$500; additionally, one slaveholder or overseer was draft exempt for every twenty slaves.

As the conflict progressed, desertion rates rose. Officially, the Union listed a total of 278,000 deserters (11 percent of its armed forces), while the Confederacy counted 104,000 (10 percent). The actual figures were probably higher.

When the Civil War was over, the reunited nation returned to an all-volunteer military for the next half century. AWOL rates remained high, especially for the U.S. Navy, but the total number of desertions was relatively low, because the armed forces were so small (approximately 27,000).

In 1917, during World War I, the U.S. government reintroduced conscription by creating local draft boards; a total of 2.8 million men were eventually drafted. The administration of President Woodrow Wilson dealt harshly with opponents of the war, but the federal government did set up a system for conscientious objectors to serve in

noncombatant roles. About 4,000 draftees registered as COs, primarily as religious pacifists. About half performed in noncombat roles; 2,000 refused any service.

The government inducted draft resisters and then subjected them to military justice, such as courts-martial, for desertion. Although government statistics vary, approximately 21,000 servicemen were deserters by the standard definition. After conviction for desertion, 17 resisters were sentenced to death, 142 were sentenced to life in prison, and 600 received other long-term prison sentences. Those who went to prison often were mistreated and even tortured.

Conscription ended with the war in 1918. A period of widespread isolationist and pacifist sentiment followed. The War Resisters League, made up of men and women who had opposed U.S. participation in the Great War—many of whom had gone to jail—was founded in 1923.

In preparation for World War II, Congress enacted the Selective Training and Service Act of 1940, which required that men between the ages of twenty-one and thirty register with local draft boards. A total of 10.1 million American men ultimately were drafted under the legislation. The act also created the Civilian Public Service (CPS), which set up 152 camps for 12,000 COs to perform “work of national importance,” such as fire fighting and forestry projects. Nevertheless, some 5,500 COs—overwhelmingly Jehovah’s Witnesses—refused any and all service; most received prison terms averaging forty-two months.

Meanwhile, desertion rates had reached 6 percent by 1944. During the course of the war, a total of 21,000 military personnel were sentenced for desertion, although only one—Private Eddie Slovik—was executed for it.

Post-World War II

In 1948, after a one-year hiatus, Congress reenacted military conscription, which continued through the cold war, until 1973. The Selective Service System made all men from ages eighteen to forty-five eligible for military service and created the 1-W category for COs, who served in noncombatant positions, mainly in hospitals. Manpower demands declined after the conclusion of the Korean War in 1953. By 1962, for example, only 76,000 men were drafted, whereas 1.7 million received deferments or exemptions.

From 1965 to 1973, the Vietnam War brought a major increase in military conscription: A total of 1.9 million young men were drafted into the U.S. armed forces. The draft itself became a central issue in the cultural conflicts of the late 1960s. Conservatives supported mandatory military service as a national necessity and patriotic duty. The youth counterculture, political left, and other opponents of the war opposed the draft as an immoral infringement on personal freedom and a vehicle of American imperialism. Draft evasion and resistance became commonplace. Although most draft evaders avoided conscription by obtaining exemptions or deferments, more than 100,000 young men avoided service illegally; many fled to Canada.

Many draft dodgers evaded conscription for personal rather than political or religious reasons. Open defiance of the draft, on the other hand, was closely correlated with opposition to the war itself. As the strategy of the New Left shifted “from protest to resistance,” antiwar demonstrators led by the War Resisters League and other groups burned draft cards, blocked troop trains, and harbored draft resisters and deserters. The draft also was seen as unfair, because it affected minorities and the poor (less likely to have student deferments) disproportionately.

The volatility of military conscription lessened after 1969, when troop call-ups declined, the number of deferments was reduced, and a more equitable lottery system—by which the likelihood of conscription was randomly associated with one’s birth date—was instituted. Nevertheless, desertion rates soared. In 1971, for example, the armed services reported 79,000 AWOL cases (7 percent).

Although conscription ended in 1973, disagreements between conservatives and liberals about the draft helped fuel the so-called culture wars of the 1970s and 1980s. In 1977, conservative Republicans and others denounced Democratic President Jimmy Carter for granting amnesty to Vietnam draft evaders and deserters. In response, the Carter administration reinstated draft registration in 1980. Nevertheless, Republicans continued to impugn the

patriotism of Democrats by associating them, especially President Bill Clinton, with draft evasion during the Vietnam era. This strategy was undermined somewhat by the fact that some prominent, right-wing Republicans had themselves avoided military service as young men.

The U.S. invasion of Iraq in 2003 brought renewed attention to the issues of military conscription, conscientious objection, draft resistance, and desertion. Democratic congressman Charles Rangel of New York called for reinstating the draft, because he believed that members of the working class, who were disproportionately minorities, were bearing the brunt of an all-volunteer war. The unpopularity of the draft and of the war itself made that idea politically untenable. Indeed, the hardships of the Iraq War raised desertion rates to their highest level since 1980. From 2003 through 2009, the armed services counted more than 15,000 deserters.

George Rising

See also: [Draft, Military: Vietnam War Protests.](#)

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Consciousness Raising

Consciousness raising (CR) is a process in which people share and examine their own experiences to learn about the context of their lives in society. Consciousness-raising groups attempt to increase members' self-awareness of a moral or social issue with a view to encouraging them to take action and educate others. Originating in the women's liberation movement, consciousness raising helped women understand that matters of sexuality, marriage, divorce, and job discrimination were not individual, personal issues but indicators of society's systematic oppression of women. Although CR first entered the women's movement's dialogue, it later became part of the broader counterculture. CR is a practice still used in quests for social and political action.

Although CR groups were pioneered in the late 1960s by New York Radical Women, a proto-feminist organization formed to discuss and take action against women's oppression, Betty Friedan's groundbreaking book, *The Feminine Mystique* (1963), was the primary catalyst of the consciousness-raising movement. In it, Friedan outlined, for the first time, the feelings of desperation and depression experienced by countless women, because the only roles available to them were as wives and mothers. Friedan described how women felt relegated to the home, doubted their self-worth, and were particularly vulnerable to depression. The book resonated with millions of American women, who realized that their own experiences were not isolated but part of a cultural problem.

As early as 1966, women came together in discussion groups they called "rap sessions" or "bitch sessions," but it was not until the 1970s that consciousness-raising groups as such became a widespread phenomenon. The

consciousness-raising phenomenon swept the United States, as untold thousands of women joined small groups to discuss their common experiences as women in a patriarchal society. Through CR, women enacted the connections between the personal and the political, building on their shared life experiences to encourage social and political change. CR adherents were, according to the Chicago Women's Liberation Union, the "backbone of the women's liberation movement." The majority of consciousness-raising groups adhered to a structure that formed a safe haven for women to voice all manner of opinion and experience. By 1972, the National Organization for Women (NOW) had outlined the purposes of consciousness raising, primarily to encourage communication and to break down barriers between women. By sharing personal experiences, rather than speaking abstractly on women's issues as a whole, women would begin to understand the collective and political nature of their problems.

NOW issued a list of suggested topics—such as puberty, adult sexuality, marriage, divorce, and employment—one of which would be the central topic of discussion at a CR meeting. During the meetings, each woman was allowed to speak on the topic at length without interruption; testimonies were not to be criticized, praised, or otherwise evaluated. Any discussion in the CR meeting was assumed to be confidential, so women could freely express themselves without fear of reprisal. It was hoped that, in this isolated and nonjudgmental atmosphere, women would develop strong bonds and raise their awareness of collective oppression.

While embraced by many in the women's movement at large, the process of consciousness raising was derided by others in the early days as trivial or nonpolitical. While there existed radical CR gatherings and groups interested in racial or lesbian politics, the vast majority of women drawn to consciousness raising came from a white, middle-class background and did not necessarily consider themselves feminist. Through consciousness raising, it was hoped, women might not only transform their own lives but act as agents of change in society as well.

While the history of consciousness raising has been associated primarily with the women's liberation movement, the concept has been employed by other countercultural groups as a tool of enlightenment. CR played a central role in the Free Speech, antiwar, and environmental movements of the 1960s and 1970s, for example, and their efforts to educate the general public about various issues and concerns. Advocates of the contemporary environmental movement seek to raise public consciousness regarding potential threats and thereby stimulate public action.

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See also: [Feminism, Second-Wave.](#)

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Conspiracy Theories

Conspiracy theories are mythologies or narratives that individuals and societies construct and embroider, based on little or no hard evidence, to make sense of a frequently confusing and chaotic world. Whether to explain the assassination of political leaders or the displacement of workers stemming from globalization, conspiracy theory narratives typically suggest that the events and trends of history reflect the secret efforts of cabals of powerful, and generally unaccountable, behind-the-scenes string-pullers. According to the narratives, those who are “in the know” about any given conspiracy usually represent the only hope of exposing the evildoers’ machinations to the world at large, thereby restoring order to the universe.

Garden of Conspiracy: A Thousand Flowers

Conspiracy theories are as numerous as they are diverse:

The ancient and secretive Masonic Order, whose members included a number of the nation’s founding fathers, rules the world from behind the scenes, as it has done for centuries. The ancient order of the Illuminati has similarly dominated civilization from the shadows since the time of the ancient Egyptians. The Jewish people seek complete control of the global economy, a theory set forth in a rabidly anti-Semitic—and forged—document known as *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* (1903) and perpetuated ever since.

An extraterrestrial spacecraft crashed at Roswell, New Mexico, in 1947, and civilian and military authorities have conspired ever since to conceal the alien corpses collected at the site. The Apollo program’s lunar landings were faked, an idea that remains evergreen, despite repeated and thorough debunking. The U.S. government is hiding evidence that extraterrestrials constructed huge monuments on Mars.

President John F. Kennedy was killed by a conspiracy involving the Central Intelligence Agency and organized crime, with assassin Lee Harvey Oswald merely playing the role of a patsy. President Bill Clinton and First Lady Hillary Rodham Clinton had their friend and confidant Vince Foster murdered, disguising the deed as a suicide in order to cover up this and other crimes. The U.S. government is establishing a leftist totalitarian regime, heralded by fleets of ominous black helicopters, and the only hope for freedom lies in the hands of the militia/survivalist movement. And the U.S. government (or the Israelis, take your pick) actually carried out the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001.

Propagation

Like religions and religious sects, conspiracy movements often develop their own scriptures, in the form of specialized tracts, books, Web sites, and blogs. Conspiracy “priests” have arisen in the mass media to spread and reinforce the gospel. Talk radio personalities Rush Limbaugh and Michael Savage, for example, have promulgated right-wing conspiracy notions for years, while radio host Art Bell is known for disseminating conspiracies involving UFOs, extraterrestrials, and the paranormal. Thanks to his 1991 film, *JFK*, director Oliver Stone is an icon for those espousing any of the numerous conspiracy theories that have arisen to explain the assassination of President Kennedy.

Like the related phenomenon of urban legends, the generation of conspiracy theories is not confined to any one social class or political persuasion, though paranoia is often a common denominator. Sociologists and folklorists sometimes refer to the paranoid worldview as “conspiracism,” described by social critic Frank P. Mintz as “serv[ing] the needs of diverse political and social groups in America and elsewhere. [Conspiracism] identifies elites, blames them for economic and social catastrophes, and assumes that things will be better once popular action can remove them from positions of power. As such, conspiracy theories do not typify a particular epoch or ideology.”

Researchers Chip Bertlet and Matthew N. Lyons define the essence of conspiracism as “a particular narrative form of scapegoating that frames demonized enemies as part of a vast insidious plot against the common good, while it valorizes the scapegoater as a hero for sounding the alarm.” Political commentator Christopher Hitchens places

the phenomenon in a somewhat more opportunistic framework, defining conspiracy theories as “the white noise which moves in to fill the vacuity of the official version.”

Indeed, most conspiracy theories arise from the confluence of public distrust of the prevailing power structure, a paucity of real information to counter that distrust, and the tendency of the human mind to recognize—as well as its bias to create—patterns, even among unconnected data points. The terror attacks of September 11, 2001, which played on all of these factors, thus added more fuel to the fires of conspiracism than any other event in memory.

Paradoxically, conspiracy theorists tend to shun traditional methods of political organization or broad coalition building, thereby marginalizing themselves and rendering unlikely the very societal changes they claim to desire. This predilection likely relates to the necessary tendency of conspiracy theories to explain their own lack of objective supporting evidence—a phenomenon that gives rise to a narrative seamlessess that often makes the alleged conspirators all but untouchable, if not downright omnipotent. Such paranoia-driven narratives provide the faithful with a built-in excuse for being inactive, other than engaging in the self-sustaining act of gathering additional data about the supposed conspiracy.

Real Conspiracies

Largely owing to their conspicuous lack of supporting evidence, most conspiracy theories tend to be treated as disreputable. Therefore, characterizing any assertion as a “mere conspiracy theory” is often an effective way to discredit both an idea and its articulator. Indeed, most conspiracy theories fall apart when examined critically. Nevertheless, many examples of real conspiracies exist, with far-ranging consequences:

Governmental collusions enabled both Adolf Hitler and Joseph Stalin to kill millions in the mid-twentieth century. The Federal Bureau of Investigation’s anticommunist Counter Intelligence Program (COINTELPRO) activities degenerated into an authoritarian conspiracy against peaceful political dissent, including the placement of agents as provocateurs inside the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other anti-Vietnam War groups during the 1960s. The burglary of the Democratic Party’s office in the Watergate Hotel complex and the subsequent cover-up attempt by President Richard M. Nixon really did take place in the early 1970s. Ronald Reagan administration officials illegally sold arms to Iran to finance a secret guerilla war in Nicaragua in the 1980s, in defiance of the U.S. Congress and Constitution. A “vast right-wing conspiracy,” such as that described by Hillary Rodham Clinton, did indeed encourage and enable Bill Clinton’s impeachment in 1998–1999, with financial backing from billionaire newspaper publisher Richard Mellon Scaife.

National Security Agency operatives have collaborated for decades with the World Bank to maneuver Third World nations into handing over their natural resources to multinational corporations. Automakers, oil producers, and tire manufacturers conspired to kill public transportation in post-World War II Los Angeles. General Motors conspired with the oil industry to destroy hundreds of clean, fuel-efficient electric cars in California during the late 1990s. The oil industry manipulates its refinery capacity to keep the price of gasoline artificially high. Corporate criminal conspiracies, such as the accounting frauds that brought down the Enron Corporation and Arthur Andersen LLP, were commonplace in the early 2000s.

The secretive, libertarian Federalist Society was strongly represented in the Department of Justice and judicial branch during the presidency of George W. Bush. And few can deny the influence of political dirty tricks, vote tampering, and other forms of fraud on the outcome of American elections at every level of government for centuries.

Conspiracism and Popular Culture

Pollster John Zogby reported in 2006 that 42 percent of Americans believed that the 9/11 Commission was guilty of a cover-up. In 2004, a Zogby poll showed that half of New Yorkers believed that President Bush had advance knowledge of the September 11 attacks. Whether describing truth or not, such theories bespeak a remarkable

lack of public confidence in the “official line” on the subject.

Since conspiracy narratives such as these have had such a profound effect on the national psyche, it is no surprise that similar notions have pervaded American popular culture for decades. Robert Shea and Robert Anton Wilson’s *Illuminati!* novels began chronicling the dark deeds of the world’s secret rulers in 1975. Dan Brown’s 2003 novel, *The Da Vinci Code* (and the 2006 film of the same title), posits that the Knights Templar still exist in modern times, and that they protect the secret of an extant ancestral bloodline leading back to Jesus Christ. A common theme in television series such as *The X-Files* (1993–2002) and *The Lone Gunmen* (2001) is that all manner of UFO-and occult-related phenomena are true, but the information is obscured by a web of government (and sometimes alien or paranormal) intrigue. The film *Conspiracy Theory* (1997) depicts a paranoid New York City taxi driver (played by Mel Gibson) who discovers that the various conspiracy theories he has constructed over the years are indeed real.

Despite their ubiquity in American culture, most conspiracy theories are built on a fatally erroneous assumption about the real efficacy of conspiracies. As historian Bruce Cumings puts it, “if conspiracies exist, they rarely move history; they make a difference at the margins from time to time, but with the unforeseen consequences of a logic outside the control of their authors: and this is what is wrong with ‘conspiracy theory.’”

Michael A. Martin

See also: [COINTELPRO: UFOs](#).

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Cooperatives, Consumer

Consumer cooperatives constitute an alternative form of merchandise distribution that uses a combination of shared ownership and membership governance to allow a group of like-minded citizens to control how they purchase goods. Through the democratic control of a commercial enterprise such as a grocery store, consumer cooperatives empower their members to have a greater say in the products available, to exert more influence on

the working conditions of retail, manufacturing, and agricultural labor, and to voice their collective concerns over social issues such as environmental sustainability.

Through open, voluntary organizations in which citizens accept rules of membership and either one-time or recurring financial investments, consumer cooperatives have allowed the evolving American counterculture to critique the inequality and competitiveness inherent in free-market capitalism for nearly 200 years. At the same time, they have provided members with a method of binding themselves together to communicate a desire for progressive change in American political, social, and cultural values.

Cooperatives in America began as early as 1752, with Benjamin Franklin and the Philadelphia Contributionship, a mutual fire insurance association, and they have been present in European and American society since the beginnings of industrialization. Robert Owen, a Welsh factory manager, labor advocate, and outspoken critic of laissez-faire economics, came from England to found the New Harmony community in Indiana in 1825; he promoted the social and economic benefits of cooperative living before Congress and in cities across the country. The model for what became the modern consumer cooperative was the Rochdale Society of Equitable Pioneers, founded partly by Owenites in Rochdale, England, in 1844. It legally registered a store, incorporated a set of fundamental cooperative principles into its charter, and is still in operation.

The first consumer cooperatives in the United States were begun by farmers. By the late nineteenth century, labor unions such as the Knights of Labor, as well as farmers' groups such as the National Grange and the Farmers' Alliance, had established numerous merchandise stores in order to supply essential goods to their members at shared costs, while providing consistent markets for local producers. These early American attempts largely failed as the populist tide subsided and with the demise of the Knights of Labor.

By the end of the century, however, with continued economic and labor strife, cooperative ideas again garnered attention from intellectuals and social activists, such as economics professor and prominent progressive thinker Richard Ely. In 1922, the Capper-Volstead Act finally legalized farmers' cooperatives.

Strengthened by the interest of Russian, Jewish, Finnish, and other immigrant groups, the ranks of consumer cooperatives grew again after the turn of the twentieth century, including several with pronounced radical political agendas, such as the Jukola cooperative in Virginia, Minnesota. The Cooperative League of America formed in 1916, and cooperatives gradually became less class conscious, although still politically left-leaning, and more concerned with consumer and democratic control.

The Great Depression witnessed a surge in consumer cooperatives, particularly in areas with a history of back-to-the-land movements and cooperative settlements, such as rural New England. For example, the Hanover Food Co-op of Hanover, Vermont, has been in continual operation in a region sympathetic to cooperative enterprise since it was founded in 1936.

That same year, the famous writer, muckraker, and political activist Upton Sinclair published *Co-op: A Novel of Living Together*, and cooperatives were an integral part of the End Poverty in California (EPIC) programs, the platform for his nearly successful California gubernatorial campaign. EPIC inspired numerous buying clubs across the state, including the first co-ops in Berkeley, and local EPIC clubs sprang up around the nation.

During the Depression years, community organizations and labor union members launched a majority of the 2,400 co-op stores tallied by the government in 1936, although city and suburban neighbors also joined. With more than 330,500 members, consumer co-ops were responsible for 1.5 percent of all retail sales nationally during the 1930s.

After World War II, cooperatives in all sectors began consolidating, and the numbers of consumer cooperatives again dwindled. However, the possibility that cooperatives offered of locally controlled, countercultural alternatives to corporate business and their rebuke of the perceived materialism and conformism associated with middle-class affluence led to their receiving renewed attention from political and cultural radicals during the 1960s.

Consumer cooperatives attracted young leaders, such as antiwar activist and longtime editor of *Cooperative Grocer* magazine David Gutknecht and consumer food advocate Ronnie Collins, as well as interest from more radical groups such as the Black Panther Party. Art Danforth, prolific writer, peace activist, and expert on the legal and financial aspects of consumer cooperatives, helped younger organizers integrate cooperatives into the growing counterculture movement taking shape.

Meanwhile, universities began establishing research institutions devoted to developing cooperatives. For example, the University of Wisconsin Center for Cooperatives was established in 1962, and numerous other university cooperative extensions followed suit.

By the early 1970s, a new generation of consumer cooperatives emerged. These tended to be much more centered on lifestyle choices, often embodying aspects of New Age culture, alternative and homeopathic medicine, and the increasingly influential natural and organic foods movement. Many, such as the Sevananda Natural Foods Market, founded in Atlanta in 1974, also published alternative journals and began aggressive consumer education efforts. The Wedge Natural Foods Co-op, also founded in 1974, has become an institution in Minneapolis, Minnesota, contributing money to nonprofit and community organizations through donations and grants. The Weavers Way Co-op, founded in 1972 in Philadelphia, expanded beyond selling groceries from its storefront in a historic neighborhood to include an organic farm, coffee shop, and pet supply store. These new-generation cooperatives relied on strong member investment and commitment to counteract weakening farm and industrial sectors and to address growing concerns over product safety and environmental degradation.

Despite the renewed popularity of consumer cooperatives, several stores soon experienced severe financial distress, with several closures during the 1980s and early 1990s, while more centralized, national cooperative businesses, such as REI (for Recreational Equipment, Inc.), the Seattle-based outdoor-equipment retailer, continued to grow and expand their services. In response, national organizations such as the National Cooperative Business Association and the National Cooperative Grocers Association began trying to unite cooperatives across the United States in order to establish more, and more financially secure, consumer cooperatives.

Alongside larger consumer cooperatives, such as REI, are the hundreds of local cooperative market stores, farmers' markets, and wholesale buying clubs, such as Costco and Sam's Club, that persist and grow in number every year. Consumer cooperatives are found throughout the United States and increasingly in the Pacific Northwest, although they are most prevalent in New England and the upper Midwest states.

Joshua Youngblood

See also: [Cooperatives](#), [Producer](#).

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Cooperatives, Producer

Producer cooperatives are a means for farmers and manufacturing labor to assert greater control over the distribution and sale value of their goods while ensuring that essential goods and supplies are available and affordable to the producers themselves. Often included in the radical political agendas of labor unions and utopian reform movements, producer cooperatives represent an effort to strike a balance between the interests of the farmers and workers who make consumer goods on one side, and the business interests that most often profit from the sale of those goods on the other. Producer cooperatives have served prominent roles in counterculture movements at different stages in American history, such as the populist uprising of the late nineteenth century. Other producer cooperatives have found acceptance in mainstream society; the most successful ventures have survived and flourished by embracing a more centrist commercial image.

During the 1830s, protective trade unions established cooperatives to resolve work floor disputes and to procure fair prices for the work of craftsmen and artisans. This early movement for labor cooperatives did not survive the turbulent economic trends in the decades before the American Civil War. During the 1860s, however, the Knights of Labor formed a broad-based collection of trade and labor unions, and the organization employed cooperative strategies to help workers; this effort represents one of the most radical attempts to reshape American society by empowering the ranks of labor. More than 500 cooperative workshops and factories were in operation in the three decades after the Civil War, before the collapse of the Knights of Labor in the 1880s. The Knights of Labor was the last large-scale effort to use cooperatives as a method of labor reform in the United States.

In 1867, Oliver H. Kelley, a government employee living in Washington, D.C., started the Grange (now the National Grange), a Masonic-inspired network of local organizations that promoted self-help and coordination among farmers. The organization quickly spread across the Midwest and South, with a total of more than 25,000 local Granges founded during the 1870s. The Grange sponsored cooperative farmer-run stores and established grain elevators, central warehouses, and wholesale centers.

After the economic recessions of the 1870s, including the devastating Panic of 1873, and growing political unrest among farmers, the Farmers' Alliance was founded in Texas in 1877, gaining strong support among economically depressed farmers throughout the South and Midwest. The Farmers' Alliance employed traveling lecturers and organizers who set up cooperatives and suballiances to coordinate seed and equipment and to ensure that farmers had affordable access to basic necessities. Emphasizing the need for farmers to retake the agricultural economy from business interests, the Farmers' Alliance, according to one strain of historical assessment, offered a countercultural critique of national trends. The United States, they believed, was becoming ever more urban, materialistic, and disrespectful of the self-sufficient, republican ideal on which the nation was founded.

Emerging out of protests in the South over the crop-lien system, the Farmers' Alliance was overtly political and more radical than previous farmer organizations. By the 1890s, it had laid the groundwork for a national wave of populism and the significant, if short-lived, political challenge to the two-party system by the People's Party.

With the rise of the farmers' union movement at the turn of the century, led by less radical organizations, such as the American Society of Equity (established in Indiana in 1902), the Farmers' Educational and Cooperative Union (founded in Texas in the same year), the National Farmer's Union, and the American Farm Bureau, there were more than 14,000 cooperatives operating in the United States by 1920.

In 1922, the Capper-Volstead Act recognized the right of farmers to produce and market their products cooperatively. It reflected a growing acceptance of producer cooperatives as a reasonable form of economic combination (in contrast to business "trusts") that successfully helped sustain farmer livelihoods.

Cooperatives were integral to helping farmers survive the Great Depression of the 1930s, although tenant farmers and sharecroppers in the South were among those hardest hit by falling crop prices and incomplete federal measures to protect landless farmers and unskilled workers. New Deal banking measures, in addition to national cooperative financial and organization institutions, helped ensure that producer cooperatives had access to the resources they needed to continue providing essential services to farmers and agriculture processors.

After World War II, producer cooperatives became more centralized, with most smaller regional cooperatives swallowed by consolidation. During the 1950s and again in the 1970s, agriculture co-ops amalgamated resources for bringing their products to market, including the costs of supply distribution and marketing in addition to the actual growing and processing.

By the 1970s, cooperatives were plagued by problems, as they attempted to evolve strategies to compete against monolithic corporations and vertically integrated firms with networks of subsidiaries, joint ventures, and outsourced labor. Since the late twentieth century, producer cooperatives have explicitly reinfused core principles into their organizations, including the goals of saving family farms and reducing environmental impact in the hope that cooperative ventures can again offer a more socially responsible alternative to unfettered corporate capitalism.

The Frontier Natural Products Cooperative, founded in 1976 and located in Norway, Iowa, is jointly owned by its wholesale customers. It has carved out a unique place among producers catering to the demands of the post-1960s counterculture by offering products as diverse as gourmet cinnamon and a full line of aromatherapy oils. The company promotes the sustainable cultivation of herbs and plants both in its home fields and in environmentally endangered regions around the world, where many of the medicinal herbs originate.

The Organic Valley Family of Farms, founded in Wisconsin in 1988, has formed a nationwide network of dairy and meat producers that have successfully competed in the expanding market for organic foods. It has stayed true to its central purpose of protecting small family farms by facilitating the cooperative marketing of high-quality goods through the most sustainable and equitable means possible.

Producer cooperatives providing specialty products such as beer, herbal tea, and natural cosmetics have achieved success since the mid-1970s by responding to the natural food and alternative lifestyle markets, while traditional producer cooperatives, such as Land O'Lakes, founded as the Minnesota Cooperative Creameries Association in 1921, and Sun-Diamond Growers, continued to utilize cooperative structures and producer ownership to compete in a modern marketplace increasingly dominated by multinational corporations.

Joshua Youngblood

See also: [Cooperatives](#), [Consumer](#).

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Coyote, Peter (1941–)

Peter Coyote is an American actor, voice-over artist, and arts advocate who began his career in entertainment as a member of a politically radical street theater troupe in San Francisco, became an active member of that city's counterculture from the mid-1960s to the mid-1970s, and established himself as a dependable Hollywood character actor in the 1980s. Since then, he has lent his distinctive voice to documentaries, television commercials, and audiobooks, while writing, maintaining ties with the counterculture, and continuing his long-standing practice of Zen Buddhism.

Robert Peter Cohon was born on October 10, 1941, in Colver, Pennsylvania, to Morris Cohon, a businessman, and the former Ruth Fidler. He attended Grinnell College in Iowa and graduated in 1964 with the intention of becoming a writer. To that end, he entered the creative writing program at San Francisco State University, only to be bitten by the acting bug.

After a brief stint at the San Francisco Actor's Workshop, Cohon joined the San Francisco Mime Troupe, a company founded in 1959 and dedicated to political satire. He was soon cowriting and directing many of the Mime Troupe's productions, including the controversial *The Minstrel Show, or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel*, which toured nationally and earned the cast jail time at some stops along the way.

Back in San Francisco, Cohon was a founding member of the Diggers. This group of self-described "community anarchists" was an underground social service organization that helped provide free food, housing, and medical care for young runaways during the Summer of Love and later established a chain of communes. Cohon remained active in the San Francisco counterculture and was a member of the Black Bear Ranch commune in Northern California until the mid-1970s.

Returning to the cultural mainstream, in 1975 he became a member of the California State Arts Council, where he proved to be a successful budget reformer and ultimately was elected chairman. Unable to resist the lure of acting, Cohon returned to the stage in 1978, and, two years later, he gained notice in the world premiere of Sam Shepard's *True West* in San Francisco.

Taking the name Peter Coyote (out of sympathy for the shamanistic role of coyotes in Native American beliefs), he embarked on a screen-acting career that has spanned seventy films and numerous television shows. His most famous early role was as Keys, the scientist trying to track down the alien in *E.T.: The Extra-Terrestrial* (1982). Other films in which he has had roles include *Heartbreakers* (1984), *Jagged Edge* (1985), and *Erin Brockovich* (2000).

Throughout his acting career, Coyote has remained both a writer and a political activist. During the Cuban missile crisis, Coyote and eleven other college students went to Washington, D.C., to support President John F. Kennedy's peace initiative, and the commander in chief invited them into the White House. Coyote also has been a delegate to the Democratic National Convention and has contributed essays to *Mother Jones* magazine. His autobiography, *Sleeping Where I Fall* (1998), includes a number of his articles and stories.

Of his spiritual practice, Coyote has said, on a number of occasions, “I’m a student of Zen Buddhism first, an actor second. If I can’t reconcile the two lives, I’ll stop acting.”

D.K. Holm

See also: [Film, Independent](#).

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Crumb, Robert (1943–)

Robert Crumb is an American cartoonist, musician, and collector of early Americana who is widely regarded as the father of the underground comic book movement that began in the mid-1960s. His work has been widely praised by serious art critics, and his contributions to mainstream American culture include such characters as Fritz the Cat and Mr. Natural, and the catchphrase “Keep on truckin’.”

Crumb was born on August 30, 1943, in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, to Charles Crumb, Sr., a Marine and later a management consultant, and the former Beatrice Hall. The family moved frequently because of the senior Crumb’s military career, and Robert Crumb lived in several of America’s major cities before the age of eighteen. He drew comics from an early age, at first under the tutelage of his older brother Charles, Jr. (he committed suicide in 1994). The brothers began producing comic books together, which they would sell door-to-door and later at school. Many of the characters Crumb created at this time, he later revisited as an adult cartoonist.

After high school, Crumb went to work for American Greetings in Cleveland, writing and illustrating gift cards. Dissatisfied with corporate life, contemptuous of modern American culture, and eager to pursue his own creative instincts—admittedly enhanced by the use of LSD—he abruptly moved to San Francisco in 1967. Living on the fringes of the hippie community, Crumb began to publish his own comic book series, beginning with *Zap Comix* in 1968, which he sold on the street and through “head shops” (which sold drug paraphernalia) and comic book stores.

Drawn in black and white with color covers, Crumb’s underground comics announced an instantly recognizable style (a thick line, extensive use of crosshatched shading, outrageous subject matter, and confessional stories) that has remained consistent throughout his career. Conventional comic books of the time featured animal characters, superheroes, and war heroes, among other types, and they were published by corporations that showed little regard for their artists. Crumb showed that the genre was flexible and could be used for almost any subject matter, from sexual fantasy to autobiographical tales of his political and romantic life. His instincts were correct: Crumb’s comic books proved especially popular among counterculture readers, and he became an iconic figure to hippies, college radicals, and aspiring artists.

After his most prolific period, from the late 1960s to the early 1970s, Crumb moved to rural California, where he continued to draw and publish comics but at a quieter rate. A divorce, tax problems, and the loss of legal rights to his popular *Keep on Truckin’* cartoon were major distractions, as was his cessation of drug use. By the 1980s, his

creative outlet was the magazine *Weirdo*, which he founded and edited for its first several issues. Sometime after 1988, he moved to France.

After several years outside of the mainstream, Crumb was suddenly prominent again thanks to the documentary film *Crumb*, by Terry Zwigoff, a friend of Crumb's. Released in 1994, the film chronicles Crumb's unusual family history, his obsession with playing and collecting 78-rpm records of early African American jazz and blues, and his move out of the United States. At the same time, Crumb's work began to appear in such mainstream publications as *The New Yorker*, for which he did several cover illustrations. In 1987, the Seattle-based comic book publisher Fantagraphics began issuing a multivolume collection of Crumb's work in chronological order, along with reprints of his sketchbooks.

More recently, Crumb has taken to painting and sculpture, and art galleries around the world show both his comic book work and his newer art. He continues to live in rural France with his second wife and his daughter, where he produced a comic book version of the book of Genesis, published in 2009.

D.K. Holm

See also: [Comics, Underground.](#)

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Cults

The word *cult*, from the Latin *cultus* (to care for), traditionally refers to the system of beliefs, rituals, and observable practices of any community of religious believers. With the surge in what many religious scholars call “New Religious Movements,” or NRMs, in the 1960s and 1970s, the term *cult* began to take on a more ominous meaning.

Counterculture and the Redefinition of *Cult*

Pejorative use of the term dates at least to the publication of a book titled *Chaos of the Cults* (1934) by Jan Karel

Van Baalen, an evangelical Christian who made an association between new and alternative religious beliefs and social decline in America. His ideas remained relatively obscure until 1965, when Christian theologian Walter Martin published *The Kingdom of the Cults*. Inspired by Baalen's connection between cults and social decline, it became a national best seller.

The growing disdain for NRMs on the part of conservative Christians and others corresponded with the growing diversity of spiritual belief and experience in the United States during the 1960s. The Immigration and Nationality Act of 1965 had opened the door to religious and cultural traditions that were new to mainstream American society and intriguing to many, especially with the rise of the youth counterculture. Meanwhile, the ever-increasing mobility of the American people was weakening more traditional, locally based religious communities. As a result, many young Americans began exploring a new diversity of religious beliefs and practices.

From the asceticism of Eastern Buddhists to the hedonism of free love and psychedelic drug use, spiritual experimentation took place alongside the political and social manifestations of the counterculture. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, a series of high-profile media events involving NRMs forced the new spiritual diversity—and the term *cult*—into the public spotlight. Journalists began to use *cult* to refer to the New Religious Movements many in mainstream America found threatening.

In August 1969, Charles Manson and fellow members of a group called the Manson Family were arrested for the murders of actress Sharon Tate and six others outside Los Angeles. A minor musician and participant in the L.A. counterculture scene, Manson had controlled his so-called family, made up mostly of young women, by means of drugs, fear, and cult teachings about God and the devil—to the point that they committed the murders at his direction, without his direct participation. The group's communal lifestyle, drug use, and heinous ritual crime quickly forged an association in the minds of many Americans between the counterculture and the dangers of cults.

One of the first NRMs to face public scrutiny in the new environment was the Unification Church, or the "Moonies," founded by the Reverend Sun Myung Moon in South Korea in 1954. Seeking to promote international Christian ecumenism, Moon exported his growing movement to other nations in Asia during the 1960s and to the United States in 1971. With nationwide speaking tours, he managed to launch himself into the spotlight. The church soon began facing accusations of brainwashing adherents, leading to publicity for rescue attempts on the part of cult-fearing family members. Moon's conviction on tax-evasion charges in 1982 contributed to the tarnishing of the group's reputation. However, the National Council of Churches, among others, viewed the prosecution as harassment.



The Unification Church of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon was among the most popular of the “New Religious Movements” of the 1960s and 1970s that came under scrutiny for purported kidnapping, brainwashing, and other “cult” practices. (Stephen Jaffe/AFP/Getty Images)

Although the Moonies were known for their conservative politics, most so-called cults were strongly associated with the counterculture left. The World Plan Executive Council, the institution associated with the transcendental meditation (TM) movement, gained a wide following among the hippies of the 1970s. Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, who brought the movement to America, was a controversial Hindu spiritual figure catapulted to fame when the Beatles rock group joined him as followers in 1967. As other left-wing celebrities of the time experimented with TM, its popularity was reflected in the founding of some 3,600 “World Plan Centers.” Regarded by some mainstream Americans as a cult that risked psychological damage to practitioners, TM remained in and out of the media spotlight through the 1980s.

Also associated with George Harrison of the Beatles, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), or the Hare Krishna movement, gained a significant following in the 1960s. Its followers live a close-knit monastic life and practice a kind of ecstatic worship. Partially based on the teachings of a sixteenth-century Bengali spiritual figure, ISKCON was founded in New York City in 1966 by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada, who had immigrated to the city in 1965 and became a guru to local hippies. Under the direction of its charismatic founder, the Hare Krishna movement expanded rapidly and continued doing so even after his death in 1977. Today, the organization claims a wide following in more than fifty countries.

Among the most enduring and high-profile NRMs often referred to as a cult, the Church of Scientology has been one of the most controversial and beleaguered religious organizations in the United States. Founded in the early 1950s by popular writer L. Ron Hubbard in Los Angeles, the movement began as a philosophical self-help system called Dianetics. The system is based on Hubbard’s book *Dianetics* (1950), in which he outlines a method for resolving emotional distress and improving the quality of life. A religious dimension was added with the publication of his *Science of Survival: Simplified, Faster Dianetic Techniques* in 1951, and the Church of Scientology was formally established in 1954. Membership grew steadily throughout the 1970s and 1980s, and neither controversies surrounding the movement—including run-ins with the Internal Revenue Service and the Federal Bureau of Investigation—nor Hubbard’s death in 1986 has diminished the popularity of this NRM.

The Anti-Cult Movement

Perhaps the single most significant event cementing the religious counterculture and cult violence in the minds of many Americans was the murder and mass suicide of members of Jim Jones's Peoples Temple. On November 18, 1978, in the South American country of Guyana, the charismatic leader of the California-based group orchestrated the deaths of over 900 people.

Beginning in the early 1950s, Jones emerged as a self-taught preacher who mixed communist ideals with a Pentecostal framework focused on faith healing. As a small church in Indianapolis, the Peoples Temple pursued goals of social justice and founded a social service center for the homeless. Preaching a gospel of social and racial integration, the group began gaining media attention in 1964 and moved to California the following year.

Linking his prophetic brand of religiosity to politics, Jones insisted that his followers give up their normal lives to opt out of the capitalist system, which was seen as the source of social injustice. Amid growing rumors of his control of members and a cult-like aspect to the group, Jones founded a communal "utopia" in Guyana and ordered the mass migration of his followers in 1977. Conflict, especially regarding the treatment of children, began to increase soon after the resettlement.

Former members, concerned family members of adherents, and other Temple opponents joined to form the group "Concerned Relatives" in an effort to retrieve children that were born in Jonestown. After writing an open letter to the U.S. Congress asking for help, they held public demonstrations.

When a former member returned from Jonestown and suggested that the group might be preparing for mass suicide, Congressman Leo Ryan (D-CA) took up the cause. Framing it as an anti-cult expedition, Ryan flew to Jonestown with four members of Concerned Relatives and a cadre of reporters. At Jonestown, Jones organized a grand media event to demonstrate the success of his commune. During the visit, however, two members secretly handed a note to one of the reporters that read, "Help us get out of Jonestown." The next day, U.S. embassy officials began to organize the exit of the two signers of the note. Soon, other followers expressed a desire to leave.

Ryan, the four Concerned Relatives, and sixteen Peoples Temple members left Jonestown for the local airstrip in a small truck. As the group began boarding planes, members of the Temple emerged with guns and started shooting. Ryan, three reporters, and a defector were shot dead. Meanwhile, back at Jonestown, Jones exhorted his followers to drink cyanide-laced punch. Only four members of the commune escaped alive.

Publicity surrounding the event gave rise to the anti-cult movement as a powerful force on the American scene. Frightened parents whose young adult children had become involved in alternative living groups of many stripes sought ways to rescue their loved ones from perceived danger. Often aided by conservative Christian organizations and thinkers, support groups were established to fight anything resembling a cult. Individuals such as Rick Ross of the Cult Awareness Network (CAN) maintained that charismatic leaders brainwashed impressionable college-aged youths, who needed to be forcibly removed from the cult environment and deprogrammed.

Growing from grassroots meetings, national organizations—such as the American Family Foundation, Christian Research Institute, Watchmen Fellowship, and Spiritual Counterfeit Project—emerged to combat cults into the late 1990s. At first, they were highly successful at bankrupting NRM institutions by winning civil suits. Slowly, however, the legal tide began to turn against them. When Rick Ross abducted and attempted to deprogram a member of United Pentecostal International, a civil suit ensued. Ross and CAN were found to have conspired to thwart the individual's right to religious freedom. The damages awarded by the court bankrupted CAN.

In an ironic turnabout, the Church of Scientology—a longtime target of CAN's attacks—purchased the bankrupt organization. The name and resources of CAN were used to create the Foundation for Religious Freedom, with a newsletter and board of directors composed of individuals with different religious beliefs.

Despite the transformation of CAN, several extreme cases have kept the negative connotations of the term *cult* active. In 1993, for example, a break-off sect of the Seventh-Day Adventists known as the Branch Davidians became trapped in a gun battle with federal agents at their compound in Waco, Texas. The incident resulted in the deaths of more than eighty people. And in March 1997, thirty-nine members of a New Age NRM called Heaven's Gate committed ritual suicide in a wealthy suburb of San Diego, California, under the belief that their souls would be transported by an alien spacecraft following the Comet Hale-Bopp.

At any given time, according to scholars, thousands of NRMs are operating across the United States. UFO groups such as the Unarians in El Cajon, California, are known for their outlandish events and festivals. The Raelians advocate religious freedom and more open attitudes toward sexuality. The Yearning for Zion (or YFZ) Ranch, a polygamous sect owned by the Fundamentalist Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints, was raided by Texas law enforcement officials in April 2008 after authorities removed more than 400 children on suspicion of forced marriages, incest, and abuse. The media began referring to the YFZ Ranch as a polygamous cult, even as state authorities faced criticism for their handling of the situation.

Some NRMs, like the Hare Krishnas, Scientologists, and others, can be understood as peaceful advocates for views on religion and spirituality that are merely outside the mainstream. Many commentators warn that the mindless labeling of an NRM as a cult represents an unfair deprivation of religious freedom and a violation of American principles. On the other hand, observers cite abundant examples of cult-like groups that commit serious breaches of the law and pose a physical or psychological threat to individuals.

Robert Glenn Howard

See also: [Branch Davidians](#): [Hare Krishna](#): [Manson Family](#): [Moonies](#): [Peoples Temple](#): [UFOs](#).

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Cummings, E.E. (1894–1962)

Best known as a poet, E.E. Cummings devoted his life to the creative arts as a painter and an author of poems, plays, novels, and a ballet. He published more than 900 poems and twenty-three poetry volumes. Throughout his career, he remained at the forefront of modernism, a countercultural artistic movement that arose in Western Europe during the late nineteenth century.

Edward Estlin (E.E.) Cummings was born on October 14, 1894, in Cambridge, Massachusetts, to Harvard University sociology professor Edward Cummings and his wife, Rebecca. He attended Cambridge Latin high school, where he published in the school paper, the *Cambridge Review*. Cummings received his bachelor's (1915) and master's (1916) degrees at Harvard, where his poetry appeared in *Harvard Monthly* and where he became interested in the avant-garde works of authors such as Ezra Pound and Gertrude Stein.

After the 1917 publication of *Eight Harvard Poets*, coauthored with John Dos Passos and other schoolmates, Cummings's first major appearance as a poet was in the first issue of the resurrected publication *The Dial* in 1920. His first book of poetry, *Tulips and Chimneys*, was published in 1923.

Like many other writers and artists of the modern period, Cummings was acutely aware of the relationships between various forms of artistic expression. The innovations of the cubists and futurists influenced his own paintings, in which he employed abstractions to evoke emotion. This fragmented style carried over into his poems. Cummings experimented with new forms and ideas. He played with punctuation, spacing, and typography, believing that the formation of the poems on the page is often essential to understanding the meaning. The themes of his poems range from nature and love, sometimes with sexual references, to the invisible spirit world and to war and politics.

In form, style, and subject matter, many of Cummings's poems shook up the puritanical sensibilities of 1920s America and shocked critics. Some of his poems evoke childlike wonder, while others are sharply satirical. He often used verse as a platform for his leftist political leanings and criticisms of modern consumer society. "My country, 'tis of you," he wrote, "land of Cluett/Shirt Boston Garter and Spearmint Girl... Land above all of Just Add Hot Water And Serve."

During World War I, Cummings volunteered for the ambulance corps in France and fell under the suspicion of authorities for letters home that criticized the conduct of the war. He spent four months in an internment camp in Normandy on suspicion of treason, which he later documented in the fact-based novel *The Enormous Room* (1922). A staunch pacifist, Cummings also opposed armed conflict throughout World War II, despite the overwhelming nationalism and patriotism of the United States and its allies.

Cummings's personal life was outside the norm. He had a daughter, Nancy, in 1919 with Elaine Orr Thayer, the wife of his friend Scofield Thayer. The three agreed that Thayer would be named the baby's legal father, although Elaine divorced Thayer and married Cummings in 1924. That marriage lasted only a few months, and Cummings failed to win custody of the child, who did not learn that Cummings was her biological father until 1948. From 1929 to 1932, Cummings was married to Anne Barton. After his divorce from Barton, Cummings had a relationship with model, actress, and photographer Marion Morehouse; they referred to each other as husband and wife, but there is no official record of their marriage.

Cummings focused his later years on traveling and giving speaking performances. He died on September 3, 1962, at his New Hampshire farm.

Caren Prommersberger

See also: [Cambridge, Massachusetts](#).

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Cushman, Charlotte (1816–1876)

Charlotte Cushman was a famous nineteenth-century actress celebrated for being one of the first native-born stars on the American stage. She was also an avid patron of the arts and an early feminist. During a time when women were being forced to do work beneath their capabilities, Cushman was known and respected for contributing both emotional and financial support to many of her fellow female performers and for motivating them toward more autonomous lifestyles. Physically, professionally, and personally, Cushman served as an example of unconventionality and helped to inaugurate a strong and creative feminine force against the patriarchal social standards that encompassed American culture throughout the 1800s.

Cushman was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on July 23, 1816, the eldest of three children. She was reared by her mother and grandmother, who raised their families almost completely without paternal influence. Cushman's first public appearance was on March 25, 1830, in a singing recital at the age of fourteen. This choral debut led to her discovery by Robert Sheppard, who would later become her patron.

Unsuccessful at fulfilling her mother's operatic dreams for her, Cushman tried acting and made her stage debut in 1836 in New Orleans. After a successful season and much critical acclaim, she returned to New York City under contract with the Bowery Theater. While launching her acting talent, Cushman also worked to showcase her creative writing skills by submitting poetry and short stories to local women's journals, including *Godey's Lady's Book* and *The Ladies Companion*.

Unlike most actresses of her time, Cushman was not perceived as a conventional beauty. Standing 5 feet, 9 inches (1.75 meters) tall, she was much larger than most women of her time and was considered to have "masculine" features. These physical distinctions gave her stage performances a more androgynous quality, and enabled her take on many more quality roles, both male and female.

Cushman soon became recognized both in America and abroad as one of the greatest actresses of her time. She was especially respected by critics for her ability to capture a kind of "masculine energy" in her performances. Cushman is best known for her roles as Meg Merriles, the mysterious gypsy queen in Sir Walter Scott's *Guy Mannerling*, Queen Katherine, and Lady Macbeth.

Offstage, Cushman was romantically affiliated with other women. This was not perceived as obscene or scandalous because, at the time, women were believed to be incapable of same-sex eroticism and desire. The actress's close friendships with other women were not questioned. The term *lesbian* had not yet been established, but Cushman's letters imply that such passions were part of her female companionships.

Cushman's quest to overcome patriarchal dominance did not end with her personal relationships. In 1852, she traveled to Rome with partner Matilda Hays and other self-motivated women in hopes of creating a more unified and respected community of female artists. Stressing that emancipation from men was an integral step toward becoming a successful and autonomous woman, Cushman inspired many of her peers to see beyond the

masculine confines of their trades and personal lives.

For most of her life, Cushman resided in London, England. In 1869, she was diagnosed with breast cancer. Preparing to make the most of her last years, she set forth on a series of farewell performances across the globe in 1874. She succumbed to pneumonia in Boston and died on February 17, 1876.

Siobhan Kane

See also: [Lesbian Culture](#).

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Cyberpunk

Alternatively referred to as radical hard science fiction, the Eighties Wave, and neuromanticism, the literary movement known as cyberpunk is a subgenre of science fiction that commonly features near-future extrapolations of the Internet, artificial (and frequently malevolent) intelligence, cybernetic/bionic/pharmacological body enhancements, and direct brain-to-computer interfaces. Often dealing with themes of alienation and rebellion against oppressive societal authority structures, cyberpunk stories generally are set against a dystopian backdrop, perhaps best represented visually by Ridley Scott's 1982 film *Blade Runner*, juxtaposing backward-looking elements of hard-boiled film noir chiaroscuro onto the cautionary anxieties produced by the relentless forward march of technology and industry.

A fusion of the flesh-and-hardware technology known as cybernetics and the antiestablishment sensibility of 1970s punk rock music and fashion, cyberpunk derived its name from the title of the Bruce Bethke short story "Cyberpunk" (*Amazing Stories*, November 1983), and the term was widely popularized by *Asimov's Science Fiction* magazine editor Gardner Dozois. Cyberpunk came into full flower as a literary subgenre by the late 1980s, gaining prominence largely via the writings of Pat Cadigan, William Gibson, Rudy Rucker, Lewis Shiner, John Shirley, Neal Stephenson, and Bruce Sterling.

Cyberpunk protagonists tend to be young, streetwise, and bright, as well as alienated from an establishment that tends to regard them as undesirable. According to science-fiction writer Lawrence Person, "Classic cyberpunk characters were marginalized, alienated loners who lived on the edge of society in generally dystopic futures where daily life was impacted by rapid technological change, an ubiquitous datasphere of computerized information, and invasive modification of the human body."

Such protagonists, many of them antiheroes, are the product of a nihilistic socioeconomic milieu, in which democracy is functionally irrelevant, with multinational corporations having grown into vast, implacable forces that wield virtually all of society's power. However, such entities are far from invulnerable to sabotage at the hands of a

clever “hacker,” such as the cheekily named Hiro Protagonist in Stephenson’s influential 1992 novel, *Snow Crash*.

Sometimes, the postdemocratic industrial forces that oppose and oppress the cyberpunk protagonist control humanity’s perceptions of reality itself, as in the Matrix films of Andy and Larry Wachowski (*The Matrix*, 1999; *The Matrix Reloaded*, 2003; and *The Matrix Revolutions*, 2003), in which heroes and villains alike live as digital constructs inside painstakingly detailed, yet sometimes nightmarishly unreal, electronic simulations controlled by the establishment. Such ideas owe much to earlier writers such as William S. Burroughs and Philip K. Dick, both of whose works were replete with a paranoid “all is not as it appears to be” subtext.

So-called virtual reality—“cyberspace” presented as a vividly real place, as in the Matrix trilogy and earlier films such as Steven Lisberger’s *Tron* (1982)—became a mainstay of prose cyberpunk thanks to Gibson’s seminal 1984 novel *Neuromancer* and its sequels, *Count Zero* (1986) and *Mona Lisa Overdrive* (1988). Although the term *virtual reality* first appeared in *The Judas Mandala* (1982) by Damien Broderick, it was Gibson’s work that provided the clearest glimpse of a near-future scenario, in which the world’s computer networks function in aggregate to create a digital netherworld that humans can enter via direct cybernetic linkage to the brain.

Rising in parallel with the computer revolution that made billionaires of Bill Gates and Steve Jobs, rival founders of Apple and Microsoft, cyberpunk by the mid-1980s had hit the broader world of literary science fiction with the force of a political or social movement, complete with earnest manifestos, such as Sterling’s preface to the groundbreaking 1986 cyberpunk anthology *Mirrorshades*. Sterling spoke of cyberpunk in almost messianic terms, painting it as the savior of an otherwise moribund science-fiction genre.

Veteran science-fiction writer Norman Spinrad has defined cyberpunk somewhat rhapsodically as “a fusion of the romantic impulse with science and technology.” Writer and critic Thomas Disch identified cyberpunk’s “acquiescence in the moral sharkpool politics of the ’80s, its acceptance of urban squalor, global pillage, and systemic corruption as the facts of life” as among its most defining literary characteristics. “In the cyberpunk future,” said Disch, “Third World poverty belongs to everyone, and the American dream has gone belly up. This vision—call it Pop Despair—is ameliorated only by two elements: fashion and an interior life lived in cyberspace. The best hope it offers is that one may be in possession of one’s own sensorium, and that it is a literature designed to reconcile the youth of middle-class America to their lot.”

With globalization progressing apace near the end of the first decade of the twenty-first century, a time when terabyte personal computers are routinely available, cyberpunk and its economic environment no longer seem quite as futuristic as they did when the subgenre debuted a quarter-century earlier. But regardless of where one stands on cyberpunk’s current propinquity to the cutting edge of science fiction (or fiction in general), its influence on ordinary life in the so-called real world is undeniable and profound. Cyberpunk arguably has shaped, or at least predicted, the emergence of its own near-future world to a far greater degree than have most other branches of science fiction.

A case in point is the word *cyberspace*. This 1980s neologism took less than two decades to filter from the pages of cyberpunk fiction to the consciousness of ordinary Americans, who now commonly understand that the term describes the ubiquitous electronic Erehwon, in which their paychecks clear and their automated-teller transactions take place. Just as the Apollo space missions failed to put an end to futuristic tales of interplanetary travel, the ever-increasing reach of information technology cannot render the struggles of cyberpunk’s antiheroes irrelevant.

Michael A. Martin

See also: [Burroughs, William S.:](#) [Science Fiction.](#)

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Daughters of Bilitis

The Daughters of Bilitis was formed in San Francisco on October 19, 1955, by Dorothy "Del" Corn and Phyllis Lyon to provide lesbians with an alternative meeting place to local bars, which were increasingly under scrutiny by the San Francisco Police Department and the state's newly formed Department of Alcoholic Beverage Control. The group took its name from a long nineteenth-century poem by Pierre Louÿs titled *Songs of Bilitis*, in which the title character seduces the famed poet Sappho of the island of Lesbos. Although the organization was clearly influenced by the Mattachine Society, established in Los Angeles the previous year on behalf of homosexual males, the Daughters of Bilitis focused on lesbianism more as an outgrowth of gender identification rather than a sexual orientation. Viewed in the context of the social conservatism of post-World War II America, the Daughters of Bilitis not only fought for homosexual awareness, but also anticipated many elements of the feminist struggle to attain sociocultural and political recognition.

Like many civil rights and activist organizations, the Daughters of Bilitis was formed as a response to societal and scientific trends of the postwar period. In 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower had issued Executive Order 10450, which excluded homosexuals from service in the federal government. This measure served as a watershed event for the homophile movement, as it placed gays and lesbians in the same category (anti-American) as communists. Amidst the Red Scare of the McCarthy era, homosexuals were vilified and portrayed as deviants who threatened the very fabric of American society.

While President Eisenhower's actions brought greater scrutiny of homosexual behavior, they also provided an object of derision against which the growing homophile movement could unite. Also in 1953, Alfred C. Kinsey published his landmark study, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female*, which, like its predecessor on males five years earlier, challenged Victorian notions of sexuality that persisted in twentieth-century America and reported the prevalence of homosexuality. It was within this context that the Daughters of Bilitis was formed.

Differences of opinion regarding the group's purpose divided its members and threatened to dismantle the organization from the outset. One major point of contention was whether or not the group should be more of a social organization promoting lesbian activities, or one that specifically addressed legal issues.

Despite this internal strife, the organization began publishing a newsletter, *The Ladder*, in October 1956. *The Ladder* originated as a small, mimeographed pamphlet that promoted the organization's policy of integrating lesbians into American society. As it became more popular, *The Ladder* included articles intent on increasing awareness of legal recourse for the homophile community, reviews of literature, and scientific articles regarding human sexuality and gender identification. One of the most important contributions of *The Ladder* was its creation

of a new lexicon, including such terms as *lesbian* and *homophile*, which solidified a standard discourse for all lesbian organizations.

In the 1960s, the Daughters of Bilitis became more politically active, aligning itself with the American Civil Liberties Union and organizing demonstrations against sexual discrimination on both the East and West coasts. The national organization closed down in 1970, though several local chapters continued operating for several more years, and *The Ladder* continued publication until 1972.

Kenneth Shonk, Jr.

See also: [Gay Liberation Movement](#): [Lesbian Culture](#): [Mattachine Society](#).

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Davis, Andrew Jackson (1826–1910)

A metaphysical healer who rose to preeminence in the burgeoning spiritualist movement of the nineteenth century, Andrew Jackson Davis established a lasting name for himself with his crusade to link spiritualism and the struggle for social reform.

Davis was born on August 11, 1826, in Blooming Grove, New York, a small town in Orange County north of New York City. His father was a struggling farmer and shoemaker who moved the family regularly in his search of work. They settled for a time in Poughkeepsie, New York, where, in 1841, Davis was apprenticed to a shoemaker. His demonstration of healing powers surfaced early in life and set him on a course that propelled him into leadership roles in the spiritualist movement. His ability to clairvoyantly diagnose illnesses, prescribe treatment, and render prophetic sayings earned him the nickname "Poughkeepsie Seer."

Denied a formal education by poverty and family instability, Davis was assisted by more literate followers in publishing a series of psychic discourses in 1847 titled *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelations, and a Voice to Mankind*. It was the first of his more than thirty books on the subject of spiritualism. From 1847 to 1849, he published a newspaper called the *Univercoelum* that heralded the coming of a more harmonious age. Davis's unique contribution to the spiritualist movement was his insistence that the tenets of spiritualism and social reform were irrevocably linked. The reform spirit manifest in antebellum America—on behalf of peace, antislavery, health, women's rights, and other goals designed to uplift and transform society—was essential in Davis's understanding of spiritualism.

After a short stay among the small colony of spiritualists in Hartford, Connecticut, in 1857, Davis became a prominent lecturer at Dodworth's Academy, a center for Eastern spiritualism in New York City. His time in New York proved highly productive. In addition to publishing the *Herald of Progress* (1860–1864), he undertook two initiatives in 1863 that reinforced the bond between social reform and spiritualism. The first was the Children's

Progressive Lyceum, an organization dedicated to developing reasoning abilities and healthy bodies in children and adults. A spiritualist response to the Christian Sunday school, the lyceum concept took root in seventeen states by 1871. The second enterprise was the Moral Police Fraternity, a body set up to provide social services to those in need. While unsuccessful in fulfilling its mission, the fraternity inspired a number of municipal agencies to address related social issues.

Davis had helped found the National Association of Spiritualists in the 1860s, but, in the 1870s, he broke with that organization due to ideological differences. A rift had opened between “phenomenal” spiritualists, those committed to the manifestation work of mediums and séances, and “philosophic” spiritualists, practitioners such as Davis who were committed to broad reform. Dismayed by the spurious claims made by the many charlatans who had permeated the spiritualist movement, Davis created the First Harmonial Association of New York in 1878. Meeting at Steck’s Music Hall at 11 East Fourteenth Street, the new organization stressed the uplifting of humankind through science and the arts and rejected the frenzy over manifestations exploited by phenomenal spiritualists.

Thereafter, Davis increasingly distanced himself from mainstream spiritualism. In 1883, he obtained a doctorate from the United States Medical College, an unorthodox and eclectic school of medicine whose charter was later revoked by the state of New York.

The Poughkeepsie Seer relocated to Boston to practice medicine and continued to diagnose illnesses through clairvoyance. Davis died on January 13, 1910.

A.J. Scopino, Jr.

See also: [Spiritualism](#).

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Davis, Angela (1944–)

Angela Davis is a political activist, writer, and scholar who in the early 1970s became an international symbol for the persecution of African Americans by the U.S. legal system. A radical black activist, she was arrested for murder, kidnapping, and conspiracy in connection with a prisoner escape at a Marin County, California, courthouse in August 1970. Held without bail, she became the object of a nationwide “Free Angela” campaign until being

acquitted on all counts.



Professor, radical black activist, and American Communist Party member Angela Davis addresses the Soviet International Women's Seminar in Moscow in 1972. The seminar marked the fiftieth anniversary of the formation of the Soviet Union. (Express/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Davis was born on January 26, 1944, in Birmingham, Alabama, to two schoolteachers, B. Frank and Sallye E. Davis. Racial injustice permeated Davis's childhood in the Deep South. She attended segregated schools, where any and all attempts to challenge racial inequality were met with explicit resistance. Homes in Davis's neighborhood frequently were bombed by white supremacists, and she developed a deep antipathy toward the white power structure from an early age.

Davis left Alabama as a teenager to attend a private high school in Greenwich Village, New York, on scholarship. She graduated in 1961 and received a scholarship to Brandeis University. During a year abroad at the Sorbonne in Paris, Davis met students from African nations whose stories of oppression under colonial rule led her to understand the international scale of discrimination against peoples of color. She set about finding a philosophy that could explain and challenge such a biased system.

Under the tutelage of Herbert Marcuse, the German American philosopher popular with the burgeoning youth culture and then teaching at Brandeis, Davis began her study of Marxist philosophy, which she continued in graduate work at the University of Frankfurt in Germany, and then at the University of California, San Diego, where she was awarded her master's degree in philosophy under Marcuse in 1968.

At about this time, Davis became involved with a number of activist organizations, including the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, the Black Panthers, and the all-black Marxist collective the Che-Lumumba Club. She also formally joined the Communist Party USA, which led to her dismissal in 1969 from her job as assistant professor of philosophy at the University of California, Los Angeles. Faculty support led to her reinstatement by court order, but her teaching contract was not renewed.

With the Black Panthers, Davis agitated on behalf of the Soledad Brothers, a group of inmates in California's Soledad Prison who were serving time for the murder of a guard. Davis purchased several firearms that she stored in the headquarters of the Che-Lumumba Club. On August 7, 1970, a teenage sibling of one of the Soledad prisoners used these weapons to take hostages during trial proceedings at the Marin County Courthouse. The standoff ended in the shooting death of Judge Harold Haley and the paralysis of prosecutor Gary Thomas.

Davis was put on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Most Wanted list. She went into hiding but was found two months later. During the course of her imprisonment and trial, T-shirts and pins bearing the slogan "Free Angela" and images of the young woman with a defiant gaze and a large Afro became iconic of the unfair treatment of African Americans by the U.S. legal system.

Acquitted of all charges, Davis went on to a career as a scholar and activist, working tirelessly on behalf of minorities, women, and prison inmates. Although President Ronald Reagan once vowed that Davis would never again teach in the University of California system, she retired as a tenured professor at the University of California, Santa Cruz, in 2008, after seventeen years in the History of Consciousness Department.

Susanne E. Hall

See also: [Black Panthers: Communism](#).

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Davis, Miles (1926–1991)

Miles Davis was an innovative trumpet player, composer, and bandleader who invented or popularized a wide variety of jazz styles from the 1950s to the 1990s. Among them were bebop, cool jazz, modal, and jazz-rock fusion. Known for his clear tone and melodic style, Davis is considered one of the great jazz soloists of the twentieth century, and he is credited with pioneering the use of the metal Harmon mute.

Born in East St. Louis, Missouri, on May 25, 1926, Miles Dewey Davis III was the son of a relatively affluent African American dentist and a pianist. At the age of thirteen, Davis began playing the trumpet, and by age fifteen he was playing in public.

After graduating from high school, Davis received a scholarship to study music at the famed Juilliard School of Music in New York City. He neglected his studies, however, and began playing in clubs and meeting such bebop luminaries as Charlie Parker, Thelonious Monk, and Coleman Hawkins.

Abandoning bebop's rhythmic and harmonic complexity, Davis formed a nonet (nine-piece) ensemble and began exploring long, legato melodic lines coupled with modal harmonies. Recordings by this group eventually were released as *The Birth of Cool* (1957), featuring subtle, complex arrangements and improvisation. The nonet created even more tonal colors with the addition of the French horn and tuba. Although the nonet was not commercially successful, its sound defined "cool jazz," which became one of the dominant trends in jazz over the next decade and was especially embraced by practitioners of the antimaterialist beatnik counterculture. Many of the Beats feverishly championed African American literature, art, and music, especially the cool jazz style of Davis—the epitome of all things hip and cool.

By 1950, Davis had developed a heroin addiction, and in 1954 he retreated to St. Louis and his supportive father to conquer the habit. He returned to New York five years later and formed the Miles Davis Quintet. The group

recorded Davis's masterpiece, *Kind of Blue*, that same year. The twenty-two tracks on the album, all written by Davis, were said to revolutionize jazz music and made *Kind of Blue* one of the most acclaimed and best-selling jazz albums of all time.

In the late 1960s, influenced by the success of contemporary rock musicians, the Miles Davis Quintet began to incorporate electric instruments and use multitracking and extensive editing on their recordings. The albums *In a Silent Way* (1969) and *Bitches Brew* (1970), featuring electronic rather than acoustic instruments, are considered the first successful amalgamations of jazz and rock music, a style that later became known as "fusion."

By the mid-1970s, failing health caused by a kidney problem, complications from diabetes, and a relapse into heroin and cocaine addiction forced Davis to retire from the music industry for another five-year period. His health returned by the beginning of the 1980s, and he performed regularly until his death on September 28, 1991, after a stroke.

Davis's many honors and citations have included a Grammy Lifetime Achievement Award in 1990, knighthood in the French Legion of Honor in 1991, and induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2006.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Jazz](#).

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Dean, James (1931–1955)

An acclaimed film actor and countercultural figure who represented the epitome of moody adolescence, James Dean personified youthful disillusionment and frustration in the 1950s. He died, tragically, at the height of his film career, at age 24, and became an idol of American youth for generations to come.

James Byron Dean was born on February 8, 1931, in Marion, Indiana. His mother died when he was young, and Dean was raised by an aunt and uncle. After finishing high school in Indiana, he went to live with his father in California. There, he studied theater at James Whitmore's drama workshop in Los Angeles and was introduced to the Stanislavsky method, an acting approach that embraces the psychological and emotional aspects of the art. He also studied at the famed Actor's Studio in New York City. Shortly thereafter, he appeared in two Broadway

plays, *See the Jaguar* (1952) and *The Immoralist* (1954).

Dean's performances captured the attention of Hollywood, and he signed a contract for a lead role in the film *East of Eden* (1955), which was adapted from the novel by Nobel Prize-winner John Steinbeck. Dean's portrayal of the brooding son, Cal Trask, won him critical acclaim. "He scuffs his feet, he whirls, he pouts, he sputters, he leans against walls, he rolls his eyes, he swallows his words, he ambles slack-kneed," *The New York Times* noted.

Dean's next movie, *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), which was released a month after the actor's death, catapulted him to star status and remains the definitive film of teenage alienation. Typecast in *Rebel* as an awkward, troubled young man, Dean became identified with the rebellious and inarticulate youth of the 1950s. In *Giant* (1956), based on the novel by Edna Ferber, Dean played the part of a rough, coarse ranch hand. This trio of films cemented Dean's role as the symbol of the idealistic, nonconformist, misunderstood, and confused teenager of the 1950s.



Actor James Dean poses on the set of Rebel Without a Cause (1955), the film that made him a cult idol and symbol of misunderstood youth. His portrayal of a moody, rebellious teen was said to epitomize the alienation of the postwar generation. (John Kobal Foundation/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The social phenomenon of youth alienation in America had spurred a hunger for a representative cultural icon. In James Dean, Hollywood provided an image for the youth culture to emulate and for mainstream parents to abhor. Each of his films depicted— even celebrated—a rejection of accepted social norms and a defiance of middle-class customs and traditions. In retrospect, they reflect a shift in spirit from escape to revolt among American youth.

Dean died in a racing-car accident on September 30, 1955, in Paso Robles, California, shortly after the filming of *Giant*. His sudden passing triggered mourning throughout the nation, and contributed to the mythologizing process in years to come. A year after Dean's death, Warner Bros. film studio continued to receive more than 5,000 fan letters per week. Decades later, fans still made pilgrimages to his grave in Fairmount, Indiana, and to the intersection on California Highway 46 where he was killed in his Porsche Spyder. Dean's meteoric rise in filmdom, his countercultural persona, and his violent, early death became symbols of identification for many young people who shared his characters' disillusionment, puzzlement, and dreams.

Yuwu Song

See also: [Biker Culture: Film, Hollywood.](#)

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Debs, Eugene V. (1855–1926)

Railroad labor leader, cofounder of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), longtime standard bearer of American socialism, and five-time presidential candidate Eugene Victor Debs was one of the most influential union organizers and advocates of leftist causes in the history of the United States. He was born on November 5, 1855, in Terre Haute, Indiana, to French immigrant parents. In the early years of his life, the United States underwent a civil war, a period of rapid industrialization, and a massive influx of immigrants. Debs dedicated his life to the struggle to create an egalitarian society in response to the political, economic, and social implications of these events.

Journalist and Militant

Debs's writings helped promote the "alternative press" tradition of American socialism. He worked in the railway industry during his teen years, becoming involved with the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen as a journalist.

Many railway workers believed that mainstream newspapers and magazines were biased in favor of employers, and called for the establishment of an independent, prolabor press. Debs served as editor of the *Locomotive Firemen's Magazine* and was elected grand secretary of the brotherhood in 1880 in recognition of his writing and organizing talents. He also wrote extensively for such publications as *The Social Democrat*, *The International Socialist Review*, *Industrial Unionism*, and *The Appeal to Reason*. Debs's writings are widely regarded as the founding documents of the American socialist tradition and still are read by the political left.

Debs's militant organizing tactics contributed greatly to union political culture. During the turbulent labor disputes of the 1890s, he promoted the creation of a larger "industrial union" that would incorporate all railway workers into a single organization. In June 1893, Debs helped establish the American Railway Union (ARU), which coordinated the interests and efforts of all railway workers regardless of position.

Within a year of its inception, the ARU participated in some of the greatest labor disputes in U.S. history, including the infamous 1894 Great Northern Railway and Pullman Palace Car Company strikes, which virtually shut down the city of Chicago. The Pullman strike was defeated only by the direct intervention of President Grover Cleveland, the U.S. Army, and the federal courts. After twelve weeks, Debs and other leaders of the ARU were arrested, and the Pullman strike was brought to an unsuccessful end.

The experiences of Pullman polarized the labor movement over the issue of strikes and perceptions of the state. Samuel Gompers of the conservative American Federation of Labor (AFL) insisted that radical, industry-wide strikes harmed the cause of labor and encouraged violent state intervention. Debs drew very different conclusions. During his six-month internment, he immersed himself in Marxist writings and, in contrast to Gompers, became convinced that only the independent organization of the working class, both industrially and politically, could win

lasting concessions. Debs believed that by controlling industrial organization and the coercive powers of the state, the labor movement could transform the United States into a socialist commonwealth. Upon his release from jail on November 22, 1895, he began his long and controversial career as a socialist politician.

Socialist Vision

American socialists emphasized the need for workers to organize political parties and independent institutions to advance their class interests. In June 1897, therefore, Debs and the ARU helped form the Social Democracy of America (SDA). After a variety of factional breaks over political strategy, Debs transformed the SDA into the Socialist Party of America in 1901. He ran as the party's candidate for president of the United States five times, beginning in 1900. In the campaigns, the socialists criticized the ways in which American educational institutions were being utilized to instill "ignorance and subjugation" in the nation's youth. Debs actively promoted such educational initiatives as the Socialist Sunday School movement, summer camps, the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, and the People's College of Fort Scott.

Debs's vision of socialism was a fusion of leftist radicalism, religion, and American tradition. He gained international notoriety for his fiery and often evangelical-style speeches. Although he was an industrial militant, his socialist rhetoric blended the economic critiques of German political philosopher Karl Marx and the moral lessons of Christian Gospel. Debs often spoke of American leaders such as President Abraham Lincoln to justify his own critiques of racism and poverty. In short, his blending of potentially conflicting worldviews made him a unique, popular, and feared figure in American political culture.

In 1905, Debs joined with longtime nemesis Daniel De Leon to found the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW). Popularly known as "Wobblies," members of the IWW promoted a militant program of industrial unionism with the slogan "One Big Union." The Wobblies relied heavily on posters, strike bulletins, newspapers, folk music, and other cultural initiatives to "agitate, educate, and organize" workers. Through the dual threat of industrial sabotage and social revolution, the IWW won important concessions from employers but eventually alienated Debs and other more politically oriented socialists. Though still supportive of industrial unionism, Debs broke with the IWW in 1908. The IWW continued focusing upon militant unionism and revolutionary counterculture, while Debs and the Socialist Party emphasized political activity and the reconstruction of American political culture.

Peace campaigns were a central tenet of socialist politics, and Debs joined socialists in other countries in condemning World War I. In 1917 and 1918, as scores of peace activists were harassed and imprisoned under the Espionage Act for their antiwar activities, Debs was arrested for giving an antiwar speech in Canton, Ohio. He was sentenced to ten years in prison, during which he ran his most successful presidential campaign, winning almost 1 million votes in 1920.

In ill health, Debs was granted a pardon by President Warren G. Harding on Christmas Day 1921, and he returned to his home in Terre Haute. Debs later retired to Lindlaur Sanitarium in Illinois, where he died on October 20, 1926.

Debs's legacies of alternative journalism, industrial unionism, political struggle, socialist education, and cultural initiatives inspired a new generation of radicals during the 1930s. Although his socialist commonwealth never came to fruition, many of Debs's policy goals were fulfilled in the economic and social reforms of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal.

Joel A. Lewis

See also: [Industrial Workers of the World: Socialism.](#)

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Deep Ecology

Deep ecology is a philosophical perspective in which human beings are regarded as one species among others in the ecological patterns and processes of existence, neither more nor less important than any other species or process. It has been cited, legitimately or not, as the underlying philosophy of groups such as Earth First! that employ various forms of civil disobedience against developers' bulldozers, as well as of the more radical edges of the Green Party and other political environmentalists.

Deep ecology is a radically alternative point of view to that of established religious and secular understandings that place the human species at the pinnacle of the ecological order. Such perspectives imply or directly declare that the human species is qualitatively set apart from the rest of the natural order and that the natural order exists for human benefit. Even much of the mainstream conservationist ecology movement leans in this direction, inasmuch as it emphasizes the custodial role human beings should play so as to be able to maximally, albeit responsibly, exploit the planet's natural resources.

Deep ecology does not emphasize pragmatic conservationism so much as the inherent being-worthiness of all that is. Capitalism and ecological conservationism foster an attitude of demystified calculation in relation to the orders of nature. Essentially, they differ only on what data should be figured into the calculation (though this is not an insignificant difference in terms of planet Earth and its future). Deep ecology, in contrast, fosters an attitude of awestruck wonder in the face of the natural order.

The philosophy is fed by a number of intellectual and social streams. Often identified as the philosophical father of deep ecology is Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss, who, in turn, points to the contemplative pantheism of seventeenth-century Jewish heretic Baruch Spinoza and the thoughtful activism of Mohandas Gandhi as his own major influences. Others point to such contemporary figures as philosopher George Sessions and New Age poet and mystic Gary Snyder, and to the Gaia hypothesis of eco-scientist James Lovelock, as fundamental building blocks of deep ecology.

In 1984, Næss and Sessions summarized eight key points of deep ecology, including the following: the well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman life on Earth have intrinsic value independent of human purposes; richness and diversity of life-forms are valuable in themselves; the flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantially smaller human population; the flourishing of nonhuman life requires a smaller human population; and a call for a new ideology of appreciating life's quality rather than pursuing an increasingly higher standard of living.

Daniel Liechty

See also: [Environmentalism](#); [Green Party](#); [Snyder, Gary](#).

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Deganawidah (ca. 1500–ca. 1600)

Deganawidah (or Dekanawidah), also referred to as the Great Peacemaker, was the author of the Great Law of the Iroquois Confederacy in the late fifteenth or early sixteenth century. Along with Hiawatha, he attempted to join rival Native Americans of the Great Lakes territory into one extensive family, the League of the Iroquois, also known as the Iroquois Five-Nation Confederacy. Although Deganawidah's vision would be frustrated by European invaders, it has stood as a model of dispute settlement and political, social, and cultural alliance ever since.

According to Iroquois oral tradition (first mentioned in European records in a 1743 report by a Moravian missionary to the Mohawks), the Great Peacemaker traveled widely among the Great Lakes nations in the mid-fifteenth century, calling for an end to tribal warfare, murder and revenge, and ritual cannibalism. His most important convert was the Mohawk chief Hiawatha, who applied his formidable oratorical skills to spreading Deganawidah's charter of peace, the Great Law.

The Iroquois Confederacy, organized sometime between 1450 and 1525, united five major Iroquoian-speaking nations: the Mohawks, Onondagas, Oneidas, Cayugas, and Senecas. Following centuries of intermittent warfare between these peoples of the eastern Great Lakes, the Great Law instituted a system of diplomacy conducted by a council of forty-nine hereditary chiefs. The Iroquois thereafter imagined an expansive peace based on broad kinship ties, symbolized by the longhouse.

The Great Law represented nothing short of a moral and cultural revolution in the Great Lakes region. While the Confederacy offered the Five Nations strategic advantages over their neighboring Huron and Algonquian enemies, the Iroquois commitment to enacting and extending familial bonds to outsiders, although often by means of bloodshed, was genuine. Their kinship-based pacifism generally was demonstrated after a period of warfare, when, as a part of the Iroquois condolence ritual, captives would be “adopted” as brothers, sisters, or children to replace lost family members. Christian missionaries, moving among the Iroquois in the 1650s, reported that adopted foreigners composed the majority in some villages. In 1722, the Iroquois admitted the entire Tuscarora nation into its longhouse, thereby becoming the Six Nations.

Deganawidah's influence also was evident in relations between the Confederacy and French and British colonists. The Iroquois considered themselves *Ongwehoenwe*, or superior men, but routinely invited Europeans to become “one nation” with them. French and British captives adopted into Iroquois communities testified to the strong family sensibilities of their captors, and several refused to leave their Iroquois kin when given opportunities to do so. The Great Law was not well received, however, by most European settlers, who eventually followed promises of

inclusion within the Confederacy with campaigns of extermination. Nonetheless, the Iroquois and British did establish an alliance known as the Covenant Chain in 1677, which preserved the integrity of the Six Nations through the colonial era.

The Iroquois Confederacy represents one of the first forms of interstate, representational government in North America. Some historians and Native American scholars believe that Iroquois unity directly affected the coming together of the colonies against Britain and the writing of the U.S. Constitution. Scattered descendants of the Six Nations, numbering about 130,000 across Canada and the United States, still testify to Deganawidah's familial form of pacifist diplomacy.

Mark Edwards

See also: [Native Americans](#).

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Delany, Martin R. (1812–1885)

Regarded as an early proponent of black nationalism, Martin Robinson Delany was a tireless and protean figure in American blacks' freedom struggle. As an abolitionist, physician, reporter, newspaper editor, author, explorer, and major in the U.S. Army, Delany had interests that were nearly as diverse as his developing political ideology. At various points in his life, Delany advocated armed insurrection by slaves, emigration by free blacks to Africa and South America, enlistment in the Union Army, strategic cooperation with both Republicans and Democrats, and the colonization of Liberia. Perhaps more than anything else, Delany represents the historically dynamic nature of African American social and political ideology as it adjusts to changes in American race relations.

Born in Charles Town, Virginia (now West Virginia), on May 6, 1812, to free blacks, Delany began his career as an editor-writer, briefly collaborating with abolitionist Frederick Douglass as coeditor of *The North Star* in 1847 and editing the *Pittsburgh Mystery*. After being accepted to Harvard Medical School but forced to leave a month later by white students and faculty, Delany adopted more extreme views on race in America: Blacks had no future there and should establish their own sovereign nation.

Delany pioneered a program for nationalism with his landmark book of 1852, *The Condition, Elevation, Emigration and Destiny of the Colored People of the United States*, which advocated African American emigration. He organized a National Emigration Convention that met regularly throughout the 1850s, and he explored potential homelands for blacks in Central America and Africa. Delany then joined thousands of blacks who left the United States for Canada after passage of the Fugitive Slave Act of 1850, which required the return of escaped slaves between states. In Canada, he remained involved in the U.S. antislavery movement, assisting radical abolitionist John Brown in his efforts to recruit blacks in Canada for a planned revolt in the U.S. South.

Delany's other major publication, *Blake; or, The Huts of America*, was released in serial form in 1861 and 1862 by *The Weekly Anglo-African*. In this novel, Delany presents Henry Holland, a heroic, solitary fugitive slave also known as Blake, preparing a full-scale armed revolt that would overthrow chattel bondage throughout the Western Hemisphere. *Blake* articulates Delany's advocacy of violent force to overthrow the slave regime. Moreover, *Blake* clearly presents Delany's confrontational nationalism, informing readers that "You shouldn't pay white folks no mind."

Delany's emigrationism briefly ebbed after President Lincoln's 1863 Emancipation Proclamation. For roughly a decade afterward, Delany optimistically committed to work within the confines of establishment institutions, becoming the first black major in the U.S. Army and an officer in the Freedmen's Bureau, a War Department-created organization that oversaw all relief and educational activities relating to black refugees and freedmen, including issuing rations, clothing, and medicine. Delany's faith in America's ability to fully actualize its egalitarian ideals was short lived, however, and by Reconstruction's collapse in the mid-1870s he reverted to promoting emigration. In this final campaign to alleviate the burdens of racism, Delany controversially aligned himself with the notoriously anti-black American Colonization Society, a predominantly upper-class white organization seeking to resolve America's persistent racial strife by deporting freedmen to Liberia.

While Delany's tactics and political loyalties altered throughout his lifetime, his pride in black heritage and his belief that African Americans were entitled to full citizenship rights never wavered. One of Delany's contemporaries, the American Methodist Episcopal bishop Daniel Alexander Payne, commented, "He was too intensely African to be popular." Delany died of consumption on January 24, 1885.

David Lucander

See also: [Abolitionism: African Americans.](#)

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Democratic Party

Although the Democratic Party has a long history of embracing "otherness," including both mainstream and counterculture constituencies, the rejection by mainstream voters of perceived excesses, failures, and violence on the part of the counterculture has made the relationship between the two groups difficult at best. While the Democratic Party dubs itself "the big tent party," the conflicting nature of its special interest groups has made it difficult for the party to chart a successful electoral course on the national level.

Democrats trace their roots to Thomas Jefferson's opposition to the ruling Federalists in the early republic. Called the party of the "common man" after the great victory of Jeffersonians in the elections of 1800, the opposition party became the establishment party for almost 150 years. During the Republican-dominated latter half of the

nineteenth century, the Democratic Party gave shelter to immigrants, laborers, union activists, and farmers. In an effort to regain political superiority, the Democrats co-opted many of the planks of the most significant counterculture of the era, agrarianism, and its political arm, the Populist Party.

The Democratic Party of the early twentieth century languished in obscurity, finding little electoral success outside large urban areas and the rural Deep South. In the economic and social upheaval of the Great Depression, the Democratic Party harnessed the passion and strength of various countercultural elements, regaining political power and dramatically reshaping the nation's political, social, and economic landscape. Franklin D. Roosevelt, elected president for the first of four terms in 1932, partially implemented progressive social and economic ideologies. His aggressive pursuit of radical solutions to the nation's problems energized the social and political left, resulting in an expanded federal presence in the economy, a vibrant labor movement, and small, but ultimately significant, gains in civil rights.

The backlash against Roosevelt and his successor, Harry S. Truman, resulted in the election of Republican Dwight D. "Ike" Eisenhower in 1952. As Ike struggled to maintain normalcy in the face of increasingly vocal and visible opposition to racial inequities, the Democratic Party, at great risk to its electoral strength in the South, stepped into the breach. The party's traditional supporters, Catholics and Jews, and its mercurial labor component quickly closed ranks with the newest constituent base, African Americans. The sight of white priests, nuns, rabbis, and laborers marching in solidarity with oppressed black fieldworkers, garbage collectors, and domestic workers shook the party and the nation.

Cultural reaction to the civil rights movement and against the escalating Vietnam War finally exploded into the mainstream in the late 1960s. The children of capitalist affluence began to actively reject the society that provided the education, economic opportunity, and freedom to protest its existence. As more young people joined marches, sit-ins, and rallies, the more shocked their traditionally Democratic parents became. Political protests quickly morphed into societal protests. To prove hipness and leftist credentials on a college campus, it was de rigeur to try psychedelic drugs, engage in free love, and attend a protest. Young African American activists, disillusioned with Martin Luther King, Jr.'s nonviolent civil disobedience approach, increasingly turned to militancy, forming groups such as the Black Panthers as their answer to continued racial oppression. The party that, arguably, had created the social and economic conditions that led to these opportunities became the enemy. Its leader, President Lyndon B. Johnson, became the face of the despised Vietnam War.

The showdown between the counterculture left and the Democratic Party establishment came at the August 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago. As some of the protestors established an alternative-lifestyle carnival outside, others attempted to gain floor credentials in order to bring the concerns of the antiwar counterculture to the delegates. Chicago's Democratic mayor, Richard Daley, regarded both approaches as attempts to subvert the system and responded with brutal force. City police stormed the protestors, indiscriminately swinging clubs and firing tear-gas canisters. Inside the convention, power was cut as national news outlets began to televise the violence.

The fissure between the Democratic Party and its leftist element resulted in several lackluster national tickets. Saddled with the violence of the Chicago convention and the excesses of the Woodstock generation, and tarred with the brush of civil rights, Democrats struggled to hold such traditional constituencies as Irish-Catholic union members and white Southerners.

From the 1970s to the 1990s, the Democratic Party struggled to merge its various special interests into a cohesive political force on the national level. Race, pacifism, immigration, environmentalism, gender equity, and sexual orientation all clamored for position in the big tent. The national party structure was moribund, unable to present a coherent message to the public. The election of Bill Clinton as president in 1992 appeared to vindicate the baby boom generation. Arguing that it was possible to embrace countercultural elements while maintaining a viable national presence, they were sorely disappointed when Clinton equivocated on party positions and agreed to measures to placate the ascendant right wing. The election of Barack Obama in 2008 energized the party with a stronger minority constituency and young voters, along with a message of "hope and change" that resonated with

independents as well, but the nation's financial crisis and Republican resistance to the Obama agenda defused the call for policy innovation within the first year of his administration.

The Democratic Party, ironically, relies on its activist, countercultural constituents as foot soldiers in the party apparatus—distributing literature, working polls, staffing phone banks—while distancing itself from many of the same constituents' issues on the national stage. Although it remains the big tent party, with hundreds of minority groups and special interests relying upon it for funding, publicity, and political support, many countercultural activists have grown disgusted with the power plays, compromises, and betrayals that are compulsory for a national party in the twenty-first century.

Many reject the American democratic system entirely, judging it rigged for the moneyed interests. Others have created smaller, interest-and ideology-specific parties, such as the Green Party, the Freedom Socialist Party, the Labor Party, and the Peace and Freedom Party. Without a major realignment of the American political system, however, the only viable method for leftist countercultural advocates to achieve national attention and political success is through the Democratic Party.

Ann Youngblood Mulhearn

See also: [Black Panthers](#): [Great Depression](#): [Green Party](#): [Peace and Freedom Party](#): [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Dial, The

The Dial, published in its original form from 1840 to 1844 and revived later in the century, was the leading magazine of the transcendentalist movement. Although circulation reached only several hundred, it has received considerable attention from historians and literary critics as a vehicle of transcendentalist thought. Ralph Waldo Emerson and Margaret Fuller were two of its founders, and the magazine published writings by Henry David Thoreau, Amos Bronson Alcott, Theodore Parker, and other members of the circle.

Revived as a political magazine in 1880 and again as a modernist literary journal in the 1920s, *The Dial* was one of the so-called little magazines published in the mid-nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Little magazines were primarily noncommercial ventures that provided a forum for ideas, experimental and provocative verbal and visual art, and criticism. Often funded by private citizens, and thereby free from commercial influence, these magazines regarded themselves as guiding lights in a world run by industrialists and corporate bureaucrats.

Regarded by historians as the first independent and original American journal—not following European models and

literary trends—*The Dial* had been a dream of Emerson, Alcott, Fuller, and others for years. Issue number one was published in 1840 under the editorship of Fuller, who guided the publication for the first two years. Emerson became the editor in 1842 and remained in the position until the magazine folded in 1844.

The name of the magazine was suggested by Alcott to evoke a sundial, an association on which Emerson elaborated in his introduction to the first issue: “We wish it may resemble that instrument in its celebrated happiness, that of measuring no hours but those of sunshine. Let it be one cheerful rational voice amidst the din of mourners and polemics.”

Claiming a shared lineage with the transcendentalists, Francis Fisher Browne in 1880 began publishing a political magazine in Chicago called *The Dial*, which he edited for the next three decades. Among its writers was book critic Margaret Anderson, who later founded *The Little Review*. *The Dial* published by Browne was not nearly as influential as its predecessor, but it was bought by a young publisher named Martyn Johnson in 1916 and, under his direction, became a leading journal of liberal politics. Johnson moved the magazine from Chicago to New York City in 1918 but soon faced financial difficulties and political squabbling among the magazine staff.

In its third and most commercially successful iteration, *The Dial* was revamped in New York by Scofield Thayer, a young Harvard graduate and friend of the poet E.E. Cummings. With financial backing from James Sibley Watson (an heir to the Western Union telegraph fortune), he purchased the magazine from Johnson in 1919 and published the first monthly issue in January 1920. From the beginning, Thayer’s *The Dial* attracted leading and up-and-coming voices of the modernist literary and artistic movement. The first issue included poems by Cummings and Carl Sandburg; in the first year alone, the magazine featured contributions by Hart Crane, Marianne Moore, and Ezra Pound, among many others.

The next ten years would be a period of cutting-edge literary and artistic expression, intellectual discourse, and commercial success, as *The Dial* became a compelling source of new ideas, fiction, poetry, and visual art throughout Europe and the United States. Its pages included the first U.S. publications of William Butler Yeats’s poem “The Second Coming” and T.S. Eliot’s “The Waste Land.” And the magazine became a primary vehicle for the poetry and fiction of Sherwood Anderson, D.H. Lawrence, and other leading voices of modernism. Contributors and editors included Conrad Aiken, Kenneth Burke (*The Dial*’s music critic in the late 1920s), Marianne Moore, Marc Chagall, Pablo Picasso, Georges Seurat, and Virginia Woolf.

During the 1920s, *The Dial* could be found on newsstands throughout America and Europe. Sylvia Beach carried it in her expatriates’ bookstore, Shakespeare and Company, in Paris. Ernest Hemingway read it regularly there, and Ezra Pound was the foreign editor as well as a regular contributor.

Among the tangible contributions by *The Dial* to the spirit of artistic freedom was the Dial Prize, established by Thayer and Watson in the early 1920s for artists of promise. The first recipient of the \$2,000 gift was Sherwood Anderson; poet Marianne Moore was a recipient in 1924. After Thayer suffered a mental breakdown, Moore became the magazine’s editor in 1925, bringing new energy and vision to the publication. Without Thayer’s participation, however, *The Dial* faced increasingly dire business circumstances and folded in July 1929.

Michael Susko

See also: [Magazines](#), [Little](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Dick, Philip K. (1928–1982)

Science fiction writer Philip K. Dick produced metaphysical short stories and novels that transformed the genre and, according to critics, presaged the cyberpunk movement. He developed a cult following, and finally achieved mainstream publishing success, for his unique literary vision, which explored themes of alienation and mental illness, the nature of reality, alternate universes, drugs, politics, religion, and corporate monopoly.

Philip Kindred Dick was born on December 16, 1928, in Chicago. His early childhood was marked by the death of his twin sister and his parents' divorce, after which he moved with his mother to Berkeley, California, in 1939. After graduating from Berkeley High School, he attended the University of California, Berkeley, in the fall of 1948, but dropped out two months later when he refused to take Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) classes.

In 1951, Dick began attending writing workshops under Anthony Boucher, then editor of the pulp magazine *Fantasy and Science Fiction*. Boucher bought one of Dick's first short stories, "Roog," marking his debut as a professional writer. Dick quit his day job as a record-store clerk to write full time for science fiction and fantasy magazines. By 1954, he had sold sixty stories, followed the next year by his first novel, *Solar Lottery*.

Dick continued his remarkable output in the ensuing years, publishing ten books between 1955 and 1960. In 1963, he received the first widespread acknowledgment of his work, winning the Hugo Award for best science fiction novel for *The Man in the High Castle* (1962). He later won the John W. Campbell Memorial Award for his 1974 novel, *Flow My Tears, The Policeman Said*.

To fuel his intense literary output, Dick consumed large quantities of amphetamines. He suffered from paranoia and a number of phobias, spending most of his time at home, a recluse. After his apartment was broken into in 1971, Dick began a period of rampant drug usage, ending in a suicide attempt and rehabilitation a year later. He was married and divorced five times, and he had two daughters, Laura and Isolde.

Dick's fiction is a unique blend of science, metaphysics, surrealism, and biting humor, with critiques of human consciousness, modern society, and the absurdities of rational thought in contemporary and future society. He published a total of forty-two books and hundreds of short stories, but his fiction remained too strange and inaccessible to succeed in the mainstream literary market until after his death. Long pigeonholed as pulp fiction, his books and short stories generally were published by small, poorly funded presses that specialized in genre paperbacks.

Dick thus fought a lifelong battle with poverty, never earning more than \$12,000 a year. He died of a stroke on March 2, 1982, in Santa Ana, California, shortly before the debut of *Blade Runner*, director Ridley Scott's film adaptation of his 1968 novel, *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?*

Dick's popularity and critical reception grew exponentially in the years that followed. Six films have been made based on his books, including *Total Recall* (1996), *Minority Report* (2002), and *A Scanner Darkly* (2006). Previously unpublished works are continually being discovered and brought to press. By the 2000s, the corpus of

Dick's writing has reached millions of readers across the globe.

Jeffrey Sartain

See also: [Cyberpunk: Science Fiction](#).

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Disco

A shortened form of the word *discotheque*, “disco” refers to a form of music popular in the 1970s and its associated style. The roots of the phenomenon, however, can be traced back to the establishment-defying “swing kids” of 1930s Germany, whose love of American jazz and swing music, behavior, and style defied Nazi racism and militarism. The dance clubs known as discos began appearing during World War II in occupied France, where a disc jockey selected songs to play—often American—while avoiding the expense of a live band and providing a wider selection than a jukebox could. In the United States, early discos were edgy and controversial, patronized primarily by minorities such as gays, African Americans, and Latinos. Called the “most democratic form of popular music ever conceived,” the 1970s disco culture hastened public acceptance of gay lifestyles and the crossing of racial and class lines. Hedonistic sites of drug use, promiscuity, and public sex, disco clubs began as sparse, cheaply run inner-city clubs, moved to wealthier neighborhoods as they became more popular, and finally attracted middle-class devotees in the suburbs.

Disco music was multi-instrumental, almost symphonic, with a strong, repetitive bass known as “four to the floor,” in which the drumbeat falls on each of the four beats of a measure. To emphasize the drumbeat’s hypnotic, drug-like sensuality, disco clubs used mirrored balls (dating from the dance halls of the 1920s), dry-ice fog, and elaborate light displays. The increasing popularity of the clubs was both a reaction against the social activism of the 1960s and, in a sense, a fulfillment of the integrationist desires of the minority and gay liberation movements. The disco scene, with its promise of momentary pleasure, also offered an escape from the disillusionment of the political scandals of the early 1970s, including Watergate, and from the weariness that came from constantly trying to change society for the better.

The world’s first disco radio show originated on New York’s WPIX-FM in 1974. By the next year, the music had gone mainstream. Van McCoy’s “The Hustle” dominated the singles charts, followed six months later by Donna Summer’s orgasmic “Love to Love You Baby.” Other popular disco music of the 1970s included the Bee Gees’s “Stayin’ Alive” (1977) and “YMCA” (1978) by the openly gay Village People. The ultimate disco dance, the Hustle, originated in the Hispanic community of New York City and spawned several regional variations.

The movement peaked in 1977 with the opening of the Manhattan club Studio 54 and the release of the film *Saturday Night Fever*, starring John Travolta as an alienated Brooklyn youth by day and disco king by night. Nearly everyone wanted to produce a disco song, including performers as varied as country-and-western singer Dolly Parton and crooner Frank Sinatra. Oversaturation led to a backlash, and Chicago rock DJs staged a massive disco-album burning at Comiskey Park in 1979.

With the political and social conservatism of the 1980s and rising awareness of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, the disco movement, with its public sexuality and openly gay elements, faded from favor. Permeation of the market and the sheer repetitiveness of the beat no doubt contributed as well, but some cultural commentators argue that disco never really died.

Indeed, it has been said, disco has directly influenced most of twenty-first-century dance music. According to Donna Summer's music producer, "It's interesting to hear not just the sounds but the exact notes and rhythms I used on my albums, used now as they were twenty-five years ago."

Melissa Weinbrenner

See also: [Studio 54](#).

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Doonesbury

Doonesbury, a newspaper comic strip by Garry Trudeau that debuted in syndication in 1970, broke new ground in the medium, blending traditional humor and continuous story lines with the political and social satire of the editorial cartoon. While previous satire strips, such as Walt Kelly's *Pogo* and Al Capp's *Li'l Abner*, generally had handled political issues through allegory and fictional characters, Trudeau used real-life politicians as characters. In 1975, *Doonesbury* became the first newspaper comic strip to win the Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning. Still widely syndicated in the early twenty-first century, it has been a model for other left-wing, counterculture strips, such as Berke Breathed's *Bloom County*.



Garry Trudeau's *Doonesbury* avoided few political issues or institutions—including the Reagan White House—in its anti-establishment satire. In 1975, Trudeau became the first comic strip creator to win a Pulitzer Prize for editorial cartooning. (Library of Congress)

Doonesbury, which Trudeau began in the *Yale Daily News* as a student in the 1960s, was politically and socially liberal from the outset. The comic strip was initially most remarkable for its strong opposition to the Vietnam War, commentary that generally was as absent from newspaper comic strips as it was omnipresent elsewhere in American culture. Trudeau's strip was frequently criticized by conservative politicians and commentators, especially during the national controversies over Vietnam and Watergate.

The influence of the counterculture on *Doonesbury* was strongest in its early days. Its everyman main character, Michael Doonesbury, was surrounded by such standards of the period (many based on life at Yale in the late 1960s and early 1970s) as the stoned hippie, Zonker Harris, the campus radical, "Megaphone" Mark Slackmeyer, and the disillusioned-housewife-turned-feminist, Joanie Caucus. The Reverend Scot Sloan was openly modeled on liberal minister and peace activist William Sloane Coffin. The strip also included a militant black character, Rufus, who eventually disappeared. "Straight" characters, such as the college quarterback and later soldier, B.D., and his conventionally feminine girlfriend, Boopsie, were mocked. Much of the *Doonesbury* cast in the 1970s lived on a commune named Walden after the work of Henry David Thoreau. Joanie eventually entered law school at the notoriously left-wing University of California, Berkeley. Trudeau even introduced a character, Raoul Duke, clearly based on "gonzo journalist" Hunter S. Thompson.

The 1980s and 1990s saw a mellowing of *Doonesbury*'s counterculture edge, particularly after it returned from a

hiatus in 1983 and 1984. Drug humor, a staple of the strip's early days, virtually disappeared. Joanie got her law degree and eventually went to work for the Clinton administration, while Doonesbury himself joined the yuppie ranks, serving in the quintessentially establishment field of advertising and marketing, and even joining the Republican Party to support the conservative candidate Steve Forbes for president. (Doonesbury met his second wife at a Forbes rally.)

Over time, Zonker's adventures drifted more and more into fantasy, while Trudeau openly mocked the self-centered and pretentious radical artist J.J., Joanie's daughter and briefly Doonesbury's wife. Beginning in 2004, Trudeau even retreated on his mockery of the U.S. military, sending B.D. into the Iraq War and creating a moving series of strips on B.D.'s loss of a leg and slow physical and psychological recovery.

William E. Burns

See also: [Gonzo Journalism](#).

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Douglass, Frederick (ca. 1818–1895)

"I was born in Tuckahoe, near Hillsborough, about twelve miles from Easton, in Talbot county, Maryland. I have no accurate knowledge of my age, never having seen any authentic record containing it. By far the larger part of the slaves know as little of their ages as horses know of theirs, and it is the wish of most masters within my knowledge to keep their slaves thus ignorant."

These are the first lines of what would become the most widely read of many slave narratives published in the decades before the Civil War. The *Narrative of the Life of Frederick Douglass* was first published in 1845 and has remained in print ever since. Its author was a recently escaped slave who would go on to become the leading figure of the abolitionist movement and one of the most influential African Americans of the nineteenth century.

Born Frederick Augustus Washington Bailey in Maryland around 1818, Douglass was the son of Harriet Bailey and an unknown white man. As a slave, he worked as a domestic servant, farmhand, and ship caulker in and around Baltimore. Perhaps inspired by his literate mother, from whom he was separated as a young boy, he taught himself to read with a rhetoric textbook, the *Columbian Orator*, that included speeches by and about his namesake, George Washington.

The radical egalitarianism of revolutionary oratory inspired Douglass to struggle against his enslavement. When he was sent to an infamous slave breaker, Edward Covey, to be whipped into submission, he fought back successfully, physically defying Covey for a period of months. Finally, on September 3, 1838, he escaped to Philadelphia in a borrowed sailor's uniform. He adopted the name Douglass, which he found in Sir Walter Scott's poem "The Lady of the Lake."

Douglass married Anna Murray, a free black who had funded his escape from Baltimore, and they settled in New Bedford, Massachusetts. He subscribed to William Lloyd Garrison's radical abolitionist newspaper, *The Liberator*, and began to speak regularly at abolitionist meetings. For several years, Douglass toured the northeast as an agent for the Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Society, earning a reputation for his moving oratory.

He published his *Narrative* in 1845, in part to refute charges that he was an imposter, for it was often claimed that no escaped slave could speak so eloquently. The book delivers a startlingly graphic portrait of the South as a society governed by naked physical violence as well as mental and sexual humiliation. And it describes in detail Frederick's heroic self-transformation and escape. Douglass's story turns on a powerful chiasmus: "You have seen how a man was made a slave; you shall see how a slave was made a man." Ironically, publication of the *Narrative* alerted bounty hunters to his identity and he was forced to flee the country.

For two years, Douglass lived in Britain, lecturing across England, Scotland, and Ireland. Supporters paid £150 for his freedom papers, which allowed him to return to the United States in 1847, and his backers raised more than \$2,000 to fund the establishment of a newspaper under his editorship. Settling in Rochester, New York, he published *The North Star* (later *Frederick Douglass' Paper*) from 1847 to 1851, taking his place as one of the most influential radical journalists in American history.

The newspaper's founding marked the beginning of a long process of differentiation between Douglass and the Garrisonian organizations in which he had first begun to work for abolition. While Garrison's *The Liberator* dedicated itself to "the overthrow of prejudice by the power of love," Douglass came to believe that moral pressure was not enough and that direct action was necessary. "If there is no struggle," he maintained, "there is no progress."

In the first issue of *The North Star*, Douglass wrote that, in the "Negro-hating" United States, it was important to have a newspaper "under the complete control and direction of the immediate victims of slavery." The paper set out to "attack slavery in all its forms and aspects" and called for universal emancipation. Moreover, its offices were a frequent stop on the Underground Railroad, along which escaped slaves were conducted to freedom in the North. By the 1850s, Douglass openly endorsed organized violence against slaveholders; he spoke publicly in approval of John Brown's 1859 raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia.

Douglass also was a principled supporter of women's rights. He was one of the few men to speak at the historic Seneca Falls Convention, the first major gathering of the woman's movement, in 1848.

He was acknowledged as one of the most riveting public speakers in an era of great oratory. His address, "The Meaning of the Fourth of July to the Negro," delivered in Corinthian Hall, Rochester, New York, on July 5, 1852, remains one of the most urgent and compelling attacks on the hypocrisy of racism in America. Perhaps his least-known accomplishment is authoring a novella, *The Heroic Slave* (1852), a slightly fictionalized account of the 1841 rebellion, led by Madison Washington, on the slave ship *Creole*.

During the American Civil War, Douglass acted as adviser to President Abraham Lincoln and recruited black troops, including his own sons, for the renowned Massachusetts 54th and 55th regiments. After the war's end, he held a series of public offices in Washington, D.C., and continued to fight for racial equality, especially as Reconstruction collapsed and the former slave owners of the South reasserted their power. In 1881, he published his third and final autobiography, *The Life and Times of Frederick Douglass*. The following year, after a long and painful illness, his wife died.

In 1884, Douglass remarried to Helen Pitts, a white woman. The couple was savagely attacked; in response, Douglass calmly observed that his first wife "was the color of my mother, and the second, the color of my father."

Appointed minister to Haiti by President Benjamin Harrison in 1888, Douglass became the first official black diplomat in the U.S. government. He died in Washington on February 20, 1895, just after delivering an address in support of woman suffrage before the National Council of Women.

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [African Americans](#); [Garrison, William Lloyd](#); [Underground Railroad](#).

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Draft, Military

The draft, or military conscription, is compulsory induction into the armed forces. Throughout U.S. history, conservative nationalists have typically viewed the draft in positive terms, regarding military service as the highest expression of patriotism (and masculinity). By contrast, cultural libertarians have opposed it as an infringement of a citizen's right of freedom. Views about the draft also have correlated closely to overall opinions about militarism. During the Vietnam War, conscription became an extremely divisive issue, pitting mostly older cultural conservatives against mostly younger, counterculture-influenced Americans.

Although the U.S. Supreme Court has consistently upheld the constitutionality of the draft, its unpopularity has caused the federal government to avoid instituting it except when absolutely necessary—primarily during wartime. Colonial and state governments sometimes conscripted civilians into militias, but the first national drafts did not occur until the American Civil War. The Union and Confederate governments both used conscription, which provoked widespread resistance on both sides.

The federal government reintroduced the draft in World War I, conscripting 2.8 million men. Again, there was public opposition, primarily because U.S. involvement in the war was controversial. The administration of President Woodrow Wilson dealt harshly with opponents of conscription, imprisoning hundreds of conscientious objectors (those who opposed military service for moral or religious reasons).

In 1940, during the run-up to World War II, conscription was reenacted. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in Hawaii, however, resistance was negligible, and Congress authorized alternative service, rather than prison, for conscientious objectors. A total of 10.1 million men were conscripted. After a one-year hiatus, Congress reimposed conscription in 1948, which continued through the Vietnam War and much of the cold war, until 1973.

The draft again became a controversial issue in the late 1960s. Escalating U.S. intervention in Vietnam after 1965 required increasing draft calls. This move was supported by cultural conservatives, especially among the older generation, many of whom had served in World War II or the Korean War. However, opposition to conscription increased as questioning of U.S. involvement in Vietnam grew, along with the youth movement and the counterculture.

The controversy was heightened by the fact that not everyone was drafted. Only young men were subject to conscription, and only a small minority of them were drafted. During the Vietnam War era, about 27 million men came of draft age and about 10 million served; only about 1.9 million of them were drafted (the remainder

volunteered). The Selective Service System allowed deferments or exemptions for a number of reasons, including support of dependents, working in “essential” jobs, being enrolled in higher education, having severe medical or psychological problems (homosexuality was included), or being the member of a pacifist denomination.

Middle-and upper-class men disproportionately benefited from this system. They typically had better access to college and graduate-school deferments and to sympathetic doctors who could provide medical exemptions. Additionally, wealthier Americans sometimes used family or other connections to gain coveted spots in the National Guard, which exempted them from combat duty in Vietnam. As a consequence, there was a widespread public perception that the draft fell most heavily on poorer men, especially racial or ethnic minorities.

Draft evasion and resistance became major issues during the Vietnam era. Although most evaders avoided conscription by obtaining exemptions or deferments, more than 100,000 young men avoided service illegally, with many of them fleeing to Canada. Many “draft dodgers,” as they were called, evaded the draft for personal, rather than political, reasons. Open draft resistance, on the other hand, was closely correlated with opposition to war. As the New Left moved from protest to resistance, antiwar demonstrators burned draft cards, stopped troop trains, and harbored draft resisters and deserters.

After 1969, the draft became a less prominent issue. The number of conscripted decreased, as the U.S. military pulled out of Vietnam; deferments were reduced; and the system became fairer, based on a lottery connected to a draftee’s birth date. Conscription ended in 1973, and the United States moved to an all-volunteer armed force. However, draft registration was reinstated in 1980 for all male U.S. citizens and aliens between the ages of eighteen and twenty-five.

The draft remained a divisive issue in the “culture wars” of the late twentieth century between liberals and conservatives. Conservatives denounced Democratic President Jimmy Carter for granting amnesty to thousands of draft evaders and deserters in 1977. Additionally, Republicans attempted to impugn the patriotism of Democrats by associating them, especially President Bill Clinton, with draft evasion during the Vietnam era. This strategy was undermined by the fact that a number of prominent Republicans—including George W. Bush, Dick Cheney, Dan Quayle, and Newt Gingrich—also had succeeded in avoiding the draft.

In 2003, during the Iraq War, U.S. Representative Charles Rangel of New York, Senator Ernest Hollings of South Carolina, and others called for reinstating conscription to rectify the socioeconomic inequity of the all-volunteer system. The widespread unpopularity of the draft, however, made the idea politically untenable.

George Rising

See also: [Conscientious Objectors, Draft Dodgers, and Deserters.](#)

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Drag

The term *drag* refers to the wearing of clothes associated with the opposite gender, and to the general aesthetic associated with the wearing of female-typed clothes by men. In both performance and protest, drag has been closely connected with gay culture and politics. It is predominantly associated with drag queens, or men in female clothing. More recently, however, drag kings, women who take on the persona and attire of male characters, have developed their own performance style, as captured in the photographs of Del LaGrace Volcano.

Drag queens may perform publicly, typically dressed as glamorous or celebrity women. In drag persona, they are referred to as "she." Transvestites, or cross-dressers, on the other hand, express a fetish for the clothing of the opposite gender that may not correspond to a homosexual orientation. The term *transgender* refers to identification as a member of the opposite gender. Although there is some blurring of behavioral identity, drag for drag queens is generally a profession or performance art.



A drag queen (man in female clothing) takes part in the 2007 Gay Pride Parade in Seattle. Drag culture is closely connected with, but not identical to, gay culture, politics, and sexual preference. (Scoop/Getty Images)

Theater and Pop Culture

Drag has played a significant part in theatrical history, from ancient Greek theater to medieval street carnivals, Elizabethan drama, the balls of the Belle Époque, Native American ritual, English pantomime and music halls, and American minstrel shows. The term is found in print in the 1870s, referring to women's skirts "dragging" along the stage, but may not have taken on specifically gay connotations until the 1920s.

Despite drag's relationship with homosexuality, audiences frequently have been heterosexual, particularly in the case of high drag, or female impersonation of celebrity entertainers. Whatever the audience, legal restraints on the wearing of women's clothes by men in public have extended to theatrical representations. The drag performer and film actor Ray/Rae Bourban, for example, was arrested repeatedly from 1920 to 1960. Mae West's second play, *The Drag* (1927), was closed following police raids.

When combined with gay identity, drag helped to create film imagery regarded as particularly subversive. The documentary *The Queen* (1968) by Frank Simon looked at the Miss All-America Camp Beauty Pageant to show

the camp parody of gender roles behind drag beauty competitions. The films of Andy Warhol relied on the “radical chic” of drag queens such as Candy Darling and Holly Woodlawn (the latter was further immortalized in the lyrics of Lou Reed’s 1972 hit single “Walk on the Wild Side”).

Similarly, in the films of John Waters, drag signifies radical and rebellious lifestyles. Waters’s films starring the drag queen Divine, especially, championed drag as an integral part of a wide variety of radical and transgressive behaviors. These films include *Multiple Maniacs* (1970), *Pink Flamingos* (1972), and *Female Trouble* (1974).

The marketing of drag predominantly for heterosexuals can be seen in the 1959 comedy film *Some Like It Hot* (starring Jack Lemmon, Tony Curtis, and Marilyn Monroe), which continued a well-established cinematographic tradition of straight men in drag played for laughs, and in Alfred Hitchcock’s 1960 suspense classic, *Psycho*, in which drag is associated with freak show horror.

Performing in drag for predominantly heterosexual audiences can be seen in later films as well, including *To Wong Foo, Thanks for Everything!* (1995) and *The Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert* (1994), the appeal of which is based in part on the casting of known heterosexual actors as drag queens. More recently, there has been an increase in popular interest in cross-cultural experiences of drag, as in the 2003 Hindi film *The Pink Mirror* (*Gulabi Aaina*). The film was refused certification in India, where homosexuality remains taboo, but it attracted large and widespread international audiences.

Activism

Along with its theatrical significance for both gay and straight audiences, drag has a strong activist history as well. José Sarria, who performed in drag in San Francisco nightclubs from the 1940s, spearheaded legal defense campaigns for homosexuals and cross-dressers, ran for county supervisor in 1961, and helped found the Society for Individual Rights (SIR) in 1963. The Stonewall riots of June 1969, often cited as the flashpoint of the gay liberation movement, erupted in reaction to ongoing police harassment at the Stonewall Inn, a drag bar in New York’s Greenwich Village. In San Francisco, Sarria encouraged the wearing of badges with the words “I Am a Boy” to prove that dressers had no intent to deceive. In 1970 in New York City, Sylvia Rivera, whom some have credited with initiating the Stonewall riots, and activist Marsha P. Johnson, founded Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), an organization that combined the founders’ alternative-sex lifestyles with helping young people on the streets.

Beginning in the late 1960s, the wearing of drag began to be explicitly politicized by exponents of radical drag and identified by the theoretical label “genderfuck.” Countercultural wearers of radical drag did not attempt to mimic femininity, seeking instead to confuse and refuse gender divisions. Thus, imagery from either sex might be combined in startling ways, such as a man with a beard wearing a cocktail dress, with no attempt to conceal or transform his masculinity.

The San Francisco–based communal activists The Cockettes combined grassroots activism with flamboyant drag and performance. One of their number, Sylvester, left the collective in 1973 and went on to mainstream musical success as a disco performer. His clothing continued to challenge traditional masculine roles, however, and encouraged a particular camp and drag aesthetic in disco culture.

The mid-1970s brought a reaction against what were seen as the excesses of the gay liberation movement. Along with legal restrictions on the wearing of drag, drag aesthetics and drag activism came under attack from within the lesbian and gay community itself. Reformist homosexual groups from the 1960s on have sought to distance themselves from drag, seeing it as confusing homosexuality with transgender or transvestism and as undermining a normalizing model of homosexuality. Some feminists also have suggested that drag celebrates stereotypical images of women, whereas defenders of drag have argued that, in denaturalizing femininity, drag undermines rigid patriarchal roles for both men and women.

At the same time as the women’s and gay liberation movements of the early 1970s encouraged challenges to

dominant male roles, the impact of a drag aesthetic was seen in the androgynous performance style of acts such as those of David Bowie, the New York Dolls, and Marc Bolan, and in the lyrics of the Kinks's song "Lola" (1970), "She walks like a woman but talks like a man."

Lucy Robinson

See also: [Reed, Lou](#); [Transvestites](#); [Waters, John](#).

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Drifters

Drifters and vagrants have played a vital role in the course of American history while resisting the norms of society and forming a variety of distinctive subcultures. The early trappers and traders who pioneered the frontier lands made it possible for stable communities to develop, and traveling salesmen were as much a source of news to rural settlements as the postman was. The hobo lifestyle that first developed in the nineteenth century with the advent of the railroad proved to be a particularly vital and long-lived subculture. Both the end of the American Civil War and the Great Depression of the 1930s led to surges in the population of men riding the rails, or freight-hopping.

As many as 1 million people—mostly men—illegally rode the freight trains, dodging the hired security of railway companies and living hand to mouth. Some of these drifters were recently arrived immigrants, others were simply men out of work for one reason or another. The general perception of the public was that "hoboes" had more self-respect and were less given to violent crime than "tramps," but there is no clear delineation between the terms; both were used as self-identification labels by the wandering homeless. The novelist Jack London, poet Carl Sandburg, and folk singer Woody Guthrie, among others, all hoboed and drew on the experience in their work.

The hobo subculture was unique and pervasive, with its own slang (newspapers were called "California blankets," for example, and "crumbs on your clothes" meant you had lice), cuisine (mulligan stew was probably inspired by the hearty burgoo of Kentucky), and writing system. Hobo code was a system of signs that could be carved or written in chalk or charcoal to let others know about mean dogs, nearby doctors who would help the homeless, and other dangers and benefits. Although the code varied somewhat by region, its development despite the lack of a central disseminating vehicle demonstrates the intelligence and ingenuity of the individuals who had chosen to leave "proper" society behind for this new shadow society. Just as remarkable is the hobo nickel, a form of art

especially prominent in the nineteenth century, in which five-cent pieces were smoothed out and engraved with elaborate bas-relief designs that were often more elaborate than the original.

In the 1950s, the work of Jack Kerouac and other writers of the Beat Generation cast the itinerant lifestyle in a new light. The new drifters were not men who had failed in mainstream society, but young men who had not even tried their hand in it, setting off barely after coming of age to pursue the freedom, excitement, and gritty adventure of life on the road. In the post–World War II era, as the American dream became increasingly associated with home ownership and a settled life in the suburbs, an itinerant lifestyle was the clearest step outside the mainstream. The willful abandonment of home was embraced by many of the Beats (at least temporarily) and integral to the hippie movement that succeeded it.

In later decades, transient “gutter punks” dropped out of society, usually by choice, and more and more people became perpetual travelers to take advantage of cheap transportation, to avoid taxes or military service, or to escape domestic or other situations. Many of these travelers seek a sort of personal sovereignty, taking the self-sufficiency of the early pioneers to a new level.

Bill Kte'pi

See also: [Tramps and Hoboes](#).

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Drug Culture

Recreational drug use, both legal and illicit, is a common aspect of American life with a unique social history that has influenced, and been influenced by, various cultural changes. Although discussions of the American drug culture typically center on the psychedelic era of the 1960s, its history dates back considerably further and continues to the present day.

History

Alcohol and nicotine (in the form of tobacco) have been widely consumed from the colonial period to the present. Rum was part of the Triangle Trade, between the North American colonies, the Caribbean, and Africa, and the drink was especially abundant in supply. American colonists also brewed other alcoholic beverages for domestic use. Tobacco became a staple crop of the Virginia and Carolina colonies, and while much of it was shipped to European markets, it also was traded and used in North America.

Over the course of the next five centuries, alcohol and nicotine altered the course of social interaction in America, contributed mightily to the nation's domestic economy and foreign trade, and gave rise to the concomitant problems of habituation and addiction among millions of people. Youth, in particular, have often turned to such drugs as a means and symbol of rebellion, as a statement of maturity, and for social acceptance among peers.

They have been closely associated with a variety of counterculture movements and subcultures, and the essential element of others.

Law enforcement agencies at all levels, as well as antisaloon and anticigarette leagues in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, have attempted to control the problems associated with the use of these substances. Prohibition, the so-called noble experiment that outlawed the manufacture, sale, and consumption of alcohol, began in 1920 and was met with great resistance from many Americans. In the face of the enormous black market that had sprung up, with heavy involvement by organized crime syndicates, and concerns over a real or imagined “crime wave” during the gangster period, the futility of the policy was realized and Prohibition ended in 1933. Attempts at controlling tobacco had a similar fate, if not at the federal level. In 1921, several states enacted cigarette prohibition laws, the last of which was repealed six years later.

In the mid-nineteenth century, another drug that developed its own cultural milieu was opium. America’s first exotic, nonindigenous drug, opium was brought to the United States by Chinese immigrants who worked on the transcontinental rail system in the West. Many medications and palliatives, legal at the time, were prescribed by physicians who were unaware of their addictive potential. Some patent medicines and potions called “elixirs,” which claimed miraculous powers, were opium-based, without the knowledge of the doctor or the patient. And when morphine and later heroin were extracted from opium and were given to soldiers to alleviate pain associated with war injuries, some members of these users became addicts and abusers. Morphine was used to stop alcohol addiction, until enough medical evidence was discovered about its own addictive properties. And by the late 1800s, an untold number of American women had become quietly addicted to opiates, frequently prescribed for so-called female problems.

Another drug thought to be a panacea for physical maladies during the nineteenth century was cocaine. At midcentury, doctors experimenting with the drug were amazed by its potential to alleviate stress and fatigue, as a local anesthetic, and as a cure for morphine addiction. Among the most famous users of cocaine during this period was the founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, who used the drug until he became aware of its serious side effects. Cocaine also found its way into the country’s most popular drink, Coca-Cola, until legislation was passed to limit the drug’s use. The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 required that all products containing tonics must list the ingredients; the Harrison Narcotic Act of 1914, which regulated the production and distribution of opiate drugs, included restrictions on the cocaine additive in soft drinks and other consumer products.

The alcohol prohibition movement of the early twentieth century brought about an increase in the use of another drug—marijuana. *Cannabis sativa* had been cultivated and used since colonial times, primarily for the fiber derived from hemp. In the 1920s, marijuana use became a growing concern in many cities, as jazz musicians, artists, writers, migrant farmworkers, and thrill-seeking inner-city dwellers began using it for recreational purposes. Alarm over the glamorization and spread of marijuana use was reflected in the 1936 film *Reefer Madness*, which warned the nation’s teenagers of the dangers of the drug in highly sensationalized—and inaccurate—terms.

Postwar Era

In the 1950s and into the early 1960s, the beatniks—politically and social aware young people who found expression of their beliefs in music, art, and poetry—integrated marijuana and other drugs, which were by this time illegal, into their lifestyle. Beat writers such as Jack Kerouac, William S. Burroughs, and Allen Ginsberg became the voice of the generation and introduced many readers to this new lifestyle. Kerouac’s iconic novel *On the Road* (1957) contains numerous references to the use of drugs, especially marijuana, while echoing the feelings of alienation and thrill seeking among America’s youth. Beatniks smoked “grass” and met in coffeehouses to share poetry, music, and critiques of a society they regarded as overly materialistic and conformist.

The changes in American society and culture during the 1960s were so pronounced that many academics and other commentators described the period as one of social revolution. The political and social transformations, accentuated by changes in popular culture, produced an ethos that differed markedly from that of the previous generation. Highlighted by civil rights demonstrations, free speech demonstrations, antiwar protests, race riots, and

a sweeping rejection of many aspects of the mainstream “establishment,” the period of the mid-to late 1960s produced a counterculture of predominantly middle-class youth alienated by what they considered an overly conservative, oppressive society. Much was written and said about the “generation gap” between young people and their parents. The countercultural expressions of the younger generation, with its long hair, loud music, unorthodox dress, and liberal attitudes toward sexuality, deepened and widened the political chasm over the Vietnam War. Drugs were at the heart of it.

It was in the middle part of the decade that two professors at Harvard University called on American youth to “Turn on, tune in, drop out”—that is, to use hallucinogenic drugs, revel in the heightened state of awareness, and leave the rat race of conventional society. Professor Timothy Leary, who became the primary advocate for lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), and colleague Richard Alpert, who later changed his name to Ram Dass, promoted the use of the hallucinogen, commonly called “acid,” to experience greater understanding of self and of the universe.

The psychedelic effects of the drug had a sweeping influence on the youth counterculture, beginning with music. A new genre called “acid rock” was made famous by bands in the San Francisco Bay Area such as the Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, and Janis Joplin’s Big Brother and the Holding Company. Indeed, the Bay Area was the hotbed of hippie activity, and San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district (also referred to as “Hashbury”) became the counterculture epicenter. So populated with young runaways, dropouts, and free-spirited “hipsters” was the neighborhood that bus companies from downtown San Francisco gave visitors what was billed as America’s “only foreign tour.”

This drug culture of the 1960s took root during the Summer of Love in San Francisco in 1967, when “flower children” from across the country met for a summer of marijuana and LSD use, free love, and rock music. The hippies also advocated peace, especially as the war in Vietnam continued to claim the lives of other young people, many of whom were drafted into military service. Antiwar sentiment intensified, with protests becoming larger and more widespread. When protestors clashed with police at the 1968 Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago, the violence was captured on film for television audiences. The older generation was appalled to see young people behaving in such a manner; the younger generation was outraged at the handling of the situation by the establishment.

In August 1969, the Woodstock music festival in Bethel, New York, brought together hippies from all around the country—over 400,000 in all—for three days of counterculture music, drug use, and open sexuality. For an assembly of so many people, and so many drugs, the event was remarkably peaceful and safe. It seemed for a while that the hippie movement, with its accompanying drug culture, would continue to grow. That December, however, another music happening—the Altamont Free Concert in California—was by all accounts a disaster. Violence was rampant, including the fatal stabbing of a spectator by a member of the Hells Angels motorcycle gang hired for security.

The 1960s drug culture was relatively short-lived, though the use of drugs did not cease. Like other elements of the hippie counterculture, drugs simply became incorporated into the mainstream. The 1970s was a period of even greater substance abuse, in fact, but not associated with a particular counterculture movement. The disco trend of the mid-to late 1970s, with its unique dance music, new style of dress, use of powdered cocaine, and emergence of homosexual nightclubs, was not viewed as a countercultural phenomenon per se. Legislation against illicit drugs continued to be enacted during the decade, and many drug treatment programs were created. Drug use hardly waned, but much of the novelty and glamour did.

The late 1980s and 1990s gave rise to a bona fide new drug culture. The “rave culture,” as it was called, was born in Western Europe but quickly caught on in the United States. Attendance at a “rave,” or “clubbing,” typically consisted of dancing to loud, pulsating music at an underground location (such as a rented dance club, empty store, or abandoned strip mall) and the use of a new suite of “club drugs.” To maintain their stamina at such events, which could last an entire weekend, ravers resorted to the use of synthetic MDMA (more commonly known as ecstasy); GHB (called “G” or liquid ecstasy); ketamine (“Special K” or “Vitamin K”); Rohypnol (“roofies,” or the

“date rape drug”); or the hallucinogens LSD and psilocybin (“mushrooms”). The raves replaced live bands with disc jockey–led, computer-generated sounds known as “techno music”— also referred to as “house,” “acid-house,” “jungle,” “trance,” or “ambient” music—typically played in synch with strobe lighting. Ravers often used pacifiers or lollipops to avoid the jaw clenching and teeth grinding that often accompanies the use of ecstasy; the pacifiers became a fashion statement for ravers.

Meanwhile, the 1990s also saw a rise in the use of heroin and a new fashion ideal associated with it—the “heroin chic” look. Gaunt, waiflike, pale, dark-eyed models wearing ragged clothes in advertisements set the trend.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [Amphetamines and Speed Freaks](#): [Cocaine](#): [Ecstasy](#): [Heroin](#): [Marijuana](#).

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Du Bois, W.E.B. (1868–1963)

A writer, publisher, scholar, and founder of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), William Edward Burghardt (W.E.B.) Du Bois inaugurated the modern civil rights movement, began the systematic development of black studies, was a catalyst in the development of the Pan-African movement, and was one of the most influential historians in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century America. An advocate of rule by progressive ruling elites, he never quite transcended his theory of “the talented tenth” in African American politics: the idea that progress for the black community would come through the leadership of its most educated members.

Born on February 23, 1868, in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, Du Bois was a mulatto of African and French descent. For much of his career, he maintained an ambiguous relationship with the working class. He saw social revolution as undesirable and destructive, but he also saw merit in aspects of state planning by Russia, China, Scandinavia, and New Deal America. In addition, his historical scholarship and literary endeavors, often distinguished by uncommon creativity and rigor, were almost always touched by a utopian quality.

Du Bois's view of history was remarkable for a method that highlighted the capacity of African Americans to take control of their own destiny. Although his political activities tended toward lobbying for reform and equal rights under the law, his legacy is in many respects more radical. Du Bois fought not only for civil rights for African Americans and independence from colonialism for Africans, but also for the democratization of American and Western civilization as well.

Du Bois articulated, far ahead of their time, ideas that later became staples of democratic thought and racial justice. His *Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899) exposed racial segregation, poverty, and moral crisis in the inner city. *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903) posits in classical terms "the double consciousness" of African Americans, foreshadowing debates about integration and ethnic nationalism that developed later in the twentieth century. Similarly, *Dark Princess* (1928), a fictional account of a romance uniting Afro-Asian intellectuals in an international conspiracy for freedom, anticipates the idea of the Third World.

Du Bois's *Black Reconstruction*—written in 1935 about events that took place in America from 1868 to 1888—illuminates a clash between the black and white working classes. In this historical account, "free labor" is defined not as workers liberated from bosses who behaved abusively, nor as an enlarged concept of citizenship to which all could aspire. Instead, white laborers identify themselves as "free" to distinguish themselves from the enslaved and subordinated workers of color. *Black Reconstruction* is thus a seminal work of the American counterculture, engendering the white-privilege theories of the 1960s (exemplified in the Black Power movement).

Du Bois spent most of his life as an elite intellectual who identified with the dilemmas and biography of the black community. He believed the majority needed moral uplift by personal example, and that his professional training and achievements as a Harvard-educated teacher and author illustrated the potential of the community as a whole, if blacks were given equal opportunities.

In *The Souls of Black Folk*, Du Bois makes his famous critique of Booker T. Washington and defends the civil rights of the black community. Although the book generally was perceived as militant, Du Bois's political credentials would be questioned many times over the decades by black insurgents. For example, in the Niagara Movement, the forerunner of the NAACP, Ida B. Wells and William Monroe Trotter challenged Du Bois on his willingness to advocate direct action and armed self-defense (even as he organized antilynching crusades).

In the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s, leftists such as Cyril Briggs and George Padmore believed Du Bois was insufficiently opposed to capitalism. Marcus Garvey, the rising black nationalist and advocate of entrepreneurship, disagreed with Du Bois's brand of Pan-Africanism, which focused on lobbying and educating imperial governments rather than building a mass movement. During the same period, as expressed in his editorial perspectives in *The Crisis*, the journal of the NAACP, literary figures such as Claude McKay advocated free sexual lifestyles for urban working-class African Americans, much to Du Bois's dissatisfaction.

In 1934, Du Bois came into conflict with other NAACP leaders for promoting, in the pages of the group's journal, *The Crisis*, provisional urban survival programs. With an emphasis on economic cooperatives rooted in black autonomy, the programs were criticized for eschewing social integration. The controversy led to his resignation as editor of *The Crisis*.

After retiring from Atlanta University in 1944, however, Du Bois again assumed a prominent role in the NAACP, focusing on anticolonial education. A catalyst of the Pan-African congresses, he participated as the elder patron of the fifth Pan-African Congress in Manchester, England, in 1945. Du Bois became increasingly critical of the Western Powers' unwillingness to relinquish the jewels of their African empires. In 1948, he broke with the NAACP for the last time, in conflict with Walter White, who was by that time the organization's leader.

In 1949 and 1950, Du Bois joined with Paul Robeson, Alphaeus Hunton, and their Council on African Affairs to challenge U.S. foreign policy toward colonized nations. As an advocate of world peace and opponent of nuclear weapons during the cold war, he had his passport seized, was put on trial as an agent of a foreign power, and became a prime target of McCarthyism in 1951.

After having his passport reinstated in 1961, Du Bois joined the Communist Party to protest the repression of his civil liberties. Two years later, at age 95, he became a citizen of the West African nation of Ghana. He died there on August 27, 1963, one day before the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, at which Martin Luther King, Jr., gave his “I Have a Dream” speech.

Matthew Quest

See also: [African Americans](#); [Garvey](#); [Marcus](#); [Harlem Renaissance](#); [McCarthyism](#).

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Dyer, Mary (ca. 1611–1660)

The early Quaker martyr Mary Dyer was one of the so-called Antinomians exiled from Boston with the English religious dissenter Anne Hutchinson in 1637. She was excommunicated by the Boston Puritan Church, which considered her religious views—that trust in God is more important than obedience to church-given law, that individuals can communicate directly with God, and that salvation can be assured without the assistance of a minister—heretical.

Born Mary Barrett in England in about 1611, she married Puritan merchant William Dyer in London in 1633, and the couple emigrated to Massachusetts in 1635. After settling in Boston, Dyer became attracted to the ideas of Hutchinson.

Dyer was prominent among Hutchinson’s followers for accounts of a dead and deformed infant, or “monster,” she had borne. The Puritan leader who led the attack on the Antinomians, John Winthrop, interpreted Dyer’s deformed infant as divine punishment for her “monstrous” opinions. He published his view of the events in England as “A Short Story of the Rise, Raigne and Ruine of the Antinomians, Familists, and Libertines that Infected the Churches of New-England.” Like many other religious exiles from Massachusetts, the Dyers settled in Rhode Island, where religious liberty was practiced and where William Dyer held positions of authority.

On an extended visit to England, from 1652 to 1657, Mary Dyer converted to a new religious movement called the Society of Friends, or Quakers. As one of the few Christian sects of the time to encourage women to be missionaries, the Quakers encouraged Dyer to return to America when Puritan persecution of Quakers there was at its height.

On landing in Boston, Dyer was briefly imprisoned. She was released when her husband, who had not become a

Quaker, paid a heavy bond to guarantee that she would leave Massachusetts without spreading her opinions.

In the summer of 1659, Dyer returned to Boston to visit imprisoned Quakers, and again she was arrested and jailed. Banished in September, she returned once again in October to visit another imprisoned heretic. Along with two male Quakers, William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, Dyer was led to the gallows in Boston on October 27, 1659.

At the last minute, with the rope around her neck, Dyer was reprieved on condition that she go back to Rhode Island and never return to Massachusetts. Led by Governor John Endicott, a stern opponent of Quakerism, the Massachusetts authorities were influenced in their mercy by the intervention of two other colonial governors, Thomas Temple of Nova Scotia and Acadia, and, ironically, John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, the son of Dyer's persecutor in the Antinomian case.

In the late spring of 1660, Dyer returned to Boston. Soon arrested by Massachusetts authorities, she would not refute her beliefs and was hanged on Boston Common on June 1, 1660. Shortly thereafter, the colony was forced by the English government to abandon the death penalty for Quakers.

William E. Burns

See also: [Antinomianism](#); [Hutchinson, Anne](#).

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Dylan, Bob (1941–)

Widely referred to as the poet laureate of rock and roll, Bob Dylan's songwriting, performances, and social and political persona make him one of the most prominent pop-culture figures of the second half of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first. His fusion of traditional, blues-based music and poetic lyrics (sometimes searing, sometimes mystical, sometimes poignant), his strident voice on behalf of the civil rights and antiwar movements of the 1960s, his tectonic shifts in religious beliefs, and his inscrutable public persona all have placed him—inevitably and perhaps eternally—at the epicenter of his generation's counterculture.

Early Years

Robert Allen Zimmerman was born on May 24, 1941, in Duluth, Minnesota, and grew up in nearby Hibbing. He

taught himself to play the guitar, harmonica, and piano, and headed east in 1961 to perform in New York City and visit his ailing idol, Woody Guthrie, in the hospital.

Taking the name Bob Dylan, after the poet Dylan Thomas, he began performing at small clubs in New York's Greenwich Village and came to the attention of Columbia Records producer John Hammond. Dylan burst onto the folk music scene like a thunderbolt. His voice—at times reedy, shrill, and adenoidal, at other times powerful, evocative, and dramatic—was like that of no other popular singer. His early songs drew on a variety of standard sources, including traditional American music, African American blues, and Appalachian folk tunes.

Dylan rose to fame, however, with a series of overtly political songs on timely themes: civil rights in “Blowin’ in the Wind”; the youth revolution in “The Times They Are A-Changin’”; and the antiwar movement in “Masters of War.” He also focused on individual cases that demonstrated the corruption of the American legal system and the military establishment, as in the songs “The Lonesome Death of Hattie Carroll” and “John Brown.”

By the summer of 1963, Dylan's role as a musical activist earned him a place onstage at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, along with Odetta, Joan Baez, and Peter, Paul and Mary. He sang an antiwar song (“With God on Our Side”) and a song about the civil rights martyr Medgar Evers (“Only a Pawn in Their Game”).

His first albums were primarily solo acts: Dylan singing, playing the guitar, and playing the harmonica. Even in this spare context, however, he quickly expanded his oeuvre, creating a psychedelic panorama replete with multitextured, apparently drug-inspired images, with lyrics that seemed to draw on the French poet Arthur Rimbaud as much as on Guthrie (as in “A Hard Rain’s A-Gonna Fall,” “Chimes of Freedom,” and “Gates of Eden”).

Then, in the summer of 1965, Dylan stunned the musical world by taking the stage at the Newport Folk Festival in Rhode Island with an electric guitar and a standard rock ensemble and launching into a snarling rendition of “Maggie’s Farm” (not coincidentally a song about emancipation). He had appeared at the Newport festival with his acoustic guitar the previous two years. Dylan’s decision to “go electric” was simultaneously reviled by folk purists as heresy and embraced by others as a brilliant fusion of folk and rock and the inevitable next step in the revolutionary spiral of American popular music.



Widely known as a folk singer and writer of protest songs, Bob Dylan performs at the 1965 Newport Folk Festival, where he was booed for using an electric guitar. More than forty years later, Dylan has continued to resist labels and surprise audiences. (Andrew DeLory/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The tension between Dylan's traditional fans and those who supported his use of electric guitars and apparent embrace of what was called “the rock culture” culminated in a now-famous exchange between Dylan and an audience member at a concert in Manchester, England. When a fan called him a Judas, Dylan shot back, “I don’t believe you. You’re a liar!” and told his band to play louder.

In 1966, Dylan released his signature work of the rock era, *Blonde on Blonde*. The first double-disc rock album ever produced, *Blonde on Blonde* was a musical tour, ranging from the raucous “Rainy Day Women Numbers 12 and 35” (with the anthemic refrain, “Everybody must get stoned”), to the haunting and allegoric “Visions of Johanna” and the picaresque, nearly phantasmagoric “Sad-Eyed Lady of the Lowlands” (which unprecedentedly took up the entire fourth side of the album).

By this time, psychedelic music dominated the popular charts, and it would have been reasonable to expect that Dylan would continue down this road in subsequent albums. Startlingly, he chose not to. His two albums of the late 1960s—*John Wesley Harding* (1967) and *Nashville Skyline* (1969)—are spare, minimalistically arranged, country-tinged records, reflecting none of the 1960s ambiance of *Blonde on Blonde*. One of the songs on *John Wesley Harding*, “All Along the Watchtower,” achieved independent fame through Jimi Hendrix’s incendiary, near-apocalyptic cover version.

Tumultuous Career

A motorcycle accident in 1966 kept Dylan from touring until 1974. At that time, he reunited with The Band, the group (originally appearing as The Hawks) that had backed him for many of the early electric concerts.

The following year, he released *Blood on the Tracks*, the album that many Dylan fans consider his greatest single achievement. It is an intensely personal album, about lost love, regret, and the fragmentation of relationships. Songs on the record range from the introspective “Tangled Up in Blue” (“All the people we used to know/They’re an illusion to me now”) to the breakup-as-political-metaphor imagery of “Idiot Wind” (“I been double-crossed now for the very last time and now I’m finally free/I kissed good-bye the howling beast on the borderline which separated you from me”).

Dylan returned to the overtly political soon thereafter, in the context of the Rubin “Hurricane” Carter case. A prominent prizefighter, Carter had been convicted of homicide in a trial that had attracted national attention because of both the fame of the defendant and the allegations of improper police practices and racial bias. Dylan took up Carter’s cause and wrote “Hurricane,” an angry song about the politics of the trial:

*Here comes the story of the Hurricane
The man the authorities came to blame
For somethin' that he never done
Put in a prison cell, but one time
he could-a been
The champion of the world.
To see him obviously framed
Couldn't help but make me feel ashamed to
live in a land
Where justice is a game.*

“Hurricane” became the fulcrum of Dylan’s legendary Rolling Thunder tour, in which, along with a rotating array of guest artists, he performed nightly across the nation. Musically, the Rolling Thunder tour took on added significance, as Dylan began a pattern that continues to this day: the art of constantly reconstructing and reconstituting songs, altering tempi, phrasing, structure, and chords and lyrics.

Within a few years of the release of *Desire* (1976), Dylan changed his personal direction once again, and dramatically. Having been born Jewish and raised in a traditional Jewish household, he had roots in the faith that were both religious and cultural. He had been bar mitzvahed, and in his one year at the University of Minnesota he had lived at a Jewish fraternity house. *Desire*, the album on which “Hurricane” was first released, also included music that contained echoes of the Eastern European synagogue liturgy, such as “One More Cup of Coffee (Valley Below).”

In 1979, however, Dylan renounced Judaism and proclaimed himself a born-again Christian. Over the next several years, his albums—especially *Slow Train Coming* (1979) and *Saved* (1980)—were overtly religious. This is seen in their lyrics, as in these lines from “In the Garden”: “When they came for Him in the garden, did they know?/Did they know He was the Son of God, did they know that He was Lord?” and in their gospel-influenced music (“Gotta Serve Somebody”).

During the early 1980s, Dylan abandoned Christianity, erasing any doubts about the renunciation with the release, on the 1985 *Empire Burlesque* album, of “Seeing the Real You at Last.” During this period, Dylan continued to compose regularly but, inexplicably, declined to release some of the strongest songs of his career (such as “Blind Willie McTell”) on any commercially available album. Generally, however, the mid-to late 1980s were not fertile years for Dylan, and most of his albums from that period have vanished from the public’s consciousness. One exception is *Oh Mercy*, which was released in 1989.

In 1992, musicians from all popular genres—rock, folk, country, soul, and alternative—traveled to New York City’s Madison Square Garden to pay homage to Dylan in a thirtieth-anniversary concert that produced some of the most dramatic Dylan covers to date (including Neil Young’s “Just Like Tom Thumb’s Blues” and Tom Petty and the Heartbreakers’ “License to Kill”) and featured a rare appearance by Al Kooper, the organ player whose distinctive style helped energize Dylan’s original recording of “Like a Rolling Stone.”

Soon after the tribute concert, Dylan reorganized his road band, and his “never-ending tour” has continued to this day. While each tour features a few core songs that are repeated nearly nightly, Dylan’s set lists are never duplicated, and his song selections range from predictable oldies, to gospel and bluegrass covers, to rarities from his own songbook that leave audiences gasping. An example of the latter was his performance in New York City in 2002 of “Yea! Heavy and a Bottle of Bread,” a song released on *The Basement Tapes* in 1975 and never previously performed live.

Return

The period beginning in the late 1990s has been extraordinarily creative for Dylan. His 1997 CD, *Time Out of Mind*, looks at life from the world-weary perspective of a man in late middle age confronting mortality (a perspective jolted by a case of histoplasmosis, a potentially fatal disease that causes swelling of the sac that surrounds the heart). Songs from this CD such as “Not Dark Yet” and “Love Sick” show a side of Dylan rarely before seen: poignant, reflective, mature, and contemplative.

Over the next several years, Dylan won an Academy Award for Best Original Song for a Movie (“Things Have Changed” from the 2000 film *Wonder Boys*) and released *Love and Theft*—which he called “an electronic grid” of “variations on the 12-bar theme and blues-based melodies”—that won the 2002 Grammy Award for Best Contemporary Folk Album. In addition, Dylan has made public some of the most famous historical artifacts of his musical career: recordings of the Manchester concert (*Live 1966*, released in 1998); a Rolling Thunder concert (*Live 1975*, released in 2002), and the legendary Philharmonic Hall concert (*Live 1964*, released in 2004). In 2006, he released the critically acclaimed *Modern Times* CD and became the oldest living artist to enter the Billboard record-sales charts with the best-selling album of the week; *Modern Times* was later chosen as Billboard’s best album of the year. *Together Through Life* (2009), likewise well reviewed, rose to the top spot on the U.S. Billboard the week it was released. And later that year, Dylan surprised his fans yet again by releasing a collection of Christmas standards (and not-so-standards) called *Christmas in the Heart*.

Bob Dylan’s never-ending tour continues, spanning the world. His nightly introduction inevitably includes the phrase “the voice of the promise of the 1960s counterculture.” He continues to puzzle, perplex, and challenge listeners, forever reconstructing himself and his band (changing musicians, instruments, and instrumentation). Nearly forty years after Dylan’s self-description in “My Back Pages” (“I was so much older then/I’m younger than that now”), he remains “Forever Young.”

See also: [Baez, Joan](#); [Folk Music](#); [Newport Folk Festival](#); [Rock and Roll](#).

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East Village, New York City

The East Village in New York City—the neighborhood in lower Manhattan east of Greenwich Village, north of the Lower East Side, and south of Fourteenth Street—has been home to a succession of countercultural groups and movements since the end of World War II. Originally considered part of the Lower East Side, the East Village gained a distinctive character when artists and writers of the Beat Generation migrated into the streets east of Lafayette and Fourth Avenue, south of Fourteenth Street, and north of Houston Street.

As “beatnik” artists and writers began to descend upon New York City in the 1950s and populate the West Village, many decided to move east in search of more affordable living and a more invigorating sense of freedom and disorder, outside the postwar cultural mainstream. The East Village, with its feeling of separateness, soon became a popular destination. Writers such as Jack Kerouac and Frank O’Hara could be spotted in the many ethnic restaurants and bars in the area. Abstract expressionist artists such as Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, and Franz Kline displayed their work in its studios and storefronts. Musicians such as jazz saxophonist Sonny Rollins played in the numerous clubs throughout the neighborhood.

The 1960s brought the influx of a new group and new counterculture: hippies. So extensive and distinctive was the transformation that the media came to recognize the neighborhood as a center of the counterculture movement. It was at this time, in fact, that the neighborhood came to acquire the name East Village. St. Mark’s Place became the center of hippie activity, full of people reciting poems, singing songs, and organizing protests. Shops in the area sold beads, drug paraphernalia, and secondhand clothing. Experimental theaters became prevalent. And pop artist Andy Warhol opened an experimental club on St. Mark’s Place showcasing the rock band Velvet Underground.

By the end of 1967, the hippie movement in the East Village was beginning to wind down. That October, a hippie couple had been murdered in their East Village apartment, and the sense of peace and tranquility associated with the area dissipated into fear of urban violence. As hippies moved out of the city to the countryside, the singing and poetry reading stopped, and the head shops and alternative theaters closed down. The East Village became known as a violent and seedy neighborhood.

The year 1971 marked the symbolic end of the hippie era as the popular Fillmore East, the longtime mecca of East Coast rock music, closed its doors. Frank Zappa, John Lennon, and Yoko Ono performed on the final night.

The image—and reality—of decay characterized the East Village for the remainder of the 1970s. Indeed it came to symbolize the economic decline of New York City as a whole. Amid the chaos and decline, however, a new counterculture emerged that centered on these very aspects of urban degradation. By the end of the decade, the East Village had become a haven for the punk movement in America. Focusing on social decay and rituals of violence, punkers brought their music, style, and culture of rebelliousness to the nightclubs of the East Village.

Perhaps the most popular club of the punk movement was CBGB, located in the crime-riddled area at Bleecker Street and the Bowery. Crowds lined up among prostitutes and drug dealers outside the club to hear such seminal punk rock acts as the Ramones, Patti Smith, and the Talking Heads.

By the early 1980s, New York City was beginning to recover from its fiscal crisis, and the East Village slowly shed its negative reputation. Artists of all kinds flocked to the area, and the commercial art scene prospered. By 1984, more than seventy commercial galleries were operating in the neighborhood, and popular artists, including Jean-Michel Basquiat, socialized in the East Village scene.

Once again the neighborhood's reputation was transformed. It was now known as a trendy art district. Although many of the galleries closed down by the end of the decade, the infusion of culture attracted yet another counterculture—gay people. An influx of younger and more radical gays men and lesbians brought a proliferation of gay clubs, bars, and coffee shops.

The countercultural image of the East Village remained largely intact even with the sweeping redevelopment of the 1990s. New apartment buildings were built, and the upper middle class settled in. The neighborhood came to be viewed as an alternative to Soho and Greenwich Village, two of the trendiest areas in Manhattan. Parks and other public spaces were cleaned up, and many areas that had promoted public expressions of the counterculture—in whatever form—were vacated.

The East Village today is a thriving neighborhood in which artists and writers share space with students and more mainstream residents. The countercultures that shaped the East Village in the second half of the twentieth century are still evident in the colorful coffee shops, bars, clubs, and stores that dominate the area, as well as many of the people who still call the neighborhood home.

Gavin J. Wilk

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [CBGB](#): [Greenwich Village, New York City](#): [Hippies](#).

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Eastman, Max (1883–1969), and Crystal Eastman (1881–1928)

The radical editor and writer Max Eastman and his sister, Crystal Eastman, a lawyer and social reformer, were prominent socialists of the early twentieth century. Max was heralded for his editorial leadership of the socialist magazine *The Masses*, while his sister worked tirelessly in the areas of labor reform, suffrage, civil liberties, and the nascent women's movement.

Max Eastman and Crystal Eastman were born to two Congregationalist ministers of Canandaigua, New York, on January 4, 1883, and June 25, 1881, respectively. Their mother was a formidable early influence, engaging their interests in topics, such as suffrage, feminism, and psychoanalysis, that would become lifelong passions.

Crystal attended Vassar College, graduating in 1903, and obtained her master's degree in sociology at Columbia University in 1904. She nearly completed her law degree at New York University in 1907. Early that year, after graduating from Williams College, Max moved to Greenwich Village to become a writer and to be closer to his sister. Through Crystal's academic connections, Max was appointed by John Dewey as an instructor of philosophy at Columbia, where he taught for several years.

Later in 1907, Crystal joined the staff of the Russell Sage Foundation's Pittsburgh Survey, the first comprehensive study of industrial accidents in the United States. Her work on this project brought her to the attention of New York Governor Charles Evans Hughes, who, in June 1909, appointed her to the New York Employers Liability Commission, making her the state's first woman commissioner. In her work on this commission, Crystal drafted the first workers' compensation law of New York State, which would become the basis for similar laws in other states. A year later she published *Work Accidents and the Law*, an influential book for the labor reform movement.

In 1909, at Crystal's urging, Max formed the Men's League for Woman Suffrage. Both were married the following year, Max to Ida Rauh, and Crystal to Wallace Benedict. In 1912, Max was appointed editor of *The Masses*, a position he held until 1917, when the federal government forced the magazine to cease publication for its antiwar sentiments. From 1918 to 1922, Max and Crystal edited a second radical publication, *The Liberator*.

Crystal had moved to Milwaukee with her husband in 1911, and, in October of that year, she accepted the position of campaign manager for the ultimately unsuccessful 1912 woman suffrage referendum in Wisconsin. In the years following that defeat, Crystal became estranged from her husband, moved back to New York, and continued to work in a national campaign for suffrage and other women's rights.

When World War I broke out in Europe in 1914, Crystal focused her efforts on running the New York Woman's Peace Party and the American Union Against Militarism (AUAM). In 1917, with U.S. entry into the war, she helped found the Civil Liberties Bureau of the AUAM, which sought to defend conscientious objectors and antiwar militants. (The organization ultimately became the American Civil Liberties Union, ACLU.) On July 8, 1928, at the age of forty-six, Crystal died of nephritis, an inflammation of the kidney.

Max had spent the years 1922 to 1924 in the Soviet Union. Following that trip, he began to criticize the turn the revolution had taken under Soviet political leader Joseph Stalin. In books such as *Since Lenin Died* (1925), he argued that the totalitarianism of Stalin's regime threatened the future of socialism. Max allied himself with the Russian communist leader Leon Trotsky, for whom he would act as translator and literary agent throughout the 1930s.

As World War II approached, however, Max became disillusioned with socialism entirely. In the 1950s, he supported Joseph McCarthy and the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) and published a book titled *Reflections on the Failure of Socialism* (1955). Thus, Max Eastman moderated his political positions long before his death on March 25, 1969. The height of his influence and fame, however, had been in his role as the editor of radical socialist journals in the early twentieth century.

See also: [Liberator, The](#); [Masses, The](#); [McCarthyism](#); [Socialism](#); [Suffragists](#).

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Easy Rider

Released in July 1969, *Easy Rider* quickly earned a reputation as the definitive film representation of the American counterculture of the 1960s. Directed by Dennis Hopper, and written by Hopper, Peter Fonda, and Terry Southern, the movie chronicles the mystical motorcycle journey of two buckskin-wearing “longhairs” as they cross the American Southwest on their way from Los Angeles to the Mardi Gras festival in New Orleans. Along the way, they experience the conflicting extremes of freedom and social violence, the idealism of communal living, and the emotional agony of alienation. *Easy Rider* presents an overall vision that epitomizes the ambiguous legacy of the 1960s.



Peter Fonda (left) and Dennis Hopper star as Captain America and Billy, respectively, in the 1969 hippie road picture Easy Rider, about two bikers who set out from Los Angeles to New Orleans in search of the “real America.” (Silver Screen Collection/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

At the beginning of the film, the two main characters—Captain America (Fonda) and Billy the Kid (Hopper)—complete a cocaine deal that will finance their trip. They symbolically throw away their watches. Before the opening credits are finished, they are riding down the highway on their custom choppers, accompanied by the pounding rhythm of Steppenwolf’s “Born to Be Wild.”

The camera pans lovingly over the sun-drenched desert and scattered cattle ranches they pass along the way. When they stop to have dinner with a rancher and his family, Captain America cannot help but express his admiration for the pastoral Western lifestyle he witnesses.

The idyll continues as the counterculture pilgrims pick up a hitchhiker—a hippie who hears the voices of dead American Indians rising from the earth—and stay for a while at the commune where he lives. The simplicity of the communal life is enchanting to Captain America, but the skittish Billy is made uneasy by the eccentricities of the resident mime troupe and by the strange hostility of the men of the camp. After a quick skinny-dip with two female members of the community, Billy and Captain America return to the open road.

The two free spirits soon join up with George Hanson, a small-town lawyer played by Jack Nicholson, and the three end up in jail together—Hanson for drunkenness and the travelers for illegally joining a marching band on parade. After their release from jail, the three head off together, with Hanson riding pillion and wearing an old football helmet.

One night around a campfire, Captain America acquaints Hanson with marijuana. Hanson regales his companions with crackpot stories about alien invaders. The next day, the three run afoul of the locals. That night, Hanson is clubbed to death in his sleep by vigilantes who view the presence of the longhairs as a threat to the purity of their daughters.

Captain America and Billy continue their ride to Mardi Gras, disillusioned by the violence they have encountered.

Upon reaching New Orleans, they pick up two prostitutes, take LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide, or acid), wander into a New Orleans cemetery, and experience a collective bad trip—a drug-induced mania filled with hallucinatory images and ravings inspired by Catholic icons in the graveyard.

As they get ready to leave New Orleans, Captain America enigmatically tells Billy, “We blew it.” Shortly thereafter, the idyll comes to a violent end. Riding down a lonely country road, the two riders are blown away with shotguns wielded by good ol’ boys passing by in a pickup truck.

With its tragic ending, moral ambiguity, and idiosyncratic personal vision, *Easy Rider* has been hailed by some film historians as the beginning of a new wave of creative filmmaking that would take place in the 1970s. Others see it as the symbolic end to America’s hippie counterculture and an enduring evocation of that era.

Michael Van Dyke

See also: [Biker Culture](#): [Film](#), [Independent](#): [Hippies](#): [Hopper, Dennis](#).

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Eckankar

Eckankar, better known as ECK, is a religious movement that stresses personal effort and personal responsibility in discovering the light and sound of God, which adherents view as the ultimate method of linking the soul with God. The name *Eckankar* derives from Hindi words meaning “worker with the One.” Since 1965, up to 100,000 people in the United States and around the world have sought peace and fulfillment through ECK.

Eckankar was founded by Paul Twitchell in California in 1965. Twitchell, born in 1909, had worked as a journalist and was an avid reader of occult literature. He and his wife joined the Self-Revelation Church of Absolute Monism, founded by Swami Premananda, in 1950; Twitchell was expelled for personal misconduct five years later. Twitchell also took instruction from Kirpal Singh, the founder of the Ruhani Satsang movement, and belonged to L. Ron Hubbard’s Church of Scientology (and worked as Hubbard’s press agent).

Twitchell originally established ECK as a for-profit business, later changing it to a nonprofit religious organization (thereby exempting it from federal taxes). The original headquarters were located in Las Vegas, Nevada, and later moved to Menlo Park, California, and then to Chanhassen, Minnesota, where a large temple was built.

According to Twitchell’s account, he “rediscovered” ECK in the 1960s. In his view, other religions included only parts of the true message of soul travel and self-realization, which he believed had been brought to Earth by Gakko from the city of Retz on the planet Venus. Twitchell received his instruction from two past “Living Masters,” who were no longer on this plane of existence. Twitchell was the 971st Living Master, charged with helping others discover the light and sound paths that would make them coworkers with God.

Twitchell spoke and wrote prolifically. He claimed that his teachings gathered the best and most truthful aspects of other religions. ECK drew especially upon the Sant Mat movement of northern India, although Twitchell dropped

many of the specifically Indian terms that movement used. In many of his writings, including *The Tiger's Fang* (1967) and *Far Country* (1970), he directly copied passages from Sant Mat writings without attributing them.

ECK teaches that the soul is a part of God, sent to this plane of existence on a spiritual journey of discovery. It constitutes an individual's true identity; as a person advances in knowledge and realization, the soul advances to different levels of existence. The Living Master and ECK facilitate that journey. Tapping into the inner light and sound that flow from God will allow a person's soul to travel to other planes and advance in knowledge. Karma or sin accumulated by an individual will be wiped out as one's realization increases.

ECK has few moral taboos. Issues such as abortion, violence, and sexual orientation are left to the individual to address personally. Alcohol and tobacco use are discouraged, however, and drug use is considered a step backward on the spiritual journey.

A variety of rituals are practiced by adherents of ECK. Because light and sound are important, spiritual exercises are intended to help students master them. One important exercise is the singing of "HU," an ancient name for God. Followers sing it for extended periods, either alone or in groups and as part of their worship. Rituals also include ceremonies to mark the entrance of young people into ECK, the passage of adolescents into adulthood in the faith, marriage between two members, and memorial services for members who have left this plane of existence.

ECK is unique among religions in that clerics are volunteers who serve without pay. They are organized according to their spiritual level, up to the Living Master, of which there is only one. International membership meetings are held annually.

Twitchell died on September 17, 1971. Soon thereafter, his widow told ECK members that he had appeared to her in a dream and named Darwin Gross as his successor. Gross named Harold Klemp as the new Living Master of ECK in October 1981, but the two fell into dispute. Gross launched his own group, known as Ancient Teachings of the Masters (ATOM), and Klemp ordered ECK records be purged of any mention of Gross.

ECK remains very much alive in the early twenty-first century, with an estimated global membership of over 50,000 (the organization does not publish membership figures) and especially strong growth in Africa. In the early 2000s, more than 160 ECK centers were operating in the United States, with over 360 others around the world. U.S. membership is relatively stable, with some loss to breakaway groups such as the Movement of Spiritual Inner Awareness (MSIA).

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Cults: Scientology](#).

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Ecstasy

Ingestion of the synthetic drug ecstasy, or methylenedioxymethamphetamine (MDMA), causes the release of high levels of the neurotransmitters serotonin and dopamine, while at the same time blocking the reuptake of serotonin, resulting in an almost immediate feeling of euphoria, heightened physical sensation, lowered inhibitions, and an increased sense of empathy for others. The visual, auditory, and physical stimulation experienced at “raves” (all-night dance parties) enhances the psychotropic effects of ecstasy, making it the “club drug” of choice in the 1990s. It is also referred to as the “hug drug,” as users claim a sense of peace and oneness while under its influence. Negative side effects may include increased heart rate, dehydration, muscle tremors, and involuntary teeth clenching, as well as severe depression and intense headaches following the initial high.

The German pharmaceutical company Merck inadvertently discovered MDMA in 1912 as an intermediate step in its quest for a hemostatic drug (one that stops bleeding). In 1953, the U.S. Army Chemical Center, in search of potential cold war espionage drugs, secretly experimented with MDMA (which it dubbed EA 1475) on dogs, mice, and monkeys in hopes of finding an effective brainwashing agent.

A handful of American psychiatrists tried using the drug in psychotherapy with little fanfare until the 1970s, when Dr. Sasha Shulgin and Dr. Dave Nichols promoted its clinical use in calming patients for therapy sessions. MDMA therapy soon caught on with other therapists, who referred to the drug as “Adam” (invoking the innocence and oneness with nature personified by the biblical figure). Its clinical use remained discreet, however, as the therapeutic community was concerned that the general public would catch on to its effects and open the door to recreational abuse.

MDMA was widely used and readily available in Europe, however, and by the 1980s, British “ravers” introduced the drug to dance clubs in the United States. Several Dallas entrepreneurs, called the Texas Group, met the American demand by producing and selling little brown bottles of “Sassyfras,” or ecstasy in pill form. Consumers could purchase the little-known (and not yet illegal) drug over the phone by credit card or in many dance clubs in the Dallas and Fort Worth area.

By the mid-1980s, the increased popularity and notoriety of MDMA sparked widespread concern about the safety of the drug and its potentially addictive properties. At the urging of U.S. Senator Lloyd Bentsen (D-TX), the Drug Enforcement Agency (DEA) imposed an emergency ban on the drug on July 1, 1985. Over the protests of psychotherapists, ecstasy was permanently classified as a Schedule I drug (making it illegal for any purpose and acknowledging no known medical use) on March 23, 1988.

Ironically, all the media attention contributed to increased recreational use in subsequent years. Thus, illegal trafficking of the drug has become a problem for the nation’s law enforcement authorities, while the ban has hindered legitimate clinical use.

Jennifer Aerts Terry

See also: [Drug Culture](#); [Rave Culture](#).

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Electrical Bananas

During the spring and summer of 1967, a rumor circulated in the American counterculture that a person could experience euphoria and hallucinogenic effects by smoking dried banana peels. Although the rumor soon proved false, the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) responded on May 26, 1967, by issuing a press release that declared scientific analysis of several banana concoctions had failed to produce “detectable quantities of known hallucinogenics.”

Members of Country Joe and the Fish, a San Francisco Bay Area psychedelic band, were primarily responsible for setting “The Great Banana Hoax” in motion. One night in late 1966, before a show in Vancouver, Canada, the band’s drummer, Gary “Chicken” Hirsh—who had a long history of experimenting with folk recipes—persuaded his band mates to smoke banana peels, based on the theory that they might contain chemical qualities similar to marijuana. That same night, members of the band also drank from a jug of water that had been dosed with LSD. They joked that they had experienced the drug’s effects from the banana peels. Soon afterward, at a Bay Area benefit concert for the legalization of marijuana, the band passed out hundreds of banana “joints” (hand-rolled cigarettes) and encouraged the crowd to smoke them.

Around the same time, the Scottish-born folk balladeer Donovan released his hit single “Mellow Yellow,” which contained the lyric: “Electrical banana/Is gonna be a sudden craze/Electrical banana/Is bound to be the very next phase/They call it Mellow Yellow.” Many people mistakenly believed that the song was about smoking bananas, and hippies began referring to dried banana peels as “Mellow Yellow.” Donovan later explained that the lyric had nothing at all to do with bananas but was instead a sly reference to a yellow electric vibrator for which he had seen an advertisement.

In the March 3, 1967, issue of the *Berkeley Barb*—a well-circulated underground newspaper of the Bay Area—Country Joe and the Fish’s manager, Ed Denson, extended the hoax by printing a recipe for turning banana peels into a marijuana-like substance. Soon thereafter, the *San Francisco Chronicle* ran a story with the banner headline “Kicks for Hippies: The Banana Turn-On.” According to the article, “Bananas—the ordinary bananas found in every grocery store—may be the new trend in the psychedelic world.”

As *Newsweek* later recounted, underground newspapers started reprinting the *Barb*’s recipe for Mellow Yellow “almost before anyone could peel a banana.” Several papers began running advertisements for a company called Mellow Yellow, which sold “100 percent LEGAL, PURE BANANA” from its offices in San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district. Elsewhere, merchants sold yellow pipes that were made to resemble bananas and T-shirts emblazoned with the blue logo for the United Fruit Company.

At hippie gatherings, youths signaled to each other with the banana salute (a bent middle finger) and invented comical ditties and chants heralding banana highs. A New Jersey congressman, Frank Thompson, Jr., facetiously proposed the Banana Labeling Act of 1967, which would have required stickers on bananas that said “Caution: Banana Peel Smoking May Be Injurious to Your Health.” Later, an acid-rock band called the Electric Prunes wrote a song called “The Great Banana Hoax.”

The hoopla around electrical bananas owed much to the power of suggestion. To a receptive state of mind, it seemed plausible that smoking bananas could cause a mild high or a relaxed disposition. But hippies also used the banana rumor to taunt defenders of the established culture. Bananas were ubiquitous, and the youth counterculture was intrigued by any hint of a corrupting influence in the mainstream marketplace. Also attractive to

them was the degree to which the banana rumors bypassed rational thought.

In fusing avant-gardism with social agitation, Mellow Yellow's champions acted in what historians P. Braunstein and Michael William Doyle called a "countercultural mode" that "reveled in tangents, metaphors, unresolved contradictions [and] conscious ruptures of logic and reason." The Great Banana Hoax also underscored the reach and capability of the underground press, which, in the late 1960s, became an elaborate mechanism for disseminating alternative news and opinions.

John McMillian

See also: [Drug Culture](#).

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Ellison, Harlan (1934–)

Harlan Jay Ellison is one of America's most prominent and contentious science fiction authors, editors, screenwriters, and critics. As an editor, he helped foster the New Wave movement in American science fiction, which placed less emphasis on such traditional topics as space travel and technology and more on psychological, sociological, and sexual elements of a story, as well as on a work's literary merit.

Ellison was born on May 27, 1934, in Cleveland, Ohio, to Jewish American parents. His father died in 1949, and the young Ellison spent much of his youth running away from home and taking on an assortment of odd jobs. He attended the Ohio State University briefly before moving to New York City in 1955 to pursue a career in writing, primarily in science fiction.

After a two-year stint in the army from 1957 to 1959, he settled in Chicago, where in addition to writing he worked as an editor with Regency Books, publishing works by science fiction luminaries such as Kurt Vonnegut, Robert Bloch, and Philip José Farmer. He also published a number of soft-core pornographic stories under the pseudonym Cordwainer Bird; later, he would use that pseudonym whenever he felt an editor or director had substantially changed his work.

Ellison moved to California in 1962, and, in addition to his short story and novel writing, began selling scripts to a number of television series, including *Burke's Law* and *Route 66*. He wrote scripts for the original series of *The Outer Limits* and *Star Trek*, winning Best Original Screenplay awards from the Writers Guild of America for the episodes "Demon with a Glass Hand" and "City on the Edge of Forever," respectively. In addition, he wrote a column on television for the *Los Angeles Free Press*, served as a creative consultant on the series *The New Twilight Zone* and *Babylon 5*, and did voice-over work on a number of films.

His varied efforts have earned him numerous awards, including more than ten Hugo Awards, four Nebula Awards, five Bram Stoker Awards, two Edgar Allan Poe Awards, two George Méliès Awards, the Silver Pen Award, and four Writers Guild of America Most Outstanding Teleplay Awards. In 2006, he received the title of SFWA Grand Master from the Science Fiction and Fantasy Writers of America.

Ellison wrote some of his most celebrated short stories during the 1960s, including such award winners as “Repent, Harlequin!’ Said the Ticktock Man,” a paean to civil disobedience; “I Have No Mouth and I Must Scream,” an allegory of hell in which an all-knowing supercomputer torments five humans for eternity; and “A Boy and His Dog,” which examines love and loyalty in a post-apocalyptic future. Such themes represented a major transformation for the science-fiction genre, breaking from the space travel and alien stories that had been standard to that time. Other like-minded writers, forming what would be called the New Wave movement, found sponsors in British author and editor Michael Moorcock and his *New Worlds* magazine, and in Ellison, who challenged other science fiction writers to take up broader themes in his two anthologies, *Dangerous Visions* (1967) and *Again, Dangerous Visions* (1972).

In the introduction to *Dangerous Visions*, Ellison calls it “more than a book. If we are lucky, it is a revolution.” The thirty-two original stories in that volume, with introductions to each by Ellison and afterwords by the authors themselves, were written by a veritable who’s who of 1960s science fiction. Nevertheless, encouraged by Ellison, they all sought to challenge the genre’s existing boundaries by incorporating concepts from psychology and sociology, as well as sexual themes. The work earned Ellison a special Hugo Award, and major awards and nominations went to six of the contributors: Philip José Farmer, Philip K. Dick, Larry Niven, Fritz Leiber, Theodore Sturgeon, and Samuel R. Delany.

The even-larger sequel, *Again, Dangerous Visions*, also was well received, gaining Ellison his second special Hugo for editing, as well as producing awards and nominations for five contributors: Ursula K. LeGuin, Gene Wolfe, Kate Wilhelm, Joanna Russ, and Richard A. Lupoff. The two anthologies also featured the work of other leading voices in the New Wave movement, including Brian Aldiss, J.G. Ballard, John Brunner, Thomas M. Disch, M. John Harrison, R.A. Lafferty, and Roger Zelazny.

By the time *Again, Dangerous Visions* appeared, however, the New Wave “revolution” was beginning to wane. This corresponded to a general decline in the rebelliousness that had marked the 1960s counterculture, and the New Wave movement had been largely assimilated into the science fiction mainstream by the early 1970s. While there would be counterrevolutions (such as the hard science fiction movement of the 1980s) and even more radical efforts (in the cyberpunk movement), Ellison had played a unique role in opening the world of science fiction to more of the concerns of society at large.

George R. Ehrhardt

See also: [Cyberpunk: Science Fiction](#).

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Emerson, Ralph Waldo (1803–1882)

A nineteenth-century essayist, Ralph Waldo Emerson helped define the transcendentalist movement—an idealistic spiritual and literary movement that emphasized the divinity of humankind and the immanence of God over the material, the empirical, and the teachings of organized religion. Emerson seemed destined for a career in the church, but he went on to become America's first public intellectual of truly international stature.

Born in provincial Boston on May 25, 1803, Emerson traced his paternal ancestry back through an unbroken line of preachers to William Bulkeley, who immigrated in 1634 and took office as the first minister of Concord, Massachusetts. Emerson's pious and intellectual aunt, Mary Moody Emerson, challenged him to regular theological debates, making him a serious and bookish boy. Despite the family's poverty following his father's early death, young Emerson entered Harvard at age fourteen, supporting himself by tutoring and waiting tables in the dining hall.

Emerson was an undistinguished student, and he later remarked that the official curriculum did little for his academic development. But it was at Harvard that he began a fifty-year habit of keeping a journal to record the state of his mind and soul, working patiently through every question of philosophy and faith that arose within.

After graduating from Harvard, he taught school unenthusiastically for four years, then entered divinity school in 1825. Despite difficult bouts with tuberculosis and personal doubts about doctrine, he persevered. In 1829, he was elected minister of Boston's Second Church, quickly making a name for himself as a sincere and challenging preacher.

Ellen Tucker, Emerson's first wife, died of tuberculosis in 1831, just seventeen months after they were married. This heartbreak initiated a period of intensified religious questioning for Emerson. What he called the "corpse-cold" rationalism of Unitarian Christianity seemed to offer him no consolation for his loss. In summer 1832, Emerson left his congregation, telling them that he could no longer administer communion in good conscience, as he did not believe in transubstantiation. In his journal, he wrote, "I have sometimes thought that in order to be a good minister it was necessary to leave the ministry. The profession is antiquated."

After leaving the church, Emerson traveled for a year in Italy, France, and England, where he was deeply impressed by the emotional depth and sophistication of European literature and culture. On his return to the United States, he began to speak regularly before lyceum audiences, experimenting with a new role as a public intellectual. The lyceum movement consisted of hundreds of local clubs that hired traveling lecturers to talk on miscellaneous topics. Emerson became by far the most successful speaker in this milieu, taking up a wide range of cultural, philosophical, and spiritual topics.

Addressing his audience from what amounted to a secular pulpit, delivering his message in richly poetic cadences, he attacked the materialism and shallowness of American culture, as well as the formality and hypocrisy of organized Christianity. Emerson also helped popularize much of European Romantic literature, especially the philosophical writings of Thomas Carlyle, Samuel Taylor Coleridge, Friedrich Schiller, Johann Wolfgang von Goethe, and William Wordsworth. In the context of the long economic depression of 1837 to 1845, his lectures struck an inspirational chord, enjoining listeners to rise above the muck of this world and focus instead on the ideal life of the heart.

Emerson's first book, *Nature* (1836), was inspired by German philosopher Immanuel Kant's speculations on human knowledge, by the spiritual writings of Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg, by the long tradition of Platonism, and by various Asian religious texts. *Nature* articulated a spiritual philosophy that came to be known as transcendentalism. Its central focus was the intuitive power of the individual mind or soul to understand divine truths immediately and spontaneously.

“Why should not we enjoy an original relation to the universe?” Emerson wrote. “There are new lands, new men, new thoughts. Let us demand our own works and laws and worship.” He felt that the natural world was the most reliable teacher, since the attentive seeker, a “schoolboy under the bending dome of the day,” could find correspondences between visible forms and spiritual truths. The sunrise, for instance, might operate as a moving emblem of individual awakening for those alert enough to witness it.

Essays, First Series (1841) and *Essays, Second Series* (1844) developed and expanded the ideas mapped out in *Nature*, cementing Emerson’s reputation within a growing counterculture that sought an emotional and optimistic alternative to the Calvinist Christianity that was dominant in New England. His 1837 address to Harvard’s Phi Beta Kappa Society, “The American Scholar,” is one of the most influential statements of nineteenth-century cultural ambition, calling for “thinking” scholars to produce a distinctly American literature, free from the constraints of European works and culture. In it, he defined the cultural role of the public intellectual: “He is the world’s eye. He is the world’s heart.”

Perhaps the community most satisfying to this public figure was the village of Concord, where Emerson spent his mornings writing, his afternoons walking and gardening, and his evenings socializing with an ever-growing circle of friends and literary acquaintances, including Amos Bronson Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Nathaniel Hawthorne, Henry David Thoreau, and others, who would help him form a loose-knit discussion group known as the Transcendental Club. Emerson had remarried in 1835, finding a steady partner in Lydia Jackson, with whom he had four children.

From 1842 to 1844, Emerson edited the transcendentalist journal *The Dial*, with Fuller, an influential feminist. He encouraged Thoreau as a poet and transcendental experimenter. He enjoyed friendships with Alcott and George Ripley, the founders of the utopian communities Fruitlands and Brook Farm. And he maintained warm relationships with a wide circle of progressive ministers, including Theodore Parker and Orestes Brownson.

Emerson’s instinctual response to political struggle was to withdraw into abstraction, as he tended to feel that only through individual self-reform could broader social change be accomplished. As the crisis over slavery intensified, however, he rose to the occasion, writing, “It is not possible to extricate ourselves from the questions in which our age is involved.” When the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 took force, Emerson began to oppose slavery openly, lending his considerable countercultural prestige to the abolitionist movement.

After the Civil War, Emerson primarily led a life of books, occasionally emerging from Concord to lecture before admiring audiences. In his later years, he gradually lost his memory, especially after the burning of his home, and came to require constant attendance. He died quietly on April 27, 1882.

Lance Newman

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Alcott, Amos Bronson](#); [Brook Farm](#); [Brownson, Orestes](#); [Dial, The](#); [Fruitlands](#); [Ripley, George](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Emo and Hardcore

The emo (“emotional core”) movement is a musical offshoot of hardcore punk that surfaced in the late 1980s and the culture that emerged with it. While the movement’s early music was structurally similar to much of that popularized in early regional hardcore scenes, emo was characterized by lyrical content that emphasized introspective depictions of raw emotion. As emo gradually increased in popularity during the 1990s, major record labels started to court and sign popular bands from the subgenre. While the term was originally coined to describe a music-centric underground subculture, it has gained a larger connotation.

The origins of the emo movement can be traced to the mid-1980s, when several veterans of regional hardcore music scenes grew tired of escalating violence among participants. Early emo bands often added a revelatory, personal tone to their lyrics. The success of the independent emo scene grew in the early 1990s. Many California-based bands applied emo conventions to a traditional pop structure to increase the accessibility of the music, and record labels started to pay attention. Sub-Pop Records, Capitol Records, and other major labels began mass-market campaigns for bands such as Seattle’s Sunny Day Real Estate and Arizona’s Jimmy Eat World.

The push by major labels to homogenize emo music led to a backlash from artists within the community, and many bands dissolved as a result. Traditional emo culture lost much of its definition in the late 1990s, as record labels were quick to file fundamentally dissimilar new bands under a figurative emo umbrella to increase record sales.

In the early twenty-first century, mainstream record labels fervently increased the emo marketing push in an attempt to appeal to teenagers. Bands such as Dashboard Confessional, Taking Back Sunday, and My Chemical Romance give lyrical focus to themes of alienation, heartbreak, unrequited love, and the inability to relate to society or personal circumstances—emotions expressed on a regular basis by American youth. Thus, the emo movement is said to provide a popular template for the reflection of contemporary teen angst.

As an expansion of emo culture, many young fans also reflect a self-imposed inability to relate to mainstream American culture through fashion, poetry, and other forms of art. Contemporary emo fans often embrace cult films (such as the work of David Lynch), self-produced poetry readings (often held in coffee shops), and distinct brand loyalty in fashion. Stores such as Hot Topic have opened in recent decades to accommodate the material demands of contemporary emo fandom, though many young fans also frequent thrift stores in search of retro fashion items.

Thus, over the years, emo has become less of a subgenre descriptor and more of a cultural adjective: in many circles, references to emo-like behavior refer to persistent isolation and pessimism. The homogenization of mainstream emo culture by American corporate interests and the lack of universal traits in the movement’s music have added a negative connotation to the term in many social circles. The emo scene has lost many of its original followers over the years, as much of today’s emo culture caters to younger audiences.

Wesley French

See also: [Punk Rock](#).

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Encounter Groups

A product of the 1960s and hallmark of the counterculture movement, the encounter group is a form of unstructured psychotherapy in which participants seek to express their feelings and increase their sensitivity and responsiveness. The term is used in reference to any of an assortment of groups—variously known as T-groups, sensory awareness groups, marathon groups, truth labs, human relation groups, personal growth groups, psychodrama groups, human potential groups, and sensitivity training groups—that employs a variety of techniques.

While the formats of these groups vary, their styles and goals share common features: They provide an intensive group experience; they generally comprise a small number of participants in order to facilitate face-to-face interaction; they focus on the here and now, or the behaviors of participants as they emerge within the group; they encourage openness, honesty, interpersonal confrontation, and total self-disclosure; they elicit strong emotional expression; participants are not referred to as “patients”; and they focus on increasing inner awareness. The goals of the group inevitably entail some form of personal change—in behavior, values, or one’s manner of being in the world.

By the late 1960s, one of the “gurus” of the encounter movement, humanistic psychologist Carl R. Rogers, accurately announced that the intensive group experience was “one of the most rapidly growing social phenomena in the United States.” This was especially true in the West, where, for example, there were more than 200 encounter groups in the immediate vicinity of Palo Alto, California, alone.

Another index of the encounter group movement’s popularity was the proliferation of “growth centers.” The prototype for these was Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California, which, since its founding in 1962, has been a mecca for workshops by luminaries of the human potential movement. Among these have been the British writer Aldous Huxley; German American psychiatrist Fritz Perls; Ida Rolf, creator of the structural-integration massage-therapy technique known as Rolfing; Ukrainian physicist Moshe Feldenkrais, developer of Awareness Through Movement, a verbally directed mind-body exercise technique; Alexander Lowen, founder of bioenergetic analysis, a type of mind-body therapy intended to provide release from emotional issues; anthropologist and systems theorist Gregory Bateson; family therapist Virginia Satir; and psychologist Abraham Maslow. By the end of the 1960s, more than 50,000 individuals had participated in one or more of their programs.

Varieties and Content

Rogers called the style of encounter group he created the “basic encounter.” It consists of participants sitting in a circle, generally on chairs, and interacting primarily on a conscious verbal level. The leader’s role is to facilitate the encounter, actively take part in the proceedings, and encourage participants to be honest and open. The leader makes every effort to be empathic, genuine, and accepting.

The most common form of encounter, however, derives from the work of Will Schutz, a psychologist at Esalen and author of the best-selling *Joy: Expanding Human Awareness* (1967). In what he called the “open encounter,” participants also sit in a circle, usually on cushions. The emphasis of the session is on the body and “energy” of

participants, with the leader responding to any manifestations of the energy of the group. When the leader believes that some physical action would enable an individual to delve more deeply into an experience, he or she makes a specific suggestion. The open encounter is thus an intense and often unpredictable affair, entailing a great deal of physical movement on the part of the group. The leader is proactive in suggesting ways of pursuing the ramifications of an individual's concern, using techniques drawn from gestalt therapy, psychodrama, primal therapy, psychosynthesis, and bioenergetics.

All forms of encounter groups provide the impetus and safe space for participants to let go of constraints against what is ordinarily regarded as forbidden. The group not only gives permission to do so; it demands self-expression by imposing an imperative of blunt frankness and openness. Whether the impulse is to speak, touch, express a strong emotion, or remove one's clothes, the encounter group may provide a wide range of reinforcing tactics—screaming, arm-wrestling, caressing, and even nudity. Some groups, of course, are more tame than others, but they all function by imposing a kind of libertarian imperative.

To enact the forbidden and be told it is a virtue can have a powerful therapeutic effect, according to practitioners. Impulses and self-imposed prohibitions (conscience) are brought into balance. The group itself acquires the power of the conscience, declaring that which had been forbidden to be good and necessary. As pleasure is embraced, guilt feelings are quelled and hostility released; equanimity is restored.

Social Meaning

The dramatic rise of encounter group culture in the 1960s, with its center in California, suggests that certain psychological and sociological forces were at work. For one thing, an enormous migration to California in this period brought together large numbers of people with no roots or sense of permanence, who were in need of intimacy. The extended family was rare, as one of every two California marriages ended in divorce. The residential neighborhood and professional work group had diminished in importance, as the average Californian changed homes with bewildering frequency, and organized religion had become irrelevant to many younger adults and their children. In all, the cultural institutions that typically provide for stability and intimacy were in disarray.

The encounter group came to be viewed as an oasis of attachment, a setting for shedding social norms and façades of adequacy and competence, satisfying unfulfilled longings for intimacy and nurturance. The group setting offered a unique source of intimacy—one that has no commitment to permanence. This meant that a participant could commit to others more readily and fully, with the emotional safety of time limitations. In short, the encounter group offered emotional gratification without the responsibility inherent in a long-term relationship and without the pain of separation.

Leslie Rabkin

See also: [Esalen Institute](#); [Huxley, Aldous](#).

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Environmentalism

Although the roots of American environmentalism—a concern for the preservation, restoration, or improvement of the natural environment, including the conservation of natural resources—began in part with the settlement of the newly discovered continent, the movement itself did not begin to coalesce until the late nineteenth century, after the “close” of the American frontier. The protection of the environment was cause for some action in the first half of the twentieth century, but it was not until the 1960s that the movement flourished, both popularly and in the counterculture. Today, numerous environmental organizations across the political spectrum work to spread awareness of environmental responsibility, with mixed results.

Beginnings of the American Movement

In the pre–World War II era, environmental reform patterns began with the political elite and filtered down to the public. In many cases, the main goal of national leaders was to ensure that future generations would have adequate supplies of game and essential natural resources.

Early actions by the federal government focused on conservation, including the creation of national parks and forests, beginning with Yellowstone National Park in 1872. President Theodore Roosevelt created the U.S. Forest Service in 1905, and Congress established the National Park Service in 1916 to manage the growing acreage of protected lands. These initiatives established the precedent that the government is responsible for maintaining the environment.

There are early examples of popular environmentalism as well. The Audubon Society, which fought to protect birds, other wildlife, and their habitats, was created in 1886. The Sierra Club, established in 1892, fought to explore, enjoy, and protect the wild places on Earth. These organizations marked the beginning of public-initiated environmentalism in America and helped support the efforts of the national government.

Concurrent with the rise of mainstream environmentalism was the beginnings of a more radical approach. Henry David Thoreau was arguably the first American radical environmentalist. Thoreau is remembered largely for his extensive writings in the 1840s about forays into the “wild,” where he denied his privilege and chose to live a rugged lifestyle that he considered closer to nature than to culture. Preservationist and Sierra Club founder John Muir also had a strong impact on the development of radical environmentalism, combining an ecocentric worldview with political action.

Naturalist Aldo Leopold had a major impact on both mainstream and radical environmentalism. His writings helped initiate the deep ecology movement, which acknowledges the interdependence of all life systems and rejects a modern society that threatens them. As a preservationist, Leopold cofounded the Wilderness Society in 1935 to protect and conserve America’s wilderness and roadless areas.

Post–World War II

Environmentalism in America had come to a near standstill during the Great Depression of the 1930s (though the

period saw a dramatic increase in the size and number of national forests) and generally took a back seat to international issues and economic interests through World War II and the 1950s.

One event in the early 1950s, however, had a significant impact on the emergence of environmental lobbying groups and the establishment of their political influence. The federal government considered proposals to construct dams at Glen Canyon in Utah and Echo Park on the border between Utah and Colorado. For six years, environmental organizations such as the Sierra Club and the Wilderness Society lobbied to stop the Echo Park dam because of its potential to destroy wildlife habitats. As a direct result of their efforts, plans for the project were dropped from the Colorado River Storage Project Act of 1956. While some cite this incident as the birth of the modern environmental movement in the United States, the victory came at a price: a concession not to block proposals to flood Glen Canyon and build a dam there.

The American environmental movement came of age in the 1960s and 1970s. In 1962, Rachel Carson wrote *Silent Spring*, revealing the devastating effects of chemical pesticides and fertilizers on the natural environment, specifically on bird populations. Almost single-handedly, Carson catapulted the environmental movement to the national level.

David Brower and Sierra Club members also had a significant impact on bringing the movement to public attention and materially advancing the cause. They led a successful legal battle to bar the federal Bureau of Reclamation from building two dams on the Colorado River that would entail flooding of portions of the Grand Canyon.

The period from 1964 to 1973 brought major steps forward in the American environmental movement, including passage of the Wilderness Act in 1964, creation of the Environmental Protection Agency in 1970, and enactment of the Endangered Species Act in 1973. This period also saw the creation of Earth Day, first celebrated on April 22, 1970. The 20 million demonstrators and the thousands of schools and local communities that participated in the first Earth Day were a result of a spontaneous response of citizens at the grassroots level.



Earth Day, modeled after the “teach-ins” of the anti–Vietnam War movement, originated on college campuses to raise public awareness of threats to the natural environment. The first annual event was celebrated nationwide on April 22, 1970. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

These developments roughly corresponded with the explosive growth of the youth counterculture. Hippies in particular were drawn to the radical writings of Thoreau, Muir, and Leopold and regarded interconnectedness with nature as a simple extension of their ethic of peace, love, and personal freedom. It was a combination of the dissenting spirit of the hippie era and the dissatisfaction of mainstream environmental groups that gave rise to the modern construction of radical environmentalism.

Factionalization of the Movement

In 1974, as the real value of wages in America started to decline, the political climate began to shift away from environmentally friendly policies. Factionalization of the movement, including debates over meanings of the word *environment*, led to infighting and a marked decline in the effectiveness of the rhetoric of environmental alarm. Increasingly, environmental groups had to pick their battles, as corporations began to strike back at the movement. Environmentalists were forced to make political alliances and promise not to oppose one damaging initiative in order to gain the political support necessary to defeat another. In 1980, with the election of Ronald Reagan and his decidedly anti-environment and pro-corporation stance, the movement was very much out of the mainstream and forced to compromise on many issues.

Frustrated by the direction in which the movement was heading, Dave Foreman left his job at the Wilderness Society and was joined for a desert retreat by friends Mike Roselle, Bart Koehler, Howie Wolke, and Ron Kezar. It was during this trip that the ideals for Earth First! were formulated, as well as its slogan: “No compromise in defense of the Earth.” Inspired by Edward Abbey’s satirical novel *The Monkey Wrench Gang* (1975), the group decided that the best way to prevent corporations from destroying the natural world was to “monkey wrench” (sabotage) ecologically damaging projects or activities. Disgusted by what they regarded as the professionalization of the environmental movement, they decided early on that Earth First! would be not an organization but a movement and that there would be no “members,” only Earth First!ers.

A radical identity was deliberately chosen as the alternative to mainstream environmental nonprofit groups that relied on membership dues to support their work. As a result, Earth First! and radical environmentalism were practically synonymous for the first ten years of the group’s existence. Earth First!ers recognized that they were often making unreasonable demands, but their no-compromise approach made the mainstream environmental groups seem all the more reasonable.

Although Earth First! was highly effective at first, it housed too many divergent groups to remain cohesive for very long. In 1992, a militant offshoot called the Earth Liberation Front (ELF) was founded in England and eventually became active in the United States. ELF (and the associated Animal Liberation Front, or ALF) favored not only monkey wrenching as an effective method of causing economic harm to those who damaged the Earth, but also the nonviolent use of arson. In 2001, the Federal Bureau of Investigation classified ELF as America’s number one domestic terrorist threat; in 2006, it arrested eleven alleged ELF members on some fifty-six counts of ecotage.

Modern Environmentalism

Environmentalism serves as a convergence point for a number of different philosophical camps. Most notable among these are deep ecology (a term coined by Norwegian philosopher Arne Næss in 1973) and ecofeminism, which operates under the belief that destroying the environment is a result of male domination of society. The philosophical and class differences between those who want to preserve the environment and those who make their living extracting resources from it have led to tensions in many rural communities, as evidenced by derogatory terms such as *tree hugger* (referring to practitioners of a direct-action technique in which participants literally hugged trees to prevent their logging) and occasional acts of violence between the two groups. In September 1998, for example, redwood forest activist David “Gypsy” Chain was killed when a logger with the Pacific Lumber Company felled a tree in his direction while he was trying to prevent its cutting.

In mainstream America, the environmental movement underwent a resurgence in the 1990s under the Clinton administration. The so-called greening of the presidency included the appointment of several government officials considered to be environmentally friendly. The election of conservative Republican George W. Bush in 2000 marked a turnaround in federal policy. He consistently received F ratings by environmental groups, despite his work on ocean habitat preservation and emphasis on hydrogen fuel-cell technology.

In 1999, Michael Shellenberger and Ted Nordhaus wrote an influential article titled “The Death of Environmentalism,” which described the decline of the movement into a special-interest lobby. (Greenpeace, for example, saw its membership decline from 4.8 million in 1991 to 2.8 million in 2006.) The article sparked a large-scale debate in the movement, pushing some to seek new tactics and attract new adherents.

Both the popular and radical environmentalist movements have struggled in the first decade of the twenty-first century, though specific topics—such as global warming—continue to garner attention. Specifically, former vice president Al Gore wrote the documentary *An Inconvenient Truth* (2006), which became the recipient of an Academy Award for Best Documentary Feature. For his efforts to draw the world’s attention to the dangers of global warming, Gore, along with the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), won the Nobel Peace Prize in 2007.

See also: [Abbey, Edward](#); [Deep Ecology](#); [Thoreau, Henry David](#).

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Ephrata Cloister

Located sixty-five miles from Philadelphia, the Ephrata Cloister was founded in the early eighteenth century on two main religious concepts: celibacy and Sabbatarianism, or strict observance of the Sabbath as a day of rest. Other religious observances at Ephrata were similar to those of the Dunkers (the Church of the Brethren, a pacifist Baptist sect): baptism by trine, or triple immersion; feet-washing (a symbolic act of humility during communion); and observance of the love feast (the sharing of a common meal symbolic of Christian fellowship and charity).

Ephrata's founder, Johann Conrad Beissel, was born in Eberbach, Germany, in April 1691, just months after his father's death. He was orphaned at the age of nine by the death of his mother and was apprenticed in his late father's trade of baking.

At the age of twenty-four, Beissel converted to Pietism, a dissident Lutheran sect that emphasized an emotional connection to God; he subsequently was arrested for this transgression and placed in jail. Following his release, he was held before the ecclesiastical court and banished from Mannheim and Heidelberg. He eventually came into contact with the German Baptist Brethren and other Pietists, during a period of great German migration to Pennsylvania. Beissel, fleeing religious persecution, arrived in Boston in 1720 and found his way to the German community in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.

In Germantown, Beissel found little demand for his trade as a baker and became an apprentice in the weavers' trade with Peter Becker, a Dunker elder who baptized him into the church. Beissel later served as elder of a congregation of believers known as the Conestoga Congregation. After serving for seven years, however, he began preaching the evils of marriage and sexual intercourse and insisting on the observance of Saturday as the

true Sabbath, which led to a schism with the parent church. Although the Dunkers repudiated Beissel's teaching, a few followers left with him to establish the Ephrata Cloister in 1732.

The celibate society at Ephrata, which came to be known as the German Seventh-Day Baptists, consisted of both a brotherhood and a sisterhood; a third order, comprising married couples known as "householders," met weekly to worship with the cloistered orders. At its height, Ephrata had nearly 300 members. The monastic brothers and sisters occupied separate buildings and underwent rigorous discipline.

In keeping with the group's ideas of humility and commitment to a mystical way of life, the buildings at Ephrata contained narrow halls symbolic of the straight and narrow path and low doorways requiring the celibates to bow in humility. Members slept in tiny cells measuring 5 by 10 feet (1.5 by 3.0 meters) with a small window, a narrow, 15-inch (38-centimeter) bench for sleeping, and a wooden block for a pillow. The members believed that the more they denied themselves physically, the greater their rewards spiritually.

The cloister at Ephrata was recognized throughout the colonies for its unique music, and Beissel introduced singing and writing schools as methods for self-improvement and discipline. Beissel developed his own system of harmony and composition, and trained his followers to compose hundreds of hymns and anthems according to his compositional system. The Ephrata Commune also was known for its impressive printing establishment, which was the fourth such enterprise in the colonies. Hymn books were printed and copied by hand on paper manufactured at the cloister. As part of the writing school, members adorned the pages of their books with a decorative, illuminated calligraphy known as *Fraktur*.

During the fifteen years from 1739 to 1754, five main collections of Ephrata music manuscripts were created. One of the most important was printed in 1747 and issued under the title *Das Gesäng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube* (The Song of the Solitary and Lonely Turtle Dove). Containing works by Beissel and his followers, it is recognized as the first book of original hymns published in the American colonies.

The Ephrata communal culture went into decline after Beissel's death on July 6, 1768. The society remained in existence until the death of the last celibate sister in 1813. The following year, the remaining householders and their descendants petitioned the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania for a charter, and the group was incorporated as the Seventh-Day Baptists of Ephrata.

Increasingly neglected and damaged by vandalism in the early twentieth century, the Ephrata property was acquired by the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania in 1941. The Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission assumed administration of the Ephrata Cloister, which remains one of the most visited historic sites in Pennsylvania today.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Communes: Utopianism](#).

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Erhard Seminars Training (est)

Erhard Seminars Training, or est (usually rendered in lowercase letters), is a self-help training regimen that gained popularity in the 1970s as part of the larger self-realization movement of that period, which, in turn, grew out of the counterculture movement of the previous decade. A personal growth workshop conducted over two weekends, the program has been heavily criticized for its pseudo-religious overtones, for taking on the characteristics of a cult, and for the emotional stress said to be inflicted on its followers.

The regimen was founded by Werner Erhard (born John Paul Rosenberg) in 1971. It was initially popular in San Francisco and later made inroads in other major U.S. cities, where it retains adherents in the twenty-first century. Rights to the intellectual property of the EST Foundation, including the philosophy of the original movement, were purchased in 1991 by Landmark Education, which continues to host a profitable seminar series.

At first, standard training for est consisted of rigorous paid sessions, totaling sixty hours, with the goals of personal transformation and life enhancement. At the weekend sessions, trainers would scream insults and obscenities at participants to help them transcend their fears and enhance their power. The basic est philosophy evolved over time into a more mainstream focus on self-help, though the contemporary seminars held by Landmark Education are still strongly influenced by the original philosophy and techniques.

Est critics have long questioned the philosophy and business practices of founder Werner Erhard, resulting in sometimes bitter controversies over his reputation and influence. Critics contend that Erhard got the name “est” from a 1970 science fiction novel by L. Clark Stevens, which included a concept called “electronic social transformation.” The est philosophy also has been criticized as a simplistic distillation of Zen Buddhist beliefs, of the type popularized by 1960s counterculture figures such as Alan Watts. Est also bears traces of various nonmainstream religious fads such as encounter therapy and Scientology.

Est became the center of full-blown national controversy after the death in 1983 of a seminar participant, James Slee, under conditions of high emotional stress. The trainer had refused to allow paramedics to enter the room, and contended that Slee may have willed his own death. Other participants have suffered nervous breakdowns during est training sessions, leading medical researchers to investigate the psychological effects of its cultlike philosophy and high-pressure training methods. Erhard also was charged by the Internal Revenue Service multiple times for tax evasion; he won one case but was found accountable for underpayment of taxes in a later case.

In 1993, est was cited in a survey of fifty-three clergymen as one of the most worrisome cults in America. It has been characterized as “psychobabble” by cultural commentators such as gonzo journalist Hunter S. Thompson and as poor psychology by medical practitioners, including Jonas B. Robitscher and Alex Howard. Nevertheless, est has had continued, if limited, popularity, with such celebrity adherents as Yoko Ono, Cher, Joe Namath, and Ted Danson.

Benjamin W. Cramer

See also: [Buddhism](#): [Gonzo Journalism](#): [Scientology](#): [Watts, Alan](#).

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Esalen Institute

The Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California, has been a center for the exploration of human potential since its founding in 1962. It has been the site of workshops, symposia, and seminars on topics ranging from Gestalt therapy (based on the unity of mind and body, and focusing on the relationship between the self and the environment), to holistic medicine (an approach to treatment that takes the whole person into account rather than particular symptoms or illnesses in isolation), meditation, and Eastern philosophy. Esalen has hosted a long list of influential participants, including psychotherapists Fritz Perls and Virginia Satir; psychologists Timothy Leary, B.F. Skinner, and Abraham Maslow; philosopher Alan Watts; mythologist Joseph Campbell; anthropologist Gregory Bateson; scientists Ida Rolf and Linus Pauling; and inventor Buckminster Fuller. The Esalen Institute is noted for fostering a kind of group therapy known as the encounter group, which was popular in the 1960s and 1970s, and for encouraging a vision of human possibility far beyond that which is experienced in everyday life.

Esalen was founded by Michael Murphy and Richard Price, who had attended Stanford University and graduated in 1952 but did not meet until 1960. When they met, both were residents at an ashram in San Francisco called the Cultural Integration Fellowship, run by a disciple of Sri Aurobindo, a Hindu mystic and guru. Murphy's interests were along spiritual and intellectual lines, while Price was more concerned with the psychological aspects of human experience. Murphy had been considering the idea of opening a retreat center where people could explore new ideas, particularly the spiritual connection between Eastern and Western philosophies. Price envisioned a place that would offer alternatives to conventional approaches to addressing mental health—issues with which he had grappled personally.

Recognizing that their visions might complement one another, Murphy and Price drove down the Pacific Coast from San Francisco to look at a 375-acre (152-hectare) tract owned by Murphy's family in Big Sur. The property, once inhabited by a Native American tribe called the Essalen, featured a motel-resort that was known for its natural hot springs baths. Murphy's grandmother rented him the land, and they occupied it in late 1961.

Their first seminar series, offered in the fall of 1962, was called *The Human Potentiality* and was based on a lecture by the British author Aldous Huxley. From the outset, Murphy and Price fostered an atmosphere of free thinking and spiritual and emotional investigation. The Esalen ethic of uninhibited personal exploration soon began drawing a wide range of thinkers, as well as crowds of young people.

The hot baths where people soaked in the nude, the sharing of personal feelings in encounter groups, the emerging awareness of the body-mind connection, and the general attitude of experimentation and innovation gave rise to and supported many ideas that would later become mainstream. Fritz Perls promoted his theories of Gestalt psychology. Ida Rolf and Will Schutz explored the connections between body and mind. The mythologist Joseph Campbell gave annual lectures for twenty-seven years. Individual freedom and the exploration of one's potential, in spite of or in contrast to social norms, were tenets at Esalen that became fundamental principles of the 1960s counterculture.

Esalen has continued to function as a retreat and experiential education center into the early twenty-first century,

as ever “devoted to the exploration of what Aldous Huxley called the ‘human potential,’ the world of unrealized human capacities that lies beyond the imagination,” according to the Esalen Web site. Guests are invited to stay for overnight visits, weekend or five-day workshops, twenty-eight-day work-study programs, or special long-term seminars and professional training programs.

Diana Stirling

See also: [Encounter Groups: Huxley, Aldous.](#)

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Eugene, Oregon

Located at the confluence of the Willamette and McKenzie rivers, Eugene, Oregon, is located approximately 100 miles (160 kilometers) south of Portland at the southern end of the Willamette Valley. Eugene is the third-largest metropolitan area in the state after Portland and Salem, the state capital. About 150,000 people live in the city, with another 50,000 people residing in the adjacent town of Springfield.

Originally home to Kalapuya Indians, the city is named after Eugene Skinner, the first European settler in the area. Skinner, who ran a ferry business and trading post, established a post office there in 1850, nine years before Oregon became a state. The city and much of the state underwent rapid growth after the arrival of the railroad in the early 1870s.

City leaders today promote Eugene as “The Emerald City,” alluding to the natural, green landscape. Unofficially, the city is referred to as “The People’s Republic of Eugene,” a reference to its counterculture tradition. Eugene also boasts a large track-and-field community. The legendary runner Steve Prefontaine and Nike (the sportswear company) cofounders Bill Bowerman and Phil Knight are credited with launching the modern running movement there. Eugene also is known as the home of the University of Oregon, with a student population of roughly 20,000.

Largely due to the influence of Beat novelist Ken Kesey, who was raised in Springfield and attended the University of Oregon, Eugene established itself as a counterculture center in the 1970s. Since then, waves of people seeking alternative lifestyles have settled in and around the city, creating a diverse countercultural community.

Eugene is home to America’s first Saturday market, restricting vendors to those who have made, grown, or gathered the goods they are selling. The annual Oregon Country Fair, held in nearby Veneta, is a celebration of Eugene’s alternative leanings and one of the largest all-volunteer events in America. As home to a number of cultural organizations, alternative ideas, and recreational enthusiasts, Eugene bills itself as “The World’s Greatest City of the Arts and Outdoors.” Eugene Celebration is an annual three-day block party held downtown. Most

neighborhoods host a community grocery, the most notable of which is Growers Market, the only food cooperative of its size with no paid employees.

Eugene is home as well to a significant anarchist population, which has been active in forest defense projects (including the famous Warner Creek protest in 1995) and such other activities as firebombing a police substation in 2000. Two members of this movement have stood out. One, Jeff “Free” Luers, was caught setting fire to three SUVs at a car dealership in 2000, for which he is serving a twenty-two-year sentence. The other, John Zerzan, edits the radical journal *Green Anarchy* and hosts a weekly radio show in town.

The Whitaker neighborhood of Eugene is home to a significant anarchist population, and the violence at the 1999 World Trade Organization protests in Seattle was blamed by some on “Eugene anarchists.” In 2006, the Federal Bureau of Investigation launched Operation Backfire to round up environmental and animal-liberation activists it regarded as terrorist threats; ten defendants were tried and convicted in federal court.

Matthew Branch

See also: [Environmentalism: Kelsey, Ken.](#)

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Evergreen Review

Evergreen Review (*ER*), a literary magazine founded and edited by Grove Press owner Barney Rosset, published ninety-six issues from 1957 to 1973. Showcasing a broad range of poetry, prose, essays, political and social commentary, photographs, and illustrations, it brought the best of the avant-garde art world and the views of radical politics to national awareness.

The first issue of *Evergreen Review* clearly established its tone and intended audience. It contained an essay by philosopher Jean-Paul Sartre decrying Soviet aggression in Hungary; a short story by Samuel Beckett, author of the play *Waiting for Godot*; and an interview with jazz drummer Baby Dodds.

The second issue, *San Francisco Scene*, devoted to a group of emerging writers known as the Beats, brought widespread attention to that literary movement. The entire text of Allen Ginsberg’s long poem *Howl*, which had been a target of U.S. government censorship attempts, appeared in its pages, along with poetry by Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Gary Snyder, Michael McClure, Philip Whalen, and Kenneth Rexroth, all of whom would gain national prominence as members of the artistic revival known as the San Francisco Renaissance. Also featured was Jack Kerouac’s story *October in the Railroad Earth*, which appeared in *ER* before the publication that same year of *On the Road*, Kerouac’s best-selling novel and the guidebook for the emerging antimaterialist counterculture.

ER continued to provide a venue for the Beats and numerous other writers from around the world, including such well-known literary figures as Edward Albee, Samuel Beckett, Jorge Luis Borges, Richard Brautigan, William S.

Burroughs, Albert Camus, Jean Genet, Günter Grass, Eugene Ionesco, Henry Miller, Harold Pinter, and Hubert Selby, Jr. Articles focused on such visual artists as Helen Frankenthaler, George Grosz, Franz Kline, Louise Nevelson, Jackson Pollock, Robert Rauschenberg, and Larry Rivers. Cover photographs were taken by such noted photographers as Werner Bischof, Brassai, Henri Cartier-Bresson, and Robert Frank.

ER was also a venue for radical social and political ideas. Counterculturalist Timothy Leary promoted the use of LSD, and Abbie Hoffman urged revolution. Existentialist writer and 1957 Nobel Prize winner Albert Camus wrote an essay opposing capital punishment, African American activist Malcolm X wrote on Black Power, and an article by North Vietnam's President Ho Chi Minh also appeared. Issue Number 51 in 1968 featured a cover portrait and selections from the diaries of Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara that provoked a group of anti-Castro Cubans to bomb the magazine's offices.

ER also was noted for graphic depictions of erotica and sexuality, often to make a political point. Congressman Gerald R. Ford (R-MI) denounced the magazine on the floor of Congress for printing a lampoon of Richard M. Nixon beside the photo of a nude. Issue Number 32 in 1964 was confiscated as obscene by the Hicksville, Long Island, Police Department, but Rosset took the matter to court and won.

ER began as a quarterly journal, then became a bimonthly, and, in 1968, adopted a larger magazine format. Its highest circulation was 150,000. The magazine ceased publication in 1973 because of financial difficulties at Grove Press.

According to author Ken Jordan in the introduction to *Evergreen Review Reader, 1957–1966*, *ER* “not only helped to define the literary avant-garde of the fifties and sixties; it helped create an audience for this new kind of writing. *Evergreen Review* was the matrix of a new cultural alignment.” Barney Rosset revived *ER* as a free online publication in 1998.

Jerry Shuttle

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Ferlinghetti, Lawrence](#): [Ginsberg, Allen](#): [Kerouac, Jack](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [Miller, Henry](#).

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Existentialism

Existentialism is a philosophical and literary movement that was most prominent in the mid-twentieth century, though its roots date to the nineteenth century. Its best-known proponents were the French authors Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus, but this European philosophy proved highly influential on the emerging American counterculture following World War II.

European History

Existentialism was a rebellion against European philosophies that dated back to Aristotle. According to the Western philosophical tradition, each human being is born into a universe that has an inherent meaning, to lead a life with a preordained purpose, subject to an established system of moral values. These meanings and values, it was generally held, can be discerned through rational thought. According to mainstream Christian philosophy, God endows the universe and existence with meaning and establishes moral ideals. Hence, essence precedes existence.

Existentialism reverses this principle. Existentialists believe that people are born into a universe that is empty of meaning and indifferent to human needs. There is no inherent purpose to life, and there is no external source of human morality. The universe is irrational, and any attempt to use reason to try to understand it is futile. In other words, as Sartre put it, “existence precedes essence.”

Understanding the world as empty of meaning, purpose, or hope, existentialists described it as absurd. Those who did not believe in God likewise did not believe in a hereafter: death is nothingness. This vision of existence was bleak if not terrifying, and existentialists voiced humanity’s sense of alienation, the anxiety or angst that it inspired, and what Sartre termed “nausea.”

On the other hand, existentialists also regarded their vision of existence as liberating. Humans were regarded as radically free, since there was no preexisting set of moral values or laws to bind them. Since existence is meaningless, it was argued, every person has the responsibility to create meaning for his or her own life through personal action. To make one’s own moral choices and commit to them emotionally is to live with “authenticity.”

Two of the fathers of existentialism were the Danish theologian Søren Kierkegaard and the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche. Kierkegaard believed that there is no material evidence or rational proof for the existence of God. Nevertheless, he arrived at a belief in God by taking a “leap of faith.” Nietzsche, by contrast, declared that “God is dead,” by which he meant that there never had been a God at all. Hence, in Nietzsche’s view, the universe has no inherent meaning and there is no divine source of moral standards.

The existentialist movement has been widely attributed to the disillusionment with traditional philosophy and religion that many European intellectuals felt as a result of the horrors of World War II. Sartre’s monumental *Being and Nothingness*, a central text of existentialist philosophy, was published in 1943. Philosopher and novelist Simone de Beauvoir, Sartre’s life partner, wrote another core work of the existential movement, *The Ethics of Ambiguity*, which was published in 1947.

Existentialist writers also expressed their philosophy through works of fiction. Among the best known of these works are Sartre’s novel *La Nausée* (*Nausea*, 1938) and Camus’s novel *L’Étranger* (*The Stranger*, 1942).

Existentialism in America

In his book *Existential America* (2002), intellectual historian George Cotkin demonstrates how existentialism had a major influence on American thought through much of the twentieth century. Rather than allowing themselves to become mired in alienation and despair, however, many American existentialists embraced “the upside of existential freedom, the freeing from the shackles of tradition, the possibility of a more authentic existence, and the headiness that comes with the freedom to create and be creative,” Cotkin contends. Hence, existentialism became a philosophical component of American countercultures that sought to reform society.

Existentialism is said to have been introduced to America by Episcopal clergyman Walter Lowrie, who published English translations of Kierkegaard’s works in the 1930s. In the period following World War II, New York intellectual circles became interested in the works of Camus, Sartre, and Beauvoir. Examples of the European “theater of the absurd,” such as Samuel Beckett’s *Waiting for Godot* (1952), began appearing on American stages.

Existentialism exerted a major influence on the Beat Generation writers of the 1940s and 1950s, notably Jack

Kerouac, who voiced his existential angst and alienation from mainstream American society. In his book *Nothing More to Declare* (1967), Beat author John Clellon Holmes wrote that if the Beats were existentialists, they were “in the Kierkegaard, rather than the Jean-Paul Sartre, sense.” While the Beats had rejected what they regarded as outmoded moral systems, they were searching for a new vision of personal liberation.

The African American writers Ralph Ellison and Richard Wright (who moved to Paris in 1946 and befriended both Sartre and Camus) brought a distinctly existentialist perspective to the black experience in America in their novels—Ellison’s *Invisible Man* (1952) and Wright’s *The Outsider* (1953). Each work dramatizes African American alienation from white society, depicting the role of the black man as absurd in the existential sense.

Beauvoir’s landmark study of the role of women in society, *The Second Sex* (1949), advocated an existentialist approach to feminism, through which women would take responsibility for their own lives and choose to become free. Betty Friedan, a pioneer of the modern women’s liberation movement in America, was greatly influenced by Beauvoir’s works. In her memoir *Life So Far* (2000), Friedan refers to the “existential guilt, which I have to this day when I’m just coasting and not using my powers to meet serious new challenges.”

Through the leftist political ideology as well as their existentialist philosophy, Camus and Sartre also provided inspiration for the New Left in America, including radical student movements of the 1960s. Tom Hayden, a founder of the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), and other leaders of the American New Left identified with Camus’s and Sartre’s sense of alienation from modern society. Radical activists of the 1960s also were highly influenced by Camus’s 1947 existentialist essay “Neither Victims nor Executioners,” which proposed that individuals band together under a new social contract to establish values for a peaceful world. Camus died in 1960, but Sartre continued to inspire the American Left through his opposition to the Vietnam War and what he regarded as U.S. imperialism.

Existentialism was superseded in the 1970s by postmodernist philosophy, though the latter also rejected the notion of absolute truth. Nevertheless, the cultural influence of existential thinking and literature has endured to the point that the adjective *existential* remains widely used in both academic circles and society at large. Cotkin points out the frequency with which existential philosophy continues to resurface in works of American popular culture.

Peter Sanderson

See also: [Beat Generation](#); [New Left](#); [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Exorcism

The idea of evil spirits that infect the human body and must be expunged by a special healer has some analogue in the majority of the world’s religions and spiritual belief systems. Such evils often have been blamed for both physical and mental ailments, especially disorders now recognized as mental illnesses. Over time, the model of

supernatural infection as the cause of illness has been largely rejected, but a belief in the possibility of supernatural possession remains in many faiths. In the United States, the term *exorcist* is reserved for Christian priests who perform a special rite—or exorcism—to compel a demon to vacate the body it has possessed. The possession may be seen as merely an influence or infection, or—as it is often portrayed in fiction—a complete subsumption of the host’s personality.

Exorcism is most commonly associated with the Roman Catholic Church, the largest ecclesiastical body that prescribes it. Church authorities rarely have prescribed it in the United States, where Catholics lacked a significant presence until the immigration of the nineteenth century. And by the twentieth century, the Church had begun to move away from supernaturalism.

As in the case of validating miracles, the Roman Catholic Church will prescribe an exorcism only when all other approaches have been exhausted. Indications of a possessed subject are said to include knowledge of things to which the individual has no access (including fluency in previously unknown languages) and demonstrations of supernatural strength. Signs such as blasphemy, aversion to sacred objects, personality changes, and erratic behavior are too easily explained by psychological means or simply feigned.

In 1999, the Catholic text used in exorcisms was rewritten for the first time since the seventeenth century, to the dissatisfaction of many who performed the rite. The revised text, like much Catholic literature written in the wake of the Second Vatican Council (1962–1965), focuses less on the idea of Satan as a supernatural intelligence, though it does not deny the existence of supernatural evil.

William Peter Blatty’s best-selling 1971 novel *The Exorcist*, made into a hit film in 1973, was said to be based on a real exorcism conducted in 1949 on a thirteen-year-old boy in Maryland. The novel and film helped solidify the image in the public mind of exorcism as an essentially Catholic ritual, but far more exorcisms in the United States are performed by evangelical, Pentecostal, and charismatic churches. In these groups, which may embrace such phenomena as speaking in tongues and the laying on of hands, war between supernatural good and supernatural evil is a prominent part of day-to-day spiritual life. While mainstream Protestant groups have rejected exorcism as relying on extra-biblical sources of power, the rise of the Christian Right and the Satanism scares of the 1980s brought a surge in practice among more radical churches.

Unlike the Catholic rite, Protestant exorcism (which is not confined to any one denomination, and which is practiced by many unaffiliated churches) does not require the involvement of a priest. Just as faith healing and other miracles can be performed by any of the faithful, so, too, can exorcism. Formal rites are eschewed in favor of a dialogue between the exorcist and the possessed subject. The signs of possession, too, are not as strictly defined as those identified by the Catholic Church. Some Pentecostals blame demonic possession for all manner of perceived evils, and psychological explanations might not be pursued before the diagnosis of possession is reached.

Several cases of death resulting from exorcism have been reported in the United States. In 1995, a Korean immigrant named Kyung-A Ha was beaten into a coma and died during a six-hour prayer meeting called by the Jesus-Amen Ministries outside San Francisco; the meeting had been arranged by family members who believed she was possessed by demons. In 2003, an eight-year-old autistic boy named Terrance Cottrell, Jr., was suffocated to death at a prayer service in Milwaukee where untrained church members tried to expunge him of spirits.

Not all—in fact, few—Protestant exorcisms put the subject at risk of physical harm. In some churches, exorcism is simply a form of directed prayer. While physical and psychological explanations for illness are not rejected as such, they are treated as proximate causes, while the supernatural is regarded as the prime cause. In other words, while a fever may be caused by a virus, the virus and the suffering are said to originate with supernatural evil. The deliverance ministries of many charismatic churches thus resort to exorcism, usually in the form of a prayer and a reading from Scripture, to combat most maladies, while calling for the elimination of all evil influences to avoid future demonic possession.

See also: [Fundamentalism, Christian](#).

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Extrasensory Perception and Parapsychology

The term *extrasensory perception* (ESP)—the ability to perceive objects, events, or another person's thoughts by paranormal means, other than the known human senses—has been applied to a number of anomalous mental phenomena, including telepathy, clairvoyance, and psychokinesis. The scientific study of ESP has alternated through periods of serious activity and neglect, while interest in the popular culture peaked in the late nineteenth century and underwent a revival in the late twentieth century.

Sustained modern interest in psychic or parapsychological phenomena began in the nineteenth century, both in Great Britain and in the United States, with the advent of the spiritualist movement. Mediums became extremely popular, especially with the upper class, and their psychic abilities attracted the attention of scientists and serious intellectuals.

While considerable energy was devoted to uncovering fraudulent mediums, the Society for Psychical Research (SPR) was founded in England in 1882, and the American Society for Psychical Research (ASPR) was established three years later. Among the founders of the ASPR were the noted astronomer Simon Newcomb and psychologists G. Stanley Hall and William James. The American society took a more skeptical view of psychic phenomena than did its British counterpart, and, led by prominent men of science, was more open to mundane explanations. Still, initial research findings were disappointing, and the interest of many scientific members waned. Under the direction of nonscientists, the ASPR languished for many years.

Key to the reestablishment of psychical research in America were the efforts of experimental psychologist and Harvard professor William McDougall, who began his career in England and then worked with the ASPR for several years. In 1927, he left Harvard to become chairman of the Philosophy and Psychology Department at Duke University in Durham, North Carolina.

McDougall then hired the botanists J.B. Rhine and Louisa E. Rhine (husband and wife) to conduct research on psychic phenomena. The former developed a method of scientifically testing extrasensory phenomena using cards and dice, and, in 1934, published *Extra-Sensory Perception*, which described the experiments and their results.

Popular press accounts, particularly those by *The New York Times* science editor Waldemar Kaempffert, brought attention to the new field of parapsychology, as J.B. Rhine termed it, and the founding of the *Journal of Parapsychology* in 1937 gave the field an outlet to share scientific research.

Rhine established the Duke Parapsychology Laboratory to carry out research and train new experimenters. Following on this newfound success, scientists in the ASPR regained control of the organization in 1941, and, once again, turned it into an organ for rigorous controlled studies.

The founding of the Parapsychology Foundation in 1951 gave the field needed financial resources, which were used to sponsor research, international scientific conferences, and the establishment of a research library. Rhine's group at Duke, however, remained the center of scientific psychic research in the United States. Rhine eventually separated his lab from the university, establishing the Foundation for Research on the Nature of Man, now called the Rhine Research Center, just off campus, in 1962.

Other parapsychology labs sprung up during the late 1970s, including the Psychophysical Research Laboratories at Princeton University and the Maimonides Dream Laboratory in Brooklyn, New York. Existing laboratories at the Mind Science and Science Unlimited foundations in San Antonio, Texas, and the Stanford Research Institute in Palo Alto, California, added parapsychological research to their activities or at least tolerated the activities of interested staff members. Other research centers have included the University of Virginia's Division of Parapsychology (renamed the Division of Perceptual Studies), the Communications Department at Syracuse University, and the psychology departments of City College and St. John's University in New York.

It was also during the 1970s that the U.S. Department of Defense carried out classified experimentation in remote viewing (an attempt to gather information using paranormal means) at the Stanford Research Institute. By the late 1990s, however, most of these centers had closed, turned their attention to other types of scientific research, or shifted their focus to public education. As of the early 2000s, the only remaining academic unit was at the University of Virginia, and the only institutionally based research laboratory was the Institute for Noetic Sciences in Northern California, founded by former astronaut Edgar D. Mitchell and devoted to a variety of New Age causes.

The ASPR, meanwhile, underwent another "revolution" and ceased its research activities. The Parapsychology Association, a purely scientific international society founded in 1957, has only a small membership and is largely segregated from the rest of the academe, although since 1969 it has maintained an affiliation with the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Certainly one reason for the decline in scientific interest is the sheer difficulty researchers have had in providing measurable experimental evidence of parapsychological phenomena. While meta-analyses of ESP research have suggested the existence of some kind of paranormal mental phenomena, the inability of researchers to explain them within the established laws of physics has made it difficult for most mainstream scientists to take any such claims seriously. The media attention devoted to such self-proclaimed psychics such as Uri Geller and John Edward has furthered alienated the scientific community, while the public has seemingly responded positively to the same coverage. According to a 1991 survey by the Princeton Religion Research Center, about half of the American public believed in ESP at the time.

Indeed, while academic or professional interest in ESP has waxed and waned, American popular culture—especially television and film—has maintained a steady interest in such phenomena. Beginning in the early 1960s with the hit television series *The Twilight Zone* and *The Outer Limits*, science fiction programs often included ESP in episodes or as attributes of important characters. The trend continued in the *Star Trek* series and subsequent sci-fi shows, including *Babylon 5*, *The X-Files*, and *Heroes*. A few have focused specifically on ESP, including the whimsical *The Girl with Something Extra* and the more dramatic *The Dead Zone*. From 1999 to 2004, Edward had his own television show, *Crossing Over with John Edward*; in 2006, he launched *John Edward Cross Country*.

Hollywood films have reflected similar trends, often including ESP as a subplot (as in the comic book-derived *X-Men* and its sequels) or as the main focus of the story, whether for laughs (as in *On a Clear Day You Can See*

Forever, 1970) or played straight (*Village of the Damned*, 1960 and 1995; *Carrie*, 1976; and *Scanners*, 1981).

Cultural commentators are divided as to whether the increased interest in ESP and paranormal psychology marks a return to an irrational mode of thought or a broader willingness to consider alternative ways of thinking, but it seems clear that, at least in the public imagination, ESP is not going away. While the future of parapsychological phenomena as a field of scientific research is in doubt, its place in American culture seems secure.

George R. Ehrhardt

See also: [X-Files](#), [The](#).

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Farm, The

The Farm is an intentional community located on approximately 1,750 acres (710 hectares) near Summertown, Tennessee, about 60 miles (100 kilometers) southeast of Nashville. In 1971, Stephen Gaskin left San Francisco State College, where he taught English and creative writing, and led 300 hippies in a caravan of sixty buses, trucks, and vans from California to the site in Tennessee, where they established the Farm and vowed to hold all possessions in common.

Members advocated pacifism, vegetarianism, natural methods of birth control, and natural childbirth. They agreed to practice a hippie spirituality in which all religious traditions and philosophies are respected. Meditation services were held frequently, and Gaskin's wife, Ina May, a certified professional midwife, trained many of the women living at the Farm to become midwives. Her book *Spiritual Midwifery* (1977) is considered a seminal work on that subject and contributed significantly to the national movement of home births.

By 1979, 1,500 residents were living at the Farm, and many successful businesses had been developed to supplement the agricultural portion of the venture. The Farm maintained its own school, clinic, ambulance service, laundry, and bakery. Some of the most successful businesses were in the fields of construction, trucking, publishing, and specialty food sales.

By the early 1980s, however, it was apparent that the community's infrastructure could not continue to sustain the growing population. Lack of adequate housing, sanitation facilities, and running water prompted many residents to leave. In 1983, escalating financial struggles led several disillusioned members to challenge Gaskin's leadership, and the communal lifestyle was abandoned for a cooperative one. Under the cooperative structure, the land and

community businesses were jointly held. The residents were required to become self-sufficient and to pay monthly dues to the cooperative. Personal assets no longer were held in common.

As of 2010, approximately 175 individuals were living at the Farm. Many were involved in overseeing the various businesses associated with the community. Additionally, a variety of auxiliary organizations were connected to the Farm, the two best-known being Plenty International and the Midwifery Center. Plenty was formed in 1974, when the Farm's residents assisted in the cleanup efforts following a tornado that ravaged several of their neighbors' properties. Two years later, Guatemala suffered a devastating earthquake, and numerous members of the community traveled to Central America to participate in the relief effort; some remained among the Mayan people for four years. Plenty International also provided assistance to those affected by Hurricane Katrina in New Orleans, Louisiana, in 2005.

The Midwifery Center is recognized as one of the first out-of-hospital birth centers in the United States. Promoting the recommendations of the American College of Obstetricians and Gynecologists, Ina May Gaskin is the recipient of the ASPO/Lamaze Irwin Chabon Award and the Tennessee Perinatal Association Recognition Award. She served as president of Midwives' Alliance of North America from 1996 to 2002, and her book *Ina May's Guide to Childbirth* was published in 2003.

Still recognized as the spiritual leader of the Farm, Stephen Gaskin continues to lead Sunday morning group meditation and church services in the meadow. He remains active as a writer and lecturer and has published several volumes of his spiritual teachings, including *Monday Night Class* (1970), *This Season's People: A Book of Spiritual Teachings* (1976), *Sunday Morning Services on the Farm* (1977), *Mind at Play* (1979), *Cannabis Spirituality* (1997), and *An Outlaw in My Heart: A Political Activist's User's Manual* (2000). Promoting universal health care, campaign finance reform, and the decriminalization of marijuana, Gaskin was a Green Party candidate in the 2000 presidential primary.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Communes](#).

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Farmers' Alliance

The Farmers' Alliance was an organized movement among American farmers in the 1880s and 1890s that pursued collective means to improve their lot. By the late nineteenth century, Thomas Jefferson's vision of a nation of independent citizen-farmers was under assault, as large corporate interests, especially railroads, monopolized distribution and maximized profits at the expense of individual farmers. In the late 1860s and early 1870s, the Grange movement (now the National Grange) sought to mobilize farmers in the upper Midwest against

the railroads and grain-elevator monopolies, but it finally proved ineffectual in resolving basic economic issues. Discontent in the agricultural heartland did not evaporate with the withering of the Grange, however, and the Farmers' Alliance asserted the right of growers to stand up for themselves and work together to challenge the root causes of their difficulties—specifically, to push for higher commodity prices. From it arose the Populist Party in the 1890s.

The Farmers' Alliance consisted of three separate and independent organizations. The Northern Farmers' Alliance was organized in 1880 to represent growers in the Great Plains states. The Colored Farmers' Alliance was established in 1886 for African American farmers, primarily in the South. And the Southern Farmers' Alliance was established in late 1877 in Lampasas County, Texas, as a fraternal order designed to protect the interests of farmers in Texas, Louisiana, and Arkansas, primarily. The Southern Alliance was the most influential, as it aggressively sought to attack the root causes of farmers' difficulties. The appointment of S.O. Daws as a traveling lecturer in 1883 was a key development in the success of the Southern Alliance.

American farmers during this period were under tremendous economic pressure as a result of collapsing prices for agricultural products and a shortage of available credit. Many lived from hand to mouth, with their survival or failure in the hands of local merchants. Farmers' Alliance lecturers such as Daws asserted that farmers ought to be proud of themselves as hardworking Americans and should collaborate in a community effort to improve their situation. The Alliance worked to pool farmers' production in order to obtain better prices from middlemen, a practice known as "bulking." The organization formed other collaborative enterprises such as grain mills and cooperative stores that were member-owned and-operated, and it also established a program to assist farmers in drought-stricken areas. Alliance lecturers championed the benefits of the movement at rallies that attracted tens of thousands of people and gave members a sense of collective power that they had not felt before.

The Farmers' Alliance's agenda was far more radical than that of the Grange. It reached out to wage laborers through the dominant labor union of the period, the Knights of Labor, which Alliance members assisted by honoring union boycotts and providing foodstuffs to striking workers. A Farmers' Alliance exchange was founded in 1887, capitalized by member funding; it threatened to break the economic stranglehold that banks and merchants had on cash-poor farmers. In 1889, the Alliance also successfully boycotted the jute bag monopoly, forcing it to agree to pricing demands. Although the exchange failed and jute prices went up as the Alliance weakened, such measures represented radical attacks on the existing economic structure and struck at the fundamental causes of farm distress.

Measures such as these also combined with a souring of the overall U.S. economy to contribute to a whirlwind expansion of the Farmers' Alliance movement during the late 1880s. The leaders of the Southern Alliance aggressively pushed the movement into the rest of the South. In 1887, they also sought to unite the various regional groups under the National Farmers' Alliance, with Charles Macune as its leader. Macune had been the instigator of the Southern Alliance's attempt to establish a cooperative exchange, and he unsuccessfully lobbied Congress in 1890 to adopt a federally funded farmers' bank known as the Sub-Treasury System that would have given farmers an alternative to the exploitive credit systems of local merchants. The National Alliance responded to the emerging populist movement by adopting a platform calling for the direct election of senators, government regulation of the transportation network, and the sub-treasury plan.

The Farmers' Alliance began to decline during the 1890s as it struggled with thorny political and economic issues. Economic conditions during the period were so difficult that many farmers could not afford to maintain their Alliance memberships, and the failure of many of the organization's cooperative enterprises drove others away.

The issue of whether the Farmers' Alliance should formally join with the emerging Populist Party was critically important, especially for the more active Southern Alliance. Once the organization leaned toward the populist third party, the Southern Democratic elite turned all of its guns against it. One by one, the Farmers' Alliance's chapters flickered and died. By 1900, the movement had all but disappeared.

For nearly twenty years, farmers had organized in regional alliances to collectively address the structural and

social problems that plagued them. They had correctly identified and attacked the economic causes of their difficulties, uniting in an attempt to remove the middlemen and financiers who collaborated to squeeze every penny from small, independent farmers. The political goals of the Farmers' Alliance could not be achieved within the confines of either the Democratic or Republican party, and defection from the Democratic Party proved to be a suicidal act for the well-organized Southern Alliance.

Although the Farmers' Alliance's efforts proved unsuccessful in the short term, its members' belief that collaborative action was needed to ensure that all classes share in the fruits of prosperity was the basis of future efforts at reform, from the populist and progressive movements to the liberalism of the New Deal.

Charles E. Delgadillo

See also: [Democratic Party: Populism](#).

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Fashion

In the context of a counterculture movement, fashion operates at two levels. It can be a form of media, conveying information about the differences between a subculture and a mainstream culture. For example, a man in the late 1970s wearing a fluorescent-colored Mohawk haircut, his T-shirt intricately and intentionally torn and safety-pinned, visually proclaimed his affiliation with punk rockers rather than with conservative preppies. Yet fashion also can be a marker of individual identity. Individuals within a subcultural group offer flourishes (such as the multicolored Mohawk) that make a personal statement. Thus, fashion is employed for two seemingly contradictory purposes: to identify with a group and to express an individual identity.

Pre-Twentieth-Century Trends

By definition, fashion is continually changing and shifting, with trends falling in and out of favor. Throughout early American history, style traditionally was established by the upper classes and gradually adopted by the lower classes. As a style became popular with society at large, the elite moved on to a new fashion trend, and the cycle of adoption and rejection would repeat.

By the time of the American Revolution, fashion in the United States was shifting approximately every decade, especially in women's clothing. Sheer, empire-waist dresses of the 1790s begat the corsets of the early 1800s. Leg-of-mutton sleeves and layers of underskirts in the 1830s gave way to narrow shoulders and a bell-shaped silhouette by the 1840s. The hoop skirt of the 1860s was drawn back into a bustle by the 1870s.

Men's fashion had become plainer by the 1800s, roughly similar to modern-day men's suits and sport coats. Sober, dark colors in sensible cloths such as wool or linen predominated, with only subtle changes over the years

in coat length and cut.

Challenges to this narrow menswear norm generally came from the artistic classes. The British writer and dandy Oscar Wilde was largely ridiculed in the mainstream press for his sartorial choices during an 1880s U.S. lecture tour. Wilde wore a baggy velvet jacket and vest, a floppy bow tie, knee breeches, and long, shaggy hair, which became the “uniform” of male bohemians. These artists, writers, and like-minded individuals used their clothing choices to demonstrate contempt for societal conformity.

But it was not just bohemians who rejected the menswear standards of the times. The idea of pants—tube-legged, full-length trousers—was initially embraced by peasants and later accepted by settlers of all social classes in the New World for practical reasons. Heavy, cotton fabric was imported to the British colonies shortly after the first immigrants arrived. But it was not until 1873, when Levi Strauss and David Jacobs patented their method for making blue jeans with twilled cotton cloth and strengthening rivets, that the pants became popular with the working class, because of their rugged durability. The pants also were worn by members of the urban elite, such as poet Walt Whitman.

Women likewise began challenging the fashion standards. In 1851, New England temperance activist Elizabeth Smith Miller designed what she considered a practical alternative to the heavy, multilayered, highly-starched dresses of the time: long baggy pants worn under a full, knee-length skirt. Suffragist Elizabeth Cady Stanton was among those who adopted the practical style. Editor Amelia Bloomer latched onto the fledgling fashion trend, and gave her name to the new “bloomer suit,” but the mainstream press ridiculed the style. By 1859, bloomers were all but extinct.

Victorian dress reformers persisted, however, promoting other alternatives to the female fashion standards of the time. They questioned the safety of corsets, undergarments reinforced with whale baleen, animal bone, wood, or flexible metal that pushed body organs above and below the waistline, exaggerating the breasts and hips, and creating an unnaturally small “wasp” waist. Women listened to the reformers in part because undergarments were largely invisible to the public. A wearer could challenge fashion trends without being exposed to societal ridicule or pressure to conform. By the early twentieth century, corsets had fallen out of favor.

Other visible challenges to fashion standards also emerged. Annie Oakley popularized short skirts for athletic or working women in the 1880s. While not a widely accepted fashion trend, much like the urban adoption of blue jeans, calf-length skirts offered a practical alternative to fashionable dress of the time. In the 1890s, bloomers reemerged, minus the overskirt, as a sex-appropriate costume for climbing aboard a newly popular invention, the bicycle.

Early Twentieth Century

The twentieth century would prove especially fertile for countercultural fashion trends. As women moved into the workforce, demands for more comfortable and practical clothing increased. Skirts gradually became shorter. While style was still embodied by the upper classes, youth culture also began to play an important role in driving and establishing clothing trends.

The flapper of the 1920s was the epitome of the new youth culture in action. Female flappers emerged after World War I, as youth rebelled against the standards of the older generation. Young men and women began driving automobiles, drinking liquor banned by Prohibition, and holding “petting parties” with members of the opposite sex. As part of the rebellion, young women also rejected the fashion choices of older women. Exaggerated waists and hips were considered passé; a rail-straight figure was in vogue. Long, flowing hair was bobbed to chin length. Women abandoned stockings (or donned sheer silk flesh-colored hose) and wore noticeable makeup. The waistlines of dresses dropped to just above the hips, and hemlines crept upward toward the knees.

French fashion designer Coco Chanel was one of the key promoters of this new fashion trend. More importantly,

for the first time older and upper-class women began looking to younger women for fashion inspiration. Not only were young women considered the trendsetters, but their slim figures were the epitome of style. These trends were not embraced by everyone, but the flapper was an important milestone for fashion in the modern era: a style developed by youth counterculture and later adopted by the mainstream.

Designers were beginning to acknowledge that societal trends and individual attitudes could be important influences in fashion and style. American designer Elizabeth Hawes, writing in the 1930s and 1940s, was a strong believer in the link between fashion and cultural identity. "It is not very difficult for a designer to understand the motives of wearing clothes for physical protection," she wrote. "The hard thing is to grasp how important it is to many people to get *psychological* protection from their clothes." Hawes believed people wear clothes for self-satisfaction, but also to project an image to others. Clothing could make a statement about the person's beliefs and ideals.

The counterculture already understood the link between fashion and group identification. The zoot suit, characterized by high-waisted, wide-legged, tight-cuffed pegged trousers and a long coat with wide lapels and padded shoulders, first gained popularity in the Harlem jazz culture of the 1930s. The style soon became popular with other minority men, including the Mexican American pachucos of Los Angeles. The zoot suit became infamous after a series of racial riots erupted between soldiers and pachucos in Los Angeles during World War II.

Twentieth-century subcultures crafted a sense of group style, cobbled together from other sources and influences and often centered on music. The bebop movement in 1950s jazz developed competing stylistic norms: the beatnik and the hipster. The hipster's style sense (zoot suits, "continental" black turtlenecks) stood in marked contrast to the studiously ragged jeans and sandals of the Beat Generation. Both challenged the mainstream.

But it was not only the avant-garde that produced sartorial challenges to the status quo. Rock and roll, which in the 1950s was a heady blend of black gospel, blues, and white country-and-western music, produced its own form of fashion rebellion. The greaser, with his white T-shirt, rolled-bottom jeans, black leather jacket, and slicked-back hair, offered a stylistic threat to the conformity of 1950s life. The look became a hooligan uniform of sorts, embodied, for example, by actor James Dean in the film *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955). Later the image was made less threatening in television programs such as *Happy Days* (1974–1984) and films such as *American Graffiti* (1973) and *Grease* (1978).

The 1960s and Beyond

Through the first half of the twentieth century, mainstream fashion trends were driven by the Parisian couture world. Truly "fashionable" clothes were made to measure and hand sewn in a designer's salon.

In the 1960s, however, an important shift took place. The fashion industry became decentralized, with "outsiders" producing the most influential trends, such as Londoner Mary Quant's miniskirt, New Yorker Betsey Johnson's use of nontraditional vinyl or metallic fabrics, and Italian Emilio Pucci's psychedelic and op art–influenced designs. Clothes were prêt-à-porter, or ready-to-wear off the store rack without modifications. The outsiders, as exemplified by Pucci, often looked to the counterculture for fashion inspiration.

Counterculture styles were antifashion markers of the groups' differences from the mainstream. Hippies donned unisex, tie-dye garb as a visual demonstration of both their disdain for consumerism and their growing political awareness. Young feminists embraced the relative androgyny of clothing such as blue jeans as a symbol of gender equity. From the waist down, jeans-clad men and women looked the same. Men, meanwhile, began wearing long hair, floral prints, vivid colors and patterns, and accessories such as fringe and floppy hats—fashions formerly donned by women. The Black Panthers (and others) advocated a radical chic that visually linked them to their African genealogical roots; followers wore the traditional dashiki or styled their hair in a natural Afro. As for the hipsters, Beats, and greasers of the 1950s, the counterculture styles of the 1960s were closely tied to musical tastes.

A sociopolitical commentary also was inherent in many fashion statements. For instance, two very different groups adopted jeans as a way of differentiating themselves from the mainstream. Self-styled radicals and underground outlaws took their fashion cues from biker culture. The look, and the political sensibility, was epitomized in prime-time television by *All in the Family*'s Mike Stivic, the politically left-leaning, jeans-and-denim-shirt-clad, argumentative son-in-law of the more closed-minded "bigot" Archie Bunker. Meanwhile, the back-to-nature movement adopted jeans as a way to reject American consumerism. The irony was that advertising agencies representing manufacturing companies such as Levi Strauss used musical heroes of the youth underground, including Jefferson Airplane and Country Joe and the Fish, as spokespeople for their products.

The trend would continue in subsequent decades. Punk rockers of the 1970s and 1980s protested the corporate structure of the music world (and some of their hippie forebears) and expressed their own sense of frustration with national and global politics through antifashion statements. Punks wore their political messages on their backs, literally, donning T-shirts with political symbols or handwritten slogans on clothing. One popular statement was the anarchy symbol, a capital letter "A" in the middle of a circle, hand drawn on everything from leather jackets to T-shirts. Band names and logos also became part of the antifashion trend. The names themselves offered symbolic challenges and proclaimed punks' separation from the mainstream. The Dead Kennedys, Black Flag (linked to both anarchy and the deadly bug spray), and the Misfits, among others, were marker-written on T-shirts, jackets, torn flannels, and jeans.

The 1990s saw the arrival of the less-political grunge subculture, whose look was epitomized by the rock band Nirvana. Grunge styles made punk rockers seem like fashionistas: The typical look was layered and disheveled, including ripped jeans, loose-fitting T-shirts, long, stringy hair, and flannel shirts. Like the hippie style of the 1960s, the grunge look was unisex, adopted by men and women alike. During the same era, hip-hop emerged as a musical and fashion force, characterized by skintight, revealing outfits for women, baggy clothing for men, and a conspicuous use of designer labels and oversized, flashy jewelry. These trends would be absorbed and rearticulated by fashion houses, which would produce ready-to-wear versions of subculture styles—such as designer jeans, Vivienne Westwood's move from punk darling to the fashion mainstream, Marc Jacobs's grunge line of the early 1990s, and Christian Dior's 2000 fashion homage to hip-hop star Lauryn Hill.

In the meantime, mainstream fashion became dominated by clothing mass-produced by recognizable brands or former couture designers creating ready-to-wear lines. True couture fashion itself became a form of counterculture, largely irrelevant to the majority of consumers.

In its July 9, 2007, issue, *The New York Times* reported that the number of houses producing genuine couture fashion had dwindled to just six. The designers who still do this sort of work create clothes that may be seen via press coverage but are rarely, if ever, actually worn.

Kathleen M. Ryan

See also: [Bebop](#); [Black Panthers](#); [Bohemianism](#); [Dean, James](#); [Flappers and Flapper Culture](#); [Gangsta Rap](#); [Harlem Renaissance](#); [Hippies](#); [Jazz](#); [Punk Rock](#); [Suffragists](#); [Zoot-Suiters](#).

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Father Divine (ca. 1877–1965)

Proclaiming himself God incarnate, the charismatic black religious leader Father Divine espoused ideals of self-help and racial equality as the founder of the International Peace Mission during the Great Depression. The cultish Peace Mission, which began as a small black congregation and grew into an international movement, laid a foundation for the civil rights reforms of the 1960s. Although many religious leaders and members of the traditional black church were skeptical of Father Divine's motives, others praised him as an agent of social change.

Little is known of Father Divine's early life, but historians agree that he was born around 1877, most likely somewhere in the Deep South, as George Baker. In 1899, he moved to Baltimore and regularly visited the vibrant storefront churches where many of the city's migrant blacks congregated. On a trip to California in 1906, he developed an interest in the New Thought philosophy of Charles Fillmore, which advocated positive thinking as a way to reconnect with God and attain perfect health and well-being. The following year, as a Baptist preacher in the American South and West, Baker traveled with the evangelist ministers Samuel Morris (Father Jehovia) and John A. Hickerson (Bishop Saint John the Vine) and adopted a new identity as the "Messenger."

Baker began his own ministry in 1912 and started preaching mainly in Georgia. His message of liberation appealed to many women, but his claim to divinity and call for celibacy drew suspicion from men. In 1917, after numerous civil confrontations, Baker and a small number of female followers, including his future wife, Peninniah ("Sister Penny"), moved to New York City. Baker changed his name to Father Major Jealous Divine, and the group relocated to the primarily white middle-class neighborhood of Sayville, New York, in 1919.

Divine's Peace Mission movement gained thousands of new members after the 1929 stock market crash. "Angels," as his disciples were called, were required to forfeit their possessions, live in communal settings, and remain sober, debt free, and celibate. During the hard times early in the Great Depression, Divine held extravagant banquets free of charge. His message of self-help and equality—which challenged his followers to rise from poverty through hard work and honesty—was empowering for the many impoverished blacks in the area. His advocacy of New Thought principles also intrigued and attracted many wealthy, educated whites.

Despite Divine's popularity, the residents of Sayville in 1931 compelled the police to arrest him for disturbing the peace. A day after sentencing Divine to a year in jail and a \$500 fine, the judge died of a heart attack—this, to Divine's followers, only confirmed his godliness. An appeals court later overturned the case, and Divine moved to Harlem in 1932. The Peace Mission movement flourished in New York City and Los Angeles through the mid-1930s, but it began to lose momentum by the end of the decade.

In 1937, Divine was sued by a former Angel, who demanded that he repay the \$4,000 she had given to the movement. Divine lost the case but refused to pay the settlement; to avoid law enforcement authorities in New York, he moved to Philadelphia in 1942. Peninniah died shortly thereafter, and Divine was remarried in 1946, to a white twenty-one-year-old Canadian disciple named Edna Rose Ritchings ("Sweet Angel"). The marriage cast doubt in the minds of some followers on Divine's commitment to celibacy, even though he insisted that Ritchings was the eternally virginal reincarnation of Peninniah.

The movement went into decline after Divine's death from complications of diabetes on September 10, 1965. His widow Ritchings continued propagating Divine's legacy, and the Peace Mission, as Mother Divine.

See also: [Great Depression: New Thought](#).

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Federal Art Project

Established in 1935 as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal economic relief and recovery program, the Federal Art Project (FAP) was the government's initiative to employ out-of-work artists as part of the federal Works Progress Administration (WPA). Under the direction of writer and curator Holger Cahill, the FAP sought to promote the intellectual, artistic, and cultural rebuilding of the United States at a time when the nation was plagued by economic depression. In addition to employing out-of-work artists, the FAP sought to restore a sense of credibility and artistic sensibility to the American cultural community.

Many well-known artists found outlets for their artistic expression in the FAP. Willem de Kooning, Philip Guston, Jacob Lawrence, Jackson Pollock, Mark Rothko, and Moses Soyer are just a few of the more famous artists who participated in the program. All together, some 5,000 artists produced more than 2,500 murals, 17,000 sculptures, 108,000 easel paintings, and 350,000 fine prints under the FAP. The subject matter and genres of these works varied greatly. From murals on nonfederal public buildings, such as county courthouses, post offices, and libraries, to sketches and other representations of WPA workers, the FAP artists sought to capture a moment in American history and the essence of the American people.

The government envisioned these artists as educators and promoters of artistic sensibility among the masses. To that end, the FAP established more than 100 community art centers in twenty-two states—including galleries, classrooms, and community workshops—that served approximately 8 million people. A primary objective of these centers was to provide art education to children. Both the centers themselves and the art they produced helped the FAP to bring art closer to the daily life of the people, develop native talent, and enable artists to gain “a new orientation and a new hope and purpose based on a new sense of social responsibility,” according to Stuart Davis in *Art for the Millions* (1973).

Some politicians opposed to the New Deal charged that the FAP was filled with communist sympathizers who were seeking to propagandize the country through their art, leading to cuts in funding. The demise of the FAP ultimately came in 1943 when the WPA was formally ended by a presidential proclamation. Like the WPA's other artistic initiatives, the program lost out as the United States shifted its primary attention and resources to the World War II effort.

The FAP had allowed artists to pursue their crafts without fear of economic devastation. At the same time, it had contributed significantly to the propagation of culture in America and the artistic sensibility of the American public, something that had never before been attempted. During the hard times of the Great Depression when most Americans were preoccupied with economic survival, the FAP had offered a much-needed diversion for both artists and the general public.

See also: [Abstract Expressionism](#); [Federal Theatre Project](#); [Federal Writers' Project](#); [Great Depression](#).

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Federal Theatre Project

Begun in 1935 as part of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal economic relief and recovery program, the Federal Theatre Project (FTP) employed thousands of actors, directors, playwrights, vaudeville artists, and stage technicians and staged hundreds of productions during the Great Depression. It was also responsible for some of the most innovative staging of its era.

The FTP operated under the auspices of the federally funded Works Progress Administration (WPA) and was led by Hallie Flanagan. Flanagan, according to historian Glen Jeansonne, was a "Marxist playwright who viewed the stage as a weapon in the class struggle." The FTP was perhaps the most controversial component of Project One, the government-funded arts initiative that also included the Federal Art Project and the Federal Writers' Project. In keeping with Roosevelt's vision to provide a vital public service to all Americans and despite criticisms lodged against it, the FTP was the most ambitious effort assumed by the federal government during the Depression to organize and produce theater events.

In an effort to establish theater as a vital component of local communities, the FTP was primarily a touring company, staging productions in towns across America. Many of these productions were of theater classics, such as William Shakespeare's *Macbeth* and Christopher Marlowe's *Dr. Faustus*. However, the FTP also staged original plays and musicals, many of which fell under government suspicion because of their radical content.

A large percentage of FTP productions were experimental in nature and some were decidedly pro-communist, such as the musical revue *Sing for Your Supper*. This 1939 production, like many other FTP offerings, was aimed at blue-collar audiences, as reflected in these lines from the musical number "Leaning on a Shovel":

*We didn't lift a finger
To build the parks
That you see in every city.
At home we always linger
And read Karl Marx.*

Many opponents of the WPA denounced the FTP as ideologically subversive. Others regarded it as at least a propaganda arm of the Roosevelt administration because it produced pro-New Deal dramas and aired polemics that encouraged class hatred. Representatives in Congress who had at first supported government relief for actors

felt Project One extended beyond its original intent of promoting American ideals and was instead proselytizing radical politics.

Flanagan was brought before the House Committee on Un-American Activities in 1938 to respond to accusations that the FTP had a communist agenda. As a direct result of such suspicions, funding for the project was cut in 1939. The project was shut down completely in 1943 with World War II under way, and Flanagan returned to her teaching position at Vassar College.

At its height, the FTP employed some 12,700 people, over half of whom were actors. But its impact extended far beyond the employment of theater professionals. For the first time in the nation's history, the federal government had contributed to the large-scale staging of theatrical productions, giving the American people an opportunity to see live stage productions and experience the craft of theater to an unprecedented extent.

Lisa A. Kirby

See also: [Communism](#); [Federal Art Project](#); [Federal Writers' Project](#); [Great Depression](#).

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Federal Writers' Project

The Federal Writers' Project (FWP) was a government-sponsored New Deal initiative launched in 1935 to provide employment for writers during the Great Depression. As part of the federally funded economic relief and recovery program known as the Works Progress Administration (WPA) the FWP was regarded as a vehicle for chronicling the history and cultural life of Americans as well as providing work for unemployed members of the literary and journalistic communities.

The FWP had two main components: the American Guide Series, intended to provide detailed descriptions of each of the fifty states, from their physical landscapes to their historical landmarks and tourist attractions; and the Life Histories Project, in which writers collected oral histories of Americans from all walks of life. Together, these two elements would provide a comprehensive overview and progressive vision of the sweep of American life.

The FWP employed a variety of writers who went on to complete landmark works in their respective genres. Among these were novelist Richard Wright, whose fiction dealt with the alienation of urban American blacks; anthropologist and novelist Zora Neale Hurston, who produced the celebrated portrayal of black life *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937); novelist Ralph Ellison, who won the 1953 National Book Award for *Invisible Man*; and the Nobel Prize–winning novelist Saul Bellow. The body of work produced by these and other writers as part of the FWP was unprecedented in scope and subject matter, intended to preserve the history and culture of the United States. Because the government perceived “fiction as too subjective and too controversial to underwrite,” according to historian Glen Jeansonne, “the project employed writers at practical tasks such as preparing guidebooks, taping oral histories, indexing newspapers, making inventories of historical records, and interviewing former slaves.”

The life histories are among the most impressive of the FWP's accomplishments. In the late 1930s, FWP writers were sent out to record the experiences of more than 10,000 men and women from a wide variety of regions, occupations, and ethnic groups. From the stories of packinghouse workers in Chicago to those of working cowboys in Texas, these accounts chronicle the lives of working Americans and weave a history of the Great Depression through the eyes of those who were most affected by it. The poignancy of the Life Histories Project was due in part to the fact that the writers who collected and recorded the stories—themselves a step away from economic despair—could sympathize with the plight of the working class and the unemployed.

Much like the artists in related WPA programs—the Federal Art Project and the Federal Theatre Project—many FWP writers resisted the government's suggestions of overtly patriotic themes and instead produced writing that was considered subversive. Thus, much of their work met with resistance by those in the government who feared the FWP was becoming a mouthpiece for communist sympathizers.

Many in Congress became intent on shutting down the FWP, and, by 1939, the project had lost federal funding. Like other WPA programs, the FWP was officially disbanded in 1943 when the WPA was ended by a presidential proclamation.

Lisa A. Kirby

See also: [Communism](#); [Federal Art Project](#); [Federal Theatre Project](#); [Great Depression](#); [Hurston, Zora Neale](#); [Le Sueur, Meridel](#); [Wright, Richard](#).

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Feminism, First-Wave

The term *first-wave feminism* refers to the first organized U.S. woman's rights movement, dating from the mid-nineteenth century to the beginning of World War II. While the major focus of the movement was woman suffrage, especially in the early period, supporters also advocated equality in education, employment, and marriage law.

Although women in America had long argued for social, political, and economic equality, it was not until the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in New York that their demands gave rise to an organized movement. The longtime antislavery and temperance reformer Elizabeth Cady Stanton drafted the goals of the convention in a document called the Declaration of Sentiments. Using the Declaration of Independence of 1776 as a model, Stanton devised eleven resolutions to affirm a woman's right to full equality. The ninth resolution was the most radical, declaring that it was the duty of women to secure the right to vote. With the support of Frederick Douglass, the former slave and renowned abolitionist and orator, 100 men and women signed the Seneca Falls Declaration.

National woman's rights conventions were held every year from 1850 to 1860, except 1857. Following the example of the antislavery movement, women petitioned individual state legislatures to grant equal rights. In 1860, Stanton addressed a joint session of the New York State House and Senate, which eventually passed a bill that gave women the right to own their own property, collect their own wages, sue in court, and enjoy inheritance rights such as those of men.

The onset of the American Civil War broke the momentum of the organized woman's reform movement; the last woman's rights convention before the war took place in New York in February 1861. During the war, women entered the workforce in dramatic numbers, filling positions out of necessity and duty; they worked as nurses, as relief workers, and in factories. The leaders of the woman's rights movement—Stanton, Susan B. Anthony, Lucy Stone, Ernestine Rose, Angelina Grimké Weld, and others—instead focused their efforts on the antislavery cause and pledged their support of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery in the United States.

After the war, the labor movement was revived, and several national unions were organized. The first two unions to admit women were the cigar makers' union in 1867 and the printers' union in 1869. By 1884, increasing numbers of women also were joining the Knights of Labor—the first labor organization to attempt to unionize women on a national scale—and the first Working Girls Club was formed in New York. By the turn of the twentieth century, women were pouring into the labor force, retuning to factory work, entering domestic occupations and farming, and taking jobs as teachers, sales clerks, and secretaries.

Women also were entering higher education in rapidly increasing numbers. A number of women's colleges opened in the years following the war, including Vassar in 1865, Smith and Wellesley in 1875, Radcliffe in 1879, Bryn Mawr in 1885, and Barnard in 1889. By 1900, some 35 percent of undergraduates at American colleges were women, earning 20 percent of the nation's bachelor's degrees. By 1920, those numbers rose to 47 percent of undergraduates and 34 percent of bachelor's degrees (though both would decline significantly in the decades that followed).

The overwhelming majority of women who entered higher education, however, were still white and middle class. Before 1899, Radcliffe and Wellesley had graduated only two black women each, and Vassar had graduated one. By 1910, Smith and Radcliffe still had graduated only four black women each, Wellesley only three, Mount Holyoke (founded in 1837) only two, and Vassar only one; Barnard, Bryn Mawr, and Mills (founded in 1852) had not graduated a single black woman. Although black women did have access to all-black institutions of higher learning, that access often was limited and thus made their struggle for autonomy doubly difficult.

The consequences of the influx of women into higher learning and the workforce provided new momentum to the woman's movement. Because large numbers of women were no longer dependent on men for support, they advocated their own political rights. Beginning in the 1910s, women from diverse ethnic and political groups began joining the reform movement. Socialists, African Americans, immigrants, and college students joined in rallying for the cause of human rights.

The struggle for such rights as individual autonomy, access to higher education and the professions, paid employment, and suffrage reached across ethnic and gender lines, though the bulk of the movement remained dominated by white, middle-class women who were criticized for not openly acknowledging the plight of the poor and disenfranchised. For these reasons, historians often criticize first-wave feminism for its Eurocentrism and implicit racism and classism.

The onset of World War I added fuel to the woman's movement, despite divided opinion. Questioning the patriotic rationale for joining the war, many women asked why it was necessary to fight for democracy abroad when it was clearly deficient at home. Still, women joined the war effort in record numbers and they demanded recognition for their efforts in the form of suffrage.

Women continued to lobby for their rights, with the National Woman's Party—the militant wing of the suffrage movement—organizing open public demonstrations to gain popular attention for the right of women to vote. The

subsequent arrests, imprisonments, and hunger strikes of women who took part were successful in spurring public discussion and winning publicity for the cause of suffrage. In 1919, in the aftermath of the war, President Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats altered their position on suffrage from neutral to supportive. The result was congressional passage of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1919, granting women full enfranchisement, with ratification following in 1920.

The National Woman's Party looked to continue the fight for equality. It backed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) of the 1920s, ensuring full legal protection for women and the constitutionally mandated end of discrimination against them. But the movement fragmented, and the ERA failed.

The first-wave feminist movement stalled, because many women lost interest in the cause after gaining the vote. After World War I, many women left outside employment and returned to the home, and fewer entered higher education. It would not be until the 1960s, with the advent of the second wave, that an organized woman's movement would again demand equal rights.

Melissa Williams

See also: [Abolitionism: Feminism](#), [Second-Wave: Feminism](#), [Third-Wave: Feminism](#), [Social Justice: Suffragists](#).

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Feminism, Second-Wave

The feminist movement in America underwent radical changes in the post–World War II years, leading up to its “second wave” in the 1960s and 1970s. The organized movement of the early twentieth century, which had lost momentum after ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment to the Constitution, granting women the right to vote, in 1920, continued to stagnate through the 1940s and 1950s.

With the return to the home of many female workers after World War II, the national birthrate in the 1950s doubled that of the Depression era, making female occupation outside the home increasingly difficult. Many women confined themselves to the roles of housewife and mother, forsaking their previous occupations. Yet not all women were willing or able to abandon the workplace or their quest for higher education. The war had succeeded in opening higher education to the mass public, as the numbers of colleges and universities increased to accommodate returning veterans. Many women took advantage of the opportunity to enter college and the professions, though in smaller numbers than earlier in the century.

The growth of the suburbs during the 1950s increased the isolation of the housewife. Women who felt restricted by a life focused on the home had no place to express their discontent, for the kinds of organizations that had once championed the rights of women were few and far between. Unmarried women who desired gainful employment faced wage discrimination, and the growing numbers of women lacking husbands through divorce or widowhood increased the pressure for social change. The National Woman's Party (NWP) focused solely on passing the Equal Rights Amendment—which sought to guarantee equality of rights for men and women under the law—but ignored other social issues, such as housing, birth control, unionization, and the stabilization of poor and immigrant populations. Thus, the amorphous but growing discontent of the 1950s set the stage for the modern feminist movement of the 1960s.

Starting in 1963, fertility rates once again declined, and women entered the workforce in increasing numbers. Women voiced their concerns about equality in the labor force, and President John F. Kennedy took specific notice of women voters. While he did not support the Equal Rights Amendment, Kennedy appointed the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women in December 1961. The commission's final report, in October 1963, cited various sources of discrimination against women and made specific recommendations. The Equal Pay Act of 1963 was one direct result, and Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which prohibited both race and sex discrimination, was another.

Federal recognition of women's issues in these ways marked a dramatic success for the women's movement. Seeking to seize the new momentum, leading advocates followed the model of the civil rights movement and established a broad-based political action and lobby group in Washington, D.C., the National Organization for Women (NOW), in 1966.

Challenging the same ideologies that fueled racism in America, many white women became publicly involved in the civil rights movement as an extension of their own battle. Black and white women called for the eradication of discrimination and oppression based on race and sex, and they mobilized together to attain their goal.

With the emergence of black nationalist and Black Power groups in the latter part of the decade, however, white women were eased out of the civil rights movement, leading to increased fragmentation and alienation within the women's movement. Many black women claimed that they were excluded from participation in either group. They felt caught in the middle, called traitors to the civil rights cause if they took up the feminist banner. The black feminist movement was thus created in response to black women's experience of racism in the women's movement and to sexism in the black liberation movement. Black women and white women continued to fight the forces of oppression throughout the decade, but they did so on increasingly separate terms.

The 1970s saw a rapid proliferation of women's advocacy groups and activities, and the words *women's liberation*, *women's lib*, and *libbers* became commonplace in public discourse. Even as the movement expanded and became more structured, however, it nonetheless remained fragmented. Class, education, and age differences among the various groups resulted in divergent politics and internal strife. At the same time, virtually all the women running the organizations were college educated, quite different in class and education from rank-and-file members.



Second-wave feminism in America, during the 1960s and 1970s, was characterized by the pursuit of numerous, sometimes divergent rights issues on the part of diverse women's advocacy groups. (Peter Keegan/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Race issues continued to plague the movement, with women of diverse ethnic backgrounds having risen to leadership. Although ethnic women were joining the movement in large numbers and creating their own organizations—such as the National Black Feminist Organization (1973) and the Comision Femenil Mexicana Nacional (1973)—many groups failed to recognize the needs of lower-class women of any ethnicity. While the issues of equal pay, professional development, and education affected middle-class women, few groups were voicing the concerns of the poor.

Reproductive rights were a continuing concern for the feminists of the 1970s, and the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Roe v. Wade* (1973) secured a woman's right to choose abortion within certain broad parameters. NOW supported the constitutional protection afforded by the decision and advocated a woman's complete control over her own reproduction. Not all groups were excited about the decision, however. Many Catholics and Marxist women, for example, did not celebrate, and NOW lost members as a result of its position. Nevertheless, the reproductive rights movement of the 1970s focused almost exclusively on the abortion issue and failed to recognize related matters of class and race. In the 1960s, medical personnel had begun the involuntary sterilization of women they believed to have had too many children. For poor and ethnic women, the pressing reproductive concern of the day was not abortion, but securing the right to have as many children as they pleased without fear of government or societal involvement. Abortion, therefore, remained a predominately white and middle-class concern.

Another major split within the women's movement of the 1970s centered on the acknowledgment of lesbianism as a concern of feminists. In 1971, NOW recognized that lesbian interests were inherently female interests, and internal division resulted immediately. Those who opposed alignment with the gay movement argued that the cause of feminism would be impeded by public fear of homosexuality. Feminists who supported alignment argued that the fear of homosexuality was a product of antiquated gender roles that needed to be abolished.

These and other differences of opinion have plagued the second-wave women's movement for years and remain issues of contention in feminist discourse into the twenty-first century. Thus, while the 1970s brought a great expansion in the awareness of female concerns and women's rights became a household issue in American society, divisions in the movement also hindered further growth.

Melissa Williams

See also: [Birth Control Pill](#); [Civil Rights Movement](#); [Feminism, First-Wave](#); [Feminism, Third-Wave](#); [Lesbian Culture](#).

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Feminism, Third-Wave

Third-wave feminism emerged in the early 1990s as a response to both a popular backlash against feminism and the perceived weaknesses of second-wave feminist organizations and platforms. The third wave of feminism, which has persisted into the first decade of the twenty-first century, is characterized by challenges to any one universal idea of “women” and “women’s needs,” an attention to the simultaneous pleasures and dangers of popular youth culture and the media, and an increasingly transnational analysis of feminist concerns.

Origins

After the peak of second-wave feminism in the 1960s and 1970s, the 1980s gave rise to a national media backlash. The success of the movements for gender equity in the 1970s led to assumptions widespread in the media that the presumed goal of feminism—gender equity in the workplace—had been achieved, rendering feminist activism unnecessary. Feminist journalist Susan Faludi argued in *Backlash* (1991) that the popular media of the 1980s framed feminism as a successful movement that had nonetheless failed to satisfy women’s desires because, according to this perspective, most women who were successful in the corporate world were deeply unhappy with their lives. During this era, the female corporate executive became the ubiquitous image of feminist success; however, television and film represented these ambitious executives as cold, power hungry, and asexual.

Meanwhile, mainstream news magazines ran stories suggesting that feminism had produced a new set of shackles for American women, chaining them to their desks when they longed to return to the home. Among the most famous of these is the *Time* magazine cover story of December 4, 1989, titled “Women Face the ’90s,” which framed the debate by declaring, “In the ’80s they tried to have it all. Now they’ve just plain had it. Is there a future for feminism?”

While the national media climate remained unfriendly to feminism during the 1980s, activism on behalf of the cause was not in abeyance. Feminists of color and U.S. Third World feminism, which Chicana professor Chela Sandoval defined as feminism that recognizes the significant differences in the experiences of women of different races and different geographic locations, successfully challenged second-wave feminism’s limited view of race and racism. Writers and scholars, including Gloria Anzaldúa, bell hooks, Cherrie Moraga, and Sandoval, argued against the notion of a universal subject of feminism. They contended that a successful feminism must account for the constantly shifting intersection of identities, affinities, and forms of oppression. Anthologies such as *This Bridge Called My Back: Writings by Radical Women of Color* (1981), which documents the experiences of women of color, challenged mainstream (and largely white) feminist ideas about the experience of gender oppression. For example, feminists of color pointed out that the domestic prison described in Betty Friedan’s *The Feminine*

Mystique (1963) did not reflect the historical experiences of women of color, who usually worked outside their own homes, often in the homes of white women who felt oppressed by their exclusion from work in the public sphere.

The 1991 confirmation hearings for U.S. Supreme Court Justice Clarence Thomas, which brought allegations of his having sexually harassed former colleague Anita Hill into the public eye, helped spur the reemergence of feminism in the national political imagination. In a 1992 *Ms.* magazine article expressing her feminist outrage at Thomas's confirmation, Rebecca Walker coined the term "third wave feminism." Later that year, she cofounded the Third Wave Foundation, a feminist organization with a strong focus on diversity, coalition-based activism, and the concerns of young women and men regarding issues such as reproductive rights, sexual freedom, and equal opportunity regardless of gender expression, race, sexual preference, or socioeconomic class.

The Third Wave Foundation's mission focused on mentoring "the next generation of feminists." Existing organizations, such as the Feminist Majority Foundation, a national organization founded in 1987 to advance the legal, social, and political equality of women, also launched youth-focused and-directed campaigns. Publications targeting an audience of feminist readers between the ages of twenty-five and thirty-five, including *Bust* (1993) and *Bitch: Feminist Response to Pop Culture* (1996), began to appear on newsstands.

Feminism and Pop Culture

Third-wave feminism's interest in the diverse perspectives of feminist youth created a focus on popular culture, and, for better or for worse, the mainstream media quickly appropriated aspects of third-wave feminism. The late 1990s and the early 2000s witnessed an increasing popularization of "girl power," the tagline for a largely apolitical, superficial, and media-driven promotion of the empowerment of girls and women in television, film, and music. Cultural phenomena such as the Spice Girls, the HBO television series *Sex and the City* (1998–2004), and the soft-core video pornography series *Girls Gone Wild* (1998–) all claimed to be promoting sexual liberation and girl-empowering rebellion. However, these media depictions often located the source of women's power in their sexual prowess and beauty, advancing a version of empowerment that ignored second-wave feminist critiques of the sexualization of women.

In response to these pop-culture manifestations, some young women rallied around the concepts of individual empowerment and the "freedom to choose" (sex and other aspects of their lives, including if and when to have a husband, career, or children), rejecting earlier feminist analyses that, they argued, too often represented women as victims. Journalist Ariel Levy pointed out in *Female Chauvinist Pigs* (2005) that these pop-culture renditions of feminism focused so much on individual freedom and choice that they often lost sight of the longer-term, collective goals of feminism, such as eradicating global labor policies that exploit women workers, or improving access to affordable health care, reproductive and otherwise. Critics agree that overattention to individual empowerment addresses only the narrow context of U.S. consumer capitalism and fails to account for injustice as a collective structure and an ideological system.

While nearly all of the women of the generation born between the early 1960s and the early 1980s supported the idea of gender equity, many hesitated to call themselves feminists, claiming that the term had too many negative connotations. Some young women also wished to distance themselves from the essentialism and whiteness of mainstream second-wave feminism. Feminism's apparent ubiquity compounded this alienation: Having come of age in an era transformed by the hard-won battles of second-wave feminism— including reproductive rights, increased gender equity in the workplace, and a critical analysis of beauty culture—many young women claimed not to see material evidence of sexism in the world. Many also reported feeling constrained by second-wave feminist critiques of beauty and sexuality. As a result of these conflicting perspectives on the future of feminism, the term *postfeminism* emerged contemporaneously with *third-wave feminism*. These two terms have at times been used interchangeably, marking the feminist uncertainty of this era.

Third-wave feminism has struggled with the paradoxes posed by popular culture; however, this generation of activists also has succeeded in addressing many of the perceived weaknesses of prior feminist eras. The work of feminist philosophers such as Judith Butler, whose foundational book *Gender Trouble* (1990) questions the idea of

an essential or “authentic” self and highlights the unstable nature of gender identity, influenced the theoretical underpinnings of the third wave. This has produced a focus on a more diverse range of feminist issues and the use of affinity-based activist coalitions, which encourage activists to organize around political goals rather than personal identities.

Third-wave feminism has responded to the pressures of globalization by forming transnational alliances with feminists in other locations, and by connecting local U.S. feminist goals with movements for global economic and racial justice. Contemporary queer activism also has affected third-wave feminism, successfully challenging the heterosexism that limited the scope of previous feminist perspectives on sexuality, health care, and reproductive rights.

Margaux Cowden

See also: [Feminism, First-Wave](#); [Feminism, Second-Wave](#); [Lesbian Culture](#).

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Feminism, Social Justice

Social justice feminism (also known as social feminism), whose place in American history has been obscured by more conventionally defined feminism, played an important role in expanding feminist concerns beyond the boundaries of class, and sometimes ethnicity and race. It originated in the late nineteenth century as an offshoot of the Progressive movement, and continued through the 1920s, when ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment granting women the vote dampened other feminist activism, and into the 1930s as a factor in the New Deal.

In focus, social feminist activists differed from their individualist counterparts by their emphases on protective legislation and their opposition to the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), which proposed that “Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged... on account of sex,” a principle that social justice feminists believed would harm working women by disallowing laws to protect women, who enjoyed little if any equality in the workplace. Social justice feminism was therefore countercultural in the public role it granted to the women who became its chief activists and in its role in promoting the needs of working women in ways that the general reform movements ignored, notably in seeking to improve working conditions and to provide services to improve the health of mothers and children.

The social justice feminist movement began during the last decades of the nineteenth century, when the public reforms of the Progressive Era got under way and the term *feminism* itself came into vogue. Although women had played semipublic roles in reform prior to this time—most notably in the temperance movements and various

public welfare efforts that became known as “social housekeeping”—women activists by the end of the century were increasingly championing the needs of working women in ways that went far beyond melioration. One of the most significant of the early activists was Florence Kelley who, as the Illinois State factory inspector in 1893, successfully lobbied for the passage of legislation limiting women’s workdays to eight hours. From 1899, as head of the National Consumer’s League (a lobby group founded to promote the purchase of goods made under fair labor conditions and to advocate for laws to protect working women and children), Kelley, along with numerous other women activists, lobbied for minimum wages, maximum hours, and other workplace protections for women workers. They viewed women as more vulnerable to exploitation than male workers, who were more likely to enjoy the protection of unions.

Social justice feminism continued as an active movement during the 1920s, when the Nineteenth Amendment appeared to have made the American feminist movement obsolete. The activists of this movement included settlement house leaders, union activists, and increasingly politicized society women, such as First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt. The latter sought to increase women’s political participation in order to advance social justice goals—for example, the forty-eight-hour workweek for women and social legislation such as the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infant Protective Act (1921)—that were becoming increasingly difficult to promote in the politically conservative environment of the 1920s. Their opposition to the ERA further split and weakened an already less popular feminist movement.

Social justice feminism would move increasingly from the counterculture to the mainstream during the Great Depression and the New Deal of the 1930s. During the early years of the Depression, social justice feminists, including Eleanor Roosevelt, fought against legislation that limited married women’s employment. And they lobbied to have women activists, such as Molly Dewson, Ellen Woodward, and Frances Perkins, included in policy-making roles in President Franklin D. Roosevelt’s administration.

Only Perkins would be appointed to a cabinet post—she was secretary of labor, and the first woman cabinet officer in U.S. history. Nevertheless, she and her subcabinet colleagues played an important role in ensuring that at least some New Deal programs and legislation—including the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, establishing a minimum wage and maximum hours for all businesses that engaged in interstate commerce—addressed the needs of working women.

Susan Roth Breitzer

See also: [Suffragists](#).

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Ferlinghetti, Lawrence (1919–)

Poet and publisher Lawrence Ferlinghetti, one of the central figures in the Beat Generation of American writers of the 1950s, was instrumental in publishing and promoting many of the biggest names in that literary movement as co-owner of City Lights Bookstore and Publishers in San Francisco. Public readings of his own verse helped fuel the San Francisco Renaissance and poetry revival of that period, urging political and social engagement on the part of a new generation. “Poets, come out of your closets,” he wrote. “Open your windows, open your doors,/You have been holed-up too long/in your closed worlds...”



Beat poet, publisher, and bookstore owner Lawrence Ferlinghetti holds a reading in San Francisco in 1957. His City Lights bookstore and publishing company was the heart of the Beat movement. Live readings were an integral part of the culture. (Lawrence Ferlinghetti/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Lawrence Monsanto Ferling was born on March 24, 1919, in Yonkers, New York. His father was of Italian descent and died before Lawrence was born. His mother was of Jewish descent, and, after Lawrence’s birth, she was institutionalized in a psychiatric hospital. Lawrence was raised by relatives in France. When he reached school age, he attended school in the United States, including Mount Hermon prep school in Gill, Massachusetts.

After graduating from high school in 1937, Ferlinghetti attended the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, where he majored in journalism and graduated in 1941. Although he hoped to attend graduate school, he enlisted in the U.S. Navy after Pearl Harbor was attacked. He served as an officer on a U.S. Navy subchaser in 1943 and 1944, participating in the D-Day landing in Normandy, France. Transferred to the Pacific theater of operations, he

visited the ruins of the Japanese city of Nagasaki in the aftermath of the U.S. atomic bomb explosion. The experience made him a lifelong pacifist.

Continuing his studies with a grant provided by the GI Bill, he received a master's degree in English from Columbia University in 1947. Upon graduation, he matriculated at the University of Paris, popularly known as the Sorbonne, and earned a Ph.D. in French literature in 1950. While at the Sorbonne, Ferlinghetti met the noted American poet Kenneth Rexroth, who had been a conscientious objector during World War II. Rexroth had personal connections with many of the writers who would constitute the Beat movement and would go on to publish much of their work.

After receiving his doctorate, Ferlinghetti traveled to the United States, settling in San Francisco in 1951. Over the course of the next two years, he performed a variety of jobs to make ends meet. He taught French in adult education, wrote art criticism, and composed poetry. In 1953, he joined with local bookstore owner Peter Martin to open City Lights, the first all-paperback bookshop in the United States, specializing in antiauthoritarian works. In 1955, the pair parted ways and Ferlinghetti, who became the store's sole owner, launched the publishing wing with his own first poetry collection, *Pictures of the Gone World* (1955). City Lights Publishers and its Pocket Poets series proceeded to publish works by other Beat poets, including Kenneth Rexroth, Allen Ginsberg, and Gregory Corso.

It was during this period that Ferlinghetti began writing poems reflecting his anger and frustration with American culture. His body of work to date includes more than ten volumes of poetry, two novels, and several plays. His best-known work is his second collection of poems, *A Coney Island of the Mind* (1958), in which he develops themes of anarchy and mass corruption. One of the central texts of the Beat Generation and one of the most popular books of contemporary American poetry, *A Coney Island of the Mind* established Ferlinghetti as a compelling literary voice in his own right.

Ferlinghetti's *Starting from San Francisco* (1961) and *The Secret Meaning of Things* (1969) reflect a heightened inner awareness as he explored Zen Buddhism, mind-altering drugs, and sociopolitical issues of the time. His later works include *Wild Dreams of a New Beginning* (1988), *When I Look at Pictures* (1990), *A Far Rockaway of the Heart* (1997), *Love in the Days of Rage* (2001), *Americus: Part I* (2004), and *Poetry as Insurgent Art* (2007).

Jaime Ramón Olivares

See also: [Beat Generation: Bookstores, Alternative: City Lights Books: Ginsberg, Allen: San Francisco, California.](#)

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Fetish Culture

Fetish culture is a term used to describe the community and culture of those who engage in sexual and sensual activities commonly perceived as “perverse.” The scope of activities understood as part of fetish culture varies. At its narrowest, *fetish culture* refers only to specialized sexual interest in specific objects, such as shoes, items of clothing, stuffed animals, or other seemingly arbitrary everyday objects. Broader conceptions of fetish culture also include activities such as bondage and discipline, sadomasochism, sensory deprivation, and other forms of consensual power exchange, especially (although not exclusively) during sex. Pioneers of fetish culture include the eighteenth-century author of erotic novels the Marquis de Sade (for whom sadism was named) and the nineteenth-century German novelist Leopold von Sacher-Masoch (whose name gave rise to the term *masochism*).

Historical Understandings

Until the late nineteenth century, *fetish* was used primarily in the anthropological study of “primitive” religions, as coined by the French anthropologist Charles de Brosses in 1757. In this context, a fetish was an icon or symbol given ritual significance (for example, the totem animal and certain plants and animals). Fetishes functioned as sacred objects in religious rites, from Santería to Roman Catholicism.

Beginning in the 1880s, sexologists examined sexualized obsessions with objects, a phenomenon that French psychiatrist Alfred Binet first named “fetishism” in his 1887 article “Fetishism in Love.” Binet classified obsessions with objects and homosexuality as the two predominant forms of fetishism, and argued that fetishism presented a troubling perversion of the reproductive aims of sex, which he understood as the foremost motive for “normal” sexual activity.

Other turn-of-the-century sexologists further extrapolated the notion of sexual fetishism, including Richard von Krafft-Ebing in his *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1886), Havelock Ellis in his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex* (1896), and Sigmund Freud in his *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality* (1905). Krafft-Ebing, Ellis, and Freud still understood fetishism as an aberrant sexual practice, but they did not classify its practitioners as constitutionally degenerate. Freud, for example, argued that fetishism was a perversion of “normal” sexual aims, but he also used his case studies of fetishism to demonstrate that sexual desire has no “natural” objects or predetermined goals, and that these are not established psychologically until adolescence.

As a descriptor of a twentieth- and twenty-first-century sexual culture and community, the term *fetish* borrows elements of these earlier definitions and combines them with a critical perspective regarding sexual norms. The denotation of *fetish culture* includes the psychological sense of a uniquely sexualized relationship to a specific object, while also broadening this definition to suggest that certain kinds of sexual behavior, such as masochism or role playing, also might be understood as fetishistic in nature.

Contemporary fetishism encompasses a vast array of preferences and desires. Examples of fetish subcommunities include looners (who enjoy sexual play with balloons), splooshers (who use messy and wet materials, such as baked beans, for erotic satisfaction), plushies and furies (people who fetishize stuffed animals and people who enjoy dressing up as animal mascots, respectively), and leather folk (who enjoy bondage, discipline, and sadomasochism).

Twentieth-Century Culture

Fetish culture burgeoned in the United States following World War II. British artist John Alexander Scott Coutts (John Willie) began publishing *Bizarre*, a magazine that included erotic, fetishistic drawings and stories, in 1945. Willie’s own illustrated fetish stories, including his well-known tales of fetish heroine Sweet Gwendoline, often appeared in *Bizarre*. Willie’s drawings blended the conventions of erotic pinup drawings of the 1940s with fetish motifs, resulting in a trademark style. Other fetish artists, including Eric Stanton and Touko Laaksonen (better known as Tom of Finland), created their own iconic fetish images during the mid-century years.

The impact of the drawings of the 1950s and 1960s remains evident in twenty-first-century comic books and fetish artwork. Alan Moore and Melinda Gebbie’s graphic novel *Lost Girls* (2006), for example, recasts classic fairy tales

as fetish stories. Comic book characters such as Wonder Woman and Aeon Flux, while not explicitly erotic, also show the influence of fetish art, particularly after the 1990s.

Fetish bars and clubs also began to emerge in American urban centers during the early 1950s. Shaw's, New York City's first leather bar, opened in 1951, followed by the Lodge in 1952. San Francisco's first official leather club, The Why Not, opened in 1960, but was quickly raided and closed by police.

By the 1970s, areas such as New York's Times Square and San Francisco's Tenderloin district had become infamous markets for all sex culture, including fetish publications and accessories. Many of the early leather bars and popular fetish districts also were important sites for the emergent gay and lesbian community. While the concerns of these two communities sometimes overlap, particularly regarding rights to sexual freedom and unlegislated sexual privacy, the gay and lesbian community and the fetish community remain distinct. Not all fetish practitioners are gay or lesbian, and vice versa.

Through the 1980s, changes in obscenity codes and sodomy laws profoundly affected the success of fetish publications and clubs. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Mishkin v. New York* (1966) officially deemed depictions of fetishism, sadomasochism, and homosexuality to be obscene, and its decision in *Miller v. California* (1973) mandated that each state and locality determines the boundaries of obscenity locally. These two cases effectively allowed state governments to ban specific representations and forms of fetishism on the grounds of obscenity. Religious conservative groups and antipornography feminists, including Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon, continued to push for conservative interpretations of obscenity law through the 1980s, leading to the evacuation of much of the public sex culture, fetish and otherwise, from places such as Times Square.

Today, fetish culture continues to operate clubs, produce magazines and Web sites, and organize events that allow the practitioners to connect with each other. Magazines such as *Skin Two*, *Exotique*, and *Janus* keep members of fetish subcommunities informed about techniques, new products, and community events. Social-networking Web sites such as bondage.com and collarme.com provide opportunities for fetishists to network and chat with like-minded people. Fetish parties, play parties, and conventions permit attendees to participate in a given fetish and meet other fetish fans without fear of judgment.

Steve Maidhoff founded the National Leather Association in 1986 and, later the same year, organized the first official "leather/SM/fetish conference." Living in Leather, as it was called, remained an annual event twenty years later and beyond. Events such as Living in Leather and San Francisco's infamous Folsom Street Fair, which is attended annually by more than 400,000 people, demonstrate the extent to which fetish culture has moved into the mainstream sexual imagination.

Margaux Cowden

See also: [Film, Cult.](#)

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Film, Cult

Generally overlooked or rejected by mainstream audiences, cult films are those that attract a small but highly devoted fan base. To these fans, cult films often serve as more than mere cinema, creating a social space in which viewers can interact with the characters on screen and each other. The true mark of a cult film, then, is that a relatively small audience knows it in minute detail and finds the experience of the film a source of shared identity rather than mere entertainment or even art.

Origins

Cult films became a full-fledged countercultural phenomenon in the 1970s, when the term itself began to be used, but its roots go back to the early days of the cinema. In France, the silent movie classic *Cabinet of Dr. Caligari* (1920) set a precedent by playing continuously in one Paris theater from 1920 to 1927, often to audiences largely composed of repeat viewers.

In the United States, experimental, avant-garde, underground films after World War II paved the way for the emergence of cult films. Kenneth Anger's *Fireworks* (1947) was among the early works in American avant-garde cinema, filling its fifteen surrealistic minutes with homoerotically charged shots of sailors, restrooms, and sexualized violence. In the 1950s and early 1960s, experimental filmmakers such as Stan Brakhage continued exploring the bounds of film, allowing the camera to wobble like the drunken partygoers it depicts in *Desistfilm* (1954), showing the filmmaker and his wife making love in negative exposure in *Wedlock House: An Intercourse* (1959), and graphically depicting the birth of a baby in *Window Water Baby Moving* (1962).

Such films helped to coalesce an audience for what became known as “underground” film in the 1960s. The November 1959 double-premiere of John Cassavetes's *Shadows* and Alfred Leslie and Robert Frank's *Pull My Daisy* heralded the birth of the underground. *Shadows* used improvisation and gritty locations to tell an interracial love story, while *Pull My Daisy* featured Beat poets such as Allen Ginsberg and Jack Kerouac simply hanging out, without much in the way of narrative.

As the underground film industry began to proliferate, largely out of New York City's East Village, its films challenged cinematic and sexual convention by including unscripted scenes, amateur actors, found footage, rapid and disjointed camera movements and editing, as well as nudity and frequent depictions of homosexuality (which mainstream Hollywood films of the time either ignored or pathologized as deviant). For instance, when the pop artist Andy Warhol began making films in 1963, he “just kept shooting until the actors got bored,” one participant recalled; Warhol used neither scripts nor plots. Kenneth Anger's *Scorpio Rising* (1964), meanwhile, featured sexually charged scenes of male bikers intercut with shots of Jesus Christ and the German dictator Adolf Hitler.

Audiences

One way these underground films laid the groundwork for cult films was by inviting audience participation. At Jack Smith's *Flaming Creatures* (1963), viewers would boo, hiss, applaud, and shout suggestions to the onscreen characters. The cinematic underground, some film historians have argued, also played a role in the formation of

an urban gay subculture determined to locate nonderogatory representations of gay life. The prevalence of such representations in films such as *Flaming Creatures*, an intentionally campy depiction of transvestites, chaotic dancing, and sexual anarchy, met that demand.

An important event in the development of the cult film came with the release of Alexandro Jodorowsky's *El Topo* in late 1970. Ben Barenholtz, manager of the Village Theater in New York City, began screening the film virtually without advertising or publicity, showing it only at midnight seven days a week; by early 1971, the film was selling out almost every night. A bizarre combination of sex, violence, and Christian allegory, *El Topo* drew from influences as far-ranging as spaghetti Westerns, surrealism, Buddhism, and science fiction. The story of a "holy killer" traversing the desert in an effort to shoot four master sharpshooters and thereby prove his love to a scheming woman, *El Topo* appealed to the youth counterculture formed in the late 1960s, many of whom watched the film repeatedly in an effort to uncover its deep-seated truths.

Jodorowsky's next film, *The Holy Mountain* (1973), continued his mystical cinematic quest, but the director never matched the success of *El Topo*, which gave birth to the "midnight movie." John Waters's *Pink Flamingos* (1972) quickly emerged as the next midnight sensation, telling the intentionally disgusting story of a contest for the title "Filthiest People Alive."

The diverse threads of the cinematic underground and the midnight movie came together in 1975 with the picture that crystallized the cult film. *The Rocky Horror Picture Show*, based on a British stage musical, told the manic story of Dr. Frank-N-Furter, a "sweet transvestite from Transsexual, Transylvania" working like Dr. Frankenstein to create a beautiful male creature. When an innocent couple, Brad and Janet, stumbles into the doctor's lair, chaos ensues, as do seductions of every sexual orientation. With its bisexual theme and campy musical interludes, *Rocky Horror* harkened back to the days of *Flaming Creatures*. Yet midnight audiences quickly moved past verbal interactions with the screen, such as memorizing dialogue and inserting witty comments, and introduced props. When Frank-N-Furter proposed a toast, for example, audiences would throw slices of toast at the screen; Brad's declaration, "Great Scott!" inspired the throwing of rolls of toilet paper (referencing a product brand name). Audience members also began to dress as characters, singing and dancing in the aisles and onstage before the film started and during the musical numbers.



The paragon of midnight cult films, The Rocky Horror Picture Show (1975) stars Tim Curry as Dr. Frank-N-Furter (center). Into the twenty-first century, showings of Rocky Horror continue to attract audiences who dress like characters, shout out their lines, and act out scenes. (Michael Ochs Archives/Getty Images)

Other films continued the cult audience phenomenon in the 1970s. David Lynch's *Eraserhead* (1977) told the futuristic story of an alienated man with a deformed baby, while the Jamaican film *The Harder They Come* (1972) attracted fans with its reggae music and radical politics. The re-released 1936 antimarijuana film *Reefer Madness*, which had fallen into the public domain, became a staple of 1970s college life, as students laughed at its histrionic portrayal of the dangers of the evil weed. But while these and other films drew dedicated and repeat viewers, none

came near matching the fervor inspired by *Rocky Horror*, which continued its weekend midnight screenings into the 2000s.

With the invention and commercial availability of home-video technology, the 1980s saw a shift in the nature of the cult film. Midnight screenings of offbeat films continued apace, but the sense of community engendered by cult films often was fragmented by the prevalence of private home viewing.

Nonetheless, several cult films emerged, from Frank Henenlotter's splatter epic *Basket Case* (1982) to Alex Cox's punk-influenced *Repo Man* (1984). The 1990s continued this trajectory, with overlooked films such as *The Big Lebowski* (1998) often finding their cults only after their theatrical releases ended.

Whitney Strub

See also: [Beat Generation: Film, Independent: Rocky Horror Picture Show, The: Warhol, Andy: Waters, John.](#)

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Film, Hollywood

Hollywood film has a complex relationship with the images, icons, and individuals associated with American counterculture. Referring to the district in Los Angeles that has been the historical center of the major motion picture studios, the term *Hollywood film* is used to indicate mainstream films made within the studio system.

These films typically are made with large budgets, allowing for extensive, well-researched settings and costumes, as well as the support and enhancement of elaborate special effects. High-budget films also have the advantage of lengthy filming and production schedules, and are populated with high-profile actors and production personnel. Typically, these films are released in major theaters across the country, share promotional links with other entertainment media, and effectively utilize business synergies to promote products and services of nationally recognized brand names featured in the films.

In the decades since the development of the studio system, Hollywood films have been regulated from within and without to safeguard mainstream values, ideals, and moralities, often leading to the exclusion, marginalization, or negative representation of the American counterculture. Nevertheless, Hollywood film also has consistently appropriated and exploited the counterculture to expand its thematic and visual range and to increase box office receipts.

Regulation of Images and Ideas

Classical Hollywood film is considered to have begun in 1915, with the release of D.W. Griffith's *The Birth of a*

Nation. The Hollywood studio system gave structure to the standards and organization of filmmaking, ensuring that films conformed to particular modes of production and that all individuals working in the industry were studio employees. Over time, this standardization resulted in a distinct uniformity among the films produced (as well as audience expectations), rewarding productions that supported the studio vision, blocking auteurism, and resisting other attempts to expand the styles, techniques, and thematic offerings of feature films.

The content of individual films, however, often reflected the more liberal attitudes of the day, which defied conventional morality and routinely contained reflections of the counterculture of the era, including sexual liberalism, deviation from gender-role standards, and drug use, as well as featuring morally ambiguous endings that failed to enforce mainstream morals and values. Films such as *Glorifying the American Girl* (1929), with its virtual nudity and pioneering use of the word *damn*, and the notorious *Convention City* (1933), in which themes of lechery, drunkenness, and blackmail dominated, gave a complex dimension to the early years of film.

The culture into which these films would enter, however, sought to ensure that the new medium, with all its possibilities, was kept in line with mainstream norms and attitudes (generally reflecting values and standards of rural areas, rather than those of more liberal cities). In the decision in *Mutual Film Corporation v. Industrial Commission of Ohio* (1915), which remained in force until 1952, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the content of motion pictures was not safeguarded by the First Amendment. This opened the door for local cities to pass ordinances banning the screening of films deemed inconsistent with public morality, in keeping with accepted standards that defined obscenity as material which might “deprave or corrupt those whose minds are open to such immoral influences” (*Rosen v. United States*, 1896).

In the first decade of the studio era, scandals of drug abuse, bisexuality, rape, and murder were linked to such Hollywood actors as Roscoe “Fatty” Arbuckle, Jeanne Eagles, and Wallace Reid and were sensationalized in newspaper headlines as a clear threat to the moral fabric of society. Public outcry to “clean up” Hollywood threatened the economy and future of the motion picture industry. The lax, high-profile lifestyles of affluent Hollywood figures, coupled with political and philosophical viewpoints that were frequently far removed from the mainstream, made the Hollywood community a frequent target of suspicion, regulation, sanction, and reform for decades to come. (A similar outcry would arise against major Hollywood figures in the McCarthy era of the 1940s and 1950s, when communist sympathies, rather than sex and drugs, would be the focus of suspicion and persecution. Among those targeted were actors Paul Robeson and Eddie Albert, and screenwriters Lillian Hellman and Ring Lardner, Jr.)

In response, the Motion Pictures Producers and Distributors Association (MPPDA) was formed in 1922, charged with establishing a moral standard for Hollywood films. The Motion Picture Production Code was written in 1930 by a Jesuit priest, Father Daniel Lord, but the code went largely ignored until 1934, when it officially took effect.

The Motion Picture Production Code also was known as the Hays Code, after Will H. Hays, then head of the MPPDA. Hays had attempted to regulate the content of motion pictures for years, beginning with his 1927 publication *Don'ts and Be Carefuls*. With the enactment of the code and the establishment of the Production Code Administration as an enforcing body, Hays's name became synonymous with censorship and reinforcement of mainstream values and morality. His efforts were both prompted and supported by the Catholic Legion of Decency, which would urge Catholics to boycott any film deemed indecent by Catholic moral codes.

Tenets of the code mandated the advocacy of “correct moral standards” and required that films not draw into question the laws of man or nature. Specific prohibitions were enumerated for the portrayals of sexuality, “perversions” (including, but not limited to, homosexuality), and miscegenation, as well as framing lifestyles outside of mainstream norms and values as attractive or appealing in any way.

Major studios challenged code rulings on a number of films, such as *The Outlaw* (1943), which contained highly sexualized scenes not seen before in the Western genre, and *Confessions of a Nazi Spy* (1939), deemed out of line with the government's prewar foreign policies. But it was largely the small, independent studios that challenged regulations and censors and produced films that explored beliefs, values, and lifestyles outside the

mainstream. For major studios that relied on good box office receipts and good public relations, the Motion Picture Production Code successfully cut off films from many of the key social, moral, and cultural debates of the time.

With the increasing influx of foreign films, as well as the evolution of the moral and political stances of mainstream America, close adherence to the Motion Picture Production Code lagged. Its impact weakened significantly throughout the 1940s and 1950s, allowing for only minor editing of films such as *Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf* (1966), which portrayed domestic violence and alcoholism, and contained an abundance of strong language.

In 1966, when director Michelangelo Antonioni's film *Blowup* was denied a certificate of compliance with the Motion Picture Production Code because of its inclusion of full frontal female nudity, Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) studios disregarded the legally unenforceable code and went ahead and released the film. With this final blow to its authority, the 1934 code was abandoned in 1968 in favor of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) rating system. That system, which indicates suitability for particular audiences based on a film's content, was refined over the next forty years to more closely reflect the age-appropriateness of material.

While the MPAA system has significantly broadened the representation of non-mainstream issues, interests, and individuals, it also has drawn severe criticism for its inconsistency and the secrecy that shrouds both the process by which ratings decisions are reached and the committee members who make them. While intended to be adaptable to changing social norms and the needs of an increasingly diverse population, individual film ratings undoubtedly are affected by the personal views of the members of the ratings committee as well as by mainstream opinions.

Strong language, nudity, sexual content, and violence are all key factors in determining a film's rating. In keeping with the overarching social and moral conventions of the United States, however, MPAA ratings tend to favor violence over sexuality, and displays of hetero-normative sexuality over the range of gay, lesbian, bisexual, or transgendered involvement.

Countercultures in Hollywood Films

The demise of the Motion Picture Production Code, along with the financial collapse of the existing studio system, made the 1960s and 1970s landmark decades for expression, experimentation, and thematic expansion in Hollywood. With the increased options made available by the ratings system, mainstream films such as *The Graduate* (1968), in which an older woman seduces a young college graduate about to be married to her daughter, and *Bob and Carol and Ted and Alice* (1969), a comedy/drama about two married couples experimenting with open marriages and partner swapping, explored the "new sexuality" with significant box office success and critical acclaim. The two films netted numerous Academy Award, Grammy, Golden Globe, and other nominations and wins for their respective directors, Mike Nichols and Paul Mazursky, as they ventured into the sexual revolution with themes of sexually aggressive women, intergenerational seduction, and swinging, simmering just beneath the surface of respectable middle-class lifestyles.

John Schlesinger's 1969 *Midnight Cowboy*, the only X-rated film to win the Academy Award for Best Picture (the designation was later changed to R), also explored sexual taboos on screen, incorporating explicit homosexuality as part of a male hustler's dark struggle to survive. Other on-screen forays into the world of the forbidden were portrayed in Roger Corman's *The Trip* (1967), as drug dealer Dennis Hopper ushers commercial director Peter Fonda into a vortex of psychedelic tripping on LSD.

The relationship between Hollywood films and the American counterculture, however, extends well beyond issues of sexuality and substance abuse. From the 1960s forward, not only representations of illicit behavior gained ground, but political commentary, rebellion, antiestablishment sentiment, minority perspectives, and alternative lifestyles also were cultivated as themes worthy of exploration. This era saw the creation of a dialogue between film and politics that was novel for its time and that many argue has not been repeated since.

Filmmakers and social commentators insisted that film and social commentary were intimately related, and

Hollywood film was profoundly affected by that growing association. Films such as *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967), which celebrated the exploits of America's notorious gangster couple during the "public enemy era," *Alice's Restaurant* (1968), a counterculture commentary on American bureaucracy and justice, and the antiestablishment road movie *Easy Rider* (1969), which celebrated rebellion and outsider culture, all helped shape the present-day notion of American national cinema, although the latter has subsumed the 1960s counterculture into mainstream nostalgia.

Political satires, which arose from a more critical cold war trend in the 1960s—such as *The President's Analyst* (1967), a send-up about a psychiatrist burdened with the inner world of the head of state as he becomes a target for spies from around the globe, and *Seven Days in May* (1964), about a plot by the Joint Chiefs of Staff to overthrow the president of the United States—exploded in Hollywood's New Wave with films expressing disillusionment with political institutions and the American Dream. Among these were *The Strawberry Statement* (1970), whose depiction of anti-Vietnam War protests at Columbia University was exploited by MGM for its counterculture message advocating student uprisings and resistance to authority; the box office smash *All the President's Men* (1976), which exposed the Nixon administration's Watergate scandal; and the post-Watergate conspiracy film *The Parallax View* (1974). These releases, along with others of their era, reflected and shaped a sociopolitical environment that drew into question mainstream values and lifestyles.

The shift in political and social consciousness in the film industry in the post-studio era also gave rise to increased representation of African Americans in major motion pictures. For the first time, mainstream films expanded opportunities for African American actors, such as Richard Roundtree, Melvin van Peebles, and Pam Grier, in films such as *Shaft* (1971), *Superfly* (1972), and *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song* (1971). However, while they did propel African Americans into the mainstream cinematic forefront, the body of films produced in this era generally is categorized as "blaxploitation" films—because of their stereotypical images and themes and the studios' financial exploitation of the African American community as a target audience.

Not until the mid-1980s would a major African American perspective emerge in film, from the work of director-producer Spike Lee. Like that of many directors who utilize their films to explore issues of identity outside the mainstream, Lee's work, including the award-winning blockbuster *Malcolm X* (1992), starring Denzel Washington and Angela Bassett, remains separate from the Hollywood system.

The loss of centralized influence and regulation that accompanied the downfall of the classic studio system also created space in the mainstream film industry for the rise of the auteur director. Beginning with the groundbreaking low-budget exploitation films of Roger Corman, known as "King of the Bs," auteur films by notable directors such as Wes Craven, Martin Scorsese, Francis Ford Coppola, John Sayles, and Steven Spielberg have attained prominence in mainstream film and cult status among audiences.

The relationship that inheres among cult films, Hollywood, and major theater chains is complex: cult films historically have emerged from independent studios, are shot on low budgets, and are destined for limited release in art-house theaters or at midnight screenings. In the 2000s, however, independently produced cult films drawing heavily on countercultural interests and themes, such as auteur director Quentin Tarantino's Academy Award-winning crime mosaic centered on the Los Angeles underworld, *Pulp Fiction* (1994), his two-volume homage to classic samurai movies and spaghetti Westerns, *Kill Bill: Vol. 1* (2003), *Kill Bill: Vol. 2* (2004), and *Grindhouse* (2007), a return to the classic B movies of the 1950s, increasingly display the characteristics of major Hollywood films. These characteristics—"name" actors, big budgets, and nationwide release in major theaters—blur the lines between Hollywood film and the independent and cult genres.

Cynthia J. Miller

See also: [Easy Rider: Film, Independent: Hopper, Dennis: McCarthyism.](#)

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Film, Independent

Independent films are those produced outside the Hollywood studio system. They are created, advertised, and exhibited separately from the first-run theatrical circuit maintained by the oligopoly of major studios (Disney, Paramount Pictures, Sony Pictures, 20th Century Fox Film, Universal Pictures, and Warner Bros.). Independent filmmakers, producers, and their audiences historically have pushed the boundaries of acceptable themes and forms relative to mainstream or dominant-studio-produced films. “Indie” films, as they are nicknamed, generally have much smaller budgets than Hollywood features for production, advertising, and distribution; utilize producers, directors, and actors who work outside the studio system; deal with controversial or overlooked subject matter; rely on niche or specialized audiences to attend screenings; and experiment with filmic storytelling, through narrative (order or structure) and aesthetic (visual or aural) innovations.



Since 1979, the Sundance Film Festival in Park City, Utah, has been the preeminent American venue for showcasing the work of independent filmmakers. (Kristan Jacobsen/Getty Images)

Antecedents

While scholars and studios identify independent film as a distinct category starting in the 1980s, the United States boasts a long tradition of practices and products cultivated outside the studio system. Outside the Hollywood mainstream—which by the 1950s was entrenched in repetitive, profit-driven formulas—filmmakers produced and circulated works of avant-garde sensibility, cultivating personal and political uses of film and developing technique and content alongside other modernist art forms. Americans creating avant-garde films challenged subject matter and film form, as seen in *Manhatta* (1921), a modernist depiction of New York City; *The Enchanted City* (1922), a modernist blend of live-action and animated film; *Meshes in the Afternoon* (1943), an expressionist depiction of women in domestic spaces; and *Introspection* (1941 and 1946), an abstract construction of the human body and dance.

In the 1960s, avant-garde filmmaking surged in the United States with the advent of technology that made cameras smaller and easier to operate. Films were freed from genre or other “classifying” constraints, and many emerged in the context of counterculture movements themselves, with filmmakers addressing such personal and social issues as drug cultures, alternative lifestyles, race relations, and other topics ignored by Hollywood fare. Youth labeled “hippies,” “activists,” and “rebels” and other antiestablishment figures sought out films that reflected more of their concerns than did Hollywood films, and the U.S. countercultures of the late 1960s and into the 1970s were especially engaged in women’s liberation, civil rights, and the antiwar movement. As an expression of their antiestablishment mind-set, they looked for films produced by and for outsiders to mainstream culture.

Armed with handheld cameras and dedication, filmmakers recorded and created new kinds of films. Some artists experimented with film as a medium, including manipulating the film stock by scratching it, painting on it, or otherwise making physical modifications. Among these filmmakers were Stan Brakage, whose silent, nonnarrative films *Cat’s Cradle* (1959), *Window Water Baby Moving* (1962), and *Mothlight* (1963) were and remain an inspiration to cinematic innovators; Yvonne Rainer, one of the premier feminist avant-garde filmmakers; and Ron Rice of the Beat filmmakers.

“Underground” filmmakers such as John Cassavetes also emerged. Cassavetes’s films—including the personal narrative films *Shadows* (1959), *Faces* (1968), and *A Woman Under the Influence* (1974)—and that of other underground filmmakers are known for an aggressive, handheld camera style and anti-Hollywood form in general, as well as for challenging mainstream depictions of interpersonal relationships while openly presenting alternative lifestyles.

From the 1960s on, independents gained market share by producing films for audiences who were unimpressed or underrepresented by Hollywood. Independents filmed controversial or unusual subject matter, and they developed distribution strategies outside those of the major studios.

Cinema created by minorities often responded to their exclusion from and misrepresentation in mainstream cinema. Chicanos raised during the civil rights movements in the United States made films about their experiences, including Luis Valdez’s *I Am Joaquín* (1969), an interpretation of Mexican American heritage based on the poem by Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzales, and Jesús Salvador Treviño’s *Yo soy chicano (I Am Chicano)* (1972), a documentary of Mexican American history.

African Americans also actively attempted to assert control over their representation on screen. One of the most influential black independent films in America was *Sweet Sweetback’s Baadasssss Song* (1971), written and directed by Melvin van Peebles. Its breakthrough success opened the door for other African Americans to create socially engaged films.

The box office success of counterculture movies such as *Easy Rider* (1969), which celebrated rebellious outsiders and drug culture (directed by Dennis Hopper) and *Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song*, which was a hit not only with black audiences but with nonblack youth as well, encouraged Hollywood executives to take chances on younger talent that might be better connected to what audiences wanted to see. While Hollywood of the 1970s permitted an unprecedented amount of experimental work to be made by directors within the system, the studios ultimately clashed with directors who wanted creative control over their films.

Many American directors studied rebellious and groundbreaking European directors who exerted primary artistic control over their work, such as the directors of the French New Wave (Jean-Luc Godard, François Truffaut, and others). Idealistic Americans, believing that they deserved the same creative freedom, sought financing outside the strictures of the major studios.

Emergence

After unprecedented grosses from Hollywood blockbusters such as *Jaws* (Steven Spielberg, 1975) and *Star Wars* (George Lucas, 1977), studios increasingly demanded commercially oriented mass-audience films. In the 1980s, working within the system meant being subject to oversight that demanded formulaic, predictable cinema. As a consequence, space was created for a new wave of independent film in the United States. Indeed, there still were filmmakers who strived to make, and audiences who supported, films that were not Hollywood mainstream products.

Directors such as Jim Jarmusch and John Sayles have demonstrated that there are ways to make films without studio support by taking advantage of funding by smaller companies or private investors. Among Jarmusch's acclaimed films, his *Stranger Than Paradise* (1984) often is cited for inspiring the wave of American indie projects that followed. Noted for its artistic qualities and narrative patterns that defied the Hollywood model, *Stranger Than Paradise* was a favorite at the French Cannes Film Festival. Sayles's work follows similar trends, in that he chooses subjects and styles at odds with mainstream cinema. Sayles has made films that explore such themes as incest (*Lone Star*, 1996, perhaps his best-known work), racism and labor rights in mining country (*Matewan*, 1987), and guerilla warfare and government corruption in Central America (*Men with Guns*, 1997). Jarmusch's and Sayles's films consistently have earned critical if not popular acclaim, contributing to their longevity as indie filmmakers and indirectly supporting the work of others.

The symbiotic relationship among producers, distributors, directors, and all creators of an independent film cannot be overstated. Networks created through festivals, most notably the Cannes Film Festival in France (founded in 1939) and the Sundance Film Festival in Utah (inaugurated in 1979), provide exposure for films to find distribution funds and introduce new talent to producers and distributors. Cable television stations such as the Independent Film Channel (launched in 1994) and the Sundance Channel (launched in 1996) have provided much-needed space for independent film on the small screen. Premium lines of DVDs, especially the Criterion Collection, have focused attention on niche American audiences by supporting independent and foreign films.

These outlets are crucial in supporting minority and women directors and producers. Within the studio system, women's participation is concentrated in areas such as costume design, screenwriting, and editing; it has been rare for women to participate in more high-profile creative roles such as directing. Into the twenty-first century, minorities continue to be drastically underrepresented in Hollywood and often rely on independent producers to make films about issues relevant to their communities and to employ minority workers.

Prominent examples of women and minorities in independent cinema include Spike Lee (director, writer, and producer), whose breakout film *She's Gotta Have It* (1986) paved the way for explorations of race, gender, and other controversial issues in subsequent work; Julie Dash (director, writer, and producer), whose work explores race, gender, and alternative narrative, focusing especially on black women and identity; and Christine Vachon (producer), whose company, Killer Films, supports work challenging mainstream status quos. Vachon established herself as a leading independent producer of the 1990s and 2000s exploring taboo social topics, especially

alternative sexual identities, as evidenced by her ongoing relationship with directors Todd Haynes (*Poison*, 1991; *Velvet Goldmine*, 1998; and *Far From Heaven*, 2002) and Todd Solondz (*Happiness*, 1998; and *Storytelling*, 2001), as well as by her support for the highly controversial *Kids* (directed by Larry Clark, 1995) and *Boys Don't Cry* (directed by Kimberly Peirce, 1999).

While independent filmmakers prefer to work outside the system so as to retain primary creative control over their projects, independent film exhibition also introduces up-and-coming talent to the studio system. Arguably, the leaders of American indie cinema from the late 1980s and into the 2000s were Harvey and Bob Weinstein, the creators of Miramax Films. They were behind the biggest landmarks of indie distribution, from *The Thin Blue Line* (Errol Morris, 1988) and *sex, lies, and videotape* (Steven Soderbergh, 1989) to *Pulp Fiction* (Quentin Tarantino, 1994). The Weinsteins invested in films with controversial material, often appealing to counterculture interest in over-the-top or alternative sexual lifestyles and depictions of drugs and violence, which they hoped would turn a profit. The Weinsteins' lives changed dramatically when they acquired *sex, lies, and videotape* at Cannes. With aggressive marketing, it was a hit both critically and popularly. Its box office gross (about five times the previous standard for indie success) changed expectations for many aspiring filmmakers who, by the 1990s, hoped that the right exposure would make them famous and rich.

Prospects

Despite the trend toward "star searching," many filmmakers and producers remain committed to transgressing the rules of acceptable content or form as followed by Hollywood, working with smaller budgets and lower chances of breakout success than the mainstream blockbuster model. Filmmakers such as Richard Linklater (*Slacker*, 1991), Robert Rodriguez (*El Mariachi*, 1992), Kevin Smith (*Clerks*, 1994), and many more have proven that a low-budget production with a nonprofessional cast about nontraditional subjects can become quality cinema and popular cinema, which holds out hope to dreamers yet to make their first film.

The future of independent film is always an interesting topic. Independent film is defined as a product that distinguishes itself from Hollywood in multiple ways, yet Hollywood is known for absorbing successful innovations into its commercial domain. Thus, filmmakers interested in cinema as an innovative art form must continuously respond to that which has become passé and create something fresh.

As a product that circulates in a commercial sphere, however, indie cinema cannot survive if it does not appeal to a wide enough audience to finance future endeavors. This paradox is exactly what makes it so attractive to countercultures. The fact that it can and does serve niche audiences, and that it must be supported by specialized audiences to survive, is precisely what inspires many cinephiles to believe that indie cinema is more responsive to countercultures and subcultures than any other form in the public arena.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Chicano Movement: *Easy Rider*: Film, Hollywood.](#)

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Fitzgerald, F. Scott (1896–1940)

The great American novelist and short-story writer Francis Scott Key Fitzgerald was a major voice of the generation that epitomized the Jazz Age, the period roughly between the end of World War I in 1918 and the stock market crash of 1929. In a succession of novels and short stories, Fitzgerald presented Americans of the 1920s as a disaffected, energetic, searching people. He became a leading figure of the so-called Lost Generation, writers and artists who became disillusioned with American life and culture after World War I and chose to live and work in Europe.

Fitzgerald was born on September 24, 1896. Coming of age in the early decades of the twentieth century, he not only chronicled the Jazz Age, he embodied it. In 1913, Fitzgerald entered Princeton University, where he established himself as a colorful campus personality and talented student, but not a particularly successful one academically. He dropped out in 1917. In *This Side of Paradise* (1920), based heavily on his college experience, Fitzgerald introduced a generation of Americans consumed by booze and petting parties and a peripatetic lifestyle of hip flasks, bob-haired flappers, and the freedom afforded by automobiles. The novel, however, dramatizes the lost ideals, youthful ambitions, and excesses of Fitzgerald's peers as well as their frivolities. The work seduced a generation of readers by reflecting what they were feeling and doing, and by dramatizing the values and behavior that would come to personify the Jazz Age.

Shortly after the publication of *This Side of Paradise*, Fitzgerald married Zelda Sayre, a young woman known in her hometown of Montgomery, Alabama, as a beautiful and popular girl, albeit an aggressive coquette. The couple came to define the opulent and, at times, decadent lifestyle of the Roaring Twenties. Their public drunkenness and idiosyncratic behavior—such as riding on the hoods of taxicabs and wading in public fountains—established them as entertaining public figures. Fitzgerald became as well known for his outlandish escapades as for his writing. Indeed, his public image and his literature fed on each other. His 1922 novel, *The Beautiful and the Damned*, is about a couple whose alcohol consumption and partying life mirrored that of the Fitzgeralds.

Fitzgerald's third novel, *The Great Gatsby* (1925), generally is regarded as his masterpiece—and one of the great works of American literature of any vintage—but it was largely ignored at the time. Indeed, the novel's literary merits would not be recognized until a decade after the writer's death. Depicting the lavish parties and reckless lifestyles of the rich, *The Great Gatsby* is a narrative commentary on the core of dissatisfaction, ennui, and selfishness that lay at the heart of the upper class during the Jazz Age. Its dramatic power derives as well from the classic American tension between romantic idealism and materialism—with the triumph of the latter.

Fitzgerald's creative output ran roughly parallel with the Jazz Age itself. As the stock market crash of October 1929 brought an end to the affluence of the 1920s, it also marked the beginning of Fitzgerald's personal difficulties. Zelda suffered a mental breakdown the following spring, and she was institutionalized for schizophrenia for much of the rest of her life.

As F. Scott's alcohol consumption increased, his popularity declined proportionately. He suffered a nervous breakdown of his own in 1935, which he chronicled a decade later in a three-part *Esquire* magazine series called "The Crack-Up." His candid self-assessment, a kind of secular confession, would inspire a generation of poets and writers who became known in the 1950s and 1960s for their confessional writing, including Sylvia Plath, Anne Sexton, and Robert Lowell.

"The Crack-Up" series also let Hollywood know that the philosopher of the Jazz Age was available and fit for work. Used to being in full control of his work, however, Fitzgerald could not yield to the demands of Hollywood screenwriting, where a script passed through many hands and was subject to change by any of them. His drinking did not subside in Hollywood; in fact, it contributed to his firing by United Artists in 1939.

At the time of his death on December 21, 1940, at age forty-four, Fitzgerald was working on *The Last Tycoon*, an unfinished novel about Hollywood. Within a decade, his novels and story collections were back in print, the focus of serious criticism, and the objects of acclaim.

Michael Susko

See also: [Fitzgerald](#), [Zelda](#), [Jazz](#), [Lost Generation](#).

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Fitzgerald, Zelda (1900–1948)

The wife of Jazz Age novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald, Zelda Sayre Fitzgerald was defined by her contemporaries as the quintessential "flapper"—a new type of woman who emerged during the 1920s wearing short skirts, fashioning bobbed hair, listening to jazz, and engaging in socially unacceptable behavior. She gained notoriety for her social exploits as well as for her role as muse, inspiring many of her husband's most famous female characters, including Nicole Diver of *Tender Is the Night* (1934), set in the hedonistic society of the Roaring Twenties.

Zelda Sayre was born in Montgomery, Alabama, on July 24, 1900. The youngest of six children, she was named after a gypsy queen in a novel, and she worked throughout her life to create an artistic identity. As a child she was said to be impetuous, independent, and intelligent. Her father was a conservative Alabama Supreme Court judge, but Zelda rejected the strict gender roles prescribed for the young, genteel, Southern women of the time. She was highly popular in her hometown but felt suffocated in the rigid social atmosphere.

In July 1918, a month after her high school graduation, she met a young first lieutenant in the Sixty-seventh Infantry named F. Scott Fitzgerald. He proposed marriage a short time later, but she rejected his offer. He asked again after the success of his first novel, *This Side of Paradise* (1920), and the couple was married on April 3, 1920. Wearing a midnight blue suit for the ceremony, Zelda boldly eschewed the social norms of the era.

The Fitzgeralds became icons of the freedom and exuberant lifestyle that epitomized the Jazz Age. Spending money freely and drinking liberally, they were regulars on the New York social scene, carousing publicly. As the drinking continued, however, their marriage became troubled, and the happiness that defined the honeymoon began to erode.

Zelda soon became pregnant, yet continued her wild lifestyle. At a time when pregnant women rarely walked down the street, she went to a public swimming pool and was promptly asked to leave. The couple's daughter, Frances "Scottie" Fitzgerald, was born in October 1921, which did not keep the new parents from continuing their raucous living. Moving to Paris, to the French Riviera, and back to America, the couple became entrenched in the 1920s literary scene along the way, forging friendships with the Lost Generation of writers and artists, including Ernest Hemingway, John Dos Passos, Gertrude Stein, and others.

As her husband found growing critical acclaim and celebrity, Zelda Fitzgerald, herself a writer, sought to establish her own artistic identity. She wrote a number of articles for various magazines, including two on the flapper. Between 1922 and 1923, she published two short stories, a review, and two articles.

In 1927, after returning to America, Fitzgerald commenced intensive ballet training, intending to become a professional dancer. The couple returned to Europe in 1929, and she continued her obsession with dance training.

In the spring of 1930, she suffered the first of several mental breakdowns and was admitted to a hospital in Switzerland, where she remained until the following year. Diagnosed as schizophrenic, Fitzgerald would spend the remainder of her life in and out of sanitariums. After a relapse in 1932, she was admitted to the Johns Hopkins Hospital in Baltimore, and it was there that she wrote her first and only published novel, *Save Me the Waltz* (1932), which closely mirrored her own life.

Zelda Fitzgerald continued to write during her institutionalization but failed to gain the literary notoriety she so desired. On March 10, 1948, she died in a fire at the Asheville, North Carolina, sanitarium where she lived.

Melissa Williams

See also: [Fitzgerald, F. Scott: Flappers and Flapper Culture: Jazz.](#)

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Flappers and Flapper Culture

Flappers and flapper culture have long been regarded as quintessential symbols of the Roaring Twenties. *Flapper*, the term popularly used to designate young, fashionable, daring women of this period, derived from the “flapping” sound made by the unbuttoned galoshes that were part of the largely movie-created image. The flapper was a young woman known first and foremost for her distinctive look: a slim, boyish silhouette, noticeably short skirts, and hair worn much shorter than women had previously, in a style that became known as the “bob.” The flapper, whose image was especially inspired by the popularity of the movie star Clara Bow, the 1920s “It Girl,” also pushed the boundaries of accepted behavior in young, single women.



The flapper culture of the 1920s reflected a new independence and carefree spirit on the part of young women. Flapper style, featuring short, form-fitting skirts and bobbed hair, likewise represented a break from straight-laced Victorian convention. (Sasha/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The image of the flapper became almost completely intertwined with the image of the Roaring Twenties as a period of unprecedented social permissiveness, especially for white middle-class young women. The post–World War I economic boom produced wealth for many Americans, and a decade of opulence and leisure for many. Flapper culture featured jazz music, daring new dances such as the Charleston and Lucky Lindy, and, most significantly, changes regarding acceptable feminine behavior. Prohibition fueled flapper culture by creating speakeasy saloons, establishments where alcohol could be purchased illegally. The parameters of acceptable social interaction and sexual behavior between unmarried partners were also challenged, with the aid of the automobile, the increased availability of which created new opportunities for couples to be alone together and led to the decline of the chaperone.

The flapper culture permeated American society during the 1920s. It was in many ways the first American youth culture, in which the younger generation chose to radically break from, rather than imitate, the styles and modes of behavior of its elders. Yet the freewheeling social life of the flapper and her beaux also shaped the expectations of married women (and men), shifting them toward the idea of the “companionate marriage”—a more intimate and less hierarchical relationship between husband and wife.

The flapper culture came to an abrupt end with the stock market crash of 1929 and the Great Depression that followed. Despite their countercultural leanings, flappers enjoyed a liberation that was largely on the surface, with increasingly daring social behavior substituting for substantive political activism. Nevertheless, flapper culture ultimately expanded definitions of acceptable feminine behavior and empowered women to become more independent; many of its ideals would inspire later movements for women’s rights.

See also: [Fashion](#); [Fitzgerald, Zelda](#); [Jazz](#); [Prohibition](#); [Smoking, Tobacco](#).

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Flower Children

The term *flower children*, a common synonym for *hippies*, refers to the mostly young people who congregated in and around San Francisco in 1967 for the so-called Summer of Love and whose counterculture style and lifestyle epitomized the hippie movement for a time thereafter. Following the lyrics of John Phillips and Scott McKenzie's hit song of that spring, "San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)"—"If you're going to San Francisco/be sure to wear some flowers in your hair"—hippies who attended the Monterey Pop Festival that June and then congregated in Haight-Ashbury wore flowers in their hair and painted them on their clothes, backpacks, and drug paraphernalia as symbols of peace and love.

During the Summer of Love, the use of drugs, interest in Eastern religions and Native American spirituality, and sex with multiple partners all became expressions of dissidence against mainstream American culture, which was considered fraudulent and repressed. Even the physical appearance of the flower children embodied the desire to rebel against mainstream America. Men wore beards, mustaches, sideburns, and long, unkempt hair. Women did not perm or roll their hair, as was common at the time, and often left their underarms and legs unshaven and went without makeup or bras. For the flower children, clothes were costumes—they wore India beads and headbands, big granny glasses, long dresses, homemade tie-dye, and jeans and flannel shirts. Bright colors were important as they contrasted with the perceived blandness of mainstream culture and supposedly enhanced the experience of psychedelic drugs.

Scott McKenzie's recording of "San Francisco" was so successful in rallying young people to the city that an estimated 100,000 people arrived from all over the country. The Summer of Love proved integral to the dissemination of the counterculture, as many newly converted flower children left the city carrying its message and style. With them went new ideas (of love and peace as a panacea to social and political ills), behaviors (promoting the use of marijuana and LSD), and fashions (long hair, tie-dye) into their own suburbs and cities.

"San Francisco" was hardly the only song embraced by the flower children. Bands such as the Grateful Dead had the ability to generate reactions from their audience members that challenged the perceived rationality and order of mainstream America. The audience, many of whom were high on marijuana or LSD, found their own particular rhythms and movements thanks to the unpolished sound of the Grateful Dead. Flashing lights contributed to the psychedelic experience.

Many flower children followed the exhortations of drug gurus such as Timothy Leary, who promised that LSD would take users on a deep spiritual journey. “LSD is the sacrament that will put you in touch with the ancient two million year old wisdom inside of you,” he said. “It frees one to go to the next stage, which is evolution, timelessness, the ancient reincarnation thing that we always carry inside.”

The drug-induced state of the flower children had other theme songs, such as Jefferson Airplane’s “White Rabbit.” The lyrics, beginning with “One pill makes you taller/And one pill makes you small/And the ones that mother gives you/Don’t do anything at all” declared a rejection of what they believed their parents symbolized—repression, boredom, and hate—and replaced it with a desire to drop out of mainstream American culture through music and drugs (both considered revolutionary), as well as the advocacy of peace and love to cure social ills. The Beatles’s album *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Heart’s Club Band* (1967) also became popular with the flower children, as nearly every song seemed to reference hippie ideals and the drug culture.

The love and innocence of the flower-child movement gave way to community activism in April 1969. A group gathered in Berkeley, California, to discuss developing some unused University of California–owned land into a public park called the People’s Park, a space they claimed for the public. The claim of public space reflected a shared belief that all property should be communal and never owned by an individual, corporation, or government. In the People’s Park, the flower children planted flowers, shrubs, trees, and grass. Although the park was well received by the Berkeley community, conservative California Governor Ronald Reagan considered the creation of the park a direct leftist challenge to the property rights of the university and sent in the National Guard to demolish what had been done and install a tall fence around the park perimeter. After the government seizure, planting flowers became a sign of peaceful political resistance against the government. A now-famous photograph taken in May 1969 shows a young woman placing a flower in the muzzle of the rifle of a National Guardsman who was “guarding” the People’s Park from the flower children.

Political action on the part of the flower children also manifested itself in communes, settlements where people shared resources, responsibilities, and often a common living space. One of the most famous communes from the 1960s was in the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco. The Diggers, a community service organization and street theater group that emerged out of Haight-Ashbury, attempted to work for political change by fostering cooperative collectives. The antimaterialist group opened free clinics, provided free meals and lodging, and gave free concerts in the Bay Area. Other groups provided free services out of what they deemed a commitment to spreading joy and love.

As the countercultures of the 1960s and 1970s faded, many of the participants took up domesticity and family life. The term *flower child* was then appropriated to describe Generation X children (those born in the 1960s through the early 1980s) who were raised by the original flower children. Thus, a 1990s reference to “flower children” is usually to those raised in a household that advocated the ideals of love and peace. Often the children were given unusual names by their flower-child parents, such as Sunshine, Star, Moon, and Cree Summer.

Lindsey Churchill

See also: [Drug Culture](#): [Free Love](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#): [Hippies](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [LSD](#): [Marijuana](#): [San Francisco, California](#): [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Folk Music

Folk music is a means of both oral history and popular entertainment. By utilizing active participation, oral traditions, and group improvisation, folk music has played a central role in both forming and sustaining countercultures. Historically, folk music has included ballads, broadsheets, protest songs, cowboy songs, spirituals, hymns, carols, and chants of rural communities. Folk songs discuss a wide array of subject matter, such as social-protest movements, internationalism, peace, everyday life, love, and labor struggles. Traditional and commercial folk music have changed over time in diverse ways, but their functions as a form of oral history and a strategy for social change have remained consistent. Further, folk music has acted as a bridge from counterculture movements to mainstream music by influencing the development of blues, jazz, country, Cajun, bluegrass, and rock.

American folk music of the nineteenth century embraced a blending of European and native traditions. Many of the non-English European ballads imported into the United States were integrated into native folk forms, as immigrants adapted to American culture by learning English. Early American folk appeared primarily as railroad, chain-gang, and spiritual songs. These songs embraced themes of hard work and struggle that reflected the lives of American waged and slave workers.

Especially for new immigrants in the labor force, folk songs provided a sense of collective class identity that often challenged mainstream American notions about equality, opportunity, and justice. Folk music reflected the struggles of daily life, not idealized values. As a result, even in its earliest forms, American folk became closely associated with labor and protest movements, providing outlets for group cohesion and challenges to social injustice.

The Labor and Antiwar Movements

American folk did not become a subject of serious inquiry until the post–World War I era. In 1928, the Library of Congress (LOC) founded the Archive of American Folk Song. Under the leadership of Robert Gordon, the LOC undertook this unique archival project to preserve and document American folk culture.

In 1933, John Lomax replaced Gordon. Lomax and his teenage son, Alan, sought out unorthodox sources of folk throughout the American South. The Lomaxes traveled to cowboy ranches, lumber camps, and prisons, recording folk songs for the LOC archive. During their first trip, in 1933, they met and recorded Huddie “Leadbelly” Ledbetter at Angola prison in Louisiana.

By 1937, Alan Lomax, at the age of twenty-one, had become head of the LOC archive. In contrast to his father's interest in the preservation of traditional folk culture, Alan's main emphasis was on the promotion of leftist folk singers associated with the New Deal and the Communist Party USA (CPUSA).

The CPUSA played an integral role in the promotion of American folk music during the 1930s. Folk music was

utilized as a propaganda tool for the labor, peace, and antifascist movements. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) had organized folk musicians such as Joe Hill and T-Bone Slim to promote labor struggles earlier in the century. The CPUSA tapped into this American tradition, working closely with such folk musicians as Woody Guthrie, Lee Hayes, Aunt Molly Jackson, Leadbelly, Pete Seeger, and Josh White to promote “communist” themes—labor solidarity, racial unity, peace, and antifascism.

During World War II, the CPUSA’s Almanac Singers helped popularize folk music by composing patriotic and antifascist anthems, including “When the Yanks Go Marching In” and the rowdy, hootenanny, sing-along classic “Round and Round Hitler’s Grave.” Noncommunist activists such as Miles Horton also utilized folk music at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee to train and entertain Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and civil rights activists.



Itinerant folk singer and songwriter Woody Guthrie plays for patrons at a pub in New York’s Greenwich Village in 1943. A longtime voice of working people and the downtrodden, he carried a sticker on his guitar that read, “This Machine Kills Fascists.” (Eric Schaal/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

In 1945, Seeger and Mario Casetta founded a new organization in New York City and Los Angeles called People’s Songs. The organization was in many ways a direct outgrowth of the “Double-V” campaigns of African American World War II veterans to battle for victory against racism at home and abroad. The goal of the group was to popularize progressive peace, labor, civil rights, and patriotic folk songs to counter the reactionary politics of the early cold war.

Although People’s Songs musicians were victimized by McCarthyism and the Red Scare, Seeger and his associates succeeded in much of their mission. Seeger, Ronnie Gilbert, Lee Hays, and Fred Hellerman formed the Weavers in 1948; the folk group made a lasting impact before it disbanded in 1953, after the members were brought before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The success of the 1960s folk revival relied heavily on the foundations laid by People’s Songs, the Weavers and the promotional work of Moe Asch at Folkways Records.

Other folk musicians avoided politics to gain wider audiences in American culture. Groups such as the Kingston Trio, the Brothers Four, and the Limelickers gained commercial success in the late 1950s with their brand of nonpolitical folk. The Limelickers even sang jingles for Coca-Cola in order to promote their career. To bridge the gap forming between activist and pop folk musicians, George Wein and Albert Grossman founded the Newport Folk Festival in 1959, featuring upcoming artists such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez alongside Pete Seeger.

Folk Revival

While progressive folk music had evolved from its countercultural origins of the interwar era into a mainstream

force in American culture, the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements revived the protest-song traditions of American folk. Musicians such as Arlo Guthrie and Phil Ochs linked radical youth culture and earlier folk traditions of the American left by producing music that was activist oriented.

Folk singing was a powerful method for disseminating activist themes and inspiring solidarity within various 1960s counterculture movements. Songs such as “We Shall Overcome” and “I Ain’t Marchin’ Anymore” became popular anthems for labor organizers, peace protestors, and civil rights activists. Hippies embraced folk-inspired rock anthems such as Jefferson Airplane’s “Somebody to Love,” the Grateful Dead’s “Turn on Your Love Light,” and Buffalo Springfield’s “For What It’s Worth.”

In 1969, the Woodstock Music and Art Fair featured infamous antiwar folk songs, including “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-to-Die Rag,” spirituals such as “Amazing Grace,” and the traditional labor anthem “Joe Hill.” Woodstock represented a culmination of nearly every trend in American folk and became the lasting symbol of 1960s counterculture.

By contrast, folk music of the 1970s and 1980s was dominated by popular nonpolitical singers and songwriters. Punk rock and hip-hop became the primary outlets for political youth culture, while popular folk took on soothing and often apolitical characteristics. Artists such as Cat Stevens, Gordon Lightfoot, Simon and Garfunkel, and James Taylor brought themes of personal struggle, romance, and the individual’s spiritual journey to mainstream audiences. Traditional and political folk thrived in countercultural venues such as coffee shops and regional folk events like the Wheatland Music Festival in Michigan.

During the 1990s, folk music became intimately connected with the women’s, LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender), and punk revival movements. Artists such as the Indigo Girls and Melissa Etheridge helped bring activist-inspired folk styles back into the mainstream.

Ani DiFranco blended elements of traditional folk with punk-, feminist-, and queer-inspired themes in her music and promotional work with Righteous Babe Records. DiFranco extended her own vision of folk revival by networking with traditional IWW folk artists such as Utah Phillips for various albums and performances.

Other artists, including Bitch and Animal, Tegan and Sara, Vanessa Marie Spitzer, Lazy Sunday, and Ember Swift, have embraced similar styles with their feminist folk-inspired music. Modern artists such as Flogging Molly, the Dropkick Murphys, the Pogues, Cameron Lewis, Billy Bragg, Alistair Hulett, Liam McKay, Roaring Jack, and Greg Graffin have integrated folk traditions with modern punk counterculture.

Joel A. Lewis

See also: [Baez, Joan](#): [Communism](#): [Dylan, Bob](#): [Guthrie, Woody](#): [Industrial Workers of the World](#): [McCarthyism](#): [Newport Folk Festival](#).

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Foster, Charles H. (1838–1888)

Charles H. Foster was a nineteenth-century American spiritualist who established his reputation as a medium in both the United States and Great Britain. He displayed unusual talents from an early age and, until his premature death from alcoholism, confounded doubters with unexplained phenomena such as skin writing and pellet reading.

Foster was born in 1838 in Salem, Massachusetts, where he attended public school. Spiritualism became a national phenomenon during his childhood, in the late 1840s and early 1850s, thanks to the popularity of Margaret, Kate, and Leah Fox of Hydesville, New York, who claimed to be able to communicate with the dead. At the age of fourteen, Foster began to claim that he, too, could communicate with spirits. Unexplained rapping was said to be heard on his school desk, and furniture in his bedroom was alleged to move around on its own.

Foster's abilities as a medium gained him fame and wealth as a young man. His particular skills were displayed in two areas. One was in skin writing, or stigmata. When he held a séance or other reading, the names of the spirits with whom he communicated would show up on Foster's skin, usually on his forearms. The letters formed bright red welts. Foster's biographer—George C. Bartlett, whose book about him was called *The Salem Seer* (1891)—related a story of how two men challenged the medium to prove that his abilities were real. As they held his arm, letters appeared on it spelling out the words "Two Fools."

Foster's other skill was known as pellet reading. Participants would write the names of loved ones who had died on slips of paper. The slips were rolled up into pellets and mixed with blank slips. Foster would enter the room, name and describe a deceased loved one to a sitter, and pass along a message to the living. He would then select a pellet, upon which the name of the deceased would be written. Sometimes, Foster would also roll up his sleeves and reveal the name of the dead written upon his forearms.

Foster toured Great Britain in 1861, giving his first séance there in the home of William Wilkinson, editor of *The Spiritual Magazine*. The intellectual leaders of Victorian society—including novelist Charles Dickens, poet Alfred Lord Tennyson, and novelist William Makepeace Thackeray—also attended séances conducted by Foster. Some attendees reported seeing apparitions, including disembodied hands and a levitating piano.

Foster's reputation soon went into decline, after *The Spiritual Magazine* reported in 1863 that it had received evidence that he had faked certain phenomena. Some observers noted that the writing on his forearms was consistent with his own handwriting. They also reported that he palmed pellets and examined them under the pretense of lighting a cigar; that the messages from different deceased were very similar; and that names misspelled on pellets were misspelled the same way by the "spirits" Foster invoked.

Foster had always enjoyed fine living, including cigars and alcohol, and his consumption of liquor began to interfere with his work. He later became an alcoholic and in 1881 was taken for treatment to Danvers Insane Asylum in Massachusetts. From 1884 to his death in 1888, he was said to be living in a vegetative state under the care of relatives.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Fox, Kate, Leah Fox, and Margaret Fox: Spiritualism.](#)

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Fox, Kate (1838–1892), Leah Fox (1814–1890), and Margaret Fox (1833–1893)

The sisters Kate, Leah, and Margaret Fox of western New York State are widely acknowledged as the originators of modern spiritualism in the United States, a philosophy that promotes the immortality of the human spirit, in which personality and communication continue after death. Associated with advocates of other nineteenth-century countercultures, such as free love, temperance, abolitionism, and women's rights, spiritualists did not accept traditional religious or social beliefs; the majority of its millions of members were drawn from various reform movements.

In March 1848, the Fox family was alarmed by a series of “rappings” and other apparently parapsychological manifestations at their Hydesville, New York, farm home. After several nights of noises, footsteps, and thudding, first Kate and then Margaret entreated the spirit to copy the clapping of her hands. After a series of questions and answers in the form of rapping, the Fox family determined that the house was haunted by an unhappy, restless spirit. Their neighbors witnessed the phenomenon, and word spread quickly across the region. Curiosity seekers flocked to the house, all of them wanting to make inquiries of the resident spirit.

The Foxes' parents believed that the manifestations would cease if the sisters were separated. Kate and Margaret were therefore sent to live with older siblings—Kate to brother David in nearby Auburn, and Margaret to sister Leah in nearby Rochester—but the rappings followed them. People who sat with the sisters found that they, too, had similar powers. The sisters were able to reproduce the rappings in response to specific questions. Public fascination with the phenomenon spread across the United States and Europe, and Leah managed the sisters' growing business affairs.

In 1850, press agent and business manager Eliab Capron convinced the sisters to visit New York City, where they could give public demonstrations and make themselves available for private séances with wealthy patrons. These intimate gatherings attracted such prominent figures as the writers James Fenimore Cooper and William Cullen Bryant, as well as newspaper publisher Horace Greeley, who arranged for Kate's education.

At first, Kate was the only sister to make a living as a medium, lecturing on behalf of the Society for the Diffusion of Spiritual Knowledge for a salary of \$1,200 per year. Leah channeled spirits for the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, and Margaret began an intimate correspondence with Arctic explorer Elisha Kent Kane, with whom she later exchanged vows, becoming his common-law wife.

As the spiritualist movement proliferated and the physical phenomena produced by other mediums eclipsed the Fox sisters' rappings and Kate's displays of automatic writing, the public began to lose interest in them. They were the first to experience the backlash after accusations of fraud began to grow louder among those in and around the movement.

Finally, in 1888, after Margaret had converted to Roman Catholicism and Kate had begun to drink heavily, and both had had a falling out with Leah, Margaret demonstrated at a public gathering how she could produce the rapping sound with her big-toe joint. She recanted the confession the following year, claiming she had made it only for money, and attempted to return to spiritualism for her livelihood.

The sisters never published writings or attended conventions on spiritualism, nor were they involved at a high level

with any spiritualist organizations. Leah gave readings at her home for no charge until her death on November 1, 1890. Both Kate and Margaret struggled with alcoholism and died in poverty, on July 2, 1892, and March 8, 1893, respectively.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also: [Spiritualism](#).

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Freaks, Freak Shows, and Freakatoriums

Freaks was the name given to performers with physical abnormalities and disabilities put on public display in freak shows and circus and carnival sideshows, some of America's most popular forms of entertainment from about 1840 to 1940. The most popular freaks were the ones who, despite their physical limitations, could perform unusual feats. Conjoined twins, extraordinarily tall, short, thin, or obese individuals, and persons with exotic physical deformities—real or contrived—were among those displayed for profit at freak shows.

Freakatoriums, also known as dime museums, housed "freakish" phenomena said to have been discovered throughout the world. Among the marquee attractions were the Feejee Mermaid (the mummified body of a half-fish, half-mammal creature), two-headed turtles, the jackalope (a jackrabbit with antlers like an antelope), shrunken heads, and other elaborate hoaxes. The most popular of the freakatoriums was P.T. Barnum's American Museum (1841–1868).



The display of persons with physical deformities—real or phony—was a popular form of American entertainment for more than a century. Many “freaks” suffered horrible cruelty; some lived together in insular off-season communities. (Library of Congress)

Rise

While people had been exhibited as freaks for hundreds of years, the spectacle of the freak show was born in the mid-nineteenth century. Its popularity was inspired by the first truly scientific investigations of persons with physical anomalies at a time that also saw the rise of mass entertainment in American society. Rapid urbanization and shorter workweeks enabled consumer-oriented cultural institutions to thrive. Entertainers capitalized on popular consumer culture by thrilling and shocking their audiences with the freakish and exotic.

Barnum, the most influential circus showman of the nineteenth century, institutionalized the sideshow as part of circus culture with his self-proclaimed “Greatest Show on Earth,” including P.T. Barnum’s Great Traveling Museum, Menagerie, Caravan, and Hippodrome. Many imitations followed, with more than 100 freak shows touring the country as a profitable appendage to circuses and carnivals. Middle- and working-class patrons attended in droves to view the deformed and disabled, who were sometimes indiscriminately grouped with exotic (usually nonwhite) performers such as contortionists, snake charmers, and belly dancers.

Before the abolition of slavery in 1865, masters sometimes sold slaves born with physical anomalies to freak shows. The conjoined twins Millie and Christine McKoy were slaves born in North Carolina whose owner sold them as infants to an exhibition agent. They ended up in Barnum’s American Museum, appearing as “the celebrated African United Twins,” and were later tracked down in England by their mother. Back in the United States, they resumed public appearances and, billed as the “Two-Headed Nightingale,” achieved acclaim and financial security for their musical performances.

While some freaks did sign contracts, perform willfully, and profit from their work, others were sold by their parents or guardians to show organizers. Many of those sold into freak shows were mentally handicapped or young and unable to understand what was happening to them. Among the former were so-called pinheads, individuals with microcephaly, a neurological disorder in which the head and the brain do not develop as the person ages and remain abnormally undersized. To enhance the shock value of the deformity, the hair of pinheads was trimmed into a small pointed tuft toward the back of their heads.

Sideshow freaks sometimes were displayed under a sign that read, “Is it human?” or the like. Zip, the “What is it?” exhibited by Barnum’s American Museum in 1860 and later in his traveling show, was said to exemplify the

concept of a “missing link” between humans and apes, made familiar to audiences by Charles Darwin’s *On the Origin of the Species* (1859). Zip, purportedly found in Africa, donned a furry suit and was displayed in a cage in which he would rattle the bars and shriek wildly.

Those with hypertrichosis, a disorder that causes excessive body hair, were likewise displayed as nonhumans. Krao, billed as “Darwin’s Missing Link,” had this disease when she was first exhibited in Europe in 1880 at the age of six. She was bought by P.T. Barnum for his freak show as an example of the intermediary between humans and apes. The exhibition of freaks viewed as subhuman, many of whom were said to be found in Africa, reflected the pervasive racism in American society as well as a fascination with the “other” (the paradoxical attraction to and repulsion from those who are different). The freak show capitalized on this fascination.

Performers’ Culture

Freak show performers often wound up as wards of the state in institutions or on social welfare. However, many freaks lived in their own communities during the off-season of the traveling freak shows. Gibsonton, Florida, one of the most famous sideshow wintering towns, had the only post office with a counter for dwarves and zoning laws that allowed residents to keep elephants and circus equipment on their front lawns.

During World War I, some sideshow performers enlisted in the U.S. Army. In Coney Island, New York, another community popular with freaks, army enlistees such as the Strong Man, the Lion Faced Boy, and the Tattooed Man were honored by fellow freaks with a parade.

Many freaks also married and lived conventional family lives. Physical abnormalities rarely hindered them on the marriage market. Lady Olga (the Bearded Lady) was married four times, and Percilla the Monkey Girl found love with Benjano the Alligator Boy.

In 1932, as the popularity of freak shows began to wane, director Tod Browning made a movie, *Freaks*, about the lives of sideshow attractions, casting real freak show performers. In the film, a beautiful trapeze artist named Cleopatra tricks Hans, a midget, into marrying her so she can steal his money. The freaks discover Cleopatra’s plan, turn her into a feathered hen, and put her on display in the circus. The film was banned in a number of cities in the United States and many countries in Europe. After a public outcry, MGM sold the distribution rights to showman Dwain Esper, who traveled the country showing the film under the titles *Forbidden Love* and *Nature’s Mistakes*.

The reaction to Browning’s film reflected the growing public outcry against freak shows during the twentieth century. Medical advances, moral and ethical debates, and the advent of new forms of entertainment—from vaudeville and recorded music to radio and television—contributed to the decline of the freak show. On July 16, 1956, the original Barnum and Bailey Circus gave its final performance, blaming television, labor disputes, traffic, and bad weather on its demise.

Few permanent freak shows remain in America today, with the notable exceptions of those in Coney Island, New York, and Venice Beach, California. These modern venues have moved away from the display of human deformity and focus instead on such attractions as fire-eaters, sword swallows, and animal mutations such as a two-headed turtle and four-legged duck.

Lindsey Churchill

See also: [Barnum, P.T.: Circus and Carnival Culture](#).

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Free Love

The term *free love* refers to various iterations of a social movement that rejects the institution of marriage and the religious, political, and social structures that interfere with the freedom of sexual relationships between individuals. Because advocates of free love openly reject one of the social foundations of Western civilization—the institution of marriage between one man and one woman, and the monogamous sexual relationship within that marriage—they have met with strong opposition from government regulations, religious doctrine, and mainstream social attitudes. In America, the principle of free love has been espoused by both male and female philosophers and practitioners since the mid-nineteenth century, and it has often been linked to other non-mainstream movements, such as religious revivalism, the women's rights movement, anarchism, libertarianism, and the hippie counterculture of the 1960s.

Nineteenth-Century Expressions

Two of the earliest expressions of the free love movement in the American counterculture were connected with the early-nineteenth-century religious revival known as the Second Great Awakening. Itinerant preacher Theophilus Ransom Gates of Philadelphia led more than two dozen of his followers to Free Love Valley, a religious community he had established on the Schuylkill River in Pennsylvania. Worshipers there praised the concept of free love during Gates's revival meetings, and the practice of communal nude bathing among residents scandalized neighbors. In 1844, several community members were arrested and tried for violating Pennsylvania's marriage laws.

Farther north, in upstate New York, Christian socialist and reformer John Humphrey Noyes also was experimenting with the idea of communal living and open sexual relations as a part of a religious lifestyle. After fleeing his native Vermont to avoid trial for adultery with one of his followers, in 1848 Noyes moved to the village of Oneida in central New York State. His followers soon joined him, and by the 1850s the Oneida community had attracted around 300 people. Men and women were considered equals in terms of sexual freedom—both sexes had the right to refuse requests for sexual partnership—and all men were regarded as “married” to all women of the community.

Neither Free Love Valley nor the Oneida religious community lasted long after their founders had either died or moved on. However, these communities demonstrated that free love was by no means anathema to certain kinds of Christian religious beliefs, that traditional concepts of the sanctity and sacrament of marriage were not set in stone, and that a community of like-minded men and women could govern itself and survive in accordance with the movement.

Free love often has been connected with the first wave of the American feminist movement in the nineteenth century, but by no means did all of the women who participated in the early campaign for woman suffrage and equal rights believe in its precepts. Some regarded free love as outright depravity, believing that women should be more in control of their sexual and emotional passions than men. Nevertheless, certain other feminist thinkers, such as anarchist Lillian Harman, saw in free love a chance to redress the inequality of a woman's status in

marriage, particularly in the context of laws that restricted the rights of married women to own property or have independent legal status. In the minds of many who opposed woman suffrage, the free love movement's push to redefine the terms and equality of legal marriage was part and parcel of the attack on long-standing social and religious institutions, an attack launched by those who sought to extend the vote to women.

The free love movement gained national prominence during the late nineteenth century through the political activism of social reform advocate Victoria Woodhull. An outspoken advocate of equality and suffrage for women, she used her political journal *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly* to advocate for controversial ideas such as free love, divorce, and legalized prostitution. Cartoonist Thomas Nast once depicted Woodhull as Satan in an illustration that showed her preying on a woman (who was burdened with children and an alcoholic husband) by offering the "salvation" of free love. In the national election of 1872, Woodhull ran for president on her Equal Rights Party ticket, only to find herself in jail on election day for sending obscene literature—on the subject of free love—through the U.S. mail.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the free love movement had a place in various anarchist communities and the bohemian community of Greenwich Village in New York City. Free love was one of an array of sexual freedoms promoted by the bohemian set, including poet Edna St. Vincent Millay and anarchist Emma Goldman, in connection with improved access to contraception and the decriminalization of homosexuality.

The 1960s

With the rise of new social and political movements in the 1960s, the free love movement gained new prominence, as young people in the counterculture sought to redefine traditional standards of morality and sexuality. The Summer of Love in 1967—in which thousands of hippies flocked to the Haight-Ashbury district in San Francisco to experiment with free love and hallucinogenic drugs—epitomized the new openness. The slogan "Make love not war" linked the new sexual freedom with the protest movement against the Vietnam War. In the second wave of feminism, many advocates of women's equality regarded free love as part of a wider sexual reform movement; others suggested that it was used by men to pressure women into sexual relationships they might otherwise resist.

In the mid-1960s, the free love movement established a place on U.S. college campuses and contributed to ongoing debates concerning social and political reform. In 1963, New York City resident Jefferson Poland established the Sexual Freedom League (SFL) to promote free love (sometimes called free sex) and agitate for political reform, including the repeal of existing laws against abortion.

In 1966, having moved to the San Francisco Bay Area, Poland founded a chapter at the University of California, Berkeley. Along with its counterpart, the East Bay SFL, the organization achieved national prominence for its promotion of nude parties and sex orgies. In addition to other activities promoting free love, the group distributed literature on birth control, abortion, and sexually transmitted diseases on the college campus and lectured on these subjects with university approval. In the years that followed, the SFL inspired other student bodies that promoted sexual freedom, including Stanford University's Sexual Rights Forum and the University of Texas's Texas Student League for Responsible Sexual Freedom.

A vital component of the free love movement of the 1960s was the promotion and accessibility of the birth control pill, which allowed women to have sex without the fear of pregnancy. As a result, the Pill not only permitted women to become engaged sexually in the 1960s in an unprecedented way, but also allowed them to trade traditional monogamy for sexual relationships with more than one partner.

By the late 1960s, the free love movement, like most of the counterculture trends of the time, began to founder. Many Americans in the cultural mainstream, meanwhile, had opposed free, open sexuality from the outset, equating it with promiscuity and immoral behavior. By the 1980s, growing concerns about sexually transmitted diseases, including HIV/AIDS, marked a definitive end to the movement, even if the values of free love—in all its countercultural forms and expressions throughout history—had exerted an undeniable influence on American

See also: [Birth Control Pill](#): [Bohemianism](#): [Communes](#): [Feminism, First-Wave](#): [Flower Children](#): [Goldman, Emma](#): [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#): [Hippies](#): [Millay, Edna St. Vincent](#): [Noyes, John Humphrey](#): [Oneida Community](#): [San Francisco, California](#): [Sexual Revolution](#): [Woodhull, Victoria](#).

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Free Speech Movement

During the 1964 to 1965 academic year, students at the University of California's flagship campus in Berkeley initiated, organized, and led sit-ins, picket lines, and protests against the university administration, demanding recognition of students' rights to freedom of speech as well as academic freedom. The movement's questioning of authority promoted an oppositional attitude to the status quo that swept college campuses in the mid-to late 1960s. Known collectively as the Free Speech Movement, these protests catapulted the San Francisco Bay Area into the national spotlight, setting the stage for its rise as a counterculture mecca.

The early 1960s saw a marked increase in the number of student groups on the Berkeley campus— traditional political groups such as the Young Republicans, as well as issue-specific groups such as the civil rights advocacy group Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). Even in designated free-speech zones on campus, university rules barred student groups from advocating particular positions on social and political issues and fund-raising. Some, such as antiwar groups and civil rights organizations, increasingly ignored the rules.

In response, on September 14, 1964, Dean Katherine Towle issued a statement to all university-sanctioned student groups. Effective immediately, the administration would strictly enforce university regulations prohibiting public advocacy of political and social causes on campus, particularly around Sather Gate. Most students believed this area at the intersection of Telegraph and Bancroft avenues was city property and therefore beyond university control, but the university claimed otherwise. The epicenter of student political activity, the area around Sather

Gate hosted informational tables and speakers on a daily basis, as thousands of students poured through the south entrance to campus. Student activists viewed Sather Gate as both logistically and symbolically vital to not only the health of their organizations, but also the exercise of their First Amendment right to free speech.

Student leaders approached the administration with a list of possible alternatives to a crackdown on student activism, such as time restrictions and continuous occupancy of the tables. Rebuffed by President Clark Kerr, student groups defiantly set up tables in the disputed area. On October 1, former graduate student Jack Weinberg manned the CORE table at Sather Gate; he refused to show his school identification card when approached by university police and also refused to leave. As Weinberg was being arrested, a crowd gathered at the scene. In an effort to prevent an escalation, police moved a squad car into the area to whisk Weinberg away. Hundreds of students spontaneously surrounded the police car, some lying down in front of it.

One student, Mario Savio, emerged from the crowd and took up a megaphone. Savio was a philosophy student inspired by Henry David Thoreau's works on nonviolent civil protest, student-oriented civil rights leaders such as James Farmer, and his own participation in the Mississippi Freedom Summer voter registration drive earlier that year. He climbed on top of the police car to address the burgeoning sea of students. His intense and charismatic calls to action in defense of civil liberties sustained the crowd as the sit-in stretched into the night. Student leaders reached a temporary truce with the administration after thirty-two hours, allowing the police to take Weinberg to jail. The question of free speech and political advocacy was left unresolved.



Mario Savio, the fiery leader of the Free Speech Movement at the University of California, Berkeley, calls on fellow students to protest the administration's refusal to allow political activities on campus in 1964. (Bill Ray/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Student leaders such as Savio, Delta Phi Epsilon pledge mother Jackie Goldberg, her brother, Art, and others moved quickly to capitalize on the momentum of the sit-in. Forming an executive committee with representatives from major student groups, they began organizing what they called the Free Speech Movement (FSM). Despite the university's attempts to characterize the students as outside agitators, left-wing radicals, beatniks, and Communists in its statements to the media, the FSM represented a cross-section of the student body, including fraternity and sorority members, Young Republicans, civil rights activists, and apolitical independents.

As the impasse continued, the students' motivation shifted. The legal principle and university policy of *in loco parentis* (Latin for "in place of the parent"), whereby the university acts as a surrogate parent to students, conflicted with the younger generation's beliefs about sexuality, personal responsibility, and the role of the

individual in society. Although passionately devoted to the constitutional principle of free speech, many students came to view the conflict as one about their status as adults.

Ongoing protests and negotiations failed to move the administration from its position of restricting student activism, and the FSM leadership saw no choice but to take direct action. On December 2, they implemented their plan of taking over Sproul Hall, the administrative hub of the university. Police moved in to evict the students early the next day, arresting some 800 students, faculty, and supporters. In the aftermath, President Kerr presented a faculty-sponsored compromise at a campus-wide meeting. When Savio approached the microphone to give an FSM rebuttal, several police officers tackled him, manhandling him off the stage.

A stunned university community rallied to the FSM banner, calling a strike for the following day. Thousands of students skipped class, and supportive professors and instructors canceled hundreds of classes. With the university essentially paralyzed and the entire nation focused on the events unfolding there, the administration finally backed down and established provisional new rules for political activity on campus. The FSM disbanded.

The concept of student activism and open discussion of controversial issues on college campuses championed by the FSM became a hallmark of the 1960s youth counterculture. Its successful challenge of authority, however, opened a Pandora's box. The loosening of rules and regulations on the Berkeley campus led to a burgeoning of the bohemian community in neighborhoods surrounding the university and then to San Francisco. Soon, tens of thousands of young people, seeking freedom of expression and an alternative to the materialistic world of their parents, flocked to the hills around San Francisco Bay. Empowered, students across the nation soon shifted their attention to the Vietnam War, adopting the tactics of the FSM—such as massive sit-ins and strikes—to protest escalating U.S. involvement, sometimes devolving into violence.

The steps of Sproul Hall, a center of political activity on the Berkeley campus to this day, were named the Mario Savio Steps in 1997 to commemorate the historic speech of the FSM's young spokesman on December 3, 1964. "There is a time when the operation of the machine becomes so odious, makes you so sick at heart, that you can't take part," he declared. "You've got to put your bodies upon the gears and upon the wheels, upon the levers, upon all the apparatus, and you've got to make it stop."

Ann Youngblood Mulhearn

See also: [Berkeley, California: Hippies.](#)

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Free Universities

From the mid-1960s through the mid-1970s, universities that offer noncredit courses free of charge to the general

public were started in cities and college towns across the United States. An outgrowth of political activism among college students, these nonprofit education centers were intended largely as havens for counterculture dissenters, offering courses on such timely and highly charged subjects as the Vietnam War, race relations in America, and sexual mores. Another openly declared purpose of many founders was to undermine the regimentation of traditional universities. Like underground newspapers, free universities emerged as central alternative institutions in a number of cities and towns, serving as a meeting place for participants in the counterculture and helping to define the activities and values associated with it.

Roots

From the start, free universities sought to create an egalitarian setting for learning and teaching, hoping to inspire the transformation or downfall of publicly administered education. Most adhered to the principles that anyone could teach, anyone could learn, and classes should be held on any topic of interest to students. Classes were attended by a mix of college students and members of the local community. Despite the designation “free,” many of the schools charged a modest fee for taking courses.

Free universities tended to share several characteristics. Most offered a smorgasbord of courses, reflecting the broad spectrum of social change. They abandoned academic structure and formality, creating a casual, intimate atmosphere. Fostering free discussion in classes and sometimes action outside of them were common goals. Most free universities were run by a cooperative of volunteers and retained at least a de facto relationship with a conventional university. Where they did, locations varied; a majority opened headquarters off campus, with some groups remaining on campus.

Free university founders cited a series of events as the inspiration for their initiative. The Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the radical protest group launched in 1962, declared in its founding statement that universities had failed to address the moral consequences of current events. Also in 1962, social critic Paul Goodman published *The Community of Scholars*, which discusses the historical precedent of scholars seceding from institutions of higher learning. In Mississippi in 1964, college students volunteering as civil rights workers helped create “freedom schools,” in which local people shared teaching and learning experiences across racial boundaries. Then, in December of that year, University of California students who seized the Berkeley campus administration building held a series of teach-ins on free speech and academic freedom.

The founders of the earliest free universities generally were students and professors concerned about the failure of mainstream institutions to acknowledge political dissent. In 1965, professors who had been fired from universities for protest activities related to events in Cuba and Vietnam launched the Free University of New York (later the Free School) above a coffee shop on the Lower East Side of Manhattan. The school offered classes on Marxist geography, the theory and practice of radical social movements, black ghetto radicalism, and Vietnamese liberation literature. Its founding statement proclaimed that the country’s faculty members had been reduced to “servant-intellectuals, required, for regular promotion, to propagate points of view in harmony with the military and industrial leadership.”

On the West Coast, newly radicalized students created the Free University of Berkeley, which offered its first courses in February 1966. The founders desired a place to discuss problems of social commitment, asserting in the catalog that a University of California education “confuses rather than encourages action.” They had participated in recent demonstrations, and saw a need to create an institutional anchor for a social-change movement that until then had existed episodically.

Students in Ann Arbor (University of Michigan), Boulder (University of Colorado), Gainesville (University Florida), and other college towns thought likewise. By the end of 1967, fifty free universities had been started, twelve by chapters of the SDS. The SDS national organization debated sponsoring a national free university, but ultimately it decided to focus on organizing in poor neighborhoods.

Not all free universities made a clean break from established institutions. While most declared themselves

community learning centers, serving the inner city as much as privileged college students, others aimed to reform the university from within. A few programs, such as the influential Experimental College at San Francisco State College, actually were sanctioned by a mainstream university.

Shift in Focus

The initial emphasis on political action began to fade. Indeed, even those free universities most ardently promoting political discussion had offered a broad array of courses from the start. Of the Free University of Berkeley's eighty-one courses in 1966, for example, forty-one pertained to social change. Nonpolitical subject matter included Beethoven, cinema as art, and the origins of mathematics. That same year, the Experimental College in San Francisco offered seminars titled "Urban Action" and "Astronauts of Inner Space." Students at the Free University of New York could take a course on the search for authentic sexual experience, called "A Quest for Self."

As new enterprises, free universities needed to attract students, and arts and personal growth courses helped draw them in. "Students have been systematically dehumanized, deemed incompetent to regulate their own lives sexually, politically and academically," proclaimed the New York school in its catalog, vowing to give students "the concepts necessary to comprehend the events of this century and the meaning of one's life in it." Participants at Berkeley, one of its founders wrote in 1968, "wanted an education which was—as the word suggests—a drawing out of their potentialities."

By 1968, the number of free universities had doubled, fueled by workshops and national conferences sponsored by the National Student Association and other organizations. The largest of the free universities were enrolling more than 3,000 students each. The movement peaked in 1969, with more than 250 schools in the United States, and an estimated 75,000 or more students enrolled in courses.

Course listings grew large enough to warrant separate subject categories in the catalogs, which were also growing more colorful and artistic. The fall 1969 catalog for the Free University of Berkeley described courses using drawings and comic strips. Its listings also included a number of experiential (or jokey) courses, such as "Kissing," "Scrounging," and "Gold Stars." The catalog philosophized that "with no credits & no degrees to confuse motives/creative education for living can flourish/warm & free." A kaleidoscopic spectrum of courses was available, for example "Graphics, Guts & Graffiti," "Graphology," "Greek Dancing," "Gun Technology," "Happy Music," and "History & Operation of Japanese Abacus."

By the early 1970s, many free universities had folded after only three or four years of operation. To a great extent, they were victims of their own influence, as mainstream institutions adopted some of the informality, flexibility in instruction and curriculum, and student control that free universities had pioneered. In addition, efforts to organize the movement had essentially failed, and some schools succumbed to the organizational disarray endemic to nonprofit organizations run by young adults. Some original organizers lost interest as their free universities grew less explicitly political. Some organizations failed to attract new groups of students or organizers.

Many persisted, though, by adapting to the nonacademic public. As of 1972, there were a total of 110 free universities in operation. Although they remained informal and unpredictable, their course offerings were more practical. Rather than adopt the latest twists in the American counterculture—in the late 1970s, few offered classes addressing glam or punk preoccupations, for example—they catered to the leisure and social advancement desires of postcollegiate adults.

By the 1980s, almost all adult education institutions in America once called free universities had folded or been renamed. Some were transformed into for-profit adult education programs. Periodically over the next twenty-five years, American adult educators interested in serving poorer communities resumed using the "free university" label for their programs.

See also: [Berkeley, California: Students for a Democratic Society.](#)

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Freemasonry

Freemasonry—the institutions, practices, and principles of the international fraternal order of Free and Accepted Masons—began as a craft guild in the Middle Ages, developed into a secret society during the seventeenth century, and was extremely influential and controversial in the early American republic, given the size and power of its membership and its presumed incompatibility with democracy. Under attack for its elitism and secrecy, Masonry went into decline in the United States and reinvented itself as a broader, nonpolitical movement in the late nineteenth century. It remains a quietly influential part of American society in the twenty-first century.

Origins

During the Middle Ages, skilled stoneworkers, or masons, were in great demand in Western Europe, where the construction of castles, cathedrals, and other large structures put a premium on their skills. Masons were therefore free of many of the strictures of medieval European society. They were allowed to travel widely and were not tied to lands or medieval lords. In order to protect their privileges, masons formed a guild, closely guarded their trade secrets, and developed an elaborate system of codes to prevent others from claiming to be members.

By about 1700, the Mason's Guild had been taken over by scientists and philosophers who were less interested in Masonry than in the guild's progressive tradition and ancient roots. The Masons had, over the years, invited nobles and merchants to join the guild in order to gain business and extend their influence. These new members had brought an interest in the ideals of the Renaissance, and especially the mystical progressivism of Rosicrucianism, into Masonry. (The Rosicrucians of the early seventeenth century combined utopian ideals with the metaphors of alchemy and other magical traditions to challenge traditional morality and religion.)

After Pope Clement XII banned Freemasonry from Catholic countries in 1738, asserting that its ideals were in conflict with Roman Catholic Church doctrine, the organization became completely divorced from its roots as a trade guild. It instead evolved into a secret society devoted to scientific exploration and social and political progress. The collapse of Freemasonry in continental Europe accelerated its identification with English society and ideals, and helped push aside the older emphasis on mysticism and ritual.

The new English Masonic movement established its first American lodge in 1717. The Masonic movement in America was slow to expand, largely because of controls by the Grand Lodge in London. During the American Revolution, however, lodges in North America gradually severed their ties with the Grand Lodge. By 1790, American Masonry was independent of British control; by 1800, the new American movement boasted 16,000 members in more than 350 lodges. A Boston man, Prince Hall, founded a lodge for black Americans, called Prince Hall Freemasonry, which survives to the present day.

Growth

Freemasonry grew especially quickly in larger cities such as New York and Philadelphia, where it became almost synonymous with the upper class. Various elements of Masonic symbolism, especially images emphasizing secular progress and idealism, were adopted by the fledgling American government. The Great Seal, the designs on paper currency and coinage, and arguably the American flag all bear Masonic symbols.



An emblematic chart of 1877 identifies many of the symbols associated with Freemasonry, including the square and compass, all-seeing eye, and globe-topped columns. For centuries, the Masonic movement has quietly exerted a major influence on Western culture. (Library of Congress)

The involvement of many public officials with an unaccountable secret society, however, provoked an increasing backlash. When a Freemason named William Morgan disappeared and was presumed murdered in 1826 after writing an exposé of society rituals, antimasonic fervor exploded, leading to the formation of the Antimasonic Party in 1826. The Antimasons gained a surprising amount of political power and elected a number of state and federal

legislators, but soon collapsed. Their brief surge had a major effect on Masonry, however, as more than half of the U.S. members left the movement.

While Masonry was on the wane during this period, several of its rituals and concepts were borrowed by Joseph Smith and included in the development of the Mormon religion. The first three presidents of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—Smith, Brigham Young, and John Taylor—were Freemasons. Indeed, the identification of Masonry with Mormonism was one of the factors that contributed to its unpopularity during the mid-nineteenth century.

After the American Civil War, Freemasonry regained much of its lost influence. In 1879, the various Masonic organizations in America claimed a combined membership of more than 550,000. The period of Masonry's greatest growth, though, came after World War I. By 1925, perhaps 3 million American men had joined a Masonic group.

As the organization gained new recruits, its focus shifted. The traditional emphasis on ritual and mysticism was all but obliterated, as Masonry reinvented itself as a movement focused on social and charitable activities. The movement also took on an element of patriotic boosterism, spurred by mid- and late-twentieth-century debates over communism, immigration, and involvement in world affairs. The movement's careful identification with American ideals helped defuse any resurgence of the debate over Freemasonry's compatibility with democracy.

Freemasonry has waned since its heyday, but there were still over 2 million Freemasons in the United States as of the middle of first decade of the twenty-first century. They constituted about half of the global membership. The movement continues to concentrate on charity and social activities, and its relative openness and visibility have kept it from sparking fresh controversy.

Nevertheless, some Americans still find reasons to distrust the movement. A number of conspiracy theorists and some professional historians have attempted to connect Masonry with historical mysteries, ranging from the assassinations of Presidents Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy to the influence of corporations on American life. Many, but by no means all, of these theorists are Christian extremists. In addition, some Americans believe that Masonry's esoteric traditions mask a more sinister purpose, and that the higher levels of Masonry are involved in pagan practices.

While scandals involving Masonic groups have been uncovered in other nations, and many British government bodies require that its officials disclose membership in Freemasonry, it seems unlikely that the movement in the United States will ever come under the kind of attack it once did.

James L. Erwin

See also: [Anti-Freemasonry](#).

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Friedan, Betty (1921–2006)

As one of the first women of her era to publicly question the role of women in American society, writer and activist Betty Friedan—author of the highly influential 1963 book *The Feminine Mystique* and a founder of the National Organization for Women (NOW)—helped usher in the women’s movement of the 1960s.

Born Betty Naomi Goldstein on February 4, 1921, in Peoria, Illinois, she attended Smith College and graduated in 1942 with a degree in psychology. After completing one year of graduate school at the University of California, Berkeley, she moved to New York City and worked as a journalist and labor journal editor until marrying theater producer Carl Friedan in 1947.

For the first ten years of her marriage, she was a housewife, mother, and freelance writer. After circulating a questionnaire to her 1942 Smith College classmates, she discovered that many of the women were as dissatisfied with their lives as homemakers as she was. Intrigued, Friedan widened her study, formulating detailed questionnaires and interviews. Discussing the findings with psychologists, she organized her results and completed the groundbreaking but highly controversial work *The Feminine Mystique*.

Translated into several languages, *The Feminine Mystique* was an immediate success, and it has sold over 2 million copies in paperback. The thesis of the book is that American women suffered many forms of discrimination and were victims of an insidious system of delusions and false values that urged them to seek personal fulfillment and identity solely as wives and mothers. Friedan argued that because women were encouraged by advertisers and society to submit cheerfully to their roles, they suffered disillusionment and spiritual malaise. Without genuine and creative work, she believed, American housewives had little choice but to live vicariously through their husbands and children.

Calling this “the problem that has no name,” Friedan questioned the emotional, financial, and intellectual dependency to which women in America were confined. Her thesis stood in contrast to prevailing post–World War II belief that women should find fulfillment and an idyllic life by focusing on domestic tasks as a suburban housewife, rather than from a career or higher education. Historians have recognized the book as a major impetus for the second wave of feminism in America and a founding document of the modern feminist movement.

In 1966, Friedan cofounded NOW, a group dedicated to achieving equal opportunity for women. As the organization’s founding president, she worked to increase the number of women in government positions and end sex-classified employment notices. She advocated greater access to child care for working mothers and launched widespread movements to legalize abortion. Although Friedan relinquished her role as president in March 1970, shortly after her divorce, she continued to participate actively in NOW and other feminist organizations. On August 26, 1970, on the fiftieth anniversary of woman suffrage, NOW launched the Women’s Strike for Equality, with Friedan as lead organizer.

Continuing with the cause of women’s equality, Friedan became the founding member of the National Women’s Political Caucus in 1971 and took a leading role in the campaign for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. In 1973, she assumed the role of director for the First Women’s Bank and Trust Company, all the while continuing to write and conduct research on the lives of women. In 1976, she published *It Changed My Life: Writings on the Women’s Movement*, followed in 1981 by *The Second Stage*, in which she emphasizes the importance of children and the role of men in the women’s movement, and in 2000, by her autobiography, *Life So Far*.

At the time of her death from heart failure on February 4, 2006, Betty Friedan was widely celebrated for her contributions to the lives of women in America. As a direct result of her writings and political advocacy, women made clear gains in securing social equality at a time when acknowledging their needs outside of the home was controversial, or even subversive.

Melissa Williams

See also: [Feminism, Second-Wave](#).

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Fruitlands

In the summer of 1843, the transcendentalists and educational reformers Amos Bronson Alcott and Charles Lane established a “new Eden” called Fruitlands, a short-lived utopian community located in Harvard, Massachusetts, about 15 miles (24 kilometers) west of Concord. The only substantial account of the experiment was recorded by Alcott’s daughter, Louisa May Alcott, who lived at the community as a child and later wrote the best-selling *Little Women* series of novels. Her brief, satiric memoir, *Transcendental Wild Oats* (1873), describes how “these modern pilgrims journeyed hopefully out of the old world, to found a new one in the wilderness.”

Fruitlands was a more radical version of the nearby Brook Farm, which Bronson Alcott regarded as not “austere enough” since, by bringing the produce of their fields to market, its members participated in the degrading system of commerce. By contrast, he hoped to “initiate a Family in harmony with the primitive instincts of man.”

The members of Fruitlands carried no money, even when they ventured into town. No beings, including insects, could be deprived of life during the cultivation of the 90-acre (36-hectare) communally owned farm. Utilizing appropriated labor, including the labor of draught animals, was proscribed. Manure was forsworn as an unfairly requisitioned pollutant. The members wore tunics and trousers sewn from brown linen and broad-brimmed straw hats, and they avoided using animal-based products such as whale oil and leather.

The eleven adult members of the community’s “consociate family” set out to raise their vegan fare solely by the work of their own hands: “Ordinary secular farming is not our object,” they announced to the Boston press. “Fruit, grain, pulse, herbs, flax, and other vegetable products, receiving assiduous attention, will afford ample manual occupation, and chaste supplies for bodily needs.” Their aim was to exist entirely independent of the outside world and to grow only enough pure crops to feed themselves, so that they could focus their attention on higher things: “Pledged to the spirit alone, the founders anticipate no hasty or numerous additions to their numbers. The kingdom of peace is entered only through the gates of self-denial.”

A library made up mainly of Bronson Alcott’s many books formed the center of community life. Daily philosophical

discussions were conducted in place of the services of any organized religion, which the founders regarded as debased. Fruitlands, like Brook Farm, garnered wide attention, especially since Alcott and Lane lectured regularly on vegetarianism and the spiritual virtues of their Spartan lifestyle.

Still, the community survived a mere seven months, from June 1843 to January 1844. It had proven impossible to raise enough food to support the group through the winter. In her account, Louisa May Alcott concluded that “the brethren... were so busy discussing and defining great duties that they forgot to perform the small ones.”

In 1914, the site of the failed experiment was resurrected as the Fruitlands Museum, later to contain a transplanted Shaker house, a fine art collection, and native American artifacts, established by the Boston socialite and patron Clara Endicott Sears.

Lance Newman

See also: [Alcott, Amos Bronson](#); [Communes](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Fugs, The

Founded in New York City by Beat poets Ed Sanders and Tuli Kupferberg in 1965, the Fugs was an antiestablishment rock music group that became famous for its unabashed opposition to the Vietnam War. Its antiwar sentiments and challenges to the government were epitomized by the title of its first Folkways Records album, *The Village Fugs—Ballads and Songs of Contemporary Protest, Points of View, and General Dissatisfaction* (1965). Under the scrutiny of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the New York County District Attorney’s Office, the band was repeatedly discouraged from performing at any venue a second time, yet they continued to voice their opinions on social and political matters.

The group took its name from Norman Mailer’s substitute term—*fug*—for an expletive in his 1948 World War II novel *The Naked and the Dead*. Original members of the band included Sanders, Kupferberg, and Ken Weaver (drums), followed shortly thereafter by Steve Weber, Peter Stampfel, and others. A number of other members have come and gone in the more than forty years since the band was formed, some by choice and some by draft.

The Fugs began performing at clubs, theaters, and galleries in New York City, including the Bridge Theater, Cafe Au Go Go, the Astor Place Playhouse, and the Players’ Theater. In the fall of 1965, they went on tour as part of a national anti-Vietnam War campaign. From the outset, their self-proclaimed lyrical inspiration combined various sources, most notably the freedoms and rights guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and a perception that they were going to waste.

The political sentiments expressed in the Fugs’ records and live performances elicited negative reactions from

government authorities throughout the decades, especially in the 1960s. In 1966, after New York City authorities heard that the group had burned “a flag” on stage at the Astor Place Playhouse, fire and building inspectors were immediately dispatched to the venue. The Fugs were barred from playing again at the theater, and the FBI began an investigation of the group and its members. Release of *The Fugs Second Album* later in 1966 prompted the FBI to intensify its efforts.

One of the boldest public acts engaged in by the Fugs took place in the heightened antiwar atmosphere of 1967, as band members joined a mass protest march on the Pentagon in Arlington, Virginia. With tens of thousands of protestors chanting “Out, Demons, Out!” and the Fugs chanting in litany, the protestors performed a ritual exorcism on the building. Along with other protestors, the Fugs placed yellow daisies in the rifle barrels of Pentagon guards lined up in front of the entrance.

In 1968, with the assassinations of Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Kennedy rocking the nation and the Vietnam War continuing to escalate despite the growing protest movement, the Fugs continued to rebel publicly against the government. Among their actions was another symbolic exorcism, this time of the grave of the late Wisconsin senator and notorious “red baiter” Joseph McCarthy.

The Fugs went their separate ways, writing, publishing, and performing on their own in the 1970s and early 1980s. They reunited in 1984 after Sanders and Kupferberg worked together on a film (which never reached final production). Sanders, Kupferberg, Steve Taylor, Scott Petito, and Coby Batty became the new sounds and sights of the Fugs, which has continued to comment on sociopolitical issues, such as the influence of technology, South African apartheid, sexual expression, the cold war, and the space race.

The band agreed to take part in the Woodstock’94 rock concert (commemorating the twenty-fifth anniversary of the original Woodstock music festival), but objected to what it regarded as the excessive commercialism of the event. Instead, the Fugs organized their own concert, called “The Real Woodstock Festival.” *The Fugs Final CD (Part 1)* was released in 2003, with part two said to be forthcoming.

Sueann M. Wells

See also: [Rock and Roll: Vietnam War Protests: Woodstock Music and Art Fair.](#)

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Fuller, Margaret (1810–1850)

Margaret Fuller was a social reformer, literary critic, and transcendentalist who advocated for equality of the sexes in the nineteenth century. A friend of Ralph Waldo Emerson and a leading force in the transcendentalist movement, she has been called America’s first major woman author and journalist, as well as the most influential gender theorist of her time.

Fuller was born in Cambridgeport (present-day Cambridge), Massachusetts, on May 23, 1810. Timothy Fuller, a lawyer and a member of Congress, educated the eldest of his nine children, teaching Margaret Latin by the age of six and Shakespeare at age eight. As she grew up, Fuller attended several local and “finishing” schools, gaining a classical education rare for girls of her day. She gained admittance to the men-only Harvard Library, the only woman to do so in that era, and was fluent in five languages, including English.

Following her father's death in 1835, the family's financial need forced Fuller to forgo a planned trip to Europe, where she had hoped to further immerse herself in the Romanticism that she loved. Friends prevailed upon the American poet Ralph Waldo Emerson to invite her to Concord as compensation, and there Fuller became closely identified with the transcendentalist movement. From its inception in 1840 until mid-1842, she served as editor of the group's publication, *The Dial*, which she had helped found with Emerson and others. At the same time, she also worked as a teacher in several schools.

In 1839, Fuller moved her family to Jamaica Plain, near Boston, where she became known as a “conversationalist,” moderating small group discussions on a variety of intellectual and philosophical topics. These conversation groups were sufficiently profitable to allow her to undertake translations of several important pieces of German literature that were, in turn, well received and profitable.

Based on the group discussions, Fuller also published *Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (1845), calling for the independence of women and gender equality in American society. During this same period, she published her most important piece of writing in *The Dial*, an essay titled “The Great Lawsuit: Man versus Men, Woman versus Women” in which she argued forcefully for women's rights.

Horace Greeley, editor of the nationally circulated *New York Tribune*, hired Fuller in late 1844 as his newspaper's literary critic—the first such columnist in any American newspaper. She relocated to New York City, where she became romantically involved with James Nathan, but the affair ended unhappily for Fuller. Life in New York offered compensations, though, including the opportunity to become more directly involved in reform movements concerning slavery, women's rights, prostitution, and prison conditions.

In 1846, Greeley appointed Fuller as the *Tribune's* foreign correspondent, an unheard-of promotion for a woman of the time. She traveled throughout Europe and by 1848 or 1849 had taken up full-time residence in revolutionary Italy. In the meantime, in 1847, she had fallen in love with Marquis Giovanni Angelo Ossoli (who was some ten years her junior); in 1848, she gave birth to their son, Angelo Eugene. Letters to her family and friends in late 1848 and 1849 indicate that the couple was married at that time, but no independent record of the marriage exists; scholars speculate that the story may have been fabricated to avoid scandal.

The young family sailed for America in May 1850, but their ship was wrecked in a hurricane at Fire Island, just off the coast of New York State, on July 19. Henry David Thoreau and several of Fuller's other transcendentalist friends commissioned searches of the site, but only the remains of the infant son were recovered. The bodies of Fuller and Ossoli, as well as Fuller's manuscript of her experiences in Europe, were never found.

Barbara Schwarz Wachal

See also: [*Dial, The*](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Thoreau, Henry David](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Fuller, R. Buckminster (1895–1983)

R. Buckminster Fuller was an inventor, engineer, architect, scientist, futurist, educator, cartographer, author, and visionary. Perhaps best known for his invention of the geodesic dome, a structure that maximizes enclosed space using a minimum of materials, he was inspired by the challenge of doing more with less. He envisioned a future in which many problems of the world could be solved by science and technology. Although members of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture generally were leery of technology, they embraced Fuller's humanistic vision, which offered an optimistic counterpoint to the perception of technology as inhumane and destructive.

Richard Buckminster Fuller was born on July 12, 1895, in Milton, Massachusetts, the son of Caroline Wolcott Fuller and Richard Buckminster Fuller, Sr. (He also was the grandnephew of transcendentalist writer and editor Margaret Fuller.) He spent much of his youth in coastal Maine and attended Milton Academy in Massachusetts. Twice expelled from Harvard, he worked as a mechanic and meatpacker before serving in the U.S. Navy during World War I. In 1917, he married Anne Hewlett, an inventor and the daughter of a well-known architect and artist.

The Fullers had two daughters, Alexandra and Allegra. Alexandra was sickly, and her death at the age of four inspired in Fuller a lifelong quest to provide safe, hygienic shelter within financial reach of the average person. His first such project was the 4-D House, later called the Dymaxion House, which he patented in 1928. The design called for a round, inexpensive, low-maintenance structure that produced its own power, was naturally heated and cooled, and was virtually earthquake proof.

Next, Fuller applied his pursuit of efficiency to transportation and designed the Dymaxion Car, which he patented in 1937. The three-wheeled vehicle, which measured 19 feet (5.8 meters) long, could hold eleven passengers and travel 120 miles (193 kilometers) per hour, with a fuel efficiency of about 30 miles (48 kilometers) to the gallon.

Then Fuller revisited the issue of hygiene and designed the Dymaxion Bathroom, patented in 1940, which could be made of sheet metal or plastic and could easily be carried up the stairs and installed in an existing bathroom. Its hot-vapor shower required only a cup of water to clean hygienically without soap. Fuller also developed the Dymaxion Map, which depicted the earth with a minimum of distortion, and the World Game, a simulation intended to help groups cooperate in solving world problems.

Fuller's greatest fame came with his patent of the geodesic dome in 1954. A spherical form with triangular or polygonal facets made of aluminum, plastic, or wood components, it was stable, lightweight, and relatively easy to construct. Fuller hoped the geodesic dome would revolutionize the building industry. Although it may not have achieved that lofty goal, the design proved popular in the 1960s and 1970s. An estimated 300,000 domes eventually were built throughout the world.

While Fuller's intention was to provide mainstream solutions to the challenges of modern living, his popularity soared among the counterculture youth of the 1960s and 1970s, who were drawn to his egalitarian vision of a better life for all people. The geodesic dome came to represent both a utopian urban future and the independent spirit of the counterculture. Fuller's commitment to the efficient use of resources also held great appeal to those concerned with environmental issues, as well as those concerned about the inequities in worldwide resource distribution. During a time when society questioned whether the costs of technological advancement were worth the benefits, Fuller demonstrated the potential for technology to address society's most pressing problems.

Buckminster Fuller died of a heart attack on July 1, 1983, in Los Angeles. During his lifetime, he was granted twenty-eight U.S. patents, wrote twenty-five books, and received dozens of honorary degrees and many other prestigious awards. His voluminous papers, models, and recorded media are housed at Stanford University in the

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Fundamentalism, Christian

Although it has roots dating at least to the nineteenth century, modern Christian fundamentalism in America emerged in the early twentieth century as a movement to defend traditional Christian doctrines against the inroads of modernism. By the latter part of the century, however, it also had become a political movement that opposed abortion, same-sex marriage, and the complete separation of public education and religion.

Roots

Four streams of conservative Christianity contributed to the formation of twentieth-century fundamentalism. One stream was millenarianism, the belief that countered the dominant optimism of American culture with the assertion that the second coming of Jesus could occur at any moment. In the early 1860s, the *Prophetic Times* was the most important millenarian journal, but people associated with a minor publication, *Waymarks in the Wilderness*, played an important role in creating the Prophecy and Bible Conference movement. Beginning with the interdenominational Niagara Bible Conferences in 1868, several major conferences took place through the 1890s.

A second stream was the Princeton theology of Charles Hodge, A.A. Hodge, and Benjamin B. Warfield, all of whom taught at Princeton Theological Seminary. Believing that the theologian's job was to rationally or scientifically collect and organize Scriptural data, these men also argued that the words of the Bible, in its original autographs (manuscripts), were both inspired and inerrant. Scripture was, therefore, the final authority on Christian belief.

The Holiness movement provided a third stream of influence. A group of Americans, notably Hannah Whitall Smith, were pursuing revivalism in England in the 1870s when they began teaching that sin could be eradicated through personal acceptance and experience of the Holy Spirit. Influenced by these ideas, a series of British conferences held at Keswick beginning in 1875 put forward the less radical concept that the Holy Spirit, rather than eradicating sin, helps the individual move toward righteousness. The American evangelist Dwight L. Moody

brought Keswick teachings to the United States through his Northfield Conferences, which led to the organization of an American Keswick movement in 1913. Meanwhile, the *Sunday School Times*, a major Christian publication, adopted Holiness in 1910 and publicized it under the phrase “Victorious Life.” Pentecostalism, which emphasizes the coming of the Holy Spirit, spiritual purification, and religious ecstasy—as evidenced by glossolalia, or speaking in tongues—arose out of the Holiness movement in the early twentieth century.

A fourth stream was revivalism. During the Second Great Awakening (1800–1830s), evangelist Charles Finney forged the major techniques of modern revivalism, using such means as informal preaching, prayer sessions, and music to elicit an emotional response from his listeners. Later revivalists, led by Moody and Billy Sunday, further refined revivalist methods in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

Emergence

In the first decade of the twentieth century, two oilmen from Southern California, brothers Lyman and Milton Stewart, became concerned that modern, or liberal, ideas, particularly Darwinian evolution and higher criticism (historical analysis) of the Bible, were undermining Christianity. In response, they funded the publication of *The Fundamentals*, a series of twelve volumes published between 1910 and 1915, and distributed them to ministers and seminary teachers throughout the United States. The twelve volumes include essays by sixty-four contributors defending the Bible and cardinal Christian doctrines against the inroads of modern thinking.

About the same time that *The Fundamentals* appeared, Charles I. Scofield published his *Reference Bible* (1909), an edition of the Bible with extensive notes that offered a dispensationalist interpretation. Dispensationalism was a particular version of millenarianism, stemming from John Nelson Darby, founder of the Plymouth Brethren, which asserted that at the Second Coming, Jesus would invisibly take the saved individuals out of this world. This predicted event was called the “Secret Rapture.” Over time, the Scofield Bible edition became extraordinarily influential in spreading dispensationalist ideas among conservative American Christians.

In 1913, the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago held a Bible and Prophecy Conference, which was followed by two conferences in Philadelphia and New York in 1918. As they helped plan the conference to be held in 1919, two emerging leaders, William Bell Riley and Reuben A. Torrey, shifted its emphasis from millenarianism to what they regarded as the fundamentals of the faith—in particular, the verbal inspiration of the Bible, the virgin birth of Jesus, the physical resurrection and ascension of Jesus, Jesus’s substitutionary atonement for humankind’s sins, biblical miracles, and the Second Coming of Jesus (although not everyone took a dispensationalist view). Thus was born the World’s Christian Fundamentals Association (WCFA), formed in 1919 at Philadelphia.

Attack on Modernism

At this point, the fundamentalist movement began an aggressive attack against modernism on two fronts. The major front was within the denominations, particularly the Northern Baptists and Northern Presbyterians, where fundamentalists believed that liberals were undermining traditional Christian doctrine. Among the Northern Baptists, beginning in 1920, fundamentalists organized to stop the spread of liberal teaching in denominational schools, pushed for adoption of a conservative confession, and sought to control the views of missionaries. After losing on all three issues, many fundamentalists left the denomination to form the Baptist Bible Union in 1932.

When Harry Emerson Fosdick, a Baptist pastoring a New York Presbyterian church, attacked fundamentalism in a 1922 sermon, Clarence Macartney, a Philadelphia minister, called on the Northern Presbyterians to censure Fosdick and affirm a conservative theology. Although Fosdick left his pastorate rather than follow Macartney’s appeal, by 1925 the denomination had taken a position favoring toleration over exclusivity.

Meanwhile, controversy erupted at Princeton Theological Seminary, particularly after Professor J. Gresham Machen published *Christianity and Liberalism* (1923), in which he argued that the terms referred to two different religions. After being pushed to the sidelines of influence at the seminary, Machen and other conservative faculty members left in 1929 to form Westminster Seminary in Philadelphia. Eventually, Machen helped establish the

Presbyterian Church of America in 1936.

A second front was Charles Darwin's theory of evolution. With former presidential candidate and Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan publicizing their cause, fundamentalists were successful in getting several Southern states to pass laws banning the teaching of evolution in the public schools between 1923 and 1925.

Soon after Tennessee passed its law in 1925, teacher John T. Scopes challenged the law in a test case supported by the American Civil Liberties Union. With the famous attorney Clarence Darrow defending Scopes and Bryan prosecuting, the trial became a media sensation. Although Scopes lost the case, the trial created a negative public image that long linked fundamentalism with the rural South, despite the fact that up to this time the movement had been mainly a Northern and urban phenomenon. The antievolution crusade essentially ended with this case, and the WCFA went into decline.

Separatism

After these battles, fundamentalists generally retreated from public combat and pursued a separatist agenda by working through local church congregations and building their own institutions. In addition to Riley and Torrey, influential preachers included J. Frank Norris, T.T. Shields, J.C. Masee, and John Roach Stratton. Although organizations such as the Independent Fundamental Church of America (founded in 1930) were established, Bible schools were more influential. The Missionary Training Institute (founded in 1882) in New York City, Moody Bible Institute (founded in 1888) in Chicago, and Bible Institute of Los Angeles (founded in 1908) provided the models for nondenominational schools that emphasized practical training of Christian pastors and missionaries. By 1930, there were more than fifty such schools in the United States, with another twenty-six founded in the following decade.

Fundamentalists also gave attention to liberal arts college education with the establishment of Bob Jones College (founded in 1926; now Bob Jones University in Greenville, South Carolina), and the rapid growth of Wheaton College (established in 1857) in Norton, Massachusetts, in the 1930s, after its turn in a fundamentalist direction under the leadership of J. Oliver Buswell. To provide professional ministerial education at the graduate level, fundamentalists formed Dallas Theological Seminary in 1924.

In addition to education, fundamentalists took advantage of the new medium of radio. During the mid-1920s, Charles Fuller's *Old-Fashioned Revival Hour* became the most popular religious radio program in the United States. Other popular programs throughout the late 1920s and 1930s included Donald Grey Barnhouse's *Bible Study Hour*, R. DeHaan's *Radio Bible Class*, and various productions of the Moody Bible Institute. During this time, John R. Rice's *Sword of the Lord* emerged as the major fundamentalist newspaper.

As the fundamentalist movement grew, some of its leaders became increasingly concerned that its separatist strategy discouraged a thoughtful Christian perspective on social, political, and economic issues, a viewpoint expressed in Carl F.H. Henry's *The Uneasy Conscience of Modern Fundamentalism*, published in 1947. Meanwhile, J. Elwin Wright and Harold John Ockenga helped organize the National Association of Evangelicals in 1943; during the next few years, this association established agencies for public affairs, media, missions, and humanitarian aid. Fuller Theological Seminary (founded in 1947) and the Evangelical Theological Society (established in 1949) sought to engage the academic theological world, though both retained their fundamentalist identity with a commitment to biblical inerrancy.

Evangelist Billy Graham, who had been educated at Wheaton College, rose to national prominence with his 1949 Los Angeles crusade. In 1956, Graham, along with L. Nelson Bell, established *Christianity Today*, edited by Henry, as the principal voice of the evangelical movement.



Christian Fundamentalism emerged in America in the early twentieth century. In the post–World War II era, the Reverend Billy Graham and other evangelists opposed the separatist strategy of the early movement and built a politically active mainstream. (John Dominis/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

As Graham increasingly worked with mainline churches in his crusades, fundamentalist leaders Bob Jones, Sr., Bob Jones, Jr., and John R. Rice publicly opposed him. Fuller Theological Seminary softened its stand on biblical inerrancy in 1962 and dropped the doctrine from its statement of faith in 1970. In 1976, Harold Lindsell, the editor of *Christianity Today*, published *Battle for the Bible* in defense of inerrancy. Conflict over inerrancy and related issues also erupted among the Missouri Synod Lutherans and the Southern Baptists, with the fundamentalists largely victorious in both denominations. Despite these disputes, the line between fundamentalism and evangelicalism was unclear, and the media often used the terms interchangeably.

The fundamentalist movement continued to spawn numerous additional organizations. These included Jack Wyrzten's Word of Life (founded in 1940), a youth ministry; Carl McIntire's American Council of Christian Churches (founded in 1941); the Conservative Baptist Association (founded in 1947); the Baptist Bible Fellowship (founded in 1950); the Baptist Missionary Association (founded in 1950); and the Southwide Baptist Fellowship (founded in 1957).

In addition to such intradenominational organizations, fundamentalists also developed "megachurches." This phenomenon dated back at least to J. Frank Norris's churches in Fort Worth, Texas, and Detroit, Michigan, which claimed a combined membership of 25,000 in the mid-1940s. By the 1960s, other very large churches included Highland Park Baptist Church in Chattanooga, Tennessee, First Baptist Church of Hammond, Indiana, and Landmark Baptist Temple in Cincinnati, Ohio.

Political Engagement

Although a few fundamentalists such as Carl McIntire and Billy James Hargis engaged in anticommunist crusades in the 1950s, fundamentalists generally did not become politically active until the late 1960s. The U.S. Supreme Court decisions in *Engel v. Vitale* (1962) and *Schempp v. Murray* (1963), which banned devotional Bible reading and state-sponsored prayers in public schools, and its landmark ruling in *Roe v. Wade* (1972), which legalized abortion, along with the cultural changes that accelerated in the 1960s, goaded fundamentalists into action.

On the local level, in Kanawha County, West Virginia, fundamentalists gained control of the school board and, in 1973, banned sex education, providing a model that fundamentalists would follow elsewhere. In Texas, with mixed

success, Mel and Norma Gabler pressured the State Textbook Committee to approve books that met fundamentalist standards in their treatment of evolution and sex. California experienced controversy in the 1960s and 1970s over its science curriculum's treatment of evolution. Such disaffection with public schools spurred the growth of independent Christian schools, which grew rapidly in the 1970s; more than 1,700 institutions were educating about 2.5 million students by the end of the decade.

Evolution also became a public issue for fundamentalists with the emergence of "scientific creationism," the belief that creation had taken place in seven literal days about 6,000 years ago and that most geological phenomena were the result of Noah's flood. These beliefs gradually became dominant in fundamentalist circles after the publication of Henry Morris's and John C. Whitcomb's *The Genesis Flood* in 1961. Led by such organizations as the Creation Research Society (established in 1963), fundamentalists pushed for laws that mandated a "balanced" approach to origins that included scientific creationism as well as evolution. Although Arkansas and Louisiana passed such laws in the early 1980s, federal courts declared them unconstitutional, decisions ultimately affirmed by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1987.

Fundamentalists had broader concerns than sex education and evolution, however. Jerry Falwell, who traced his conversion to Fuller's radio program, served as pastor of a megachurch in Lynchburg, Virginia, and had a radio and television program, *The Old-Time Gospel Hour*, which aired in 1956. With other pastors, including James Kennedy, Tim LaHaye, Charles Stanley, and Greg Dixon, he formed the Moral Majority in 1979, which organized both nationally and locally to oppose abortion, homosexual marriage, pornography, and the Equal Rights Amendment. Although initially established by fundamentalists, the Moral Majority soon also included Mormons and conservative Catholics and Jews. By the time the organization disbanded in 1989, it had played a key role in the emergence of the Christian Right, which became increasingly influential in the Republican Party.

Continuing to make effective use of the media, fundamentalists reached large audiences through such preachers as Rex Humbard and James Robison; during the 1960s and 1970s, Pat Robertson's Christian Broadcasting Network and Jim and Tammy Faye Bakker's *PTL Club* offered more entertainment-oriented programming. In 1987, however, the Bakkers' media empire crashed amid a sex and financial scandal. James Dobson's *Focus on the Family* increasingly moved from issues such as how to deal with a strong-willed child to political matters, particularly homosexual rights. Dispensational millenarianism reached the best-seller list through Hal Lindsey's and C.C. Carlson's book *Late Great Planet Earth* (1970) and Tim LaHaye's and Jerry B. Jenkins's *Left Behind* series of novels (1995–2007).

Through much of its history, fundamentalism in America had been a counterculture, even within Christian circles. By the late twentieth century, however, it, along with its close relative evangelicalism, had become the mainstream of American Christianity. And while fundamentalism remained a minority position in American society at large, it had become a major force in the Republican Party and thereby pushed Democrats to address the role of religion in public life.

Gary Land

See also: [McPherson, Aimee Semple](#).

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Gangs and Gang Culture

Gangs are loosely organized groups, bound by neighborhood, ethnicity, or belief systems, that engage in illegal or antisocial activities for financial gain, to protect their territory, and for the perpetuation of group identity. Their social organizations, cultures, and changing contexts pose especially complex and paradoxical issues in the study of American countercultures. As local networking associations, gangs often have helped immigrants adapt to their new community, or have helped young men facing discrimination on the basis of race, ethnicity, or class to negotiate between everyday rejection and the distant goal of assimilation into mainstream culture. As such, gangs have helped organize marginal neighborhoods and foster racial and ethnic pride, and produced a rich, albeit predominantly male, alternative culture since the origins of the republic.

At the same time, gang violence, criminal behavior against neighbors, and confrontations with police have elicited aggressive reactions from society at large and often have distanced gangs from discussions of social and political reform, even among those who share gangs' positions and concerns. Ties between certain gangs in the United States and those in other countries also have made them suspect and feared.

Nonetheless, the culture, style, and agency of gangs have continued to make them attractive to many youths, especially in poor and ethnically marked neighborhoods. And gangs and gang style (for example, the musical style gangsta rap) also have spread to rural and suburban areas, appealing to women as well as men.

With an estimated 20,000 to 30,000 gangs and hundreds of thousands of members, gang culture represents a significant segment of American society, however fragmented, that has endured for generations without sanction or respect from most citizens. Whether viewed as a nuisance, an epidemic, a social problem, or a social movement, gangs clearly represent an important cultural phenomenon outside mainstream definitions of virtue, civic participation, and success.

History and Imagery

Contemporary, urban gangs began to take shape with the Industrial Revolution of the nineteenth century. Emblematic, conflicting groups were New York natives and Irish immigrants with colorful names such as the Kerryonians, Hell's Kitchen Gang, Plug Uglies, and Roach Guard. Herbert Asbury's 1928 book, *Gangs of New*

York, vividly portrays these groups and their milieu, providing the foundation for Martin Scorsese's 2002 epic film of the same name.

As those earlier immigrants matured, gained citizenship, and formed connections in politics, business, and education, new gangs formed around new immigrants, primarily Jews and Italians, their neighborhoods, and their experiences of exclusion. Sometimes, these local gangs maintained ties with their homelands, in some cases with global adult criminal organizations such as the Sicilian Mafia and Chinese Triads.

Even as the United States limited immigration in the 1920s, adult gangster involvement in crimes of liquor distribution, gambling, prostitution, and concomitant violence during Prohibition (1920–1933) increased public concern and systematic controls. Asbury's many writings on gangs and Frederic Thrasher's classic sociological study, *The Gang: A Study of 1,313 Gangs in Chicago* (1927), date from this era. The new Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and state and local law enforcement all targeted these organizations, while Hollywood generally glorified them.

Youth gangs remained less glamorous but were ubiquitous, including bands of African American youths displaced by the Great Migration that had flowed from the Jim Crow South to Northern industrial settings. African American gangs had appeared in Los Angeles by the 1920s.

In the 1940s and 1950s, American concerns with juvenile delinquency were on the rise, spurred by Los Angeles's zoot suit riots of 1943 involving Mexican American youth and racial incidents in Northern cities. Urban gangs challenged an optimistic postwar society, spurring systematic analysis of gang recruitment, organizational structure, activity, and group identity.

Such studies underscore cultural patterns that seem consistent through history. Most gang members have been males in their teens or early twenties (with others ranging from eleven to thirty), with shared identities of territory and race, ethnicity, or class. Organization usually is relatively loose and ephemeral, and many gangs disappear after just a few years. Others have continued to recruit for generations and have claimed interurban associations of thousands of youths. Gangs also have created and displayed group unity through clothes, symbols, language, and ritual. Illegal or antisocial behaviors have played important cultural roles in many gangs, whether this entails mere isolation from the social mainstream or an active commitment to violence, crime, or other antisocial behavior. Despite widely perceived threats and drastic responses, the studies consistently have shown that gang victims have been men similar in age and background to the perpetrators. Many victims have themselves been associated with gang activity.

The 1950s saw increasing portrayals of gangs in popular books and films such as *Blackboard Jungle* (1955), *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955), and *West Side Story* (1961). Often, these works combined messages about social and psychological concerns over the origin and treatment of delinquency with glamorization of young male rebel stars.

Gangs and Gang Culture Today

Older social and cultural patterns have persisted with gangs that formed among disenfranchised groups in the 1960s. Such groups include Cuban refugees and other Hispanics in Florida, Latinos from Texas to California, African Americans in inner cities, or new Asian immigrants. Despite labeling these youths as juvenile delinquents, analysts continue to recognize the cultural values of socialization, support, and masculine identity that come with gang membership. Associations of gangs that campaigned for civil rights or neighborhood security also challenged reductive visions of gangs that emphasized only violence and criminality, especially as opposition to the Vietnam War and demands for Latino rights brought widespread youth protest into the streets.

Since the late 1970s, the perception of gang violence as a widespread problem has reemerged as the multinational drug trade has become associated in the media and the popular culture with smuggling, drugs, and turf battles. Still, some scholars dispute the common association of gangs with drug dealers. Although many gang

members indeed have used and sold drugs, they have lacked the organizational expertise to control large-scale trafficking. Their crimes more often involve graffiti, vandalism, extortion, and theft. Meanwhile, media coverage of Los Angeles's predominantly African American Crips and Bloods has contributed to the public's image of large, organized gangs—whose members sport salient colors and symbols—spreading across the entire United States and the Western Hemisphere. It remains unclear, however, how many of these gang members have actually been allied with other gangs, or how effectively those who adopted a flashy, well-known “brand” name were actually organized only within Los Angeles.



Gang-related graffiti covers a neighborhood fence in South Central Los Angeles, an area synonymous in the media with street crime and gang culture. Graffiti is a means by which gangs declare their turf; music, clothing styles, and tattoos are other cultural markers. (Hector Mata/AFP/Getty Images)

Latino and Asian gangs have raised additional concerns because of their association with illegal immigration, smuggling, and criminal connections since the 1970s. Larger-scale organized crime, whether in Chinese Triads or Caribbean drug rings, has become conflated with local youth activities, while differences among immigrant communities have erupted in battles among Vietnamese, Cantonese, and Fujianese and among Mexicans, Central Americans, Cubans, and Colombians.

Connections between gang members in the United States and their country of origin underscore the significance of international gangs, including some who have taken American gangs, as seen in the mass media, as their models. Gangs and institutional responses to them have garnered attention in British cities, French *banlieues* (working-class suburbs), Latin American cities, post-communist Russia, South Africa, South Asia, East Asia, and Australia. Many of these share social and cultural attributes with American gangs—young, male, socially marginalized groups displaced by economic shifts or immigration. These gangs typically seem to be less driven by territorial imperatives and less violent than their American counterparts, especially in terms of access to advanced weaponry.

Gangs also have spread within the United States, among Native Americans, suburbanites, and poor, alienated whites, especially those in prison. Neo-Nazi fringe groups known as Skinheads and Stoners (for their shaved-head militaristic look and their involvement with drugs, respectively) have clashed frequently with ethnic and African American gangs.

Nevertheless, among bikers (a group of non-mainstream motorcyclists), who the media have long associated with gangs and who share a degree of marginalization, racialization, gender focus, and illicit aspects (not to mention

romanticization, as epitomized in the 1953 film *The Wild One* starring Marlon Brando), some aging associates have sought to maintain a position outside mainstream society while avoiding criminality, legitimizing the biker gang as a social association.

Women have been involved in mixed gangs for decades, and in all-female ones with vivid names like the Black Widows (1940s Los Angeles), Dagger Debs and Persian Queens (1960s New York), Five Percent Nation, Little Diablas, and Sex Girls. Still, women in gangs often act as girlfriends or allies rather than as independent agents, especially in the realm of violence. Names such as Little Diablas, Molls, and Queens evoke the dependence of many female gangs on their local male counterparts. Only 6 to 10 percent of gang members are female, although social interventions often have targeted them because of perceptions of vulnerability. Responses thus reflect gender distinctions in mainstream society.

The diffusion of gangs and gang style into areas beyond traditional zones of urban alienation underscores the impact of mass media images of gang cool. Gangs have been criticized in youth-oriented films such as *Boyz n the Hood* (1991), *Sugar Hill* (1994), the comedy *Friday* (1995), and *American History X* (1998). They are depicted as villains in incessant portrayals in television shows from *Miami Vice* to *Law and Order*, *Oz*, and, say some media critics and sociologists, even on the nightly news. Yet these same media also incorporate music, style, and images of masculine heroism that belie reform messages.

Music has become an especially important part of mediated gang culture and its dissemination, ever since rebellious images became associated with rock and roll. In the 1990s, gangsta rap, an offshoot of African American urban hip-hop, produced national stars including Ice-T, Dr. Dre, N.W.A., Wu-Tang Clan, Tupac Shakur, and Notorious B.I.G. The deaths of the last two stars, however, made clear the intersections of the music business and gang territory—East Coast versus West Coast—that underpinned a larger-than-life gangster lifestyle. Critics have attacked these musicians for their glorification of misogyny, racial difference, violence, and easy wealth. The sales of their recordings and their cultural influence indicate that gang imagery remains attractive for a wide range of American youth seeking identity.

The 2006 film *The Departed*, which borrows from the elaborate media culture surrounding youth gangs and male stardom in Hong Kong, won the Academy Award for Best Picture. It shares that accolade with such films as *West Side Story*, *The Godfather* (1972), *The Godfather II* (1974), and *Gangs of New York*. All of these films underscore how mainstream media perpetuates interest in the alternative lifestyle and culture of gangs.

Labeling gangs as countercultures cannot mitigate the human costs associated with gang violence, members' involvement with drugs, and crimes in terrified neighborhoods. Communities and governments, however, might profit from consideration of this perspective to modify their simplistic and unsuccessful strategies to eliminate gangs at any cost. National tracking, task forces, raids, and enforced imprisonment may unfairly profile minorities and even aggravate gang problems, given the activities of gangs behind bars. Experts recommend, instead, socially oriented projects that focus on early intervention with younger males and opportunities for older gang members such as employment and community integration.

Meanwhile, antigang strategies that prohibit individuals from engaging in illegal and legal activities in certain zones (civil gang injunctions, or CGI), treating gangs as street terrorists, raise wider civil liberties issues that resonate with the experience of other countercultural groups. Gangs as countercultural organizations and representations thus embody disillusionment with the ideal of American opportunity and enduring American countercultural images of masculinity, rebellion, and camaraderie.

Gary W. McDonogh

See also: [Biker Culture: Bowery B'hoys and G'hals](#): [Gangsta Rap: Hip-Hop: Los Angeles, California](#): [Mafia](#): [Prohibition](#).

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Gangsta Rap

Gangsta rap is a subgenre of hip-hop music that initially rose to popularity in the late 1980s. Throughout the late 1980s, several landmark gangsta rap artists avoided the positive demeanor or sociopolitical consciousness of popular hip-hop music to present a lyrically explicit, misogynistic, and cruelly violent panorama of inner-city turmoil. Gangsta rap lyrics often abandon messages of hope or racial uplift to embrace portrayals of violent criminal activity among young black men. As the subgenre amassed popularity in the early to mid-1990s, gangsta rap became a target for parents, politicians, and watchdog groups who worried about the potential effects of the music on impressionable children and teens. Most artists within the subgenre defended gangsta rap by framing it as a fictionalized caricature of inner-city life. Although the controversy over gangsta rap only served to boost sales for record labels, the subgenre faded in popularity after competition between the coasts finally erupted in the 1997 murders of two popular gangsta rap artists.

In the mid-1980s, hip-hop artists such as MC Schoolly D (Jesse Weaver), Ice-T (Tracy Marrow), and KRS-One (Lawrence Parker) established many of gangsta rap's conventions. These artists described inner-city violence, routine drug use, and rampant criminal activity on their respective albums. The subgenre was established in the public eye in 1988, when Southern California gangsta rap group N.W.A. (Niggaz With Attitude) released its first full-length LP, *Straight Outta Compton*. By early 1989, *Straight Outta Compton* had become the first album to reach platinum status (1 million copies sold) without marketing support. While earlier gangsta rap pioneers had established the contextual framework for N.W.A., the group's graphic depictions of violence and misogyny were unparalleled and immediately became a target of controversy. Because of its explicit content, *Straight Outta Compton* was instrumental in the creation of the parental advisory sticker by the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA). After the critical failure of the group's next recording, N.W.A. disbanded in the early 1990s.

Several California artists who worked to develop and popularize gangsta rap in the mid-to late 1980s peaked critically and commercially in the early 1990s. Ice-T, whose early music contained some of the first references to misogynistic hallmarks of the subgenre, released *O.G.: Original Gangster* in 1991, which was the most popular solo album of his career. Former N.W.A. member Ice Cube (O'Shea Jackson) released several sociopolitically conscious gangsta rap albums in the early 1990s to widespread critical and commercial acclaim. Because of the enormous success of artists such as Ice-T, Too \$hort, and the former members of N.W.A., many music critics

credit the West Coast for the birth of gangsta rap.

California's dominance of gangsta rap continued in 1992, as former N.W.A. member Dr. Dre (Andre Young) solidified the popularity of the subgenre with the overwhelming success of his first solo effort, *The Chronic*. That album, which introduced Dre's young protégé, Snoop Dogg (Calvin Broadus), also introduced gangsta rap to the mainstream. The enormous success of *The Chronic* led Dre's record label, Death Row Records (co-owned by Suge Knight), to an era of prosperity virtually unprecedented in the music industry. *The Chronic* is also credited with ushering in the so-called g-funk phase, which heavily sampled the music of George Clinton. Although this style was established and popularized by *The Chronic*, Snoop Dogg's 1993 solo effort, *Doggystyle*, also contributed to the success of g-funk. In 1995, popular California gangsta rap artist Tupac Shakur also signed with Death Row. His first recording with that label, *All Eyez on Me* (1996), was the first double album in the subgenre's short history; it reached platinum status during its first four hours of release.

Despite the West Coast's status as home to many of the subgenre's pioneers, like-minded artists on the East Coast began attempts to capitalize on the success of gangsta rap. Throughout the late 1980s and early 1990s, groups such as Memphis's Geto Boyz, Staten Island, New York's Wu-Tang Clan, and Cleveland's Bone Thugs-n-Harmony were greeted with formidable record sales and widespread acclaim. Instead of adhering to the g-funk style that was popularized by the Death Row label, many East Coast artists tried to apply gangsta rap conventions in new and exciting ways.

In the mid-1990s, Bad Boy Records emerged as the East Coast's first competitive equivalent to Death Row Records, thanks to the enormous success of artists such as Puff Daddy (Sean Combs) and Notorious B.I.G. (Christopher G. Wallace), popularly known as Biggie Smalls. Bad Boy sought to increase mainstream accessibility by sampling popular songs and releasing radio-friendly material without compromising explicit content. Unlike much of Death Row's popular-yet-explicit material, many Bad Boy recordings were designed with mainstream accessibility in mind.

Competition between the Death Row and Bad Boy labels fueled a rivalry between rappers from the East Coast and the West Coast for pop-chart dominance and street credibility. Throughout the mid-1990s, rappers from each coast would often insult rival MCs in public comments and musical references. Tension between the factions erupted in violence in 1997, and Wallace and Shakur were murdered by gunfire.

The deaths of Wallace and Shakur effectively ended the era of traditional gangsta rap's overwhelming popularity. After 1997, several independent Southern labels, such as No Limit and Cash Money, attempted to continue marketing traditional gangsta rap. Despite modestly impressive sales, the labels consistently failed to approach the previous critical and commercial success of Bad Boy or Death Row. The 1997 murders injected a harsh dose of reality into the subgenre, and mainstream artists started to release comparatively tame and radio-friendly material as a direct result.

Many contemporary rappers have abandoned the rampant violence and misogyny of traditional gangsta rap to focus on materialism or generic depictions of inner-city turmoil. In the early twenty-first century, successful new subgenres in mainstream hip-hop also abandoned controversial gangsta rap conventions to embrace radio-friendly accessibility.

Wesley French

See also: [Hip-Hop: Rap Music](#).

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Gangsters

Criminals and con men have a long and storied history in the United States, but the modern gangster as a counterculture icon did not come into being until the 1920s. Indeed, the gangster culture in America was born of a single event: the enactment of national Prohibition—the federal ban on the manufacture, sale, or transportation of alcoholic beverages—on January 16, 1920.

Within hours after the Eighteenth Amendment went into effect, gangsters in Chicago and other large cities robbed liquor supplies and hijacked delivery trucks. One month later, on February 19, 1920, the first government agents were arrested for corruption. By June 1920, it was estimated that doctors in Chicago alone had issued about 300,000 phony prescriptions for liquor; by summer 1920, the nation's courts were clogged with thousands of Prohibition cases.

It had become apparent almost immediately that most Americans were unwilling to obey the new liquor law and that many government officials were either unable or unwilling to enforce Prohibition honestly. Longtime criminals such as Arnold Rothstein and Al Capone quickly recognized the opportunity to build powerful criminal organizations and wasted no time consolidating their power. By the end of the 1920s, they had created one of America's most enduring symbols: the Prohibition-era gangster.

Historian David E. Ruth argues that the gangster became the “paragon of modern criminality” during the 1920s and 1930s. The subject of innumerable newspaper and magazine articles, novels, plays, and more than a hundred Hollywood films, the gangster was as much a product of the American imagination as he was of his own actions. By the end of Prohibition in December 1933, the gangster had become the archetypal American antihero. Ruth describes the gangster as energetic, confident, successful, a model of stylish consumption, and a rebel, not only against the law, but also against established behavioral codes. The gangster, he wrote, was “resolutely urban, a product of the city and an enthusiastic participant in its culture.” The embodiment of the gangster was Al Capone, whom the Chicago Crime Commission named “Public Enemy Number One” in April 1930, but there were many other gangsters in nearly every city in the United States.

Gangsters and gang culture proliferated during Prohibition. In cities across the country, gangs and thugs who had once been limited to vice and violent crime, or worked as enforcers for local political machines, were transformed into socially and economically powerful figures who often controlled corrupt law enforcement officials and politicians. In Detroit, the Jewish Purple Gang, which had once been limited to robbery and murder for hire, became one of the most powerful organized-crime syndicates by taking control of smuggling liquor into the United States from Canada. Similar criminal organizations formed in other large cities, such as New York, Boston, Philadelphia, and Cleveland.

Gang culture during the 1920s revolved around an extensive network of crime syndicates. Prohibition-era gangsters ran their operations as if they were legitimate corporations, employing accountants, salesmen, guards,

enforcers, and drivers. One contemporary magazine heralded Capone as the John D. Rockefeller of the underworld, because he, like the oil-company magnate, understood the imperative of the modern economy: organize or perish.

Prohibition made Capone a powerful businessman and a media sensation, and “Scarface Al,” as he was called, made Chicago the center of the criminal underworld. Capone and his partners had taken over a number of illegal operations in and around the city by the mid-1920s, including nightclubs, whorehouses, gambling joints, and the highly lucrative brewing and bootlegging industry. Alva Johnston, a reporter for *The New Yorker*, wrote that in Chicago, “Beer has lifted the gangster from a local leader of roughs and gunmen to a great executive controlling a big interstate and international organization.” Johnston characterized Al Capone as the “greatest gang leader in history,” and Chicago as the “imperial city of the gang world.”

For most Americans, Capone and the gangsters he represented were little more than cultural inventions. Most people encountered them only through the pages of newspapers, magazines, and books, or on movie screens. Capone, perhaps more than any other gangster, understood this, and he worked to cultivate his public image through press conferences, interviews with reporters, and his own theatrically staged lifestyle. Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, Capone’s business prowess, lavish living, and vicious gangland slayings became the subject of numerous pulp novels (short, inexpensive picture books sold on newsstands), as well as the focus of longer books and Hollywood films. In March 1930, thirteen months after Chicago’s brutal St. Valentine’s Day Massacre—during which seven people were murdered as part of a conflict between Capone’s South Side gang and Bugs Moran’s North Side Irish and German gang—Capone’s smiling face appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine.

Along with business prowess and violent criminality, stylish consumption defined the Prohibition-era gangster. Americans had entered a new age of consumerism, driven by advances in technology and production, and a burgeoning advertising industry. Gangsters, like other Americans, increasingly measured their success by the things they owned. Clothes, automobiles, homes, offices, and lavish social lives became powerful symbols of their personal abilities, hard work, good fortune, and ruthlessness in dealing with competitors. After violently climbing his way to the top of the Chicago underworld, Capone managed to get his fingers into nearly every major business transaction in and around Chicago. By 1928, he was earning \$105 million a year. He rode in the back of a \$30,000, bulletproof limo, wore an eleven-carat diamond ring, owned a \$500,000 Florida estate, a yacht, and hundreds of fine suits. Capone and the rest of the gangsters, like many of the era’s film stars, became models of consumption for eager readers and moviegoers.

Al Capone’s meteoric rise to international infamy ended almost as quickly as it began. He was found guilty of tax evasion and went to prison in October 1931. He spent the last year of his sentence, which had been reduced to six years and five months for a combination of good behavior and work credits, being treated for syphilis in the hospital section at Alcatraz Prison in San Francisco Bay. He was released from prison in November 1939 and taken to a hospital in Baltimore, where he was treated until March 1940. He spent his remaining years in deteriorating health at his Palm Island estate in Miami. Capone died on January 25, 1947, but the image he helped create remains a quintessential aspect of American culture.

The Prohibition-era gangster became the model for succeeding generations of mobsters, hit men, cons, criminals, and Mafia bosses, as well as the journalists, authors, and filmmakers who tell their stories and invent their fictionalized versions. Remnants of Al Capone and other gangsters from the 1920s and 1930s pervade contemporary American popular culture, whether in films such as *The Godfather* (1972) and its sequels, television series such as *The Sopranos* (1999–2007), or the real-life exploits of crime bosses such as New York’s John Gotti.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Mafia: Prohibition.](#)

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Garrison, William Lloyd (1805–1879)

William Lloyd Garrison was a leading figure in the American abolition movement and ultimately one of the most vilified men in antebellum America, both north and south of the Mason-Dixon Line. He initially advocated a moderate antislavery position, but as the founder and editor of the abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator* beginning in 1831 and as a cofounder of the American Anti-Slavery Society two years later, he became perhaps the most visible and outspoken member of the radical wing of the abolitionist movement. The vehemence of his proclamations—including a declaration that the U.S. Constitution was “a covenant with death and an agreement with Hell” for allowing slavery—alienated much of mainstream society even in his native New England.

Garrison was born on December 10, 1805, in Newburyport, Massachusetts. His father and older brother abandoned the family when Garrison was young, leaving him in the care of his very religious mother and extended family. At the end of 1818, after several failed attempts at finding a vocation, thirteen-year-old Garrison became a printer's apprentice at the *Newburyport Herald*. By spring 1828, he had mastered the printer's trade and became the editor of two local papers, *The Free Press* and *National Philanthropist*. He also had met the Quaker abolitionist Benjamin Lundy, who introduced him to the emerging counterculture that was the American antislavery movement.

By the end of the 1820s, abolitionists, primarily in New England and the mid-Atlantic states, were well on their way to forming a complex organizational network rooted in local and regional churches, social clubs, and newspapers. Lundy, a harness maker and printer who had been traveling the country denouncing the evil of slaveholding, hired Garrison, who moved to Baltimore in the summer of 1829, where he briefly co-edited Lundy's weekly, *Genius of Universal Emancipation*.

After touring Washington, D.C., Philadelphia, and New England in search of much-needed funds and support for the antislavery cause, Garrison returned to Boston and at the end of 1830 began work on *The Liberator*. With the help of Isaac Knapp, he published the first issue of *The Liberator* on January 1, 1831. The paper remained in continuous publication until the end of the Civil War and was nationally known for its unyielding demands for the “immediate and complete emancipation of all slaves.”

In his writing and his speeches, Garrison frequently invoked the Bible and the Declaration of Independence to argue for the immediate abolition of slavery and equal rights for African Americans. In addition to editing *The Liberator*, he devoted much of his time in 1831 and 1832 to discrediting the American Colonization Society, an organization that favored gradualism and African American expatriation, as racist and elitist.

In December 1833, a group of abolitionists met in Philadelphia and formed the American Anti-Slavery Society (AAS). Garrison, who had helped establish the New England Anti-Slavery Society the previous year, wrote the

new group's declaration of sentiments. By 1838, the AAS had thirty-eight agents in the field and approximately 1,400 local auxiliary organizations. Members had circulated 600,000 pamphlets and forwarded 400,000 petitions with nearly a million signatures to Congress protesting the gag rule (a measure adopted in the U.S. Congress in 1836 to bar debate of the slavery issue), the annexation of Texas, and the continuation of slavery and the slave trade in the nation's capital.

As the abolition movement gained momentum and incurred increasingly hostile opposition, Garrison became more radical in his thinking. In 1839 and 1840, the AAS experienced a schism over the issues of religious perfectionism, political action, and the participation of women in the movement. The opposition to Garrison, led by the more moderate Lewis Tappan, broke away from the AAS and formed the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society. Garrison emerged from the controversy as the most widely recognized and, in many cases, most angrily criticized leader of the faction that favored moral suasion and the equal participation of women in the movement over restrictive social traditions and political expediency.

In May 1844, Garrison convinced the AAS to adopt the slogan "No union with slaveholders!" After years of debate, agitation, and conflict, Garrison had come to regard party politics, voting, even the U.S. Constitution as proslavery. He urged readers of *The Liberator* and abolitionists everywhere not to participate in America's corrupt political system until emancipation and full equality for African Americans had been realized.

The war with Mexico from 1846 to 1848, the admission of California to the Union in 1850, the Compromise of 1850, the violence of Bleeding Kansas in the mid-1850s, the Dred Scott decision in 1857 extending legal slavery into the territories, and John Brown's raid on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), in 1859 all transformed slavery into a sectional crisis, but Garrison did not waver in his convictions or his efforts to wage a national campaign. In 1851, he split with the prominent black abolitionist Frederick Douglass primarily over the issue of political participation, and in 1854, in the wake of the Anthony Burns case (in which an escaped slave from Virginia was captured in Boston and ordered by a judge to be returned to his owners), Garrison burned a copy of the new Fugitive Slave Law and the Constitution in front of a crowd of 3,000 cheering spectators.

Although Garrison remained critical of President Abraham Lincoln and the Republicans for not moving fast enough to end the "peculiar institution," he supported various wartime measures designed to liberate slaves.

He published the last issue of *The Liberator* in December 1865, following ratification of the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery. Thereafter, he championed such other reform movements as temperance, women's rights, and radical pacifism. He died on May 24, 1879.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Abolitionism: Quakers.](#)

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Garvey, Marcus (1887–1940)

The pioneering black nationalist Marcus Garvey initiated the largest mass movement of blacks in world history, primarily during the 1920s. Convinced that unity was the only way to improve the harsh working conditions and substandard living conditions of blacks around the world, Garvey founded the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in his native Jamaica in 1914. Adopting the motto “One God! One Aim! One Destiny!” the association sought to unite “all the people of African ancestry of the world into one great body to establish a country and Government absolutely their own.” Garvey thus became a leading proponent of the Back to Africa movement, encouraging African Americans to return to their ancestral or native homeland. His message of racial pride and his vision of an African homeland resonated with blacks in Jamaica, the United States, and many other countries. Although the peak period of Garvey’s movement lasted only ten years, he had millions of followers in three continents.

Marcus Mosiah (“Marcus”) Garvey was born on August 17, 1887, in St. Ann’s Bay, Jamaica. His father was a stonemason who was reputed to have descended from Maroons, runaway slaves who escaped from plantations in the West Indies and elsewhere in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Garvey’s father was known in the community for his private library and his love of reading, a trait manifested in the younger Garvey’s affinity for books and learning.

Garvey left school at age fourteen to become a printer’s apprentice in Kingston, where he developed an interest in public speaking. After a failed printers’ strike in 1908, Garvey, who had been one of the strike leaders, was blacklisted and unable to find work in his trade. Like many other Jamaicans at the time, he spent the next several years traveling around the Caribbean and Central America working at a variety of jobs. In 1912, he went to London for the first time, where he wrote articles for the *Africa Times and Orient Review*, a publication edited by black Egyptian Dusé Mohamed Ali. While in London, he became interested in the marginalization of blacks in both the United States and Europe. He was profoundly affected by black educator Booker T. Washington’s autobiography *Up From Slavery* (1901), in which he chronicled his life as a slave, his upward mobility through the West Virginia salt mines, and his establishment of the Tuskegee Institute (now Tuskegee University) in Alabama as an occupational-training school for blacks.

Returning to Jamaica, Garvey established the UNIA on August 1, 1914. Seeking to broaden his international base of support, he traveled to New York City in March 1916 and spent the next year and a half traveling throughout the United States, visiting thirty-eight states to spread his message of black unity.

In August 1918, he began publishing the *Negro World*, which quickly became one of the leading black American newspapers, with a circulation of at least 50,000. In 1919 and 1920, the UNIA grew rapidly in American cities with significant black populations, including Boston, Chicago, New York City, Washington, D.C., and others. The migration of thousands of Southern blacks to Northern cities between 1916 and 1918 in search of work, the disillusionment of black American soldiers over their treatment during World War I, and the wave of race riots that struck the United States during the summer of 1919 all contributed to the warm reception in the African American community for Garvey’s message of black pride and power. In 1920, the UNIA held its first international convention

in New York City, attracting several thousand black delegates from the United States and other countries. This impressive show of organizational strength brought the UNIA and Garvey to the attention of the mainstream white press for the first time.

In 1919, Garvey launched the Black Star Steamship Line, a company created to provide transportation to blacks wishing to return home to Africa. The venture proved to be a financial disaster for several reasons. The UNIA did not keep detailed records of its operating expenses, its leaders were inexperienced in running a steamship line, and the ships in the fleet were old and outdated. Operation of the line was suspended in 1922, and Garvey was arrested for mail fraud in the sale of Black Star stock. He was found guilty at trial in 1923 and appealed the verdict, which was upheld in 1925 by the United States Circuit Court of Appeals. President Calvin Coolidge commuted Garvey's sentence in 1927, whereupon he was released from prison and deported to Jamaica.



Black nationalist Marcus Garvey (seated at rear, plumed hat) inspired a mass movement in the 1920s with his rhetoric of racial pride and self-reliance. His call for the unification of all black people through the establishment of an African homeland struck a chord. (Michael Ochs Archives/Stringer/Getty Images)

Back in his homeland, Garvey attempted to revitalize the UNIA and held the Sixth International Convention of the Negro Peoples of the World in Kingston in 1929. He campaigned for a seat in the Jamaican legislature in 1930 but was defeated. The UNIA and the Garvey movement declined rapidly in the early 1930s. Garvey organized several more conferences in Kingston and Toronto, but attendance was only a small percentage of what it had been during the UNIA's peak years.

In 1935, the UNIA's headquarters was moved to London. Garvey was living there when he suffered a stroke in January 1940. He died on June 10 of that year, at the age of fifty-two.

Paul Kauppila

See also: [Rastafari Movement: Universal Negro Improvement Association.](#)

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Gay Liberation Movement

Gay liberation refers to one strand of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) politics that emerged in the late 1960s. It was characterized by confrontational politics, a refusal of mainstream sexual and political values, belief in the universality of same-sex desire, the adoption of alternative gender and sexual arrangements, and the shedding of secrecy associated with same-sex sexual acts and sexual identities by “coming out.” Informed by the homophile movement, the civil rights movement, and the student-led New Left movement, gay liberation in the 1960s and early 1970s espoused a radical political stance and decried the sexist, racist, and homophobic politics of mainstream America.

Antecedents

The homophile movement, which preceded and enabled gay liberation, emerged after World War II as a result of the growth of gay identity and gay communities and the persecution of gays and lesbians by federal, state, and local governments. In an expansion of antihomosexual policies, federal and state governments and the military purged gays and lesbians from their ranks and excluded them from federal benefits such as the GI Bill.

Gays and lesbians were regularly harassed by police when congregating in public, and homosexual conduct was criminalized under antisodomy and obscenity codes. Affirmative representations of homosexuality, as a result, were excluded from the public sphere. The absence of penalties for discrimination based on sexuality and informal cultural policing, which included harassment and physical assaults, created oppression in public and private and isolated individuals who engaged in or desired same-sex sexual activity.

These repressive contexts, which continued well beyond the 1950s, promoted a shared sense of oppression and the belief among some gays and lesbians that they deserved better treatment. The Mattachine Foundation (later the Mattachine Society), begun in 1950 in Los Angeles, and the Daughters of Bilitis, a lesbian organization formed in San Francisco in 1955, marked the beginning of the homophile movement, which sought to promote self-esteem, equal rights, and group consciousness among gay men and women. Homophiles also sought to end the secrecy and isolation associated with gay and lesbian life by publishing gay journals, by organizing protests and social events, by offering counseling and medical referrals, and through political advocacy. Homophile efforts enabled many gays and lesbians to find each other, forge an identity, and establish a community, while seeking integration into mainstream society. Many homophile leaders promoted a political culture of respectability when engaging in protest and advocated a gradual and reformist politics.

By the early 1960s, a new militancy infused parts of the homophile movement. For example, gay rights activist Franklin Kameny, who led the Washington, D.C., chapter of the Mattachine Society, adopted rhetoric from the civil rights and Black Power movements to advocate for social equality. Kameny and others were frustrated with the cautiousness of the homophiles and sought more immediate changes based on the premise that homosexuality was equal to heterosexuality.

Stonewall

The 1969 Stonewall riots were both a historical event and a political narrative that inaugurated gay liberation and helped gays and lesbians imagine themselves as oppressed but also as capable of collective public resistance. The Stonewall Inn, a dive bar on Christopher Street in the heart of Greenwich Village and the gay ghetto in New York City, served a mixed clientele of gay and lesbian youth, transvestites or “street queens,” and working-class youth. Operating without a liquor license and thought to have ties with organized crime, the bar was an especially inviting target for police. Raids on gay bars routinely saw the arrest and physical intimidation of those who were cross-dressing, were under age, or at all resisted the police. Following raids, newspapers would sometimes announce the names and addresses of those arrested, humiliating them in front of friends, coworkers, and families who may not have known about their sexual identities or orientations.

On Friday, June 27, 1969, shortly before midnight, plainclothes detectives raided the Stonewall Inn. Stonewall patrons and those who gathered on Christopher Street did not react fearfully, but defiantly, pelting the detectives with beer cans, bottles, coins, and cobblestones ripped from the street. The detectives retreated inside the building, and the angry crowd laid siege and tried to burn the bar to the ground. When the riot squad arrived to disperse the crowd, many drag queens, gays, lesbians, and other patrons fought back. Rioting continued through the weekend.

News of Stonewall spread quickly and became laden with symbolism. Although there were other moments of collective defiance, such as the 1966 Compton Cafeteria riot in San Francisco, Stonewall has come to serve as a foundational political narrative for gay liberation. Marches and parades have been organized annually to commemorate the Stonewall riots and have emphasized the central trope of post-Stonewall activism: public visibility and proud acceptance of sexually variant identities.

Gay Liberation Front and Gay Activist Alliance

Within weeks of the Stonewall riots, gay men and lesbians in New York had formed the Gay Liberation Front (GLF), a self-described radical organization named after the National Liberation Front of South Vietnam. GLF drew members and inspiration from the New Left, a radical sociopolitical movement comprised primarily of college students, but at the same time were frustrated with leftist homophobia and sexism.

GLF member Martha Shelley highlighted these tensions when she wrote the following in her 1970 manifesto, “Gay Is Good”:

“Look out, straights. Here comes the Gay Liberation Front, springing up like warts all over the bland face of Amerika, causing shudders of indigestion in the delicately balanced bowels of the movement.... ?We’re gonna make our own revolution because we’re sick of revolutionary posters which depict straight he-man types and earth mothers, with guns and babies. We’re sick of the Panthers lumping us together with the capitalists in their term of universal contempt—faggot.... We gays are separate from you—we are alien.”

GLF also attracted many members from the homophile movement who were excited by a more active, open, and militant movement and who were frustrated with the homophile movement, which GLF members castigated for being timid and assimilationist. In order to make their existence known and to attract new members, gay liberationists staged their own demonstrations and supported New Left political protests as a means of spreading their message. They also attracted media attention by publicly confronting political candidates and protesting negative representations of gays and lesbians in the media.

From the New Left, GLF borrowed a highly effective political language about identity and oppression, which they modified to describe a liberationist politics for gays and lesbians. GLF members spoke of resisting genocide, called for a revolution against “imperial Amerika,” and understood gay oppression as being connected with other forms of social injustice such as racism and sexism. Rather than asserting a stable gay identity, gay liberationists claimed that all people were capable of loving members of the same or opposite sex and sought to break down the social barriers that they believed prohibited others from actualizing their sexual potential.

Likewise, gay liberation marked a rejection of mainstream values and the establishment of new cultural values. As gay liberationist Carl Wittman wrote in "A Gay Manifesto" in 1969, "Liberation for gay people is defining for ourselves how and with whom we live, instead of measuring our relationship in comparison to straight ones, with straight values." Notably, the central trope of gay liberation was the idea of coming out. Gay liberationists predicated their activism and ideology on shedding self-hatred and promoting a visible gay identity. Because becoming visible put into jeopardy their family, job, and friendships, many participants in gay liberation became profoundly invested in the political success of the movement.

Even as GLF chapters proliferated, gay liberation groups negotiated internal divisions along political and identity-based lines. In 1970, GLF-inspired groups formed in a number of other locations in the United States including Chicago, Lawrence (Kansas), Los Angeles, and Philadelphia. Like the New York GLF, these groups espoused a countercultural ethic and solidarity with an array of progressive causes. The Lawrence GLF, for example, proclaimed its identification with "other oppressed brothers and sisters of Amerika and the Third World to struggle against the nightmare and create one world of people living together." Philadelphia's GLF was multiracial and helped organize the Radicalesbians.

Although the GLF empowered gays and lesbians to be agents for social change and encouraged them to liberate their consciousness by developing "homosexual ethics and esthetics independent of, and without reference to, the mores imposed upon heterosexuality," New York's GLF was internally divided in its goals, politics, and identity. To accommodate social and political differences, GLF subdivided into cells such as Street Transvestite Action Revolutionaries (STAR), Third World Gay Revolution (TWGR), and Radicalesbians, all begun in 1970.

STAR was founded by Marsha P. Johnson and Sylvia Rivera to advocate on behalf of homeless straight, gay, and transgender youth. TWGR was founded by Asian, African American, and Latino activists who challenged homophobia and male supremacy among revolutionaries of color and advocated for "the right of self-determination for all third world and gay people" by resisting the "totalitarian, authoritarian, sex-controlled, repressive, irrational, reactionary, fascist government or government machine."

Radicalesbians combined feminist and lesbian politics, and they played a pivotal role in confronting antigay prejudice within the women's rights movement and sexism within gay liberation. Like gay male liberationists, Radicalesbians minimized the importance of sexuality to lesbian identity and emphasized the commonalities between lesbians and heterosexual women by describing lesbianism as "a political choice"; in their 1970 manifesto, "The Woman-Identified Woman," they defined a lesbian as "the rage of all women condensed to the point of explosion." Their protest against homophobia within women's liberation at the Second Congress to Unite Women in May 1970 saw Radicalesbian members take the stage while wearing T-shirts bearing the phrase "lavender menace" and passing out copies of "The Woman-Identified Woman." Radicalesbians' activism and ideology presaged a lesbian-separatist politics that flourished in the 1970s, which saw the creation of alternative cultural institutions and women-only spaces that were separate from gay male and heterosexual society.

New York GLF's radical ethos, internal divisions, and broad politics frustrated some of its members, who decided to found a gay organization that was reform oriented and united around the single goal of gay rights. In December 1969, members of the GLF formed the Gay Activist Alliance (GAA). The alliance had a formal organizational structure and followed parliamentary procedure as laid out in *Robert's Rules of Order* to make decisions and run their meetings. GAA sought to mobilize a broad constituency of gay men and women. They chose issues that would attract media attention and yield general support, such as the passage of antidiscrimination laws, inclusion in the mainstream press, and attention and accountability from politicians. GAA, in effect, incorporated the confrontational style of the New Left and the reformist and rights-based goals of the homophile movement in their effort to end "all oppression of homosexuals" by implementing and maintaining "social and political rights which are guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States and the Bill of Rights."

Like GLF, other gay liberation groups faced internal divisions, divided priorities, and competing interests over what cultural traits, attitudes, and sexual practices were authentic and which were the results of oppression and societal factors; whether gays and lesbians should identify first and foremost or even exclusively with their sexuality; and

how demands for sexual difference should accommodate claims of sexual and social equality. By 1971, New York's GLF had disbanded, and many other gay liberation groups dissolved over the next three years. Despite its lack of longevity, the GLF provided a model for a confrontational and anti-assimilationist gay politics.

Legacies

Gay liberation's radical aspirations and emphasis on gay consciousness and countercultural values continued through the 1970s and beyond. Subsequent struggles over gay rights brought ongoing debates within the gay community about the meanings of social and cultural equality and the value of countercultural identities.

These debates played out in 1977 during the anti-gay rights backlash in Dade County, Florida, led by the conservative coalition Save Our Children. The liberal gay organization Dade County Coalition for Human Rights (DCCHR) and the radical gay group Miami Victory Campaign (MVC) sought to retain a civil rights law that prohibited discrimination based on sexual or affectional preference. DCCHR espoused a liberal-oriented and middle-class politics of respectability; MVC espoused sexual and human liberation, linked gay oppression to the oppression of all people, and believed that it was essential to unapologetically project "what is positive and joyful in the same-sex experience."

Since the 1970s, other groups have worked within some of gay liberation's legacies and have refused both mainstream straight and assimilationist gay values. The Radical Fairies, a rural queer collective founded by Harry Hay in 1980, urged members to reject urban gay male commodity culture and "throw off the ugly green frogskin of hetero-imitation to find the shining Faerie prince underneath." In the 1990s, Queer Nation and AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power (ACT UP) espoused a militant, confrontational politics of visibility to address AIDS, gay violence, government apathy, and right-wing homophobia.

ACT UP was founded in 1987 by Larry Kramer and other New York-based activists to protest the government's and pharmaceutical companies' roles in making the treatment of persons living with AIDS financially prohibitive and inhumane. Members of ACT UP founded the activist organization Queer Nation in 1990. Using direct-action protests such as publicly displaying queer sexuality and holding media-savvy protests, Queer Nation protested violence against queer people and discriminatory media representations of LGBT people.

In 2006, Beyond Marriage, a group of LGBT and queer activists and academics held a two-day workshop and issued a statement that criticized those who explicitly supported gay marriage while ignoring wider social-justice issues including poverty and racism. Beyond Marriage argued that the "LGBT movement should reinforce the idea that marriage should be one of many avenues through which households, families, partners, and kinship relationships can gain access to the support of a caring civil society."

These groups all operated within a tradition of creating alternative sexual values, while struggling for an inclusive form of social justice that linked sexual liberation to freedom from racial, economic, and gender oppression.

Gillian Frank

See also: [Daughters of Bilitis](#); [Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [Mattachine Society](#).

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Gaye, Marvin (1939–1984)

Marvin Gaye was a singer and songwriter of soul and R&B music who rose to fame in the 1960s with recordings of love songs on the Motown Records label. He expanded his themes in the 1970s to include urban decay, race, war, and ecology. His album *What's Going On* (1971) was part of the popular soundtrack to the political counterculture of the 1970s.

He was born Marvin Pentz Gay, Jr., in Washington, D.C., on April 2, 1939, the son of an evangelical preacher. After a brief stint in the U.S. Air Force, he began singing in doo-wop groups in the late 1950s. His first solo recording, *The Soulful Moods of Marvin Gaye* (1961), was also one of the Motown label's first releases. Between July 1962 and June 1971, Gaye had a total of twenty-two Top Ten R&B singles (including nine number ones) and fourteen Top Ten pop singles. He was the leading male artist at Motown during the 1960s, with such hit recordings as "Ain't No Mountain High Enough" (1967), with frequent duet partner Tammi Terrell, and the solo "I Heard It Through the Grapevine" (1968).

His popularity gave Gaye credibility with the American people that allowed him to tackle difficult social issues. With no end to the Vietnam War in sight and the nation's rebellious spirit deflated by the oratory of the Richard M. Nixon administration, the youth of America looked to popular music for answers and insight into difficult social questions. In 1971, after Terrell's death from brain cancer and with American society in turmoil, Gaye forged a radically new direction in his music. He wrote and produced songs of his own and released them on his album *What's Going On* to offer hope.

The concept of the album was both simple and complex. Anyone could understand its central message—love—but listeners had to find love in depictions of the most ugly, violent, and angry situations of modern society. The album was an inside look at the destitution in American ghettos, the frustration of the war in Vietnam, and the destruction of the natural environment. With the authenticity and earnestness of Bob Dylan and the musical flair of the Beatles, Gaye had written and recorded an album that became an icon of the counterculture and of the social conscience of the American people. *What's Going On* encouraged the youth of America to continue fighting for the values they believed in. "Brother, brother," Gaye sang in the title track, "everybody thinks we're wrong,/but who are they to judge us,/simply'cause our hair is long."

What's Going On went to number one on the R&B album charts and number six on the pop charts. The title track went to number one on the R&B singles charts and number two on the pop singles charts. Another thematic song on the album, "Inner City Blues (Make Me Wanna Holler)," speaks critically on issues of social justice such as the ghettoization of African Americans. It, too, was a number one R&B single; it also was a number nine pop single. And "Mercy, Mercy Me (The Ecology)," about the lack of awareness of environmental issues, charted number one on the R&B singles charts and number four on the pop singles charts.

Gaye explained his connection to the counterculture thus: "They were smoking weed and dropping acid, and I went along with them. I loved the hippies. They were rebels, like me, and they did this country a world of good. They finally stopped a terribly unjust war. They looked at the status quo and called it bullshit and they were right."

Gaye's career was plagued by personal and financial challenges. By the mid-1970s, divorced and addicted to cocaine, he attempted suicide. He made a musical comeback in 1982 with the album *Midnight Love*, which includes the runaway hit single "Sexual Healing," and returned to stage performance the following year. After a further bout with depression, however, he moved in to his parents' house, where he reportedly had frequent arguments with his father. Marvin Gaye died on April 1, 1984, a day short of his forty-fifth birthday, of gunshot wounds at the hands of his father.

Stephen Gennaro

See also: [Hippies](#).

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Generation Gap

The term *generation gap* refers to the differences in social and cultural values (opinions, moral principles, tastes and styles, standards of behavior, and political leanings) between generations, generally parents and children. The resulting conflicts contribute to the development of counterculture movements as one generation (usually the children, but occasionally the parents as well) seek to define themselves by exploiting the growing divide with another generation. Not without strong precedent, the term became prominent in the Western media during the social and cultural upheavals of the 1960s, when the values of postwar baby boomers came into stark conflict with those of their parents' generation (referred to as "the establishment").

The concept of a generation gap, if not the specific term, gained currency in America during the early twentieth century, as the social and political upheavals of World War I influenced the perspective of the generation that had come of age during the war. In the 1920s, for instance, the increasingly relaxed social mores of affluent young people contrasted sharply with those of their parents and grandparents. Young women cut their hair shorter, wore shorter skirts (often provoking confrontations with decency laws that regulated clothing length and style), and

chose to smoke cigarettes, creating the image of the flapper who flouted traditional social and sexual standards for young women. The illicit production of liquor during the Prohibition years and the jazz clubs and speakeasies that flourished because of Prohibition also illustrated the changing cultural standards favored by the younger generation. These actions served as symbolic representations of a desire to rebel against the constricting fashions and values of previous generations and to create a new definition for their generation.

The jazz and illicit alcohol of the 1920s eventually gave way to a different generation gap in the 1940s and 1950s. The social mobility and opportunities afforded by World War II brought many adolescents out of the home and away from their parents for the first time, whether in the armed forces or on the home front. Several teen countercultures developed in the unsupervised atmosphere of World War II and the immediate postwar years, including swing dance clubs and motorcycle gangs, and adolescents scandalized adults with their increasingly liberal social and sexual behaviors. By the 1950s, new forms of intergenerational rebellion included “mods,” “rockers,” and the artist-influenced Beat Generation (or beatniks) with their drug counterculture. Moreover, the 1950s helped create and solidify the identity of the teenager as part of a counterculture devoted to furthering and expanding the generation gap.

The cultural shifts of the 1960s produced a more marked generation gap, between baby boomers—the generation that began with children born in the twenty years following World War II—and their parents. A combination of high-conflict social, political, and cultural factors helped to produce this divide, including the civil rights movement, the Vietnam War and the draft, the women’s rights movement, the growth of the hippie counterculture, and other, smaller counterculture movements. The teenagers of the 1960s rejected the materialism, conformity, and conservatism that they regarded as the hallmarks of their parents’ generation. Jerry Rubin’s famous phrase “Don’t trust anyone over thirty” was teenagers’ rallying cry, a declaration of the perceived divide between themselves and the older generation. Their parents, in contrast, denounced the younger generation as the product of overly lax parenting standards and the “long-haired” social and political radicalism that had influenced their children. Just as the social and cultural changes of the 1960s lasted well past the end of the decade, the repercussions of the 1960s generation gap did much to define the baby boom generation as one with a collective identity distinctly different from that of their parents.

The development of new computer and communication technologies from the 1980s through the end of the twentieth century and beyond has created a more recent generation gap. The children who grew up using computers have contributed to the creation of a new counterculture centered on the Internet and its social-networking sites, a realm that their less computer-savvy parents often have difficulty understanding. The new forms of social interaction, such as those provided by social-networking Web sites like MySpace.com and Facebook.com, have pushed the boundaries of parental supervision.

Nevertheless, as in previous generations, this new generation gap illustrates the younger generation’s attempt to create a new or revised definition of self separate from the standards and cultural values of their parents’ and grandparents’ generations. The repercussions of this new generation gap have yet to be fully recognized, but the counterculture movements it is likely to produce will play a defining role in the intergenerational relationships of the twenty-first century.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Baby Boomers](#): [Beat Generation](#): [Flappers and Flapper Culture](#): [Internet](#): [Jazz](#): [Prohibition](#).

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Generation X

Although its precise demographic boundaries are debated, Generation X is typically used to identify the mainly American generation born between the early 1960s and the early 1980s. Members of Generation X, often shortened to Gen X, are typically children of the baby boomers, the generation born in the years following World War II. Generation X had a sweeping influence on American popular culture during the 1980s and 1990s. Iconic members of Generation X include rock musicians Kurt Cobain, Courtney Love, and Eddie Vedder, filmmaker Cameron Crowe, and writer and activist Janeane Garofalo.

The origins of the term *Generation X* are uncertain, but may date back to the 1960s. The term became prominent in popular culture and public consciousness after the 1991 publication of Douglas Coupland's novel *Generation X: Tales for an Accelerated Culture*. In the popular media stereotype, Gen Xers were upper-middle-class "slackers," overeducated and undermotivated, clad in flannel and with multiple body piercings, and generally discontent with the prospect of employment in corporate America. Not all Gen Xers fit the stereotype, but the culture and politics associated with the group were permeated by a sense of malaise and dissatisfaction with society at large.

Although Generation X has been characterized as apathetic and directionless, its discontent was not dissimilar to the feelings of other generations during their coming-of-age years. Indeed, Gen Xers have been compared to members of the Lost Generation of the 1920s, whose general disillusionment following World War I has been mythologized in the imagery of the flapper and speakeasy. Though different in tone and image, members of Generation X shared a sense of disillusionment and rebelliousness with the Lost Generation.

As in the cases of the Lost Generation, baby boomers, and other generations of the twentieth century, music played an important role in defining the character of Generation X, especially as perceived by the public. Grunge music, a hybrid of classic rock and roll, punk rock, and heavy metal, epitomized the angst of Generation X. Much of the grunge-music world was centered in Seattle, Washington, where artists such as Mother Love Bone, Soundgarden, Pearl Jam, Alice in Chains, Mudhoney, and Nirvana created distinctive sounds that moved away from the synthesized pop and glam rock of the 1980s. Around the nation, the Woodstock'94 rock concert in Saugerties, New York, and annual festivals such as Lollapalooza brought millions of Gen Xers together in the 1990s to celebrate their music, politics, and culture, fusing social classes, regions, and diverse musical tastes from grunge to hip-hop.

Kurt Cobain, the lead singer and songwriter of the band Nirvana, became the leading icon of the generation, albeit reluctantly, and he was mourned by Gen Xers following his death by suicide in 1994. Through his bleary, abstract lyrics, Cobain expressed the feelings of millions of young Americans contemplating confusion, anger, and a loss of purpose in an increasingly corporatized world. Lines from the hit song "Smells Like Teen Spirit" captured the essence of Generation X's feelings, as Cobain challenged authority and the older generations: "here we are now/entertain us." Cobain also made the prescient comment that Generation X was becoming an important demographic to both the corporate and political worlds, and deserved attention.

While Generation X consciously sought to rebel against the authority and legacies of the baby boomers, the generations shared many interests, including political activism, particular music, and a general awareness of social issues. In the 1992 presidential campaign, Democratic nominee Bill Clinton actively courted Gen X voters, while MTV (Music Television) pushed a large voter registration campaign focusing on young people throughout the 1990s. Woodstock'94 also tied Generation X to the baby boomers, with artists from the boomers' August 1969 Woodstock music festival, including Joe Cocker, the Band, Santana, and Crosby, Stills and Nash, sharing in the

festivities. Like the activists of the 1960s, moreover, Generation Xers would become active in a variety of progressive campaigns, from environmentalism to antiglobalization criticism of the World Trade Organization and free trade.

Members of Generation X experienced vast changes in technology during their lifetime; they were, among other things, the first generation to utilize personal computers on a daily basis. Other technological innovations welcomed by Generation X included videocassette recorders (VCRs), handheld audio devices such as Sony's Walkman, and compact discs. Most Gen Xers embraced the new technology-centered culture, and a number created Internet start-up companies in the 1990s, driving an economic boom—and a stock market bubble that burst—in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

The influence of Generation X in popular culture began to dissipate in the late 1990s and early 2000s as Gen Xers graduated from college, entered the work-force, got married, and started families. Most members of Generation X have moved beyond the discontent of their youth and contribute to society through their work and community activism. Their children, Generation Y, the first to grow up with little or no knowledge of life before the personal computer and the Internet, are often called the New Silent Generation, and they face the impending challenges of an uncertain future.

Eric J. Morgan

See also: [Baby Boomers](#); [Generation Y](#); [Grunge Rock](#); [Internet](#); [Lost Generation](#).

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Generation Y

Generation Y is the primarily American age cohort born from about 1981 until about 1994. (As with any generational demarcation, the specific span of years associated with Generation Y is a matter of some debate.) Generation Y is known by many names that reflect its members' historical placement, interests, attitudes, and lifestyles: Y Gen, Millennium Generation, New Silent Generation, Net Generation, Reagan Babies, Hip-Hop Generation, Echo Boomers, iGeneration, the Second Baby Boom, D.A.R.E. (Drug Abuse Resistance Education) Generation, Google Generation, MySpace Generation, MyPod Generation (a fusion of MySpace and iPod), Generation Next, Grand Theft Auto Generation, Nintendo Generation, Halo Generation, Boomerang Generation, Me Generation, and the Cynical Generation. As of 2008, the youngest members of Generation Y were about fourteen years old, the oldest nearing thirty.

Author Douglas Coupland is credited with coining the term *Generation X* in his 1991 novel *Generation X: Tales for*

an Accelerated Culture and initiating the alphabetic designation of age groups. The term *Generation Y* first appeared in an August 1993 editorial in *Advertising Age*, the ad industry's major trade publication.

Whereas baby boomers had experienced the impact of the Vietnam War, the rise of rock music, and the threat of nuclear war, their first-born children— otherwise known as Generation X, or those Americans born between the early 1960s and the early 1980s— witnessed the rise of awareness of HIV/AIDS, the first Gulf War, personal computers, and corporate downsizing. Members of Generation Y, like their older Gen X siblings or Gen X parents (depending upon age demarcations), were raised in a mass-mediated world yet differentiated by a number of historical events and social trends—the spread of cell phones, the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks, and increasing awareness of the global environmental crisis. The oldest individuals of the Generation Y group were in high school during the 1999 Columbine High School massacre in Colorado and similar incidents elsewhere.

As a market force of more than 70 million, Generation Y rivals the baby boomers and represents significant economic clout. Depending on when they were born and family dynamics, Generation Ys may be closer to their parents than their older brothers and sisters, who as teenagers were busy rebelling. The Net Gens are most numerous in North America, but the group also is recognizable in Pacific Rim countries and in Europe, places where consumerism and mass production are high priorities.

Generally, this is an educated, privileged, confident, globally oriented group. The counterculture of this group is often pejoratively associated with a drive to shop and to spend inordinate amounts of money, much of it charged on credit cards marketed to them since grade school. A fickle group, it has forced manufacturers and retailers to rethink not only the products they make but also how they sell them. The spending power of this group exceeds \$275 billion annually. Coolness, ironic humor, and indirect selling are key advertising appeals.

Gen Ys stand apart from members of previous generations in several important ways. For one, Echo Boomers are racially and ethnically more diverse: one in three are not white. Also, one in four live in single-parent households. Most are immersed in technology and multiple media as early as preschool. Yet, they are savvy consumers, fickle, and less impressed with celebrities. This cohort has rejected many of the traditional high-end brands embraced by their parents and older siblings. The fashion cycle spins at an unprecedented rate, with the Internet driving their dollars. Unlike their baggy-pants-clad siblings dressed for skate-and surfboarding, Gen Ys wear clothes that fit and shoes unsuited for board sports, such as massive Steve Madden platforms. No longer are the brands of choice Nike, Gap, and Converse. Instead, Mudd, Paris Blues, In Vitro, and Cement are the must-haves of this generation. With numbers large enough to break a brand, a preference shift on the part of Gen Y could be disastrous for a company. They are suspicious of advertising and not impressed with celebrity endorsers. The soft drink Sprite found this out with its successful celebrity-spoofing ad campaign, which sported the tagline "Image is nothing. Obey your thirst." Other favorite brands include Apple and its iPod and iPhone, Vans, American Eagle Outfitters, Axe, Baby Phat, YouTube, Facebook, Google, Hollister, MTV (Music Television), MySpace, and Second Life.

As the first members of this cohort move up the job ladder, they do not carry the slacker label of Gen X, but their style is casual. They are often seen in flip-flops with iPods firmly attached to their heads. And, having seen many workaholic parents, this generation does not want to be defined by work but wants work to be a fulfilling experience.

Gen Ys are a "question-authority" group that is not afraid to challenge the status quo. While Gen X rebelled against materialism, paternalism, and authority, Gen Ys are into activism, as evidenced by their involvement in the Battle of Seattle of 1999 (against World Trade Organization policies) and demonstrations for animal rights. Comedy Central's satirical *Daily Show* is a primary political news source for them.

These media multitaskers are pure digital age. The MyPod Generation have spent their entire lives surrounded by technology, fully immersed in a digital, Internet-driven world. They are accustomed to everything happening fast— information, travel, and satisfaction of desires. Thus, learning, shopping, creating, and even working routinely take place digitally. Easily bored, many members of the Boomerang Generation move back home with their parents for

a period of time after college. They grew up protected—some say spoiled—having lived during some of the best economic times in U.S. history. Their opinions flow freely, as they expect to be allowed to say and ask about anything they like. This suggests not only a high level of confidence but also creativity in terms of expressing opinions about ideas, change, and progress.

Their ambition is to make money and do so right away. Whereas the heroes of Generation X were rebels such as Kurt Cobain, members of this generation look up to successful, young businesspeople, especially the ones who got rich fast in technology fields, and go for the glamour of the gender-bending metrosexual.

Generation Y also has been witness to the HIV/AIDS global epidemic. They are aware of the health risks associated with unprotected sex. Yet, they have a relatively casual attitude toward sex and relationships, as indicated by their expression “friends with benefits.” Gen Y has redefined intimacy in seeing oral sex as less emotionally significant than do older cohorts. In a 2002 study, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention found that more than half of Americans age fifteen to nineteen had experienced oral sex. In a world that struggles against the AIDS epidemic, some feel this is a safe alternative to other sexual activity. Others worry about this generation’s future ability to feel emotional closeness and commitment to long-term relationships. Whereas Gen Xers explored gender identity and bisexuality, Gen Ys are more inclusive of interracial and interethnic relationships.

As the Millennium Generation moves forward in the twenty-first century, the question remains whether this largest teen generation in history will remain mired in marketing. Or, will they rise up with strength and resolve to confront global social and economic issues following their initiation into adulthood, marked for many of them by the terrorist attacks on the United States of September 11, 2001.

Debra Merskin

See also: [Anti-Globalization Movement](#); [Baby Boomers](#); [Generation X](#); [Hip-Hop](#); [Internet](#).

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Ghost Dance

The Ghost Dance consisted of a religious movement and associated rituals that originated among Native Americans of the Far West in the 1870s and became prominent among Plains Indians in the 1880s and 1890s. Expressed in divergent teachings and activities among the various native peoples and tribes who took part, the Ghost Dance expressed a common yearning for a return to the peace, health, and natural abundance that had prevailed before the arrival of European settlers. Participants believed in the imminent return of dead relatives, the buffalo, and their native lands and resources.

As symbolized by the circle dance for which it was named, the Ghost Dance movement was an expression of cultural unity, spiritual wholeness, and collective defense against racism and oppression at the hands of whites. Adherents believed that if they performed the ceremony fully and completely, the settlers would leave. At its height, approximately thirty-five tribes with a combined population of 60,000 participated in the movement.



The Ghost Dance was a religious movement among Western and Plains Indians in the late nineteenth century. It expressed a fervent longing for the return of the dead, of native lands, and of tribal life before white subjugation. (Library of Congress)

The Ghost Dance reached its peak in the late 1880s, under the leadership and according to the teachings of a Walker River (Nevada) Paiute prophet called Wovoka. Referred to by whites as Jack Wilson (the name given by his adoptive, white father), Wovoka was trained as a shaman, and he had a vision during a solar eclipse on New Year's Day, 1889. Upon recovering from this experience, Wovoka declared that he had received a message from God and began to teach divine lessons for renewing the native world.

Calling for nonviolence, prayer, chanting, and dance, Wovoka's revelation promised that the dead would return to life, that the earth would be regenerated with all its resources, and that Native Americans would be free of disease and suffering. If the ceremonies were performed properly, European Americans and all of their influences would disappear from Indian lands.

An earlier but less commonly known Ghost Dance movement began during the early 1870s and was adopted by the native peoples of the Great Basin and California regions. Both movements originated among the Paiute people of Nevada, spread to other Native American nations, and required participants to cleanse and purify themselves in ceremonies that included long periods of prayer, song, and dance.

The California practitioners of the Ghost Dance were especially concerned with the hundreds of thousands of new

American settlers, prospectors, and vigilantes who, spurred by the Gold Rush, poured into and raided their territories from the 1840s to the 1860s. Numerous California tribes—including the Karok, Patwin, and Wintu in the northern portion of the state; the Maidu, Miwok, and Pomo in the central region; and the Yokuts of the Central Valley and foothills areas—recognized that white settlers regarded them as nothing more than obstacles to the “development” of their land. By the early 1870s, many native peoples in the region readily embraced the Ghost Dance. By the end of that decade, when the movement had proven ineffective, a number of the tribes gave up the Ghost Dance for the Earth Lodge, Bole-Maru, or Big Head religions, some of which endure into the twenty-first century.

The gold rushes of the late 1800s and the waves of migration to the West Coast began a process in the Great Plains similar to what had occurred in California and the Great Basin in previous decades. By the 1880s, the United States was implementing a national policy of cultural transformation for all Native Americans, while completing its military conquest of the last tribal resisters. Children were being sent away to Indian boarding schools for education and cultural training according to white European norms. During this time, traditional cultural practices, such as dances and healing ceremonies, were outlawed. Native Americans not residing on reservations were considered renegades, hunted down, and relocated to reservation land at gunpoint by the U.S. military.

The Ghost Dance movement of the 1880s, even more so than its predecessor in the Far West, reflected an active sharing of cultural practices among native peoples as a means of collective resistance to white oppression. The promises of the dance inspired traditional enemies—the Utes, Cheyenne, and Shawnee, for example—to join together. The Ghost Dance thus was an expression of unity among Plains tribes and a rejection of European assumptions that the native peoples were destined to be defeated, that such a defeat would be a function of their cultural and racial inferiority, and that their religious and cultural practices were somehow barbaric.

The Ghost Dance was especially attractive to the Lakota Sioux, many of whom refused to concede victory and despised the imposed reservation lifestyle. Taking up the rituals of the Ghost Dance, however, represented blatant resistance to the religious and cultural restrictions imposed by federal authorities. More importantly, the movement raised fears among many American settlers and military leaders that it would spark an uprising.

When the Lakota began making and wearing “Ghost Shirts,” which they believed protected them from the white man’s bullets, white settlers in the area panicked. Federal authorities quickly dispatched troops to capture Lakota leaders. This action resulted in the death of Chief Sitting Bull during his attempted arrest in December 1890.

Two weeks later, U.S. cavalry rounded up dispersed members of the Lakota tribe, brought them to an encampment at Wounded Knee Creek in South Dakota, and ended up killing nearly 200 men, women, and children in what a U.S. general later acknowledged was a “massacre.” More than 100 other Lakota fled the scene and died of exposure. The Wounded Knee Massacre marked the end of widespread practice of the Ghost Dance.

Natchee Blu Barnd

See also: [Native Americans](#).

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Ginsberg, Allen (1926–1997)

The Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, whose groundbreaking long poem *Howl* (1956) blamed materialist mainstream culture for destroying “the best minds of my generation,” emerged with that work as major voice of the American literary and social counterculture of the 1950s and 1960s—indeed as the leader of a vital new direction in American verse. Called the most recognized American poet of the twentieth century, he was a seminal figure in the postwar San Francisco Renaissance and, with his raw, nonconformist style and subject matter, a seminal figure of the Beat Generation of writers. His rage against mainstream American conformism, embrace of drug use and a “new consciousness,” and direct involvement in the anti–Vietnam War movement also made him a central figure in the 1960s hippie counterculture.



Poetic rage against the materialism and conformity of postwar America established Allen Ginsberg as a key figure in the Beat Generation. His embrace of drugs, a “new consciousness,” and antiwar politics also put him at the center of the 1960s counterculture. (Jim Johnson/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Irwin Allen Ginsberg was born on June 3, 1926, in Newark, New Jersey, to Louis and Naomi Ginsberg. He grew up in nearby Paterson with his brother, Eugene. His father was a schoolteacher and an accomplished poet whose works appeared in such publications as *The New York Times Magazine*. His mother suffered from mental illness and epileptic seizures. Ginsberg’s parents were of Russian Jewish ancestry with ties to the Communist Party USA. He often wrote of his mother’s mental plight in verse, including in the long autobiographical poem “Kaddish for Naomi Ginsberg” (1961). Institutionalized and lobotomized, Naomi died in an asylum in 1956.

Ginsberg began to read poetry seriously while in high school and would later claim as major influences William Blake, Walt Whitman, Ezra Pound, T.S. Eliot, and his mentor, William Carlos Williams. After graduating from high school, Ginsberg briefly entered Montclair State College in New Jersey, then Columbia University in New York on a scholarship.

It was in 1943 at Columbia that Ginsberg met fellow undergraduate Lucien Carr, with whom he fell “madly in love.”

Carr introduced Ginsberg to fellow writers Jack Kerouac, William S. Burroughs, and John Clellon Holmes; all of them would become key figures in the Beat movement. Ginsberg developed his writing skills as a contributor to the literary magazine *Columbia Review* and the humor magazine *Jester*.

In 1944, after Carr was sentenced to prison for the stabbing death of an acquaintance, Ginsberg underwent psychiatric counseling and was suspended from Columbia for one year. In 1948, while still an undergraduate, he had what he called his “Blake vision”—an auditory hallucination of the poet William Blake reading his work—which he later regarded as a pivotal moment in his life, a revelation of truth and the universe.

After graduating from Columbia in 1949 with a bachelor's degree in English, Ginsberg worked briefly for *Newsweek* magazine as a market-research consultant in New York and San Francisco. In San Francisco, he found a room near Lawrence Ferlinghetti's bookstore City Lights. On October 7, 1955, at the Six Gallery poetry reading, Ginsberg gave the first public reading of *Howl*. That event came to be celebrated as the birth of the Beat movement. According to poet Michael McClure, who was in attendance that night, the recitation “left us standing in wonder, or cheering and wondering, but knowing at the deepest level that a barrier had been broken, that a human voice and body had been hurled against the harsh wall of America.”

Upon the death of his mother the following year, Ginsberg embarked on a series of travels around the world, to such places as India, Cuba, and Czechoslovakia. He traveled with Peter Orlovsky, whom he had met in San Francisco and who became his lifelong partner. Ginsberg wrote prolifically and lectured extensively during the course of his travels, producing such works as *Kaddish and Other Poems* (1961), *Reality Sandwiches* (1963), and *Planet News* (1968). In 1972, he won the National Book Award for *The Fall of America*.

Ginsberg was also actively involved in the antiwar movement, dedicated to the promotion of Buddhism in America, an ardent supporter of ecological issues, and a champion of gay rights. He continued to publish poems throughout his career and to live a robust life of activism against conservative government policies; he spoke openly of his affinity for leftist political ideology and drug use.

He taught for many years at Brooklyn College in New York and was honored with a Guggenheim Fellowship and grants from the National Endowment for the Arts. In 1993, he was named *Chevalier dans l'Ordre des Arts et des Lettres* (Knight of the Order of Arts and Letters) by the French minister of culture. Ginsberg died on April 5, 1997, of liver cancer.

Hettie V. Williams

See also: [Beat Generation](#); [Burroughs, William S.](#); [City Lights Books](#); [Ferlinghetti, Lawrence](#); [Kerouac, Jack](#).

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Glam rock (short for “glamour” rock), or glitter rock, was one of several musical genres that thrived in the 1970s in the United States and the United Kingdom and other areas of Western Europe. Glam is generally recognized as a British phenomenon, although North America clearly made an important, and often overlooked, contribution. While a highly commercial phenomenon in England—where it played itself out in the cultural imagination of the taste-making television show *Top of the Pops*—glam was more of a subcultural phenomenon in the United States, where, as a predominantly white experience, it took second stage to its equally showy African American counterpart, funk.

Glam’s peak period in both the United Kingdom and the United States began about 1970 and gave way to disco and punk around 1976. The genre was self-consciously spectacular and characterized by a more or less satirical performance of “rock stardom,” or what the cultural theorist Dick Hebdige calls “albino camp”—in which exaggerated clothing, objectification of sexual conquests and prowess, carnivalesque stage performances, blatant foregrounding of gender transgression, and larger-than-life lyrics were primary indicators. Self-display was a going concern for glam performers, who embraced pomp and performed in glittery ensembles, exaggerated tailoring and hairstyles, excessive makeup, boas, sequins, and styles inflected with fetish overtones—from Gary Glitter’s outsized “greaser” hairdo and gold lamé jackets to KISS’s comic-book superhero appeal and Alice Cooper’s ghoulish, B-horror-movie persona.

In addition to Cooper and KISS, American performers working in the glam idiom included the puckish Iggy Pop, the sinister Lou Reed, proto-rocker-chick Suzie Quatro, the ill-starred prodigy Jobriath, the campy and barely-in-the-closet Queen, and the cross-dressing New York Dolls. Even the apple-pie, Mormon family band the Osmonds put out a glam-inspired album in 1972, the surprisingly meaty *Crazy Horses*. Among the most tenacious relics of the phenomenon is David Bowie’s character, Ziggy Stardust, from the quintessential glam album *The Rise and Fall of Ziggy Stardust and the Spiders from Mars* (1972).

The cult film *Rocky Horror Picture Show*, released in the United States in 1975, ties together the most glaring glam themes of sexual libertinism, camp, self-transformation, trashy cultural references, megalomania, space aliens, and intergalactic travel. Most poignantly, it foregrounds issues of gender and sexuality, glam preoccupations, in the character of the lead transvestite, Dr. Frank-N-Furter. Bowie, who was popular in the United States, and the New York Dolls, who frequently hopped gender fences in stage costuming, were pioneers in putting issues of nonnormative sexuality and gender performance into popular music.

While glam rock remains one of the least documented musical styles in the United States, it was highly influential on later North American and other Western regional styles, particularly disco, punk, goth, and, most notably, heavy metal of the 1980s and early 1990s, which clearly inherited the hubris, kitsch, and gender blurring of the earlier style. A revival of sorts arose in the twenty-first century, with the retro-glam sensibility of performers such as Marilyn Manson, Suede, and the Canadian band Robin Black and the Intergalactic Rock Stars.

A number of other films referencing glam also have helped capture the essence of the period, including Todd Haynes’s *Velvet Goldmine* (1998) and John Cameron Mitchell’s instant cult classic *Hedwig and the Angry Inch* (2001), which documents the rise and fall of a transgendered glam-punk rock star.

Julia Pine

See also: [Bowie, David](#); [Pop, Iggy](#); [Reed, Lou](#); [Rocky Horror Picture Show](#), [The](#).

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Goldman, Emma (1869–1940)

As perhaps the most notorious anarchist in American history, Emma Goldman influenced and alarmed a wide array of late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Americans, ranging from Leon Czolgosz, who assassinated President William McKinley in 1901, to members of the federal government who feared the presence of her ideas enough to press for her deportation.

Although Goldman sympathized with the actions of Czolgosz and Alexander Berkman, who attempted to assassinate Henry Clay Frick, a management leader in the Homestead, Pennsylvania, steel strike of 1892, her brand of anarchism did not advocate violence. Rather, drawing on the teachings of the Russian revolutionist Pyotr Kropotkin, Goldman championed a paradigm of voluntary cooperation between individuals outside the authority of centralized forces such as the state and church. Goldman believed that these forces controlled naturally free individuals through economic exploitation and popular notions of morality that promoted unequal gender roles and materialism. In published writings and public speeches, Goldman dismissed the efficacy of traditional political avenues such as voting in achieving social change, tied centralization to the oppression of women, and promoted free love and birth control. Her controversial ideas and fiery rhetoric drew many followers, but more often captured the fearful attention of mainstream Americans and government officials.



Despite her inflammatory speeches and writings, anarchist Emma Goldman repudiated violence. Advocating peaceful cooperation among individuals under a communist system, she was deported by the U.S. government in 1919. (Library of Congress)

Born in Kovno, Lithuania, on June 27, 1869, Goldman immigrated to Rochester, New York, in 1886. She soon moved to New York City and, while working in clothing factories there, began to participate in local anarchist circles and forged an intimate friendship with Berkman, an anarchist, who was shortly thereafter sentenced to twenty-two years in prison for attempting to assassinate Frick.

Goldman, too, maintained an adversarial relationship with authorities during these years. In 1893, for example, she was arrested on charges of inciting a riot for criticizing the government in her speeches and served one year in prison. Following her release from prison, she embarked on a lecture tour across Europe. She returned to Europe in 1899 to study medicine, but anarchism continued to captivate her interest and monopolize her time. Cognizant of her inability to focus on medicine, benefactors withdrew their financial support and Goldman resumed her life as an American anarchist activist.

Upon her return to the United States in 1906, Goldman focused her efforts on producing and maintaining the periodical *Mother Earth*, which provided anarchists with a medium of public activism. But supporting *Mother Earth* while championing the causes of anarchism and birth control proved to be an arduous endeavor. Lecturing virtually nonstop, she had little time for rest. Forced to work within the American capitalist system, Goldman raised funds by charging attendance fees for the lectures she delivered throughout the country and by convincing comrades to provide both financial support and manpower. These actions, as well as dealing with frequent criticism from fellow anarchists for focusing on middle-class audiences, made Goldman frequently exhausted.

Although she was unpopular with law enforcement authorities and most of American society, Goldman brought the radical community unparalleled success in attracting followers. Rapid industrialization had forever changed the makeup of American life, and many sought radical solutions in the battle to combat its negative effects, such as growing socioeconomic inequality. Socialist Eugene V. Debs received nearly 1 million votes for president in 1912, and the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a nationwide syndicalist labor union, led a number of strikes among chiefly “unskilled” workers that drew national attention. Working from this backdrop, Goldman garnered support from many individuals seeking radical change.

The entry of the United States into World War I, however, led to a more inauspicious situation for radicals. Congress passed the Espionage Act in 1917, which regulated wartime dissent, and many Americans adopted a brand of patriotism that has been characterized as super-patriotic hysteria. In Thetford Township, Michigan, for instance, local residents tarred and feathered a man for purchasing only \$1,500 worth of Liberty Bonds, instead of the \$3,000 worth expected of a man of his wealth.

While Goldman was not tarred and feathered, she did suffer as a result of patriotic sentiment and federal law. After she denounced America’s entry into the war, branding it an imperialist conflict, the federal government charged her and Berkman with attempting to obstruct the draft and subvert the war effort. Upon conviction, both served two years in prison and were ordered to pay a \$10,000 fine.

Imprisonment was a relatively familiar predicament for the two radicals. Berkman had served fourteen years in prison for his assassination attempt on Frick. Goldman had been incarcerated in 1916 for allegedly disseminating birth control information—a violation of the Comstock Law, which declared it illegal to spread “obscene” material.

In 1919, after serving her two-year term, Goldman was deported by federal authorities to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, where the Bolshevik Revolution had installed a communist regime. While at first she showed enthusiasm for the new Soviet government, Goldman later voiced criticism of Bolshevik repression, and she left for Great Britain in 1921.

During the following years, Goldman directed a propaganda campaign to combat fascism in the Spanish Civil War, lectured in Canada, and, in 1934, was permitted to reenter the United States on a speaking tour under the stipulation that she would refrain from discussing political topics.

The America to which she returned was largely devoid of the anarchist fervor she had helped to engender during the first two decades of the twentieth century.

Emma Goldman died in Toronto, Canada, on May 14, 1940. Federal authorities allowed her body to be returned to the United States for burial.

Mark Robbins

See also: [Anarchism](#); [Berkman, Alexander](#); [Industrial Workers of the World](#).

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Gonzales, Rodolfo "Corky" (1928–2005)

The charismatic political activist and poet Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales was a founder and leader of the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and 1970s. He was active in the Mexican community of his native Denver in the period leading up to that social and cultural awakening, and his efforts on behalf of the sociopolitical organizations Crusade for Justice (CFJ) and La Raza Unida Party helped spread the movement nationwide.

Gonzales was born in Denver on June 18, 1928. In his twenties and early thirties he was a champion boxer from the barrio, a bar owner, and a bail bondsman. He passionately embraced the new wave of activism he saw in the younger generation of Mexican Americans as they began to call themselves "Chicanos."

At first actively involved in the Democratic Party—he helped run the Viva Kennedy campaign for presidential contender John F. Kennedy in 1960—Gonzalez became increasingly disillusioned with the party, as he observed little change taking place in America under its stewardship. In 1965, therefore, he founded the CFJ, which focused on transforming Chicano life in Denver by starting schools, organizing Chicano-friendly community activities, and encouraging Chicanos to become actively involved in their neighborhoods. It was his first step toward a national Chicano political agenda independent of the two dominant parties.

As a leader devoted to the plight of Mexican Americans, Gonzales recognized the inherent divisions within his community. In 1967, he wrote “I Am Joaquin” (*Yo Soy Joaquin*), an epic poem of Chicano history and experience in the United States. The poem spoke to Chicanos of their “conflicted” psyches—neither wholly Mexican, because of a history of conquest through land grants and treaties, nor truly American, because of a history of oppression on U.S. soil. While it was composed almost entirely in English, the poem incorporates historical allusions, Spanish terms, and indigenous words and phrases to evoke the fragmented history of *la raza*. (*La raza*, which literally means “the race” or “the people,” also signifies the common ancestry and traditions of the Chicano community.)

Mexican Americans identified with the poem on many levels, including the question of what to call themselves: Mejjicano, Latino, or Chicano, for example. During its circulation in English, Spanish, and multilingual versions, “I Am Joaquin” inspired Chicanos and other immigrants to explore how language shapes identity and paved the way for future countercultural alliances. Cultural historians have credited Gonzalez with defining what it means to be Chicano in full historical and cultural context.

In the years after composing “I Am Joaquin,” Gonzales worked to mobilize Chicanos politically. In March 1969, he organized the Chicano Youth Liberation Conference, the first large-scale gathering of Chicano youth. More than 1,000 Chicanos convened in Denver in an attempt to outline their common social and political objectives, with cultural identity being central to their mission. Meetings featured poetry, song, dance, theater, and other expressions of Chicano identity and culture. In discussions, Chicanos argued that assimilation into Anglo culture was counter to preserving and defending their Aztec and Mexican heritage, and they claimed an identity rooted in their native land of Aztlán—territory that Mexico surrendered to the United States in 1848. The conference caught the attention of the national media and of the federal government, which monitored the activists of the Chicano Movement through the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI).

Gonzales and other leaders believed that Chicanos needed their own political party to directly represent their interests, since neither the Democrats nor the Republicans had leaders who adequately represented their community. To this end, La Raza Unida Party was founded in Crystal City, Texas, in 1969; it spread quickly. Along with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), La Raza Unida fought to challenge local policies and prejudices that kept Mexican Americans from voting. A key victory in Bexar County, Texas, in 1972, provided the spark and precedent they had been seeking to realize change on a larger scale. The numbers of registered voters of Mexican American heritage increased significantly in the years that followed.

Internal disagreements among constituents and leadership, as well as increasing pressure from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) and FBI, affected the trajectory of Gonzales’s political projects. By 1972, CFJ was a prime target of the FBI, and clashes with the police became routine. By 1974, La Raza Unida Party had almost completely dissolved, and by the 1980s CFJ was declining in influence. As central political organizations of the Chicano Movement, however, both left their marks. Mexican Americans had achieved representation at all levels of government, had successfully challenged long-standing racial prejudices and practices, and had made their heritage a matter of pride rather than shame.

Much of this success was credited to Corky Gonzalez. He died of liver and heart disease on April 12, 2005, in Denver.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Chicano Movement](#); [Democratic Party](#); [Latino and Latina Culture](#).

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Gonzo Journalism

Gonzo journalism is the self-described rhetorical style employed by author Hunter S. Thompson in such writings as *Hell's Angels* (1966), *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (1971), and *Fear and Loathing: On the Campaign Trail* (1973), among other writings. According to Thompson, gonzo journalism is written in the moment, describes the instantaneous effect of an event in a literary photograph of impressions and images, and is relayed directly to the reader with no revision. Gonzo journalism is reminiscent in tone and philosophy of Jack Kerouac's literary style, called "spontaneous prose." Thompson's style evolved, however, to encompass a literary journalism that blends elements of fact with fantasy in an often-illuminating mixture. The loose interplay of fact and fiction in gonzo journalism actively works to debunk the objectivity stressed in more traditional journalistic forms, exposing the relativity of perception and experience.

Although pioneering in his efforts, Thompson was not alone in his endeavor to subvert dominant journalistic paradigms with fiction and subjectivity. He was working within a genre of journalism that emerged in the mid-1960s with the works of writers such as Tom Wolfe (*The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, 1968), Truman Capote (*In Cold Blood*, 1966), Gay Talese (*The Kingdom and the Power*, 1969), and Norman Mailer (*Armies of the Night*, 1968). These nonfiction novels, representative of the so-called New Journalism or literary journalism, typically go beyond the scope of traditional reporting by giving the story an arc and narrative.

One of the primary differences between Thompson's gonzo journalism and other forms of New Journalism is that the former focuses reflexively on the narrator as much as it does on its ostensible subject. In his writings over the years, Thompson created a literary alter ego in the person of Raoul Duke, a drug-crazed self-described "Doctor of Journalism." Although Duke generally is an absurd reflection of Thompson, at times the distinction between the author and the protagonist disappears entirely.

Thompson's public image gave him the freedom to expand fancifully on the events that he reported on, highlighting his own participation as a critical component of the story. The cultural impact of Thompson's style was such that the term *gonzo* quickly made its way into the cultural lexicon, even appearing in the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED).

Both gonzo journalism and Thompson have been immortalized in the films *Where the Buffalo Roam* (1980) and *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* (1998). Gonzo journalism itself is frequently referenced in pop culture—examples include the Uncle Duke character in Garry Trudeau's widely syndicated comic strip, *Doonesbury*, and actor Scott Bakula's role as gonzo journalist Peter Hunt on the television series *Murphy Brown* (1988–1998).

According to the OED, the term originated in Thompson's articles "The Kentucky Derby Is Decadent and Depraved" (*Scanlan's Monthly*, June 1970) and "Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas" (*Rolling Stone*, November 1971). Although the etymology of *gonzo* is unknown, its use in this context is credited to Bill Cardoso, then editor of the *Boston Globe*, who read the piece in *Scanlan's Monthly* and, reportedly, sent Thompson a letter complimenting his style, calling it "totally gonzo." Over the years, the word has evolved to imply wildness, looseness with fact and fiction, and biting satire.

Thompson's loose attitude toward fact and fiction has left critics, scholars, and librarians alike in a quandary about

how to classify his work. Despite these difficulties, *Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas* stands as the high point of gonzo journalism, marking Thompson as an important figure in the search for American identity and elevating gonzo journalism to a legitimate literary style—eventually inspiring other journalists, who work in the genre today. Among those cited as latter-day practitioners are *Rolling Stone* columnist Matt Taibbi, political and boxing writer Tom “Bunky” Luffman, and political commentator Alan Cabal.

Jeffrey Sartain

See also: [Doonesbury](#): [Hells Angels](#): [Kerouac, Jack](#): [Merry Pranksters](#).

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Gorton, Samuel (ca. 1592–1677)

Samuel Gorton was a New England heretic and colonist and the founder of the Gortonites, whose eccentric religious views led him to found his own settlement in Rhode Island in 1632.

Born in Gorton, Lancashire, in about 1592, Samuel Gorton had abandoned belief in a literal hell and heaven by the age of thirty and adopted a belief in universal redemption. He rejected the established clergy, believing that each man should be his own priest.

Gorton arrived in Massachusetts in 1637, but he found Boston—then at the height of the Antinomian Controversy that banished independent religious thinker Anne Hutchinson—uncongenial. He moved to Plymouth, where the private religious meetings he held attracted suspicion from the authorities. Expelled from Plymouth in 1638, Gorton and his wife, Mary, went to Aquidneck Island in Narragansett Bay, where, after a political dispute with the community's ruler, William Coddington, Gorton again found himself banished, this time after a public flogging.

From Aquidneck, Gorton and his family made their way to the refuge of New England heretics, Roger Williams's colony of Providence. Gorton agreed with Williams's rejection of religious coercion, although Williams was gravely suspicious of Gorton's theology. In Providence, Gorton attracted so many followers that there seemed a danger of dividing the colony between Williams's disciples and Gorton's. Some of the former, themselves refugees from the ministers and magistrates of Massachusetts, invoked the aid of the Bostonians against Gorton.

In 1643, Gorton and his disciples settled in Shawomet, outside the Massachusetts jurisdiction, on land they claimed to have purchased from local Narragansett Indians. Tribal leaders who disagreed with the sale appealed to authorities in Boston, who sent soldiers to seize Gorton and his followers.

Brought back to Boston, Gorton and the Gortonists were tried and condemned by the General Court of Massachusetts, and they narrowly avoided the death penalty. Gorton openly attacked the ministerial oligarchy of the Massachusetts Bay Colony as gilded hypocrites whose religious profession covered greed and arrogance.

Thereafter, Gorton and his disciples were scattered to different towns in Massachusetts, where they attracted sympathy from some residents. Eventually, the Massachusetts authorities expelled Gorton and his followers from the colony entirely.

After a short stay in Rhode Island, Gorton made his way through New York to England in 1645. There, he published *Simplicities Defence against Seven-Headed Policy* (1646), an attack on the Massachusetts authorities, and *An Incorruptible Key Composed of the CX Psalme* (1647). Despite the opposition of Massachusetts envoy Edward Winslow, Gorton secured the approval of the Earl of Warwick's governmental Committee on Foreign Plantations for the inclusion of Shawomet (renamed Warwick) in Rhode Island. He returned to Rhode Island in 1648, becoming one of the leaders of the colony and serving as its president in 1651.

Gorton published two more books, both in London: *Saltmarsh Returned from the Dead* (1655) and *An Antidote Against the Common Plague of the World* (1657). He also offered sanctuary to Quaker missionaries, although he disagreed with their doctrine. He died in Warwick in late 1677.

William E. Burns

See also: [Antinomianism](#); [Hutchinson, Anne](#).

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Goth Culture

Originally a part of the punk movement, goth culture developed a distinctive character by the late 1970s. The term *gothic* was originally applied in a disparaging sense to a number of bands in the post-punk music scene, particularly Bauhaus, the Sisters of Mercy, the Fields of the Nephilim, and the Mission, that were heavily

influenced by Edgar Allan Poe and other horror writing. At first applied to individual bands, the term came to be applied to an entire musical movement. Meanwhile, it began to be used by band members themselves in a defiantly positive sense.

The goth movement developed a distinctive fashion style as well, strong on contrasts of black and white with silver highlights for jewelry and often incorporating religious symbols such as crosses. Many members of the goth movement favored ruffles and lace in styles hearkening back to the eighteenth century. White foundation makeup and black eyeliner were also common, creating an unhealthy-looking pallor. Hairstyles varied from close-cropped to long and flowing, but hair generally was dyed black. These factors worked together to give goths an androgynous, unsettling appearance that critics have compared to that of futuristic vampires.



Goth culture, which emerged in Britain as an offshoot of punk in the late 1970s, was defined by a shared aesthetic of music and fashion. The latter emphasized black-white contrasts in clothing and makeup, with tattoos, body piercings, and morbid trappings. (Stringer/Getty Images)

By 1985, many of the original goth punk bands had broken up, clearing the way for a new direction that could better be described as gothic rock, and was exemplified by such bands as the Cure. Fashions became more elaborate, with the torn clothing of earlier days giving way to expensive velvet jackets and fancy hats that made goths look more like eighteenth-century aristocrats.

By the 1990s, goth music had largely been subsumed by various other musical movements, including industrial and grunge. However, the fashions associated with goth culture continued to flourish and develop. The popularity of the vampire novels of Anne Rice helped to bring goths into contact with science fiction and fantasy fandom. By the turn of the millennium, it was common to see people in typical goth fashions at science fiction and fantasy conventions.

Goth culture had become increasingly philosophical, regarding itself as a witness to the dark, horrific side of human nature. Many mainstream Americans took this to mean that goths glorified or celebrated the dark side, and they began to associate goths with Satanists and other evil-worshipping cults. This misapprehension intensified after the 1999 Columbine High School massacre in Colorado, in which two high school students, mistakenly identified as goths, carried out a shooting rampage, killing twelve fellow students and a teacher and wounding twenty-four others, before committing suicide.

The mainstream media carried stories about a potential goth menace, and goth culture—especially as exemplified by artists such as Marilyn Manson—became a popular symbol for everything deemed corrupt and dangerous in American youth. The gothic scene lost its chic, but the goth culture has continued to attract new adherents and retain the involvement of old ones, into the new century.

Leigh Kimmel

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Graffiti

Graffiti, from the Italian word *graffiare* meaning “to scratch,” refers to a wide variety of writings, designs, and other markings made in spray paint, chalk, charcoal, crayon, or scratchings in public spaces. Graffiti became especially prominent in American culture during the 1970s and 1980s, helped by an association with the burgeoning hip-hop music movement. A predominantly urban phenomenon, graffiti began appearing commonly in such cities as Philadelphia, New York City, and Los Angeles. As a youth subculture, the graffiti world is remarkably self-contained, having developed a unique jargon, aesthetic code, and set of mores among graffiti artists.

Central to an understanding of graffiti is the longstanding debate over its value. In the 1980s, the high art world

heralded graffiti as an authentic vernacular art form and, by placing pieces in galleries, made stars of graffiti artists such as Jean-Michel Basquiat and Keith Haring. It often has been put to political use as well, from the Black Panthers's messages of social awareness in the 1960s to expressions of nihilistic angst in the punk movement.

Scholars have sought to explain graffiti as a creative and personal youth reaction to the increasingly drab and sterile face of the city. Some have seen graffiti as a self-consciously ironic stab at the capitalistic ideals behind the billboards and fliers that are so much a part of modern consumerism. Still others, including public officials, law enforcement officials, and concerned citizens, have focused on the association of graffiti with urban areas of high crime and territorial gang rivalries, seeing vandalism and youthful disrespect in the marker and spray-paint signatures and scenes that suddenly adorned buildings and subway cars.

Graffiti has been found among the preserved ruins of Pompeii, on the walls of centuries-old churches and pubs in England, and more recently in the form of the ubiquitous World War II scribbling "Kilroy was here." But it was in the 1960s and 1970s in the United States that graffiti first captured mass attention. It was during this period that a New York City teenager working as a messenger began to write "Taki 183" all over city walls and subway cars to which he had access as he performed his job. The tag was a combination of a shortened form of his name plus the number of the street on which he lived. Although he was hardly the first teen to write his name on public walls, Taki 183's work garnered much media attention, including a July 21, 1971, article in *The New York Times* that led to an explosion of imitators and competitors.

"Tagging," or writing a stylized personal signature in marker or spray paint, became a ubiquitous feature of the urban landscape. It was from there that the style of graffiti began to evolve, spawning larger and more highly stylized forms and methods of "getting up," or covering a surface in personal graffiti. Wild style, one of the most complex styles, used aggressive artistic technique to allow a graffiti artist to create a personalized signature that could not be easily imitated, using interlocking letters and arrows to create a tag that is nearly unreadable to those not involved in graffiti.

Railway cars and subway trains are favorite targets for graffiti because they offer the thrill of moving one's tag across the city, or even across the country, to potentially vast audiences. Crews of young artists began to gather and cover entire trains in artwork, spray-painting scenes on subway cars, often incorporating elements of popular culture such as characters from comic books, television, and cartoons into their work. This top-to-bottom painting of train cars additionally made it more difficult for competing writers to get their own tags up in the same space, as virtually no part of the car was left uncovered.

In the twenty-first century, graffiti is found in all corners of the world, rural and urban. The acceptance of the art world has led to the use of graffiti style in countless mainstream advertisements and logos. On the streets, it continues to thrive despite repeated attempts by authorities to eradicate it.

Regional variations of graffiti style also have emerged, most notably the "West Coast style," or "old style," a form of Old English used by Chicano youth in Los Angeles who are said to favor the style for its associations with formality and respectability. Graffiti remains very much a part of contemporary gang life, used to mark territorial boundaries and to communicate messages, threats, and warnings among rivals.

Robert Dobler

See also: [Black Panthers](#): [Gangs and Gang Culture](#): [Hip-Hop](#): [Punk Rock](#).

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Graham, Sylvester (1794–1851)

An ordained Presbyterian minister, Sylvester Graham was a pioneer of dietary reform in the early nineteenth century, believing that vegetarianism could cure virtually all of the ills that plagued civilization. Children raised on a diet of vegetables, fruits, and whole-grain bread, he maintained, grow up to be healthy, sober, and law abiding. At a time when most Americans viewed meat as essential to good health, the Reverend Graham preached that a diet of vegetables and grain curbed sexual appetite and cured alcoholism. Toward those ends, he developed the graham cracker as part of the Graham Diet in 1822 and graham bread, made of ground whole wheat flour, in 1829.

Graham was born on July 5, 1794, in West Suffield, Connecticut. His father died when Graham was young, and he spent most of his childhood living with neighbors. The family counted several members of the clergy among its ranks, which Graham joined in 1826. In the late 1820s, Graham had a series of apocalyptic visions in which he witnessed the collapse of the United States at the hands of ignorant and immoral hordes. The fear of social collapse prompted Graham to devote his energies to diet and nutrition in an attempt to save future generations.

Like many other social reformers of the nineteenth century, Graham promoted the cause of temperance. In 1830, he delivered several addresses on diet and health for the Pennsylvania Society for Discouraging the Use of Ardent Spirits, arguing that chronic drunkenness could be prevented by avoiding all meats and consuming a vegetable diet. Out of this idea, Graham developed the theory that proper nutrition and a dietary regimen could cure virtually any disease or ailment—this at a time when physicians remained baffled by most epidemic diseases, including the potentially fatal cholera.

In 1832, Graham moved to New York City, where he lectured on the dietary deficiencies that he believed caused cholera. Many contemporaries believed that the disease had dietary causes, because heavy vomiting in the early stages suggested the body's attempt to cleanse itself. While some asserted that hearty, heavy foods would help, Graham prescribed a bland, plain diet consisting of fruits, vegetables, and bread from unsifted flour or coarsely ground grain. Moreover, he urged his audiences to adopt a lifestyle including regular baths, ample exercise, and well-ventilated rooms.

While he often attracted audiences numbering as many as 2,000, Graham was a source of controversy as well. Twice, he was mobbed by Boston butchers for denouncing meat as sexually arousing. In 1847, a mob of bakers in that city physically attacked him during a speech about the evils of commercially produced bread and the virtues of unbolted flour. The riotous bakers were subdued when Graham's followers shoveled slaked lime from the windows of the lecture hall onto the crowd below.

Nevertheless, Graham's ideas enjoyed wide circulation and exerted considerable influence on nineteenth-century American lifestyles. He made lasting contributions to ideas about diet and nutrition. He popularized the use of unbolted flour, later named after him, along with the graham cracker. And his lectures on diet and nutrition paved the way for increased consumption of cereal and fruit.

Graham also had a direct influence on fellow health reformer John Harvey Kellogg, who read his articles as an apprentice typesetter. Unlike Kellogg, however, Graham never actually established a working health center. The Graham Boarding Houses founded in New York City and Boston in the mid-1830s were operated by followers. Graham died in Northampton, Massachusetts, on September 11, 1851.

Caryn E. Neumann

See also: [Health Foods](#): [Vegetarianism](#).

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Grange, National

American farmers in the latter half of the nineteenth century were able to produce greater quantities of agricultural products and deliver them to increasingly distant markets in part because of dramatic advances in technology. These improvements, however, came at a price: farmers became increasingly reliant on a network of middlemen, railroads, and corporations that garnered a hefty share of the profit. The growing discontent among farmers with those interferences finally led to the formation of the Order of the Patrons of Husbandry, also known as the National Grange, on December 4, 1867. The Grange movement reached its peak in the mid-1870s, but its existence exemplified the discontent in America's heartland that paved the way for the populist movement that shook the core of American politics in the 1890s.

The credit for forming a national fraternal order to organize American farmers belongs to Oliver H. Kelley, a Minnesota farmer who obtained a position in the newly formed Department of Agriculture in Washington, D.C., during the American Civil War. Kelley was a forward-thinker who recognized that farmers needed to apply the latest scientific methods and technology to their work. He also recognized that farmers could not prosper under political and economic structures that showered favors on manufacturers and monopolies at the expense of individual farmers. He founded the Grange to advocate for the right of individual farmers to share in the prosperity they helped to create.

The Grange was established in Washington, D.C., by Kelley and six other prominent individuals. It was a secret society organized along the lines of the Freemasons, using a variety of regalia, ranks, and degrees to create a sense of fraternity among its members. As both a writer and a Grange evangelist, Kelley was personally responsible for much of the organization's growth, and local branches radiated from his Minnesota farm. Kelley built the Grange from an organization of local farmers into a national force of more than 850,000 members by 1875.

Although nonpartisan, the Grange was active in national politics, pressing for a variety of legislative measures to balance the scales between farmers and the monopolies that exploited them. Grange lobbying forced a number of states to establish regulatory commissions to oversee the prices that could be charged for services such as

railroad transportation or grain storage. Local Granges experimented with cooperatives that were designed to cut out middlemen entirely by providing goods and services at fair prices.

Radicals such as Kelley gradually lost power in the National Grange during the mid-1870s, and the organization declined to approximately 100,000 members by early in the next decade. The decline was not due to any decrease in discontent among farmers. Instead, the rise of conservative elements within the Grange leadership drove members to join farm-protest movements that more closely matched their views on the need for change, such as the Farmers' Alliance. Although it was surpassed by other groups, the Grange was the first national expression of farm discontent in America, and it influenced the tone of national politics over a period of some twenty years.

Charles E. Delgadillo

See also: [Farmers' Alliance](#).

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Grateful Dead

The Grateful Dead, a rock band formed in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1965, helped create and popularize the “acid rock” sound of the 1960s, became an icon of the hippie counterculture, and ended up as one of the most enduring, top-grossing touring bands in rock history. The original members were Jerry Garcia (guitar, vocals), Bob Weir (guitar, vocals), Ron “Pigpen” McKernan (keyboards, harmonica, vocals, percussion), Phil Lesh (bass guitar, vocals), and Bill Kreutzmann (drums). Another long-standing member of the band, Mickey Hart (drums, percussion), joined in 1967. Bill Graham, the rock impresario who extended his vision, management, and promotional talents to such pillars of live music as the Woodstock music festival in 1969 and the Live Aid concert in 1985, managed and promoted the Grateful Dead.

Birth

The origins of the band and its music may be traced to a confluence of the diverse musical interests of its founding members and the cultural upheaval of the times. Lesh was influenced by classical, jazz, and avant-garde electronica; Garcia was influenced by rock and roll, bluegrass, and folk; Weir was influenced by rock and roll, blues, and folk; McKernan was influenced by blues and R&B; and Kreutzmann was influenced by jazz and rock

and roll.

As a burgeoning coffeehouse folk music scene developed in Palo Alto (south of San Francisco) during the mid-1960s, the musicians came together there as a jug band, a group of people playing farmhouse instruments for fun and for free. They studied the compositions of innovative jazz saxophonist John Coltrane, whose complex style of chord progression was a major influence in their musical development. In mid-1966, they moved to the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, which became known as a hotbed of the hippie movement.



Pioneers of “acid rock” in 1960s San Francisco, the Grateful Dead remained popular for decades on the strength of their distinctive sound and unique concert “happenings.” Legions of dedicated fans, called Deadheads, followed the band from event to event. (Michael Ochs Archives/Stringer/Getty Images)

Although the music was always the focal point of the band, social interaction was often considered the highlight of its concerts. Thus, the cultural phenomenon known as the Grateful Dead derived from their playing improvisational music with extended jams, a multitude of concerts, providing forums for social interaction, and interplay between band members and audience. The unpredictable nature of the experience fostered a unique excitement, which became *the* draw to many fans. When attending a Dead show, one never knew quite what to expect, as no two concerts were precisely alike. According to *Deadbase XI* (1999), a complete guide to Grateful Dead song lists, the group never repeated a single song list during a span of 2,000 concerts from 1965 to 1991.

For some, the experience soared beyond the music to the attainment of a higher level of consciousness. For most, this came from the power of the music, endorphins released by dancing, and reveling in the camaraderie of fellow fans; for others, the high came from combining the musical experience with supplements such as hallucinogenic drugs.

For thirty years, from 1965 to 1995, when the group disbanded, the Grateful Dead toured almost constantly, weaving a circuitous path throughout the United States and abroad, drawing from a repertoire of more than 500 different songs. A typical Dead tour consisted of approximately fifteen shows over a period of three weeks.

Dead shows attracted many fans, or “Deadheads,” the most dedicated of whom would attend multiple shows at various venues, constituting their own tour. It is estimated that during the last five years of the band’s activity, 3,000 people nomadically followed the tour circuit; more than 1 million people in all manifested their affinity for the concert experience by attending live shows, with many more listening to live recordings. Dead concerts were the

ultimate destination and Dead tours were the ultimate journey.

A significant number of fans prided themselves on the ability to gain entry to a concert through unconventional means, including knowing someone who could get them in, or by receiving a “miracle” or free ticket, often from a stranger. Increasing access for everyone, Deadhead protocol maintained that the right thing to do with extra tickets was to either give them away, trade them, or sell them for no more than face value.

Community and Culture

The Grateful Dead had not expected such a large following, although they unwittingly promoted its growth by fostering a sense of community. The Grateful Dead organization, from band members to roadies, from managers to ardent fans, referred to itself as “family.” The band operated democratically, requiring a consensus on any major decision. During the early to mid-1960s in Haight-Ashbury, the Grateful Dead provided community outreach including free food, lodging, music, and health care.

The Grateful Dead distinguished itself from other musical acts in a number of ways, including lower ticket prices, gentler security, sections in the audience for taping, an information hotline, mail-order ticket distribution, and licensed vending in the parking lots, otherwise known as “the Shakedown lot” (a reference to a fictional place in the song “Shakedown Street,” on the 1978 studio album of the same name). Likewise, Deadheads distinguished themselves from other fan bases in many ways, such as a code of ethics and values that emphasized community, cooperation, sharing, barter, introducing themselves to one another, and freely engaging in conversation. Generally, the audience was diverse, though followers were stereotyped as hippies. Fans wore any and everything, yet tie-dyes dotted the landscape when the Dead came to town (as did Volkswagen buses).

The content and meaning of the Dead’s songs, which generally promoted a belief in the attainment of a positive state, also influenced the social scene. Examples include “Touch of Grey” (from the studio album *In The Dark*, 1987) with the refrain “we will survive.” Deadhead protocol was demonstrated in “Jack Straw” (from the live album *Europe’72*, 1972): “We can share what we got of yours, ’cause we done shared all of mine.” And “Eyes of the World” (from the studio album *Wake of the Flood*, 1973), contains the following lyrics: “Sometimes we live no particular way but our own/And sometimes we visit your country and live in your home/Sometimes we ride on your horses, sometimes we walk alone/Sometimes the songs that we hear are just songs of our own.”

Mythical folklore evolved through the Dead’s songs, and also through other media such as bumper stickers, T-shirts, bonfire chats, drum circles, road-trip anecdotes, hacky-sack sessions, and so on. The evolution of what became known as the Grateful Dead phenomenon may be summarized as the synergistic effect of its participants: No one designed it, yet everyone created it. Environmentalism, antiwar sentiments, social tolerance, constitutional freedoms, and random acts of kindness may fall in and out of favor in society at large but are considered mainstays in Grateful Dead circles.

The Grateful Dead as a musical act came to an abrupt end in 1995, when integral member Jerry Garcia died, reportedly of a heart attack. Surviving members continued the musical tradition with solo projects and coming together as the Dead.

The legacy of the Grateful Dead can be readily observed in hundreds of other bands (including Phish, the Dave Matthews Band, and Widespread Panic) that carried the baton in disparate directions yet have common denominators directly traceable to the Dead: extensive touring, improvisational music, extended jams, and the promotion of social interaction with and among fans.

Todd Anderson

See also: [Acid Rock](#); [Haight-Ashbury](#); [San Francisco](#); [Hippies](#); [Psychedelia](#); [San Francisco, California](#); [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Gray Panthers

The Gray Panthers is an activist organization, established by senior citizens in 1971, that works to combat age discrimination and promote social causes of particular concern to the elderly. Nevertheless, the Gray Panthers is an intergenerational organization whose scope covers issues of social and economic justice for people of all ages, including peace, equity, and civil liberties. It actively lobbies local, state, and federal governments on issues such as Social Security, housing, health care, campaign reform, and antidiscrimination laws.

The Gray Panthers began as a group of elder citizens organized by Maggie Kuhn, who had been active in promoting social justice throughout her career but became a victim of age discrimination in 1970. That was the year she turned sixty-five and was forced to retire from her job as a program executive with the United Presbyterian Church.

During more than twenty years working with the church, and throughout her career, Kuhn had worked tirelessly for causes such as improving living and working conditions for the poor, equal pay for women, social health programs, and elder rights. As a result, she was a skilled grassroots organizer. In August 1970, in response to her forced retirement, Kuhn met with a group of five friends, all retirees from religious or social-work organizations, to address such issues as mandatory retirement laws and the resulting loss of income and marginalization of elder citizens.

At around the same time, Kuhn organized a meeting at Columbia University in New York City to discuss issues relevant to older Americans. This meeting generated interest in the newly formed group, which took the name the Consultation of Older and Younger Adults for Social Change. The fledgling group operated out of a converted janitor's closet in the basement of Philadelphia's Tabernacle Church and membership soon grew to nearly 100. With a membership of diverse ages, the group adopted the slogan "Age and Youth in Action." The first issue it took on was opposition to the Vietnam War; Kuhn sent a delegate to Hanoi to meet with prisoners of war in 1970; later, the group sent care packages to draft resisters who had fled to Canada.

In 1972, a New York City talk show host nicknamed the group the "Gray Panthers," an allusion to the civil rights group the Black Panthers. The name seemed apt, as both groups were action oriented, and the Gray Panthers was officially adopted soon thereafter. Membership in the organization expanded rapidly after Kuhn filled in as a last-minute speaker at the 1972 General Assembly of the United Presbyterian Church in Denver, Colorado.

The following year, Ralph Nader's Retired Professional Action Group moved its headquarters to Philadelphia, the home base of the Gray Panthers, and the two groups merged. Together, they worked on a report that led to legislation and reform in the hearing-aid industry.

Gray Panthers's political actions have taken the form of letter writing, consciousness-raising groups,

demonstrations, rallies, and petitions. In 1971, Gray Panthers were involved in planning the White House Conference on Aging. When they realized that minority voices would not be represented there, however, they cosponsored the alternative Black House Conference on Aging. In 1974, Gray Panthers staged a street theater performance at the American Medical Association's conference to promote the concept of health care as a human right. In 1975, they established the National Media Watch Task Force to raise awareness of ageist stereotyping in the broadcast media. And in the 1980s and 1990s, Gray Panthers backed efforts to protect gay civil rights and to legalize the medical use of marijuana.

From a group of six concerned elders in 1970, the Gray Panthers had grown to more than 40,000 members of all ages by the time of Kuhn's death in 1995. Intergenerational collaboration has continued to be crucial to the group's mission and objectives, distinguishing it from activist groups that focus entirely on the concerns of elders.

Diana Stirling

See also: [Black Panthers](#).

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Great Depression

For most Americans, the Great Depression of the 1930s summons images of breadlines, apple sellers on street corners, shuttered factories, rural poverty, and Hoovervilles (named for President Herbert Hoover), where homeless families sought refuge in shelters cobbled together from salvaged wood, cardboard, and tin. It was a time when thousands of child tramps and adult hoboes drifted around America; when marriages were postponed and birthrates declined; and when children grew up quickly, taking on adult responsibilities that burdened their despondent parents. It was a time when the number of women in the workforce increased, which aided needy families but was a psychological strain on men, the traditional breadwinners of the American family, millions of whom had lost their jobs. One of the most popular songs of the time was "Brother, Can You Spare a Dime?"

Yet the images of a society mired in distress and helplessness were accompanied by a universe of counterculture actions and government interventions seeking to alleviate want and need, and to provide the means to rejuvenate self-respect, spur action, and endorse alternative forms for social life and even the structure of society.

Voices from the Left

For a small but important group of Americans—intellectuals, artists, workers, blacks, and others who felt disenchanted with the prevailing values of American life—the Depression led to an embrace of radical politics. The Great Depression had created the most dramatic economic crisis in the nation's history, which prompted interest in capitalism's strongest critic, the ideology of communism. Some became members of the American Communist Party, which achieved a size and visibility in the 1930s that it had never attained before and would never attain again; others expressed sympathy for the party and its ideas without becoming members. By American standards, the 1930s brought forth a high level of acceptance of radical activism.

For intellectuals, the counterculture of the left offered an escape from the detachment and alienation that many had embraced in the 1920s. It combined a harsh critique of mainstream American society with an intense commitment to a political movement offering meaning and purpose to their lives.

The Spanish Civil War (1936–1939) was of particular importance to American intellectuals as an example of the left's sense of commitment. In Spain, a democratically elected government was in danger of being overthrown by fascists led by Francisco Franco, who was supported by German chancellor Adolf Hitler and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. Three thousand Americans formed the Abraham Lincoln Brigade and went to Spain to fight for the Republic. About one-third of its members died in combat, but for many of the survivors, the experience was an epiphany. In his novel *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), Ernest Hemingway, who had been a war correspondent in Spain, wrote about these Americans who played a part in "something that you could believe in wholly and completely and in which you felt an absolute brotherhood with others who were engaged in it."

The creation of the Lincoln Brigade, and the direction of its activities, was the work of the American Communist Party, whose membership peaked at 100,000 during its heyday in the mid-1930s. While Americans were not sympathetic to many of the actions of the party, they found its long-range goals appealing. It was active in organizing the unemployed; it staged an anti-hunger march in Washington, D.C., in 1930; and party members in the labor movement were typically among the most effective union organizers. The party also was one of the few political organizations to take a firm, unequivocal stand in favor of racial justice. Its active defense of the black Scottsboro Boys, youth who had been unjustly accused of the rape of two white women in Alabama in 1931, was an example of its efforts to ally itself with the aspirations of blacks.

Despite its efforts to appear as a humane and patriotic organization, however, the American Communist Party was always under the close and rigid control of the Soviet Union. Its leaders took their orders from Moscow, and most members followed the "party line" or found themselves expelled from its ranks. As a result, most Americans continued to view communism as an alien force.



The Great Depression of the 1930s, regarded by some at the time as the final failure of capitalism, brought a resurgence of radical politics. Here, members of the Communist Party march in downtown Minneapolis in 1939. (Anthony Potter Collection/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Voices from the Right

Of the radical right figures in the 1930s, Huey P. Long was the only one to wield political power, becoming governor of Louisiana in 1928 and U.S. senator in 1932. During 1934 and 1935, the Louisiana legislature enacted without debate a series of laws abolishing local government and giving the Long machine control of the appointment of every policeman, fireman, and teacher in the state. Meanwhile, control by the “Kingfish” of the militia, the judiciary, the election officials, and the tax assessors put all citizens at his mercy with no possibility of redress. The flamboyant oratory and populist vocabulary of this demagogue, his widely heralded Share-the-Wealth Society, and especially his slogan, “Every Man a King,” made Long the idol of millions. The end came only with Long’s assassination in September 1935. Robert Penn Warren’s Pulitzer Prize–winning novel *All the King’s Men* (1946) was based on Long’s career.

The Reverend Charles E. Coughlin, pastor of the Shrine of the Little Flower in Royal Oak, Michigan, moved in early Depression days from weekly radio sermons to radio talks on money, economics, and “international bankers.” In 1932, Coughlin supported Franklin D. Roosevelt for president, proclaiming “Roosevelt or Ruin,” but he soon turned against the New Deal. Increasingly anti-Semitic comments, a large tolerance for Hitler’s Germany, and intemperate attacks on American political leaders swelled the ranks of his followers but drew reprimands from the Vatican. In 1937, Coughlin was attacked in *The Michigan Catholic* by the new archbishop of Detroit, but he was not completely silenced until he was faced with federal threats of a sedition trial in 1942.

Works Progress Administration

The Works Progress Administration (WPA) was the largest and most important of the New Deal’s cultural and work programs. It was a massive governmental employment program launched in the spring of 1935. There were those who believed WPA projects were of dubious utility or were created for political reasons as a vehicle for reelecting Democrats, but the essential fact was that the WPA proved to be the most successful relief operation in American history.

Millions of people who had previously relied on handouts were provided with a source of income and, perhaps

even more important, respect, while their talents and skills were maintained for use when better times arrived. From the summer of 1935 to the end of the WPA in 1943, about 8 million people were on the payroll—about 20 percent of the nation's labor force. The average number of people on monthly payroll was about 2.1 million, with a peak of 3.2 million in November 1938.

The WPA built highways, airfields (among them New York's LaGuardia Airport), playgrounds, schools, and hospitals around the United States, and there were projects that included the restoring of historic buildings and the development of other public facilities. WPA workers transcribed millions of pages into braille, taught illiterate citizens to read, served hot lunches to schoolchildren, established dental and medical clinics, and even operated the municipal functions of the bankrupt town of Key West, Florida.

One of the most striking features of the WPA was the inclusion of unemployed writers, actors, and artists. Thousands of post offices, public buildings, and schools were adorned with murals and other paintings produced by the Federal Art Project. Many notable artists, such as Ben Shahn, Willem de Kooning, Jackson Pollock, and Stuart Davis, were among those employed by the WPA at the standard weekly wage of \$23.86. The Federal Theatre Project, which produced work of unusually high quality, brought live theater to towns that had never before seen a professional company. In four years, some 30 million people witnessed productions from those by Shakespeare and works in Spanish and Yiddish to performances with all-black casts. The Federal Writers' Project, which employed 6,000 writers, turned out a variety of nonfiction works, including the comprehensive American Guide series covering each state and territory. Richard Wright, Nelson Algren, John Cheever, and Saul Bellow were among the young writers who got their start on the project.

The National Youth Administration (NYA) did for young people what the WPA accomplished for their elders. Nearly one-third of the unemployed were in the sixteen-to-twenty-four age bracket. Part-time jobs were created in colleges and schools that helped students complete their educations and kept them out of the full-time labor market. These jobs included work as clerks and typists, as assistants in libraries and laboratories, and in campus maintenance. Pay was not high—\$6 a month for high school students, up to \$20 a month for college students, and \$30 for graduate students—but to many it meant the difference between remaining in school and dropping out. Between 1935 and the outbreak of World War II, about 1.5 million young people were employed by the NYA.

In 1938, a coalition of Republicans and conservative Democrats pressed their opposition to New Deal cultural programs. Late in July 1938, Representative J. Parnell Thomas (R-NJ) of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC, known in the 1930s as the Dies Committee, after chairman Martin Dies) claimed to have “startling evidence” that the Federal Theatre and Writers' Projects were “a hotbed of Communists” and “one more link in the vast and unparalleled New Deal propaganda network.” He announced that an investigation would be launched.

In the first six weeks of investigation, which centered on Boston, New York City, and San Francisco, the committee produced a parade of disaffected former WPA workers who testified that the projects were tools of the Communist Party, designed to breed class hatred in the United States. The hearings came on the heels of a campaign to withdraw the Massachusetts edition of the American Guide series, which included in its 675 pages thirty-one lines concerning the Sacco and Vanzetti case (in which two Italian-immigrant anarchists had been executed for murder in 1927 despite nationwide protests). Similarly, the New Jersey state guidebook was criticized for its depiction of a 1935 shipbuilders' strike. According to Representative Thomas, the guide was “written as if there had been trouble between capital and labor.” The Dies Committee reported that ominous “Communist phraseology had been inserted in guides of the states and here in Washington.”

End of an Era

The chilling effect of continuing Dies Committee hearings, headlines about “red artists,” and the buildup to World War II led to a reorganization of the WPA. The Federal Writers' Project began to concentrate on creating recreation guides, especially for areas where World War II military training was beginning in earnest.

The war finally put an end to all federally subsidized cultural programs other than those related directly to the war effort. The WPA was formally ended by presidential proclamation in 1943.

Leslie Rabkin

See also: [Abraham Lincoln Brigade](#): [Communism](#): [Federal Art Project](#): [Federal Theatre Project](#): [Federal Writers' Project](#): [Sacco and Vanzetti Case](#): [Tramps and Hoboes](#).

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Greeley, Horace (1811–1872)

A newspaper editor, politician, and champion of socially progressive ideas, Horace Greeley advocated such countercultural causes as abolitionism, women's rights, pacifism, and higher tariffs. He opposed capital punishment, Freemasonry, the use of tobacco and alcoholic beverages, and marital infidelity. Greeley also opposed the war with Mexico (1846–1848), the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, the Compromise of 1850, and the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854—the latter three reflective of his abolitionism. Founder of the influential *New York Tribune* and a cofounder of the Republican Party, he was perhaps best known for the phrase “Go west, young man!”

Greeley was born on February 3, 1811, in Amherst, New Hampshire, the oldest child of Zaccheus and Mary Woodburn Greeley. He grew up in poverty and became a printer's apprentice at age fifteen at the *Northern Spectator*, a paper in East Poultney, Vermont. When the paper ceased publication in 1830, Greeley sought other print-shop jobs, becoming a typesetter at the *Erie Gazette* in Pennsylvania in 1831.

He worked at various other papers until March 22, 1834, when he launched his own publishing venture, a literary weekly called *The New Yorker*. He went on to become editor of *The Jeffersonian* (1838) in Albany, New York, and *The Log Cabin* (1840), a campaign paper that supported William Henry Harrison for president.

Greeley merged *The New Yorker* and *The Log Cabin* into one publication, the *New York Tribune*, first published on April 10, 1841. As its editor, he favored political news, lectures, book reviews, book excerpts, and poetry. He wrote in a vigorous yet terse style, with clarity and simplicity. In 1844, he hired the transcendentalist Margaret Fuller as the newspaper's first woman editor.

Appointed to serve out the incomplete term of Democratic New York congressman David S. Jackson from December 4, 1848, to March 3, 1849, Greeley quickly made enemies in Washington, D.C. He kept track of absences by fellow congressmen and sought to curb what he saw as corruption.

He helped organize one of the first labor unions for printers, the New York Typographical Union, serving as its first president in 1850. From 1851 to 1862, the socialist political thinker Karl Marx was the *Tribune's* European correspondent in London; German socialist Friedrich Engels was a contributor. Greeley's support of such radical philosophies as communism and Fourierism—a social reform philosophy that advocated the transformation of society into self-sufficient, independent “phalanges”—was widely criticized. He opposed the Kansas-Nebraska Act because he believed that popular sovereignty would result in “slavocracy” in the West. While Greeley agreed with the antislavery position of radical abolitionist John Brown, he disagreed with the violent method Brown used in his raid against the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia) in 1859. In 1864, Greeley met with Southern peace commissioners in Niagara Falls, Canada, for what turned out to be a failed attempt at peace.

During Reconstruction, Greeley promoted equality for African Americans as well as amnesty for Confederates. He joined nineteen other men in signing the bail bond that freed Confederate president Jefferson Davis, being held in federal prison on charges of treason, in May 1867.

In April 1872, Greeley accused the Ulysses S. Grant administration of corruption, and the Liberal Republicans nominated Greeley for president the following month; the Democrats followed suit in July. Resigning as editor of the *Tribune* on May 15, Greeley campaigned throughout the mid-Atlantic states in August and September. In the election on November 5, he garnered 2.8 million votes (44 percent) to 3.6 million for President Grant, carrying only six states.

Despondent and exhausted by the election and the death of his wife only a week before, Greeley suffered a mental breakdown. His health fell into rapid decline, and he died on November 29, 1872.

Ralph Hartsock

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Feminism, First-Wave](#); [Freemasonry](#).

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Green Party

The Green Party of the United States—the contemporary American counterpart to environmental, grassroots “green politics” organizations in Europe and elsewhere—has been active as a third-party alternative since the 1980s. The party rose to prominence with its nominations of Ralph Nader as a presidential candidate in 1996 and 2000. Nader's candidacies prompted debate among liberal Democrats as to whether to vote for a more progressive third party or to support a more centrist Democratic candidate for president. Many Democrats attributed their party's inability to keep control of the White House in 2000 to the presence of the Green Party on the ballot in forty-four states. Unlike the Democratic and Republican parties, the Green Party emphasizes local political autonomy and grassroots organization through state chapters. While no Green Party candidate has been elected to national office in the United States, more than 200 have held elective positions at the state and local levels.

The Green Party of the United States is rooted in international political movements uniting environmentalism and nonviolent, populist philosophies that became prevalent during the 1970s. In the 1980s, members of the Green movement won their first parliamentary seats in Germany. In 1984, reflecting the growing international trend, St. Paul, Minnesota, became the site of the first Green meeting in the United States. Today there are more than 1 million Green Party members in more than a dozen countries.

Early Green activism in the United States during the 1980s did not focus on elections but on building the environmental movement. By the latter part of the decade, however, with the establishment of hundreds of local chapters and the marshaling of resources, attention began to be directed toward the voting booth. While not all Greens supported the idea of participating in national politics, the party was granted ballot access in Alaska in 1990, the first time in any state.

Many Greens active at the state and local levels in the 1980s and early 1990s looked down on the national organization. Nevertheless, in 1996, various state chapters joined to form the Association of State Green Parties, and the movement to mount a national Green campaign led to the nomination of a candidate for president that year. On June 24, the state Green parties held a nominating convention in Denver, Colorado, selecting consumer protection advocate and activist politician Ralph Nader as its nominee for president and Native American environmental activist Winona LaDuke as its vice-presidential candidate. In the November 1996 election, the Green Party ticket received some 650,000 popular votes (0.7 percent).

The 1996 Green Party convention also resulted in the ratification of a document called "Ten Key Values of the Green Party." It represented the core values of the party but was intended to be interpreted uniquely by local chapters. In strong contrast to the Democratic and Republican parties, the Greens emphasized grassroots democracy, social justice and equal opportunity, ecological wisdom, nonviolence, decentralization, community-based economics and economic justice, feminism and gender equity, respect for diversity, personal and global responsibility, and future focus and sustainability.

In 2000, the Green Party again nominated Nader and LaDuke as its presidential and vice-presidential candidates. This time the ticket fared much better, garnering nearly 2.9 million votes (2.7 percent). The party officially became known as the Green Party of the United States in 2001. At the 2004 national convention in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, it named David Cobb and Pat LaMarche as its national candidates, but the ticket captured only 120,000 votes (0.1 percent) that November.

The national party continues to view its efforts to support state parties as its central focus. Policy directions and activist efforts are frequently organized by the state parties. As a result, the Green Party's major electoral successes have been achieved at the state and local levels. As of 2005, nearly 305,000 Greens were registered nationwide in states allowing voters to register with the party. The largest Green Party memberships were located in California, Maine, New York, and Pennsylvania. As of January 2007, at least 223 members of the Green Party in the United States held elective office at the state or local levels; the most were in California, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin.

Organizers for the Green Party typically view the Democratic and Republican parties as equally beholden to corporate interests and committed to centrist compromises. In contrast, the state Green Party in Wisconsin took the radical step of organizing a ballot initiative during the 2006 elections calling on President George W. Bush to withdraw U.S. troops from Iraq. The initiative was approved in thirty-four of forty-two municipalities. On this and other issues, the Greens have maintained that their commitment to countercultural activism, nonviolence, and social justice sets them apart from the Democratic and Republican parties. The party's ticket in 2008, with former six-term Congresswoman Cynthia McKinney of Georgia as the presidential nominee and Rosa Clemente as the vice-presidential nominee, received 162,000 votes (0.1 percent).

Nathan Zook

See also: [Democratic Party: Nader, Ralph](#).

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Greening of America, The

The Greening of America is the title of a widely read book by Yale Law School professor Charles A. Reich published in 1970. The book holds a peculiar place in the history of American countercultures. It attempted to provide a philosophically sophisticated interpretation of the counterculture ideas and movements associated with the latter half of the 1960s. In this, it was arguably successful. The work was serialized in *The New Yorker* magazine and published in book form by a major publisher (Random House). At the very least, it provided much of the terminology that would be employed subsequently to discuss the late 1960s.

Beyond mere interpretation, however, the book was intended as a proclamation, a tool of countercultural propagation, and a celebration of counterculture values as espoused at the Woodstock music festival of August 1969; however, it can only be said to have succeeded in this regard as an ironic swan song. Just as the book was being finished and put into production came such violent events as Chicago's Days of Rage riots (October 1969), the Altamont Free Concert (California, December 1969), and the Kent State University protests and shootings (Ohio, May 1970). These events made cynicism, frustration, drug abuse, and violence as much a legacy of the period as were visions of an age of love, light, and humanity.

In terms of content, Reich's book purports to trace the history of consciousness in American society from its earliest point to the present. In the fashion of Western philosophy, he discerns three essential periods of consciousness, each characterized by its own sense of what is real, what is good, and what is possible.

Consciousness One (hereafter C1), according to Reich, is a rural consciousness, most likely to be held by farmers and shopkeepers. This mentality, which dominated in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, is parochial, conservative, local, suspicious of anything new, and skeptical of changes. Tradition is highly respected and utilized to maintain social order. It is seen as good that much of one's life is mapped out at birth according to one's station and family. C1 is essentially a precapitalist, Whig mentality.

Arising as an antithesis to C1, Consciousness Two (C2) is the mentality of the urban, industrial, capitalist society. For those moving away from farms and into cities, C2 represents liberation from family and tradition. What is seen as right and good is that social and economic rewards should flow from one's own hard work, ingenuity, and willingness to take risks. This is the mentality of the great American meritocracy, of "moving up in the world." One's place in society is not set in stone, and social conditions themselves are subject to human creative engineering and betterment. This is the consciousness of classical American social and political liberalism.

According to Reich, an epic struggle between C1 and C2 characterized much of the twentieth century, with C2 increasingly dominant after World War I. During the latter 1960s Reich maintains, this struggle was yielding to a wholly new synthesis, Consciousness Three (C3). Like C2, C3 holds personal freedom and philosophical egalitarianism in high regard. Reflecting some of the C1 criticisms of urban industrial societies, C3 sees communing with nature and, in general, a celebration of simplicity, color, and living apart from "the clock" as a

necessary corrective to the “all gray” and regimented world of the industrial city. Most of Reich's book is devoted to a survey of American youth culture, in which he finds examples of emerging C3 in everything from music and poster art to hair and clothing styles.

Ironically, Reich's analysis appeared just as the 1960s counterculture was falling into decline. Much of what he pointed to as harbingers of C3 proved to be the most self-destructive aspects of the counterculture, such as open drug use and free sex.

In retrospect, perhaps the most enduring aspect of Reich's book is the title itself. The year the book appeared also was the year of the first Earth Day and the emerging awareness of pollution and its consequences. “The greening of America” thus became a potent phrase for the environmental movement, and the symbol of one counterculture movement fed into the foundational vocabulary of one of its successors.

Daniel Liechty

See also: [Hippies](#).

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Greenwich Village, New York City

For more than 100 years, New York City's Greenwich Village has represented a cultural process and an evolving social milieu as much as it has been a physical space. It is a place where native-born Americans and immigrants to the United States have reinvented themselves and the world they inherited.

The center of the Village is Washington Square, an 8-acre (3.24-hectare) park covering four city blocks in lower Manhattan. As early as the 1820s, residents had successfully fought the extension of the grid street plan that characterized most of Manhattan, and the Village retained its network of small, winding streets. This enabled it to remain isolated from the physical and cultural urbanization that took place in the rest of New York City in succeeding decades.

Beginning in the 1890s, Irish, German, and Italian immigrant workers moved in to Greenwich Village as members of the middle and upper classes moved out. By the turn of the twentieth century, it was a relatively small residential area, set apart from the rest of the city, composed of large homes that had been transformed into

apartment buildings and offered inexpensive housing to its working-class population. Despite its set-apart feeling, it was close to the business center in Midtown Manhattan, and that proximity, along with the low rents, also attracted young people—the first generation born to the new industrial, urban society that now dominated the United States.

Bohemia, 1900–1917

By 1900, the number of Midwesterners seeking escape from the cultural claustrophobia of small-town America matched the number of immigrants escaping from the political claustrophobia of Eastern Europe. Both groups saw New York as the city that promised an opportunity to remake their lives, and Greenwich Village became the place where that change might occur.

On a practical level, the Village provided inexpensive housing. Single rooms averaged \$8 per month, while an entire floor of a brownstone building might be available for \$30 per month. On a cultural level, the Village provided an environment that was tolerant of anything different. One reason that people moved to Greenwich Village was to escape the pressure of conforming to a particular lifestyle, set of rules, religion, or sexual code—and to accord a reciprocal tolerance toward others.

Finally, whether from a farm in Iowa or a fishing village in Italy, immigrants to the Village realized that they had come to a far different world that was being shaped by a new age. For the immigrant worker, the nature of work changed with the introduction of the assembly-line process, the concept of timed production, and the importance of the machine rather than the worker in the production of goods. The newness of this context to both foreign immigrants and American migrants necessitated a new cultural and political response. Their challenge to conventional politics and cultural norms earned the label “bohemian,” a term that originated in Europe for persons considered unconventional in behavior and temperament.

The first evidence of this temperament occurred in the 1890s in the boardinghouse of Madame Katharine Branchard, who had transformed a row house on Washington Square into inexpensive rooms that attracted artists and anarchists. By the early 1900s, the Branchard home was one of a series of residences near the square that housed a growing number of young people who questioned the cultural and political assumptions of mainstream society. Especially disenchanted by the response of established literary and visual artists to the political and cultural crisis occasioned by rapid industrialization, Village residents called for both a political and a cultural revolution.

The voice of rebellion was heard in a number of so-called little magazines that originated in the Village or whose writers were Village residents. The most prominent of these publications was *The Masses*, featuring the iconoclastic writings of such social critics as Randolph Bourne, Max Eastman, and John Reed, a founder of the American Communist Party. Joining *The Masses* as the local voice of the new political sensibility were *The Nation* and *The New Republic*, whose most prominent contributor was Walter Lippmann. Near Washington Square, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) published *The Crisis*, edited by the respected civil rights activist W.E.B. Du Bois. The Village also served as the home for publications that supported the causes of woman suffrage and free love, such as the *New York Call* and birth control advocate Margaret Sanger's *The Woman Rebel*.

Joining these magazines of political protest were a number of journals that provided a forum for new literary works. Margaret Anderson and John Heap moved their modernist literary magazine, *The Little Review*, from Chicago to the Village in 1917, and soon thereafter published James Joyce's *Ulysses* in serial form, until the courts pronounced the work obscene. *Seven Arts*, *American Magazine*, and *The Dial* joined *The Little Review* as publications that provided forums in which to discuss the latest innovations in the literary and visual arts. Often, the words printed in these magazines first appeared in conversations that took place in the many clubs and salons that operated in the Village. One of the first of these was the X-Club.

The X-Club was organized by historian Charles Beard and philosopher John Dewey in 1903. Its members debated

the progressive reforms called for by activists such as the muckraking author Upton Sinclair. The sites of the two most famous weekly meetings of social and political activists, however, were the home of Walter and Louis Arensberg on West Sixty-seventh Street (outside of the Village) and the apartment of Mabel Dodge on Fifth Avenue. The Arensbergs were art collectors, and their home became the support center for the emerging avant-garde art movement. Dodge also supported the art world, most importantly through her financial support of the Armory Show of 1913. The show was the catalyst for the modernist art movement in the United States.

It was Dodge's apartment that became a gathering place for Village artists, political activists, and writers. The wife of a wealthy architect, Dodge re-created the European salon experience of Paris, and her home became a haven for feminists, socialists, atheists, and free-love advocates. To bring some order to the chaos of her gatherings, she introduced thematic evenings. Each Wednesday night from 1913 through 1917, the evening would be given over to a specific topic. Psychoanalysis and politics were the most popular. Frequent speakers included Lippmann on the intersection of psychology and politics, radical activist "Big Bill" Haywood, leader of the Industrial Workers of the World (the IWW), and anarchist Emma Goldman. A Village resident might hear Dodge speak on Wednesday night, followed by novelist Theodore Dreiser on Thursday. Dreiser hosted a weekly conversation on the role of the writer in the modern world. Among those who attended were writers who would become noted literary critics, including Carl and Mark Van Doren and Joseph Wood Krutch, poets Edna St. Vincent Millay and Floyd Dell, and novelist F. Scott Fitzgerald.

Public clubs matched the private salons as places to eat, drink, and debate. The first and best-known was the Liberal Club, which proclaimed itself "A Meeting Place for Those Interested in New Ideas." Opened in 1913 by Henrietta Rodman, the establishment was one of the most popular spots in the Village. On the floor below the Liberal Club was a restaurant run by Rodman's friend Polly Halliday, an anarchist. Villagers joked that visitors could feed their mind upstairs and their stomach downstairs.

Other favorite gathering places for activists were Heterodoxy, a feminist café, and Alfred Stieglitz's art gallery at 291 Fifth Avenue, where the visitor could be tutored in the aesthetics of modern art. In addition, the Washington Square Players (later the Theatre Guild), and the Provincetown Players (named by Village writers for the location of their summer retreat, Provincetown, Massachusetts) staged new works by such emerging playwrights as Eugene O'Neill for Village audiences.

The clubs, theaters, galleries, and salons of Greenwich Village, however, disappeared as suddenly as they had appeared. The entrance of the United States into World War I resulted in the perception of unconventional politics and behavior as unpatriotic. Publications such as *The Masses* and *The Little Review* ceased production because of government suppression.

The government arrested and exiled Haywood and Goldman for their antiwar activities. Reed traveled to Russia to see the communist revolution firsthand and never returned. Beginning in 1916, Dodge underwent psychotherapy and the following year abandoned the streets of Greenwich Village for the rural countryside near Taos, New Mexico. Her departure marked the end of the first bohemian era for the Village.

Bohemian Rebirth, 1935–1975

During the 1920s, more tourists than radicals inhabited Greenwich Village, with its reputation as a place of sexual freedom, access to alcohol, and growing gay culture making it a mandatory destination for visitors to New York. Struggling artists could no longer afford to live in the Village, as rents rose more than 140 percent from 1920 to 1930.

The real estate boom ended, however, with the economic crisis of the 1930s. The Great Depression acted as a catalyst for a rebirth of social and political activism in the United States, and the Village once again became a home for those who challenged the moral authority of the state.

By the late 1930s, Village residents were known for their opposition to fascism, segregation, and corporate

capitalism. Dorothy Day's Catholic Worker organization and a club called Café Society, where jazz singer Billie Holiday first performed the antilynching song "Strange Fruit," symbolized these sentiments. They openly challenged the segregationist policies of the nation and provided a forum for advocates of democracy, integration, and socialism. By the mid-to late 1940s, Greenwich Village housed dozens of jazz clubs that not only were venues for the beginnings of "cool" jazz but also were the few public establishments in New York where white and black patrons sat together. The management of one of the clubs, the Village Vanguard, boasted that every major figure in modern jazz had performed on its stage.

Greenwich Village also was the venue for the beginnings of the New York school of abstract expressionist art. Through the patronage of Peggy Guggenheim and her Art of the Century Gallery, the careers of such notable figures as Jackson Pollock and Willem de Kooning blossomed there. By the early 1960s, Andy Warhol and pop art had become staples at Village galleries. The Living Theatre took art to the people by incorporating pop, abstract expressionism, performance art, poetry readings, and the screenings of independent or foreign films into its weekly productions.

The Village also was the home of writers who used new literary methods to question the values of the new consumer society. The Beats, notably poets Jack Kerouac and Allen Ginsberg, began their careers there in the early 1950s. These and other literary figures could be found at the Eighth Street Bookshop, which also sold copies of *The Village Voice*, one of America's first successful underground newspapers. Beginning in the early 1960s, coffeehouses provided other venues for artists to debate the merits of modern society. Clubs such as the Bitter End, Café Wha?, and Gerde's Folk City presented folk musicians such as Bob Dylan and Joan Baez, whose antiestablishment songs suggested that a cultural rebellion was on the horizon.



By the early 1960s, the coffeehouses, cafés, and pubs of New York's Greenwich Village had become a hotbed of antiestablishment discourse and culture. (Marvin Lichtner/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

That cultural rebellion exploded a few years later as young people challenged the war in Vietnam, declared their own war on poverty, and insisted on extending the goals of the African American civil rights movement to all peoples and classes in society. By the late 1960s, the Village housed dozens of antiwar groups and women's organizations, and a growing number of gay advocacy groups. In 1969, patrons of a gay club called the Stonewall Inn fought city police, who had made it a habit to harass anyone who entered or exited the club. The Stonewall riots, as the encounters became known, were seen as a catalyst for the modern gay movement. A year later, members of the Weather Underground revolutionary group died in an explosion while making a bomb in a Village

townhouse.

Legacy

By the mid-1970s, the energy and money needed to sustain so many different political and cultural organizations had dissolved. The war in Vietnam was over, the country faced an economic crisis, and many of the participants in Village activism found themselves pushing forty years of age and responsible for children.

Again, as had happened in the 1920s, the Village became a fashionable place to live. Gradually, as the economy rebounded in the late 1980s, rents went up and a more affluent, mainstream group moved in, although a number of artists and other creative individuals continue to call it home. Greenwich Village remains a physical reminder of a time and place where members of a counterculture once met and, through their creative process, remade the literary and visual landscape of modern America.

David O'Donald Cullen

See also: [Abstract Expressionism](#); [Beat Generation](#); [Bohemianism](#); [Catholic Worker Movement](#); [Coffeehouses](#); [Du Bois, W.E.B.](#); [Fitzgerald, F. Scott](#); [Gay Liberation Movement](#); [Goldman, Emma](#); [Holiday, Billie](#); [Living Theatre](#); [Luhan, Mabel Dodge](#); [Magazines, Little: *Masses*, *The Nation*, *The*](#); [Performance Art](#); [Provincetown Players](#); [Sanger, Margaret](#); [Theater, Alternative](#); [Warhol, Andy](#).

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Gregory, Dick (1932–)

Richard (“Dick”) Claxton Gregory is an African American comedian, social activist, and author who, in the 1960s, broke the racial barrier for black comedians by playing in mainstream venues and offering no-holds-barred racial humor to white patrons (“If you actually like me, you’ll invite me to lunch when it *isn’t* Brotherhood Week”). Prominent in the anti–Vietnam War movement, Gregory has been a persistent advocate for civil rights and health care, lecturing, fasting, and leading protests to call attention to the ills of society. He was the 1968 presidential candidate of the radical Freedom and Peace Party.

Born on October 12, 1932, in St. Louis, Missouri, Gregory grew up fatherless and in poverty. In 1951, he received

a track scholarship to Southern Illinois University, Carbondale, and two years later he was named the school's outstanding athlete. Gregory's college education was interrupted in 1954, when he was drafted into the U.S. Army. It was in the service that he got his start in comedy, winning several talent shows. After completing his service in 1956, he returned briefly to the university, but he left again to begin a career as a comedian in Chicago.

After performing at small all-black nightclubs, Gregory got his big break in 1961, when he was hired by Hugh Hefner to play a one-night stand at the Chicago Playboy Club as the replacement for an ailing white comedian. His performance ("I never believed in Santa Claus because I knew no white dude would come into my neighborhood after dark" was one joke) wowed the all-white audience, a convention of frozen-food executives from the South. Hefner gave Gregory a three-year contract, and his career took off. Within the next year, he appeared on *The Jack Paar Show*, was profiled by *Time* magazine, made his first comedy album, and became America's first nationally known black satirist. By 1962, he was a millionaire.

In 1964, Gregory published his best-selling autobiography, *Nigger*, and became more involved in the civil rights and other social movements, playing numerous benefit performances for these causes. In mid-1963, he spent six months in the South leading demonstrations for black voter registration. He was arrested for civil disobedience on several occasions, and jailed in Birmingham, Alabama. His activism spurred him to run against Richard Daley for mayor of Chicago in 1967 and for president of the United States in 1968 as a write-in candidate of the Freedom and Peace Party.

In the 1970s, Gregory put aside his career as a comedian to focus full-time on social issues, from civil rights to health care, capital punishment, and the hostage situation in Iran, engaging in hunger strikes to publicize his causes. Also during this period he became a vegetarian, took up marathon running, and became a nutritional consultant, founding a company that distributed weight loss products.

The food enterprise failed in the 1990s, but Gregory continued his social activism and returned to the stage as a comedian. In 1996, he performed in an off-Broadway one-man show, *Dick Gregory Live!*

In his seventies, Gregory has continued to express strong countercultural views about life in America. At the fortieth anniversary of the Voting Rights Act in 2005, he called the United States the "most dishonest, ungodly, unspiritual nation that ever existed in the history of the planet," and, in a speech in 2006, he declared that the problems faced by African Americans are due to our country's "insane, racist system."

Leslie Rabkin

See also: [Hefner, Hugh: Peace and Freedom Party.](#)

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Groupies

The term *groupie*, specifically in reference to fans of rock and roll, was coined and popularized by the

counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. The word referred to a fan of rock music, usually a young woman, who went to great lengths to make contact with the musicians. In about 1970, the term took on a distinct sexual connotation, as the stereotype groupie offered favors to rock stars. *Groupies* eventually entered the general language to refer to those seeking contact with any celebrity.

Groupies and rock journalism have always been closely linked. The word is believed to have been used for the first time in print on June 16, 1966, in what was arguably the first rock music column to appear in a major American newspaper or magazine. Written by Richard Goldstein, a twenty-year-old graduate of the Columbia University School of Journalism in New York City and an ardent rock fan, the column was called "Pop Eye" and appeared in *The Village Voice*. Goldstein used the term *groupies* to refer to the screaming, fainting girl fans of the Beatles and other British Invasion bands. He would continue to popularize the term during his tenure as a music writer at *The Village Voice*. One of his trademark questions to rock musicians, he wrote, was "What's your ideal groupie?"

For several years, there was no assumption of sexual contact between the groupies and their idols, at least not in print. That would change in February 1969 with the publication of a *Rolling Stone* issue devoted to groupies. Often referred to as "The Groupie Issue," its lead article was titled "The Groupies and Other Girls" and was written by John Burks, Jerry Hopkins, and Paul Nelson. The article was interspersed with interviews with groupies, some of whom were among the most well-known of the era. It was illustrated with stunning pictures of the women taken by *Rolling Stone* photographer Baron Wolman. The magazine's editor, Jann Wenner, believed so completely in the project that he spent the last \$7,000 in its bank account on a full-page ad in *The New York Times*.

The issue caused a sensation among *Rolling Stone's* readers and generated a new level of publicity for the groupie phenomenon, beyond the ranks of the rock counterculture. After "The Groupie Issue," *groupie* took on sexual implications that began to overshadow the innocent fan aspect of the phenomenon.

Changes in the groupie subculture during the 1970s reflected changes taking place in the rock music business and the world at large. No longer were groupies regarded as savvy members of the nascent counterculture, helping to orient musicians in its unfamiliar and potentially hazardous landscape. They became permanent fixtures of the rock and roll landscape. In the 1970s, counterculture values had spread even to the suburbs, while the lives of successful rock musicians were filled with jet planes, cocaine, business managers, and groupies. The most publicized groupies of this era were those associated with Rodney Bingenheimer's English Disco in Los Angeles.

The concept of the groupie has remained a potent one in American popular culture. The groupie subculture itself has endured through a succession of new musical trends and subcultures, while the experience of groupies has found expression in popular culture. Former *Rolling Stone* writer Cameron Crowe wrote and directed the film *Almost Famous* (2000), featuring Kate Hudson as groupie Penny Lane, in a fictionalized portrayal of a friend of Crowe's from Portland, Oregon; Crowe won the Academy Award for Best Original Screenplay for this film. In 2002, Oscar winners Goldie Hawn, Susan Sarandon, and Geoffrey Rush starred in another film about groupies, *The Banger Sisters*.

Lisa Rhodes

See also: [Rock and Roll](#): [Rolling Stone](#): [Village Voice](#), [The](#)

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Grunge Rock

Emerging in mainstream American culture in the early 1990s, grunge rock was a subgenre of alternative rock marked by loud, sludgy guitar riffs, anguished vocals, and the rejection of onstage theatrics. Pioneered by Seattle-area bands such as Nirvana and Pearl Jam, grunge rock quickly became associated with Generation X (Americans born between the early 1960s and the early 1980s), whose general apathy toward life was said to mirror the themes of confusion, anger, and loss of purpose prevalent in grunge music. Grunge also inspired a look of its own, which included long hair, torn jeans, and flannel jackets.

The roots of grunge go back to the mid-1980s, when the band Green River debuted in Seattle. Although that group was short lived, its members went on to prominence in later grunge bands of note: singer Mark Arm formed Mudhoney, and other members formed Mother Love Bone, which became Pearl Jam after its singer suffered a drug overdose and was replaced by Eddie Vedder in 1990. Reflecting the incestuous nature of the grunge scene, Vedder also sang for Temple of the Dog, a side project involving members of Soundgarden, another seminal group from Seattle.

The bands that would come to be labeled “grunge” actually pursued disparate musical agendas. Mudhoney extolled the virtues of 1960s garage rock; Soundgarden displayed an obvious Led Zeppelin influence; Pearl Jam evoked arena rock in its anthemic choruses; and Alice in Chains owed much to heavy metal. One young band in the late 1980s, Nirvana, brought the noise-inflected influences of indie rock groups such as Scratch Acid and the Butthole Surfers to the Seattle scene.

Nirvana would be the catalyst of grunge rock’s ascension from local scene to national phenomenon, though that transition was well under way by the time the group’s 1991 *Nevermind* album topped the charts. Seattle record label Sub Pop had worked hard in the late 1980s to create a unifying aesthetic for its bands, which included several of those already mentioned (including Nirvana, Soundgarden, and Mudhoney), as well as Tad, the Screaming Tress, and others. Staff photographer Charles Peterson’s album shots created intense portraits of long-haired Sub Pop bands playing small shows, emphasizing their intimate connection to audiences. British press support for Mudhoney created a sensation in 1989, and Soundgarden signed with a major label, A&M, that year. But it was the release of the multiplatinum *Nevermind*, quickly followed by Pearl Jam’s *Ten*, that heralded in the era of grunge rock. The hair metal bands of the 1980s, such as Poison and Mötley Crüe, who sang of the thrills of life in the fast lane, suddenly found themselves superseded by groups singing angst-ridden tales of broken homes, drug addiction, and self-loathing.

While a Sub Pop press release had used the word *grunge* as early as 1986, it became a catchphrase only after reporters latched onto it in 1991 to describe the burgeoning music scene in Seattle. Recognition came swiftly on various fronts, such as Cameron Crowe’s reverent 1992 film *Singles*, set in the Seattle grunge scene. But

controversy also followed the term, as few musicians willingly accepted the label, and the façade of community was abandoned when Nirvana's Kurt Cobain made disparaging comments about Vedder in interviews.

Another controversy concerned a perceived corporate co-optation: Once major labels had signed all the major grunge bands (even the iconoclastic Nirvana was on Geffen Records), a frenzy of signings ensued. Some bands received contracts simply for coming from Seattle, such as the critically reviled Candlebox, while others were quickly merchandised as grunge, despite their lack of substantive affinities to the key bands. Still others offered imitation, such as Pearl Jam—soundalikes the Stone Temple Pilots.



The Seattle-based rock band Nirvana—front to rear: lead singer Kurt Cobain, drummer Dave Grohl, and bassist Krist Novoselic—elevated grunge to a national phenomenon. Cobain, who died of a self-inflicted shotgun wound in 1994, became an icon of Generation X. (Steve Pyke/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

A backlash was inevitable, and the very artificiality of the “grunge rock” label allowed most bands to distance themselves from it. Cobain’s 1994 suicide signaled the passing of an era. Within a decade, most of the grunge bands had either broken up or fallen in stature. The long-term significance of grunge rock is likely to be its role in alerting major labels to the commercial viability of underground, independent, or alternative rock, rather than any lasting influence of its own.

Whitney Strub

See also: [Seattle, Washington](#).

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Guerrilla Girls

The Guerrilla Girls is a group of anonymous artists, writers, and critics who call themselves the “conscience of the art world.” Beginning in 1985, the feminist group targeted gender and racial discrimination in the art world through pointed, yet humorous, poster campaigns. Although they are best known for their New York–centered art posters, the Guerrilla Girls have addressed a host of cultural and political subjects, from gay rights to the 1991 Persian Gulf War, and they have lectured and performed the world over.

The Guerrilla Girls defy art-world conventions through their anonymous group identity. They wear gorilla masks at all public appearances, a humorous tribute to their “guerrilla art” tactics, and the individuals involved have never publicly identified themselves. Their anonymity provides a strong collective identity that circumvents the art world’s typical focus on the individual, while also protecting the careers of the Guerrilla Girls from potential backlash. To distinguish among the group members, each has taken on the name of a dead female artist or writer. Their pseudonyms, such as Frida Kahlo, Romaine Brooks, Gertrude Stein, and Georgia O’Keeffe, thus draw attention to female predecessors.

From their inception, the Guerrilla Girls have positioned themselves as countercultural activists. They use humor as a subversive tool, imparting serious messages in a tongue-in-cheek style. Their actions and choice of medium pose alternatives to the artistic mainstream. Turning to posters as a way to disseminate their messages to the widest audience, the Guerrilla Girls intentionally chose a lowbrow medium during the heyday of painting in the 1980s. In keeping with their name, they have employed “guerrilla” tactics in the distribution of the posters, plastering them in public spaces during the dead of night. Their messages, too, have been provocative in their critiques of mainstream culture.

Early posters addressed the issue of gender discrimination in the art world by noting which New York galleries had shown the work of women artists less than 10 percent of the time or not at all. Perhaps their most famous poster, from 1989, posed the question, “Do women have to be naked to get into the Metropolitan Museum?” It went on to note, “Less than 5 percent of the artists in the Modern Art Sections are women, but 85 percent of the nudes are female.” While imparting a serious message, the poster also featured a parody of Jean-Auguste-

Dominique Ingres's 1842 painting *Odalisque*, showing a nude, reclining woman seen from behind—now wearing a gorilla mask.

Art collectors, too, have been targets. A poster from 1989 asked, "When racism and sexism are no longer fashionable, what will your art collection be worth?"

Although the Guerrilla Girls have continued to combat racial and gender marginalization in the art world, since the early 1990s they have also expanded their field of vision. They have issued posters opposing war, decrying the treatment of the homeless, supporting abortion rights, and bringing attention to violence against women and sexual harassment in the workplace. The Guerrilla Girls disseminate their cultural criticism through posters, books, and worldwide lectures, workshops, and performances.

While they continue to position themselves as a critical voice from the outside, the Guerrilla Girls have simultaneously entered the mainstream. Their posters appear in art history textbooks and are collected internationally by art museums. The Guerrilla Girls have also published five books: *Confessions of the Guerrilla Girls* (1995), *The Guerrilla Girls Bedside Companion to the History of Western Art* (1998), *Bitches, Bimbos and Ballbreakers: The Guerrilla Girls Guide to Female Stereotypes* (2003), *The Guerrilla Girls Art Museum Activity Book* (2005), and *The Hysterical Herstory of Hysteria and How It Was Cured From Ancient Times Until Now* (2010).

Rachel Epp Buller

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Guerrilla Theater

The term *guerrilla theater* (also referred to as *street theater*) is attributed to counterculture actor and playwright Peter Berg and was codified in R.G. Davis's manifesto for the San Francisco Mime Troupe (SFMT) in May 1965. Borrowing from the image and tactics of the Latin American rebel fighter Che Guevara and sharing beliefs with the contemporaneous Free Speech Movement in Berkeley, California, Davis envisioned guerrilla theater as a nonviolent cultural insurrection aimed at fundamentally altering a morally bankrupt postwar America.

In his essay "Staging the Revolution: Guerrilla Theater as a Countercultural Practice, 1965–1968," Michael William Doyle traces guerrilla theater's stages of evolution, which began in the parks of San Francisco, moved to the streets of that city's Haight-Ashbury district and then to the media spectacles at the New York Stock Exchange and the Pentagon, and culminated at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Mayor Richard Daley's notoriously ironfisted Chicago. Davis—a mime who had founded the SFMT in 1959—initiated guerrilla theater in 1961, when he became acquainted with Saul Landau and Nina Serrano, founders of the journal *Studies on the Left*. Landau and Serrano collaborated on several early performances and were instrumental in helping to define guerrilla theater's tripartite objective: to teach people, to change people, and to embody change for people.

With SFMT, Davis revived and elaborated the commedia dell'arte style of public theatrical performance that

flourished in Italy in the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. In May 1962, Davis and SFMT initiated their first commedia dell'arte performance, *The Dowry*. They performed it for free in a San Francisco park, as they would do with future works. Also following the approach of modernist German playwright and poet Bertolt Brecht, *The Dowry* and plays such as *The Minstrel Show, or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel* were a highly controversial and provocative means of engaging audiences in social critique. Such performances quickly attracted notoriety, especially among other members of the burgeoning cultural revolution.

The Haight-Ashbury Diggers, a splinter group of SFMT, formed in 1966 to begin the "Free City" experiment and a new stage in the evolution of guerrilla theater. Among the twenty or so members of SFMT who left to form the Diggers were actor Peter Coyote and Peter Berg. The Diggers took Davis's guerrilla theater to the streets of San Francisco, where it acquired a character of insurgency, spontaneity, and what is now called "culture jamming."

Performed irregularly and often improvised, productions aspired to Russian philosopher Mikhail Bakhtin's concept of the carnivalesque—dissolving the boundaries between actors and audience, stage and hall, real and make-believe, male and female, black and white, and past, present, and future. They were fluid irruptions of theatrical performance critically aimed at their sociopolitical enemies. A guiding tenet was that one must enact the future, not just imagine it.

In its third stage, the guerrilla theater movement spread across the country through underground newspapers and networks of student groups. It was taken up in New York City by such counterculture groups as the Youth International Party (yippies) and the East Side Service Organization (ESSO). Yippie founders Jerry Rubin and Abbie Hoffman adopted the methods of the Haight-Ashbury Diggers, even calling themselves the New York Diggers for a time. But they added a new element: the media. They viewed the media as an easily manipulated propaganda arm for turning the nation's youth on to the cultural revolution. Hoffman's attempt to levitate the Pentagon and the New York Stock Exchange stunt—where members of ESSO and the New York Diggers infiltrated a tour of the exchange and scattered dollar bills from the balcony, causing a frenzy on the floor—were perfectly suited to the mass media's spectacle-oriented news programming. By staging spectacles designed for consumption by mainstream Americans, guerrilla theater became the means through which protest movements transmitted their messages to an eager media.

In 1967, Hoffman and Rubin established the yippies, in part to address the ideological differences between West and East Coast Diggers. The San Francisco Diggers wanted the New Yorkers to dissociate themselves from the group. They felt that rather than breaking down the barriers between actors and audience, Rubin and Hoffman reinforced spectatorship through their use of the media. The goal of the yippies, much broader in scope than that of the Diggers, was to publicize the revolution and bring members of the various counterculture movements together. This would culminate in the Festival of Life in Chicago during the 1968 Democratic National Convention. It was designed to be a vast, theatrical, guerrilla event in Grant Park, where thousands of youth were to converge in protest against the war in Vietnam, poverty, and racism, for the world to witness on television.

A sibling of guerrilla theater, which shares its subversive history, is radical puppetry, such as that practiced by Bread & Puppet Theater, beginning in 1963 in New York. Radical puppetry is descended from the Italian *opera dei pupi*, whose characters can be traced back to the "masked" stock characters of commedia dell'arte. Both radical puppetry and guerrilla theater have become mainstays of contemporary protest strategies and theatrical troupes around the country. The environmental organization Greenpeace, for example, adopted guerrilla-theater strategies as early as 1971 to publicize its agenda.

At the turn of the millennium, a number of local guerrilla theater troupes were performing in the United States. Street theater has become standard practice at demonstrations and rallies, especially with the use of puppets, in what are often called "direct action" campaigns. Groups such as Art and Revolution, Billboard Liberation Front, the Cacophony Society, and Adbusters use guerrilla theater tactics as a primary mode of expression and critique. Guerrilla theatrics have even become common in television advertising, as in the "truth" campaign to publicize the practices of tobacco companies.

See also: [Free Speech Movement: Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#); [Hoffman, Abbie](#); [Rubin, Jerry](#); [San Francisco, California](#); [Yippies](#).

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Guthrie, Woody (1912–1967)

Folk singer-songwriter Woody Guthrie is perhaps the best-known cultural icon of the Old Left in American society. In a life filled with instability and personal struggle, Guthrie dedicated his entire folk music career to labor politics, social justice, and the propagation of leftist political values. For much of his life, he was a traveling musician, playing to migrant laborers, unionists, hoboes, and other working-class audiences across the country. Woody's son Arlo carried on his musical legacy to the next generation of the American counterculture, helping bridge the gap between the class-conscious Old Left and the student-led New Left of the 1960s. The music and life of Woody Guthrie also inspired such up-and-coming performers as Bob Dylan and the great folk revival of the 1950s and 1960s.

Woodrow Wilson Guthrie was born on July 14, 1912, in Okemah, Oklahoma. After the onset of the Great Depression when he was still a teenager, Guthrie began a life of “rambling.” From Oklahoma, he found his way to Pampa, Texas, where he fell in love with and married Mary Jennings in 1933; they had three children.

When the Dust Bowl storms devastated the area, Woody, like many of his generation, took to the road to try and find a way to support his family. Heading toward California, he hitched rides on the roads and railways in search of work and adventure. The themes of economic hardship, simple needs, travel, free living, and social justice came to dominate Guthrie's music, politics, and vision of America.

After collecting and playing songs as a wandering folk minstrel, Guthrie began his formal music career in Los Angeles during the late 1930s. He made a name for himself there in radio broadcasts of hillbilly and folk music with singer Maxine “Lefty Lou” Crissman. In 1940, Guthrie moved to New York City, where he met folk-industry icons Alan Lomax and Moses Asch. Guthrie and Lomax, a music historian, recorded three hours of music and conversation for the Library of Congress, and Guthrie recorded his first commercial album, *Dust Bowl Ballads*, later that year. Also during this time, Guthrie wrote what would become his most famous song, “This Land Is Your Land,” which he recorded with Lomax and Asch in 1944.

In New York and elsewhere, Guthrie developed a close relationship with members of the Communist Party USA (CPUSA). He and his fellow musicians also performed songs of protest and activism as part of a loosely knit group they called the Almanac Singers. Guthrie became notorious for his leftist politics, brandishing the slogan “This Machine Kills Fascists” on his guitar during World War II and writing a column called “Woody Sez” for the CPUSA's daily newspaper, the *People's Daily World*.

During this time, Guthrie met his great friend and fellow folk singer, Pete Seeger. Guthrie toured and recorded with Seeger and the Almanac Singers throughout the 1940s. Guthrie and his comrades wrote catchy “people’s songs” to politicize, educate, entertain, and inspire the morale of the New Deal and World War II generations. The Almanac Singers proved integral in shifting the focus of American communism from proletarian revolution to broader initiatives, often performing at factories and union meetings.

In 1941, Guthrie moved with his family to Portland, Oregon, where he provided music for a film documentary. After this project, the Guthries moved back to Texas, and Woody left again to hitchhike back to New York. He was busy traveling, performing, writing, and increasingly involved in radical politics, and, by early 1943, his marriage ended. In 1945, he married a young dancer, Marjorie Mazia; they had four children, including son Arlo.

During the war, inspired by his opposition to fascism, Guthrie served in the U.S. military and continued to write songs. His postwar life was plagued by loss and turmoil. By 1952, he had lost his four-year-old daughter Cathy Anne in a fire and had split up with his wife (he later was remarried to Anneke Van Kirk). He was diagnosed with Huntington’s disease, the degenerative neurological disorder that had caused the death of his mother. And he came under political attack by the rabidly anticommunist senator Joseph McCarthy.

Despite his personal circumstances, throughout the late 1940s and early 1950s, Guthrie continued to write protest songs such as “1913 Massacre” about a miners’ strike in Calumet, Michigan, and “Deportee” about a plane of Mexican farmworkers that crashed on its way from Oakland to the El Centro, California, Deportation Center.

Finally unable to control his muscle movements due to progression of Huntington’s, he was permanently institutionalized. During his institutionalization, a number of folk musicians kept in contact with Guthrie, offering moral support and keeping his music alive. Seeger and Dylan visited often, and they used his protest songs to arouse and embolden political progressives.

Guthrie’s music also helped inspire people involved in the Newport Folk Festival, the civil rights movement, and Vietnam War protests. His songs, many of which were popularized by the 1950s folk group the Weavers, were recorded by virtually every major folk musician and ensemble for decades to come, and by many mainstream performers as well. “This Land Is Your Land” was and is sung in schools, summer groups, and other youth venues throughout the United States. In 1968, presidential candidate Bobby Kennedy proposed making it the national anthem.

By the time of his death, on October 3, 1967, Guthrie had been transformed from an unknown hobo into a cultural icon. His 1943 autobiography, *Bound for Glory*, was adapted for film in 1976, and stars David Carradine as the rambling Dust Bowl folk singer. In 1998, *Mermaid Avenue*, a new collection of Guthrie songs, unveiled lyrics he wrote in the late 1940s and early 1950s, with music composed and performed by British singer-songwriter Billy Bragg and the American country-rock band Wilco.

Joel A. Lewis

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Hackers

A hacker is a computer expert who uses his or her knowledge to destroy or obstruct software, hardware, or online operations for personal enjoyment or gain. Sometimes called “crackers” by other computer virtuosos, these criminals are often very bright but alienated young men. Drawn by the challenge of defeating the security measures taken to protect computer systems, hackers derive pleasure from making sure their successes are known. While some may carry out harmless pranks, an increasing number trumpet their successes through the destruction of data, denial of service, or theft of information for personal gain.

The mainstream media and general public regard hackers as criminals who present a danger to a smoothly functioning society. Hackers may spread viruses to other computers, use spyware to obtain sensitive information, or attack popular Web sites and impede online business. Both federal and state governments have enacted statutes to make hacking a crime with varying degrees of punishment.

Early Hackers

Hackers trace their roots to the Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT) in Cambridge in the late 1950s, when selected computer science students were allowed to work with campus mainframes to explore ways of improving the software. They borrowed the term *hacking* from model-railroad hobbying, where it refers to the modification of switches and controls to make the trains run faster or on different paths than expected. The original computer hackers did similar things with software, finding new ways of performing operations and shortcuts to make software perform beyond the capabilities of the original design. Many of the early hackers joined the staff at MIT and other universities, where they improved upon existing software and wrote new software. They were driven to solve complex technological problems and share their accomplishments with others.

The development of a darker hacker subculture dates to 1971, when “phreaking” became a fad among many young men. The word is a combination of phone, freak, and free. According to urban legend, a blind San Francisco boy named Joe Engressia with perfect pitch happened to whistle a 2,600-hertz tone into the phone while talking to his grandmother. The signal disconnected his grandmother, but did not hang up the phone. The boy was then able to dial another number and get connected without being charged.

Engressia told his friend John Draper about the experience. Draper, a member of the San Francisco counterculture, learned that a toy whistle being given away in Cap'n Crunch cereal boxes could emit a tone of the same frequency. He soon perfected the technique and shared it with other members of the counterculture. Word quickly spread, thanks largely to yippie cofounder Abbie Hoffman, who published the information in his underground counterculture newsletter, *Youth International Party Line*. Draper became known by the nickname “Captain Crunch,” and using the whistle to make free calls became a way of rebelling against the establishment.

As telephone-company fraud spread among the subculture of phreakers, many became interested in other ways technology could be used to tweak big business. Most phreakers adopted code names. Members of a West Coast group of phreakers calling themselves the Homebrew Computer Club devised something they called the “blue box,” which could use different signals to manipulate the telephone company’s computers and make calls for free. Two of the creators of the blue box were Berkeley Blue (Steve Jobs) and Oak Toebark (Steve Wozniak), who would go on to found Apple Computer in 1976. Meanwhile, in 1971, *Esquire* magazine published an article titled “Secrets of the Little Blue Box” that provided instructions to make the blue box.

The late 1970s saw the development of a national computer network called ARPANET (the precursors of the Internet), which initially connected computers at the U.S. Department of Defense, universities, and selected businesses. Hackers, who were among the first to get personal computers (PCs) before they became available and affordable to the mass market, used their PCs to break into computers linked to ARPANET through telephone

lines, with the goal of breaching security measures and gaining access to information on other systems.

It also was at this time that the term *hacker* came to be used among practitioners. Reflecting the original meaning at MIT, hackers used their PCs to break into more powerful mainframes.

During the early 1980s, the first bulletin board systems (BBSes, or online message centers accessible only to members) appeared. Hackers had their own BBSes and restricted access to members of designated groups, such as the Legion of Doom and the Chaos Computer Club. BBSes allowed hackers to share secrets and boast of their exploits. In 1984, one of the first electronic newsletters devoted to hacking, *2600: The Hacker Quarterly*, appeared.

Mainstream society became conscious of hackers and the hacking subculture in 1983 with the release of the feature film *WarGames*. Starring Matthew Broderick as a high school computer genius, the movie depicts him breaking into the school computer and changing grades, as well as getting free airline tickets and phone calls. He also breaks into a Department of Defense computer and nearly causes nuclear war. The movie captures many aspects of the hacker subculture, including the attention on gaming.

Hacking activity gained increasing attention from the media, and public pressure forced the federal government to begin considering criminal penalties for intentional breaches of computer security. The first prosecutions were based on existing federal and state laws, such as those against trespassing. In 1981, Pat Riddle (code name Captain Zap) became the first hacker to be prosecuted, for breaking into Department of Defense computers. Because the federal criminal codes had no specific provisions against computer hacking, Riddle got off lightly.

In 1986, Congress passed the Computer Fraud and Abuse Act, which prescribed penalties for unauthorized access to financial information or information in federal government computers, the transmission of programs that could damage another computer or network, and interstate trafficking of passwords. Because the legislation did not cover juveniles, however, many hackers could not be prosecuted.

Further Crackdown

In the late 1980s, a new type of hacker appeared. Instead of simply breaking into a system for the purposes of personal pleasure or observation, the new breed of hackers began to take or destroy information for their own profit or enjoyment.

In 1987, the first computer virus appeared at the University of Delaware. Known as the "Brain Virus," it infected floppy disks and was intended to deter unauthorized copying of programs. A year later, Robert Morris, Jr., the son of a researcher at the National Computer Security Center in Washington, D.C., created a virus that shut down ARPANET for weeks.

Realization of the harm viruses could do caused federal and state governments to crack down harder on hackers. On January 18, 1990, the U.S. Secret Service and law enforcement agencies from Arizona and Chicago launched Operation Sundevil, an attempt to round up computer hackers for alleged illegal activities. Many known computer hackers were targeted, especially members of the Legion of Doom, as well as individuals suspected of credit card fraud and theft of telephone services.

Despite the efforts of law enforcement, hackers continued to break into computer systems. As Internet commerce grew, companies such as Amazon, eBay, and Yahoo! suffered attacks that brought their systems to a halt. Every attempt to strengthen online security just presented a new break-in challenge to hackers. When the 1995 film *Hackers* took a less than favorable attitude toward computer break-in specialists, hackers responded by attacking the movie's Web site.

The hacker community today remains an underground subculture. A tradition of secrecy, nicknames, and fear of law enforcement makes members reluctant to reveal their true identities. It has been estimated that more than 1,000 so-called true hackers (experts on computer systems) are active as of the early 2000s, and that many thousands of others use existing software to commit cybercrimes. The annual damage they do has been estimated

at between \$800 million and \$1.5 billion, though a definitive figure remains elusive.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Internet](#).

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Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco

The Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco, commonly known as “the Haight,” was named after the intersection of Haight and Ashbury Streets. The neighborhood, located in the western part of the city near Golden Gate Park, gained international recognition as the center of the hippie movement in the mid-1960s.

The Haight became a haven for the youth counterculture, including illegal drug use and the rock and roll lifestyle, beginning in about 1965. Groups such as the Diggers—a loosely organized community group with anarchist leanings that staged street plays, political art shows, and free concerts—helped sustain the community and its wayward youth, many of them teen runaways, who arrived from all over the country. The Diggers, who operated from 1966 to 1968, ran stores and free programs that provided food, medical care, transportation, and housing. The Ashbury Free Clinic opened in June 1967 to help alleviate the public health problems associated with drug use and life in the streets and park.

Local businesses catering to the Haight’s psychedelic counterculture, such as the Blue Unicorn Coffee House, the first coffeehouse in the neighborhood, began operating. One especially popular hangout was the Psychedelic Shop, which opened in January 1966 and is considered the granddaddy of “head shops” for being the first to openly sell drug paraphernalia and other products to the youth counterculture, such as black lights and incense.

The birth of psychedelic culture in America is often traced to another event in Haight-Ashbury in January 1966, the so-called Trips Festival. San Francisco’s first major psychedelic “happening,” the three-day event attracted 10,000 people and featured local rock bands such as the Grateful Dead and Big Brother and the Holding Company (with lead singer Janis Joplin), punch spiked with the psychedelic drug LSD, and the first major light

show of the era. In the aftermath of that event, the music of the Grateful Dead became identified as “acid rock,” because it was meant to be enjoyed while under the influence of LSD.



San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district, named for the streets that intersect at its center, was the heart of the 1967 Summer of Love and the hippie movement. (Michael Ochs Archives/Stringer/Getty Images)

Media attention surrounding the Trips Festival brought young people flocking to Haight-Ashbury. By June 1966, an estimated 15,000 hippies were believed to be living in the neighborhood, a movement that led to larger and larger public events. A massive gathering called the Love Pageant Rally was held on October 6, 1966, in Golden Gate Park to decry the fact that LSD had been made illegal and to show middle-class, mainstream America that those who took it were not criminals or bad people but free-thinking individuals seeking creative and artistic expression. To prove their point, free LSD was distributed, while again the Grateful Dead and Big Brother and the Holding Company played for free.

The Love Pageant Rally brought even more publicity to the Haight-Ashbury district and to the youth movement in general. One of the largest subsequent events was the Gathering of the Tribes for a Human Be-In, held in the Haight and Golden Gate Park in January 1967. The outdoor event, which attracted more than 20,000 hippies, hucksters, tourists, media representatives, and others, featured speeches by psychologist and LSD advocate Timothy Leary, poet Allen Ginsberg, and comedian Dick Gregory, and music by popular San Francisco rock bands. The main philosophy of the Human Be-In was that of the hippie counterculture itself: encouraging people to question authority and to reject middle-class morals and values.

The Human Be-In also was the event that introduced Leary's famous phrase, “Turn on, tune in, drop out” and brought the word *psychedelic* to middle-class America. The event attracted national media attention and drew hordes of young people to Haight-Ashbury. An estimated 100,000 people arrived in the neighborhood in what became known as the Summer of Love of 1967.

The frenzy of Haight-Ashbury was nourished as well by the increasing popularity of psychedelic rock, which was gaining more radio airplay. As a result, the Haight became internationally famous for the well-known psychedelic rock groups that lived and played there, including Big Brother and the Holding Company, the Dead, Jefferson Airplane, and Quicksilver Messenger Service. Collectively, their music came to be known as the “San Francisco Sound.”

The 1967 release of Scott McKenzie's recording of the song “San Francisco (Be Sure to Wear Flowers in Your Hair)” marked the apex of the San Francisco Sound and the Haight-Ashbury youth movement. The song reached number one on the European music charts and number four in the United States, and became the unofficial anthem of the Haight-Ashbury movement, earning its members the nickname “flower children” from the mainstream press.

It was at this time as well that the term *hippie* became widely associated with the youth counterculture movement, largely because local newspaper columnist Herb Caen began using it regularly in his column. The incessant media coverage of the Summer of Love thrust Haight-Ashbury into the public eye and national cultural consciousness. The area quickly became a popular tourist attraction, with one company offering what it called “Hippie Hop” bus tours through the neighborhood.

The media coverage also contributed to strong cultural backlash against hippies and the youth counterculture. Indeed, many of the movement’s original members were prompted to declare the “death” of the hippie in a protest parade through the Haight in 1968, staged by the Diggers.

Nevertheless, many young people who had come to the Haight before and during the Summer of Love adopted the hippie lifestyle—from the music, drugs, and clothing styles to communal living—and helped spread it across the United States and Europe, giving momentum to a broader youth counterculture movement that lasted until the early 1970s. Today, despite high rents and the presence of chain stores such as the Gap and Ben & Jerry’s, Haight-Ashbury retains its counterculture flavor with many stores, cafés, restaurants, and music clubs still having an artsy, bohemian feel.

Judith Gerber

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Be-Ins](#): [Flower Children](#): [Free Love](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Guerrilla Theater](#): [Hippies](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [LSD](#): [Psychedelia](#): [San Francisco, California](#).

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Hair

The two-act stage musical *Hair: The American Tribal Love-Rock Musical* is about a group of young men and women involved in the peace, drug, and free-love movements of the late 1960s. *Hair* was the first major musical about the hippie movement and general youth counterculture of the 1960s, and it would forever be associated with them.

Created by James Rado and Gerome Ragni, *Hair* made its debut off-Broadway in New York City in 1967. The show moved to Broadway’s Biltmore Theatre the following April and ran for more than 1,500 performances there until closing in July 1972. A production also ran in the Aquarius Theatre on Sunset Boulevard in Los Angeles, and in London at the Shaftesbury Theatre in September 1968, where it ran for nearly 2,000 performances. The Broadway cast album won a Grammy Award in 1969 for Best Musical Score. A film version of *Hair*, with a plot slightly different from that of the stage show, was released in 1979. Several songs from *Hair*, such as “Aquarius/Let the Sun Shine In” and “Good Morning, Starshine,” became famous in their own right.

The story revolves around the Tribe, a group of hippies involved in the anti-Vietnam War protests of the 1960s. One member, Claude Bukowski, has received a draft notice and is struggling to decide whether to report for

conscription or continue to protest the war. By the end of the musical, Claude chooses to leave the Tribe and report for military service. Few of the songs in the show, however, are directly related to the plot, reflecting instead the opinions of the Tribe on everything from the merits of long hair and the evils of the Vietnam War to the pleasures of sex and drugs.

Hair was controversial from its debut. The act 1 finale includes a “happening” in which the entire cast, male and female, sing and dance in the nude. During the course of the show, cast members desecrate an American flag and challenge social and political conventions in other ways as well. A number of songs are sexually explicit (“Sodomy”), racially charged (“Colored Spade,” a list of derogatory racial epithets sung by a black cast member), or politically sensitive (“Three-Five-Zero-Zero,” which describes the horrors of the Vietnam War). But not all of the show’s lyrics are intended to shock. Act 2 includes a song titled “What a Piece of Work Is Man,” with lyrics from a soliloquy in William Shakespeare’s *Hamlet*.

The staging of *Hair* prompted a number of informal protests and legal actions in the 1960s and 1970s, mainly over the show’s obscene language, onstage nudity, and flag desecration. The show was the subject of two cases that went before the U.S. Supreme Court. In May 1970, the high court overturned the ruling of a Massachusetts state court that shut down the production in Boston for alleged obscenity. And in 1975, the Supreme Court ruled that the city of Chattanooga, Tennessee, had exercised “unlawful prior restraint” in barring a performance of the show in its civic auditorium. By denying the show’s producers access to the venue, the Court held, the city had breached their right to free speech under the First Amendment. Thus, in addition to symbolizing the 1960s counterculture and paving the way for future rock musicals in the 1970s and beyond, *Hair* challenged public opinion and help change American law regarding theater censorship and the right to free speech.

A 2009 Broadway revival earned strong critical notices and a healthy box-office return. Although the production was praised for its “kinetic” energy and choreography, few could dispute the fact that it derived part of its appeal from pure nostalgia and that it could not replicate the impact and daring of the original *Hair*.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Be-Ins](#): [Hippies](#): [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Happenings

A happening is an event-based work of art that takes the form of a performance, spontaneous or orchestrated, that may include any combination of sound, light, image projection, collage, sculpture, text, and audience participation. The term is said to have been coined by American artist Allan Kaprow, who referred to it in a 1958 article, “The Legacy of Jackson Pollock,” published in the prominent journal *ARTnews*. From its origins as a complicated, technical concept that represented the culmination of a number of avant-garde approaches to artistic

production, *happening* eventually was assimilated into mainstream culture as a synonym for *groovy*.

Before it took on these pop cultural overtones, however, Kaprow's idea of a work of art as an organic act or event—in short, something that *happens*—proved deeply influential for cutting-edge art created during and after the 1960s both in the United States and in other countries. With Kaprow as its main practitioner and theorist, the happening aesthetic informed a wide range of later artists, such as those associated with the transatlantic, New York-based Fluxus circle, the Japanese Gutai Group, and Viennese Actionism.

In his treatise on Pollock, penned two years after the artist's death, Kaprow identified Pollock's action painting as a key moment in the development of modern art, a clear response to early-twentieth-century surrealist innovations but also a point of departure for the younger generation of American artists. He characterized Pollock's artistic process as the product of automatic or unconscious direction; reliance upon artistic gesture as opposed to technical skill; bodily involvement within the creation of the work; entanglement of artist, spectator, and artwork; transcendence of the confines of conventional artistic format and materials; a manifestation of Zen ritual; incorporation of everyday life or "reality"; and inclusion of randomness and chance. These same qualities appeared within Kaprow's own artwork from the late 1950s onward, soon to be referred to as happenings.

The creator of a happening traverses the traditional boundaries between disciplines, drawing from a wide variety of media and sensory experiences to create event-based works of art. In a 1961 text titled "Happenings in the New York Scene," for example, Kaprow describes scenarios that took place in artists' lofts during which "a nude girl runs after a racing pool of a searchlight, throwing spinach greens into it. Slides and movies, projected over walls and people, depict hamburgers.... You come in as a spectator and maybe you discover you're caught in it after all, as you push things around like so much furniture."

High-art production generally circumscribed and segmented forms of artistic practice, relegating artists to specific categories such as "painter," "sculptor," "actor," "composer," or "writer." Makers of happenings, by contrast, are simply "artists." Their processes include any or all of these separate genres, and they generally do not adhere to the usual roles of an artist. Indeed, anyone can produce a happening at any time and in any context, the looseness of its form and content rendering obsolete the typical notion and function of the fine artist within society.

Although happenings belied strict categorization as an art form, they nonetheless displayed some common characteristics. Generally, a happening was enacted as some kind of performance, and Kaprow describes his early pieces as theatrical in nature. Kaprow orchestrated the first of these in 1957 while working as an art history instructor at Rutgers University's Douglass College (then the women's division).

This was soon followed by a "collage performance" at the farm of sculptor George Segal near New Brunswick, New Jersey. He planned a later event, *18 Happenings in 6 Parts*, to coincide with the 1959 opening of the Reuben Gallery in New York City; *18 Happenings* drew from the conventions of musical composition, theater, and literature. Mimicking the rigid and sparse style of his former teacher, avant-garde composer John Cage, the piece also incorporated peripheral and random noises. Parts of its text were fragments from the avant-garde works of French poets Stéphane Mallarmé and Guillaume Apollinaire.

From the outset, the format of happenings was not only interdisciplinary, but also heavily indebted to modernist theory and artistic precedent. After beginning his career as an action painter, first studying as an undergraduate at New York University and then working under the tutelage of abstract expressionist painter Hans Hofmann, Kaprow went on to obtain a master's degree at Columbia University under art historian Meyer Shapiro. As he matured as an artist, his work came to incorporate sound and light, as well as techniques associated with assemblage and environment art. Indeed he is credited with helping advance each of these other genres and with founding the performance art movement.

After testing out his ideas at Rutgers, Kaprow elected to study under Cage at the New School for Social Research in New York in 1957 and 1958. His decision to continue his education in avant-garde music and composition was based, in part, on a desire to expand the capacity of his work to accommodate "more action." Cage, in fact,

encouraged Kaprow to hold some of his experiments during class. In addition to the precedent set by action painting, surrealist automatism, and Cage's music, early-twentieth-century futurist manifestos and dada chance experiments also contributed to Kaprow's understanding of the happening.

During the 1960s, the increasingly popular use of the word *happening* (such as "Bobby Kennedy is a happening") deflated its value as a means to describe works of art or artistic processes. Indeed, the popular Motown singing group the Supremes released a pop song called "The Happening" in 1966.

To distinguish between artistic happenings and other, mainstream uses of the term, Kaprow later delineated a seven-point definition of what constituted a happening. To further compensate for the mass dissemination of the term, artists developed other phrases through which to characterize their activities. Fluxus member Dick Higgins, for example, used the term *intermedia* to characterize the hybrid, interdisciplinary character of his work, as well as the breaking down of barriers between modes of cultural production, including mass media such as television. Even Kaprow preferred to describe his later work as "acts" or "events."

Colleen Becker

See also: [Abstract Expressionism: Performance Art](#).

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Hare Krishna

Hare Krishna is the popular name of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness (ISKCON), a Hindu movement founded in the United States by A.C. Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada in 1966. The name, also used in reference to members ("Hare Krishnas"), derives from a chant—*Hare Krishna* ("O, Lord Krishna")—repeated by devotees. Swami Prabhupada, born Abhay Charan De in Calcutta, India, in 1896, migrated to the United States in 1965 to preach his philosophy of devotion to the West. Prabhupada belonged to a Hindu sect called the Gaudiya Vaishnava, which claimed a direct line of succession of disciples since the fifteenth century of Sri Krishna Chaitanya Mahaprabhu of Navadvip or Nadia in eastern India.

The Gaudiya Vaishnavas practice *bhakti-yoga*, or the yoga of devotion, and worship Krishna as the supreme and original deity. Krishna is known in classical Hinduism as the eighth avatar, or reincarnation, of Vishnu—Vishnu being one of the three godheads in the Hindu trinity (with Brahma and Shiva). In the Gaudiya Vaishnava sect, however, Krishna is regarded as the original, primeval form of Vishnu and, according to Prabhupada, “the source of all forms of incarnation.”

The act of chanting the names of Krishna can lead to salvation, it is believed. These chants include the one by which the group became identified: “*Hare Krishna, Hare Krishna, Krishna Krishna, Hare Hare. Hare Rama, Hare Rama, Rama Rama, Hare Hare.*”

Early Success

Prabhupada founded the first center of the ISKCON in 1966 in New York. Many of his early followers were hippies, who were attracted to the idea of Eastern spirituality as an antidote for Western materialism and aggression. The doctrine of love—a central element of Vaishnava bhakti-yoga—attracted and resonated with the hippie worldview of peace and free love.

The Hindu tradition is said to have been introduced to America in 1893, with the welcoming address to the Parliament of World Religions in Chicago by Swami Vivekananda, a Bengali Indian monk. Swami Vivekananda, who taught nondualist (*advaita* in Sanskrit) Hindu philosophy, later founded the first yoga centers and the first Hindu organization, the Vedanta Society, in the United States.

Vivekananda’s success in making Hinduism accessible to Americans inspired a wave of Hindu gurus and scholars to travel from India to the United States. Among them decades later was Prabhupada, a middle-class Bengali Indian Hindu, who likely dreamed of tracing Vivekananda’s journey to the West and repeating the success of the latter.

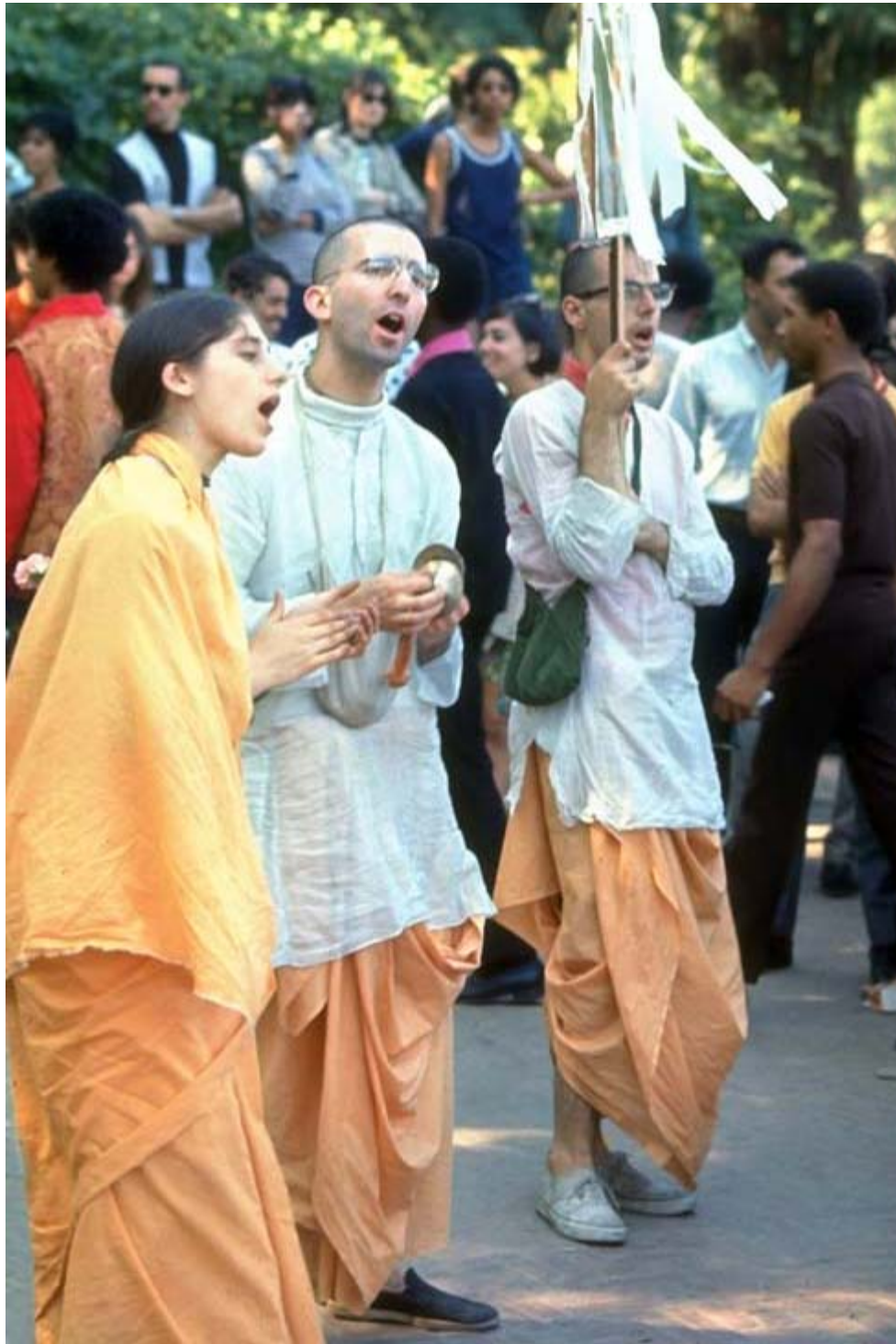
ISKCON has been the most significant counterculture movement in the United States that originated in India. In terms of visibility, organization, and membership, it has been far more widespread than Vivekananda’s Ramakrishna Mission or Vedanta Society.

Hinduism from the 1990s onward also has been represented in the United States by the Indian-run Vishva Hindu Parishad (VHP) and its allies, which cater mostly to the nostalgic sentiments of expatriates from India. In spite of the growing visibility of traditional Hindu temples and Indian Hindu immigrants, the VHP movement has barely scratched the surface of American mainstream, posing little competition to the Hare Krishnas.

Although ISKCON’s early success was soon dampened by accusations that it is a cult—by the Citizen’s Freedom Foundation (CFF) and other bodies—it has survived the legal and extralegal attacks with resilience and organized effort.

The Movement Spreads

Prabhupada’s initial success was meteoric. As early as 1967, a temple was founded in San Francisco’s Haight-Ashbury district. Within eight years of the founding of the first center in New York, ISKCON had sixty-eight listed centers across the globe; twenty-eight of them were in the United States. The organization began a business of manufacturing and selling incense to support itself financially, which proved lucrative. Prabhupada, who believed fervently in the dissemination of religious knowledge through print, published an annotated translation of the Hindu classic *Bhagavadgita*, titled *Bhagavad Gita as It Is*, soon after his arrival in America. The book sold about 50,000 copies in the first six months of publication, and continues to be distributed by ISKCON members and volunteers throughout the United States.



Members of the Hare Krishna sect wear traditional saffron-colored robes and chant their mantra while walking through a park in 1967. The Hindu-based movement was introduced in the United States the previous year. (Vernon Merritt III/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Among Prabhupada's other significant publications is the annotated translation of the *Shrimad Bhagavatam*, a key Vaishnava text. During U.S. Senate hearings on cults in 1979, ISKCON spokesmen projected the scholarly nature of its founder and his publications, quoting words of praise for both by a number of Western scholars.

It was during and following this time that the ISKCON movement began merging into the Hindu mainstream and formed an alliance with the growing ranks of mainstream Hindu immigrants in the United States. With its temples, schools, and educational centers, ISKCON provided a vital service to many Indian Hindu expatriates who wanted

their children to know and learn about Hinduism. In more recent years, several former students have reported physical abuse they suffered in Krishna schools and centers during the 1970s and 1980s. ISKCON has since revised its policies and launched a campaign to revive its image.

Recruitment and Rituals

As a recruiting movement, ISKCON differed greatly from the earlier groups initiated by religious leaders from India. Prabhupada had initially tried to recruit the elderly population, but soon shifted his attention to American youth, with whom he had far greater success.

The young people who became interested in ISKCON were more inclined to a liberal counterculture movement than to Prabhupada's Vaishnava philosophy per se. They were not always keen on radically changing their lifestyle, but many were willing to support the temple-based infrastructure in the early stages. Prabhupada, aware of that disposition, fine-tuned the requirements for membership. As a result, recruitment grew dramatically, through encounters in public places as well as social networks. Men and women wearing salmon-colored saris became common sights on university campuses, in airports, and on street corners almost anywhere, selling incense and books on Indian philosophy by Prabhupada, eager to speak to anyone willing to listen and invite them to a nearby ISKCON temple.

As of 2009, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness claimed 10,000 temple devotees and 250,000 congregational devotees. The Hare Krishna movement, it maintained, comprised 400 centers, 60 rural communities, 50 schools, and 90 restaurants worldwide.

Rini Bhattacharya Mehta

See also: [Cults: Hippies.](#)

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Harlem Renaissance

The Harlem Renaissance was a flourishing of literature, music, and visual art by African Americans in and around New York City from roughly 1920 until 1939. Although the term itself is largely a misnomer—much of the art associated with the Harlem Renaissance was produced by those living and working outside the boundaries of that Upper Manhattan neighborhood—Harlem became a cultural hotbed during the second and third decades of the twentieth century.

By 1920, most of New York City's African American population resided in Harlem. Such notable figures as the civil rights activist and scholar W.E.B. Du Bois, novelist and editor Jessie Redmon Fauset, author and reformer James Weldon Johnson, poet and writer Langston Hughes, and novelist and folklorist Zora Neale Hurston each lived for

at least some time in what Johnson referred to as “Black Manhattan.”

The Arts as Cultural Nationalism

Although the background and motivation of each participant in the Harlem Renaissance differed, several leaders of the movement conceptualized their activities in explicitly political terms. By the 1920s, Jim Crow practices foreclosed most traditional political avenues to African Americans, and Du Bois and Johnson, in seeking to attain full equality for black Americans, believed that art could play a critical role in their uplift efforts.

In the early decades of the twentieth century, a number of key African American social organizations were formed, several of which had official publications that featured the essays, poems, fiction, and painting of African American artists. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), which directed much of its efforts toward exposing and ending racial violence, was led for many years by Du Bois.

The Crisis, the organ of the NAACP, was guided by Du Bois and literary editor Fauset, who helped “discover” such black writers as Hughes and Jean Toomer. In addition to its often scathing political commentary, *The Crisis* included drawings and paintings by visual artists such as Laura Wheeler Waring and Vivian Schulyer. In short, every aspect of *The Crisis*—from its cover to its content—was designed to positively shape conversations about race in the United States. Other important publications of the movement included *Opportunity*, first published in 1923 by the National Urban League; *The Messenger*, a radical leftist magazine edited by socialists Asa Philip Randolph and Chandler Owen; and *Negro World*, the weekly newspaper of Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association.

While these journals were essential to introducing America to a new generation of black artists, they also were critical in supporting and publicizing African American artists beyond the pages of their periodicals. Both *The Crisis* and *Opportunity* offered yearly contests for the best African American writing and art; organizations such as the Harmon Foundation gave monetary awards to black painters, sculptors, scientists, inventors, and educators. In March 1925, *Survey Graphic* published a special issue titled “Harlem: Mecca for the New Negro,” which contained articles about Negro life by sociologist Charles Johnson (the editor of *Opportunity*), Elise Johnson McDougald, Kelly Miller, and Walter Francis White; fiction and poetry by Langston Hughes, Rudolph Fisher, and Countee Cullen; and visual art by Winold Reiss. Alain Locke’s introductory essay, “The New Negro,” became the basis for an anthology with the same title published later that year, wherein Locke reasserted the centrality of art and cultural heritage in the drive for democracy in the United States.

The New Negro (1925) was just one of several important collections that appeared in the 1920s (others included *The Book of American Negro Poetry*, 1922, and *Ebony and Topaz*, 1927), and by the mid-1920s, more and more African American authors were producing works with major publishing houses. The proliferation gave readers a more varied portrait of African American life than they had ever witnessed.

While Fauset’s novels *There Is Confusion* (1924) and *Plum Bun* (1929) focus on the “respectable” middle-class lives of educated African Americans, Claude McKay’s best-seller *Home to Harlem* (1928) and Fisher’s *The Walls of Jericho* (1928) do not shy away from issues of sex, crime, and drugs. Although the latter two novels are set primarily in Harlem, other writers concentrated on life outside New York City. Toomer’s *Cane* (1923), considered one of the first and most experimental Harlem Renaissance texts, contrasts the “folk” life of the American South with that of urban locales such as Washington, D.C., and Chicago. Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) follows the life of Janie Crawford as she moves around the state of Florida. Eric Walrond’s stories collected in *Tropic Death* (1926) are set in the Caribbean, and McKay’s *Banjo: A Story without a Plot* (1929) unfolds in Marseilles, France.

In addition to depicting different geographies, younger African American writers continued to address a range of social issues. Wallace Thurman’s *The Blacker the Berry: A Novel of Negro Life* (1929) examines the problem of colorism in African American culture, and Nella Larsen’s *Passing* (1929) and George S. Schulyer’s *Black No More* (1931) each analyze the arbitrary nature of the color line in American culture. And although many Harlem

Renaissance novels, poems, and paintings have homoerotic subjects and subtexts, the poet and visual artist Bruce Nugent was one of the first African American artists to be openly homosexual and to write explicitly about same-sex desire.

The Renaissance

Despite the fact that Du Bois and others of the “older guard” aimed for African Americans to be fully and fairly incorporated into American political and social life, there is much about the Harlem Renaissance that appropriately can be considered counterculture. On the one hand, African American artists and writers were at the absolute cutting edge of modernist art. In terms of both aesthetics and content, black men and women were experimenting with dialect, jazz forms, and “primitivism,” along with European traditions, to depict life in their communities.

For example, painter Aaron Douglas, perhaps best known for the many book covers he designed for Harlem Renaissance texts, sought to connect contemporary African American culture with a spiritual Africa. His murals often layer symbols of contemporary black life (jazz instruments and city buildings) on top of symbols from African landscapes, including pyramids, tropical plants, and such. In most instances, the people in Douglas’s paintings mediate the contemporary and the historical: They are silhouettes, with no color distinction to divide them, and it is not unusual for his subjects to be dressed in traditional African or Egyptian clothing while holding a saxophone or banjo.

Some critics during and after the Harlem Renaissance argued that such primitivism (also evident in the writings of Claude McKay, Helene Johnson, and Langston Hughes) only promoted easy stereotypes of African Americans. Others, such as Alain Locke, insisted that Africa could be a site of authenticity and cultural history, which any emergent racial or social group needs in order to build a strong future.

No matter that some African Americans were introduced to African art via European cubists. This primitivism (a term also sometimes used in connection with the celebration of folk cultures of the American South) had a tremendous impact on the art and music of both Europe and white America.

For example, Negro spirituals (or “sorrow songs”)—which James Weldon Johnson described as “songs voicing all of the cardinal virtues of Christianity... through a necessarily modified form of primitive African music”—gained widespread attention during the 1920s. Building on the successes of the Fisk Jubilee Singers on nationwide tours, performers Roland Hayes and Paul Robeson often are credited with increasing the commercial popularity of spirituals.

Although the Harlem Renaissance often is remembered in terms of the literature that the era produced, the 1920s also signaled an increased awareness of two developing genres of music: jazz and blues. Jazz, which developed out of ragtime, was remarkably innovative and gave musicians such as Louis Armstrong and Duke Ellington the opportunity to become some of the first African American celebrities. Black Swan Phonograph Corporation, a “race” recording label that featured black musicians, was founded in 1921, and the company’s first hits were Ethel Waters’s “Down Home Blues” and “Oh Daddy.” And while neither jazz nor blues began in New York City, both forms gained popularity in Manhattan’s nightclubs and saloons.

Notably, much of the Harlem Renaissance unfolded during Prohibition, the nationwide ban on alcohol sales that lasted from 1919 until 1933. As in most major American cities, illegal bars and speakeasies sprouted up everywhere; Harlem, in particular, became an enormously busy locale for the trade of liquor. According to most popular estimates, there were at least 100 drinking establishments that operated in Harlem alone, not even taking into account the ubiquitous “rent” parties that tenants threw in order to pay their bills.

Harlem’s nightlife culture was radical for the simple fact that African Americans and whites often interacted on more equal terms than they would have at other times and in other areas of the city. White interest in Harlem exploded with the publication of the special issue of *Survey Graphic* as well as Carl Van Vechten’s *Nigger Heaven* (1926), a best seller that played up the more scandalous aspects of Harlem’s cabaret scene. As one of George

Schuyler's characters in his 1931 novel *Black No More* notes, the nightclubs were, in a sense, "democratic": whites and blacks frequented "black and tans" (clubs that allowed both African American and white patrons), where people of various backgrounds mingled and danced with one another. Increasingly, African Americans were afforded opportunities to perform in theatrical productions that allowed them to move beyond the limiting minstrel roles that continued to confine many black actors. *Shuffle Along*, a Broadway show whose cast included Florence Mills and Josephine Baker, became a tremendous success in 1921, and each year of the remaining decade produced at least one hit show featuring African Americans.

Yet for all of this advancement and interracial contact, Harlem's nightlife scene, centered in "Jungle Alley" around 133rd Street, also could be extremely exclusive and racist. There were about a dozen upscale cabarets in Harlem, including the Cotton Club, Connie's Inn, and Barron's, which were usually reserved for white patrons, who came to listen to musicians such as Ellington and watch African Americans perform in spectacular, often acrobatic floor shows. In one famous episode, popular bluesman W.C. Handy was denied entry to the Cotton Club, even as he heard his own music being played inside.

Similarly, black clubs and saloons, such as the Lenox Club, the Sugar Cane, and Ned's, were known either to have few white customers or to ban whites or "mixed" parties altogether, out of fear that police scrutiny would be heightened. On occasion, certain songs and dances, such as the Turkey Trot, were forbidden by club owners for the same reason.

Sex also played an important role in Harlem's nightlife. The strict social codes of other parts of Manhattan became blurred north of Central Park, and there was a common belief that New York City police monitored Harlem less closely than other parts of the city. Harlem's nightclubs were places where potential partners could meet and form intimate relationships across color lines and nationalities. This appealed to many whites, who were hesitant to risk their reputations as they would if they were to be seen publicly interacting with African Americans on such terms.

So-called buffet flats, or private apartments where paying customers could view a sex show or hire a prostitute, offered men and women the space to engage in a range of sexual acts. Importantly, Harlem, like Greenwich Village to the south, had a thriving gay and lesbian culture. Same-sex couples acted openly in Harlem's cabarets and saloons, and many performers, including Ma Rainey, Bessie Smith, and Gladys Bentley, celebrated homosexuality in their songs and routines. Drag balls, featuring men elaborately dressed in women's clothing, were particularly popular (and legal) in Harlem. The Hamilton Lodge Ball, Harlem's most famous yearly masquerade performance, attracted transvestites and female impersonators, gays and lesbians, male and female prostitutes, and others in what one historian described as "a grand jamboree of dancing, love making, display, rivalry, drinking and advertisement." With up to 7,000 spectators in any given year, the event was widely covered by the New York press.

This is not to suggest that all Harlemites participated in or endorsed such activities. Members of the church-going middle class often spoke out against such behavior, which they viewed as deviant. Outside of sanctioned balls, cross-dressing men and women were known to be harassed and arrested. Black newspapers such as the *Amsterdam News*, working in tandem with ministers such as Adam Clayton Powell, often "outed" those arrested for "female impersonation" or "homosexual solicitation" by publishing their names, ages, addresses, and occupations and details of their activities.

Clark Barwick

See also: [African Americans: Drag](#); [Du Bois, W.E.B.](#); [Garvey, Marcus](#); [Hughes, Langston](#); [Hurston, Zora Neale](#); [Jazz](#); [Prohibition](#); [Randolph, A. Philip](#); [Robeson, Paul](#).

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Harmonialism

Harmonialism was an American religious movement that linked spiritual peace and physical health with one's ability to tap into a higher spiritual power. The roots of Harmonialism date to the mid-nineteenth century, when other spiritualist movements such as mesmerism (a theory of "animal magnetism" according to which health can be restored through the manipulation of the body's inner substances) and Swedenborgianism (a philosophy suggesting that the material world corresponds to the spiritual world) began to gain adherents in America. Although Harmonialism was presented in a loosely traditional Christian framework, its emphasis on the power of the individual and his or her own mind to achieve inner peace was counter to Christian teachings.

Harmonialism was never a separate church or defined theology. Its founder, if it could be said to have one, was the psychic Andrew Jackson Davis. Davis was a barely educated shoemaker who became known as the Poughkeepsie (New York) Seer. Beginning in 1844, Davis would assume a hypnotized state and describe to clients their ailments and health, believing that he could tap into a higher spiritual plane to receive greater knowledge. Davis believed this self-enlightenment was available to all individuals and that organized religions prevented individual growth. His "Harmonial Philosophy" called for men and women to live in harmony with nature and according to natural law.

In 1851, Davis founded the Harmonial Brotherhood, an organization to promote spiritual harmony. Harmonial organizations were formed in many states, primarily in the Midwest, including Colorado and Missouri. In 1863, Davis founded two other organizations to promote Harmonialism: the Children's Progressive Lyceum, established as an alternative to the standard Sunday school; and the Moral Police Fraternity, which sought to reduce crime by aiding the needy, instructing the ignorant, and providing employment for those without jobs.

Harmonialism shared certain beliefs with Christian Science, and many proponents of Christian Science during the late nineteenth century were former members. The term *New Thought* began to be used around 1895 to refer to the belief in mental healing. The followers of New Thought abandoned the idea of biblical authority and concentrated on the idea that good was within each person. The leading figures in this movement were Phineas Quimby, a scientist in Belfast, Maine, and Emma Hopkins, a former Christian Science follower who taught many of the future New Thought leaders.

In contrast to Christian Science, which had a centralized organization, the Harmonialists who became advocates of New Thought believed in decentralized authority. Institutes, not churches, were founded across the United States, and the written word became more important in spreading ideas than group meetings. A flood of writings about how individuals could achieve enlightenment and power through harmony with higher spiritual spheres followed, and attempts to create a formal national organization failed.

Regional organizations that built on the Harmonialism tradition include Divine Science, founded in Denver in 1889,

and the Unity School of Christianity, established in Kansas City, Missouri, in the same year. Just as Harmonialism had no clear founding date, it had no specific ending date. Instead, it transformed into such twentieth-century movements as “Positive Thinking,” as preached by Norman Vincent Peale.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Christian Science](#); [Davis](#); [Andrew Jackson](#); [New Thought](#); [Spiritualism](#); [Swedenborgianism](#).

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Harmony Society

Founded in the village of Iptingen (Württemberg), Germany, in 1785 or 1786, the Harmony Society was a Christian theosophical group whose intense millennialism and belief in the second coming of Christ, based largely upon the Book of Revelation, fostered a distrust of secular authority in every form. Members practiced celibacy, abstained from tobacco, and consumed alcohol only minimally.

The group was founded and led by Johann Georg Rapp (also known as George Rapp), who was born on November 1, 1757, and trained as a weaver. The Harmony Society was persecuted by the Lutheran Church and moved to the United States in 1803 and 1804.

On February 15, 1805, after purchasing land in west-central Pennsylvania, Rapp formally organized his 400 followers as the Harmony Society. Placing all their goods in common, they founded the town of Harmony in Butler County. By 1807, the society numbered 750 members and had established a small, functional community. Consisting of fifty houses, a church, a school, and various workshops and storage facilities, Harmony developed into a prosperous agricultural and industrial community.

In 1814, the group moved to Indiana and founded the town of New Harmony in the Wabash Valley, where they were challenged by disease, hostile neighbors, and difficulties in farming the land. In 1825, the Harmonists sold their holdings to utopian socialist Robert Owen and returned to Pennsylvania. They established a third village, named Economy (present-day Ambridge). Frederick Rapp, the adopted son of Johann Georg Rapp, had purchased the 3,000-acre (1,214-hectare) tract on the Ohio River and oversaw the establishment of wool and

cotton production facilities. Located on an ideal river route near Pittsburgh, the community thrived on textile, clothing, and alcohol trade.



New Harmony, Indiana, was a communitarian experiment established in 1825 by the Welsh utopian and socialist Robert Owen. The original settlement at the site had been founded by members of the Harmony Society, followers of German pietist George Rapp. (MPI/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Within the next three years, seventy-eight members left the community, and a charismatic figure named Count Maximilian de Leon arrived in Economy. Professing to be the divine messenger, Leon advocated marriage and other indulgences, which disrupted the lives of the more devout Harmonists. Finally asked to withdraw, Leon took with him \$105,000 and some 250 disgruntled Harmonists.

The death of Johann Georg Rapp on August 7, 1847, was another severe blow to the society. Over the course of the next sixty years, the remaining members became less focused on the traditional ways of the society and more concerned with financial success, hiring outsiders to work in the mills and trading companies. Adhering to the practice of celibacy and making little effort to recruit new members, the community declined in number. By the end of the nineteenth century, John Duss, whose mother had been a Harmonist and who had lived in the community off and on throughout his life, was asked to administer the society's financial assets. Despite the strict rule of celibacy, Duss and his wife, Susie, were permitted to become members and run the community's affairs. Over the next fifteen years, in an effort to pay off debts, John Duss liquidated most of the Harmonists' financial holdings.

In 1903, the town of Economy and all of its assets were sold to the Liberty Land Company for about \$3 million. In 1906, a century after its founding, the Harmony Society was officially dissolved. Today, under the auspices of the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, Old Economy is maintained as a historic site.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Communes: Utopianism.](#)

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Harris, Thomas Lake (1823–1906)

From spiritualist and mystic to poet and founder of a utopian community, Thomas Lake Harris embodied many aspects of the counterculture of nineteenth-century America. He was a highly effective speaker and influential writer who prompted many to adopt his views on a bisexual God, immortality, and sexual relations. Many believed his psychical powers allowed him to transcend his mortal existence.

Harris was born on May 15, 1823, in Fenny Stratford, England, the son of Thomas Harris, a grocer, and Annie Lake Harris. In 1828, the family moved to Utica, New York. Four years later, his mother died; his father soon remarried. Harsh treatment on the part of his stepmother and the strict Calvinist Baptist values of his parents led the young Harris to move out of the house to live with a Universalist minister, and he converted to Universalism at the age of twenty.

In the late 1840s, Harris experienced a crisis of faith and turned to spiritualism as practiced by Andrew Jackson Davis, known as the Poughkeepsie (New York) Seer. Through Davis, Harris learned of the teachings of the eighteenth-century Swedish spiritualist Emanuel Swedenborg. In Swedenborgianism, Harris found the tenets of free will, love, truth, and a new age as a foundation on which to build his own philosophy. Harris began the Independent Christian Organization in New York City, and his preaching caught the attention of a number of prominent individuals, including Horace Greeley, editor of the *New York Tribune*.

Beginning in 1850, Harris participated in the Mountain Cove religious community in Virginia until 1853. During this time, he experienced several spiritual events that inspired him to write poetry, including *The Epic of the Starry Heaven* (1854), the first of his many poems on the theme of celestial sexuality.

In 1855, he married Emily Isabella Waters. The marriage lasted until her death in 1883 but, according to Harris, was void of sexual relations. Also in 1855, he wrote *The First Book of the Christian Religion*, presenting his interpretation of Swedenborgian principles. Two years later, he started the *Herald of Light*, a monthly Swedenborgian publication that ran until 1861. In 1858, Harris published the first volume of *The Aracana of Christianity* with a report on his communication with a demon.

Invited to travel to England in 1860, Harris attracted the attention of Laurence Oliphant, a writer and member of Parliament. Returning to the United States the following year with backing from Oliphant, Harris established the Brotherhood of New Life. This religiously eclectic group was established first in Wassaic, New York, then moved briefly to nearby Amenia, and finally settled in Brocton, New York. Members followed the principles of what Harris called "Theo-socialism," according to which Jesus Christ was a socialist and individuals should live together in equal social conditions.

In 1875, a rift with Oliphant prompted Harris to take his followers to a 1,200-acre (486-hectare) tract outside Santa Rosa, California, which he named Fountain Grove. There, Harris produced several poems, including the 5,000-line *Star Flowers*.

A complete break with Oliphant in 1881 led to a decade of increased dissatisfaction within the community. In 1890, Harris finally sold his interest in Fountain Grove. The following year, he married Jane Lee Waring, his personal secretary, and published his last major work, *The New Republic*.

In 1892, Harris and his wife moved to New York City, where he continued to write until his death on March 23, 1906. His passing was viewed by many followers as merely a deep sleep, as they believed he had already

achieved immortality on Earth.

James J. Kopp

See also: [Davis, Andrew Jackson: Spiritualism: Swedenborgianism: Utopianism.](#)

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Hasidim and Hasidism

Hasidim (plural of Hasid and Hebrew for “pious ones”) are adherents of a mystical Orthodox Judaism, founded in Eastern Europe during the eighteenth century, that emphasizes a personal relationship with God, joyful celebration of an omnipresent God, and nonassimilation. Although Hasidim appear to live rigid lives and represent a distinct, more devotional counterculture than other Orthodox Jews, the movement traditionally places greater emphasis on celebrating love for God than on adhering to rules. Nevertheless, the term *pious ones* is not misplaced, as Hasidim are among the most observant followers of the Torah’s commandments.

The movement was founded in the Carpathian region of Eastern Europe by Rabbi Israel ben Eliezer, known as the Ba’al Shem Tov (Hebrew for “Master of the Good Name”), sometimes referred to by the acronym Besht. The Ba’al Shem Tov traveled from village to village in what is today Poland and the Ukraine, teaching a mystical form of Judaism that included exuberant prayer, joyous dancing, and celebratory singing, in addition to keeping the biblical commandments. In stark contrast to other forms of Judaism practiced in the early 1700s, the Besht de-emphasized intellectualism in favor of inner piety, enabling even illiterate villagers to have a relationship with God. Following his death in 1760, the Besht left behind approximately 10,000 people in his movement.

Today, there are perhaps a dozen major Hasidic groups and up to several hundred altogether, most of them in Israel and the United States. Many Hasidim emigrated from war-torn Eastern Europe in the aftermath of World War II. The total world population of Hasidim is uncertain, as members have resisted census-taking (a practice associated with negative consequences in the Bible and reminiscent of the Holocaust to families who survived it). As of 2006, there were an estimated 180,000 Hasidim in the United States, constituting about 3 percent of all Jewish Americans. Their high birthrate leads some scholars to predict that the Hasidim and other ultra-orthodox groups will become dominant among American Judaism within the next half century.

Most Hasidim in America live in the Brooklyn, New York, neighborhoods of Borough Park, Williamsburg, and Crown Heights. Tight inner-city communities both support the separatist (nonassimilationist) spirit of adherents and make it possible to live within walking distance of a synagogue. (The Hebrew Bible forbids vehicular transportation on the Sabbath and holy days). Another distinguishing characteristic of Hasidism is devotion to a dynastic leader, or rebbe, who acts as a kind of spiritual guide, dispenser of justice, and granter of blessings. Separate groups within the Hasidic movement, with names and traditions that go back to towns of origin in Eastern Europe, have been led by dynasties of rebbes. Prominent groups include the Lubavitcher—with 100,000 or more followers in Brooklyn alone—Breslover, and Satmarer.

Unlike many Jewish adherents, some Hasidic groups look forward to the return of a prophesied messiah. The Satmarers, who believe a future messiah will usher in a perfected Jewish state, tend to remain even more isolated from the rest of the world than other Hasidic groups and have been largely opposed to the secular state of Israel. Some Lubavitchers believe that the seventh Lubavitcher rebbe, Rabbi Menachem Mendel Schneerson, who died in 1994, was the messiah or will return as the messiah. Nevertheless, they have supported the modern state of Israel while awaiting this redemption.

Strict observance of biblical commandments, close-knit communities, and use of the Yiddish dialect have helped protect Hasidim from assimilation into American or even mainstream Jewish culture. And while many Hasidim continue to live in large cities, some have relocated to rural communities such as Postville, Iowa. Unlike mainstream Reformed and Conservative Jews, Hasidim are recognized by their distinctive appearance. Albeit with variations among groups, Hasidic men wear clothes that derive from eighteenth-century Eastern Europe—long black coats, brimmed hats, and the yarmulke (Jewish skullcap)—with curly, hanging sideburns and untrimmed beards. Women dress modestly. Worldly education is avoided as much as possible, and young boys often are encouraged to devote much more time to studying the Torah and Talmud than to secular scholarship.

Hasidism provides a countercultural alternative to secular society as well as to less observant forms of Judaism. It has helped preserve a strong awareness of traditional Judaism, while encouraging more exuberant worship and belief in God that transcends ritual practices. By encouraging less observant Jews to join their ranks and by following the biblical precept to “be fruitful and multiply,” the Hasidim have expanded rapidly since the threat of decimation in the Holocaust.

Nathan Zook

See also: [Jews](#).

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Hatch, Cora Scott (1840–1923)

Cora Scott Hatch, also referred to as Cora L.V. Scott, was one of the most celebrated and successful mediums in the American spiritualist movement of the mid-nineteenth century.

Born Cora Lodencia Veronica Scott on April 21, 1840, near Cuba, New York, she was nurtured in a household that espoused political radicalism, communitarianism, and unorthodox religious beliefs. Her father, David W. Scott, was a free thinker who was influenced by the radical deist Thomas Paine and the utopian schemes of the Reverend Adin Ballou. Her mother, Lodencia Butterfield Scott, was said to possess mediumistic powers.

By the time she was eleven, Cora was offering medical advice, suggesting cures, and even conducting minor operations on those who ventured into the Scott household. In fact, for four years, she was reputed to perform

medical procedures with help from the spirit of a German doctor who spoke to her during trances. At fifteen, Cora appeared on public platforms before large audiences, speaking on a variety of subjects while in a trance.

With the death of her father in 1853, Cora married B.F. Hatch, a much older mesmeric physician who arranged for his young wife to undertake trance-speaking and lecture tours in New York City and Boston. According to numerous accounts, Cora Hatch was enormously effective and popular. In 1858, the Hatches became embroiled in a highly publicized scandal that jeopardized Cora's career and threatened the integrity of the spiritualist movement itself. Cora charged her husband with sexual abuse and mismanagement of finances, and she was granted a divorce.

Cora Hatch's career continued to flourish despite the scandal, with the lecture circuit taking her to Washington, D.C., Baltimore, St. Louis, San Francisco, and other cities. Predictably, her spiritualist beliefs collided with those of conventional religion. She distrusted organizations of any kind, especially religious institutions, claiming that they were the "fetters or bonds of the human mind." She called upon women to challenge the subordinate role allotted to them in the theology of St. Paul. In 1857, when asked to explain the revival of religion then sweeping the country, Hatch explained, "fear is the origin of religion." She criticized the concept of an "avenging Deity," so familiar in evangelical Christianity, as destructive to the human spirit. While visiting Washington, D.C., she accepted invitations to speak in African American pulpits, something most white clergy were loathe to do.

In the early 1870s, Hatch relocated to Chicago with her fourth husband, William Richmond, a successful businessman, to serve the First Society of Spiritualists. She administered to that congregation, better known as the "Church of the Soul," for fifty years. The group met in the city's Masonic Hall, where weekly audiences numbered from 2,000 to 2,500.

Throughout her career, notable literary and reform leaders attended Hatch's lectures, among them the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, abolitionist Wendell Phillips, and novelist Henry James. In fact, James's novel *The Bostonians* (1886) includes a character based on Cora Scott Hatch, the spiritualist Verena Tarrant. Hatch died in Chicago on January 3, 1923.

A.J. Scopino, Jr.

See also: [Spiritualism](#).

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Hawthorne, Nathaniel (1804–1864)

The enigmatic Nathaniel Hawthorne, the preeminent American novelist to depict the colonial period, had a dark

view of human nature. He performed a variety of public roles, from magazine editor and critic to customs house surveyor and U.S. consul to England, as his writings explored the moral issues associated with New England's Puritan heritage. Many of Hawthorne's works probe the murky psychological side of American culture, specifically the destructive impulses beating beneath a veneer of pleasant civility. Tackling such issues as adultery, eroticism, independence, revolution, utopian communities, and other cultural realities of nineteenth-century America, Hawthorne considered writing a "pleasurable toil." While he obtained political appointments to make money, he also associated with such transcendentalist luminaries as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau.

He was born Nathaniel Hathorne on July 4, 1804, in Salem, Massachusetts, to Nathaniel Hathorne and Elizabeth Clark Manning. When he was four, his father died at sea. In 1821, at age seventeen, the budding writer entered Bowdoin College in Brunswick, Maine, returning to live with his family upon graduation in September 1825.

His first novel, *Fanshawe*, was published anonymously at his expense in 1828; that October, he added the *w* to his surname. In January 1836, Hawthorne moved to Boston to edit the *American Magazine of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge* but resigned in August to complete *Twice-Told Tales*, published in March 1837. In a letter to poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow shortly after the publication of that work, Hawthorne confided, "I can assure you that trouble is the next best thing to enjoyment, and that there is no fate in this world so horrible as to have no share in either its joys or sorrows."

Hawthorne's joys included his sisters, Elizabeth and Louisa, and his wife, Sophia, to whom he became secretly engaged in 1838. They married in 1842. Conversely, at least some of his troubles resulted from his well-disguised ambition. Hawthorne's letters suggest a preference for solitude and industry, a dislike of writing for the public and making public appearances, disenchantment with poetry, and a frustration with the inherent defects of language that make it difficult to portray complex ideas accurately.

Despite these perceived obstacles, Hawthorne published his masterpiece in 1850, *The Scarlet Letter*, a novel of seventeenth-century New England that continues to thrill readers' imaginations with its representations of romance, religious and cultural tension, and difficult questions about the fate of America as seen through the lens of a self-contained Puritan society. In 1851, Hawthorne explored the moral inevitability of American democracy, the idea of inherited sin, and the sharp distinctions between social classes in *The House of the Seven Gables*.

Prior to marriage, Hawthorne had experimented with social and political ideas outside traditional boundaries, when he spent April to November 1841 at Brook Farm, a utopian community outside Boston. Although he was friends with the transcendentalists, Hawthorne was skeptical of the viability of utopian communities, doubting the farm's philosophy that manual labor was uplifting and that everyone had an equal chance for social, intellectual, and spiritual growth. To his credit, Hawthorne invested in Brook Farm and spent time there to discover the truth for himself.

The Blithedale Romance (1852), his third major romantic novel, was partially based on his experiences at Brook Farm and portrays the utopian ideal in an unflattering light. In fact, the main character, Miles Coverdale, experiences a journey that mirrors Hawthorne's, at first throwing himself into the socialistic experiment and then becoming slowly disenchanted as the story progresses.

When Franklin Pierce, an old friend, ran for president of the United States in 1852, Hawthorne wrote his campaign biography. And when Pierce became president the following year, the writer was rewarded with an appointment as U.S. consul to England in 1853.

Hawthorne remained in Europe for nine years, where he published the fourth of his romantic novels, *The Marble Faun* (1860), an exploration of time, the burden of inheritance, and the transformation of the soul. On May 19, 1864, while on tour in New England with President Pierce, Hawthorne died in his sleep.

Amanda L. Morris

See also: [Brook Farm](#): [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#): [Thoreau, Henry David](#): [Transcendentalism](#).

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Haywood, William “Big Bill” (1869–1928)

As a leader of the Western Federation of Miners (WFM) and organizer of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), William “Big Bill” Haywood was one of the most prominent and widely feared labor leaders in the United States during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An early advocate of industrial unionism, militant strike leader, member of the Socialist Party, accused murderer (acquitted), and convicted seditionist who fled to the Soviet Union, Big Bill Haywood became a legendary figure in the American counterculture.

William Dudley Haywood was born in Salt Lake City, Utah, on February 4, 1869. His father, a rider for the Pony Express, had met and married Haywood’s mother when she was only fifteen years old; he died when Haywood was three years old. At age nine, Haywood poked out his right eye, blinding it for life. By the time he was twelve, he had quit school and begun working as a farmhand; disgusted with his treatment by his employer, he walked off the job.

At fifteen, Haywood left home and went to work in a mine at Eagle Canyon, Nevada. There he met his future wife, Nevada Jane Minor, and an old, Irish labor radical named Pat Reynolds. A veteran of the Knights of Labor workers’ organization, Reynolds taught Haywood the fundamentals of class struggle and exposed him to the controversy of the 1886 Haymarket incident, a demonstration in Chicago for the eight-hour workday that ended in bloodshed when the police intervened, all leading to the trial and execution of several radical labor leaders.

Haywood and Minor were married in 1889, and the couple moved to Salt Lake City, where Haywood held a series of odd jobs. The family then moved to Winnemucca, Nevada, and on to Silver City, Idaho, where in August 1896 Haywood and more than 100 fellow miners signed union cards and enlisted as charter members of Local 66 of the Western Federation of Miners.

Haywood served as financial secretary and president of the Silver City local and as a member of the national union’s General Executive Board. At the 1901 convention, union members elected Haywood to the position of secretary-treasurer, making him second-in-command of an organization that consisted of 17,000 members in 100 locals. Haywood moved his family to Denver, the new home of the WFM’s national headquarters, and immersed himself in the day-to-day operations of the union.

Following a series of tumultuous labor disputes in Colorado—none of which brought material gains for miners or smeltermen—Haywood and other labor leaders met in Chicago in June 1905. Haywood, a member of the Socialist Party of America, called for the creation of an industrywide union that would provide workers with a more militant alternative to the craft-based American Federation of Labor. Haywood’s fiery rhetoric led to the formation of one of the most radical labor unions in American history—the IWW, or Wobblies.

From 1905 to 1919, Haywood and the IWW worked to unite all workers in the struggle against capitalists and the

federal government. The union sought to achieve fundamental social and economic change by organizing along collectivist lines, capturing the means of production, ending the wage system, and redistributing wealth according to need. The Wobblies argued that worker control at the point of production would be the force of change and that noncooperation, not violence, was the means to power.

In September 1917, in the midst of World War I, the U.S. Department of Justice initiated nationwide raids of IWW headquarters, resulting in the arrest and conviction of key union members, including Haywood, who spent four months in the Cook County (Illinois) jail. By the end of 1919, the IWW was leaderless. Associated not only with labor violence, but now also with the Bolshevik Revolution and international communism, the union disintegrated.

Haywood was fined \$30,000 and sentenced to twenty years in prison, which he appealed. When the Supreme Court rejected Haywood's final appeal in 1921, he fled to the Soviet Union. He died there on May 17, 1928.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Industrial Workers of the World](#).

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Health Foods

Health foods are those that confer some physical or psychological benefit, or both, when consumed. This may be a function of an inherent property of the food itself, such as natural vitamin content, or derived from conditions under which it is grown or processed. While health foods occupy a visible and substantial niche in the social and economic life of modern America, they have a long association with American countercultures— from nineteenth-century vegetarianism to the hippie and New Age movements of the 1960s and 1970s, holistic medicine, environmentalism, and the organic farming, natural, and whole foods traditions. Health foods have been among the defining elements of each of these groups and traditions.

Early History

Health foods in the United States had their beginnings in the vegetarian movement of the early 1800s, popularized by such health advocates as Sylvester Graham and Caleb Jackson. The cereal industry got its start in the 1890s when brothers John Harvey Kellogg and Will Keith Kellogg in Battle Creek, Michigan, and Charles William “C.W.” Post—a former patient at the Kelloggs’ sanitarium—developed and marketed the first cold cereal products as

health foods.

In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a number of trends worked together to promote the actual and perceived qualities of healthy food. For one thing, researchers began to isolate and define the composition of foods: proteins, carbohydrates, and fats, vitamins, and other essential nutrients. Importantly also, the creation of the U.S. Department of Agriculture (1862) and the Pure Food and Drug Act (1906) charged the government with overseeing the food industry.

The effects of diet on human health, however, were recognized long before scientists identified the nutritional elements of food. One of the first medical treatises on the subject was written in 1633 by the English physician James Hart, who described the consequences of immoderate sugar consumption. Before the advent of modern science, diet was believed to affect spiritual as well as physical health.

The British clergymen who brought the teachings of vegetarianism to Philadelphia in 1817 cited biblical injunctions for the eating of grains and fruits. American clergymen such as William Metcalfe and Graham helped found the American Vegetarian Society in 1850 and issued the nation's first vegetarian publications. Vegetarianism was well established by the end of the 1850s, sharing its status as a reform movement and some of its underlying ideals with other groups and movements: the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals (1824), the New Thought Society (1838), and the Theosophical Society (1875)—the latter two of which incorporated Eastern spiritual elements—and the temperance movement, which worked to eliminate the consumption of alcohol.

While vegetarians were promoting the connection of diet to a superior moral stance, others were concerned with matters of the digestive tract. Food preservation techniques in the first half of the nineteenth century meant that an average American diet was heavy with salted and smoked meats, starchy vegetables, puddings, and baked goods, all of which caused people to suffer frequently from an associated indigestion called dyspepsia.

Graham, a self-styled physician and Presbyterian minister, advocated a vegetarian regime that he believed would not only cure digestive ills, it also would curb cravings for alcohol and sexual desire. Bread occupied a central position in Graham's diet, specifically a coarsely ground, whole wheat bread that retained the nutritional elements lost by the processing of white flour. With his hard "Grahamish cake" (precursor to the graham cracker) and promotion of healthy living, Graham created a solid foundation for an alternative lifestyle based on diet.

In the latter half of the nineteenth century, Battle Creek became the center of the next major impetus for the popularization and commercialization of health foods. The Kellogg brothers, in conjunction with the Battle Creek Sanitarium (founded by the Seventh-Day Adventist Church in 1866 to restore patients' health through a regimen of simple foods, fresh air, and exercise), introduced a list of new products: Caramel Cereal Coffee, Granola, wheat flakes, and "vegetable meats." Post expanded the enterprise into cereal products with Grape-Nuts, claimed to prevent such ailments as consumption, malaria, and loose teeth and to benefit the brain.



Will Keith Kellogg worked with his brother, doctor and nutritionist John Harvey Kellogg, to develop flaked cereals as a health food in the 1890s. In 1906, he founded the W.K. Kellogg Company to market toasted corn flakes as a breakfast food. (Frederic Lewis/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Twentieth-Century Trends

Whereas the health faddists of the nineteenth century were concerned with foods to avoid (meat, white bread, alcohol) and introduced new products to promote physical and mental health, the twentieth century saw the rise of concern over the production and content of the nation's regular food supply. The Pure Food and Drug Act was prompted in part by Upton Sinclair's muckraking classic of the same year, *The Jungle*, an exposé of conditions in the meatpacking industry.

The period after World War II brought a number of changes in how American food was grown and processed. Farms became bigger and more mechanized, moving to mono-cropping, large-scale animal rearing, and the intensive use of fertilizers, herbicides, and pesticides. Food companies consolidated, increased automation, and expanded the use of additives and artificial ingredients in their products. New preservative techniques provided a vast array of frozen, boxed, bottled, canned—and extensively advertised—foods for busy families. The 1950s and 1960s brought a proliferation not only of prepared foods, but also of largely artificial foods: flavored drinks, whipped toppings, cheese spreads, and the like.

Books and magazines in the early 1960s began calling attention to the dangers associated with the chemicals used in growing and processing foods. Influential works included William Longwood's *The Poisons in Your Food* (1960) and Rachel Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), which revealed the toxic effects of the pesticide DDT. There was concern as well for the dismal living and working conditions of migrant workers who picked the produce sold in supermarkets.

The synthetic substances, mass production, and commercial packaging that came to characterize the food chain in postwar America prompted a reaction from the same segment of the population that advocated change in other areas of society: anti-Vietnam War protestors, civil rights activists, women's rights advocates, the hippie subculture, and early environmentalists. As well as a necessity of life, food became at once a lifestyle statement and a proposed solution to health and environmental ills. Health foods in the 1960s and 1970s were defined not only by what they were and how they were produced and cooked, but also by how they were packaged and marketed.

Still, the definition of health food itself had not changed all that much from the 1800s, if the definition were expanded to include such new products such as soy-based foods and foreign foods. Health foods largely have been vegetarian, preferably grown under organic conditions and unadulterated by chemical additives, sweeteners, or fillers. They have been unprocessed—such as beans, nuts, seeds, and whole grains—and less processed, such as dried fruits, honey, and nut butters.

A large number of popular cookbooks helped get these foods to the table, often with a focus that included the environmental effect of choosing certain foods in preference to others. Frances Moore Lappé's *Diet for a Small Planet* (1971) has sold more than 3 million copies since publication.

Organic farming and gardening, popularized by writer and publisher Jerome Rodale in the 1940s, became an optimal choice for small farmers and gardeners, and related knowledge was disseminated to a growing body of practitioners through magazines like *Mother Earth News*. Communes were established in both rural and urban settings, growing and producing their own food, and fostering an enduring trend in community gardens.

Food cooperatives, owned and worked by members, generally started out as small-scale operations to provide a source for basic foodstuffs and often grew into larger stores with exotic international offerings. While the number of health food cooperatives has declined since their peak in the 1970s, they and some of their brand names still flourish. Among the product lines that went mass-market are Health Valley Foods (soups, snacks, and cereals), Celestial Seasonings (teas), White Wave (soy products), and Snapple Fruit Juices. Health food stores continue to be a source for products that are not profitable for large chains but are preferred by people practicing alternative lifestyles, such as cheese without rennet for vegetarians, eggs and milk from free-range stock for animal rights advocates, and “fair trade” (fairly priced products from developing countries) chocolate, coffee, and tea.

Health foods remain a strong and growing business in early-twenty-first-century America. The food industry is embroiled in legal issues pertaining to labeling, including what qualifies as “organic” and the claims of nutraceuticals or functional foods targeted at specific ailments. As a matter of consumer market and lifestyle, meanwhile, health foods remain, as they have been from their inception, as much a statement about how their consumers view the world as about what those consumers eat and drink.

Karen Hovde

See also: [Carson, Rachel](#); [Graham, Sylvester](#); [Vegetarianism](#).

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Heaven's Gate

Heaven's Gate was the name of a religious cult whose thirty-nine members committed mass suicide in Rancho

Santa Fe, California, in March 1997, to coincide with the appearance of the comet Hale-Bopp. The group had been in existence for more than twenty years, founded as Human Individual Metamorphosis in 1972 by Marshall Herff Applewhite, who went by the nicknames “Do” or “Bo,” and Bonnie Lu Nettles, referred to within the cult as “Peep.” Together, they were known as “the Two.”

The message of the group was a mix of occult spirituality, New Age ideology, Asian religious philosophy, Theosophy, and Christianity. Members believed that Jesus had returned through Applewhite, Nettles was an incarnation of God the Father, and both were considered ascended extraterrestrial masters. Specifically, they were understood to be extraterrestrial “walk-ins,” which meant that an entity from another planet had taken over the place previously inhabited by their souls. Applewhite and Nettles taught that spiritually advanced members would ascend to a transhuman state and be met by spacecraft that would transport them to the “next level.” After the death of Nettles in 1985, the theology of the group emphasized spiritual rather than physical resurrection.

Heaven’s Gate also incorporated elements from the metaphysical subculture that posited alien visitations to Earth thousands of years ago. The mythologies and attributes assigned to the gods of many ancient religions, they believed, were in fact the legacies of these early voyagers. The leaders of the cult came to revise this hypothesis, preaching that extraterrestrials planted the seeds of knowledge in early human civilizations and would return when humanity had advanced sufficiently. According to this worldview, humans were constantly growing and evolving to the next level of intelligence and experience. The leaders also embraced the concept that death was a means of liberation from the New Age movement. Drawing on the imagery of the resurrection of the faithful in the Book of Revelation, the group, under the name Total Overcomers Anonymous, placed an advertisement in *USA Today* in 1993 that foreshadowed an apocalyptic and horrific end to the world of those left behind.

In 1997, the expected appearance of the comet Hale-Bopp signaled to Applewhite that the day of judgment was at hand. Unlike certain survivalist groups, radical right-wing factions, and religious cults, the members of Heaven’s Gate were not facing threats from law enforcement or any other outside authority. In fact, the members videotaped calm farewells describing their intentions. There were no charges of sexual impropriety; indeed the members practiced sexual abstinence. (Sexuality was regarded as just another aspect of their physical bodies that would be left behind when they departed for the next level.) Members wore uniform haircuts and the same style of clothing, but not under duress.

While their mass suicide was tragic and perplexing to outside observers, certainly, the followers of Applewhite and his religious philosophy considered themselves martyrs for a profound and ancient cause, destined for a higher reality.

Julius Bailey

See also: [Cults: New Age.](#)

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Heavy Metal

Heavy metal arose as a musical genre in the late 1960s, began to solidify in the 1970s, and flourished in the 1980s and early 1990s. Although music critics and historians debate its genealogy, they generally agree that the founding fathers include British and American rock groups such as Led Zeppelin, Black Sabbath, Blue Öyster Cult, Deep Purple, and KISS, and individual musicians such as Jimi Hendrix and Alice Cooper.

In the late 1970s, bands that made up the New Wave of British metal gained notoriety and found an American following. The New Wave featured more hard-edged groups, no doubt influenced by punk, such as Iron Maiden, Judas Priest, and Motörhead. In the United States, bands such as Metallica, Mötley Crüe, and Quiet Riot followed suit. The use of the epithet “heavy metal” has been traced as far back as William S. Burroughs’s 1961 novel *The Soft Machine*, although music historians have cited several other possible sources as well.

In the mid-1980s and early 1990s, heavy metal became highly successful commercially, as bands performed well in the Billboard charts and spawned a number of more accessible groups, known as “hair bands” (after their predilection for voluminous coifs) such as Bon Jovi and Platinum Blonde. When Seattle Grunge suddenly became popular in the early 1990s, and other musical styles such as rap and hip-hop gained popularity, the reign of the more popular version of heavy metal on the airwaves and video channels declined. Into the 2000s, however, there remained a great deal of interest in the genre, and a number of original bands continued to tour successfully.

Heavy metal music is characterized by a heavily amplified and powerful blues-and rock-inspired sound. Musical formations typically center on an ideally virtuosic lead guitar, rhythm, bass, drums, and often harmonized, falsetto, or screeching vocals. Although there is a softer side that surfaces in love songs and ballads, lyrics and visuals characteristically evoke sexy women, fast cars, grandiose themes, and extreme emotions, with a strong interest in psychological deviation, cultural underworlds, the mythological, the medieval, and the sinister. It is also almost exclusively a heterosexually oriented, white, male phenomenon in terms of product output. Notable exceptions include the all-female metal band Pre-Metal Syndrome (PMS), the female singer Lee Aaron, and the African American metal band Living Colour, the first mainstream black heavy metal band in history.

Heavy metal is notable for its multitude of subgenres, including speed metal, death metal, Christian metal, goth metal, and black metal. There is also considerable overlap with other musical genres, such as punk, grunge, glam rock, blues, progressive rock, rock and roll, and occasionally even classical music.

Its hubristic and highly spectacular nature also has tended to make heavy metal the focus of satire, such as Rob Reiner’s famous film *This Is Spinal Tap* (1984), the mid-1980s British television comedy *Bad News*, and the film *Rock Star* (2001), starring Jennifer Aniston and Mark Wahlberg. Also of note is Penelope Spheeris’s documentary *The Rise and Fall of American Civilization Part II: The Metal Years* (1990), a wry and highly revealing look at the aspirations and preoccupations of various fans and musicians involved in the American heavy metal scene of the late 1980s.

Julia Pine

See also: [Rock and Roll](#).

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Hecker, Isaac (1819–1888)

With the possible exception of transcendentalist and religious critic Orestes Brownson—a major influence—Isaac Thomas Hecker was perhaps the most notable American convert to Roman Catholicism in the nineteenth century. Ordained as a priest, he went on to found the Paulist Fathers order in 1858 and the *Catholic World* monthly in 1865. Hecker is noteworthy both as an intellectual convert (rare in America) and for his unorthodox relationship with the church.

Born on December 18, 1819, in New York City, Hecker was the youngest of three boys of German immigrants. His father was nonreligious, his mother an active Protestant. In his preteen years, family poverty compelled him to give up his schooling and work in a bakery with his brothers. A voracious reader, Hecker discovered the eighteenth-century German philosopher Immanuel Kant at a young age and became immersed in two subjects while pursuing Kant's work: philosophy and the social condition of working people. These interests, along with information gained from street corner speeches on political and social topics, led to a friendship and correspondence with Brownson.

In religion, Hecker rejected standard Protestant doctrines about human depravity and sinfulness. He lived with the transcendentalists for six months at their Brook Farm utopian settlement in Massachusetts but finally judged them too humanistic. His own inclinations were more mystical. Dissatisfied with the extremes of the sixteenth-century theologian John Calvin and the transcendentalist essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson, Hecker continued his search for a religious home.

In 1844, shortly after leaving Brook Farm, Hecker was baptized into the Catholic Church by Bishop John McCloskey in New York. Drawn to the community life and religious mission of the regular clergy, he entered the Redemptorist order as a novitiate in Belgium in 1845. Upon completion of his studies and ordination, he worked as a parish priest in England for a year and then returned to New York in 1851. Working with four other converted Redemptorists ministering to immigrants, he earned a reputation as an excellent teacher and public speaker. His speaking tours, featuring lectures on doctrine and history, attracted large crowds.

On behalf of fellow Redemptorists, also American-born converts from Protestantism, Hecker traveled to Rome to ask the Vatican if a Redemptorist novitiate might be started in the United States. Instead of reaching an accommodation, he was expelled from the order.

In 1858, Pope Pius IX authorized Hecker and like-minded American Redemptorists to form their own order dedicated to missionary work in America. Hecker was elected superior of the Missionary Society of St. Paul the Apostle in the state of New York (commonly called the Paulist Fathers), the first Catholic religious order formed in the United States. He served in that capacity until his death despite disagreements among members as to whether their principal mission should be as evangelizers or keepers of the faith.

Hecker also organized the Catholic Publication Society (1866), later known as the Paulist Press, founded and edited *The Catholic World* from 1865 until his death, and wrote several books, including *Questions of the Soul* (1852) and *The Church and the Age* (1887). As a minister, he endeavored to evangelize the unchurched, promote Catholic doctrine among the faithful, teach immigrants about democracy, and work against the defamation of the church in America.

Hecker opposed compromising church teachings to adapt to American circumstances, a common accusation against many late-nineteenth-century prelates in the United States. Nevertheless, he advocated a change in the method of missionary work to suit an advanced republic with a large urban, working population. He urged the Catholic Church to meet the people on common ground, to move from the periphery of society to a place that commanded respect without official privilege. Contrary to many of his peers, Hecker preached the values of

freedom, patriotism, and God's providence for America. He reconciled his national identity with his faith, believing that Christianity needed to be Americanized in order to convert the world.

After his death, on December 22, 1888, Hecker's teachings inspired French and American clergy to embrace his ideals of republicanism and modernism. In 1899, however, Pope Leo XIII wrote a letter to James Cardinal Gibbons in Baltimore, the most respected prelate in America at the time, in which he condemned "Americanism"—or the watering down of church doctrine to suit the fashions of the time—also referred to as "Heckerism."

Michael D. Jacobs

See also: [Brook Farm](#); [Brownson](#); [Orestes](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Hefner, Hugh (1926–)

The founder of *Playboy* magazine and Playboy Enterprises, Hugh Hefner is widely regarded as the premier chronicler of the sybaritic bachelor lifestyle that appealed to millions of men in the United States and around the world in the mid-and late twentieth century. Some identify him as a central figure and leading spokesman of the sexual revolution of the 1960s and liberal social values; feminists, especially, have reviled him for objectifying and denigrating women.

Hugh Marston Hefner was born to Methodist parents in Chicago, on April 9, 1926. While attending high school, he started a newspaper and championed student causes. He joined the U.S. Army in 1944, mostly drawing cartoons for military newspapers. He studied at the Chicago Art Institute before earning a bachelor's degree in 1949 from the University of Illinois, where he edited the magazine *Shaft* and introduced a new feature, "Coed of the Month." He then spent a semester studying individual freedom and human sexuality at Northwestern University.

After working as a subscription clerk and copywriter for *Esquire* magazine in the early 1950s, Hefner stayed behind in Chicago when that publication relocated to New York City and he was denied a raise. He took a job at a children's magazine, but soon quit to start a venture of his own: a sophisticated men's magazine that challenged the repressive sexual views of the post–World War II generation.

With \$8,000 raised from family and friends, Hefner printed and distributed the first monthly issue of *Playboy* magazine in December 1953. Produced on his kitchen table, it featured the now-legendary nude photos of Hollywood film icon Marilyn Monroe and sold more than 50,000 copies. The original issue did not carry a date, because Hefner did not know whether there would be another. By the end of the decade, *Playboy* was selling more than 1 million copies per month.

Hefner aimed his innovative magazine straight for the male libido. It contained glossy photos of seminude young women—one highlighted as Playmate of the Month—as well as cutting-edge fiction from such celebrated authors as Ray Bradbury and Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., bawdy humor, and newsmaker interviews. In the early 1960s, he

published in its pages the “Playboy Philosophy,” which details at length (in twenty-five parts, totaling almost 250,000 words) America’s religious heritage of sexual repression.

New, more sexually explicit magazine competitors in the early 1970s caused Hefner to follow suit with fully nude Playmates. Radical feminists and anti-pornography fundamentalists accused him of exploiting women’s bodies. A report commissioned by President Ronald Reagan in the mid-1980s linking pornography to violence led to the removal of *Playboy* from many nationwide sales outlets.

At about the same time, Hefner suffered a stroke. His daughter, Christie, took over Playboy Enterprises, but Hefner remained in charge of the magazine.

Surviving health problems and political controversies, Hefner wed Playmate Kimberley Conrad in 1989. In the mid-1990s, *Playboy* became the first national magazine on the Internet. Into his eighties, Hefner continued to publish *Playboy*, support First Amendment rights, and maintain a high public profile.

Admirers credit Hefner with celebrating the female body, educating people about sex, and breaking down prudery. Conversely, detractors blame him for objectifying women, glorifying hedonism, and popularizing pornography. For better or worse, Hugh Hefner has deeply influenced America’s sexual attitudes for more than half a century.

Roy L. Sturgeon

See also: [Pornography](#); [Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr.](#)

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Hells Angels

Hells Angels is an outlaw motorcycle gang formed in the Fontana area of San Bernardino County, California. In its early stages, the Hells Angels were known as POBOB, an acronym for “Pissed Off Bastards of Bloomington” (California). It was established by a group of World War II veterans, some of whom felt alienated from American society upon their return from service overseas and sought refuge from its constraints in the newly formed biker club.

Shortly after the group’s founding on March 17, 1948, the bikers changed its name to Hells Angels, a moniker adopted from a company of fighter pilots in World War II. The official club insignia, proudly displayed on the backs of leather riding jackets and vests, features a grinning, winged skull wearing a leather aviation helmet. Active

members of the Hells Angels are required to have a tattoo of the crest. Individuals whose membership is revoked must have the tattoo altered with a line through it. Retired members are permitted to keep the tattoo, but their date of departure must be indicated beneath the crest.

By the 1960s, the Hells Angels had come to epitomize the outlaw motorcycle counterculture. Still, in accordance with the founders' armed-forces background, the structure and relationships within the organization reflect a quasi-military model. While women are included in organizational activity, full-scale membership is exclusive to Caucasian, working-class males.

History

Between its inception and the late 1960s, the Hells Angels were largely confined to Southern California and Australia. Beginning in the latter part of the 1960s and into the early 1970s, the group's influence was widened by the influx of returning Vietnam veterans and an improved media image, which portrayed the biker as a free spirit symbolic of the Old West cowboy.

Films such as *The Wild One* (1954) and *Hells Angels on Wheels* (1967) depicted outlaw motorcycle gangs not as menacing transients but as eccentrics yearning for a simple life in a society that hampered freedom, forced to reject conventional norms and seek reprieve in a select group of "brothers" pursuing the same goals. The Hells Angels, in fact, kept frequent company with the countercultural groups known as hippies and flower children. A divergence of opinion over the Vietnam War, however, eventually split their superficial bond.

In the early 1960s, the Hells Angels had begun infiltrating the U.S. narcotics market, and the money derived from drug dealing spawned a new era for the biker subculture. The organization was affected in two major ways. First, drugs provided income; second, the group morphed into an organized-crime syndicate. In 1985 alone, more than 100 Hells Angels were arrested for involvement in drug trafficking.

The U.S. Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco, and Firearms estimated that in 2004 there were more than 500 outlaw motorcycle gangs in the United States, which varied in scope but shared characteristics with the Hells Angels. The federal government considered only four to be criminal organizations—the Hells Angels, Outlaws, Pagans, and Bandidos. Although their members make up only 1 percent of the biker population, the rivalry between these groups has not been inconsequential. In fact, it has prompted terrorist-type activity as a means to intimidate rivals. Violence is an inherent attribute of the culture in that it is used not only to maintain hegemony over occupied regions, but also internally, to control member activity.

Organization and Bureaucracy

The Hells Angels today boast more than eighty-five chapters in fifteen countries. At the national level, the club is divided geographically into the West Coast and East Coast regions, with Omaha, Nebraska, being the midpoint. The headquarters, referred to as the "motherclub," is located in Oakland, California. Ralph Hubert "Sonny" Barger, Jr., a notable figure in the organization who joined during the late 1950s and became its president shortly thereafter, was responsible for moving the headquarters there.

The Hells Angels has an elaborate bureaucracy, with a hierarchy, policies, and procedures that have both legal and illegal overtones. The gang is a legally established corporation whose name is a registered trademark. Every three months, chapter officers from each coast attend regional meetings known as ECOM (East Coast Officer Meeting) and WCOM (West Coast Officer Meeting). The location of the meeting rotates among chapters in each region.



Chains, bandannas, earrings, and black “leathers” are standard accoutrements for members of the Hells Angels motorcycle gang. The organization is run according to a quasi-military model, with strict rules, sanctioned activities, and a hierarchy of leadership. (Michael Ochs Archives/Stringer/Getty Images)

An annual meeting, called a “USA Run,” is held for all members. In addition, there are three annual runs—held on Memorial Day, July 4th, and Labor Day—in which members are required to participate (unless incapacitated or imprisoned) on a Harley Davidson motorcycle.

Each chapter of the organization is headed by a president and an executive body made up of a vice president, secretary-treasurer, sergeant-at-arms, enforcer, and road captain. The secretary-treasurer oversees the collection of membership dues and other revenues. The organization’s coffers, containing millions of dollars, are used to finance legal expenses and support the families of deceased and imprisoned members. The sergeant-at-arms is ordinarily the person perceived as the toughest member of the chapter. He is primarily responsible for sustaining order within the organization and also may function as an enforcer and executioner. The road captain is responsible for security, protecting organization members and interests; he is principally responsible for charting travel routes.

Probationary members, called “strikers,” must be sponsored by an active member, who assumes responsibility in mentoring the neophytes and is held accountable for their actions. Strikers spend an indeterminate period of time as prospective members, during which they must commit various felonies in order to substantiate their allegiance to the group. An extensive background investigation is conducted by a National Enforcement Unit on all prospective members. Membership is affirmed only by the unanimous vote of all chapter members.

Women generally are regarded as inferior, though distinctions are drawn between “old ladies” (the wives or steady girlfriends of members) and “mamas” or “sheep” (considered joint property of the gang and used primarily for sexual purposes). Women are not permitted to wear the club insignia, though they may sport apparel that alludes to their connection with the group—such as a shirt that reads “Property of Hells Angels.”

Giuseppe M. Fazari

See also: [Altamont Free Concert](#); [Biker Culture](#); [Rolling Stones, The](#).

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Hemingway, Ernest (1899–1961)

One of the most influential American writers of the twentieth century, Ernest Miller Hemingway was a central figure of the Lost Generation, a term he popularized in the epigraph of his 1926 novel *The Sun Also Rises*. It refers to a group of American writers and artists who lived in Paris and other parts of Europe after World War I.

Hemingway was born in Oak Park, Illinois, on July 21, 1899, and began his career as a newspaper reporter with the *Kansas City Star* in 1917. During World War I, he volunteered as a Red Cross ambulance driver in Italy and was severely wounded. When the war was over, he moved to Paris with his first wife, Hadley, and joined a large group of expatriate American writers, including Gertrude Stein, Ezra Pound, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ford Madox Ford.

Abandoning what he regarded as the wordiness and bombast of the Victorian literary tradition, Hemingway pioneered a taut, simple, understated writing style. "If a prose writer knows enough about what he is writing about," he said, "he may omit things that he knows. And the reader, if the writer is writing truly enough, will have a feeling of those things as strongly as if the writer had stated them." Such short, declarative sentences became the hallmark of his writing and had a profound effect on modern American literature.

Hemingway's first book, *Three Stories and Ten Poems*, was published in Paris in 1923. This was followed by a collection of fifteen stories, *In Our Time* (1925), his first American publication. *The Sun Also Rises*, which appeared the following year, came to be regarded as the quintessential novel of the Lost Generation. *Men Without Women*, another story collection, came out in 1927, followed two years later by the acclaimed novel *A Farewell to Arms*, based on Hemingway's personal experience in World War I.

On the advice of fellow expatriate writer John Dos Passos, Hemingway settled in Key West, Florida, in 1931 and visited Cuba, Africa, and Spain during the course of the decade. He produced two nonfiction works based on his travels, *Death in the Afternoon* (1932) and *Green Hills of Africa* (1935), which examined bullfighting and big game hunting, respectively. Critics agree that Hemingway's work during this early period captured the spirit of the first half of the twentieth century perhaps better than any other writing.

After his travels through Africa, Hemingway went to Spain to cover the Spanish Civil War. His novel based on that conflict, *For Whom the Bell Tolls* (1940), is considered by many to be Hemingway's greatest literary achievement. With the outbreak of World War II, Hemingway went to Europe as a magazine correspondent. His experiences there inspired the novel *Across the River and into the Trees* (1950).

Perhaps the crowning moment of Hemingway's career came with the publication of *The Old Man and the Sea* in 1952. The novella won the Pulitzer Prize for Fiction in 1953, and Hemingway was awarded the Nobel Prize in Literature the following year. The Nobel committee cited his "powerful, style-forming mastery of the art of

narration.”

Despite the financial and critical success of his work, Hemingway battled depression throughout his career. During the last decade of his life, he drifted further into depression and alcoholism, and was unable to replicate in his mind the magic of his earlier writing.

“The Dangerous Summer,” an account of his 1959 trip to Spain published in *Life* magazine—a lesser work according to many critics—made Hemingway feel ashamed and sick. The essay would be his last work published before his death. Desperate and no longer able to continue writing, Hemingway committed suicide at his home in Ketchum, Idaho, on July 2, 1961.

Eric J. Morgan

See also: [Fitzgerald, F. Scott: *Lost Generation*](#); [Stein, Gertrude](#).

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Hendrix, Jimi (1942–1970)

One of the most influential musicians to come out of the late 1960s acid rock scene, Jimi Hendrix established new heights for rock-guitar virtuosity and showmanship. During his short, four-year stint as a rock superstar, Hendrix pushed the boundaries of electric guitar. He was able to coax a staggering variety of sounds from his Fender Stratocaster, including the illusion of there being two separate guitarists, as he created feedback on two strings while playing lead on the others.

He was born Johnny Allen Hendrix on November 27, 1942, in Seattle, Washington, but his father later changed his name to James Marshall Hendrix. He got his first guitar at age fourteen and taught himself to play. He was a fan of Elvis Presley and Little Richard and was later influenced by the blues guitar of Muddy Waters and B.B. King. After finishing high school, he joined the U.S. Army and became a paratrooper, but he was discharged after suffering an injury while parachuting in 1961.

After his release from the military, Hendrix moved to Tennessee, playing with a succession of club bands and working as a session guitarist. He played backup guitar for such stars as King and Sam Cooke, performed on the all-black club circuit across the South and up to New York, and toured with such stars as the Isley Brothers, Little Richard, and Ike and Tina Turner.

By 1966, he had formed his own band, called Jimmy James and the Blue Flames. It was while performing with the group at New York’s Café Wha? that he was discovered by record producer Chas Chandler, who convinced

Hendrix to go to London to record an album. With Chandler's help, the Jimi Hendrix Experience was formed with bassist Noel Redding and drummer Mitch Mitchell.

The Experience played a few concerts in 1967 and quickly impressed its musical peers. The concerts were followed by the group's first single, a cover of "Hey Joe." Their next two singles, "Purple Haze" and the ballad "The Wind Cries Mary," became rock standards. All three hits were showcased on the band's first album, *Are You Experienced* (1967), though it was not until the Monterey International Pop Festival in June of that year that Hendrix became a star. During the band's set, Hendrix played his guitar with his teeth, then behind his back, and eventually set the instrument on fire, literally. The performance was immortalized by D.A. Pennebaker's documentary film of 1968, *Monterey Pop*.

After a brief stint touring the United States with the Monkees, the Experience released its second album, *Axis Bold as Love*, in December 1967, followed by the seminal *Electric Ladyland* in October 1968. Hendrix's fame grew; he was enormously popular in Europe even before catching on with American audiences. His personal life, however, became increasingly mired in drugs. Associated problems, including an arrest for drug possession in May 1969, along with creative differences finally prompted Chandler to quit as Hendrix's producer and Redding to leave the band. After a final concert performance in June 1969, the Jimi Hendrix Experience officially broke up.

Hendrix formed a new band, the Gypsy Suns and Rainbows, to play at the Woodstock music festival, to be held in Bethel, New York, that August. At Woodstock, Hendrix played his notorious instrumental version of "The Star Spangled Banner," which the audience understood as a musical comment on the Vietnam War. Taking a solemn, respectful tune that honored America and patriotic allegiance to the "land of the free," Hendrix added the simulated sounds of bombs falling and created a piercing, satiric statement screeching with defiance. Those who saw the world through the eyes of the establishment were outraged by the performance; those who identified with the counterculture saw the song as a rallying point against the war and a cry for revolution. Four decades later, much of mainstream American culture continued to be offended by the recordings, while the counterculture regarded the song as an anthem.

Hendrix died in London on September 18, 1970, after choking on his vomit in reaction to a barbiturate overdose. With his death, Hendrix completed the trinity of 1960s rock musicians known as "the three Js": Janis (Joplin), Jim (Morrison), and Jimi. The hard-living lifestyles of these three superstars had prompted the rock and roll mantra "Live fast, die young, and leave a pretty corpse."

B. Keith Murphy

See also: [Acid Rock](#); [Joplin, Janis](#); [Morrison, Jim](#); [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Heroin

An opiate synthesized from morphine (a derivate of opium), heroin was originally developed in the late nineteenth

century as a nonaddictive analgesic, or painkiller. It was soon found to be highly addictive, however, and to cause a feeling of euphoria after introduction into the bloodstream. From its initial use as a painkiller through its recreational use in the 1960s hippie counterculture and its central role in the nation's drug-related crime, heroin has made an indelible mark on American society. It is illegal to manufacture, sell, or possess heroin in the United States today. Common street names include *smack*, *junk*, *horse*, and many others.

Heroin is usually distributed in loose powder form, often dissolved in saline mixed with such additives as talc and baking powder. It is normally injected or snorted by the user. The drug creates a pleasing, relaxing effect through its chemical interaction with the brain's opiate receptors. It enters the brain rapidly. Tolerance to the drug develops easily and withdrawal can be severe, causing the user to continue taking the drug to avoid the severe flu-like symptoms that occur during withdrawal.

Opium is believed to have been cultivated in Mesopotamia more than 5,000 years ago. The practice of smoking opium was passed from India to China in the seventeenth century. The spread of opium addiction finally prompted the Chinese government to restrict importation and distribution in the nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the drug also became widely used in Europe and America as a medical analgesic.

The alkaloids morphine and codeine were isolated from opium in 1805, and heroin was first synthesized from morphine in Germany in 1898. With its addictive potential yet unrecognized, heroin was marketed as a morphine substitute and cough medicine for more than a decade. After the discovery of its addictive potential, Congress passed the Harrison Narcotics Tax Act of 1914 to halt the sale of heroin in the United States, opening a lucrative black market.

Mexico became the primary source of the drug, and smuggling operations into the United States became widespread. The black market expanded as more heroin crossed the border. The highly addictive nature of the drug, combined with its severe withdrawal symptoms and increase in tolerance, in turn contributed to the spiraling demand. Additional federal legislation was passed in 1924 to limit the manufacture and distribution of heroin.

In the 1920s, heroin use was popularized by such jazz musicians as Charlie Parker and Billie Holiday. After World War II, the drug was believed to be a major contributor to the crime wave sweeping the country. Heroin was even part of the Red Scare of the McCarthy period, as communists were said to use the drug to corrupt America's youth. In the Beat Generation of the 1950s, writers and poets such as Jack Kerouac, William S. Burroughs, and Allen Ginsberg became associated with heroin use as part of their rebellious response to conservative society.

During the Vietnam War in the 1960s and early 1970s, thousands of American soldiers were introduced to heroin and brought their addictions home. Heroin was among the most powerful and addictive recreational drugs used by the hippie counterculture, causing particular alarm among government and public health officials because of its highly addictive quality. Major rock stars were known to use the drug regularly, and several—including Janis Joplin in 1970 and Jim Morrison of the Doors in 1971—were believed to have died from overdoses.

The use of heroin began to spread to middle-class America during the 1970s, prompting new law enforcement measures and treatment modalities. Films such as *More* (1969), *The French Connection* (1971), and *The Panic in Needle Park* (1971) and songs such as *Heroin* (1967) by the Velvet Underground, *The Needle and the Damage Done* (1972) by Neil Young, and *The Needle and the Spoon* (1974) by Lynyrd Skynyrd reflect the growing public interest in heroin and heroin addicts.

In the 1990s, the drug developed new commercial appeal as "heroin chic" came into vogue. The image of pale, emaciated models with darkened eyes graced the covers of many magazines and sparked a fashion trend, albeit brief. President Bill Clinton and other political figures denounced the trend.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Drug Culture](#): [Holiday, Billie](#): [Joplin, Janis](#): [Morrison, Jim](#).

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Hester, Carolyn (1937–)

Folk singer Carolyn Hester may be most widely known for giving future folk superstar Bob Dylan his first chance to appear on a record, by inviting him to play harmonica on her third album, *Carolyn Hester* (1962). If not as prominent as such contemporaries as Joan Baez and Judy Collins, Hester was a key figure in the folk music revival of the 1960s and one of the few women to be remembered from that era.

Hester was born on January 1, 1937, in Waco, Texas. Growing up in Texas in the 1940s, Hester heard Pete Seeger sing songs of social justice on the radio and fell in love with traditional American folk music. After high school, she set out for Greenwich Village in New York City to become a folk singer. There, she met fellow Texan and rockabilly recording artist Buddy Holly, and gradually began playing clubs around the city and up and down the East Coast.

In 1957, with Holly's producer, Norman Petty, Hester recorded an album of folk songs at Petty's studio in Clovis, New Mexico, and signed a contract with Coral Records, a subsidiary of the prominent British label Decca, for distribution. The resulting LP, *Scarlet Ribbons*, established Hester as the first female folk artist to release an album nationally.

While working in the New York folk scene during the early 1960s, Hester met songwriter and novelist Richard Fariña (whom she married), a young folk singer from Minnesota named Bob Dylan, former military man and singer-songwriter Tom Paxton, the Irish troubadours the Clancy Brothers, and a teenage Joan Baez, among others. The Clancy Brothers produced her second album, *Carolyn Hester*, for their Tradition label. John Hammond signed the singer to Columbia Records for another eponymous album. Dylan's participation on the latter record led to his introduction to Hammond and eventual signing with Columbia.

With her three-octave range, ability to connect emotionally with audiences, and wide song selection—ranging from her Texas country roots to British ballads to Southern blues—Hester rose to the top of the folk ranks. She was chosen to appear on the cover of the *Saturday Evening Post* in May 1964 as a representative of the 1960s breed of folk singer.

Hester put her politics into action by participating in the interracial Freedom Rides across the South as part of the civil rights movement and in protests against the Vietnam War. Along with other singers and activists, she spent time in Mississippi in the mid-1960s, sharing her music with black and interracial audiences, boarding with black families in their neighborhoods, and following her calling to stand with those who were struggling for equality. Sacrificing her own career interests, she refused to continue appearing on the popular television show *Hootenanny* after Seeger was banned from the program for his antiwar politics.

After a break from touring and recording in the 1970s to raise her children, Hester returned to the stage the following decade, putting her own songs on record and recording a tribute to her friend Tom Paxton. She has nurtured the careers and dreams of newer generations through her work with the Kerrville Folk Festival, the World Folk Music Association, and her own performances. Original songs about Native American life and ecology have expressed her later social concerns.

Kerry Dexter

See also: [Dylan, Bob](#); [Folk Music](#); [Seeger, Pete](#).

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Hip-Hop

Hip-hop is a cultural and aesthetic movement that arose from the disenfranchised and disenchanting African American and Puerto Rican communities of the South Bronx (New York City) during the 1970s. This broad-based movement encompasses several distinct but interrelated elements, including graffiti art, break dancing (B-boying or B-girling), beat-boxing (creating beats or rhymes with the mouth), rapping (MCing), street language, street knowledge, and urban fashion. Hip-hop culture is characterized by subversive performance, spontaneity, and a general sense of nonconformity in art, music, language, dress, and attitude. Rap lyrics, along with hip-hop fashion and slang, are heavily imbued with nonconformist messages and themes. The term *hip-hop* was first used in reference to the rap music produced by African American and Puerto Rican MCs and DJs in the late 1970s, such as Kool DJ Herc (Clive Campbell) and Disco King Mario. It later came to include the broader cultural expressions of the communities from which the music emerged.

Hip-hop culture emanates from an oral tradition that is intrinsic to the history of African Americans. This is the same tradition from which the cultural antecedents of hip-hop—including work songs, spirituals, the blues, jazz, rock and roll, and funk music—derived. When the drum, an instrument of African origin, was outlawed in eighteenth-century South Carolina (following the 1739 slave uprising called the Stono Rebellion or Cato's Conspiracy), slaves began to create rhythmic beats with their hands and bodies—called "hand-bone" (beating the hand to the body or "bone"). The "beat-boxing" (vocal percussion) technique popularized by hip-hop pioneers Doug E. Fresh and Darren Robinson ("Buffy, the Human Beat Box") emulates the form of subversive performance in slave communities during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Beat-boxing is also a form of mimicry that attempts to replicate the sounds associated with the original drum-box machines, or "beatboxes." The tradition of "call and response" dialogue is also central to rapping, and repetitious verse patterns buttressed by contrapuntal rhythms are central to the music and culture of hip-hop.

The hip-hop phenomenon began in a climate of social rebellion and upheaval following the civil rights activism of

the 1960s and the ghetto uprisings of the latter part of the decade. Its birth paralleled both the Black Power and black arts movements of the early 1970s. In this climate of radicalism, both in the African American community and society at large, the results of “tagging,” or creating graffiti, first appeared on the subways in Philadelphia, then in New York City, and eventually in urban neighborhoods across the United States. By the mid-1970s, “tags” (gang identifiers made with spray paint, chalk, or markers) involved into elaborate calligraphy with the work of such graffiti artists as Lee Quinones and hip-hop deejays such as Afrika Bambaataa. Graffiti art was first introduced to the mainstream as a distinct aspect of urban culture in the book *Subway Art* (1984) and the PBS television program “Style Wars” in 1984.

The same period gave rise to B-boying and B-girling—or break dancing—the style of performers at Kool DJ Herc’s parties, who saved their most elaborate moves for the break section of a given song. The film *Beat Street* (1984) and the documentary feature *The Freshest Kids* (2002) introduced the art of break dancing to a wider audience. The Zulu Kings were the first B-boy crew. Along with urban art and the frenetic, spontaneous dance style that characterized urban culture of the mid-1970s and early 1980s, a distinctive system of communication or slang began to flourish. Phrases such as “B-boy,” “going off” (break dancing), and “droppin’ science” (spreading knowledge), among others, eventually entered the American lexicon. Break-dancing shows became popular across the country in the 1980s.

While derived from break dancing, hip-hop also incorporates funk styles such as “popping,” “locking,” and “ticking” that originated in California during the 1960s. Early performers associated with hip-hop include the DJ Afrika Bambaataa, the break-dancing group Rock Steady Crew, and the hip-hop music groups Fat Boys and Run DMC, along with individual rap artists such as Doug E. Fresh, Biz Markie, and Kurtis Blow.

Hip-hop has become a national and international phenomenon, with graffiti art, break dancing, and hip-hop styles found from New York to Los Angeles to Tokyo. Urban fashions have gained international prestige with such designer brands as FUBU and Baby Phat. The nonconformist elements of hip-hop have come to resonate with the world’s youth across ethnic lines, as American artists have represented the African American, Latino, and Caucasian communities alike.

The hip-hop culture has come under increasing criticism for song lyrics and a value system that promote misogyny and violence, most notably in reference to the gangsta rap subgenre. Hip-hop is a diverse culture, however, with its own critical voices. Indeed, the method of call and response has engaged some of the leading purveyors of hip-hop music and culture, such as Queen Latifah and Mary J. Blige (dubbed the “Hip-hop Diva”), to respond in verse to the sometimes overtly sexist lyrics of their male counterparts.

Hettie V. Williams

See also: [Black Arts Movement](#); [Black Power Movement](#); [Fashion](#); [Gangsta Rap](#); [Graffiti](#); [Rap Music](#).

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Hippies

Hippies is the term applied to members of the most visible and extreme wing of the counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Hippies comprised not a formal movement but, rather, a loose collection of individuals and small groups defined by their unconventional values, behavior, and tastes in fashion, music, and the arts. Although people from many walks of life adopted the counterculture lifestyle, the stereotypical hippie was a white youth from a middle-class background. The hippies developed out of earlier countercultures— most notably the antimaterialistic, nonconformist Beat Generation of the 1950s—and first arose as a distinct subculture in the mid-1960s. Media fascination with the group spread its influence in the late 1960s.

Since the 1970s, mainstream American culture has tacitly adopted many values and behaviors originally associated with the counterculture. During the same time, however, the media and most of the public have depicted hippies (and neo-hippies) as relics of the 1960s. Additionally, cultural conservatives have denounced the hippie legacy for causing a decline in American morality and resort to hippie bashing as a weapon in their “culture wars” against their liberal opponents, whom they portray as the hippies’ heirs.

Background and Influences

In America, the term *hippie* derived from the “hipsters” of the 1940s and 1950s, who rejected mainstream society and centered their subculture on jazz music and the recreational use of drugs, especially marijuana and heroin. The hippies’ immediate forerunners were the Beats or beatniks of the 1950s. The Beat Generation was influenced by the era’s improvisational and experimental art forms, such as jazz music, abstract-expressionist painting, and stream-of-consciousness poetry and prose. Leading Beat personalities included poet Allen Ginsberg and novelists William S. Burroughs, Neal Cassady, and Jack Kerouac.

The Beats dissented from what they viewed as the stifling bourgeois culture of the 1950s. They anticipated the hippies in rejecting such middle-class values as social conformity, self-repression, delayed gratification, hard work, suburban lifestyles, material acquisition, and mindless consumerism. Instead, they embraced hedonism, existentialism, personal authenticity, and experimentation. They glorified spontaneity, madcap humor, adventurous travel, sexuality, drug use, and unconventional—often Eastern—forms of spirituality. The Beat’s countercultural sensibility was bolstered by the burgeoning youth culture, which found rebellious role models in *Mad* magazine, novelist J.D. Salinger’s characters, actors James Dean and Marlon Brando, and singer Elvis Presley and other rock and roll stars.

The counterculture of the 1960s developed out of this Beat and youth-culture background. The hippies embraced many of the Beats’ values and behaviors, and their oppositional cultural ethos was further shaped by the era’s events and issues: continuing cold war militarism, fears of nuclear war, resistance to racial integration, paternalistic attitudes toward women and youth, and concerns about ecological damage. Perhaps most important was U.S. escalation of the Vietnam War, which many Americans regarded as a distortion of national ideals that threatened, through the military draft, the liberty and lives of young men. The hippies also gained numbers and power from the huge baby boom generation that came of age in the late 1960s and often congregated on college campuses. Finally, technological innovations, such as the development of the birth-control pill and the drug LSD (“acid”), also helped to enable hippie behavior.

Emergence of a Counterculture

By the mid-1960s, a distinct subculture of hippies had formed in several places throughout the United States. Like

the Beats, hippies first congregated in such urban areas as New York's Greenwich Village, San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury, and Los Angeles's Venice Beach, and in such college towns as Berkeley, California, and Cambridge, Massachusetts. Hippies also sought the existentialist pleasure of large gatherings of like-minded individuals, such as the Human Be-In in San Francisco, which inaugurated 1967's Summer of Love.

Hippies espoused values that were nondoctrinaire, if somewhat vague, including peace, love, harmony, pleasure seeking, and personal freedom. This meant opposing militarism, racism, sexism, intolerance, and sexual repression, though the opposition tended to be personal rather than conventionally political. Hippie lifestyle and behavior featured communal living, free love (an openness to sexuality and multiple partners), psychedelic drug use, an embrace of Eastern and New Age religions, listening to and performing folk or rock music, creating and admiring pop art, and acting in street or "guerrilla" theater.

Although hippies never formed a unified movement, they often massed together as fans of folk and rock music. Folk music's association with personal authenticity in the face of social pressures and its sing-along communalism appealed to hippies. In the 1950s and early 1960s, folk revived as a popular-music form, and musicians such as Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, and the group Peter, Paul and Mary became best-selling artists. Folk's biggest star was Bob Dylan, a young musician whose lyrics and lifestyle embodied the counterculture's search for personal meaning and questioning of authority. Dylan's impact on other musicians was enormous. One band, the Byrds, helped Dylan popularize folk rock music, which fused folk's meaningful or experimental lyrics with rock's muscular electronic rhythms.

The Beatles—along with the Rolling Stones, Cream, the Jimi Hendrix Experience, Jefferson Airplane, the Doors, the Grateful Dead, and Pink Floyd—helped popularize "psychedelic" rock, perhaps the central unifying element of hippie culture. This music was characterized by pounding rhythms, distorted sound from overamplified guitars, experimental recording techniques, and outlandish and often sexualized lyrics. Hippies found that "acid rock," the form especially evocative of the psychedelic drug experience, enhanced the "head trips" produced by marijuana, LSD, psilocybin mushrooms, peyote, and other psychoactive substances.

Rock music thus served as a kind of soundtrack for the hippie bohemianism of the late 1960s, with concerts and festivals providing a gathering place for their "beloved community." The emblematic rock concert of the period was the Woodstock Music and Art Fair, held in Bethel, New York, over three days in August 1969. The hippie counterculture came to be referred to as the "Woodstock Nation."

Recreational drugs joined rock music as an activity separating the counterculture from what was regarded as the "straight" or "square" culture. Some hippies glorified the use of marijuana or LSD as a means of raising consciousness to a higher, more authentic level. For example, LSD guru and Harvard University professor Dr. Timothy Leary counseled people to "Turn on, tune in, drop out." For many hippies, however, drug use was simply an act of pleasure seeking; "If it feels good, do it," was a frequent refrain.

The same ethic, regarded as hedonism by much of American society, informed hippies' embrace of the sexual revolution. The focus on sex as pleasure rather than as procreation was facilitated by materialism and economic prosperity after World War II, advances in birth control (especially the Pill, introduced in 1960), and the increasing mingling of the sexes at school and on the job. Hippie women often portrayed their involvement in the sexual revolution as a rejection of the cultural double standard that allowed men, but not women, to engage in sexual activity freely and openly, outside of marriage. Many gays and lesbians, who had had their own closeted counterculture for decades, became hippies, too.

Although some hippie males held traditional views about women's place in society, the egalitarian ethos of the counterculture was conducive to feminism's reemergence. Just as African Americans demanded freedom from racist laws and drug users desired an unshackling from repressive social norms, women sought liberation from patriarchal oppression. Feminists split between radical "women's libbers" and more conventional feminists, who called for gender equality but accepted middle-class values and mores. A major dividing line was homosexuality: Hippie feminists often depicted lesbianism as a principled rejection of patriarchal values, while mainstream

feminists, like many in mainstream society at the time, regarded it as a distasteful sexual perversion.

For both women and men, fashion and grooming served as the most obvious emblems of countercultural loyalty. The style was garish but casual and often was influenced by Eastern, African, ethnic, or working-class fashions. Hippie females usually wore their hair long and straight, spurned makeup, and dressed in brightly colored (often tie-dyed) shirts, tight bell-bottom jeans or skirts (either short minis, or long and flowing), and sandals. Males also wore their hair long (which became the main badge for countercultural men), grew facial hair, and dressed in colorful shirts, bell-bottom jeans, and sandals. Embracing “naturalness,” hippies often rejected meticulous personal hygiene and perfume or cologne as bourgeois conventions.

Most hippies shunned conventional electoral politics, but their values and lifestyle were often seen as a protest against traditional political values. Some hippies did engage in politics, typically joining the student-driven New Left. However, hippies tended to focus on issues personally affecting them. For example, they often lobbied against drug laws and legal discrimination based on race, gender, or age. The military draft was a chief political concern of male hippies. Many hippie feminists defined politics broadly, criticizing power imbalances in all human relations, including marriage and the family. The feminist slogan “the personal is political” encapsulated the viewpoint of many hippies.

Colorfully combining rebellion, hedonism, sex, drugs, youth, celebrity, and politics, the hippie lifestyle soon became a focus of the media. Dominated by older traditionalist males, the press and electronic media were both outraged and fascinated by the hippie lifestyle. Various hippie groups took advantage of the media’s interest to promote causes, tweak conventional sensibilities, or gain notoriety. The Diggers (a community-action group of improvisational actors based in San Francisco) and others staged outrageous stunts to promote political causes (especially opposition to the Vietnam War and the Washington, D.C., political establishment), publicize events, or advertise products such as organic foods and underground publications. Activists Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin combined countercultural values with New Left politics by forming the Youth International Party (also known as the yippies), which gained notoriety by leading antiwar protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago.

The 1970s and Beyond

Although hippies were closely associated with the 1960s, many Americans continued to live counterculture lifestyles in the ensuing decades. Communes and cooperatives remained popular into the 1970s. Many rock groups persisted in personifying hippie behavior, epitomized by the Grateful Dead, who served as a kind of traveling counterculture, attracting committed fans known as “Deadheads” from concert to concert. A number of college campuses also remained hospitable to the hippie life.

Thus, beginning in the 1980s, people too young to have experienced the 1960s nonetheless emulated the era’s lifestyle, becoming “neo-hippies.” Epitomizing the new counterculture lifestyle were raves—all-night dance parties held in warehouses and clubs and outdoors—the annual Burning Man alternative-arts festival in Nevada, and such rock groups as Phish.

Beginning with their emergence in the 1960s, hippies became the primary target of cultural traditionalists. Conflict between these groups developed into the so-called culture wars. Conservative politicians realized that the “silent majority”—a term used by President Richard M. Nixon in 1969 in reference to the masses of mainstream Americans who do not express their opinions publicly—disliked hippies, perceiving them as selfish, immature, arrogant, ungrateful, lazy, dirty, criminal, drug addled, sexually perverse, and determined to destroy American institutions. For many conservatives, mass murderer Charles Manson and his crazed, homicidal “family” epitomized the danger that hippies posed to American society.

From the 1960s through the 2000s, conservatives—including Republican presidents Nixon, Ronald Reagan, George H.W. Bush, and George W. Bush—condemned the legacy of the hippies, blaming it for the alleged decline in American morality. Republicans also depicted Democrats as relics of the hippie counterculture; President Bill

Clinton, most notably, was regarded as a direct legacy of the 1960s counterculture.

Although hippies helped to inflame the culture wars and often were the object of ridicule in mainstream American culture, the latter quietly assimilated many counterculture values, among them egalitarianism, informality, disapproval of sexism and racism, concern for the environment, tolerance for diversity, and tolerance of libertine behaviors. Contemporary tastes in fashion, hair, and music also owed much to the hippie movement. Yoga and New Age religions appealed to many Americans. And corporations used counterculture-themed advertisements to sell their products.

As a result, some commentators believed that much of the counterculture has been assimilated into the dominant culture. As syndicated columnist David Brooks noted in 2000, many Americans have combined middle-class values at work with hippie values at home to form a new “bourgeois bohemianism.”

George Rising

See also: [Baby Boomers](#): [Beat Generation](#): [Be-Ins](#): [Berkeley, California](#): [Birth Control Pill](#): [Brando, Marlon](#): [Communes](#): [Dean, James](#): [Drug Culture](#): [Fashion](#): [Folk Music](#): [Free Love](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Greenwich Village, New York City](#): [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#): [Heroin](#): [Jazz](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [Los Angeles, California](#): [LSD](#): [Marijuana](#): [New Age](#): [New Left](#): [Psychedelia](#): [Rock and Roll](#): [Sexual Revolution](#): [Venice, California](#): [Vietnam War Protests](#): [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#): [Yippies](#).

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Hitchhiking

Hitchhiking is the practice of hailing strangers driving motor vehicles and asking for a ride. Hitchhikers in North America signal drivers by extending their thumb; thus, hitchhiking is often referred to as “thumbing a ride” or “riding your thumb.” Drivers willing to pick up hitchhikers often take them only for a portion of their intended

journey, and hitchhikers typically have to rely on a number of rides to reach their final destination. In many parts of the world, hitchhiking is an accepted practice with few legal restrictions. In parts of the United States, including New Jersey, Florida, Utah, Washington, and other states, hitchhiking is prohibited by law.

One of the earliest published references to hitchhiking appears in a 1914 collection of writings by the American poet Nicholas Vachel Lindsay, *Adventures while Preaching the Gospel of Beauty*. In a letter dated June 23, Lindsay wrote:

About five o'clock in the evening some man making a local trip is apt to come along alone. He it is that wants the other side of the machine weighed down. He it is that will offer me a ride and spin me along from five to twenty-five miles before supper. This delightful use that may be made of an automobile in rounding out a day's walk has had something to do with mending my prejudice against it, despite the grand airs of the tourists that whirl by at midday.

Hitchhiking became a powerful symbol of the search for a better life during the social upheaval of the Great Depression. In novels such as John Steinbeck's *The Grapes of Wrath* (1939) and John Dos Passos's *Adventures of a Young Man* (1939), characters use their thumbs to travel in search of work or simply a change of scenery.

The most influential literary evocation of hitchhiking—one that has inspired countercultures since it first appeared in 1957—is presented in Jack Kerouac's novel *On the Road*. This work, more than any other source, contributed to the image of hitchhiking as a freewheeling, romantic expression of life on the open road, free from the everyday burdens of work and family. The central character in *On the Road*, Dean Moriarty, stands as the iconic image of the hitchhiker as utopian dreamer, the angel-headed hipster who has taken to the road in search of something more authentic and meaningful than the dull conformity of America's consumer society.

Hitchhiking has been an appealing means of travel for people in different countercultures for a variety of reasons, ranging from the prosaic and material to the poetic and mystical. In material terms, for people who may be lacking in financial resources, hitchhiking presents an affordable way to get around. For the counterculturally inclined, hitchhiking usually holds greater social or philosophical significance—an example of human solidarity, sharing, and mutual aid, even in the context of advanced capitalist society. If nothing else, hitchhiking offers an opportunity to go beyond one's own social circle and meet new and possibly interesting people.

In the countercultures of the 1960s and 1970s, hitchhiking served as an aspect of social networking and solidarity building. People sharing rides to music concerts or political demonstrations could spend time discussing and debating everything from their favorite bands to political and social issues. The lingo was spread, drugs shared. Hitchhiking stood as a marker of one's membership in, or at least openness to, the counterculture and the values it espoused, especially those of communalism and mutual aid.

The mythologies surrounding counterculture icons such as folk singers Bob Dylan and Woody Guthrie included hitchhiking adventures across America's heartland in search of songs and "truth." Authenticity, common sense, and the decency of ordinary folks were the hallmarks of the hitchhiker experience. It was life on the road, a guitar slung over one's shoulder, in search of America. The image and romance were promoted in countless songs of the 1960s and 1970s counterculture, from "Sweet Hitchhiker" by Creedence Clearwater Revival to "Riding My Thumb to Mexico" by Johnny Rodriguez.

Hitchhiking remains a regular means of transportation for the American counterculture, for reasons both material and philosophical. Participants in contemporary global justice movements rely on it as a way to travel to far-flung demonstrations against the World Bank, World Trade Organization, and other institutions. Since the 1980s, however, hitchhiking has come to play a less significant part in countercultural activities, largely as a result of criminalization and stepped-up law enforcement in many parts of North America.

In the Canadian province of Ontario, for example, the Safe Streets Act of 1999 outlawed hitchhiking and other acts of solicitation, such as panhandling. The measure was conceived in the context of moral concern over youth crimes and right-wing discourses advocating a need to get tough on youth crime. In the United States, local anti-

hitchhiking laws have been precipitated largely by concerns over highway safety.

Jeff Shantz

See also: [Dylan, Bob](#): [Great Depression](#): [Guthrie, Woody](#): [Kerouac, Jack](#).

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Hoffman, Abbie (1936–1989)

Abbie Hoffman was a political and cultural revolutionary of the 1960s who sought to politicize the youth of America. Uniting techniques such as guerrilla theater, mass protest, and playing to the media, Hoffman engineered new methods for fighting the status quo and became a powerful member of the counterculture as well as a figure who has come to characterize the era.

Early Life and Activism

Born Abbott Howard Hoffman on November 30, 1936, to a financially comfortable, middle-class family in Worcester, Massachusetts, he showed a rebellious attitude toward authority while a youth. Educators regarded him as intelligent, and despite his expulsion from the local public high school (for disrespecting authority), Hoffman was accepted by the prestigious Worcester Academy in 1955 and, later, Brandeis University in Waltham, Massachusetts, from which he graduated in 1959.

Although Hoffman's activism did not surface immediately, he read widely at Brandeis. While pursuing an advanced degree in psychology at the University of California, Berkeley, in 1960, he joined his first protest, demonstrating against the death penalty outside San Quentin prison in an attempt to stop the execution of convicted felon Caryl Chessman. In later years, Hoffman pointed to this event as his earliest activist experience.

Returning to Massachusetts in July 1960 without completing graduate school, Hoffman married artist and fellow activist Sheila Karklin. He also became a community organizer, fighting racial discrimination in local hiring practices while running a neighborhood art cinema. He spent the summer of 1965 in McComb, Mississippi, registering impoverished and oppressed blacks in the area to vote.

Upon his return from the South, Hoffman resolved to continue his civil rights work and opened a cooperative business through the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), called the SNICK Shop, in Worcester. The store sold handmade craft items and clothing made by poor Southern blacks in an attempt to help them achieve economic independence. Following his divorce from Karklin in 1966, Hoffman left Worcester to become the landlord of New York City's Liberty House, a rent-controlled apartment building.

Hippies

Around the time of Hoffman's move to New York City, Stokely Carmichael became the new chairman of SNCC, and the organization, adopting a more militant Black Power platform, voted to exclude all whites from membership. Hoffman took the changes personally, reacting strongly in a series of articles he wrote for *The Village Voice* and other publications.

Rejecting his previous path, Hoffman decided that the only way to continue his activism in a meaningful way was to drop out of the mainstream culture and become part of the hippie counterculture, smoking marijuana and using the mind-altering drug LSD. During this time, he also met Anita Kushner, whom he married in 1967 in a hippie ceremony in New York's Central Park.

Hoffman's intent to adopt the hippie lifestyle quickly shifted, however, as he realized that hippies were overwhelmingly apolitical. He believed that in order to enact serious sociopolitical change, hippies needed to be politicized—and he made it his personal responsibility to radicalize them.



Radical activist Abbie Hoffman, cofounder of the yippie movement and member of the Chicago Seven, represented the wild side of the 1960s counterculture. He was arrested in 1968 for wearing this U.S. flag shirt, but the conviction was later overturned. (Tyrone Dukes/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Yippies

Hoffman sought imaginative new methods for social and political protest in order to raise the consciousness of hippies and other counterculture youth. With the input of friends and fellow activists Paul Krassner, Jerry Rubin, Stewart ("Stew") Albert, and wife Anita, Hoffman helped form and lead the Youth International Party (known as

yippies), a loosely organized group of individuals who aimed to politicize the 1960s counterculture. Taking their cue from the Diggers, a San Francisco–based group of street actors, the yippies began to manipulate the media to publicize their offbeat, guerrilla performance art activities.

Much of the yippies' power existed in the realms of words and myth, of which Hoffman was author and purveyor extraordinaire. Among their most well-known exploits, the yippies planned an antiwar demonstration during the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, calling it a "Festival of Life." Using stream-of-consciousness dialogue and writing, profanity, drug references, and threats of sex in public during their demonstration in order to draw crowds, the yippies garnered the attention of not just the youth counterculture and media, but also the Chicago authorities. The protests erupted in violence, though mainly on the part of Chicago police; Hoffman, Rubin, and other demonstrators were arrested. Charged with conspiracy and incitement to riot, they were later acquitted.

Life Underground

Although yippie actions gained media attention, the group was unable to politicize as many young people as they had hoped. When the social movements of the 1960s began to fade in the early 1970s, Hoffman was emotionally devastated. He began using and dealing cocaine, and on August 28, 1973, he was arrested for selling the drug. The crime was a federal offense with a penalty of fifteen years to life in prison. Rather than face an almost certain prison term, Hoffman went underground and remained a fugitive for nearly seven years.

During his years underground, Hoffman continued his activist work. Taking the pseudonym Barry Freed, he worked as an organizer for the Save the River campaign in New York and Canada, which opposed a U.S. Army Corps of Engineers plan to dredge the St. Lawrence River. At the same time, however, he was fighting a more personal battle with bipolar disorder. Though initially Hoffman did not want to confront his illness, his moods became more volatile, and he finally accepted treatment. Shortly thereafter, in September 1980, he turned himself in to police in New York City.

Later Life

After serving a few months in prison, Hoffman was permitted to participate in a work-release program as a counselor, followed by his permanent release. He embarked on a speaking tour of college campuses and was dismayed by the students' lack of knowledge about the social movements of the 1960s.

Hoffman's old friend and colleague Jerry Rubin had changed his politics and had become a conservative stockbroker. Seeking to raise awareness of the movements he had been involved in and to interest students in the sociopolitical issues of the day, Hoffman began a speaking tour in 1984 during which he debated Rubin—an event billed as "Yippie vs. Yuppie."

In 1987, Hoffman moved to Bucks County, Pennsylvania, where he lived out the last stage of his life, fighting against a plan for a nuclear power plant on the Delaware River. His troubles with bipolar disorder increased, however, and depression followed. On April 12, 1989, Hoffman chose to end his life with a combination of barbiturates and alcohol. He was found dead in his apartment in Solebury, Pennsylvania.

Kathryn L. Meiman

See also: [Chicago Seven](#); [Cocaine](#); [Hippies](#); [LSD](#); [Rubin, Jerry](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#); [Yippies](#).

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Holiday, Billie (1915–1959)

Billie Holiday was the definitive jazz singer from the 1930s to the 1950s, committed to the musical genre she helped define before it became an acceptable part of mainstream American culture. She recorded songs on at least six record labels—Brunswick, Capitol, Columbia, Commodore, Decca, and Vocalion—and sang with some of the top orchestra leaders of her era, including Benny Goodman, Count Basie, Artie Shaw, and Lionel Hampton. Although Holiday became more popular over the decades, performing at such distinguished venues as the Academy of Music in Philadelphia, the Apollo Theater in Harlem, and Carnegie Hall in New York City, her reputation was cemented only after her early death, at the age of forty-four, due to poor health brought on by drug use and alcoholism.



Jazz singer Billie Holiday, recognized as one of America's great female vocalists of the 1930s–1950s, helped bring jazz into the musical mainstream. Her personal life was plagued by tragedy. (Gjon Mili/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

She was born Eleanora Fagan on April 7, 1915, in Philadelphia, to teenaged parents Clarence Holiday, a jazz guitarist and son of a slave, and Sadie Fagan. She was raised largely by relatives in Baltimore, Maryland, attending both public and parochial schools through the fourth grade, before dropping out. Her childhood was difficult because of long separations from her mother, constantly moving from one household to another, and the physical abuse she suffered, including rape by a neighbor. By the age of twelve, she had become a prostitute.

Sometime during the 1920s, she began to sing in speakeasies in Baltimore and later in the bars and grills of

Harlem. It was during this time that she changed her name to Billie Holiday, taking the first name of a movie star (Billie Dove) and the last name of her father. Singing from table to table, she built her reputation and experience as a jazz vocalist.

Holiday began recording in 1933, when music critic and record producer John Hammond discovered her in a Harlem club and introduced her to big-band jazz orchestra leader Benny Goodman. She appeared at the prestigious Apollo Theater in 1935, and over the next few years recorded with notable musicians such as Goodman, swing era jazz pianist Teddy Wilson, and jazz balladeer Ben Webster. From 1935 to 1937, she toured with swing bandleader Count Basie, becoming known for her soulful voice, infused with emotion. Poignant renditions of such songs as “Don’t Explain,” “Fine and Mellow,” “God Bless the Child,” and “Gloomy Sunday” (banned from radio for its expressions of deep despair) came to define her career.

Traveling with an all-white band throughout the South, Holiday experienced the racism endemic to the United States in those days and often rebelled against it. She suffered the indignities of having to use back entrances at the segregated clubs in which she worked.

One of her great contributions to racial consciousness came when she sang “Strange Fruit,” a song written by Abel Meerpol in response to the thousands of lynchings of black people in the South. Her performance had a profound effect on the integrated audience at Café Society, the Greenwich Village club where Holiday first introduced the song in 1938. She recorded “Strange Fruit” in 1939; it became one of her signature songs and one of the first widely disseminated protest songs.

Holiday reached the peak of her popularity in the 1940s. Making as much as \$1,000 per week, she appeared on stage in elegant gowns with what would become her trademark, a white gardenia in her hair.

While her professional career was reaching new heights, her personal life was plagued with bad choices. In 1941, she married Jimmy Monroe, who introduced her to opium use. Her drug habit soon turned to heroin, which consumed much of her income and interfered with professional engagements. Following an attempt at rehabilitation, the Federal Bureau of Narcotics began observing her activities, looking for signs of relapse.

In 1947, Holiday was arrested for drug possession and placed in a federal drug-rehabilitation center for a nine-month sentence. Two weeks after her release later that year, Holiday performed to a sold-out crowd at Carnegie Hall. The audience, welcoming her back, was rewarded with one of her most brilliant performances.

Between 1952 and 1957, Holiday recorded more than 100 new songs with the Verve recording label. But the decade also brought a return to heroin use and an arrest on drug charges. She was finally able to kick the drug habit but took to heavy drinking that often impaired her performances. Her last performance was at the Phoenix Theater in New York City in May 1959.

Holiday had an aversion to singing what she considered poorly written popular songs and had a slow, deliberate singing style that was hard for some audiences to grasp—but that widened the audience for jazz music in America and elsewhere. Critics would later suggest that the hardships of her life gave her music added depth and meaning.

By the time of her death from heart and liver ailments on July 15, 1959, she had made hundreds of recordings. She also published an autobiography, *Lady Sings the Blues* (1956), a frank account of her life and work.

Susan Love Brown and Joann M. Ross

See also: [Heroin](#); [Jazz](#).

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hooks, bell (1952–)

The author of more than twenty-five books, writer, educator, and social activist bell hooks (the pen name of Gloria Jean Watkins), is widely regarded as one of the most prolific and most anthologized black feminist theorists and cultural critics of the late twentieth century. She is best known for her works *Ain't I A Woman: Black Women and Feminism* (1981), *Feminist Theory: From Margin to Center* (1984), *Teaching to Transgress: Education as the Practice of Freedom* (1994), and *Feminism Is for Everybody* (2000). Most of her writings address themes of race, racism, class, gender, sexuality, and sexual orientation. She also writes about the writing process and, in recent works such as *Salvation: Black People and Love* (2001), *Communion: The Female Search for Love* (2002), and *Rock My Soul: Black People and Self-Esteem* (2003), the issues of love and self-esteem.

Watkins was born on September 25, 1952, in Hopkinsville, Kentucky, where she and six siblings were raised in poverty by her mother, a homemaker, and her father, a custodian. After attending racially segregated schools in Hopkinsville, she received a bachelor's degree in English from Stanford University in 1973, a master of arts in English from the University of Wisconsin–Madison in 1976, and a Ph.D. in literature from the University of California, Santa Cruz in 1983.

As a college instructor in California in the late 1970s, she published her first book—a short poetry collection titled *And There We Wept* (1978)—under the name bell hooks, after her grandmother and mother. She uses the lowercase spelling to emphasize that readers should pay attention to the content of her work, not the author.

From the early 1980s, hooks has taught English, literature, African American studies, and women's studies at several institutions of higher learning, including the University of California, Santa Cruz, San Francisco State University, Yale University, and Oberlin College. She was distinguished professor of English at City University of New York from 1994 to 2004, after which she returned to Kentucky to teach at Berea College.

In her writings, hooks often uses her own life as a starting point for in-depth analyses of social and theoretical issues, as in *Bone Black: Memories of Girlhood* (1996) and *Sisters of the Yam: Black Women and Self-Recovery* (1993). In many of her works, she addresses the ways in which different types of oppressions are interlinked, making resistance all the more difficult. As reflected in her references to the "white, supremacist, capitalist patriarchy," hooks regards race, gender, and political and economic domination as a powerful, tightly linked social dynamic that perpetuates the oppression of minorities, women, and the poor. The power and accessibility of her writing and her attention to issues of importance to African American women and men alike have helped her advance the cause of feminism in a broad cross section of the black community.

Other notable works include *Black Looks: Race and Representation* (1992), *Outlaw Culture: Resisting Representations* (1994), *Killing Rage: Ending Racism* (1995), *We Real Cool: Black Men and Masculinity* (2003), *The Will to Change: Men, Masculinity, and Love* (2004), *Soul Sister: Women, Friendship, and Fulfillment* (2005),

and *Homegrown: Engaged Cultural Criticism* (2006). She is the recipient of the Before Columbus Foundation's American Book Award (1991) and the Lila Wallace–Reader's Digest Fund Writer's Award (1994).

Emily C. Martin-Hondros

See also: [Feminism, Third-Wave.](#)

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Hopper, Dennis (1936–)

Best known as the director and costar of the 1969 counterculture film *Easy Rider*, Dennis Hopper is an acclaimed independent actor and filmmaker, despite his frequent portrayal of misfit characters and his own bad-boy image. His offscreen propensity to violence and history of alcohol and drug abuse have led to a number of acting roles as troubled outcasts and tormented figures of various kinds. To the surprise of Hollywood and the movie-going public, he has endured in the business into the twenty-first century, while pursuing interests in photography, painting, art collection, spoken-word poetry, and Republican political causes.

Dennis Hopper was born in Dodge City, Kansas, on May 17, 1936, and he moved with his family to San Diego, California, at the age of fourteen. After some early television appearances, he landed a role in the film *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) opposite film icon James Dean. Hopper and Dean became fast friends, and Dean served as a mentor and adviser to the fledgling actor. Already a prolific painter, Hopper was advised by Dean to begin taking photographs as training for his film career. The advice served him well, as Hopper pursued his creative instincts as a candid photographer off and on for the rest of his life. In the meantime, he appeared in *Giant* (1956) with Dean, who died in a car accident before the film's release.

Hopper continued to act through the 1950s and most of the 1960s, landing small roles in a series of films, mostly Westerns. He also continued to work as a photographer and painter, until a fire at his home in 1961 consumed almost 300 of his paintings. Thereafter, he concentrated on art collecting and photography, cementing his reputation as a photographer with exhibitions of candid portraits of notable personalities and artists of the 1960s—civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., pop artists Andy Warhol and Roy Lichtenstein, among others.

Hopper was catapulted to superstar status with the release of *Easy Rider*. He costarred with Peter Fonda and Jack Nicholson, and cowrote the film with Fonda and Terry Southern. Tapping the angst and disillusionment of the late 1960s, *Easy Rider* captured the blend of social criticism, political commentary, and drug-culture alienation that typified the counterculture of the time.

Made independently for \$340,000, *Easy Rider* was bought and distributed by Columbia Pictures—making it the first widely successful independent film in America. Its guerrilla-style filmmaking, stark cinematography, and low budget set a precedent for the independent film market for the next thirty years. Grossing more than \$60 million worldwide by 1972, the counterculture classic still maintains one of the top investment-to-return ratios in film

history.

After *Easy Rider*, Hopper directed a critical and commercial flop called *The Last Movie* (1971), which sent him down a self-destructive path of drugs and alcohol. In 1980, he directed *Out of the Blue*, which received moderate critical attention. His acting career was revitalized by a supporting role in David Lynch's *Blue Velvet* (1986), in which Hopper invoked his aggressive and sometimes violent personality to full advantage playing psychopath Frank Booth.

Hopper earned an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actor in *Hoosiers* (1988), playing the alcoholic father of a high-school basketball player. Also in 1988, he earned critical acclaim as a director for his film *Colors* about Los Angeles gangs and police.

Married five times and with a list of film and television credits that has continued to grow, Hopper also resumed his painting and photography in earnest. Over the years, dozens of exhibits of his work have been mounted internationally. Maintaining a home and studio outside of Taos, New Mexico, he continues to pursue his creative expression as an actor, director, and visual artist.

Jeffrey Sartain

See also: [Dean, James: *Easy Rider*: Film, Independent.](#)

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Hot-Rodding

The term *hot-rodding* refers to the car customization and custom car “sport” racing counterculture that emerged in America following World War II, peaked in the mid-1950s, and lasted through the mid-1960s. Hot-rodders tweaked their cars for performance and appearance, usually through the remanufacturing of salvaged scrap parts. The customization process typically involved reducing the weight of the original vehicle to make it more aerodynamic and fast, and modifications that also made it more visually appealing. Hot-rodding often required the installation of special tires for traction and handling, fine-tuned or high-power engines for greater speed, and the removal or alteration of body parts, such as the windshield, roof, bumper, lights, hood, and fenders. In addition, hot-rodding frequently involved custom paint jobs that affixed pinstripes, flames, and other colorful or artistic designs.

Although customizing cars for speed and looks dates to the very beginning of the commercial automobile industry, hot-rodding culture per se is a post–World War II phenomenon. It gained a major following among youth and adult car enthusiasts who formed competitive teams that customized the appearance and performance of their hot rods; some of these groups achieved regional notoriety. The car-customization movement originated in Southern California, whose many dry lake beds provided flat, smooth, open surfaces ideal for racing high-speed vehicles.

Hot-rod enthusiasts proudly claimed to be part of “Kustom Kulture,” hordes of eccentric car customizers and artists who propagated the creed of DIY—Do It Yourself. It was one way among many in which America’s postwar youth were encouraged to think outside the mainstream and express themselves creatively. Led by visionary hot-rod artists such as Von Dutch, Robert Williams, and especially Ed “Big Daddy” Roth—creator of the quintessential caricature of hot-rod counterculture, Rat Fink—the Kustom Kulture became an important piece of American cultural identity. Hot-rodding and Kustom Kulture exerted their influence on the vernacular as well, popularizing slang terms for car parts and customization that became parts of common speech. Terms such as “fire up” (an engine), “haul ass,” and “souped-up” all derive from the jargon of the hot-rod counterculture.

From the beginning, the hot-rodding counterculture was distinctly iconoclastic. It developed from an unrefined amateur endeavor in which a vehicle’s performance was the primary concern into a sophisticated art form where aesthetics were equally noteworthy. Standard-issue vehicles of postwar Detroit were transformed into tire-squealing sport racers with bold, edgy designs.

The hot-rodding craze began to wane in the mid-1960s, when car manufacturers began to increase performance and engine size in new models, and the youth counterculture took more politically and socially oriented directions. Still, the hot-rod culture in America remains very much alive today, as reflected in the many magazines on the subject and the widespread interest in vintage cars of the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s. Moreover, burgeoning interest in the National Association for Stock Car Auto Racing (NASCAR) and drag racing harkens back to the glory days of hot-rodding as high-octane entertainment.

Trevor J. Blank

See also: [Los Angeles, California.](#)

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Houdini, Harry (1874–1926)

Harry Houdini was a Hungarian American magician, escape artist, and stuntman who achieved unprecedented fame for an entertainer of his kind in the early decades of the twentieth century. In the latter part of his career, he devoted his energy, reputation, and knowledge of illusion arts to expose fraud among unscrupulous mediums and spiritualists.

He was born as Ehrich Weisz on March 24, 1874, in Budapest, Hungary, to Mayer Samuel Weisz, a rabbi, and Cecilia Steiner. In 1878, the Weisz family immigrated to the United States (where the spelling of their name was changed to Weiss), settling first in Appleton, Wisconsin, and then moving to New York. After a restless and troubled childhood, Ehrich became a trapeze artist at the age of ten, calling himself Erich, Prince of the Air. He began his career as a professional magician in about 1891, taking the stage name “Harry Houdini” from the great French conjurer Jean-Eugène Robert-Houdin.

Houdini achieved international notice as an escape artist on the vaudeville circuit in 1899 and after returning from a successful European tour in 1900. Appearances in stage shows and movie serials alternated with outlandish public stunts, such as escaping from a straightjacket while hanging from a rope, or escaping from a water-filled tank in which he was immersed upside down, feet tied.

In the years that followed, as escape stunts diminished in public appeal, Houdini preoccupied himself with running a magic supplies firm, making movies (after 1918), and participating in aviation (including the first controlled powered flight over Australia, in 1910). By the 1920s, Houdini was as much a celebrity as lawyer Clarence Darrow, aviator Charles Lindbergh, and actor Will Rogers.

It was in the 1920s, however, after the death of his mother, that Houdini became fixated on debunking the spiritualist movement. As a professional magician himself, he was versed in the tricks that self-styled mediums and psychics used to beguile their audiences and demonstrated them on stage. He became a member of the *Scientific American* magazine committee that offered a monetary reward for anyone who could prove supernatural abilities, and he attended séances in disguise for the purpose of debunking them. As recounted in his book *A Magician among the Spirits* (1924), he exposed, among others, the Boston medium Mina Crandon, known as Margery.

As a final test of the validity of supernatural powers, Houdini and his wife, Beatrice, arranged a series of coded signals by which they would try to communicate after one of them died. Harry died of complications from appendicitis in Detroit, Michigan, on October 31, 1926. After years of attempting to contact him by means of the signals, Beatrice finally declared the effort a failure.

D.K. Holm

See also: [Los Angeles, California: Magic and Magicians: Spiritualism.](#)

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Hughes, Langston (1902–1967)

Known for his evocations of modern African American life and culture, his deceptively simple prose and poetry, his sympathy with radical thought, and his flirtation with the American Communist Party, Langston Hughes was one of the twentieth century's most productive African American writers. Although most recognized for his poetry, Hughes also published novels, short stories, children's books, dramas, opera libretti, translations, and anthologies. His artistic production and political consciousness reflect the times in which he wrote, from the cultural celebrations of the 1920s and 1930s Harlem Renaissance, during which African American literature, music, and art flourished, through radicalist threats during the 1950s Red Scare, a period of strong anticommunism in the United States.



The poetry and prose of Langston Hughes evokes the modern African American experience in rhythms of jazz and the blues. His literary output spanned more than four decades, but he is most frequently associated with the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s and 1930s. (Robert W. Kelley/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Born in Joplin, Missouri, on February 1, 1902, he wrote the first poem he ever published and his most anthologized work, "The Negro Speaks of Rivers" when he was a teenager, while on a train to Mexico. In 1921, Langston relocated to the burgeoning literary and cultural scene of New York. There, he became one of the most recognizable figures in the Harlem Renaissance.

Hughes's short and unpretentious poetry celebrated, among other things, the vibrancy of African American life, the beauty and strength of black women, and various African American musical traditions, including blues, jazz, spirituals, gospel, and ragtime. These themes can be seen in works such as *The Weary Blues* (1926), *The Negro Mother and Other Dramatic Recitations* (1931), *The Dream Keeper and Other Poems* (1932), and *A New Song* (1938). Hughes's early literary career was supported by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)'s *Crisis* magazine, a political and literary journal founded by the African American intellectual W.E.B. Du Bois.

Drawing on the deep-rooted oral tradition of African Americans, Hughes believed that artists needed to recognize the cultural importance of America's urban and rural folk literature, music, and lifestyles. His recognition of African American artistic originality was perhaps best exemplified by a 1958 collaboration with jazz legend Charles Mingus. In this project, distinctly black American music was united with the poetry of an African American writer,

as Hughes recited his work over a background of jazz arrangements.

Hughes felt that poetry should be cast “in simple, understandable verse, pleasing to the ear, and suitable for reading aloud,” and he aimed not at highbrow academicians or the black bourgeoisie but directly “at the hearts of people.” He believed that poetry and prose should provide inspiration to the widest possible audience. Thus, most of his major literary accomplishments—including the short-story series *Simple*, published throughout the 1950s and 1960s—were intentionally devoid of linguistic pretentiousness and uncommon words.

While never a dogmatic leftist ideologue, Hughes frequently published in radical magazines and newspapers, and he traveled extensively overseas, including to the Soviet Union. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance and hounding by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) was stepped up after Hughes’s 1944 participation in a nationally broadcast radio debate over segregation. In a moment of post–World War II anti-Communist hysteria, *Life* magazine published an article criticizing Hughes’s politics, along with those of physicist Albert Einstein and singer-actor Paul Robeson.

In 1953, Hughes joined the dozens of high-profile leftists who were intimidated and interrogated in Congress by Senator Joseph McCarthy. Despite recurring surveillance by the FBI, the only time Hughes was physically threatened as a result of his political beliefs came in the form of a bomb threat during a 1960 book tour.

On May 22, 1967, Hughes died in New York City of congestive heart failure. Throughout his career, he confronted the literary establishment and wrote elegantly simple poetry that was meant for oral performance. Hughes’s work affirmed his connection with common people and made lasting contributions to American letters. His belief that literature reaches its widest audience when it is recited inspired and influenced later literary movements, including the Beat writers of the 1950s, the black arts movement of the 1960s and 1970s, and contemporary slam poetry.

David Lucander

See also: [Harlem Renaissance](#): [Jazz](#): [McCarthyism](#).

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Hurston, Zora Neale (ca. 1891–1960)

Novelist, anthropologist, teacher, and feminist Zora Neale Hurston is best known as the author of *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) and other novels of black life in America, including *Jonah’s Gourd Vine* (1934), *Moses, Man of the Mountain* (1939), and *Seraph on the Suwanee* (1948), as well as her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on the Road* (1942). Her anthropological works, ethnographic and folklore studies of blacks in the American South and Caribbean, include *Mules and Men* (1935), *Tell My Horse* (1938), and *Voodoo Gods* (1939). A prolific essayist, short story writer, and playwright, she also wrote more than fifty shorter works between the mid-1920s and the early 1950s.

Born in Notasulga, Alabama, sometime around 1891, Hurston moved to Eatonville, Florida, at a young age. Her father, a Baptist minister, farmer, and carpenter, also served as the mayor of Eatonville, the first incorporated all-black city in America. Her mother was a homemaker and seamstress who nurtured the girl's independence and self-reliance but died when she was thirteen.

After living with several family members and attending private schools while working part-time to support herself, Hurston attended Howard University and received her associate's degree in 1924. She eventually received a scholarship to Barnard College in New York City, entering as its first and only black student and graduating with a bachelor of arts degree in anthropology in 1928. She did graduate work in anthropology at Columbia University, receiving a fellowship to work and study under the famed anthropologist Franz Boas.

Themes of race, black independence, and reverence for black culture permeate Hurston's work. According to African American studies scholar Henry Louis Gates, Jr., she saw "black people as complete, complex, undiminished human beings." Her childhood in Eatonville, a town rich in black culture and largely sheltered from the depredations of racial prejudice, had a deep and enduring influence on her writing. Many of her works depict black communities unaffected by whites, and white racism is not addressed directly.

Hurston did not share the goals and perspectives of many of her contemporaries in the Harlem Renaissance, the cultural movement in New York City during the 1920s and 1930s that produced a flowering of African American art, literature, and music. She wrote with unique insight and compassion about black female sexuality and rural, Southern, illiterate black culture, embracing her cultural heritage with pride at a time when many of her contemporaries felt that blacks should discuss their victimhood at the hands of racist white society. She also opposed educational integration. Because of these stances, controversy seemed to follow her and she was portrayed negatively in the black press. As a result, she was forced to work as a maid, school teacher, and secretary to support herself.

Hurston is rumored to have been married three times, but only two marriages are documented: In 1927, she was married to Herbert Sheen, and in 1939, she married to Albert Price. In 1959, Hurston suffered a stroke and became a resident of the St. Lucie County (Florida) Welfare Home. She still continued to work on her final project, a book about Herod the Great, king of ancient Judaea.

She died penniless on January 28, 1960. Hurston's grave lay unmarked until the 1970s, when African American author Alice Walker found the site and had a gravestone erected on it.

Emily C. Martin-Hondros

See also: [Harlem Renaissance](#).

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Hutchinson, Anne (1591–1643)

Anne Marbury Hutchinson, a seventeenth-century Puritan layperson, was excommunicated from the First Church of Boston for her belief that the individual need not answer to church laws and for challenging the authorities in Boston. Hutchinson's bold actions resulted in a crisis for the Puritan colony in Massachusetts. Because she had gathered a strong following, including many men of prominence, and because she challenged those in power, Hutchinson was accused of blasphemy, tried, and exiled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony. Her story represents an early fight for religious freedom and gender equality.

She was born in Alford, Lincolnshire, England, in 1591, into an English family in which religious dissent was a matter of course. Her father Francis Marbury was a Puritan Anglican minister. He served a jail sentence and was arrested multiple times for openly questioning the competency of the English clergy, although he himself was a deacon of Christ Church, Cambridge, and would go on to hold a number of respectable church positions.

Hutchinson became a follower of John Cotton, a Puritan minister. Cotton went to Massachusetts in 1633 to escape English authorities, who were on the verge of charging him with blasphemy against the Anglican church. There, he became the pastor of the First Church of Boston. In 1634, Hutchinson, her husband, William (a textile merchant), and their fifteen children moved to Boston and joined Cotton's church.

In 1635, Hutchinson began to hold weekly meetings at her Boston home. At first, these meetings were for women, with whom she was known as a nurse and midwife, and they included discussions of Cotton's sermons, Bible study, and prayer. Soon, word spread, and the meetings were attended by both women and men, including regular citizens and such prominent men as Governor Henry Vane. Over time, Hutchinson became more outspoken at these gatherings. She did not merely summarize or interpret the weekly sermons. She began to elaborate on them, give weekly lessons, and eventually criticize the sermons and contradict church leaders on matters of doctrine.

Hutchinson was unusual because she took upon herself activities that were considered inappropriate for women at the time. Any man attempting to challenge the authority of the church would have been subjected to harsh treatment and charges of blasphemy. For a woman to do so also violated the cultural norms for gender roles of the day.

Among other prominent Puritans who took exception to her actions was the Hutchinsons' neighbor John Winthrop, who became the next governor. In November 1637, Winthrop brought charges of sedition against Anne Hutchinson, and he presided at her trial.

At the age of forty-six, Hutchinson had to defend herself against charges of Antinomianism, the conviction that she was under no obligation to obey the laws of the Church of Boston and that salvation was a faith-based gift bestowed upon individuals by Christ (the covenant of grace). She accused church leaders of practicing a covenant of works, which emphasized that salvation can be earned through good works. Hutchinson stressed God's grace to the exclusion of works in determining salvation; further, she believed that an individual could only know if he or she had been saved if this was revealed directly by God, and she put herself forth as one who had received such a blessing based on her own revelations. Church leaders regarded her ideas as heretical.

Although Hutchinson's mentor, John Cotton, had defended her at first, he eventually abandoned her and vocally supported her banishment. Many speculate that he did so in order to save himself from similar charges for his own role in the matter.

In 1637, Hutchinson was convicted by the Great and General Court of Massachusetts and her supporters were derided. She was excommunicated from the First Church of Boston and banished from Massachusetts. Shortly thereafter, her family and sixty followers left Massachusetts and settled in Rhode Island, founding the town of Portsmouth.

Following her husband's death in 1642, Hutchinson and her children moved to Long Island, then part of the Dutch colony of New Netherland. The next year, the whole family, except for a ten-year-old daughter, was killed in a massacre by local native peoples.

Because of the circumstances she encountered following her expulsion from the colony—the loss of her husband and her death at the hands of Native Americans—the church fathers felt justified in their conclusions. A friend of Hutchinson's, Mary Dyer, a Puritan who became a Quaker, was hanged in 1660 and herself became a martyr to the cause of religious freedom.

Hutchinson is widely regarded as a harbinger of the modern quests for religious freedom and of women's equality. There is a statue erected in her honor in front of the State House in Boston to acknowledge and commemorate her role in these struggles.

Susan Love Brown

See also: [Antinomianism](#).

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Huxley, Aldous (1894–1963)

Aldous Huxley was a writer, cultural critic, and counterculture icon whose works explore issues of science, religion, and philosophy. The scion of a prominent scientific and literary British family, he spent the latter part of his life—from 1937 to his death in 1963—in Los Angeles. As the civil rights movement and Vietnam War transformed life in America, baby boomers eager to redefine themselves saw in Huxley a social critic and countercultural visionary who was not afraid to speak out against the establishment or to buck convention.

Aldous Leonard Huxley was born on July 26, 1894, in Godalming, Surrey, England, to a family that included some of the most distinguished members of England's intellectual elite. His father, Leonard, was the son of Thomas Henry Huxley, a noted biologist, agnostic, and defender of Darwin's theory of evolution. His mother, Julia Arnold, was the sister-in-law of Humphrey Ward, the novelist; niece of Matthew Arnold, the poet; and granddaughter of Thomas Arnold, a famous educator. Huxley's half brother, Andrew, won the Nobel Prize in Physiology or Medicine in 1963, and his brother Julian served as director-general of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO).

Two events that helped shape Huxley's sense of living outside the norm occurred while he was a teenager: the death of his mother in 1908, when he was fourteen, and his contracting an eye disease two years later that left him nearly blind. He recovered enough sight to go on to Oxford University and graduate with honors in 1915, but

his career options remained limited. He was unable to join the fighting in World War I, which many of his friends had done, or to pursue the scientific work he had dreamed of as a young child. Instead, he became a writer.

Although Huxley is best known as a novelist and essayist, he also wrote short stories, plays, travelogues, and screenplays. He produced a total of forty-seven books in his career, the first of which was a collection of poems published in 1916, when he was only twenty-two.

Huxley is best remembered today for his thought-provoking novels, including the early comic works *Crome Yellow* (1921), *Antic Hay* (1923), and *Point Counter Point* (1928), followed later by *Brave New World* (1932), *After Many a Summer Dies the Swan* (1939), *Time Must Have a Stop* (1944), *Ape and Essence* (1948), and others. In 1959, the American Academy of Arts and Letters gave Huxley, who had moved to Los Angeles in 1937 for health reasons, the Award of Merit for the Novel, a prize given every five years that also has been awarded to Ernest Hemingway, Thomas Mann, and Theodore Dreiser.

In his essays and other nonfiction works, Huxley examined and often criticized dominant social mores, norms, and ideals. Early writings reflect a consistent ambivalence toward the authority assumed by England's ruling class and a growing sense of the transience of human happiness. During the 1950s, Huxley became more interested in parapsychological research and mysticism. He began using the psychedelic drugs mescaline and LSD in search of enlightenment, which he wrote about in *The Doors of Perception* (1954)—a central text of the 1960s drug culture—and *Heaven and Hell* (1956). In 1958, he published *Brave New World Revisited*, a collection of essays in which he addresses the question of whether society had moved closer to the dystopia he envisioned in *Brave New World* more than a quarter-century before; it had.

Aldous Huxley's satiric denunciations of conformity and orthodoxy made him a major voice of the 1960s counterculture, which he never witnessed. After years of battling cancer, he died of a lethal injection made on his own request, on November 22, 1963 (hours before the assassination of President John F. Kennedy).

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Esalen Institute: LSD](#).

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Icarians

The Icarian movement, founded by French radical Etienne Cabet, consisted of a series of socialistic communes in the United States that lasted from 1848 to 1898. Cabet's followers, called Icarians, initially numbered about 1,500 and established communal settlements successively in Texas, Illinois, Missouri, and Iowa. The Icarian movement is often cited as an early experiment in utopian socialism in which religion was not a focal point.

Cabet, like fellow European social reformers Robert Owen and Charles Fourier, believed that the unsettled areas

of America would be conducive to utopian communities in which the means of production were communally owned. As Owen had in Great Britain, Cabet had become a celebrity in his home country prior to his American utopian experiment. His description of a perfect society in the novel *Voyage en Icarie* (*Voyage in Icaria*, 1845), heavily influenced by the English statesman Sir Thomas More's *Utopia* (1516), had made the young radical popular in some circles but a threat in the eyes of the French government. In 1848, he organized his followers in the port city of Le Havre and sailed for America to start his colony.

Through a property company, Cabet had arranged the acquisition of 1 million acres of farmland near present-day Fort Worth, Texas, which he understood to be easily accessible by boat. When the first residents made the trip from France, however, they found the site extremely difficult to access—and closer to 10,000 acres than 1 million. Moreover, many of the plots were not adjoining, and the sales contract stipulated that every half square mile of real estate had to have an occupied residence within a short period of time or the land would return to the property agency. Bad weather, illness, and inexperience in farming practices contributed to the difficulties of the settlement, and the venture fell through after three months. The Icarians split up, with some returning to France, others setting out on their own, and the rest deciding to follow their leader to a new destination.

When Cabet heard that the former Mormon establishment in Nauvoo, Illinois, had been deserted, he purchased the land but did not expect to stay in the area for long. The communards moved to the area in 1850, established trades and factories, and prospered. Cabet set up a printing press for publishing pamphlets and books. Schools were provided for the children, and theatrical and musical events were held for all the communards. Surrounding property was rented for crop production.

Cabet's followers eventually turned on him, however, and expelled him from the community. The aging visionary sought a new home base for his movement and decided on an area near the small railroad town of Corning, Iowa. At the time, Cabet was living in St. Louis, Missouri, with a small band of followers. Before he could move with them to the new settlement in Iowa, he died of a stroke in 1856. As the nineteenth century drew to a close, the Icarian movement, which by this time had splintered into several factions, disbanded.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [Communes](#); [Utopianism](#).

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Indie Rock

Indie rock, short for “independent rock,” or music not distributed by the major record labels, began to emerge in the underground music scene during the 1970s. Although it was not the first musical genre to be established

outside the confines of the mainstream recording industry—ragtime, jazz, rhythm and blues, and other styles had long been recorded and distributed by local and independent labels—indie rock was unique in its overt rejection of the trappings of major-label, or “corporate,” rock and roll. Inspired by the do-it-yourself (DIY) ethos of punk, indie rock celebrated the underground world of small clubs, self-published zines (fanzines), and independent record labels. Participants saw themselves as part of a grassroots culture whose authenticity stood in contrast to the bland homogeneity of the mainstream mass media and its products.

The punk influence on indie rock manifested itself in the speed, ferocity, and simplicity of such bands as Black Flag and Minor Threat. But while these bands wore their hardcore (a fast variant of punk) roots on their sleeves, their respective labels quickly branched out to include a wider range of sounds. Dischord Records, run by members of Minor Threat, signed such luminaries of the Washington, D.C., underground as Rites of Spring, whose songs achieved a complexity labeled “post-punk” by some. Meanwhile, Black Flag’s home label, SST, moved beyond hardcore to sign the Meat Puppets, who brought a psychedelic edge to their music, and the Minutemen, who synthesized various influences, including punk, classic rock, and jazz into their singular sound.

By the mid-1980s, indie rock had transcended its punk roots to encompass a plethora of styles, united more by the grassroots nature of the scene than by any shared musical values. For instance, Black Flag sometimes shared bills with the utterly dissimilar Beat Happening, an acoustic trio from Olympia, Washington, whose artless songs expressed a childlike sense of wonder and set the template for an entire Pacific Northwest scene based on member Calvin Johnson’s K Records. Some indie labels, such as K, Dischord, and the Minneapolis Twin/Tone, identified themselves with specific local scenes, while others aligned themselves with specific types of bands. Touch & Go, for instance, defined itself through noisy, dissonant groups such as the Butthole Surfers and the Jesus Lizard.

Several indie rock bands signed with major labels during the 1980s, generally without losing their fan bases. The Replacements and Husker Du signed with Warner Bros., and Soundgarden signed with A&M Records. A militantly indie ideology already had been developed by bands such as Fugazi, but only after the 1991 breakthrough of Nirvana’s distortion-laden but melodic *Nevermind* album on major label Geffen Records did the issue of label become intensely politicized.

With Nirvana, formerly based at indie label Sub Pop Records, conquering the charts, major labels began a concerted effort to sign indie rock bands in the hopes of discovering the next major act. Scores of bands eagerly cashed in. The Afghan Whigs, Jawbox, Mudhoney, and the Ass Ponys were only a few of the many indie converts to major labels.

Other indie bands of the 1990s turned down lucrative major-label offers to maintain their independence. Superchunk, Guided by Voices, and Sleater-Kinney all preferred the indie world to that of the corporate mass media. Still other groups were caught in the acidic debates over indie credibility and “selling out.” For instance, Jawbreaker lost many fans by signing with Geffen in 1995, a situation that ultimately contributed to the band’s breakup. By the mid-1990s, corporate radio had created the categories “alternative rock” and “modern rock” to disguise the fact that few bands on the air were actual indie bands.

By the end of the 1990s, popular culture had shifted its focus from indie rock, as rap-rock hybrids and the resurgence of manufactured bubblegum pop dominated the airwaves. But indie rock continued to flourish, adapting easily to the Internet, as free MP3 downloads fostered a new sense of grassroots community and an innovative method for bands to find an audience. New labels such as Omaha’s Saddle Creek merged the established indie tradition of local scene-building with new techniques of easy, online global communications, exemplifying the ability of indie rock to harness new technology for its own grassroots purposes.

Whitney Strub

See also: [Punk Rock: Rock and Roll.](#)

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Industrial Workers of the World

The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), an international trade union, was founded in 1905 as a radical socialist labor organization open to all members of the working class. (The union was not, as its name might imply, restricted to workers in industrial professions. Only “employers”—owners and management— were excluded.) Although IWW continues to operate today, with about 2,000 members (900 in the United States) and headquarters in Cincinnati, Ohio, its peak of influence and membership was reached in the early 1920s.

Historically, IWW members have been referred to as “Wobblies,” a nickname whose origins remain unclear to this day. A number of major strikes and countless rallies have contributed to the IWW’s prominent place in the history of the American labor movement. Its radicalism, cultural aspect, and role in uniting members as a social organization also made it unique within the counterculture movement.

Origins and Growth

On June 27, 1905, an industrial convention of nearly 200 anarchists, socialists, and radical trade unionists assembled in Chicago and established the IWW in an attempt to correct what they regarded as the inadequacies of the American labor movement. The founding members rejected the policies and organizational structure of the American Federation of Labor (AFL), then the largest industrial organization in the United States.

The AFL, they claimed, was constricting the power of the working class by dividing workers into narrow groups according to their crafts and industries. The AFL also promoted racial segregation in its affiliated unions and supported discriminatory legislation that prevented unskilled immigrants from China and Southern and Eastern Europe from joining affiliated trade unions.

The IWW’s founding members wanted all members of the working class, regardless of craft or discipline, to join in a single united front against the “capitalist class.” The founding of the IWW thus marked a new direction in the American labor movement, one that embraced more radical, often violent means of expressing the opinions of workers than previous labor organizations had advocated.

The IWW increased its membership in the years after its creation, particularly among workers in the textile, lumber, and mining industries. Bands of IWW activists would travel to places where labor unrest was most likely, often attempting to stir up strife—and by doing so, to crowd the jails and courts and overwhelm the legal system.

In 1912, for instance, textile workers in Lawrence, Massachusetts, went on strike in an action organized and endorsed by the IWW and supported by labor activists from other parts of the country. The Lawrence strike popularized the ideas of syndicalism (the promotion of trade union control of government and industry) and anarcho-syndicalism, philosophies that until then had been less well known in the American labor movement than in Europe.

In response to the increasing popularity of and sympathy for the IWW, employers, managers, and others who were opposed to the organization soon began to disparage it in public and private statements. IWW was said to stand for “I Won’t Work” or, sarcastically, for “International Wonder Workers.” IWW members were painted as bomb-building radicals, violent saboteurs, and advocates of revolution and anarchy.



The Industrial Workers of the World, or “Wobblies,” were a revolutionary socialist union that advocated permanent class warfare against employers. By the time of this rally in 1914, the IWW had been involved in a number of major strikes. (Library of Congress)

The IWW’s enthusiasm for militant actions, such as violent strikes and sabotage, prompted a harsh response from industrial and political leaders. The governors of four Western states urged the Wilson administration to investigate the IWW, claiming that the organization’s actions were a potential threat to national security. The actions of the IWW were in part responsible for the passage of laws that made it illegal to advocate syndicalism or any philosophy that promoted labor militancy and the overthrow of the capitalist system.

Many members and associates of the IWW were noted for their work in social and political causes related to the labor movement. As a political activist, Helen Keller joined the IWW and connected the union’s work with her campaigns for parliamentary socialism, woman suffrage, social justice, and advocacy for people with disabilities. Five-time Socialist Party presidential candidate Eugene V. Debs was an early supporter of the IWW, although he was not entirely comfortable with some of the more violent tactics promoted by radical members. Roger Nash Baldwin, one of the founders of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), became a member of the IWW, in part because members shared his internationalist and pacifist stance during World War I. Supreme Court Justice William O. Douglas worked with the IWW during his early legal career.

Even with the organization’s connections to such well-known advocates of social justice, membership in the IWW remained controversial. In 1951, for example, Senator Joseph McCarthy accused journalist and television news presenter Edward R. Murrow of having been an IWW member, in an attempt to raise doubts about Murrow’s patriotism and political affiliations. The IWW’s history as a radical and often violent organization made affiliation with it a declaration of connections to or sympathies with the counterculture.

American Labor Culture

In addition to its place in twentieth-century American political and social history, the IWW made profound and lasting contributions to the culture of the American labor movement. Because the IWW’s messages were targeted

at an audience that was predominantly illiterate or moderately literate, messages often had to be conveyed through powerful, memorable images. IWW artists and illustrators produced political cartoons, posters, banners, and leaflets designed to have a visceral impact on the viewer—such as the often-seen illustration of an IWW workingman raising his clenched fist in determination and solidarity.

Another IWW contribution to the labor movement was its use of memorable songs, usually calling for class solidarity, denouncing companies and their exploitative practices, or praising the efforts of unions and union leaders. Many of the earliest songs were parodies of religious hymns, taking familiar tunes and rewriting the lyrics in a mocking or otherwise satirical vein. *The Little Red Songbook* (also known as *The Wobbly Songbook*) was the best-selling radical publication in twentieth-century America, running through more than thirty editions after its initial publication in 1909. In the 1960s, the folk songs of the early IWW found new life and audiences as a result of the folk music revival popularized by musicians such as Woody Guthrie and Pete Seeger, giving the IWW a place in a new kind of radical counterculture.

The IWW continues to recruit and organize members in the United States and other countries around the world. The union is entirely independent, not requiring that members work for a shop company, not affiliated with any political party or other movement, and run entirely by volunteers. While it is a shadow of its former self and a small voice for workers' rights and working-class concerns, it is a living reminder of the long and varied history of the radical American labor movement and its counterculture.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Debs, Eugene V.](#); [Folk Music](#); [Guthrie, Woody](#); [Haywood, William "Big Bill"](#); [McCarthyism](#); [Seeger, Pete](#).

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Ingersoll, Robert (1833–1899)

Known as the “Great Agnostic,” lawyer and orator Robert Green Ingersoll lectured across America in defense of religious freethinking during the post–Civil War Reconstruction period of the American South. While idolized by socialists such as labor leader Eugene V. Debs and activist Ella Reeve Bloor, Ingersoll, a Republican, was socially and economically conservative and disdained proponents of reform who characterized the Progressive Era of the 1890s to 1920s.

Born on August 11, 1833, in Dresden, New York, to John, a clergyman, and Mary Livingston, the daughter of a judge who died during her son’s infancy, Ingersoll was schooled at home and read broadly from the classics. His rejection of organized religion, especially his father’s Christianity, was interpreted as childish rebellion. As his father accepted positions across the Midwest, the family moved to Ohio, then Wisconsin, and Illinois.

At the beginning of 1854, Ingersoll read law in Illinois and was admitted to the bar in Shawneetown, where he practiced with his brother Ebon Clark until the Civil War. Before the war, Ingersoll was a staunch Union Democrat. In politics as in the realm of religion, however, he could not abide orthodoxy, and he soon joined the Republican Party. After a stint as colonel of the 11th Illinois Volunteer Cavalry Regiment, in which he fought at Shiloh and Corinth, he was captured by General Nathan B. Forrest, imprisoned, released on the promise that he would fight no more. He was discharged from the army on June 30, 1863.

Disillusioned by the incompetence of military command, Ingersoll was drawn deeper into his radical beliefs. Perhaps the person with the most influence on his outlook was his wife, Eva Amelia Parker, a freethinker whom he married in 1862. Ingersoll embraced British naturalist Charles Darwin’s theory of evolution and natural selection, and he was an advocate for woman suffrage. He served the state of Illinois as attorney general from 1867 to 1869 and ran for various offices, yet experienced little political success because of his unconventional religious beliefs.

An eloquent and skilled debater, Ingersoll drew crowds regardless of the topic. Even those who disagreed with his position were charmed by his charisma, manner, and way with words. As a delegate to the Republican Convention at Cincinnati in 1876, Ingersoll gave a nominating speech for James G. Blaine. Although he failed to gain the presidential nomination for Blaine, the speech earned Ingersoll nationwide renown, after which he spoke in support of Republican presidential candidate Rutherford B. Hayes at all political gatherings.

After his success in the political arena, Ingersoll moved his family and law practice in 1879 to Washington, D.C., where he immersed himself in federal litigation. In 1885, he moved to New York, where he could court richer clients and larger audiences for his lecture circuit. Two of his most famous lectures were “Some Mistakes of Moses” (1879), in which he attacked the literal meanings of Scripture, and “Why I Am an Agnostic” (1896), in which he explained his convictions gained from reading William Shakespeare, Voltaire, and other literary greats.

Ingersoll died suddenly in Dobbs Ferry, New York, on July 21, 1899.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also: [Socialism](#).

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Internet

Perhaps the most significant development in modern communications and information technology, the Internet—a publicly accessible global “network” of computer networks—emerged in the 1990s as a global storage and retrieval medium that enables individuals to search for and retrieve information, gain access to entertainment, and conduct business without regard to geographical location. Evolving from modest beginnings as a U.S. Defense Department project in the 1960s and continuing through the creation of the World Wide Web in the early 1990s, the Internet has become a vast, collaborative environment that has shaped American culture and counterculture in new and profound ways.

Early History

The original design and architecture of the system that would become known as the Internet began in the late 1960s as the Advanced Project Research Agency Network (ARPANET). ARPANET enabled communication between computers at government research agencies and universities holding defense contracts. This early network helped develop Transmission Control Protocol and Internet Protocol (TCP/IP protocol), or the set of communications rules on which computer networks and the Internet run.

By the 1970s, the government was collaborating with universities to expand the connections among computer networks. Some of the benefits and opportunities offered by the Internet began to be seen at this point, as e-mail messages were sent and online discussion groups were set up that allowed individuals to communicate despite the barrier of distance.

It was not until the 1990s, however, with the invention of the World Wide Web (www), that the Internet as we know it became available and accessible to a larger segment of society. The Web is a graphical user interface that provides easy access to documents and media files through hyperlinks. It functions by means of hypertext transfer protocol (HTTP), which allows for fast access. The Web, combined with commercial Internet browsers—software to identify, retrieve, and display text, images, and other data from the Web—and reasonably priced personal computers (PCs), made it possible for individuals of all demographics to use the Internet.

It was at this point, as millions of people across the country began logging on, that the Internet began having a significant impact on American culture. The end of the 1990s became known as the dot-com era, in which businesses, industries, and individuals took advantage of the power of the Internet by establishing Web sites for conducting business.

Communities and Anonymity

Today, the Internet affects the daily lives of individuals without regard to their location. It provides the power to search for and find virtually any information from the comfort of one's home or office. Google is recognized as the leading search engine—a user-interface and retrieval system that enables users to find and access information—becoming so widespread in American life that *googling* has entered common parlance. Founded in 1998 by Larry Page and Sergey Brin in a dorm room at Stanford University in California, Google has indexes and caches millions of World Wide Web pages on any conceivable topic.

In addition to the ability to search for information, the Internet provides individuals with the ability to communicate and interact with each other. E-mail has revolutionized personal and business communications. In a matter of minutes, an e-mail message can be created, sent, and received anywhere in the world. The advent of instant messaging (IM), which allows users to exchange text messages in real time by means of the Internet, has

surpassed even e-mail in terms of speed.

Beyond the direct one-to-one exchange of text, the Internet also allows users to build social networks using such popular Web sites as Facebook, Friendster, and MySpace. These sites provide individuals with a virtual community in which to create personal profiles with data, photographs, video clips, and journal postings, and then invite friends and others with similar interests into their personal network. Such forums, which have developed a unique set of behavioral norms, rules of etiquette, and language, have attracted hundreds of millions of users, building vast virtual communities across cultural, racial, and socioeconomic lines.

The ability to help people communicate provides an exciting medium for creativity. The popular Web site YouTube, for example, enables users to upload and view video clips with a designated community of viewers. Founded in February 2005 by Chad Hurley, Steve Chen, and Jawed Karim, YouTube not only allows individuals to share video clips of local, regional, national, or international events, but it also provides an outlet for those interested in sharing their creative side through self-produced short videos—at once, a universal current events medium and a personal multimedia distribution outlet.

As of 2007, the YouTube Web site was receiving some 70 million hits per day, transforming it from a primarily youth-based cultural phenomenon to a mainstream media competitor. Also in 2007, the reach of YouTube became apparent when the mainstream media network CNN teamed up with the Internet site for a debate among the candidates for the Democratic presidential nomination, with individual users submitting videotaped questions via the Web site. The purchase of YouTube by Google, completed in November 2007, was expected to boost its popularity and cultural influence even further.

Experts have noted the ability of users within virtual communities to remain anonymous online, offering the freedom to meet new people without risk of rejection or to experiment with new identities. Anonymous e-mail, Web pages, and postings further allow users to express their views freely—especially nonconformist or countercultural ones—without the fear of repercussions or even identification. By the same token, however, social networking sites have come under scrutiny because of the ability of sexual predators and other criminals to change their identities or remain anonymous.

Cultural Implications

In short, the Internet has challenged mainstream cultural norms in the way individuals communicate and interact. IM and e-mail challenge mainstream communication, both written and oral. Formal greetings have been abandoned online, and written words have been replaced by letters and acronyms. Symbols called “emoticons” have been created to express the emotional response of the writer.

Beyond challenging normal modes of communication and entertainment, the Internet has helped develop new countercultures. Hackers—computer experts who seek unauthorized access to network information—believe that information on the Internet should be free to everyone, without controlled access, and that obtaining information without permission is an art rather than a crime. Hackers thus constitute a true Internet counterculture, challenging traditional concepts of intellectual property, challenging the corporate and government establishments, and resisting societal norms of authority, security, and privacy.

Another community that has grown with the development of the Internet is that of gamers. Spending much of their time on screen and divorced from the everyday outside world, gamers have developed thriving online communities devoted to virtual role-playing games. Online gaming environments enable users in the United States to interact with their counterparts in other countries, playing games that challenge conventional social values, such as Grand Theft Auto and Doom, in which points are awarded for violent, unlawful activity.

More in line with the hippie culture of the 1960s, the Internet also has given rise to what is referred to as the “open source movement,” which challenges the computer-technology industry by calling for full, free, universal access to application source code, enabling anyone to adapt it to his or her own purpose and provide

improvements and enhancements for others. The idea is to build a communal environment in which everyone is able to work together to produce the best programs.

Michael LaMagna

See also: [Bloggers: Hackers.](#)

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James, C.L.R. (1901–1989)

Trinidadian writer and activist Cyril Lionel Robert (C.L.R.) James was perhaps the most libertarian revolutionary intellectual of both the Pan-African and international labor movements of the twentieth century. His work was characterized by an abiding belief in the capacity of all people to be self-governing. James is best known as the author of *The Black Jacobins* (1938), the classic account of the revolutionary leader Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Haitian Revolution of 1791 to 1804. His other works include *American Civilization* (1950), *Mariners, Renegades and Castaways* (1953), *Facing Reality* (1958), and *A History of Pan-African Revolt* (1939, 1969).

Born in Chaguanas, Trinidad, on January 4, 1901, James arrived in the United States in 1938 from Great Britain, where he had advocated Pan-Africanism, West Indian independence, and socialist causes. He was to lecture on anticolonial revolt and to discuss black nationalism and self-determination with Russian Communist leader Leon Trotsky, then living in exile in Mexico.

James became a leader of formidable Marxist collectives within and autonomous from the American Trotskyist movement between 1938 and 1953. He also developed a rich, pioneering literature in support of direct democracy, workers' self-management, and the autonomy of black freedom movements. His charismatic lecture tours and teaching engagements in university classrooms, prisons, and movement study groups were instrumental in coalescing the collective memory of the black radical tradition. He was both an antecedent and defender of the Black Power and black studies movements of the latter part of the twentieth century.

During the 1940s, James agitated against America's role in World War II—seen by most as a democratic struggle against fascism—because he believed the war was waged by advocates of white supremacy and empire on all sides. After World War II, James rejected the cold-war mentality that the world was divided between two fundamentally different political systems, capitalism and communism. An independent socialist, he examined closely the role of professional intellectuals, the welfare state, and trade union bureaucracy in the United States. He concluded there were similar obstacles to freedom in America and in the one-party state of Stalinist Russia.

Whether organizing a sharecroppers' strike in southeast Missouri in the early 1940s or advocating for the potential of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) labor movement to transform society in the 1950s, James saw no distinction between the work of economic production and government. He believed that economic planning and cultural, judicial, and military affairs were within the capacity of everyday people. That perspective, he taught, was found in both classical literature and popular culture.

Whether studying ancient Greece, Hegelian dialectics, Herman Melville's *Moby Dick*, *Dick Tracy* comic strips, the novels of Richard Wright, or the energy of Harlem's Apollo Theater, James saw a more democratic way of life distinct from mainstream society emerging in the United States. As an illegal immigrant, he would write these perspectives almost always under pseudonyms, including J.R. Johnson. His undocumented status led to his imprisonment at Ellis Island in New York during the politically repressive McCarthy era, and his deportation in 1953.

James returned to the United States in 1969 by popular demand of the Black Power movement, radical African American activists who challenged the integrationist goals of Martin Luther King, Jr., and aimed instead at establishing a political and economic base independent of whites. He taught some of the first black studies courses at Northwestern University in Illinois and Federal City College in Washington, D.C., in 1969 and 1970.

Lecturing in Detroit, Atlanta, Mississippi, and elsewhere, James spoke of the work of such black intellectuals as the civil rights advocate W.E.B. Du Bois, the French West Indian social philosopher Frantz Fanon, the Jamaican black nationalist leader Marcus Garvey, and the Ghanaian political leader Kwame Nkrumah. These intellectual legacies, he argued, were now wielded by ordinary African Americans of humble rural and urban origins. James continually challenged his audiences, insisting that individuals of all races appreciate the contributions by peoples of African descent to Western and American civilization as a whole. He inspired community organizers associated with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), the Black Panthers, and the League of Revolutionary Black Workers.

In 1974, James wrote the call to organize the Sixth Pan-African Congress from the United States. It was to be held in Tanzania. When Tanzanian President Julius Nyerere refused to allow delegations from movements against postcolonial regimes in the Caribbean and Africa to attend, James boycotted the conference. He died of a chest infection in London, England, on May 31, 1989.

Matthew Quest

See also: [Black Panthers](#); [Black Power Movement](#); [Du Bois, W.E.B.](#); [Garvey, Marcus](#); [McCarthyism](#).

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Jazz is a folk music of the United States that blends European melody and harmony with West African rhythms. Although there are many distinctive subcategories of jazz, almost all jazz styles incorporate two basic elements: improvisation and a rhythmic swing.

The term *jazz* (originally spelled “jass”) first appeared in print in 1917; and New Orleans, Louisiana, with its diverse populations of French and Spanish people, Creoles, Creoles of color, African slaves, and free blacks at the turn of the twentieth century, is the birthplace of jazz. Early jazz influences appeared in the marching bands hired to lead funeral processions through the city and in the dance band music of Bourbon Street at the turn of the twentieth century. The instruments of these groups became the essential instruments of jazz: trumpet, trombone, clarinet, banjo, drum, and, later, piano.

Ragtime Roots and Northern Migration

Ragtime, or “ragged time,” was another important characteristic of early jazz. The term typically refers to a form of written piano music made famous by Scott Joplin, the son of a former slave and a free woman of color. Ragtime, while not strictly a style of jazz, certainly influenced the medium with its use of a steady march tempo and beat, coupled with a syncopated melody and rhythm.

With the closing of New Orleans’s famous prostitution district known as Storyville in 1917 and the start of Prohibition in 1919, many musicians left the party atmosphere of the city and traveled north to New York and Chicago. Dixieland band music became the rage, typified by Joe “King” Oliver’s Creole Jazz Band, an integral part of the demimonde culture of Chicago, as organized crime, bootleg whiskey, and bathtub gin ushered in the Jazz Age of the 1920s.

The most popular and commercially successful style of jazz from the mid-1930s to the mid-1940s was swing. Because most swing bands consisted of at least ten to fifteen performers, it is often called “big band” music. The key figures in developing the swing music were arrangers and bandleaders: Fletcher Henderson, Don Redman, and Edward Kennedy “Duke” Ellington, who, along with Benny Goodman, Glenn Miller, and Tommy and Jimmy Dorsey, became famous celebrities. Swing was music for dancing, and the size of the ensembles required a greater reliance on written arrangements. The primary instruments were the brass and rhythm sections.

The economic hardships and rationing of goods during World War II created a mentality of scarcity across the United States. As dance halls closed and the American Federation of Musicians (AFM) imposed a ban on recording in 1942, the Swing era entered its decline. In response, after-hours clubs, often cramped and smoke filled, emerged as venues for smaller combos to perform a new type of jazz known as bebop. The small clubs and bebop musicians, who were regarded more as highly skilled artists than merely background entertainers, appealed to an emerging subculture, which promoted nonconformity, rebelliousness, and restless excitement.

From Bebop to Jazz

The origination of bebop, or bop, considered the first modern jazz style, is generally credited to alto saxophonist Charlie Parker, trumpeter Dizzy Gillespie, and pianist Thelonius Monk. The typical bebop combo consists of an alto saxophone, trumpet, piano, guitar or bass, and drums. Bebop marked a major shift from music for dancing to complex music for serious listening and appreciation. Bebop’s complex improvisations are based on chord progressions rather than melody.

The term *cool jazz* refers to a style that is softer and easier than the “hot” tempi and rhythms of bebop. In 1949 and 1950, trumpeter Miles Davis organized recording sessions in New York City for his nine-piece band, the Miles Davis Nonet, that resulted in the album *The Birth of Cool* in 1957. In addition to Davis on trumpet, alto saxophonist Lee Konitz and baritone saxophonist Gerry Mulligan played in a lighter, subtler tone. The nonet

utilized a standard rhythm section of piano, bass, and drums; however, Davis added French horn and tuba, which created the overall subdued effect and the “cool” sound. Other influential cool jazz musicians were pianists Lennie Tristano, Dave Brubeck, and Stan Kenton.

The cool jazz of Davis is often associated with the Beat Generation and specifically the beatniks of San Francisco’s counterculture, stereotyped as bongo-playing men with goatees and berets and long-haired women wearing black leotards. The beatnik lifestyle was the archetypical representation of hip, and, when coupled with the youthful rebelliousness portrayed in popular films by screen icons Marlon Brando and James Dean, was a powerful illustration of the rebellion against the middle-class standards of white America. Cool jazz resonated deeply with this group.

Hard bop was a move away from cool jazz and an attempt to make bebop more appealing by incorporating influences from soul music, gospel music, and the blues. Hard bop differs from bebop in that it is less complex and has a darker tone quality. The most influential musicians associated with hard bop were drummer Art Blakey; pianist Horace Silver; trumpeters Clifford Brown, Davis, and Freddie Hubbard; alto saxophonist Julian Edwin “Cannonball” Adderley; and tenor saxophonists Sonny Rollins and John Coltrane, regarded as the most influential jazz saxophonist after Charlie Parker.

Jazz historians refer to the innovations of the 1960s and 1970s as avant-garde. “Free jazz” and “modal jazz” are the two most common substyles of jazz during this time. Saxophonist Ornette Coleman and pianist Cecil Taylor are the two most famous artists associated with free jazz, so named because the musicians improvise from predetermined chord progressions. In modal jazz, the performers improvise based on melodies, or modes, rather than on the harmonies produced by chord progressions. Davis, Coltrane, and pianist Bill Evans were major popularizers of modal jazz.

The Rock and Roll Challenge

The appeal and commercial success of rock and roll in the 1960s led to a hybrid form known as jazz-rock fusion, or simply fusion, which became the first jazz style since swing to gain widespread popularity. Davis initiated the style in 1968 with the release of two albums, *In a Silent Way* (1969) and *Bitches Brew* (1970). Notable artists of the fusion scene include guitarist John McLaughlin and the Mahavishnu Orchestra, pianist Joe Zawinul and saxophonist Wayne Shorter and Weather Report, and pianists Herbie Hancock and Chick Corea.

Ever changing, ever evolving, jazz has proven to be a highly dynamic and fluid musical art form, reflecting and countering the ever-shifting political moods and social values of the United States. The explosion of rock and roll and the counterculture embracing it in the 1960s resulted in the creation of the amorphous free jazz. The nonconformity and hedonism of the 1970s inspired the fusion of jazz with rock and other musical styles, as well as the creation of mainstream jazz.

During the 1980s, jazz saxophonists Kenny G, David Sanborn, and Michael Brecker enjoyed great commercial success as new audiences became exposed to “contemporary jazz” or “new adult contemporary” music radio stations. The 1990s brought a revival of swing dancing, and a new generation became exposed to the music of 1930s and 1940s big bands as the dance craze erupted onto the scene.

The beginning of the twenty-first century ushered in increased stylistic diversity, as world music influences permeated the jazz sound. While there are consistently fewer venues for musicians to perform jazz today, the number of high school and college musicians choosing to learn and perform jazz has steadily increased, and the popular appeal of jazz music among sophisticated listeners continues to climb.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Bebop](#); [Brando, Marlon](#); [Dean, James](#).

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Jefferson Airplane

The Jefferson Airplane, in many ways the seminal band of the San Francisco hippie counterculture and acid rock movement, was formed by Marty Balin in 1965. A former folk musician and member of the band known as the Town Criers, Balin took over management of San Francisco's first folk night club, the Matrix, that year and wanted to form an electric band. Balin, a vocalist, enlisted folk guitarist Paul Kanter. Kanter, in turn, approached Jorma Kaukonen, a lead guitarist who was friends with Jack Casady, a jazz-trained guitarist whom they persuaded to play bass. Rounding out the band was Skip Spence on drums (a new instrument for him) and Signe Anderson on vocals.

The group found its name when Kaukonen related that a friend, Steve Talbot, had coined the name Thomas Jefferson Airplane for a character in a blues band, but the band was not using it at the time. Kaukonen suggested a shorter version as a name for the group.

This Jefferson Airplane line-up participated in some of the first psychedelic dance parties held in 1960s San Francisco, sponsored by promoters Bill Graham and the Family Dog. Among these were events held at Longshoreman's Hall, a benefit concert for the San Francisco Mime Troupe, and the Trips Festival in 1965 and 1966. The dance concerts featured psychedelic projections by lighting artists such as Bill Hamm and Glenn McKay.

Balin used his expertise in graphic arts to help create distinctive poster art, and the band capitalized on the craze for buttons and bumper stickers (used heavily by the Berkeley Free Speech and antiwar movements) by having thousands printed that read "The Jefferson Airplane Loves You." In September 1966, the band released its first album, *The Jefferson Airplane Takes Off*, on RCA Records. RCA would remain its label until the Airplane formed its own record company, Grunt, in the early 1970s. Graham, a noted ballroom promoter, acted as the band's manager for a short period, until Balin's long-time friend Bill Thompson took over those duties.

Anderson, who left the band in late 1966 to take care of her newborn baby, was replaced by Grace Slick, former lead singer for another early San Francisco band, the Great Society. In 1967, Spence was replaced by Los Angeles drummer Spencer Dryden. Slick brought material from her former band to the Jefferson Airplane, including the song "Somebody to Love" (written by her brother-in-law, Darby Slick) and her own composition, "White Rabbit." These two songs would be the band's highest ranking songs on the American Top 40 charts, peaking at number five and number eight, respectively, in the late spring and early summer of 1967. They also helped propel the band's album *Surrealistic Pillow*, which had been released by RCA in February of that year, to the top of the charts as well. To many during this time, the Jefferson Airplane was the musical heart and soul of the San Francisco hippie counterculture.

The band continued recording and touring, releasing *After Bathing at Baxter's* in 1967, *Crown of Creation* in 1968,

Bless Its Pointed Little Head (a live album) in 1969, and *Volunteers* in 1969, all on RCA Records. On the Grunt label, they released *Bark* in September 1971, *Long John Silver* in 1972, and *Thirty Seconds Over Winterland* (another live recording) in 1973. It would be their last recording as the Jefferson Airplane, as members disbanded to form other ensembles.

Lisa Rhodes

See also: [Acid Rock](#); [Hippies](#); [Psychedelia](#); [San Francisco, California](#).

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Jehovah's Witnesses

Founded in the late nineteenth century by evangelist Charles Taze Russell, the organization known since 1931 as Jehovah's Witnesses also has been known variously as Dawnites, Russellites, Watch Tower Bible People, Rutherfordites, and, perhaps most commonly, Bible Students. Based in Brooklyn, New York, this international organization with members in 235 nations uses Watchtower Bible and Tract Society of New York as its legal name, and the name Jehovah's Witnesses for its practice of preaching door to door.

Raised a Presbyterian, Russell spent several years as a Congregationalist, before briefly giving up on religion, dissatisfied with existing expositions of Bible doctrine. Later influenced by a Second Adventist meeting led by Jonas Wendell, Russell started a Bible study group in the early 1870s with the purpose of clearing up misunderstandings of the Bible. By the late 1870s, he and his associates began spreading their views through lectures, preaching, essays, tracts, articles, books, and, in 1879, the magazine *Zion's Watch Tower and Herald of Christ's Presence*, later renamed *The Watchtower: Announcing Jehovah's Kingdom*.



Jehovah's Witnesses take part in a mass baptism in California in 1947. Adhering to what they regard as Christianity in its original form, Witnesses eschew conventional church doctrine and holidays. Their principle of separateness also extends to politics. (Loomis Dean/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Jehovah's Witnesses practice strict adherence to Bible principles. Its practices distinguish the group from others espousing similar principles on cultural, political, religious, and medical matters. Based on passages John 17:14 and Revelation 18:4, for example, Jehovah's Witnesses do not participate in such popular celebrations as birthdays, Christmas, Easter, Halloween, or Mother's Day, denouncing them as pagan and biblically unfounded. The principle of separateness from the world is extended to political affairs based on Messianic Kingdom prophecies in Isaiah, Daniel, and Revelation, and on passages in Matthew and John, which declare that Jesus's kingdom is "no part of the world" and instruct disciples to pray for the kingdom. Witnesses recognize Jehovah's kingdom as sovereign, maintain political neutrality in what they view as worldly affairs, and refuse to salute the flag, to vote, or to serve in the military. In terms of medical practice, Witnesses refuse to accept blood transfusions, based on their understanding of Leviticus 17:12 and Acts 15:29.

Witnesses remain steadfast in these principles despite substantial peer pressure, loss of jobs and freedoms, and threats to their lives and physical well-being. This abstinence, along with persistent evangelizing, has led to persecution of the group at various times in U.S. history. Such harassment was particularly severe during World War I, when eight members of the organization's leadership were charged with conspiracy and imprisoned after refusing to support the war, as well as during World War II. In the decades since, the organization has been party to a number of civil rights cases, including some that reached the U.S. Supreme Court.

Former members of the Jehovah's Witnesses have been outspoken in their criticism of the group's religious practices and treatment of members. But Shawn Francis Peters in his award-winning book, *Judging Jehovah's Witnesses* (2000), and other scholars have argued that the group's determination to defend itself and its right of free expression in court has significantly expanded civil liberties for all Americans. Indeed, the organization's struggle to defend its civil liberties extends beyond the United States, leading political analysts to view the treatment of Jehovah's Witnesses as a measure of a nation's commitment to religious freedom.

James Griffith

See also: [Cults.](#)

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Jemison, Mary (1743–1833)

Mary Jemison, the daughter of European immigrants, is known for her life of captivity among Seneca Indians in the mid-eighteenth century, in which she adopted their ways and married into the tribe.

Jemison was born aboard a ship carrying her parents from Northern Ireland to America in 1743. She grew up on a farm near present-day Gettysburg, Pennsylvania. On the morning of April 15, 1758, a raiding party of Shawnee Indians and French soldiers swooped down on the Jemison farm. Mary's two oldest brothers escaped to Virginia, but her parents, her three youngest brothers, and her sisters all were killed.

The raiding party carried off fifteen-year-old Mary and sold her to a group of Seneca Indians, who took her with them to the Ohio Country. The Senecas adopted Mary and christened her Dehgewanus, which means "Two Fallen Voices."

As Dehgewanus, the white girl learned the Seneca ways and married Sheninjee, a Delaware Indian. They had two children, only one of whom survived. Soon after their second child was born in 1762, Dehgewanus and Sheninjee began the journey to Sheninjee's homeland along the Genesee River in New York. Sheninjee died before they arrived, but Dehgewanus pressed on with her infant son and settled in a town on the Genesee River near present-day Geneseo, New York.

In 1765, she married a Seneca warrior. They had six children. Her husband was a leader in the Cherry Valley (New York) massacre of November 1778. The following year, General John Sullivan and his troops destroyed Dehgewanus's village. She relocated to Castile, New York, where she lived in a log cabin.

Dehgewanus had become a member of Seneca society and would remain in New York for the rest of her life. A tribal grant in 1797 made her one of the largest landowners in the region; she also owned the largest herd of cattle in the area. The state confirmed her land title in 1817, and she became a naturalized U.S. citizen that same year. Because she preferred the lifestyle and customs of the Indians to her white lifestyle, she was an object of fascination. She was known for her generosity, cheerfulness, and vigor well into her eighties.

In 1823, James E. Seaver interviewed her and wrote down her experiences, which were published as *A Narrative of the Life of Mrs. Mary Jemison* (1824). The book soared to the top of the captivity narrative genre and ran through about thirty printings.

By 1831, a number of whites had settled the Castile area. Dehgewanus sold her land and moved to the Buffalo Creek Reservation near Buffalo, New York, where she died on September 19, 1833. In 1874, her family moved her remains to near her old home on the Genesee River, a site that later became Letchworth State Park.

Kathy Warnes

See also: [Native Americans](#).

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Jesus People

Members of an evangelical Christian movement that grew out of the hippie counterculture, Jesus People, or Jesus Freaks, identify themselves as “fanatics for Jesus.” Today’s Jesus Freaks are the cultural descendants of the Jesus movement or Jesus revolution of the late 1960s and early 1970s. Much of the terminology, music, dress, and religious art of the original Jesus Freaks has spread informally among Christian youth for almost three generations.

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the hippie movement—an antiestablishment youth movement that questioned conformist society, advocated free love, used psychedelic drugs, and opposed the war in Vietnam—gave rise to a spontaneous religious movement in various cities across the United States. Press reports began to circulate of seemingly spontaneous Christian conversions that had occurred in San Francisco, followed by other locations in California, and then on college campuses across America and into Canada. The conversions often were ecstatic, accompanied by such charismatic phenomena as glossolalia, or speaking in tongues, a phenomenon witnessed in traditional Pentecostal churches. Youths known for their heavy drug use and promiscuous sexuality suddenly were transformed by conversion to the teachings of Jesus Christ. Many cases of instantaneous, symptomless withdrawal, even from hard drugs such as heroin, were reported.

Around the same time, recent converts began to organize informal gatherings, sometimes in the form of communes, sometimes in the form of regular meetings. Most of the leaders of these groups were not ordained, but simply Christian laypersons. Informal “religious houses” were dedicated to prayer, fasting, Bible study, singing, and testimonies of faith conversion. Despite not having a formal church affiliation, many of the participants hailed Jesus as their “Lord and Savior.” Some believed that Jesus had “escaped” from the church and that His spirit could now be found on the streets and among these informal religious groups.

Newspapers, music groups and concerts, art, and new songs in the style of the Christian youth culture began to appear. Posters proclaiming “Turn On to Jesus” or “WANTED, Jesus of Nazareth, alias the Christ, the Messiah, the King of Kings” were plastered throughout neighborhoods frequented by members of the counterculture in cities across the United States, Canada, and even Western Europe. As the movement grew, informal baptisms were performed at beaches, riverfronts, and lakeshores. Those who attended gatherings heard the testimonies of members who said that instead of drug trips, “tripping on Jesus was the ultimate high.”

Those who had been radical in drug experimentation now became radical in their religious experience. The movement even came to include Jewish converts, some of whom joined the new Jews for Jesus group. Some converts joined communal groups, such as Jesus People and the Shiloh Youth Revival Centers. The latter was one of the largest religious communes of that era, with more than 175 communal houses and farms and more than 1,000 active members across the country. Others joined groups that developed reputations as cults, such as the Children of God.

The transient lifestyle of the youth counterculture meant that many of the new religious groups were impermanent

as well. Many Jesus People dropped their new faith altogether, while others gravitated toward more mainstream sects and evangelical groups.

Yet the legacy of the Jesus People remained strong, as many of those brought to Christianity by the movement would take on leadership roles in churches and denominations, emphasizing the need to reach out to youth. The musical genre known as Christian rock is one of the enduring cultural phenomena that evolved directly from the Jesus People movement.

Andrew J. Waskey and James Ciment

See also: [Fundamentalism, Christian](#); [Hippies](#); [Pentecostalism](#).

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Jews

Throughout the course of the twentieth century, Jews in America, whether practitioners of Judaism or members of the Jewish ethnic community, have been visible participants in virtually every major attack on, or retreat from, mainstream secular culture.

Individual Jews helped lead the socialist and communist movements from the early 1900s through the 1950s. Later, Jews were among the most active contributors to the civil rights movement and protests against the Vietnam War.

Although Jews often have provided leadership to these movements, their participation also has prompted controversy within them. The sometimes disproportionate number of Jews has led some fellow advocates to question whether certain movements have been perceived as “too” Jewish and whether that appearance has been harmful to the cause.

Immigration and Labor Organizing

Much twentieth-century Jewish radicalism in the United States can be traced to the influx of Jews during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Thousands of Jews emigrated from rural Eastern Europe during those decades to cities in the eastern United States, particularly New York. Their dense, clamorous, often impoverished neighborhoods made the need for social change an increasingly powerful sentiment in the immigrant Jewish community.

Newcomers typically received help from a mutual aid group made up of people who had come from the same town or region in the old country. These groups, called *landsmanshaften* in Yiddish, funneled many of the new arrivals into jobs in the garment industry.

Union organizing inevitably followed. Yiddish-speaking workers in the garment, cigar-making, bakery, and hat-

making industries went on strike regularly during the 1880s. In 1888, a central body of Jewish unions, the United Hebrew Trades, was organized in New York. Two years later, thousands of Jewish workers marched to Union Square in downtown New York in a show of solidarity and defiance.

At the same time, other upstart social-change groups attracted immigrants. In 1890, the Socialist Labor Party, emphasizing economic inequality, and the anarchist Knights of Freedom, stressing bohemianism and antireligious mockery, each launched a Yiddish newspaper. Two years later, the *Arbeiter Ring* (Workmen's Circle) was founded. This organization offered classes and promoted social cooperation beyond the workplace. It held theatrical and musical events with socialist themes for workers. Many of the organization's members read the *Jewish Daily Forward*, which was launched in 1897 with a similar socialist outlook and soon became the most popular newspaper among New York City's immigrant Jews.

Over the next two decades, the labor unions grew rapidly, with a steady flow of new immigrants replacing earlier arrivals who prospered and moved away from the slums. By 1914, 104 different unions had affiliated with the United Hebrew Trades, representing 250,000 workers. They still regularly took job actions, as in Chicago, where Jewish workers engaged in a general strike against clothing makers. They also organized for elections. In 1912, the Lower East Side elected one of the two socialists who have served in the U.S. Congress, Meyer London. The unions and the Workmen's Circle continued creating arts groups, schools, and camps. In the late 1920s, the unions created cooperative housing colonies that sheltered several thousand people, mostly immigrant Yiddish speakers.

The newly formed Communist Party organized similar groups and cooperatives throughout the 1920s and 1930s, even though the party openly disdained Jewish identification beginning in 1925. Some of its Jewish organizers chose new Anglo-Saxon names; party chairman Jacob Liebenstein, for example, became Jay Lovestone.

Jewish participation in the garment unions waned during the 1930s, as immigration slowed and longtime members aged, prospered, or assimilated into American society at large. The rise of the Nazis in Germany prior to and during World War II led many Jews in the United States to abandon their universalist ideals, which by the end of the decade curtailed participation in socialist and communist organizations.

Post-World War II Era

The genocidal slaughter of Jews during World War II further pushed U.S. Jews away from European political movements, while prompting more focus on injustice in the United States. In the mid-1950s, after a spate of anti-Semitic incidents in the South, the American Jewish Congress and other mainstream Jewish organizations organized against racial segregation (even as they expelled suspected communists).

After criticism that long-distance protesting was ineffective in the effort to obtain civil rights for blacks, Jewish college students began heading south to participate directly in the drive to register African American voters. This effort culminated in 1964, as hundreds of young Jews volunteered in a campaign called Freedom Summer. In what became a cause célèbre, three volunteer civil rights workers from the North were found slain that July in Philadelphia, Mississippi, allegedly at the hands of the Ku Klux Klan; two of them, Michael Schwerner and Andrew Goodman, were Jews.

The fall of 1964 saw an outbreak of angry student demonstrations on the campus of the University of California, Berkeley, that marked the beginning of the Free Speech Movement (FSM). The university administration had banned political activity on campus, which student leaders regarded as a violation of their rights and cause to demonstrate. A majority of the FSM's steering committee was Jewish, it was observed, as against only about 3 percent of the student body.

Likewise, Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), a New Left group organized in the early 1960s to promote "participatory democracy" that later protested U.S. military activity in Vietnam, had many Jewish leaders. Forty-six percent of delegates to a national meeting of the organization in 1966 identified themselves as having a Jewish

religious background; other Jews likely specified “none” when asked for religious membership.

Throughout the 1960s, freethinking Jewish innovators gained prominence in diverse fields of culture and society: Bob Dylan and Leonard Cohen in music, Allen Ginsberg in poetry, Lenny Bruce in comedy, Julian Beck in theater, and Fritz Perls in psychology, to name a few. Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin founded and led the loosely organized Youth International Party, whose protests confronted authority and mainstream politics by using pranks and other nonstandard methods to gain media attention.

Some Jews who participated in the 1960s counterculture movement had grown up in the Jewish socialist subculture and were referred to as “red diaper babies.” For example, Mickey Flacks, a leader of the SDS, had grown up in the residential cooperative of a New York trade union. Others were raised in the relatively apolitical middle class. Those who tied their countercultural activities to their Jewishness typically pointed to idealist traditions in the religion and culture. In 1964, Steven Schwarzschild, the editor of *Judaism* magazine, wrote that a Jew is by definition an outsider, making criticizing society a Jew’s obligation.

Abbie Hoffman tied his own rebelliousness to the debate over assimilation, which preoccupied immigrant Jewish families throughout the twentieth century. In his childhood home, he wrote, “great psychological dilemmas revolved around religious traditions at odds with the desire to be accepted” in the United States. “The acculturation process lets you know very early in life that you were put on earth to make choices. Jews, especially first-born male Jews, have to make a big choice very quickly in life whether to go for the money or to go for broke.”

As the broader counterculture movement of the 1960s splintered, Jews were among the many subgroups to organize themselves. Jews for Urban Justice was established in Washington, D.C., in 1965 to protest Jewish entanglement with society’s power structure. Later, Jewish-focused groups evolved in parallel with other countercultural organizations. Jews for Urban Justice added spiritual exploration to its social justice pursuits, while others sought to diversify U.S. Jewish culture through artistic innovations or experiments in cooperative living.

Through the decades that followed, Jewish groups were prominent among those rejecting or challenging mainstream American life, often by seeking to merge Jewish traditions with New Age, environmental, social justice, or other countercultural philosophies.

Matt Fleischer-Black

See also: [Bruce, Lenny](#); [Dylan, Bob](#); [Ginsberg, Allen](#); [Hasidim and Hasidism](#); [Hoffman, Abbie](#); [Jews for Jesus](#); [Rubin, Jerry](#); [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Jews for Jesus

Like their Christian counterparts, the Jesus People, Jews for Jesus arose out of the growing evangelist movement in the hippie counterculture of the early 1970s. In some cases, the young Jews who came to profess faith in Jesus Christ joined churches. In other cases, they joined with older Jews in “Messianic synagogues.” Messianic Jews are Jewish by birth and religion, but they also believe that Jesus (*Y’shua*, in Hebrew) of Nazareth is the long-awaited Messiah of the Jewish people. While there have always been Jewish converts to Christianity, Messianic Jews do not see themselves as leaving Judaism, but rather as “completing” their Judaism by recognizing Jesus of Nazareth as the Messiah.

The official Jews for Jesus organization was founded as the Hineni Ministries in 1973 by a small, informal group of Jewish hippies led by Moishe Rosen. A convert to Christianity as a teenager, Rosen was an ordained Baptist minister assigned to San Francisco by the American Board of Missions to the Jews. Jews for Jesus was incorporated as an independent evangelistic agency with the goal of persuading Jews that Jesus is God and the Messiah.

To reach out to fellow members of the faith, Jews for Jesus continue to participate in Jewish community life and causes, while at the same time vigorously promoting their Christian beliefs. In this way, they seek to demonstrate that accepting Jesus is not an automatic rejection of Jewish heritage. They use a wide variety of media to communicate their message, including evangelistic advertisements in national magazines and newspapers, tracts, books, music, and the Internet. Jews for Jesus also is known for its distinctively Jewish gospel music. For example, the song “Behold Your God” by the group The Liberated Wailing Wall sets biblical passages to Jewish-style melodies.

Since 1974, Jews for Jesus has conducted “witnessing campaigns” in New York City, where staff workers and volunteers engage in street evangelism, distribute tracts, preach on sidewalks, and use drama and music to reach potential converts. Such efforts have earned Jews for Jesus a reputation for assertive confrontation, involving intense face-to-face discussions of their message. In addition to its North American ministry, based in San Francisco, the organization has offices in Europe, South America, Africa, and Israel.

The beliefs and often aggressive conversion tactics of Jews for Jesus have generated strong criticism, especially from the mainstream the Jewish community, where members are regarded as apostates, pests, and an embarrassment. Criticism has not slowed the activity of Jews for Jesus, however, and it appears to continue to increase in adherents. Membership statistics are not known, but the organization claims eighty chapters and ten national branches.

Andrew J. Waskey and James Ciment

See also: [Fundamentalism](#), [Christian](#), [Hippies](#), [Jews](#).

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John Birch Society

Since 1958, the John Birch Society (JBS) has been an ultraconservative organization focused on opposing communism and perceived attempts by international “insiders” to undermine U.S. society, culture, and constitutional freedoms. While sometimes dismissed as a fringe group on the extreme right of the political spectrum, the JBS has had an undeniable impact on American society by encouraging the active participation of right-wing “outsiders” in the political process.

On December 9, 1958, in Indianapolis, retired candy manufacturer Robert Welch, Jr., presented his idea for a society dedicated to exposing a conspiracy of bankers, politicians, and others he viewed as internationalists and who, he claimed, controlled the governments of both the United States and the Soviet Union. The first chapter of the society was organized in February 1959 and named after John Birch, a Baptist missionary to China and U.S. military intelligence officer during World War II. Birch was killed by Chinese Communists shortly after the war’s end and was hailed by the JBS as one of the first anticommunist victims of the cold war.

Welch was a business entrepreneur who had successfully marketed confectioneries, including what became known as the “Sugar Daddy.” Although he left the business world in 1957 to devote his energies to the cause of anticommunism, the JBS drew heavily on Welch’s connections with the National Association of Manufacturers, attracting many of its early members and leaders from this organization.

As founder of the JBS, Welch began publishing *American Opinion* magazine, which became the official JBS publication in 1959. Within its first year, the JBS had seventy-five chapters consisting of 1,500 members. By March 1961, there were fifty-eight paid, full-time staffers in the society’s home office and throughout the field. Total membership by the end of that year was estimated at 60,000 to 100,000. Members tended to have higher-than-average incomes and to be Republicans. Typical JBS activities included mass letter-writing campaigns to members of Congress.

The John Birch Society represented a unique right-wing counterculture that did not fit into the mainstream Republican Party, neo-Nazi extremism, or religious fundamentalism. In 1960, Welch produced a book titled *The Politician* that made headlines for declaring that President Dwight D. Eisenhower was “a dedicated conscious agent of the communist conspiracy.” Such rhetoric created a deep division between conservative Republicans and ultraconservative JBS members.

The JBS strongly opposed the civil rights movement, defending its position on the principle of states’ rights and suspicion of communist support for the antisegregation cause rather than on the grounds of white supremacy. Similarly, JBS conspiracy theories regarding international banking and Jewish control of financial institutions were said not to be motivated by anti-Semitic ideology. The JBS differed from fundamentalist religious organizations in focusing its efforts on anticommunism and internationalist conspiracies rather than on the purported moral decline in the United States. Indeed, the prominent conservative commentator William F. Buckley criticized an early draft of *The Politician* for ignoring the decline of faith in the United States.

After Welch’s death in 1985, JBS magazine subscriptions dropped to under 20,000. In 1989, the JBS moved its central offices from Belmont, Massachusetts, Welch’s hometown, to Appleton, Wisconsin. Subscriptions climbed back over 50,000 in the 1990s.

Describing itself as “a membership-based organization dedicated to restoring and preserving freedom under the United States Constitution,” the JBS has continued its opposition to perceived internationalist conspiracies through

campaigns against the United Nations, immigration, the Council on Foreign Relations, and the New World Order. An entrenched counterculture and extremist minority, the JBS has nevertheless provided training for thousands of ultraconservative activists in the half-century since its creation.

Nathan Zook

See also: [Communism](#); [Fundamentalism](#); [Christian](#).

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John Reed Clubs

In November 1929, nine years after the journalist, poet, editor, and Communist activist John Reed was laid in state at the Kremlin, the American Communist Party and the editorial board of *The New Masses*, a left-wing political journal, honored the radical editor and writer by creating several literary clubs in his name. The clubs were modeled on proletarian literature-writing groups formed in the Soviet Union. With the slogan “Art Is a Class Weapon,” they were intended both to radicalize writers and artists and to bring ordinary workers into the radical literary fold. In 1934, at the height of their popularity, the clubs boasted more than thirty chapters from New York City to Portland, Oregon (Reed’s birthplace), with a membership of nearly 1,200. Although the majority of members were writers, the clubs also attempted to include visual artists in their activities.

The clubs’ activities included sloganeering and poster design for Communist Party demonstrations, as well as the writing of commodities-price reports, poetry, novellas, and nonfiction pieces. Many writers in the clubs complained bitterly about Party-enforced distractions from the literary work they felt was the purpose of the organization. The clubs also were plagued by ideological conflicts that would inevitably arise from multiple perspectives (however sympathetic) coming into conflict with official Party doctrine.

Despite these problems, the clubs boasted significant success on a number of fronts. They arranged for prominent writers, such as Kenneth Burke, Granville Hicks, and Philip Rahv, to lecture to members, and the journal of the New York club, *Partisan Review*, edited by Rahv and William Phillips, would later break from the Party to become one of the most important journals of anti-Communist left-wing criticism in the United States. Furthermore, the Chicago club would cultivate the young, pathbreaking African American writer Richard Wright, a member from the summer of 1933, who was elected to the editorial board of the club’s magazine, *Left Front*. Thus the Chicago club was influential in supporting one of the most important writers of the period at a time when there were few progressive outlets in which writers’ talents could germinate.

While these developments were significant, the limited life of the clubs, and, with few exceptions, their inability to transcend their Communist Party heritage, made their effect on the American literary scene less than far-reaching. The Communist Party disbanded the John Reed Clubs in September 1934, concluding that official doctrine and

literary experiment were difficult to reconcile. Nevertheless, independent clubs and their attendant journals continued to be active into the 1940s.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Communism](#).

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Joplin, Janis (1943–1970)

Janis Joplin was both a talented rock vocalist of the 1960s and a symbol of the era's rebellious, drug-infused lifestyle. Her gritty, bluesy vocal style thrilled audiences and brought her to the brink of superstardom. Her untimely death from a heroin overdose at the age of twenty-seven and at the height of her career became a symbol of the dark side of rock and roll's excessive lifestyle.

Janis Lyn Joplin was born on January 19, 1943, to Seth and Dorothy Joplin in Port Arthur, Texas. Her teenage years in the small refinery town were very difficult ones, and she retreated into painting and folk singing to cope with being ostracized by her peers. After graduating from high school in 1960, Joplin enrolled at Lamar State College of Technology in nearby Beaumont, Texas, but she moved to Los Angeles the following summer, drifted to the San Francisco Bay Area, and then returned home to Port Arthur.

In the summer of 1962, Joplin moved to Austin and enrolled in the University of Texas, which she attended until December of that year. Casting her lot with the remnants of the beatnik and bohemian community there, she began to sing in earnest. She drew praise and gigs at a local bar named Threadgill's as a member of the Waller Creek Boys.

In January 1963, she hitchhiked to San Francisco, where she joined the underground music scene, sang in clubs, and developed a serious speed (methamphetamine) habit. She returned to Port Arthur in May 1965, ostensibly to get married and overcome her addiction, but her wedding plans collapsed and her attempt to go "straight" was abortive. After moving back to Austin briefly in the spring of 1966, she returned to San Francisco.

Upon her return, Joplin joined up with a psychedelic rock band called Big Brother and the Holding Company and became its lead singer. One of the seminal bands of the San Francisco hippie counterculture of the late 1960s, Big Brother signed a recording contract with Mainstream Records while on tour in Chicago and began cutting an album there, which they finished in Los Angeles. The record, named after the band, was released in the fall of 1967 and failed to garner much attention from disc jockeys or critics. Joplin's debut recording never made money.

After an impressive performance at the Monterey Pop Festival in June 1967, the group was offered and accepted a recording contract with Columbia Records. This led to the release in August 1968 of the album *Cheap Thrills*, which sold 1 million copies during the first month of its release. Later that month, the single "Piece of My Heart"

reached number eight on the American Top 40 charts. Joplin, with her frenetic performance style, funky hippie clothes, and tortured, soulful vocals, became a star and a role model to many in the counterculture.

After splitting from Big Brother in September 1968, Joplin formed a Memphis-style soul band called Squeeze, which debuted at the Stax-Volt Record Company's Christmas party in 1968. She recorded an album with the band, *I Got Dem Ol' Kozmic Blues Again Mama!*, which was released in the fall of 1969. It met with mixed reviews but generated relatively solid sales. Joplin's version of the Chantels' hit "Maybe" from that album was one of the few songs by a white artist to receive airplay on African American radio stations during this era. It was with the band Squeeze that Joplin gave her historic performance at the Woodstock music festival, held in Bethel, New York, in August 1969.

In May 1970, Joplin formed a new band, Full Tilt Boogie, and she went on the road with it that summer. Her new musical direction had a decidedly country edge, as evidenced on the album *Pearl*, released in January 1971. "Me and Bobby McGee," a cut from the album, went to number one on the American Top 40 charts in the winter of 1971. Joplin did not live to see that success, however, as she had been found dead of a heroine overdose at a Hollywood hotel on October 3, 1970.

Lisa Rhodes

See also: [Haight-Ashbury](#), [San Francisco](#): [Heroin](#): [Rock and Roll](#): [San Francisco, California](#): [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Kerouac, Jack (1922–1969)

The novelist and poet Jack Kerouac was the leading chronicler and one of the foremost members of the Beat Generation, a group of writers who gained notoriety in the 1950s for countering the prevailing American middle-class culture. Best known for his novel *On the Road* (1957) and an unconventional style of writing he cultivated, called "spontaneous prose," Kerouac helped define the national consciousness of early cold-war America and greatly influenced subsequent varieties of nonmainstream cultural expression.

He was born Jean-Louis Lebris de Kerouac on March 12, 1922, in Lowell, Massachusetts. His parents were French Canadian immigrants, and his first language was Joul, a dialect of Quebec. Although he was married three times, Kerouac frequently returned home to live with his mother. In 1940, he entered Columbia University on a football scholarship.

He dropped out in his sophomore year, briefly joined the Merchant Marine in 1942, and after an unsuccessful stint in the U.S. Navy, gravitated back to the Columbia campus with friends. It was there that student and poet Allen

Ginsberg introduced Kerouac to the writer William S. Burroughs, and the three became the hub of a new literary enclave. With the support of this group, in 1950 Kerouac published his first novel, *The Town and the City*, a conventional narrative in the style of Thomas Wolfe, which met with mixed reviews.

In 1947, Kerouac met author Neal Cassady, who became an important figure in his life, most notably appearing as the character Dean Moriarty in *On the Road*. It was both Cassady's free-spirited adventures in Denver, which he described in a letter, and the exciting new sound of bebop that propelled Kerouac to experiment with writing down ideas as they came to him without stopping for revision. Fueled by drugs and alcohol, he wrote *On the Road* in three weeks in 1951 on a continuous roll of teletype paper. After years of revision and rejection by publishers, when it was finally published in 1957, *On the Road* catapulted Kerouac to fame. *The New York Times* called its publication "an historic occasion."

Kerouac later perfected his spontaneous prose style in texts such as *Visions of Cody* (unabridged 1972), a more experimental version of the events depicted in *On the Road*, and *The Subterraneans* (1958), which he notoriously wrote in three days and three nights on a Benzedrine binge. Although he was raised Catholic, Kerouac discovered Buddhism in the mid-1950s, which further shaped the philosophical outlook of his writing. Taking the name Duluoz, he told the story of his life in twelve novels, which he referred to as the Duluoz Legend. These novels were written and published out of sequence, beginning with *The Town and the City* and ending with *Vanity of Duluoz* (1968).

Proclaimed "King of the Beats," Kerouac found himself endlessly defending the meaning of *Beat Generation*, a term he had coined. After the publication of *On the Road*, a journalist used the word *beatnik*, which was picked up by the media as a derogatory blanket term for the new wave of young bohemians. *Beat* meant "beatific," Kerouac would explain, giving it a more spiritual dimension, but the term was co-opted and misused to define a generational type that did not accurately represent him. When asked what he was searching for, he explained to one magazine interviewer, "I was waiting for God to show his face."

By the end of his life, Kerouac was increasingly defined by his conservative political beliefs and his Catholicism. He had alienated himself from the other Beat writers and felt little solidarity with the hippies of the counterculture. Embittered by critics who attacked his improvisational style of writing, frustrated by his misrepresentation by the public, and disenchanted with the new version of radicalism, he succumbed to alcoholism. On October 21, 1969, he died in St. Petersburg, Florida.

Kerouac's legend survives, both in the beauty of his writing and in the historical import of his work. Although he wrote, "I'm sick of words" in his semi-autobiographical novel *Desolation Angels* (1965), his words continued to inspire his literary and cultural heirs searching for the egalitarian, borderless spirit of America so resonant in *On the Road*.

Penny Vlagopoulos

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Buddhism](#): [Burroughs, William S.](#): [Columbia University](#): [Ginsberg](#): [Allen](#).

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Kesey, Ken (1935–2001)

The American novelist Ken Kesey influenced the counterculture of the 1960s with his novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962), his advocacy of the hallucinogenic drug LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide, or "acid"), and his flamboyant style of defying social norms.

Born on September 17, 1935, in La Junta, Colorado, Kenneth Elton Kesey grew up on a dairy farm in Oregon. He wrestled as an undergraduate at the University of Oregon, and entered the writing program at Stanford University in 1958. Winning a writing grant from Harper Brothers Publishers, Kesey was influenced by Beat writer William S. Burroughs and comic books. He became engaged in a lively community of students who lived on Perry Lane, a block-long bohemian enclave on the Stanford campus.

At the urging of Vic Lovell, a psychology graduate student, Kesey entered a study at the Menlo Park veterans' hospital in Palo Alto, California, that administered psychoactive drugs as part of a government-sponsored research project. Shortly thereafter, Kesey worked the night shift on a psychiatric ward at Stanford Hospital, where doctors were conducting LSD experiments. After ingesting some pilfered LSD, Kesey was inspired to write a story about events on a psychiatric ward.

The result, *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*, introduces a protagonist (Randle Patrick McMurphy) who is committed to a psychiatric ward and is at odds with the strict, emasculating control of the system and the head nurse (Miss Ratched). The book includes the perspective of another patient, a Native American called Chief, who observes the events on the ward in a hallucinatory but insightful manner.

By questioning the goals of conventional psychiatry, the book fits neatly into the 1960s counterculture. At the same time, it poses dilemmas of masculine identity in response to the then-burgeoning feminist movement and offers a metaphorical critique of the social systems of the 1960s. Although Kesey believed that the novel portrayed the sickness of American society, he also maintained that it could be read as a Christian allegory. When it was made into a movie in 1975, Kesey was dismayed that Jack Nicholson was cast as McMurphy and maintained that the film shifted the emphasis away from his original intent.

Kesey moved to La Honda, California, and formed connections with a variety of street performers and a fledgling musical group in San Francisco called the Grateful Dead. Kesey staged parties at which LSD was readily available and made every effort to provide a fantastic, multidimensional psychedelic experience. Advertised as "Acid Tests," these events popularized the idea that LSD could lead to profound insights.

In 1964, Kesey and a group of friends painted a school bus with neon colors, loaded it with movie equipment and LSD, and set off on a trip to the East Coast, filming their journey as they traveled. The group, known as the Merry Pranksters, became the subject of Tom Wolfe's work of New Journalism, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test* (1968). Kesey and his Merry Pranksters were the West Coast contingent of the psychedelic culture that exploded in the 1960s. They countered what they saw as East Coast psychedelic elitism by wearing outrageous clothing, blasting loud music, attracting media attention, breaking as many social norms as possible, and committing as many pranks as possible.

In 1966, after being arrested for possession of marijuana, Kesey faked suicide and fled to Mexico. Upon his return to the United States, he was caught by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and spent five months in jail.

Kesey later settled on a farm in Eugene, Oregon, with his wife, Faye, and continued to write. Although he published several more books—including the novels *Sometimes a Great Notion* (1964) and *Sailor Song* (1992)—his literary achievements have largely been associated with *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest*. He died on November 10, 2001, following surgery for liver cancer.

See also: [LSD: Merry Pranksters.](#)

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King, Martin Luther, Jr. (1929–1968)

Deeply committed to racial reconciliation and nonviolent methods of social change, Martin Luther King, Jr., galvanized an interracial coalition into the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, shaking the entrenched political, cultural, and economic power structure of America. As president and founding member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the author of five poignant books, a key organizer and strategist of crucial desegregation campaigns, and the unofficial liaison between African Americans and the White House, King was the preeminent figure of the civil rights movement.

Early Years

Born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, King enjoyed family stability, community involvement, and access to exceptional educational opportunities while being raised as a pastor's son in the relative comfort of Atlanta's middle-class African American community. His superb scholastic training brought him to Booker T. Washington High School and Morehouse College, where he received a B.A. in sociology in 1948. King continued on to theological training at Crozer Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, where he received a B.D. in 1951; he earned a doctoral degree in systematic theology at Boston University in 1955. At these institutions, King formulated his synthesis of liberalism and neo-orthodoxy by studying such groundbreaking Western thinkers as Protestant theologian Reinhold Niebuhr and German political philosopher Karl Marx, along with the life and thought of Indian nationalist and spiritual leader Mohandas Gandhi.

Upon completing his formal educational training, King took a position as pastor at Dexter Avenue Church in Montgomery, Alabama. He arrived just in time to be selected by local clergy and activists, who looked favorably on his charismatic leadership and status as a highly trained, energetic newcomer, to be a spokesperson for the boycott of city buses by the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). This organized effort was in response to the arrest of local citizen Rosa Parks for refusing to accept segregated seating arrangements on a city bus. The 1955–1956 boycott drew national attention, as more than 40,000 African American residents carpooled and walked to work for over a year in protest against segregated seating on the city's bus lines. By combining economic

sanctions, public scrutiny, and moral suasion, King and the MIA successfully pressured the U.S. Supreme Court to uphold a ruling ordering that the city's public transportation lines must be integrated.

At the conclusion of the Montgomery bus boycott, King joined a host of other African American ministers in January 1957 to establish the SCLC, an organization that advocated for federal civil rights legislation to prepare for a racially harmonious, integrated society. Most notably, the SCLC taught and implemented nonviolent protest tactics aimed at attacking Southern Jim Crow laws, which mandated "separate but equal" status for African Americans, and addressing issues related to national poverty. King endured arrest, violent reprisals, and federal surveillance while serving as president of this high-profile civil rights organization for the remainder of his life.

King and his cohorts organized and participated in protest campaigns for civil and political rights throughout the notoriously segregated Deep South and the impoverished urban North. King relied on the spectacle of white violence to bring notice to these campaigns, but the tactic did not always work. During a campaign in Albany, Georgia, in 1961–1962 against inadequate enforcement of a federal law desegregating interstate transit and public facilities, King's nonviolent protest tactics were criticized by members of the civil rights movement who recognized that a weak federal presence, combined with a lack of high-profile police repression, made for an unremarkable demonstration that failed to draw attention to the cause.

The next major campaign in which King would participate incorporated the lessons learned in Albany. In 1963, the city of Birmingham, Alabama, was selected because of its well-earned reputation as the most solidly segregated city in the South and the inauguration promise of the state's newly elected governor, George Wallace, of "Segregation forever." King and other movement planners correctly anticipated that the city's police force could be counted on to draw national media attention by assaulting nonviolent demonstrators.

King served time in jail for refusing to stop the protests, prompting the writing of one of his most famous essays, "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," on April 16, 1963. This pamphlet-sized essay summarized and justified King's nonviolent approach as a Christian duty, declaring civil disobedience a moral responsibility in the face of segregation and other unjust laws. Drawing upon his role as a religious leader, King reminded readers that, like many civil rights activists, Jesus Christ suffered violent reprisals for threatening the entrenched authority.

Some four months later, in August 1963, King delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech to more than 250,000 people gathered at the Lincoln Memorial during the landmark March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. King concluded this stirring keynote address with a call for interracial unity, equal opportunity, and religious tolerance that, for many, would become the hallmark of King's message:

When we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants—will be able to join hands and to sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last, free at last; thank God almighty we are free at last."

Backlash against the Birmingham desegregation campaign featured extraordinarily aggressive police suppression using clubs, attack dogs, and high-pressure water cannons. More disturbingly, anti-black terrorists bombed the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on a Sunday morning in September, killing four black girls. For many, the blast exemplified the impossibility of King's dream to create a "beloved community" free of racism and bigotry. His optimism would be further rattled after "Bloody Sunday"—March 17, 1965—when state troopers mercilessly attacked 600 civil rights marchers with nightsticks and tear gas outside Selma, Alabama. Following these events, insider criticism of King's commitment to nonviolent tactics rose to unprecedented levels.

Growing Radicalism

In addition to his role as a spokesman for the civil rights movement and president of the SCLC, King had won a Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, been monitored by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), and held audiences with three American presidents: Dwight D. Eisenhower, John F. Kennedy, and Lyndon B. Johnson. There had been

major gains in federal legislation, including the 1964 Civil Rights Act, which outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin, and the 1965 Voting Rights Act, which outlawed the requirement that would-be voters take literacy tests to qualify to register to vote. Despite these laws, King grew to realize that his magnanimous efforts were insufficient to fundamentally alter America's racial and economic landscape.

Although he was unwavering in his commitment to interracial cooperation and tactical nonviolence, King's goals gradually radicalized, as he campaigned against national poverty and spoke out against the Vietnam War. Resisting the urging of colleagues who cautioned against channeling his time and energy away from the civil rights movement, King denounced American imperialism, materialism, and militarism, while criticizing the U.S. government as "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today." In his view, the enormous human and financial resources expended in Vietnam undercut programs necessary for domestic social and economic progress.

King's and the SCLC's struggle against economic inequality came to an apex with the 1968 Poor People's Campaign on Washington, which had the lofty goal of drawing upon the poor from all races and ethnicities for a mass movement advocating a federally guaranteed income for all Americans. The Poor People's Campaign failed to achieve its federal antipoverty goals despite the efforts of 50,000 demonstrators camped at "Resurrection City" near the Lincoln Memorial. King would not live to share the disappointment. While in Memphis, Tennessee, to support striking African American sanitation workers, he was assassinated by a gunman's bullet on April 4, 1968.

Throughout his career as a minister, author, activist, and social theorist, Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., was a patriot who held fast to the promise of America's democratic egalitarianism. Faced by increasing repression and steadfast resistance from grassroots white citizen's organizations and America's political establishment, he gradually became disillusioned and radicalized. He would ultimately diagnose America as "much, much sicker than I realized when I began" and eschew reform in favor of "a reconstruction of the entire society, a total revolution of values." Nevertheless, throughout his life, Reverend King was unwavering in his commitment to nonviolent social change and a "beloved community" of interracial cooperation.

David Lucander

See also: [African Americans: Civil Rights Movement: Vietnam War Protests.](#)

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Kitchen, The

The Kitchen Center for Video, Music, Dance, Performance, Film and Literature had its start in a New York City kitchen. Established on July 5, 1971, by a collective of video artists and performers as a venue for collaborative projects using live and recorded elements, it was originally housed in the unused kitchen of the Mercer Arts Center, located in the Broadway Central Hotel in Greenwich Village. Its name, however, had a double meaning, as the center was envisioned as a kind of experimental laboratory where daring artists in a variety of mediums could throw together ingredients and create concoctions to serve before the hip downtown New York public.

By 1974, the organization abandoned its first home, incorporating as Haleakala and moving to 59 Wooster Street in the Soho neighborhood of lower Manhattan. The original name stuck, however, and, over the next ten years, the group steadily added to the artistic components in its unique mix, eventually coming to support theater, dance, music, visual art, and film, in addition to the video performance art with which it started. Along with more strictly theater-based venues such as PS 122 and La MaMa, The Kitchen stood at the forefront of the experimental performance movement in New York during the 1970s.

The Kitchen served as a meeting place for emerging artists in the city, where collaborative endeavors could be both conceived and realized. Writer and actor Eric Bogosian, who curated The Kitchen's nascent dance program from 1977 to 1981, wrote of the space in the mid-to late 1970s: "The boomer generation of artists was flooding into a dying New York. It was a time of tremendous idealism and energy, of ambition and experimentation, of youth and career carnage. The premier space downtown was the Kitchen." Artists who got their start at The Kitchen include, in addition to Bogosian, composer Philip Glass, dancers Bill T. Jones and Arnie Zane, dancer/choreographer Meredith Monk, and musician David Byrne of the Talking Heads.

In 1985, The Kitchen relocated again, this time to an expansive eighteenth-century icehouse at 512 West 19th Street. Its two black-box theaters are among the largest in the United States, and the new venue offers room for video-editing facilities.

In the 2000s, The Kitchen's focus is as much on planned festivals as on spontaneous collaborations. Its annual Bang on a Can series presents a week's worth of minimalist performance, including "computer-generated music, shadow theater, and rap soliloquies," according to New York City's *Culture Catalog*. The SPEW/New York festival, as described by The Kitchen literature, provides video and music-based performances that deal with "unorthodox feminisms and queer sex practices."

Through such organized showcases, The Kitchen continues to highlight the work of unknown or little-known artists, offering a home to those interested in experimenting with new media technologies as well as those intent on reinvigorating traditional, low-tech methods of performance. Though more of an institution than the original back-room organization founded in 1971, The Kitchen continues to stand at the forefront of avant-garde performance in New York.

David Kornhaber

See also: [Performance Art: Theater, Alternative.](#)

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Knights of the Golden Circle

In the mid-1850s, doctor and editor George W.L. Bickley formed a secret society of Southern sympathizers in the North, called the Knights of the Golden Circle (KGC), whose avowed purpose was “strengthening the South” and its way of life. Specifically, the KGC sought to protect Southern slaveholder society by increasing its territory, wealth, influence, and power through the conquest of the “Golden Circle”: the lands stretching from the Mexican Gulf Coast to Central America, the northern rim of South America, and the rich, plantation islands dotting the Caribbean. Hailed throughout the South and condemned in the North, the KGC ultimately did little to advance Southern interests, let alone build an empire, but it did contribute to the subversive forces and sectional mistrust that ultimately led to disunion and the Civil War.

Southern slaveholders in the 1850s increasingly feared that a growing North would soon reduce a complacent South to permanent minority status in the Union, and then proceed to destroy slavery and the society built upon it. Southern thinkers responded to this perceived threat with grandiose dreams of an expansive Southern slave empire. After conquering new lands, establishing new plantations, and founding new states and territories, they contended, the South either would dominate the U.S. government or would create an independent Southern confederacy. In either case, the imperiled Southern plantation culture would not only be saved, it would prosper. The notion of Manifest Destiny added to this distinctly Southern expansionist impulse; so did the well-established antebellum tradition of filibustering: the practice of individuals and private armies conquering or attempting to conquer tropical foreign lands that seemed ripe for Southern expansion.

In 1854, the Virginia-born Bickley seized on Southern expansionist desires and created the first KGC “castle” (local chapter) in Cincinnati. He appointed himself president and commander-in-chief of the KGC American Legion. By conquering the gold-and silver-producing provinces of Mexico, along with the sugar-, cotton-, and coffee-producing lands of the Caribbean, Central America, and South America, he contended, the Knights would make the plantation South so enormous, so wealthy, and so powerful, that the free North could never threaten slavery.

By 1860, Bickley was promoting the Knights of the Golden Circle and its cause throughout the South. He encouraged young men to join local castles, asked Southerners to donate \$1 for each slave they owned, and claimed a membership of 40,000, including 16,000 in the KGC “army.” In July 1860, Bickley confidently announced plans for the Knights to conquer Mexico, saying that they would make it “Americanized and *Southernized*” in the process. Southern newspapers, slaveholders, and politicians voiced support for Bickley and the Knights, exacerbating Northern fears that the South was rife with secret, subversive cabals of slaveholders intent on destroying the Union. A few thousand self-described Knights arrived in Texas in the fall of 1860 to invade Mexico. Upon Abraham Lincoln’s presidential election, however, they abandoned their plans of invasion and instead worked to ensure that Texas would join the new Southern confederacy.

Most Knights served the Confederacy during the Civil War, and Northern fears of the secret organization haunted the Ohio Valley and the Midwest. In 1863 and 1864, Republicans charged that Northern Democrats were secretly working with the Knights to win the 1864 elections, end the war, and recognize Confederate independence. Though the KGC was never as numerous or influential as Bickley or his detractors claimed, the powerful myth of the Knights exemplified the aggressive Southern desire to protect Southern culture through conquest and expansion.

See also: [African Americans](#).

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Ku Klux Klan

The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) is the best known of a number of white supremacist organizations that emerged in the aftermath of the American Civil War. While its primary political purpose was to prevent newly enfranchised black Southerners from electing Republicans to office in the Southern states, the secret organization opposed the exercise of all African American rights—also including land ownership, work opportunities, educational advancement, and social equality—through violence and terror. Like many secret societies, the Klan was bound by an elaborate system of special rites and rituals, ceremonial titles, costumes, gestures, signals, symbols, and oaths. Later iterations of the organization incorporated anti-Catholic, anti-Semitic, and anti-immigration agitation as central elements of their agenda.

The Original Klan

The original Klan was established on Christmas Eve 1865 in the law office of Judge Thomas Jones, in the town of Pulaski, Tennessee, near the Alabama border, by six former officers of the Confederate Army. They originally called the organization Kuklid, from the Greek word *kuklos*, meaning “circle,” which they then shortened to Ku. The words *Klux* and *Klan* were added shortly thereafter.

Klan members were embittered by what they viewed as usurpation of white Southerners’ social and political power by the Republican-controlled U.S. Congress, the Freedmen’s Bureau (established by the federal War Department to supervise relief and educational activities for refugees and freedmen), freed slaves, and white carpetbaggers. They vowed to return control of the South to white Southern Democrats.

By the end of the 1860s, the KKK existed in nearly every Southern state. It was most popular in the Piedmont area and counties where the black and white populations were nearly equal—that is, in areas where the struggles for social and political power were most hotly contested. Between 1868 and 1872, the KKK waged a widespread terror campaign in an effort to keep Southern blacks from exercising their rights to vote, own property, hold a job,

and get an education.

Klan participation crossed socioeconomic lines. Ordinary white farmers and laborers constituted the bulk of membership, but many Klan leaders came from the ranks of planters, merchants, lawyers, and even ministers. The Klan attacked both white and black politicians and community leaders who supported Reconstruction. They attacked black churches and schools, workers, farmers, and landowners, all in an effort to regulate blacks' status in Southern society.

Klansmen garbed in white robes and hoods, usually on horseback, moved throughout the countryside terrorizing superstitious ex-slaves, many of whom thought the Klansmen were the ghosts of dead Confederate soldiers. Klansmen relied on threats, intimidation, vandalism, brutal beatings, and murder to terrorize the black population. In many cases, local and state authorities were complicit in Klan activities.

To arouse public curiosity, maintain anonymity, and cloak the organization in an aura of mystery and danger, Klansmen adopted their own secret vocabulary and rituals. A secret oath bound members to absolute secrecy. Klansmen were prohibited from disclosing their membership, giving the name of any other member, or soliciting members on their own. Each member was required to appear at Klan meetings dressed in a long robe with a white mask and hood. Meetings typically were held at night in secret locations.

Klan officers—including the “Grand Cyclops” (president), “Grand Maji” (vice-president), “Grand Turk” (marshal), “Grand Exchequer” (treasurer), and two “Lictors” (inner and outer guards of the “den”)—presided over Klan meetings. Both Lictors dressed in full Klan regalia and held enormous spears to ward off potential interlopers. The only business transacted at Klan meetings was the initiation of new members in a special ceremony.

Membership increased rapidly, as local papers began reporting on Klan activities. Young men throughout the South were initiated and organized into local dens, or klaverns, several hundred of which sprang up in Middle and West Tennessee, Mississippi, and Alabama alone. Initially, they had no general organization nor means of communication, and, in most cases, they acted autonomously. For example, the idea of using Klansmen as patrolers, informal vigilance committees or “patter rollers” as they were sometimes called, spread spontaneously among the new dens, without consultation among the scattered local leaders.

As activity increased, Klan leaders became more organized. In spring 1867, the Grand Cyclops of the Pulaski den sent out a call to all dens to send delegates to a convention in Nashville. The group convened in secret and adopted a master plan of organization. The region in which the Klan operated was called the “The Invisible Empire,” and the empire was divided into “realms,” corresponding with the states.

By 1871, despite Congressional efforts to curb Klan violence, the secret organization had wreaked havoc on the Republican Party in the South. In April of that year, Congress passed a series of enforcement acts specifically aimed at the KKK. Collectively referred to as the Ku Klux Klan Act, the measures enlisted federal election supervisors and federal courts to protect black voters. Conspiracies to deprive citizens of the right to vote, hold office, serve on juries, and enjoy the protection of law could be blocked by military intervention and prosecuted by federal district attorneys.

Although hundreds of Klansmen were indicted under the legislation and many of them went to jail, and although federal armed forces were used to root out the KKK in South Carolina, the law proved difficult to enforce. Thousands of crimes went unpunished, in part because local Democrats resisted enforcement. Parts of the legislation were ruled unconstitutional in 1882.

Klan violence in the South declined significantly beginning in 1872, in part because the organization had achieved its primary goal of wresting political and social control for Democratic Redeemers, a Southern political coalition that opposed the Radical Republican coalition of freedmen, carpetbaggers, and scalawags. By 1877, Reconstruction was over, and the Jim Crow system of segregation and discrimination was already beginning to emerge throughout the South, leading to a further decline in Klan activity.

The Modern Klan

The Ku Klux Klan underwent a widespread resurgence during the 1920s. Unlike the original organization, the Klan of the 1920s was neither exclusively Southern nor primarily a terrorist organization. Despite its rabidly nativist and racist politics, the Klan went mainstream, operating as a powerful—and open—social and political movement.

The Klan of the 1920s built a multifaceted agenda based on the slogan “100 percent Americanism,” by which it meant white, nativist, militant Protestantism. While the original Klan had focused on the immediate issues of Reconstruction and sought to restore white supremacy in the South, the second Klan, while also hostile to African Americans, expanded its agenda to include anti-Catholicism, anti-Semitism, and the supremacy of native-born whites over all other racial and ethnic groups. As opposed to “night riding” and other forms of vigilantism on the part of local klaverns during Reconstruction, Klan leaders of the 1920s worked, at least publicly, to distance the organization from paramilitary activity and declare its reverence for established legal authority. The rebirth of the Klan began on Thanksgiving night 1915, when a former Methodist preacher, history teacher, and fraternal organizer named William Joseph Simmons called a meeting at the summit of Stone Mountain in Georgia. Kneeling before a burning cross and an American flag, Simmons and fifteen followers vowed to resurrect the Invisible Empire of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan. The new movement got off to a slow start. By 1920, there were only about 4,000 or 5,000 Klansmen scattered throughout Georgia and Alabama.

During the next several years, Simmons enlisted the aid of two promoters, Edward Clarke and Elizabeth Tyler of the Atlanta-based Southern Publicity Association. Clarke and Tyler, in turn, hired 200 more recruiters and instructed them to exploit any issue or prejudice that would draw people to the organization. This army of recruiters, or Kleagles, who worked on commission, attracted 85,000 new members to the Klan between June 1920 and October 1921. In 1922, Hiram Wesley Evans became the KKK’s Imperial Wizard, replacing Simmons. Evans would remain the leader of the Klan for the next seventeen years.



The Ku Klux Klan has undergone several revivals since its founding in Tennessee in 1865. In addition to its racist ideology, the secret white-supremacist organization continues to be bound by special rites, rituals, ceremonies, and symbols. (FPG/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The second Klan initially admitted only native-born, white, Protestant males over the age of eighteen. As its popularity grew, however, it attracted support from all sections of the country and encouraged wives and sisters of Klansmen to form auxiliaries. Thousands did. The KKK attracted members in New York, Connecticut, Maine, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Indiana, Colorado, Oregon, and Washington in addition to the Southern states. There were thousands in Detroit and Chicago alone. Membership in the new Klan consisted primarily of small businessmen,

farmers, and professionals who felt threatened by the changes taking place in America. The KKK reached the height of its political power during fall and winter of 1924 to 1925, when Klansmen managed to win a number of political elections.

By 1925, at the peak of its power, the KKK had 6 million members who heeded its call to resist the deleterious influences of Catholics, Jews, lawbreakers, “new” immigrants, and African Americans. Although the size and scope of the modern Klan had expanded greatly, it maintained many of the traditions of the old fraternal order, continuing to stress the importance of ceremony, ritual, and secrecy. The range of formal titles expanded, and all members were expected to use them. Ritual greetings and processions into and out of meetings also were continued. As more women entered the Klan, ritual titles began to be devised for them as well. The *Kriterion Konservitor*—a means of ranking women hierarchically within the organization—affords an example of typical Klan naming practices. The leader was known as the Excellent Commander, and the ranks comparable to a sergeant-at-arms were called the Klarago and the Klexter.

As its base of support grew, the Klan expanded its white supremacist agenda, portraying itself as the protector of American ideals and institutions. Klansmen were characterized as white-robed guardians of liberty, and the organization itself was said to stand for fair elections, honest leaders, and efficient government. Klansmen also considered themselves protectors of “old-time religion” and promised to unite Protestants in battle against the teaching of evolution and the infiltration of Catholics and Jews into American society. The Klan claimed to stand for law and order, seeking to restore faith in God, the Bible, and basic Christian fundamentals. Klan appeal extended across party lines during the 1920s, as members achieved positions of influence in both the Democratic and Republican parties.

The organizational infrastructure began to unravel in 1925, when state and local authorities uncovered one Klan-related scandal after another, resulting in the arrest and incarceration of key leaders. The KKK managed one final display of power and popularity in August 1925 when 40,000 Klansmen and women marched down Pennsylvania Avenue in Washington, D.C. A similar parade the following year attracted half as many participants, and, by 1929, KKK membership was down to 85,000 nationwide. In 1944, the Internal Revenue Service demanded \$685,000 in back taxes from the Klan, effectively ending the organization’s existence.

Although the Klan underwent another resurgence as a secretive society in the post–World War II era, primarily in response to the growing civil rights movement, it never achieved the power and influence it enjoyed during Reconstruction or the 1920s. In the Deep South, loosely organized Klan sympathizers operating on the fringes of society terrorized and, in some cases, murdered both black and white civil rights workers attempting to organize and empower Southern blacks. Many Southern law enforcement officials and all-white juries remained reluctant to prosecute their fellow white citizens, and many of the racially motivated crimes of the 1950s and 1960s remained unsolved until the late twentieth century.

Although high-profile Klansmen such as David Duke experienced a measure of political success during the rise of the New Right in the latter part of the twentieth century, the Klan itself remained a fringe organization, consisting of approximately 5,000 to 8,000 members nationwide in the early 2000s.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [African Americans: White Supremacists.](#)

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Kunstler, William (1919–1995)

One of the leading, and most radical, defense lawyers of the twentieth century, William Kunstler championed the rights of unpopular causes and social outcasts, even if they conflicted with the will of mainstream society. He is best known for his 1969–1970 defense of the Chicago Seven, the New Left defendants charged with conspiracy and inciting riot at the 1968 Democratic National Convention; his involvement with the ultimately tragic negotiations in the 1971 prison riot at the Attica (New York) Correctional Facility; and his defense of Russell Means of the American Indian Movement (AIM) after the clash with federal law enforcement authorities in 1973. Despite such high-profile cases, Kunstler also argued dozens of lesser-known but equally significant and groundbreaking civil rights and free speech cases.

William Moses Kunstler was born in New York City on July 7, 1919. A brief flirtation with juvenile delinquency ended when he reached high school and proved to be an excellent student. Kunstler was admitted to Yale University, and he graduated in 1941. Drafted to serve in the U.S. Army during World War II, he served in the Pacific Theater and eventually attained the rank of major.

After the war, Kunstler returned to New York and earned a law degree from Columbia University in 1948. The future radical lawyer seemed destined for a life of pedestrian, if profitable, law practice in New York. Indeed, this was the life he lived from 1950 to 1956.

It was in 1956 that Kunstler took his first civil rights case. A black journalist had traveled to Cuba without a passport and was subsequently denied reentry to the United States. Kunstler argued successfully that citizenship was a status and privilege that ran deeper than mere possession of a document.

This civil rights case was followed by others, and, by the late 1950s and early 1960s, Kunstler had become a reliable lawyer for the civil rights movement. Traveling across the Deep South and representing civil rights activists, he was responsible for a number of legal victories that were important to the movement. These included the transfer of civil rights cases to the federal court system and the desegregation of Washington, D.C., schools.

By the late 1960s, Kunstler had moved beyond political and social liberalism and become an antiestablishment radical. The case that was to make him a national celebrity was the Chicago Seven trial. The Democratic convention of 1968 had drawn enormous crowds of protestors to the streets and parks of Chicago, casting the city into chaos and its police into a state of heightened alert. Charged with conspiracy and other related offenses, seven (originally eight) left-wing student radicals were put on trial.

In arguing the case, Kunstler went beyond the normal role of defense attorney, putting “the system” itself on trial and identifying so completely with his clients that he was sentenced to four years in jail for contempt of court. Nevertheless, the activists were found innocent of the most serious charges, and an appeals court overturned Kunstler’s contempt citation.

For the next several years, Kunstler became a familiar figure in many of the most high-profile cases. In September 1971, he attempted to negotiate a peaceful solution to the inmate occupation of a state maximum-security prison in Attica, New York—a circumstance, he maintained, that was precipitated by the prison’s inhumane conditions. Tragically, the situation ended with police storming the prison and the deaths of forty-three people, including

police, hostages, and prisoners.

Then in 1973, after AIM protestors occupied the town of Wounded Knee, South Dakota, for seventy-two days with U.S. marshals holding siege outside, they requested that Kunstler represent them in their criminal trial. He was successful in his defense of AIM leader Russell Means, but he was unable to secure the freedom of fellow American Indian activist Leonard Peltier, who had been charged with murdering two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents at the Pine Ridge (South Dakota) Indian Reservation in 1975.

After a brief retreat from the public spotlight, Kunstler returned to controversy in the 1980s and 1990s, representing such divisive figures as New York City's "subway vigilante" Bernard Goetz; the accused assassin of Jewish Defense League founder Meir Kahane, Egyptian Muslim El Sayyid Nossair; the alleged New York crime boss John Gotti; and those responsible for the 1993 World Trade Center bombing.

Critics charged that whereas Kunstler's earlier cases had been pursued on principle, his later ones tended to embrace pointless social pariahs and controversy for its own sake. Kunstler responded that it was his duty as a defense lawyer to take on tough cases and unpopular causes. Either way, his successful 1990 argument that flag burning was a protected act of free speech returned the venerable radical to his roots.

It was his last appearance before the U.S. Supreme Court. William Kunstler died of heart failure on September 4, 1995, in New York City.

Charles Allan

See also: [American Indian Movement](#); [Chicago Seven](#); [Civil Rights Movement](#).

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Latino and Latina Culture

Latino and *Latina culture* are ambiguous but commonly used umbrella terms that refer to the shared speech habits (language), folklore, arts, ways of living, and identity of immigrant or native people living in the United States whose ethnicity or ethnic ancestry is from Mexico, Cuba, Central and South America, or the commonwealth of Puerto Rico. The cultural productions of these various Latino/a populations have long had an impact in the southeast, south, and west of the territory that is now the United States. These geographic areas and the communities established within them have Spanish profiles dating back to the sixteenth century.

As a result of the Latino/a cultural renaissance that occurred during the cultural unrest and political consciousness raising of the latter half of the twentieth century and the concurrent prevalence of pop culture and visual media since the 1960s, focus has been placed on categorizing the identity of the peoples who make up these populations. From the civil rights activists Rodolfo "Corky" Gonzales and César Chávez, who were essential to the naming of the Chicano Movement, to mainstream pop-culture icons of the latter part of the last century, such as singers Christina Aguilera and Gloria Estefan, Latino/a cultural contributions have been diverse and continue to

have a significant impact on Anglo American society.

Origins

The Latino/a counterculture movement of the late twentieth century had its roots in the nationalist Chicano Movement of Mexican Americans that manifested itself in various forms throughout the twentieth century. The term *Chicano* is a shortened version of the pronunciation of “Mexican” in the native Nahuatl (Aztec) language: *Me-shee-cano*. The conquest and incorporation of the northern territories of Mexico by the United States in the mid-nineteenth century included the appropriation of the area’s inhabitants. These indigenous peoples were distinguished by race, language, and culture, and therefore never were allowed to assimilate fully as equal citizens of the state.

As a result of the revolution of 1910 to 1920, drastic changes in Mexico and the border regions intensified relations with the United States. During that decade, more than a million Mexicans entered the United States legally or illegally, ultimately residing in Mexican American enclaves along the border regions.

One of the first countercultural developments was the establishment of Spanish-language newspapers and print news networks. The principal Mexican émigré journalist was Silvestre Terrazas, whose leftist politics and dislike of the new Mexican regime displaced him to El Paso, where he founded one of the first Spanish-language newspapers, *El Correo*. The network of Spanish-language newspapers that spread throughout the region became the primary source of information for Mexican communities about developments on both sides of the border. Terrazas and other Mexican American journalists remained in the United States after 1920, contributing actively to the reinforcement of Mexican culture in the Southwest.

Adding to the countercultural fervor of the time were two controversial revolutionary Mexican leaders, Emiliano Zapata and Pancho Villa. Both became heroes of the Mexican Revolution. Despite the objections of some Mexican Americans and Anglos, both men, Zapata in particular, remain central figures in Latino countercultural myth: fighters for the poor and founders of a new Mexican state.

In 1910, Zapata became part of a democratic political movement in Mexico whose main purpose was the restitution of lands to the peasantry and the establishment of a decentralized federation of autonomous communities. Peasant lands had been appropriated by violent capitalist modernization for the haciendas of great companies supported by the dictator Porfirio Díaz. By leading armed riots and guerrilla attacks in the south, Zapata was able to free the territory of Morelos from rich landowners and government soldiers.

Like Zapata, Pancho Villa was a protagonist of this peasant insurrection. Accompanied by his band of armed cowboys, Villa became the revolutionary general who led the war in the northern part of Mexico. In November 1914, his peasant troops and Zapata entered Mexico City victorious over the government armies. A bandit, Villa was wanted by the government for his murderous bank robberies years before, and his Robin Hood-like escapades became legendary along the Mexican American borderlands, with the aid of Hollywood cinematography.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s, agitation was growing among Mexican Americans who labored in agriculture, mining, and industry. The devastating effects of the Great Depression on agriculture in the 1930s caused discontent among Latino migrants, leading to the formation of indigenous, radical labor organizations: the Confederacion de Uniones Obreras Mexicanas and the Confederacion de Uniones de Campesinos y Obreros Mexicanos based in El Monte, California. The intensified radical activities by these groups against farm operators and chambers of commerce sparked a wave of Chicano incarcerations and arrests as the dominant Anglo-controlled companies resisted labor unionization. Prejudice and discrimination heightened when repatriation programs were put into place.

It was during these tense times that a countercultural religious philosophy known as *sinarquismo* (synarchism) began proliferating throughout Mexican American borderland communities. Imported from Mexico, *sinarquismo*

emphasized strong Mexican nationalism, corporate statism, and a return to traditional religious (Roman Catholic) life, as opposed to the anticlerical reforms of the Mexican government. Its ideals—including the goal of securing the return of “Mexican” lands in the Southwest from the United States, and withholding support for the war effort after 1941—resonated with Mexican Americans, even if the movement proved short-lived.

With the onset of World War II, the repatriation programs of the 1930s were replaced by the Bracero Program, implemented by the U.S. and Mexican governments as a way of combating labor shortages in Southwestern agriculture and industry. The program infused U.S. agribusiness with much-needed Mexican labor and guaranteed medical care, transportation, and a minimum of education for the workers. There were few protections against the exploitation of workers by farm owners, however, and discrimination was rampant; wages were suppressed either by local government policy or by growers; housing and food were substandard; and working conditions in the fields were deplorable. Thus, the war years were a time of great Chicano-Anglo tension and polarization.

From these conditions of socioeconomic inequality and segregation developed the youth-centered countercultural Chicano groups known as pachucos. Pachucos were between the ages of thirteen and nineteen, dressed in nonconformist clothing, and participated in various forms of illegal behavior. Organized as *palomillas*, or small barrio gangs, pachucos strove for identification outside mainstream Anglo culture. Historical antecedents of 1960s Chicano resistance groups such as the Brown Berets, they reflected the injustice and resistance of a society that had failed to assimilate them. During the war period, the pachuco phenomenon was responsible for many acts of violence, especially in Los Angeles County.

Chicano music, art, and theater played an important role in solidifying and maintaining Latino identity. As America entered the postwar period, tent-theater groups such as El Teatro Campesino, known as *carpas* in Spanish, emerged in the Southwest and California. During the late 1950s, a time of social conflict and change, El Teatro Campesino produced roadside performances for Mexican American migrant farmworkers. The company's primary purpose was to disrupt status-quo power structures and labor exploitation. This also would be the main purpose of the full-fledged Chicano Movement that would begin in the following decade.

The 1960s and Beyond

Latino/a culture came to the forefront of the more general counterculture movement of the 1960s, the battles fought by minorities who sought to demand their civil rights, be recognized as legitimate actors in the mainstream culture, and alleviate the economic depression of their communities. The civil rights movement galvanized Latinos and Latinas into a political and cultural force. As the primary institutions of assimilation, schools and universities became the main theater for civil rights battles. Young Latino/a students and activists of Mexican descent in California, Texas, New Mexico, and Arizona fought for their history and culture to be included in public school curricula. In New York, the Young Lords, a Puerto Rican activist organization dedicated to the liberation and independence of Puerto Rico, made similar demands. These civic battles were fought under the sweep of labor and political campaigns led by such Latino organizations as the United Farm Workers under César Chávez and Dolores Huerta, the Young Lords in Chicago and New York, and La Raza Unida of Texas, a third political party established along Mexican ethnic lines in 1970.

The social, political, and cultural movements of the 1960s and 1970s coincided with a massive increase in the immigrant Latino population—an expansion that continues into the twenty-first century. Reasons for the phenomenon vary from revolution and political unrest in home countries to economic deprivation.

After World War II, from 1946 to 1956, Puerto Ricans immigrated to the United States, mostly settling in New York City and Chicago, at a rate of more than 40,000 per year. The Cuban Revolution of 1959 and the subsequent U.S. trade embargo triggered a flow of political refugees that numbered well over 500,000 Cuban exiles. Their expanding communities in Miami and Tampa over the course of two to three generations, combined with the Mariel Boatlift of 1979, which added another 100,000 exiles, dramatically altered the demographic, political, and cultural landscape of South Florida.

Changes in immigration law favoring family unification further opened U.S. borders to immigrants from Mexico and Central and South America. But no government policy would have the impact that trade pacts—such as the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) and the Central American Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)—would have on the Latin American diaspora. Grinding poverty, limited employment opportunities, and uneven economic development in Latin America during the latter half of the twentieth century continued to move people north.

With the expansion of global capitalism and massive population growth, the integration of Latino/a culture within the mainstream popular culture of Anglo American society became clearly evident in music, movies, literature, and the visual arts during the 1980s. Salsa, Latin jazz, and Tex-Mex achieved popularity and notoriety as crossover genres in popular music. This led to the Latin boom of the late 1990s, which was spearheaded by projects such as Ry Cooder's *Buena Vista Social Club* and Gloria Estefan's solo album *Mi Tierra*. Moreover, the 2000 Grammy Award-winning album *Supernatural* by Chicano Carlos Santana, who had been popular in the United States since the 1960s, solidified the place of Latin music in American pop culture. During the same decade, Univision became the dominant Spanish-language television network in the United States, with more than 600 affiliates.

Regardless of the massive commodification of Latino culture in the 1990s and early 2000s, however, only marginal gains were made in the position of Latinos/as in the society at large. Media stereotypes—such as the Frito Bandito, Chiquita Banana, and Taco Bell's heavily accented Chihuahua—reflected the persistence of inequities in social and economic opportunity.

In response, the Latino counterculture movement adopted new voices. Prominent among these would be the late Gloria Anzaldúa, a lesbian feminist writer and one of the first to address the realities of being a Chicana in mainstream Anglo-American culture. Her magnum work, *Borderlands/La Frontera* (1987), was the first to flip the linguistic paradigm on English-only speakers, forcing them to assume the status of other.

More contemporary but equally prominent is historian Michelle Habell-Pallán, whose *Loca Motion* (2005) chronicles Latino/a counterculture during the 1980s and 1990s in the feminist writings of poet Marisela Norte. Other significant statements include the work of playwright and performance artist Luis Alfaro, the comedy of Marca Gomez, the films of Jimmy Mendiolas, and the critique of sexism and homophobia in the performances of El Vez.

Juan Carlos Gonzalez

See also: [Brown Berets](#): [Chá vez](#), [César](#): [Chicano Movement](#): [Chicano Theater](#): [Gonzales, Rodolfo "Corky"](#): [Theater, Alternative](#): [United Farm Workers](#).

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Le Sueur, Meridel (1900–1996)

Meridel Le Sueur wrote realistic fiction about women, Native Americans, workers, and other oppressed groups during the 1930s. Well known as a leftist author of short stories and poetry, she endured blacklisting during the next two decades. It was not until the 1960s, when the feminist movement gained momentum, that Le Sueur's writings received new attention, and her lyrical depictions of the lives of women of all backgrounds were embraced by mainstream audiences.

Meridel Le Sueur was born on February 22, 1900, in Murray, Iowa. Her mother, Marian Lucy Wharton, was a suffragist who left her husband in 1910 and took Meridel and her brothers to Oklahoma. During her childhood, Meridel spent time with Native American children and became familiar with their history and culture. To support the family, her mother spoke about birth control and woman's rights on the Chautauqua circuit, a traveling program that brought entertainment and educational speakers to rural communities.

In 1914, Meridel's mother took a job as the chair of the English Department of the People's College in Fort Scott, Kansas, and soon after married Alfred Le Sueur, president of the college and chair of the Law Department. Originally from Minnesota, Alfred Le Sueur was a socialist who had helped found the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) labor union. Meridel was very close to her stepfather and took his last name.

The People's College was founded as a socialist correspondence school, intended to educate workers who had few other educational options. The school was destroyed by vigilantes in 1915, leading the Le Sueurs to relocate to St. Paul, Minnesota. Their home was often visited by prominent leftists, including Eugene V. Debs, five-time Socialist Party candidate for president; Emma Goldman, a leading feminist and anarchist later deported by the federal government; and Alexander Berkman, Goldman's partner and a leading anarchist and advocate of political violence.

Meridel Le Sueur studied at the American Academy of Dramatic Arts in New York in 1917, living in a commune that included Goldman and Berkman. After performing in small parts on Broadway, she moved to Hollywood in the early 1920s, where she worked as a stuntwoman and actress. While in California, she met and married labor organizer Harry Rice in 1926.

Le Sueur was politically active from the time she could march with her mother in protests. In 1927, she was jailed for protesting the execution of anarchists Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, whom she believed had been unfairly convicted of murdering two payroll clerks in 1920. After the birth of her second daughter in 1930, Le Sueur divorced Rice. She later met Robert Brown, who became her companion until his death in 1954.

During the Great Depression, Le Sueur worked in manual jobs to support her daughters, while writing at night. By the early 1930s, her short stories and essays began appearing in leftist magazines such as *American Mercury* and *New Masses*. Many were based upon her own experiences, such as her description of a Minneapolis Teamsters strike in 1934.

By 1924, she had joined the American Communist Party. Alexander Trachtenberg, the party's unofficial commissar for culture, helped direct Le Sueur's choice of subject matter in her writing. Although party leaders encouraged her to be less "defeatist" and to promote party membership, Le Sueur countered by claiming that oppression of women was part of a capitalist society. Many of her stories about women deal with the theme of survival. One of her most important works during this period was her first novel, *The Girl* (1939), in which an innocent young woman from rural Minnesota survives the Great Depression thanks to the aid of other poor women, leaving readers with the belief that the female characters will prevail.

During the 1930s, Le Sueur joined the Federal Writers' Project, a New Deal program to put writers to work. She taught creative writing classes and wrote a history of Minnesota, *North Star Country* (1945). Criticized at the time for its negative perspectives on capitalism and the treatment of Native Americans, this book has since been viewed as a microcosm of the history of the United States.

In 1947, Le Sueur came under investigation by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC). Finally blacklisted for her membership in the Communist Party, she was unable to get most of her writings published and lost a number of jobs because of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) surveillance, but she refused to stop attending Communist Party meetings. During this time, she lived with various Native American tribes, including the Oglala Sioux in South Dakota and the Hopi in New Mexico.

In the 1960s, Le Sueur was active in protesting the Vietnam War. By the 1970s, leaders of the feminist movement began to publicize her writings, including short stories from the 1920s and 1930s. Many of these were collected and republished, including *Harvest: Collected Stories* (1977), which brought together eight stories published between 1929 and 1946, and *Song for My Time: Stories of the Period of Repression* (1977), a collection of seven stories published while Le Sueur was under fire for being a communist, from 1947 to 1958. All were based upon Le Sueur's life and dealt with the problems women faced from society's mores, men, and a capitalist system. Works that Le Sueur had not been able to publish previously also were issued, including a poetry collection titled *Rites of Ancient Ripening* (1975). These poems centered on the cycle of life and women's central role in ensuring the future of humankind.

Le Sueur's championship of women's rights through her writings received recognition from feminists around the world, including invitations to speak at international conferences. She was awarded the American Book Award in 1991 for *Harvest Song* (1990), a collection of essays and stories. Meridel Le Sueur died on November 14, 1996, in Hudson, Wisconsin.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Berkman, Alexander: Chautauqua Movement: Communism: Federal Writers' Project: Goldman, Emma: Industrial Workers of the World: Native Americans: Socialism: Suffragists.](#)

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Leary, Timothy (1920–1996)

A vocal advocate of the use of psychedelic drugs, especially lysergic acid diethylamide (LSD), Timothy Leary became an iconic figure in the hippie counterculture of the 1960s. Leary's drug-promoting slogan, "Turn on, tune in, drop out," made him a world-famous flashpoint of controversy and served as a clarion call to a generation coming of age at a time of widespread experimentation with chemically altered states of consciousness. Leary's lawsuit against the U.S. government persuaded the Supreme Court that the principal federal restriction on marijuana use—the Marijuana Tax Act of 1937—required users to incriminate themselves in violation of the Fifth Amendment and was therefore unconstitutional (*Leary v. United States*, 1969). Although possession, cultivation, and trafficking of marijuana remained illegal under other statutes, President Richard M. Nixon regarded Leary as a pernicious influence on America's youth and a significant threat to law and order, labeling him "the most dangerous man in America."

Timothy Francis Leary was born in Springfield, Massachusetts, on October 22, 1920. After service in the U.S. Army Medical Corps during World War II and an undergraduate academic career fraught with chronic discipline problems at such varied institutions as the College of the Holy Cross, West Point, and the University of Alabama, Leary received a master's degree in psychology at Washington State University (1946) and a doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley (1950).

After teaching at Berkeley from 1950 to 1955, he became the director of psychiatric research at the Kaiser Family Foundation in Menlo Park, California, from 1955 to 1958. From 1959 to 1963, he was a lecturer in psychology at Harvard University, in Cambridge, Massachusetts.

LSD Research and Advocacy

It was during his tenure at Harvard that Leary became interested in the effects on human consciousness of the still-legal psychoactive drug LSD (or acid) and other hallucinogens. Working with fellow academics Ralph Metzner and Richard Alpert (later known as the spiritual guru Ram Dass), Leary conducted studies in which psilocybin (a synthetic version of so-called magic mushrooms) and LSD were administered to 300 subjects, including students, faculty, prison inmates, clergy, and others. Harvard fired Leary and his colleagues in 1963 because of ethical concerns over these controversial experiments.

Undeterred by academic opprobrium, Leary and his associates founded the Castilla Center in Millbrook, New York, where they continued their research with LSD and other psychotropic substances, such as mescaline and psilocybin. Such drugs, they believed, possessed real psychological therapeutic properties, with applications ranging from the treatment of alcoholism to the reform of convicted criminals, as well as the potential to unlock previously unknown properties of the human mind.

"We saw ourselves as anthropologists from the twenty-first century inhabiting a time module set somewhere in the dark ages of the 1960s," Leary wrote of this period. "On this space colony we were attempting to create a new paganism and a new dedication to life as art."

The testimonials of many of Leary's test subjects seemed to confirm his instincts about the benefits of drug use, reporting that the substances in question had catalyzed life-changing spiritual experiences. Leary himself partook liberally, perhaps in part to medicate himself after the suicide of his first wife, Marianne, whose death in 1955 had left him a single father.

Through the remainder of the 1960s and beyond, Leary insisted that LSD could be a vehicle for the liberation of the human mind, channeling it toward higher levels of consciousness. The hippie counterculture of the times provided Leary with a receptive audience, supported by such other influential cultural figures as writers William S. Burroughs and Aldous Huxley, Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, and a number of popular rock and roll bands. When Leary adopted Hinduism in 1965, his teachings took on a patina of spiritual mysticism, increasing his appeal to a counterculture youth movement in search of meaning and truth.



Extolling the benefits of psychedelic drugs, Timothy Leary famously called on America's youth to "Turn on, tune in, drop out." President Richard M. Nixon called him "the most dangerous man in America." (Michael Ochs Archives/Stringer/Getty Images)

In 1966, Leary established the League for Spiritual Discovery—an ersatz church that regarded LSD as one of its holiest sacraments—with the goal of legalizing the drug based on the First Amendment protections of religious rights. (LSD was made illegal in the United States in 1967.) Leary toured college campuses throughout 1966 and 1967, extolling the benefits of LSD and taking part in high-profile anti-Vietnam War demonstrations.

Crackdown and Demise

Predictably, Leary's activities drew law-enforcement scrutiny throughout the latter part of the 1960s, particularly during the Nixon administration. Sentenced to ten years in prison on a marijuana conviction in 1970, Leary escaped from prison and was sneaked out of the country by the radical Weather Underground.

Recaptured while aboard an American airplane departing from Afghanistan in 1973, Leary was held on a record \$5 million bail and placed in solitary confinement at California's Folsom Prison. In exchange for information about the Weathermen and other 1960s radicals, the remainder of Leary's prison term—now ninety-five years behind bars—was reduced, and he was released in 1976 by California Governor Jerry Brown.

For the last two decades of his life, Leary remained in close touch with the countercultural zeitgeist, writing

prolifically and serving as a critic of American society. He reemerged on the lecture circuit in the late 1970s and early 1980s as a self-described “stand-up philosopher” with ambitions of mainstream Hollywood celebrity. Those hopes never quite materialized, though he did achieve notoriety in the early 1980s by touring with convicted Watergate burglar and media personality G. Gordon Liddy.

In the early 1990s, Leary embraced the emerging Information Age, praising the nascent technology of virtual reality and the Internet as “the LSD of the 1990s.” Even his lingering death from prostate cancer on May 31, 1996, occurred in the context of a counterculture, an electronic one. It was recounted in detail on the Internet in a kind of proto-blog.

Leary’s enduring contributions to American counterculture include not only numerous tracts and treatises about drugs, but also autobiographical works detailing his pharmacological and legal adventures. Among these are *The Psychedelic Experience* (1964, coauthored with Ralph Metzner and others), *Jail Notes* (1970), *Flashbacks* (1983), and *Psychedelic Prayers* (published posthumously in 1997). The effects of the psychedelic experience he advocated are immeasurable.

Michael A. Martin

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Drug Culture](#): [Hippies](#): [LSD](#): [Marijuana](#).

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Lee, Ann (1736–1784)

Ann Lee, known to followers as “Mother Ann,” was an early member of the radical religious sect called the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing—also known as the Shakers—and she brought it from England to America in the 1770s. Heralded as a female messiah and prophet, she helped spread this faith in the fledgling nation until her death at age forty-eight.

Born on February 29, 1736, Lee lived the majority of her life in Manchester, England. An illiterate mill worker and cook, she joined the “Shaking Quakers,” a religious society led by Jane and James Wardley, in 1758. Like the Quakers, the Shakers were pacifists who cherished the divine revelatory powers of the “inner light”; unlike the Quakers, the Shakers foresaw an imminent apocalypse in which Christ’s female counterpart would fulfill the millennial prophecy.

Lee married Abraham Standerin in 1762 and delivered four children over the next seven years, all of whom died in infancy. While mourning these losses, Lee began publicly denouncing Manchester’s formal religions. She often disrupted Sunday church services and served numerous jail terms as a result. While in prison in 1770, Lee had a vision of the Garden of Eden and realized that Adam and Eve’s carnal lust was humanity’s greatest sin. Purity and perfection as envisioned by God, Lee concluded, could only come through celibacy. The vision augmented Lee’s spiritual status, and fellow Shakers began calling her “Mother Ann.”

With her husband and seven others, Lee departed for America in 1774. The small group lived and worked in New York City for nearly two years, during which time, Standerin left her because she would not compromise her commitment to celibacy. Undaunted, Lee established a settlement in Niskayuna, New York, just outside Albany, in 1776.

Mistaking her pacifism for British Loyalism, many locals initially were suspicious. A 1779 revival held in nearby New Lebanon, however, created an environment of religious enthusiasm. Joseph Meacham, a Free Will Baptist minister and leader of the New Lebanon revival, found Lee to be spiritually compelling, and he joined the Shakers in 1780. Many others in the region followed his lead.

From 1781 to 1783, Lee, her brother William, and James Whittaker evangelized throughout New England. They found receptive audiences among the liberal Protestants, who embraced Lee's millennial message and revivalistic worship style. On other occasions, the trio met with brutal mob violence, due in part to Lee's advocacy of celibacy, gender equality, abolition, and communal ownership.

On September 8, 1784, one year after returning to Niskayuna, Lee died. Meacham and Lucy Wright subsequently founded the New Lebanon Shaker Village southeast of Albany, which became the "mother colony" and seat of an increasingly institutionalized movement. Over the course of the next decade, new Shaker communities were established at several locations in New England, followed by still more in Kentucky and Ohio. Those who continued "Mother Ann's Work" during this peak period claimed that Lee was the female incarnation of Christ.

Interest in the Shakers began to fade by the 1850s, however, hastened by the lack of new members due to the practice of celibacy. Nevertheless, the religious society continued through the twentieth century. As of 2008, a few remaining Shakers still lived and worshipped in a community in Gloucester, Maine.

Arthur J. Remillard

See also: [Communes](#); [Shakers](#).

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Lennon, John (1940–1980)

A founding member, singer, guitarist, and (with Paul McCartney) lead songwriter of the Beatles, John Lennon was the most outspoken and creatively daring of the four musicians in what was perhaps the most popular and influential of all rock and roll bands. Lennon's music often magnified his own personal issues (as in the song "Help!") or commented on and helped define the social climate of the times (as in "Revolution"). He became known as a peace activist, author, and musician in his own right, recording such original hit songs as "Imagine" and "Give Peace a Chance" as a solo performer.

Born on October 9, 1940, in Liverpool, England, John Winston Lennon moved in with his aunt after his parents separated. His mother, who visited often, taught him to play the banjo and guitar, and introduced him to American rock and roll in the 1950s.

Enthralled by the music of Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, Little Richard, and their contemporaries, Lennon started his first band, the Quarrymen, with another teenage guitarist living in Liverpool, Paul McCartney. Bringing in guitarist George Harrison shortly thereafter, they changed the name of the band to the Beatles and added George Best (followed later by Ringo Starr) as drummer.

After several years of playing in clubs in England and Germany, the Beatles emerged as international superstars in 1963. By the time they disbanded in 1970, the group had had a profound and enduring influence on contemporary music, the counterculture, and mainstream society.

Nearly from the outset, Lennon had worked on side projects of his own. In 1964, he published a book of quirky, nonsensical poems called *In His Own Write*, followed in 1965 by the self-illustrated *A Spaniard in the Works*. He was the first Beatle to marry, and he and his wife, Cynthia, had a son, Julian, in 1965.

Lennon did not shy away from controversy. In 1966, while on tour in America, he caused an uproar by observing that the Beatles were more popular than Jesus. Some radio stations refused to play the group's songs, and Beatles records were burned in public. Also in 1966, Lennon had a role in an anti-Vietnam War film called *How I Won the War* and met the Japanese-born artist and musician Yoko Ono. In 1968, Lennon's wife Cynthia filed for divorce, as Lennon was spending more and more time with Ono.

In November 1968, Lennon and Ono released the album *Unfinished Music No. 1: Two Virgins*, featuring John and Yoko fully naked on the front and back covers. Thousands of copies of the album were confiscated in New Jersey on the grounds that the photos were pornographic.

Lennon and Ono were married in March 1969. Shortly afterward, they staged two seven-day "bed-in" protests for peace, the first (March) in Amsterdam, the Netherlands, and the second (May–June) in Montreal, Canada. During the Montreal bed-in, Lennon wrote the song "Give Peace a Chance," which would become an anthem of the antiwar movement and international counterculture of the late 1960s. In November of that year, Lennon returned his membership in the Order of the British Empire, an honor that had been bestowed on him by the queen in 1965, partially as a protest against British support for American involvement in Vietnam.

In 1971, Lennon and Ono moved to New York City. With strong opinions on a variety of social issues and world events, including the Vietnam War, Lennon developed contacts with radical left-wing groups and was vocal about the causes he promoted. In December 1971, for example, he performed at a Michigan rally for writer John Sinclair, who had languished in jail for years based on a marijuana conviction. In early 1972, Lennon demonstrated in New York City against Britain's Northern Ireland policy. Also that year, Lennon and Ono spoke out against the arrest and incarceration of black activist Angela Davis, releasing the song "Angela" in protest.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which had been investigating Lennon's activities and associations, sought to have his visa revoked. Among other things, the FBI was interested in a \$75,000 contribution Lennon had made to a group called the Election Year Strategy Information Center (EYSIC), which planned to demonstrate during the Republican National Convention in 1972. Deportation hearings were held in March 1972, stemming from a narcotics conviction in England dating back to 1969. Although the U.S. government was unsuccessful in deporting Lennon, it did take four years for him to obtain his green card, granting permanent residence. Lennon, who loved living in New York City, moved into a landmark apartment building called the Dakota, just off Central Park.

Lennon's songs of the early 1970s were about peace, love, and social power. The most notable include "Power to the People," "Working-Class Hero," "Imagine," and "Woman Is the Nigger of the World." After an eighteen-month split from Ono beginning in late 1973, he came back a changed man. The couple had a son, Sean, later that year, and Lennon settled into domestic life, taking an extended break from recording until 1980.

In mid-November 1980, Lennon released his final album, *Double Fantasy*. Just a few weeks later, on the morning of December 8, 1980, he was shot and killed by a crazed fan outside the Dakota.

Richard Panchyk

See also: [Beatles, The.](#)

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Lesbian Culture

In the midst of the apparent blossoming of cultural and sexual freedom during the 1960s and 1970s, several sexual minorities—lesbians among them—took their place in the attempted overthrow of mainstream social norms. At the height of the counterculture movement, much of lesbian culture was informed by the radicalism of the times, and often had close philosophical affinities to, and cross-membership with, the women’s liberation and gay liberation movements. These movements provided sweeping critiques of sexuality and patriarchy, particularly in the context of the heterosexual nuclear family. Feminists coined the phrase “the personal is political” as a way of calling attention to the power relations inherent in the most intimate relationships.

As with other political and social movements of the time, the appearance of lesbian culture within the broader American counterculture was the product of complex historical developments. The counterculture, with its widespread disruption of social norms, produced unprecedented lesbian visibility, yet represented only a fraction of the diverse range of lesbian lives and culture as they had been experienced over the previous 100 years and more.

Foundations

The first glimmers of what would later become lesbian culture began to garner attention in nineteenth-century America when the phenomena of “romantic friendships” among middle-and upper-class women and of working-class women “passing” as men both gained increasing notice. In romantic friendships, women formed strong attachments to a female friend and felt free to express their deep devotion to this beloved companion, often in

terms that were intense and passionate, and sometimes overtly sensual. There is a substantial body of evidence in the form of letters, journalism, and literature to demonstrate that “Boston marriages,” as these relationships were called, were relatively common, were widely considered acceptable, and were of great emotional significance to the women involved in them. This apparent tolerance may have resulted from the commonly held Victorian views about women’s lack of autonomous sexual desire. The historical record is ambiguous on this point. Many of the women in question shared both homes and beds with their companions, yet the evidence does not clearly indicate whether these relationships typically involved genital sex.

The situation was different for working-class women, however, who generally did not enter into romantic friendships. These women were more likely to be involved in relationships that appeared to be heterosexual, in which one woman passed as a man. It was these passing women, rather than women in romantic friendships, who attracted the interest of sexologists, who by the late nineteenth century were beginning to investigate what they referred to as “sexual inversion,” or homosexuality. Within this framework, same-sex desire, for both women and men was considered an expression of a man being trapped in a woman’s body (or vice versa for male homosexuals), and thus was constituted as an “abnormality” or “deviation” from normal sexual development.

Because of this heightened medical interest, both scientific and literary musings about the invert’s “essential inner nature” multiplied. As the twentieth century commenced, the figure of the lesbian began to enter into American popular culture for the first time as a way for women with same-sex attractions to make sense of who they were and to identify others like themselves. Meeting places for lesbians became known in large cities like New York; in Harlem, performers such as the cross-dressing lesbian Gladys Bentley performed publicly, a magnet for lesbian and gay male audiences.

The increased visibility and growing emphasis on sexuality proved to be a mixed blessing; it invited increased medical scrutiny and stigmatized lesbians as sexual deviants in a way that romantic friends of the nineteenth century had never experienced. More positively, the conceptualization of lesbian identity provided a point of reference for women who felt same-sex desire and provided a foundation on which lesbian culture could begin to emerge.

Not surprisingly, representations of lesbians in the first half of the century, including those produced by lesbians themselves, did not escape the negative connotations of “deviance.” The first popular lesbian novel, Radclyffe Hall’s *The Well of Loneliness* (1928), which proved to be highly influential in both Britain and the United States, contains a story as tragic as its title suggests and reproduces the negative stereotypes of lesbians as lonely, mannish, and maladjusted that were common at the time. Even the lesbian pulp novels of the 1940s to 1960s, while graphic enough to be titillating for lesbian and straight male audiences alike, contain cautionary tales about the tragic consequences of indulging in “forbidden love.”

There were occasional refuges from this kind of negativity. In the 1920s, participants in the artistic explosion of African American culture known as the Harlem Renaissance exhibited considerable tolerance for homosexuality and bisexuality, as did white bohemians living in places such as New York’s Greenwich Village. Nonetheless, women who identified as inverts or lesbians generally lived their lives “in the closet” in order to avoid damage to their reputations, livelihoods, and relationships with family and friends.

Impact of World War II

During World War II, however, the closet door slowly began to swing open. Massive numbers of troops were needed for the war effort, and lesbians and gay men responded to the call in large numbers alongside their heterosexual compatriots. They formed part of a broad social upheaval in which thousands of Americans were uprooted from close-knit communities and became part of the war effort in urban and military centers far removed from their hometowns. The armed services and related industries afforded young people a degree of independence that was generally impossible within their home communities, and their gender-segregated nature provided ample opportunity for same-sex liaisons.

Perhaps most significant was the military's tolerance of homosexuality when faced with the exigencies of wartime. While the U.S. military drafted its first explicitly antihomosexual policy during this period, in practice, most lesbians and gay men were allowed to remain in service during the war as a result of the pressures to retain as many able-bodied personnel as possible. Soldiers caught engaging in homosexual acts were discharged, but investigations that actively sought out homosexual service and support staff were explicitly discouraged. The Women's Army Corps (WAC), for instance, had a policy of tolerating lesbianism within its ranks, as long as it was kept relatively quiet and did not disrupt the unit.

This convergence of circumstances allowed the beginnings of lesbian communities to form during the war, but the window of opportunity proved to be short-lived. The postwar period brought with it the passions of cold war McCarthyism, a perspective that viewed communists and homosexuals as nearly equivalent threats to the security and moral fiber of the nation. The wartime tolerance for lesbianism within the military was replaced with witch hunts and dishonorable discharges as personnel needs declined, and vigorous efforts were made to purge the civil service of potential "traitors," a move that included the targeting of lesbians. Between 1947 and 1950, nearly 5,000 gay men and lesbians were discharged from the military; in a single instance, 500 women were purged from a WAC base in Tokyo with dishonorable discharges. In addition, in 1950 a Senate appropriations subcommittee declared homosexuals to be poor security risks who should be removed from government jobs. By the following year, federal agencies were conducting lie detector tests on prospective employees in order to flush out communists and homosexuals. And in 1953, President Dwight D. Eisenhower issued an executive order barring lesbians and gay men from federal employment. During this period, nonconformity was viewed as a threat, and sexual "deviance" became one of the principal targets of the self-appointed morality police.

Shared adversity has the potential to strengthen even embryonic communities, however, and this proved to be the case for lesbians. Many lesbian women remained in urban areas after the war, and lesbian culture became increasingly visible. Working-class women began to congregate in the lesbian bars that appeared in many large American cities, such as Los Angeles, New York, and San Francisco, and they developed a generally supportive culture called "butch-femme," in which women were required to don either a masculine or a feminine role. The bar scene was not without its challenges. Bars seldom stayed in business for long and were often located in isolated and sometimes dangerous neighborhoods. Some were run by the Mafia, and most were subject to frequent harassment by both hooligans and police. Nonetheless, bars in urban areas were increasingly settings where lesbians could go for fun and acceptance. It was out of this environment that a political consciousness began to develop.

The trajectory for middle-class lesbians was somewhat different. They rarely frequented bars and more often attempted to fit into mainstream society as "normal" women. This was in part for fear of losing jobs in professions such as teaching and nursing. In the mid-1950s, however, a few middle-class lesbians in San Francisco started to organize politically, giving birth to the "homophile" organization Daughters of Bilitis (DOB). Inspired by the African American civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s, DOB and comparable gay male organizations like the Mattachine Society sought to integrate lesbians and gays into mainstream society by arguing that they were no different from "ordinary" citizens and hence deserving of the same legal rights and recognition within society. The movement remained small throughout the 1950s and into the 1960s, in part because of the risks involved in belonging to openly gay groups in a climate of homosexual witch hunts. Still, many historians credit the combined effects of the growing bar scene and the homophile movement with laying the groundwork for future lesbian and gay activism.

1960s and 1970s

The 1960s ushered in the era of hippies, antiwar activism, and the Black Power movement, which together created a social climate in which lesbians and other marginalized groups could begin to articulate their political aspirations in radical terms that would have been unimaginable in the 1950s. Specifically, gay and lesbian radicalism was catalyzed by the Stonewall riots of June 1969, in which drag queens and other "gender benders" at the Stonewall Inn in Greenwich Village rioted in reaction to years of police harassment.

In the weeks following the riots, a newly formed gay liberation movement mushroomed, asserting the theme of gay pride for the first time and questioning the idea that the heterosexual nuclear family was inevitable or natural. Lesbians were active in gay liberation from the beginning, and some women remained committed to joint activism with gay men over many years. Others, however, became disillusioned with the frequent sexism of gay liberation politics and helped to found lesbian feminism, a movement that became an important strand within the broader feminist movement.



A distinctive lesbian culture in America began to form in the 1950s, merged into the broader gay rights movement in the 1960s, and became a visible part of consumer culture by the 1980s. The AIDS crisis then forced a return to joint gay activism. (Robert Sherbow/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Within its framework, lesbianism became a mandatory political choice in response to what was viewed as patriarchal oppression, and Adrienne Rich's iconic article, "Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence" (1980), declared that all women who made their primary emotional and political commitments to women were lesbians by definition. This approach de-emphasized sex in favor of "woman identification," and the sex that did take place was expected to be "vanilla," that is, to be egalitarian, respectful, and avoiding the power imbalances inherent in heterosexual relationships. In this wave of sexual political correctness, butch-femme relationships generally were considered a misguided imitation of heterosexuality.

Lesbian feminism also promoted a separatist culture "by and for women," sometimes referred to as Lesbian Nation, which defined itself in opposition to and separate from patriarchy and other hierarchical structures such as racism, classism, and imperialism. This political vision led to the creation of women's communes, women's record companies such as Olivia Records, women's spirituality groups such as the Matriarchists in New York City, and the feminist filmmakers Women Make Movies.

Yet by the early 1980s, the dream of a separatist Lesbian Nation was nearly extinguished. Many women's communes had collapsed under the weight of factionalism, and lesbians of color were increasingly refusing to be torn between allegiances to the "sisterhood" and their communities of origin. There was also a growing reaction to the prescriptive nature of "correct" feminist sex, and "sex radicals" were beginning to claim space for casual sex, sadomasochism, women's pornography, and a revival of butch-femme relationships.

Some lesbians, disillusioned by a failed utopia, went mainstream. Like their straight sisters, upwardly mobile lesbians took advantage of expanding professional opportunities for women and became a visible part of an

American consumer culture that was waking up to the potential of capturing lesbian and gay “pink dollars.” Lipstick lesbians, a more playful version of 1950s-era femmes, were just one component of a commercialized 1980s version of lesbian chic, and “luppies” (lesbian urban professionals) took their place alongside yuppies as businesspeople, lawyers, lunchtime joggers, and restaurant connoisseurs.

Queer Activism and Backlash

Not all lesbian feminists went mainstream in the 1980s, however; many felt compelled to return to joint activism with gay men in the face of the AIDS crisis that began to unfold in 1981. In its initial phases, AIDS affected mainly gay men, intravenous drug users, and some immigrant populations; gay male communities experienced a huge loss of life, especially before medications became available that could slow the progression of disease. In these early years, AIDS was considered a “gay disease” by many, a characterization that provoked virulent homophobia and an increase in antigay violence.

This hostile political climate led some gay activists to form nonviolent direct-action groups such as ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power), founded on the principle that “silence = death.” They mobilized numerous protests and staged “die-ins” to draw attention to the magnitude of the crisis. Many lesbians joined ACT UP and other AIDS-action groups, and volunteered to care for gay men afflicted with AIDS.

They were also early members of multi-issue groups inspired by ACT UP, most notably Queer Nation, founded in 1990, which rallied to slogans such as “We’re here. We’re queer. Get used to it” and “Queers bash back.” Queer Nation focused on confrontation, parody, and the attempted subversion of mainstream sexual norms, eschewing assimilation into “normal” society as misguided and ultimately self-defeating.

By the early 1990s, most Queer Nation chapters had been disbanded, and as the decade progressed the call for equal rights for gays and lesbians, especially the right to marry, began to take center stage. Gone were the 1970s lesbian feminist critiques of marriage as an inherently patriarchal institution. Gone, too, were the gender bending and parody of Queer Nation.

The late 1990s and early twenty-first century have ushered in an era in which an identifiable lesbian culture has largely been replaced by lesbian women, alongside their gay male counterparts, asserting their right to settle down with a wife and kids and get on with the business of life. The focus on civil rights has succeeded in producing a modicum of legislative change. In a landmark decision in 2004, the state of Massachusetts, following the example of a handful of European countries and the civil-union legislation in the state of Vermont, recognized the right of same-sex couples to marry. A handful of other states followed suit. Increasing acceptance for lesbians and gays within mainstream culture is also evident in a media environment in which “out” celebrities and lesbian and gay characters have become commonplace.

Equally visible, however, was the dramatic resurgence of a Christian fundamentalism promoting a version of family values that defines itself in part by its opposition to homosexuality. An ever-growing number of states (thirty by 2009) passed constitutional amendments defining marriage as solely between a man and a woman. President George W. Bush repeatedly indicated his support for a corresponding amendment to the U.S. Constitution, though President Barack Obama opposed such a measure. The federal amendment seemed unlikely to pass in the foreseeable future, but a strong backlash against the increasing acceptance of lesbians and gays was undeniable. The American public remained deeply polarized over homosexuality, and lesbians’ struggle for acceptance and equality within American culture seemed set to continue.

Julie Wuthnow

See also: [Bohemianism](#); [Communes](#); [Daughters of Bilitis](#); [Draft, Military](#); [Gay Liberation Movement](#); [Hippies](#); [Mattachine Society](#); [McCarthyism](#); [Sexual Revolution](#).

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Liberator, The

From 1918 to 1922, socialist reformers Max and Crystal Eastman published a monthly left-wing journal called *The Liberator*, as a successor to their earlier magazine, *The Masses* (1912–1917), which had garnered extraordinary praise as well as notoriety for its radical views on politics and the arts. Although it published many of the same writers and artists as its predecessor and was known for its iconoclastic originality, *The Liberator's* reputation never equaled that of *The Masses*.

Unlike *The Masses*, which was owned collectively by its editorial board and staff, *The Liberator* was under the Eastmans' sole control. Despite a noticeable shift in content toward political affairs, however, *The Liberator* was published very much in the spirit of its predecessor, offering poetry and drawings, as well as theoretical reflections, political commentaries, and news items.

In addition to the Eastmans, notable contributors included Harlem Renaissance novelist Claude McKay, anthologist and poet Louis Untermeyer, poet Maxwell Bodenheim, Welsh mathematician Bertrand Russell, Communist Labor Party organizer John Reed, and social researcher Louise Bryant, among many others. Contributing artists included cartoonist Art Young, realist painter George Bellows, German painter George Grosz, Ashcan school painter Robert Henri, and the Spanish modernist Pablo Picasso.

The Liberator engaged a broad range of contemporary topics. In addition to social criticism and commentary, its pages included accounts of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) leaders' trial in Chicago in 1918; IWW founder "Big Bill" Haywood's conversion to communism; the radical Spartacist revolt in Germany; and the communist Béla Kun regime in Hungary. Crystal Eastman reported on the Kun regime and introduced the young Hungarian philosopher and revolutionary Georg Lukács to American audiences. While Max Eastman remained sympathetic to the revolutionary communist cause, he also was a skeptic and iconoclast who did not shy away

from criticizing the Soviet Union and those who idealized it.

By 1922, with the magazine beset by growing division among members of the editorial board, the Eastmans turned over the editorship to cartoonist and American Communist Party member Robert Minor. Without their vision and dynamism, the magazine soon became an orthodox Communist Party journal and lost much of the character that had appealed to its readership. In 1924, *The Liberator* was merged with two other communist publications to form the *Workers Monthly*.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Communism: Eastman, Max, and Crystal Eastman: Haywood, William "Big Bill": Industrial Workers of the World: *Masses, The*](#)

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Lippmann, Walter (1889–1974)

One of the most influential and yet misunderstood public intellectuals of the twentieth century, the columnist, editor, and political commentator Walter Lippmann boldly questioned popular thinking and government policy that disregarded Western traditions of civic activism and conformity to natural law.

Lippmann was born in New York City on September 22, 1889, to German-Jewish parents. He entered Harvard University at age seventeen, studied philosophy under William James and George Santayana, cofounded the Harvard Socialist Club, and graduated after three years, in 1909. After college, he worked as a journalist among Greenwich Village bohemians and sided with those in support of Progressive Party candidate Theodore Roosevelt's pro-labor, social-welfare platform for the 1912 presidential election. The journal of political commentary he cofounded in 1914, *The New Republic*, along with his first two books, *A Preface to Politics* (1913) and *Drift and Mastery* (1914), were littered with novel reflections in support of a more inclusive, participatory democracy. Lippmann's early support for American intervention into World War I, in the hope of securing progressive ideals of peace internationally, won him an appointment to the Military Intelligence Branch of the U.S. Army and then the position of assistant secretary of war. As a primary architect of Woodrow Wilson's Fourteen Points peace program, Lippmann was all the more disillusioned by its failure.

In the aftermath of the war, Lippmann's thinking seemed to drift in favor of the rule of self-appointed experts in business, technology, and government. He joined the editorial staff of the *New York World* and participated in civilian foreign-policy think tanks. His major writings of this period, *Public Opinion* (1922) and *The Phantom Public* (1925), challenged the average citizen's ability to render wise political judgments in a complex society and interdependent planet. To former allies such as philosopher and educational reformer John Dewey, it appeared that Lippmann was abandoning his earlier progressivism in lieu of the increasing regulation of society by a new

scientific elite. Lippmann's widely read critique of Protestantism, *A Preface to Morals* (1929), revealed instead a person in search of empowerment for individuals likewise troubled by pervasive ethical uncertainties.

Lippmann found reasons to resist totalitarian government in the natural law tradition of Roman Catholicism. He began corresponding with Catholic intellectuals after 1928 and almost converted during World War II. Though he initially promoted President Franklin D. Roosevelt's economic recovery program, the New Deal, through his popular New York *Herald Tribune* column, Lippmann later condemned federal social planning in his 1937 polemic, *The Good Society*. His appeal to common-law limits on state and corporate power was widely praised by Catholic readers. Lippmann's countercultural genius lay in his demand for fidelity to ancient religious and moral creeds—the “public philosophy,” as he would call it in a 1955 book—as a means to curb the power of mass suggestion by potentially unscrupulous leaders.

Despite substantial misreading and rejection of his political positions, Lippmann remained an internationally respected news correspondent until his death. While coining the term *cold war* in a 1947 book of the same name, Lippmann upset many Washington insiders for criticizing the Truman Doctrine and U.S. involvement in the Korean War.

Lippmann won a special Pulitzer Prize for lifetime achievement in 1958 and another Pulitzer for international reporting in 1962. His editorials, which appeared in more than 150 newspapers, were read by an estimated 40 million Americans and 10 million foreigners each day. Walter Lippmann died on December 14, 1974, after suffering numerous heart attacks.

Mark Edwards

See also: [Bohemianism](#).

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Living Theatre

The Living Theatre was founded in 1947 by playwright and actress Judith Malina, a protégé of the avant-garde director Erwin Piscator, and the abstract expressionist painter Julian Beck. Seeking an alternative to the commercial theatrical fare on offer in New York City at the time, the original collective presented low-budget plays in Beck's own living room. By 1950, it had found a more official home at New York's Cherry Lane Theatre in Greenwich Village.

The Living Theatre, in the words of Beck and Malina, originally committed itself to “the unconventional staging of poetic drama,” offering plays by American poets such as Gertrude Stein and William Carlos Williams. The group also introduced to the American stage such notable European writers as the French dramatist Jean Cocteau, the Spanish poet and playwright Federico García Lorca, the German Communist playwright Bertolt Brecht, and the Italian dramatist and novelist Luigi Pirandello.

Plagued by troubles with New York City authorities—the company's Cherry Lane venue was closed by the Fire Department in 1953, and its new uptown home, the Living Theatre Studio, was closed by the Buildings Department in 1956—the group grew increasingly radical in the late 1950s and early 1960s. It attracted critical attention with the 1959 production of Jack Gelber's *The Connection*, a harrowingly realistic depiction of drug dealers and addicts living in New York. Success followed again a few years later with the 1963 staging of Kenneth Brown's *The Brig*, about the brutality of military discipline. Both productions challenged audiences to confront firsthand the grisly horrors of aspects of American society generally kept from the public eye.

Beck and Malina refused to pay taxes, which brought trouble with the Internal Revenue Service, closed the Living Theatre's venue on Fourteenth Street, and landed both artists in jail in 1963. Upon their release, the Living Theatre entered a new epoch as a nomadic touring ensemble, presenting participatory works of political theater in public spaces and theaters across Europe. It returned to the United States in 1968 with *Paradise Now*, a participatory and partially improvised play intended to foment revolution. The group continued its nomadic existence for another decade, developing and presenting original works "from the prisons of Brazil to the gates of the Pittsburgh steel mills," as Beck and Malina phrased it. In the 1980s, they attempted again to establish a permanent theater in New York, but the death of Beck in 1985 and the closing of their venue by the Buildings Department in 1992 prompted a permanent relocation to Italy.

The Living Theatre today continues its mission of presenting provocative works of political theater under the guidance of Malina and company veteran Hanon Reznikov, but the period of its greatest influence has long passed. Rising from obscurity in the 1950s, the group came to inspire a generation of politically minded, groundbreaking theater artists in the 1960s, most notably the breakaway ensembles the Performance Group and the Open Theatre. The group galvanized the off-Broadway movement and infused New York theater with an experimental energy comparable to contemporary avant-garde developments in Europe.

David Kornhaber

See also: [Cherry Lane Theatre: Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [Stein, Gertrude: Theater, Alternative: Up Against the Wall Motherfucker](#).

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London, Jack (1876–1916)

One of the most prolific American writers of the early twentieth century—producing more than fifty novels and hundreds of short stories and nonfiction pieces—Jack London was best known for his novels of conflict, adventure, and the struggle to survive. These include *The Call of the Wild* (1903), *The Sea-Wolf* (1904), and *White Fang* (1906). A child of poverty, London dramatized his concern for social outcasts in both his fiction and his nonfiction, at once promoting a philosophy of radical socialism and the spirit of individualism. His own life of adventure provided the raw material for much of his work, much as his reading provided the philosophical

underpinnings.

Jack Griffith London was born in San Francisco on January 12, 1876. After his father abandoned the family, he was raised in nearby Oakland by his mother, Flora Wellman, and stepfather, John London. During his teenage years, London was employed in a variety of jobs that spurred his sense of adventure—working on fishing boats in San Francisco Harbor and sailing the Pacific Ocean as a deckhand on a sealing ship—and he spent endless hours reading in the Oakland Public Library.

At the age of seventeen, London embarked on a journey across America as a tramp, the details of which are chronicled in his autobiographical work, *The Road* (1907). Along the way, in 1894, he joined the West Coast contingent of Jacob Coxey's march on Washington, D.C., to demand solutions to the nation's growing unemployment problem.

London never actually made it to Washington—he was briefly jailed for vagrancy along with other hoboes—but it was on this journey that he began to cultivate his interest in socialism. After returning to San Francisco, London began promoting the politics of socialism and became an active member in the Socialist Labor Party. His letter-writing campaign to local newspapers and street-corner speeches earned him the nickname “boy socialist.”

After attending the University of California, Berkeley, for one semester in 1897, London headed off to the Yukon in Alaska, to take part in the Klondike Gold Rush. Although he never discovered gold, the adventure provided many of the experiences and the “man versus nature” theme for many of his short stories and novels. During his time in the Klondike, London also studied the works of the German political philosopher Karl Marx and the English naturalist Charles Darwin, whose themes of social justice and the struggle for survival permeated his work.

As his notoriety increased, London promoted socialism with increasing fervor. Sponsored by the Intercollegiate Socialist Society, he traveled around the country in 1905 to argue against the evils of capitalism and invoke the inevitable socialist revolution that would sweep the world. Also that year, he ran unsuccessfully as the Socialist candidate for the office of mayor of Oakland.

London launched a broadside attack on capitalism in his 1907 novel, *The Iron Heel*, whose protagonist prophesizes a war between socialists and capitalists. Although the work never became a best seller on the scale of *The Call of the Wild* and other London classics, it came to be recognized as one of the most politically radical novels ever written by an American author. While it made him especially popular in socialist circles worldwide, the novel also proved prescient about the rise of fascism in twentieth-century industrial society.

Despite his radical politics, London was disillusioned by war and deeply disturbed by the advent of World War I. He opposed German socialists who supported the kaiser's aggressive goals in Europe and, coming to believe that the world would never be united by true socialist ideals or a common socialist government, he gradually withdrew from the international socialist movement.

On November 22, 1916, London died of kidney failure, perhaps having taken a fatal dose of morphine. His passing marked the end of a legendary literary career that inspired readers to dream of adventure and embrace alternative ways of life.

Gavin J. Wilk

See also: [Socialism](#).

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Los Angeles

Metropolitan Los Angeles, the City of Angels, has been a city of dreams for American and global migrants, for those absorbing Hollywood myths and lifestyles, and for those seeking new freedoms—whether utopian ideals, artistic visions, labor rights, or religious freedoms. Counterculture movements have both intersected with and faced challenges from embattled peoples of color—black, Latino, and Asian—seeking a place in Southern California society. Even mainstream L.A. values have been imbued with countercultural flourishes: As Hollywood media conglomerates have broadcast American culture worldwide, film celebrities have experimented with sexual freedom and alternative lifestyles while adopting crusades on behalf of political and social causes from pacifism, racism, and AIDS to environmentalism and world hunger.

Early History

The settlement of Nuestra Señora la Reyna de los Angeles de Porciúncula (Our Lady the Queen of Angels of Porciúncula) was founded by Felipe de Neve, the Spanish governor of Las Californias, in 1781. It was still a sluggish outpost of Spanish colonialism when newly united Mexico subsumed the settlement in 1822. The United States annexed California in 1848, leading to statehood two years later.

The 1849 Gold Rush revitalized San Francisco and Northern California, but Los Angeles remained a small ranching city, where white settlers lived among Chinese, Japanese, and polyglot Hispanic peoples. Transcontinental rail connections in 1876 and citrus-fruits businesses caused the city to explode from 2,300 residents in 1860 to 100,000 in 1900.

Many migrants found inspiration in the geographic setting and climate of the growing metropolis, spurring explorations of new landscapes, styles, and ways of life. The arts and crafts movement—an American aesthetic movement that dominated architecture and interior design in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries—characterized much of early Los Angeles architecture. Other creative reshaping of the homes and landscapes of metropolitan area emerged from architects as diverse as Frank Lloyd Wright, Richard Neutra, and, beginning later in the twentieth century, Frank Gehry, Thom Mayne, and Eric Owen Moss.

Utopian planners also diversified the area in and around the city. Antelope Valley sheltered the Llano del Rio Cooperative Colony (1914–1918), led by John Harriman, a socialist politician who battled the *Los Angeles Times*'s virulently anti-unionist Harrison Gray Otis and defended the men accused of bombing Otis's offices in 1910. (The satirical and dystopian novelist Aldous Huxley lived amid the Llano ruins in the 1940s; historian Mike Davis explored them in *City of Quartz*, which was published in 1990.) A cooperative farm society called Little Landers settled the town of Tujunga (1913–1920), while Theosophists founded the Krotona Institute in the hills above Ojai, California. A utopian industrialist built Torrance as a model community for labor and capital in 1914. The Utopian Society, begun in 1933 in Los Angeles as a secret fraternal society, promoted biracialism and scientific management.

Utopian visions also became political. In the 1920s, amid new booms of oil, Hollywood, and industrialization, labor and social reformers joined ethnic and ideological movements in protests that intensified during the Great Depression. Novelist Upton Sinclair created his End Poverty in California (EPIC) platform and ran for governor in 1934. Los Angeles was also home to plans that foreshadowed social security.

Religion also spurred countercultural transformations in early Los Angeles. Mormons settled in nearby San Bernardino by 1851. William Seymour, expelled from his African Methodist Episcopal church, founded the Azusa Street Mission in 1906. It became the birthplace of the expressive spirituality of American Pentecostalism. By the 1930s, Aimee Semple McPherson built her Foursquare Gospel through theatrical preaching and radio evangelism before she was destroyed by personal scandal. Angelus Temple, its main house of worship, opened on January 1, 1923, in the Echo Park district.

Hippiedom and Activism

By the mid-twentieth century, the canyons of Greater L.A. provided areas outside the commercial and industrial city in which alternative lifestyles could take place. Among these movements, direct forerunners of the 1960s counterculture included Nature Boys, followers of nineteenth-century German ideologies that had promoted the healing values of sun, nudism, vegetarianism, communal living, self-sufficiency, and other new cultural ideals. German Nature Boys and their followers found sun, fruit, and space in the hills surrounding Los Angeles. They became known for long hair, sandals, and back-to-the-earth lifestyles that foreshadowed those of later hippies. They also made contact with local celebrities (singer-songwriter Nat King Cole recorded "Nature Boy" in 1948), and the eclectic vegetarian Gypsy Boots gained his own television show and appeared at the Monterey Jazz Festival.

As early as the silent-film era, Laurel Canyon, winding upward from the famous Hollywood sites of the Sunset Strip, had become a haven for actors and entertainers such as Errol Flynn and Harry Houdini. In the 1960s, its humble houses and rugged landscapes made this area a center for music and a lifestyle that combined entertainment with older Nature Boys' values. Joni Mitchell, the Byrds, Frank Zappa, the Mamas and the Papas, and Crosby, Stills and Nash gathered in homes and at parties there, producing the music of a new generation in natural settings around the modest Laurel Canyon general store rather than in Hollywood clubs. Yet they also had ready access to commercial producers and the mass media. In fact, the theme song of San Francisco's Summer of Love, "If You're Going to San Francisco," was written and produced in Laurel Canyon in 1967.

The idyllic years of the canyon, however, were undercut by cocaine and other drugs, the professionalization and departure of participants, and the horrific impact of the Charles Manson murders. The magnetic Manson had begun to assemble a communal family around him in Berkeley, California, and the Haight-Ashbury district of San Francisco in 1967, but then he moved southward, living off celebrities such as Dennis Wilson of the Beach Boys before finding a communal home in Topanga Canyon, once used as a locale in Western films. Rejected by record producers, he guided his followers into revenge, including the bloody murders of actress Sharon Tate and others at her home in the nearby Hollywood Hills. Over time, Laurel Canyon and its outlying areas became sites of gentrification as much as alternative lifestyle.

Migration into the city by Northeastern and Midwestern Americans, however, dispossessed Mexicans and restricted Asians who formed important segments of the local population. Olvera Street, a romantic re-creation of the historical Spanish settlement, was the site of the 1943 zoot suit riots that pitted flamboyantly dressed Mexican Americans against the military and the police. (In the early decades of the twentieth century, anarchist Emma Goldman, Mexican radicals, and labor organizers had addressed crowds on Olvera Street.) The deportation of local Japanese and the internment of Japanese and Japanese Americans during World War II left festering issues. In the 1940s, however, African American migrants formed a thriving community around Central Avenue, which offered support to local residents through much of this economically challenged and culturally tense period.

With post-World War II growth, Angelenos demanded wide social and economic opportunities amid urban deterioration. Leftists, veterans, women's groups, and clergy formed coalitions to reform community-based public housing, but the specter of socialism brought the experiment to a halt. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s provided new social visions. Police brutality in the 1965 Watts riots fueled the militant Black Panther Party and a variety of reformers and rebels who saw the Los Angeles Police Department as a white vigilante gang. Mexican American youth in high schools and colleges found solidarity in the Chicanismo cultural pride movement,

although this sometimes pitted locals against international labor and immigration groups, given Los Angeles's exploding, diverse Hispanic presence. Asian organizations, such as the Japanese American East Wind Collective, formed part of a Marxist "Third-World Left" that sought to unite people of color and address shared problems in the 1960s and 1970s.

African American mayor Tom Bradley began two decades in office in 1973 but did not effectively control the police or tackle economic inequalities. This contributed to Los Angeles's 1992 riots, violently dividing races, classes, and ethnic areas across the city. Decades later, alongside the glamour of Hollywood and the lifestyles of beaches and canyons, these Los Angeles residents continue to make the city a crucible for diverse thoughts and actions challenging mainstream America.

Gary W. McDonogh

See also: [Black Panthers](#): [Brown Berets](#): [Film, Hollywood](#): [Goldman, Emma](#): [Houdini, Harry](#): [Huxley, Aldous](#): [Manson Family](#): [McPherson, Aimee Semple](#): [Pentecostalism](#): [Utopianism](#): [Zoot-Suiters](#).

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Lost Generation

The Lost Generation refers to novelists, artists, poets, intellectuals, publishers, and painters who searched for self-development and self-expression in Europe from the end of World War I to the beginning of the Great Depression. Many were permanent expatriates; others stayed in Europe only a short time, returning to homes in America where they produced art from their liberated souls.

Significant members included writers Sherwood Anderson, John Dos Passos, F. Scott Fitzgerald, and Ernest Hemingway; painter Waldo Peirce; and poets E.E. Cummings, T.S. Eliot, and Ezra Pound. According to Hemingway (who popularized the name of the group in his novel *The Sun Also Rises*, 1926), writer and patron

Gertrude Stein applied the designation “Lost Generation” to him and his contemporaries after she overheard the owner of the garage where she took her automobile for repair chastise his incompetent employee as part of a *generation perdue* (“lost generation”), characterized by excessive drinking and iconoclasm.

Veterans of World War I

Encouraged by President Woodrow Wilson’s patriotism over America’s involvement in World War I in 1917, many young American men joined the war effort. Some were motivated less by patriotism than by restlessness and a craving for adventure. Those who were opposed to the war served in more humane ways, such as volunteering for the ambulance corps. Among those who served in the ambulance corps were several who would go on to make a mark in American letters: Hemingway, Dos Passos, Cummings, and Malcolm Cowley.

The generation of Americans who returned from World War I was changed by the mass slaughter of men in the trenches. The horror and futility of war, and the political propaganda that went with it, affected not only the men who served, but many others living during the war years. It was a time of disillusionment and disenchantment; prewar romantic inspiration had given way to postwar apathy.

In direct contrast to America, Paris in the 1920s provided a sacred space for American artists, intellectuals, and disaffected young people who were full of nervous energy and a restlessness for living not satisfied by American culture. In Paris, they could live cheaply and be free. They were apolitical, interested more in self-expression and self-development than in changing the world. In Paris and other European cities, days and nights were filled with conversation, sexual adventure, parties, gaming, sports, and a spirit of excess and merriment. In the 1920s, upper-class Parisians generally occupied the Right Bank of the Seine River; poor artists and bohemians found each other and their daily sustenance in the neighborhoods of the Left Bank. A place for experimentation in art, narrative, poetry, music, and sex, Paris offered opportunity for anyone to find a voice and express it.



Owner Sylvia Beach stands in the doorway of Shakespeare and Company, her bookstore in Paris that became a haven for the expatriate American writers of the 1920s who were known as the Lost Generation. (Sylvia Beach/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The Lost Generation—rooted mainly in Paris— established the party as a commonplace social event. Alcohol, dancing, music (usually hot jazz), and flirtations were common. Sexual freedom, including gay and lesbian lifestyles, was part of the generation’s exploration of authenticity. The prototypical flapper, with her low waistline, flat bosom, and openness to adventure, also marked the freedom this generation sought. Author Henry Miller

described this lifestyle and quest for self-realization in his essentially autobiographical novels *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) and *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939).

Venues

The Lost Generation lived simultaneously in poverty and affluence. Cafés and bistros became the cultural centers of the disaffected. Many who frequented the cafés did so out of necessity, to escape cheap rooms with no cooking facilities and little or no heat in winter. At public tables, they wrote and talked and planned and dreamed, often for the price of a cup of coffee. Writers such as Hemingway wrote stories in Left Bank cafés; his favorite was the Brasserie Lipp. Other popular gathering places were Les Deux-Magots and La Rotunde.

The cabaret was another place that gave the expatriates an opportunity to meet others who were searching for whatever they could find in life. They were dazzled by such free spirits as Josephine Baker, a Midwest-born African American beauty who brought her raw sexuality and provocative dance routine to Paris in 1925. Baker's stage show, *La Revue Negre*, incited the passions and imaginations of audiences. She took Paris by storm, introducing such expressions into the French language as "jazz band," "un cocktail," and "up to date."

Sports such as bicycle racing, held indoors for as long as six days at a time, drew large crowds of fans. Gaming sports such as horse racing also became a popular means for this generation to socialize and perhaps help finance their lifestyle. Americans also sought prizefights, tennis, golf, and miniature golf to fill their leisure time. Endurance contests such as dance marathons were another popular diversion in the 1920s and 1930s.

Important meeting places were provided by two of the notable influences on the artistic and intellectual life of the Lost Generation in Paris, Stein and Sylvia Beach. Stein carried on the French tradition of the salon, where men and women would gather in the home of a wealthy patron, enjoying food, drink, and conversation. Beach owned and ran the bookstore and publisher Shakespeare and Company.

The period was rich in ideas and imagination, as writers explored new ground in lyric and narrative, and artists pursued their modernist visions. Art manifestos and statements of a new way of doing things abounded. Hemingway's new prose style influenced the very speech patterns of young men who had recognized their voices in his works. Life was imitating art.

Many American exiles lived in Paris only for a year or two. Yet, after 1924, the city was flooded with Americans with money and ideals, some just looking for the less rigid morality that living in France offered. Gerald and Sara Murphy were one rich American couple who entertained the talented and elite of the day. Gerald Murphy, an artist whose paintings of common objects resembled the pop art that would emerge later in the twentieth century, was the inspiration for Dick Diver, Fitzgerald's protagonist in the 1934 novel *Tender Is the Night*. The Murphys threw lavish parties at their Villa América in the south of France, attracting such guests as Dos Passos and Fitzgerald, playwright Anita Loos, actor Rudolph Valentino, and abstract artist Pablo Picasso.

Although members of the Lost Generation excelled in various art genres, it was the writers of this generation who gained particular prominence. Their innovative and impassioned youthful works paved the way for subsequent generations of writers.

Michael Susko

See also: [Beach, Sylvia](#); [Fitzgerald, F. Scott](#); [Hemingway, Ernest](#); [Miller, Henry](#); [Stein, Gertrude](#).

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Lovecraft, H.P. (1890–1937)

Howard Phillips (H.P.) Lovecraft was an influential writer of horror, science fiction, and fantasy stories, many of which are collectively referred to as the Cthulhu Mythos. Since his death, Lovecraft's corpus of three novellas and approximately sixty short stories has gained a cult following. Now regarded as America's most important horror writer since Edgar Allan Poe, he attained near-iconic status within the literary community with the publication of a Library of America edition of his work in 2005.

Lovecraft was born on August 20, 1890, in Providence, Rhode Island, a location that would be featured in much of his fiction. After the death of his father, Lovecraft's upbringing fell to his mother, two aunts, and grandfather. A child prodigy who read the *Arabian Nights* at the age of five, he was plagued with sickness as a youth and never completed his formal education. His grandfather died in 1904, and the family suffered severe financial difficulties.

From the age of eighteen to twenty-four, Lovecraft lived a reclusive life with his mother, cultivating his literary skills and interest in astronomy. His mother suffered a nervous breakdown in 1919 and was confined to an institution until her death in 1921. In 1924, Lovecraft married and moved to New York. Failing to find work and increasingly appalled by the immigrants whom he felt threatened Anglo-American culture, he returned to Providence in 1926 and was divorced in 1929. He spent the rest of his life in New England, writing and engaging in a voluminous correspondence.

Many of Lovecraft's short stories and novellas were first published in pulp magazines such as *Weird Tales*. From the mid-1920s to his death, he produced the stories that formed the Cthulhu Mythos, including "The Call of Cthulhu" (1926), "The Case of Charles Dexter Ward" (1927), "The Color Out of Space" (1927), "The Dunwich Horror" (1928), "The Whisperer in Darkness" (1930), "At the Mountains of Madness" (1931), "The Shadow Over Innsmouth," (1931), "The Haunter of the Dark" (1935), and "The Shadow Out of Time" (1935).

The tales that make up the Cthulhu Mythos filter motifs from Gothic fiction through an imagination acute to the anxieties induced by modernity. Common tropes include dangerous and forbidden knowledge, sublime landscapes and cityscapes, a sense of inexpressible horror, an overwrought psychological symbolism connected with enclosed spaces and great abysses, and a violent and terrifying intrusion of otherness into so-called normal reality. Lovecraft's stories present a pessimistic cosmology in which the irrelevance of man is contrasted with the

endurance of ancient powers. They present an intricate mythology of alien beings called “The Old Ones,” including Shub-Niggurath, “the black goat with a thousand young”; Nyarlathotep, “the crawling chaos”; the idiot god Azathoth; and Cthulhu, who sleeps in the submerged city of R’lyeh. In many of the stories, the protagonists discover some form of access to these alien beings, through occult texts or ancient ruins. This forbidden knowledge, and the terrible discoveries that accompany it, invariably precipitate their destruction.

Lovecraft’s work gains much of its power through the creation of a quasi-historical, pseudo-scholarly context for the revelation of cosmic horrors. Many of his protagonists are antiquarians or scholars from the fictional Miskatonic University, stumbling upon ancient evil in the course of their research.

An occult text called the *Necronomicon* features in many tales. Supposedly written by the mad Arab Abdul Alhazred, the *Necronomicon* was one of Lovecraft’s most successful creations. Many readers were convinced the book actually existed, a belief exacerbated by the publication of numerous fake editions. The mythos was expanded and developed by many of Lovecraft’s correspondents, including Robert Bloch (author of *Psycho*, 1959) and Robert E. Howard, who pioneered the “sword and sorcery” genre with *Conan the Barbarian* (1954).

Lovecraft was diagnosed with cancer of the intestine in early 1937 and died on March 15 of that year. In the years following his death, fans and literary executors August Derleth and Donald Wandrei collected a series of Lovecraft’s stories and looked for a publisher. Failing in their efforts, they formed the Arkham House imprint in 1939 and published the first collection of Lovecraft’s work, *The Outsider and Others* (1939).

Lovecraft’s work has influenced many horror and science fiction writers, such as Stephen King and Peter Straub, as well as a breadth of other writers, including Jorge Luis Borges, William S. Burroughs, Michel Houellebecq, and Joyce Carol Oates. The influence of his work is seen as well in films, role-playing and computer games, and heavy metal bands from Morbid Angel to Fields of Nephilim. Some devotees worship his fictional creations as an alternative to Satanism. His work also has been the subject of extensive scholarship, with several journals devoted to his legacy.

James Miller

See also: [Science Fiction](#).

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Love-Ins

Love-ins were spontaneous gatherings of individuals who came together to promote a message of solidarity, world peace, and harmony through free love—an idea most closely affiliated with the hippie counterculture of the late 1960s. The motivation and intent of a specific love-in event tended to vary according to the interests of the participants involved. These events ranged from simple displays of nonsexual physical closeness to mass sexual experimentation, including nude parties and orgies. Drug use and music were integral elements.

Love-ins were a part of the larger “-in” movement of the 1960s, a designation for protest tactics derived from the sit-ins of the civil rights movement of the early years of the decade. In the same way that sit-ins were intended to spontaneously bring people together and unite them for a common goal (in this case, to protest laws that enforced racial discrimination in public places), other “-ins” sought to convey a similar message of unity through protest. Many of these gatherings were intended to educate participants about opposition to the Vietnam War, such as the teach-ins held at the University of Michigan in March 1965 and at the University of California, Berkeley, in May 1965.

The first Human Be-In, held on January 14, 1967, at Golden Gate Park in San Francisco, was the inspiration for other large social gatherings of people in cities across the country. The nearby Haight-Ashbury district was the epicenter of the Summer of Love in 1967, in which thousands of hippies came together to engage in free love and sexual experimentation. The popular counterculture slogan “Make love not war” suggested a role for love-ins in the antiwar movement. The 1968 Broadway rock musical *Hair* also connected free love and antiwar protest. The show’s onstage nudity and explicitly sexual lyrics further promoted the love-in as an integral part of the hippie counterculture.



Thousands of flower children gather at Elysian Park in Los Angeles for an early “love-in,” or outdoor celebration of peace and love, in March 1967. (Michael Ochs Archives/Stringer/Getty Images)

In 1969, Beatle John Lennon and his wife, Yoko Ono, staged variations on the love-in with their two “Bed-Ins for Peace” in Amsterdam and Montreal, to promote peace and protest the war in Vietnam. Shortly after their marriage on March 20, Lennon and Ono invited the press to visit them in their Amsterdam hotel, where they spent the better part of a week in bed, beneath signs that read “Hair Peace” and “Bed Peace.”

Although the popularity of love-ins waned as the antiwar movement adopted increasingly violent means of protest, love-ins remain a prominent folk memory of American counterculture in the 1960s.

See also: [Be-Ins](#); [Haight-Ashbury](#); [San Francisco](#); [Hair](#); [Lennon](#); [John](#).

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Lowriders

Customized cars and other vehicles that have been modified to drive as low to the ground as possible, lowriders gained prominence in the post–World War II era as a social symbol of independence, strength, and creativity in the Mexican American subculture. Originating in Los Angeles, these colorful vehicles were a statement of resistance to mainstream white culture on the part of the Chicano minority, then spread to other Latino communities in the Southwest and elsewhere, and by the 1990s emerged as an expression of urban hip-hop culture as well.

Structurally, lowriders were adapted from the frames of older car models that Chicano youth could afford. In the late 1940s, the original lowrider artists sought out standard models from such manufacturers as Buick, Chevrolet, and Ford, because these cars were often the least expensive and most abundant. The process of “lowering” was originally achieved by placing heavy bricks and cement bags in the trunk of the car. Sometimes the springs in the shocks could be shortened so that the chassis would ride closer to the ground. Later, hydraulic lifts, controlled manually by the driver, were used to lower and raise the front and rear ends of a car.

Blending ingenuity with artistic license, Chicanos transformed ordinary cars into artistic social statements that reflected their pride in Mexican culture. The vehicles often were decorated with pinstriping and native cultural motifs, such as fire lace designs and custom murals. Common pictorial themes included ancient Mayan scenes and Mexican religious icons such as the Virgin Mary.

Lowriders became a prominent expression of barrio street culture. In these neighborhoods, immigrants reinvented the courtship custom of strolling, *el paseo*. Rather than use horses to attract attention, Chicano youth used lowriders to popularize the pastime of “car cruising.” Along the boulevards of Southern California especially, the concept of cruising soon became a universal cultural phenomenon among suburban youth.

Thus, from the outset, lowriding was as much about the attitude as about the vehicles. Unlike muscle cars—more expensive, high-speed models built for speed—lowriders offered a calm and composed statement of coolness in which image and style mattered more than performance. In the late 1940s and 1950s, the lowrider was perceived as a stylistic complement to the zoot suit and the drooping mustache—all bold social statements of divergence from predominantly white culture and style.

Beyond the barrio, U.S. Navy veteran George Barris became the public face of lowriders by developing one of the first businesses to customize these unusual cars. Known as the King of the Kustomizers, Barris and his brother Sam set up a shop in Los Angeles where they lowered chassis, straightened fenders, bolted on accessories, and

used paint schemes to meet the tastes of customers seeking something different in car styling. In only a few years, lowriders and other creations from the Barris brothers burgeoned into a highly profitable custom car business.

Cars were not the only vehicles, however, transformed by the lowriding phenomenon. During the 1960s, the trend became popular in the bicycling world as well. As the cost of remodeling cars increased, young people who could not afford lowrider cars began modifying their bicycles along the same lines. Again, commercial interests soon got involved. In 1963, Schwinn came out with a revolutionary new model, the Sting-Ray, designed to mimic a custom dragster.

Originating in the poverty of the barrio as a symbol and expression of Chicano counterculture, lowriders developed into a diverse and highly individualized art form across American cultures. From Los Angeles to Chicago to Florida, the art of customizing cars and bicycles into lowriders remains a popular craft and social statement.

Siobhan Kane

See also: [Latino and Latina Culture](#).

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LSD

LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide, or "acid" for short) has a tumultuous history for a chemical compound discovered as recently as the mid-twentieth century. It has been embraced by those who seek spiritual truths in the hallucinogenic experiences it produces, studied by the U.S. military, and demonized by the press and legal system.

Before LSD became a recreational drug used and abused by the counterculture of the 1960s, it was a subject of intrigue and curiosity to intellectuals, scientists, chemists, psychiatrists, and psychoanalysts. To the hippie counterculture, it played an important role in the formation of a distinctive worldview, generational identity, and aesthetic.

Origins

The molecule lysergic acid diethylamide originally was isolated from a substance called ergot derived from fungus

that grows on rye and other grains. When ingested, it produces an altered state of consciousness that may last up to twelve hours. In the Middle Ages, ergot-tainted wheat was linked to outbreaks of mass hysteria.

When the Swiss pharmaceutical company Sandoz embarked on a project in 1938 to develop various ergot-based substances, chemist Albert Hofmann proceeded to synthesize a series of ergot alkaloids, including LSD-25, the twenty-fifth in the series. Although he originally was seeking a substance to stimulate blood circulation and respiration, Hofmann discovered unexpected properties of LSD-25 when he decided to reexamine the compound on April 16, 1943. Partway through his experimentation, Hofmann began to feel strange, as if he were dreaming, and he decided to go home to rest. Purposefully testing the substance again three days later, he realized that a miniscule amount had the ability to induce altered consciousness and hallucinations. In short, Hofmann had synthesized a potent psychedelic substance.

During the 1950s and 1960s, intellectuals, scientists, and psychiatrists became intrigued by the hallucinogenic properties of LSD and experimented with it, both personally and in the laboratory. Some psychiatrists compared the altered state of consciousness induced by LSD—complete with visual hallucinations, enhanced senses, and feelings of religious insight—to schizophrenia. While these researchers believed the “LSD psychosis” could help reveal the nature of mental illness, others valued the LSD experience as the door to a level of reality not otherwise available. Some felt LSD could provoke a mystical experience and represented a vehicle of personal and spiritual growth. This belief prompted experimentation with LSD as a supplement to psychological therapy.

In the late 1950s, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) briefly conducted experiments with LSD to test its usefulness as a brainwashing drug and truth serum. Secret experiments were conducted on a variety of test populations, including prisoners, men enlisted in the military, unsuspecting civilians, and CIA agents. One of the latter, Frank Olson, died under mysterious circumstances in 1953, and the experiments eventually were halted. Senate investigations in 1977 revealed the extent of CIA involvement in the use of LSD.

Cultural Influence

LSD influenced a great many writers, intellectuals, and artists who experimented with it. British writer Aldous Huxley, whose first psychedelic experience was with mescaline, took LSD approximately six times and considered it a valuable tool of insight.

Psychoanalysts and psychologists began to experiment with LSD therapy, in which a patient supplemented traditional talk therapy with doses of LSD to heighten the experience, produce a deeper emotional reaction, reveal unconscious mechanisms, and promote insight. One of the most famous LSD therapy patients in the 1950s was actor Cary Grant, who claimed it changed his life.

At Harvard University, psychology professor Timothy Leary began to study the effects of psychedelic substances in the early 1960s. Working at first with prison inmates, he observed that psychedelic experiences seemed to reform even the most hardened criminals. After expanding his experiments to friends and students, he was dismissed from Harvard in 1963. Blending his interest in psychedelic experience with non-Western religious and philosophical ideas, he formed several foundations and centers, including the Millbrook Commune in New York, to introduce others to the insights offered by LSD. The psychedelic experience, he believed, could help the human race achieve a higher state of being, and he encouraged his followers to pursue altered states of consciousness as a fundamental right. Leary gained near-guru status as a leader of the psychedelic community.

Writer Ken Kesey attributed part of the inspiration for his novel *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1962) to the effects of LSD. He later became the spokesperson for the Merry Pranksters, a group based in California who threw public dance parties where LSD was abundant.

By the late 1960s, LSD was becoming a popular recreational drug among the hippies of San Francisco and other antiestablishment groups. In spite of the unpredictable effects, which could include panic and intense paranoid delusions, acid was believed by many in the counterculture to reveal the true workings of the human mind and the

falseness of social norms. The underground network of manufacturing and distribution thrived.

When the Los Angeles Police Department and New York City hospitals began to notice the negative effects of LSD, a special U.S. Senate committee was formed to investigate the substance. In 1966, the committee heard evidence that convinced them LSD had no legitimate medical use and should be made illegal. Under the Controlled Substances Act of 1970, it was declared a Schedule I drug and effectively declared illegal.

The popularity of LSD as a recreational drug diminished but hardly disappeared. The Department of Justice reported in 1966 that some 14 percent of all Americans had experimented with LSD. According to government statistics, however, LSD use in America decreased during the 1980s. In 2002, a study by the Department of Health and Human Services estimated that 10.5 percent of adults twenty-six years old or older had tried LSD.

Kim Hewitt

See also: [Acid Rock](#): [Drug Culture](#): [Hippies](#): [Kesey, Ken](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [Psychedelia](#).

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Ludlow, Fitz Hugh (1836–1870)

Fitz Hugh Ludlow was a nineteenth-century American author and journalist who gained prominence in the counterculture of his own time and in the mid-twentieth century as a commentator on mind-expanding drugs. His explorations of drug-induced mental states, most notably in his autobiographical *The Hasheesh Eater* (1857), have become classics of surreal and experimental literature. In addition to writing travelogues, art criticism, short fiction, and an influential essay on the treatment of drug addiction, Ludlow also was an active abolitionist.

Born on September 11, 1836, in New York City, he was the son of an ardent abolitionist and temperance advocate. In particular, his father's passionate opposition to slavery and participation in the Underground Railroad inspired the younger Ludlow's writings on mental and physical liberty. His philosophical explorations on the need for freedom also were informed by his mother's long-term illness and death at an early age.

At Union College in New York State, Ludlow received basic medical training, began specializing in anesthesiology,

and wrote on the effects of anesthesia on the mind of the patient. He also wrote the Union College alma mater, or school hymn, which is still sung there today. The lyrics to “Song to Old Union” contain references to the Delphic waters of Greek mythology, which some regard as a veiled allusion to drug-induced states of consciousness. During his college years, Ludlow was widely known as a prolific consumer of hashish and medicinal extracts that included hashish as an ingredient. In his later writings, Ludlow posited drug use as an efficient means of traveling to other cultural and mental realms, and as a boon to creativity.

At age twenty-one, Ludlow published *The Hasheesh Eater*, an account of the states of mind he had entered while consuming the drug. The book was praised for its dramatic descriptions of psychedelic visions and drug-induced hallucinations, though Ludlow also considered the deleterious effects of hashish use. Ludlow’s accomplishments with language have since been imitated in many books on the drug culture.

The Hasheesh Eater was a hit with the public, gaining Ludlow access to literary society in New York during the late 1850s and early 1860s. By his twenty-fifth birthday, Ludlow had published ten short stories and several poems, while *The Hasheesh Eater* had gone through several printings. Meanwhile, he had moved to Florida, where the cultural landscape encouraged him to write essays on abolition, following on the work of his father.

Influenced by popular photographs of the American frontier and Albert Bierstadt’s great landscape paintings, Ludlow traveled overland to the West Coast in the 1860s. En route, he lived briefly among the Mormons in Utah, of whose social order he wrote critically in the popular article “First Impressions of Mormonism.” He eventually made his way to San Francisco, where he fell in with the local literary set that included Mark Twain (still largely unknown) and Bret Harte. He also observed the depredations of opium addiction among Chinese immigrants.

By the late 1860s, Ludlow himself was battling an addiction to opium, which resulted in the deterioration of both his health and his efforts to help other addicts. Before his death at the age of thirty-four, he was able to complete an influential essay on the treatment of addiction, “Outlines of the Opium Cure” (1868), and his second book-length work, *The Heart of the Continent: A Record of Travel Across the Plains and in Oregon* (1870).

Ludlow died on September 12, 1870, while traveling in Europe. *The Hasheesh Eater*, rediscovered by the underground press in the 1960s, became required reading both in the drug counterculture and in the scientific drug and addiction research community.

Benjamin W. Cramer

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Drug Culture](#); [Leary, Timothy](#); [Mormonism](#).

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Luhan, Mabel Dodge (1879–1962)

Heir to a banking fortune in Buffalo, New York, Mabel Dodge Luhan used her wealth to encourage creativity in a number of avant-garde writers and artists in the early and middle years of the twentieth century, both at the salons she hosted in New York City's Greenwich Village and at her expansive home in the mountains of New Mexico.



Arts patron, socialite, and political activist Mabel Dodge Luhan supported the cultural avant-garde of New York in the 1910s. In later decades, she housed artists, writers, and musicians at her compound in Taos, New Mexico.
(Library of Congress)

She was born Mabel Ganson on February 26, 1879, in Buffalo. Her education included attendance at St. Margaret's, Miss Graham's Young Ladies' Boarding School, and a year at a finishing school, after which time she made her social debut in 1897.

Her secret marriage to Carl Evans, the son of a steamship owner, in 1900 was followed by a society wedding. When Evans was killed in a duck-hunting accident two years later, Mabel was already a mother, to John Evans.

In 1903, while traveling in Europe, she met the wealthy American architect Edwin Dodge in Paris. After marrying later that year, the couple moved to Florence, Italy, where she became one of the best-known hostesses in Europe. She would dress in a flamboyant Renaissance costume, and she was celebrated for her role as muse to such luminaries as the French novelist André Gide and the American writer Gertrude Stein.

When the couple returned to America in 1912, Mabel founded one of the leading salons of the Greenwich Village avant-garde. Her "Wednesday evenings" were filled with artists, philosophers, and reformers who discussed sociopolitical issues of the day. In addition to her role as social hostess, she cosponsored the 1913 Armory Show, the first major international exhibition of modern art in America; contributed to the left-wing literary and political journal *The Masses*; and supported a variety of progressive organizations, from the Woman's Peace Party, a pacifist group dedicated to bringing an end to World War I, to Margaret Sanger's National Birth Control League, which provided education to women about birth control.

After divorcing Dodge, she married painter Maurice Sterne, with whom she moved to Taos, New Mexico. Divorcing

Sterne, she married Tony Luhan (Lujan), a Pueblo Indian.

Like many of her contemporaries who became expatriates in Europe, Mabel Dodge Luhan was disillusioned by the United States's entry into World War I. She was determined to establish her home as a center for a new world system that would regenerate American society by shifting its focus from industrialization, materialism, and individualism. Her goal was to attract the nation's great artists and writers, and encourage them to experience the social and cultural benefits of interacting with native communities.

The New Mexico landscape that surrounded the Luhan property presented a utopian ideal. In a reinterpretation of the traditional Western myth, it replaced the image of a lone cowboy challenging the unforgiving land on the edge of civilization with artists who pitted paintbrushes, pens, and cameras against the rugged landscape. While guests, such as writers Willa Cather, Aldous Huxley, and D.H. Lawrence and artists Ansel Adams and Georgia O'Keeffe, brought with them different styles and temperaments, collectively they embodied the spirit of transcendental modernism: an eclectic blend of Theosophy, Eastern religious philosophy, and nineteenth-century American transcendentalism. Central to their ideal was the belief that cultural vision was integral to social revolution. They advocated the preservation of the natural environment and a native way of life.

After a lifetime of encouraging writers, painters, and other artists, Luhan died on August 13, 1962, in Taos. Her former home was designated as a national landmark, and it continues to serve as a guesthouse and place of creative reflection for artists and writers.

Joann M. Ross

See also: [Armory Show: Greenwich Village, New York City: *Masses, The*: O'Brien, Fitz-James \(1828-1862\) Keeffe, Georgia: Pacifism: Sanger, Margaret: Taos, New Mexico: Transcendentalism.](#)

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Lumpkin, Grace (ca. 1891-1980)

A radical and proletarian novelist of the 1930s, Grace Lumpkin is best known for her novel *To Make My Bread* (1932). Telling the story of an Appalachian mountaineer family transformed into strikers that parallels events of the 1929 Gastonia, North Carolina, textile strike, it won the Maxim Gorky Prize for best labor novel.

Lumpkin was born on March 3, 1891, in the town of Milledgeville, Georgia, to William Wallace and Annette Morris

Lumpkin. Although the family had a genealogy rich in history and wealth, it fell on hard times after the American Civil War, and thereafter began to associate more with the working class and sharecroppers than with aristocrats and plantation owners. Lumpkin was able to attend school, however, eventually enrolling in a teacher's training program at Brenau College in Gainesville, Georgia. After receiving her teaching certificate, she worked at a variety of odd jobs, including teaching school and directing a Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) chapter. She also began publishing stories.

It was during this time that Lumpkin began to develop her political views and devote more time to her writing. After moving to New York City in 1924, she became a staff writer at *The World Tomorrow*, a Quaker publication that promoted peace, criticized war, and advocated a Christian worldview. The offices of the publication also were a hotbed of radical and socialist sympathizers, and Lumpkin began to form close alliances with associates who shared her radical views. While on staff at *The World Tomorrow*, Lumpkin covered a number of strikes and job actions. This, along with her ties with radical thinkers of the time, caused her to move even more decidedly to the left.

During this time, Lumpkin became immersed in the radical culture of New York City, writing for the journal *New Masses*, organizing workers for the Gastonia strike, and being arrested with other communist sympathizers while picketing for Italian American political radicals Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti (whose 1921 conviction for murder in South Braintree, Massachusetts, set off countrywide protests). After witnessing the violent 1926 textile strike in Passaic, New Jersey, Lumpkin joined the Communist Party.

Lumpkin made use of the Gastonia strike as source material for her most critically acclaimed work, *To Make My Bread*. A prime example of the "radical novel" and a searing portrayal of Southern working-class life, *To Make My Bread* is the story of the McClures, a family of Appalachian farmers and mountaineers who move to a mill town to take jobs and create better lives for themselves. In addition to chronicling the shift from agrarian to urban life, the book also casts a stark light on the plight of women workers and their multiple hardships.

Lumpkin's affiliations with the Communist Party and radicalism were short-lived. She voluntarily left the party in 1939, having had doubts about its ideology and motivations for some time. She converted to fundamentalist Christianity during the 1940s, a period in which she began to feel even more resentment toward the party. As a result, she willingly testified against former comrades when called before the U.S. Senate Subcommittee on Government Operations in 1953. Soon after her testimony, Lumpkin returned to the South, settling in rural Virginia, where she lived throughout the 1960s and 1970s.

Her other novels include *A Sign for Cain* (1935), *The Wedding* (1939), and her autobiographical novel *Full Circle* (1962), which explores her Communist-to-Christian conversion experience. Grace Lumpkin died in Columbia, South Carolina, on March 23, 1980.

Lisa A. Kirby

See also: [Communism](#).

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Lyceum Movement

The lyceum movement was a form of public education for adults that operated from the mid-nineteenth to early twentieth centuries. *Lyceum* refers to both the meeting halls used for public lectures or discussions and the movement. (The term comes from ancient Greece, where in the fourth century B.C.E. Aristotle taught in a building near a site that was sacred to the god Apollo Lyceus.) The American movement was inspired by programs first established in Scotland by Dr. George Birkbeck during the early nineteenth century that later spread to France.

In the United States, proponents of the lyceum movement believed that continued adult education would provide a source of temperance, increased democratic activity, and personal and community development, and would deter the formation of rigid social hierarchies based on class or education, thereby creating a freer and more egalitarian society, in keeping with the general spirit of Jacksonian democracy and personal improvement that characterized the era. As American lyceums developed, they also became an important arena for the distribution and development of controversial and countercultural ideas.

Josiah Holbrook, a Yale-educated lecturer and teacher, founded the earliest American lyceum in 1826 at Millsbury, Massachusetts, where he lived. Named the "Millsbury Branch, Number 1, of the American Lyceum," it initially operated as a weekly study group and lecture series that focused largely on popular topics of the day, such as economics, science, and philosophy, that attracted a following.

Between 1826 and 1840, lyceums spread throughout the Northeast, encouraged by public interest and facilitated by the growth of railroads and the construction of the Erie Canal, which increased the ease of travel and commerce, leading to the expansion of towns and settlements. As national networks of rails and canals expanded westward, so, too, did the lyceum. While some lyceums were established in Southern states, such as Florida and Virginia, support for the lyceum movement was much less pronounced in slave-based economies, which lacked a significant middle class, the lyceums' largest audience, to attend lectures. In addition, education for poor whites and slaves was perceived as a threat to socioeconomic hierarchies. In 1835, there were about 3,000 lyceums operating in towns across America, many of which were in Northeastern states such as Massachusetts and Connecticut.

During this expansion, lyceums began emphasizing new topics such as literature, history, and culture. Boosters promoted lyceums as a form of learned but egalitarian public education and as a progressive remedy for prejudice and ignorance. The lyceum became a key source of education regarding controversial topics, critiques of American culture, and philosophies of alternative thought. Popular lecture topics included transcendentalism, free public schools, morality, politics, abolitionism, women's education, and woman suffrage.

According to conventional lyceum wisdom and in spite of the many women who lectured, the ideal lecturer was a man who had achieved success and notoriety in a given field and who lectured as a public service. Noteworthy lecturers included such writers, abolitionists, and philosophers as Bronson Alcott, Henry Ward Beecher, Harriet Beecher Stowe, Emma Hart Willard, DeWitt Clinton, Frederick Douglass, Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Horace Greeley. These men and women traveled from town to town, exposing various problems in society by leading discussions. Lecturers commonly found meeting halls in every town overflowing with eager people willing to learn.

Lyceum activity ceased during the American Civil War. After the war, the lyceums that reopened and those that spread westward were of a different character than the antebellum lyceum. During this period, lyceums increasingly sought to provide popular entertainment as well as more traditional lectures and debates. While lecturers on social reform, woman's rights, transcendentalism, and similar topics by speakers such as Susan B. Anthony and Julia Ward Howe remained popular, these educational presentations were accompanied by singers,

minstrel shows, magic acts, animal shows, and early incarnations of vaudeville.

These new lyceums continued to grow in popularity. By the end of the nineteenth century, the nation's twelve lyceum booking agencies, or lyceum bureaus, booked more than 3,000 events each per year. In the twentieth century, however, the lyceum movement began to decline in popularity. As the services provided by the lyceum gradually came to be replaced by increased access to public education, entertainment halls, and emerging forms of popular entertainment such as radio and movies, public interest in the lyceum waned.

After the 1920s, the lyceum faded from existence. Its tradition was carried on by the Chautauqua movement, an adult education movement similar to the lyceum movement in structure and practice that was founded in the late nineteenth century and continues to maintain its original institution in Chautauqua, New York.

Skylar M. Harris

See also: [Douglass, Frederick](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Twain, Mark](#).

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Macfadden, Bernarr (1868–1955)

The founder of a magazine-publishing empire in the early twentieth century, Bernarr Macfadden used his wealth, fame, and colorful public persona to promote healthy living. He became the self-described father of the "Physical Culture Movement," which entailed a philosophy and lifestyle regimen dedicated to maximum physical development through weight-resistance training, aerobic exercise, a healthful diet, and mental discipline.

He was born Bernard Adolphus McFadden in Mill Spring, Missouri, on August 16, 1868. A pale and sickly orphan, he passed through the homes of several distant family members, often working as a servant. As a teenager, he drifted through the Midwest, taking odd jobs to support himself.

In an effort to overcome his chronic poor health, he began to train with dumbbells and in gymnastics. In 1893, at the World's Fair in Chicago, he saw the sideshow strong man Sandow the Magnificent perform in front of hordes of spectators and resolved to devote his life to health and fitness.

Moving to New York City and changing his name to Bernarr Macfadden, he opened what he called a "physical culture studio" to train Manhattan businessmen in healthy living. He also embarked on a promotional campaign that established both his business and his flamboyant personal style. In 1899, he began publishing *Physical Culture*, a monthly magazine that proved highly popular and became the foundation of the Macfadden Publications empire.

Physical Culture was based on Macfadden's philosophy that a strong body leads to good health and moral character. Macfadden regarded the healthy human body, male or female, as an object to admire. In celebration of the human form, as well as to increase circulation, the magazine featured photographs of nude and seminude models. Although nudity frequently ran him afoul of censors, Macfadden considered his publication an important educational tool. By promoting knowledge of and respect for the human body, he believed, he would build a society more wholesome than one produced by repressed and prudish censors.

Macfadden also ran afoul of the medical profession. He believed that vigorous exercise, wholesome foods, moderate consumption, and abstinence from alcohol and tobacco marked the path to good health. Failure to live according to the philosophy of *Physical Culture* made people sick, and recovery depended on allowing the body to return to its natural equilibrium. Thus, Macfadden maintained, fasting provided the best cure for illness; it was a treatment he frequently prescribed for himself. He also believed that professional medicine did more harm than good, as doctors pumped patients full of drugs and unwholesome food that hindered natural healing.

Macfadden expanded his magazine venture by launching another monthly, *True Story*, in May 1919. Featuring the romantic confessions of amateur writers, it quickly gained mass circulation and spawned other titles, such as *True Romances*, *True Detective*, and *Photoplay*, a popular movie magazine. Macfadden Publications was a thriving, multimillion-dollar enterprise throughout the 1920s and 1930s. Macfadden also pursued newspaper publishing and politics, two endeavors in which he failed to repeat his earlier success.

After a series of failed business ventures, he finally lost control of his company in 1941. He died insolvent on October 12, 1955.

Steven Sheehan

See also: [Physical Culture Movement](#); [Polar Bear Clubs](#).

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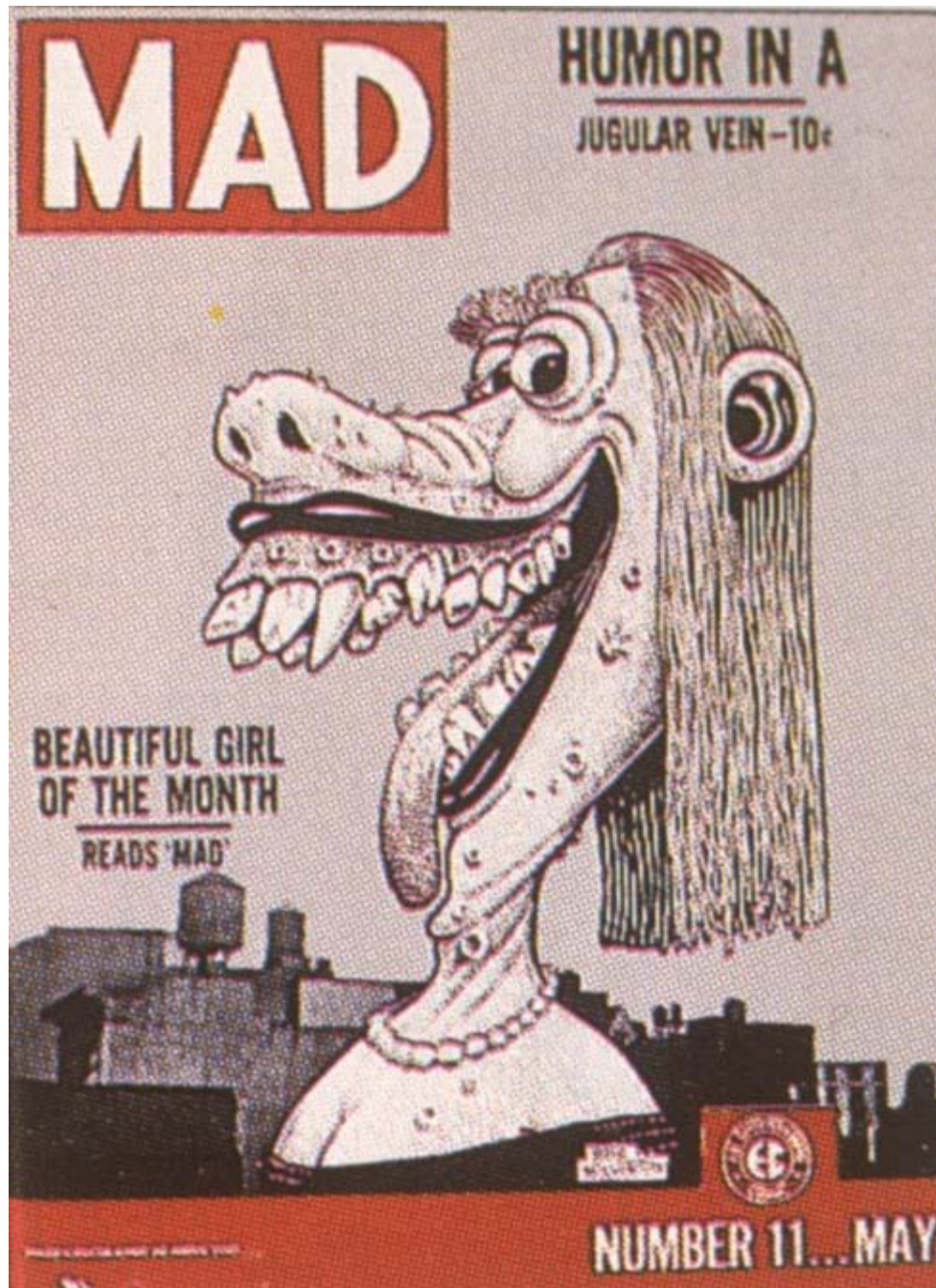
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MAD

A humor and satire magazine aimed at teenage readers, *MAD* began in 1952 as the dime comic *Tales Calculated to Drive You Mad*. It was produced by publisher William M. Gaines and editor Harvey Kurtzman under the EC imprint, best known for its publication of horror comics.

Two factors prompted the shift from comic to magazine format. The first was Kurtzman's desire to move beyond comics to more prestigious formats, which ultimately led to his break with Gaines. The second was the creation of the Comics Code Authority (CCA) in 1955. The CCA was a response to Dr. Fredric Wertham's book *Seduction of the Innocent*, in which he alleged that violent horror comics were leading to a wave of juvenile delinquency. Critics charged that many of the CCA restrictions were deliberately aimed at driving EC and other comic-book companies out of business.



MAD magazine was launched as a comic book in 1952, shifting to a monthly magazine format two years later. Since then, it has cast a satiric eye on any and all aspects of American society. This cover dates to May 1954. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

In magazine form, *MAD* immediately moved outside the scope of the CCA and gained access to better distribution channels. Without the CCA constraints—which prohibited any form of disrespect for authority or images of sex,

violence, and monsters—*MAD* was free to satirize American society. Many well-known artists, including Jack Davis, Bill Elder, and Wally Wood, drew for *MAD*. They regularly mocked sentimental staples of American pop culture, such as the comic-book characters Superman and Archie, pointing up their phoniness. Because *MAD* did not take advertising and depended solely on sales revenue, it could satirize commercial culture without fear of financial loss.

MAD developed its own mascot, Alfred E. Neuman, a grinning, gap-toothed boy whose motto was “What, me worry?” His image had appeared on other sources, including medicine labels and signs for roadside diners, but *MAD* developed him into a full-fledged character with a name and regularly featured him in various guises on the cover.

The success of *MAD* led to the creation of a number of imitators, few of which lasted more than two or three issues. One of the longest-running was *Cracked*. Gaines is said to have owned a voodoo doll, into which he pushed a pin labeled with the name of each *MAD* imitator. He would pull each pin out when the magazine ceased to publish. When Gaines died in 1992, only the pin for *Cracked* remained.

By the 1990s, *MAD* was such a cultural icon that it became the subject of satirical reference itself, particularly on the Fox Network cartoon show *The Simpsons*. During the presidency of George W. Bush, a number of political cartoonists suggested a resemblance between the president and Neuman, implying that Bush shared Neuman’s lackadaisical attitude, even toward serious political issues.

Leigh Kimmel

See also: [*Simpsons, The*](#).

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Madison, Wisconsin

Covering 85 square miles (220 square kilometers), Madison is located about 120 miles (190 kilometers) northwest of Chicago in the south-central part of Wisconsin. The city is located on an isthmus surrounded by Lakes Mendota, Monona, Wingra, and Waubesa. Before European settlement in the early nineteenth century, the Ho-Chunk Indians lived in the area and called it Taychopera, or “land of the four lakes.” In 1836, the governor of Michigan and others had the city surveyed and named it in honor of President James Madison. It was finally chartered as a city in 1856, eight years after the establishment of the state of Wisconsin and is the state capital.

Since its early years, Madison has had countercultural leanings. Robert “Fighting Bob” La Follette, who served in Madison as the governor of Wisconsin from 1901 to 1906, passed a direct-primary law, tax reform legislation, social welfare policies, and other measures collectively referred to as the Wisconsin Idea. La Follette’s magazine, *The Progressive*, was founded in 1909 and is still published in Madison today. Committed to peace, social and economic justice, civil rights, civil liberties, human rights, a reinvigorated democracy, and preserving the

environment, the publication's bedrock values remain nonviolence and freedom of speech.

From 1940 to 1970, Madison's population increased by more than 150 percent due to the end of World War II and the GI Bill that brought soldiers to this college town. The Madison branch of the University of Wisconsin (UW) has a reputation as a service university that is a hotbed of liberalism, free speech, and free thought. During the hippie era of the 1960s, students became counterculture radicals, helped other Wisconsin radicals in demonstrations at the state capital, and created alternative forms of media. The Wisconsin Historical Society lists two dozen underground newspapers published in Madison between 1967 and 2001, including *Connections*, *Kaleidoscope*, *Radical America*, and the journal *Studies on the Left*, published by graduate students in UW's Department of History under the direction of Professor William Appleman Williams and others. In addition, the Marxist journal *Telos* features the writings of former Madison radicals, while the socialist weekly *In These Times* has editors trained at UW.

Madison residents, including UW students and faculty, have worked for local chapters of national civil rights groups and have initiated a large number of unique countercultural organizations. Among these are the UW Socialist Club, the Ad-Hoc Committee for Thinking, the Marxist Study Group, the Young Socialist Alliance, the Committee to End the War in Vietnam, the Labor Youth League, the Madison Area Peace Action Council, housing communes, the Wisconsin Draft Resistance Union, the Radical Education Project, and the Pail and Shovel Party. The last was a UW club that ran the student government during the 1970s and organized two pranks that remain part of local lore: setting a Styrofoam replica of the Statue of Liberty on frozen Lake Mendota and putting a flock of plastic pink flamingos in front of the statue of Abraham Lincoln.

The proliferation of countercultural organizations has corresponded with political activism. In 1964, for example, a local department store was desegregated in a "shop-in" that gained national attention. A year later, antiwar demonstrators presented a citizen's arrest warrant to Colonel Arrowsmith at Truax Air Force Base, and students organized an Anti-Military Ball the night before the annual Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) Dance.

In 1966, UW faculty conducted teach-ins on Vietnamese culture and history in which they encouraged students to protest against the local draft board. Students held sit-ins criticizing military recruiters and the Dow Chemical Company, manufacturer of napalm, an incendiary substance used in jungle warfare in Vietnam. Demonstrations against Dow in October 1967 became so fierce that the National Guard was called in. Hundreds of students were beaten and arrested. The Black Student Strike in February 1968 also prompted state authorities to call in the National Guard, escalating tensions.

In May 1970, students were shocked to hear that four white students had been killed by the National Guard at Kent State University in Ohio. For two weeks, thousands of students took to the streets of Madison. Small firebombings occurred at the home of the Air Force ROTC commandant, the Naval Training Center, the campus ROTC building, and a local supermarket. The violence peaked in August 1970 with the bombing of Sterling Hall, the site of the U.S. Army Mathematics Research Center. Two brothers from Madison were arrested for the killing of Robert Fassnacht, a research assistant who was working late in his office, that night.

In March 1971, rioting broke out during a Youth International Party (yippie) convention held in Madison. Fighting escalated between law enforcement authorities and students, as armored police wagons rushed to the scene. The events were captured in a classic documentary film on the Madison counterculture, *War at Home* (1979).

Among the prominent centers of the counterculture in Madison in the 1960s was the neighborhood around Mifflin Street, where students experimented with drugs, free love, and a variety of alternative cultural forms. They painted murals, opened shops, and created food cooperatives. The Mifflin Street Co-op, a symbol of resistance and a hub of counterculture activity, began a fund known as the Electric Teradactyl Transit Authority to provide bail to people arrested during the police riots. Paul Soglin, a twenty-seven-year-old law student, was elected alderman, quickly gained a reputation as an antiwar militant, and led his leftist constituents in demonstrations during the Mifflin riots of 1969. The police were aided by 1,800 National Guard who used nightsticks, tear gas, and low-flying helicopters to overpower the protestors. Soglin later became mayor of Madison, serving from 1973 to 1979 and from 1989 to

1997.

Today, Madison is home to more than 400,000 metropolitan-area residents. Those employed in and around the city are likely to work for the state, the University of Wisconsin, and companies that specialize in agriculture, research laboratories, meat, high technology, medicine, insurance, or forestry products. Yet if one looks off the beaten path, one will still find the counterculture movement alive and well in Madison.

Mark E. Braun

See also: [African Americans: Yippies.](#)

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Mafia

Since the mid-twentieth century, the Mafia, a criminal organization, has made the transition from the shadowy underground to being the subject of popular movies, television shows, and works of fiction. Today, Mafia leaders, such as the late New York crime boss John Gotti, have become celebrities as much as they are criminals. The American public has a love-hate relation with the Mafia, which remains both a countercultural organization and a prominent fixture of the popular culture.

Also known as *La Cosa Nostra* (Italian for “this thing of ours”), the Mafia is believed to have originated in Sicily during the Middle Ages as a patriotic movement to rid the island of foreign occupation. The loose-knit group’s strengths were its code of silence and strict rules of conduct, which prevented a member from betraying others. By the end of the nineteenth century, the Mafia was a powerful force in Sicily, despite efforts by the Italian government to eradicate it.

Mafiosi were among the Italian immigrants who came to the United States in the late 1800s. Most settled in large cities, including New York and New Orleans, where they continued their criminal activities, especially extortion schemes. Early criminal gangs were known by such nicknames as the “Black Hand.” Victims rarely, if ever, went to the police, fearing retaliation, even death.

Prohibition, from 1920 to 1933, provided the opportunity for criminal organizations to grow and enrich themselves. Although alcohol was outlawed, demand remained high. Successful organizations developed methods to import or produce alcohol and then distribute it to consumers, in many ways mirroring legitimate businesses. The large amounts of money that could be made from alcohol led to increased violence, deaths, and consolidation of the criminal organizations. The gangs expanded their involvement beyond the Italian community and into other criminal activities. The media reported the violence, but often in such a way as to glorify the gangsters.

In 1930 and 1931, two groups of Italian gangsters battled for control over New York’s criminal activities. On April 15, 1931, Giuseppe “Joe the Boss” Masseria, the head of one group, was murdered. Within six months, on September 10, 1931, Salvatore Maranzano, the leader of the other group, comprised largely of Sicilians fleeing Fascist persecution, was assassinated. The gangs came together, and, guided by Charles “Lucky” Luciano,

divided the United States into regions controlled by twenty-four families. These families established the modern Mafia.

The families were involved in a variety of illegal crime circuits, including the sale and distribution of narcotics, gambling and prostitution rings, and labor racketeering. Such illegal activities were combined with legitimate businesses, such as construction, under each family. A national ruling body, known as the Commission and composed of the heads of the families, was established to settle disagreements between families and to regulate joint activities.

The existence of an organized-crime group was denied by everyone involved. The first widespread mention of the term *Mafia* was during televised congressional hearings held by Senator Estes Kefauver in 1951, the first concerned with organized crime as a national problem. Six years later, the New York State Police broke up a high-level conference of Mafia leaders in the upstate town of Apalachin. The so-called Apalachin Conference proved the existence of a national crime organization and received widespread media coverage.

Many Mafia secrets were revealed in 1963, when Joseph Valachi became the first member to break the code of silence. In front of the Senate Permanent Investigations Subcommittee, Valachi revealed much of the Mafia's structure, secret rituals, and culture before a national television audience. Knowledge of the Mafia's existence entered mainstream American consciousness.

Americans gained further understanding of the Mafia after Mario Puzo published the best-selling novel *The Godfather* in 1969. It depicts the fictional Corleone family balancing the demands of family life with the business of crime. Millions were fascinated by the movie version, which appeared in 1972. Other novels and movies followed.

By the time John Gotti, head of the Gambino family, first went to trial, in 1987, on charges of racketeering, many Americans regarded him as a kind of folk hero. The media nicknamed him the "Dapper Don" and the "Teflon Don" for his impeccably neat appearance and his long-lasting ability to avoid having charges "stick."

America's love-hate relation with the Mafia has continued, as evidenced by the popular TV show *Growing Up Gotti* (2004), starring John Gotti's daughter Victoria and her three sons, and the hit series *The Sopranos* (1999–2007), about a New Jersey crime family whose domestic and personal crises mix with criminal ones.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Film, Hollywood](#); [Gangsters](#); [Prohibition](#).

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Magazines, Little

Little magazines are periodicals that offer an alternative voice—typically in literature, the arts, and social theory—to mass-circulation popular magazines. Originating in the mid-nineteenth century, little magazines have differed from their commercial counterparts by providing a forum for lesser-known writers, out-of-the-mainstream literary trends, and radical political, social, and artistic theories. “Little” does not refer to the physical size of the publication but to the relative size of the readership. It also implies marginal profitability, reliance on private financial backing, and meager remuneration to contributors. The subscription base of such publications generally is small, the life expectancy short. Little magazines are concerned not with making money but with expressing new ideas and unconventional opinions not to be found in the popular publications of the day.

Predominantly a twentieth-century phenomenon, little magazines had prototypes in such earlier publications as the transcendentalist magazine of the 1840s, *The Dial*, edited by Margaret Fuller and Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry Clapp’s literary journal of New York in the 1860s, the *Saturday Press*, which featured works by such unknowns as Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. Indeed, little magazines have played a vital role in introducing alternative and new voices to American letters, as well as in inspiring literary and political movements that have challenged the status quo.

The Movement

The little magazine movement emerged in the second decade of the twentieth century with two small but enduringly influential publications, the Chicago-based monthly *Poetry* (1912–), founded and edited by Harriet Moore, and the modernist literary magazine *The Little Review* (1914–1929), also founded in Chicago. From the beginning, these and other little magazines promoted new writers and writing styles. *Poetry* featured T.S. Eliot’s first published poem, “The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock,” for example, and discovered other leading voices of contemporary American poetry. *The Little Review* debuted James Joyce’s novel *Ulysses* (in installments) in America.

Other notable writers who owed their first publications or early reputations to little magazines included Hart Crane, William Faulkner, Robert Frost, Ernest Hemingway, Edgar Lee Masters, Ezra Pound, Wallace Stevens, and Thornton Wilder. Hemingway published poetry and his first short story in *Double Dealer* in May 1922; the June issue of this publication included a story by Faulkner; and Jean Toomer and Thornton Wilder made appearances in the September issue.

In the decades that followed, little magazines were published in diverse geographical regions and subject areas, and they included a wide variety political and social ideologies and literary or artistic movements, such as vorticism, imagism, and surrealism. In addition to *Poetry* and *The Little Review*, notable literary magazines in the early part of the century included *The Fugitive* (1922–1925) and *Others* (1915–1919). Influential left-wing political magazines included *The Masses* (1911–1917), *New Masses* (1926–1948), and *The Anvil* (1933–1935). *The Midland* (1915–1933) was an example of a little magazine with a regional focus. Other significant little magazines during the 1920s include *Modern Review*, *Voices*, *Secession*, *Broom*, and *The Dial*, which had grown to 30,000 readers under the editorship of poet Marianne Moore.

Many little magazines sought to present high-quality writing without a catering to a particular group. For example, *Contempo* (1931–1934) was published in North Carolina by an editor who was a communist, but the content of the magazine was devoted to literature, featuring pieces by the likes of Sherwood Anderson, Langston Hughes, James Joyce, and Nathaniel West. Contributors were not paid for their writing, but they were given the opportunity to criticize themselves or respond to other critics in a feature called “Authorview.”

A little magazine often was the result of one editor’s vision; in other cases, individual issues reflected the tastes and interests of a particular editor. Some magazines were started by writers and artists themselves. T.S. Eliot launched *The Criterion* in 1922, which ran until 1939, and William Carlos Williams and Robert McAlmon established *Contact* in December 1920, which ran irregularly until July 1923.

Another magazine of this period associated with Williams and imagist poetry was *Others*, edited by Alfred Kreyborg, who also edited *Broom* from November 1921 to February 1922. Featuring experimental writing, *Broom* was founded and financed by Harold Loeb, and published at various times in Berlin, Rome, and New York.

Postwar Voices

Post–World War II America provided the milieu for a group of disaffected young writers and poets who came to be called the “Beat Generation”—a group that often shared its writings by means of notebooks and readings. In 1961, two such writers, LeRoi Jones (later Amiri Baraka) and Diane di Prima, began *The Floating Bear: A Newsletter*, a mimeographed publication that would become a paragon for other informal, underground literary magazines of the decade. *The Floating Bear* was an outlet for Beat poets, for representatives of groups such as the Black Mountain (College) poets, and for a number of completely independent writers. Published until 1969, *The Floating Bear* presented writers such as William S. Burroughs, Robert Creeley, Allen Ginsberg, Frank O’Hara, and Charles Olson, who explored alternative values, lifestyles, and literary forms, and political points of view that challenged the status quo.

Another influential post–World War II little magazine was *The Ark*, launched in 1947 and committed to political and literary works that promoted a subversive spirit, usually associated with anarchist and pacifist groups. Its pages included publications by Kenneth Rexroth, Paul Goodman, and Robert Duncan, whose 1944 essay “The Homosexual in Society” had made him “untouchable” by commercial presses and even significant literary journals such as *The Kenyon Review*.

Many writers who continued to challenge the status quo through the 1960s and the 1970s were associated with the San Francisco Renaissance that had begun in the mid-1950s, including writers such as Michael McClure, Gary Snyder, Jack Spicer, and Philip Whalen. In fact, Spicer continued to publish the work of other alternative writers until his death in 1975.

Another significant little magazine of the 1970s was *Big Sky*, which featured writers from Bolinas, California. *Big Sky* did not represent a particular school or a movement; its purpose was to present another outlet for alternative political and literary voices.

In the last two decades of the twentieth century, independent publishers and publications continued to thrive with subscription papers, such as *The Threepenny Review*. Desktop publishing and the World Wide Web created a new form that mirrored the informality of the mimeograph publishing phenomenon of the 1960s and 1970s for a new generation, enabling individuals and small groups to express their ideas, views, and commentary on popular culture. Zines became yet another new form of alternative publishing—in the tradition of little magazines as much as a century and half earlier—as technology opened vast new sources of information, opinion, and countercultural perspective.

Michael Susko

See also: [Baraka, Amiri](#); [Dial, The](#); [Masses, The](#); [Zines](#).

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Magic and Magicians

The history of magic and magicians in America includes two overlapping traditions: popular spiritual magic and professional stage magic in the entertainment industry. Both phenomena have capitalized on the popular desire for secret wisdom and mystery in an increasingly rational modern world.

Spiritual Magic

A system of rituals controlling the unseen, blind forces of the universe, spiritual magic has been practiced in virtually every culture in human history. Popular American magic, occultism, and spiritualism developed out of folk traditions brought by immigrants from every corner of the globe, some of which combined with existing Native American practices. *Santería*, voodoo, shamanism, occultism, and other traditional or organized mystical practices—not to mention superstitions and folk beliefs—have existed side by side with belief in God, church attendance, and public secularism.

Fortune-tellers, spiritualists, and healers preach that magical rituals, charms, and spells can focus a person's inner divine energy toward a certain task. Advertisements for lucky charms, amulets, books of secret wisdom, psychic readings, supernatural healing, and specially endowed objects and substances ranging from jade jewelry, lodestones, and wood carvings to incense, candles, and special oils or powders have appeared in American newspapers and magazines since the 1800s. The advice of psychics and various types of good-luck charms can still be obtained in shops, at amusement parks, at various fairs and festivals, or on the Internet, and astrological advice and daily fortunes can be found in newspaper horoscopes.

The sellers of magical objects have long authenticated their wares by billing themselves as mystics, seers, occultists, or metaphysicians with secret wisdom available only to the chosen few. Magical products and their purveyors often are associated with Gypsies, Southern African American cultures, or those of ancient Arabia, China, Egypt, or India. Exotic personae, often women, became commonplace promoters, invoking traditions and cultures that predate modern science.

Many entrepreneurs of magic have been commercial opportunists who knew their claims to be fraudulent. However, many fortune-tellers and charm vendors have been believers who regard personal financial gain as incidental evidence of their own magical powers.

Stage Magic

In the 1840s, the acknowledged father of modern magic, Frenchman Jean-Eugène Robert-Houdin, established the art of stage magic as a scientific form through which to destroy superstition and credulity by instructing audiences to be more critical. Since the late nineteenth century, the mostly male club of professional stage magicians has been spiritual magic's sharpest critic. At the turn of the twentieth century, there were about 2,000 professional stage magicians working in the United States and an estimated 10,000 amateurs. Most native-born magicians were young men who started out in their late teens or early twenties doing coin and card tricks at the local opera house or in vaudeville, and later moved up to circuses, the home-parlor circuit of the well-to-do, amusement parks, world's fairs, and their own theater shows.

Between 1890 and 1940, magician-entertainers such as Harry Houdini (a Hungarian immigrant, Ehrich Weiss derived his stage from that of the French founder of modern magic), Hermann the Magnificent (Compars or Carl Hermann, another European-born magician who came to America), and the Great Kellar (Pennsylvania-born Heinrich or Harry Kellar, founder of the "Royal Dynasty of American Magicians") built lifelong careers by devising

truly original illusions, the secrets to which they guarded jealously. Meanwhile, a small but talented group of non-white foreign-born magicians, such as the famous Ching Ling Foo, and nonwhite American-born performers traveled the United States performing as Chinese, Persian, “Hindoo,” or Egyptian magicians. Some Caucasian American magicians also adopted exotic stage personae, making it difficult to determine in retrospect how many performers were foreign and how many were native born.

Props such as turbans, capes, magic wands, smoking cauldrons, and brass lamps with mist drifting skyward accompanied the exotic characters. Posters and other promotional materials were embellished with astrological symbols and other mysterious images to inject the same sense of the occult as that invoked by fortune-tellers and crystal-ball vendors.

Stage magicians’ tricks could include simple coin and card standards, disappearances, the production of small animals from thin air, levitation, and “sawing a woman in half,” as well as thousands of other original creations. During the golden age of professional stage magic in vaudeville, magicians’ trade journals such as *The Sphinx*, *Magic Wand*, and *Mahatma*, as well as dozens of how-to manuals, made the mechanics of modern magical illusions an open secret within the industry and to any attentive fan.

Modern Magic

By the mid-twentieth century, fewer American magicians survived as professional entertainers, though the ones who did tended to put on extravagant stage shows in resort hotels and other large venues. In the 1970s, Doug Henning revived magic for mainstream America, developing the live theatrical show, *Spellbound*, for Broadway and *Doug Henning’s World of Magic* for television. Also beginning in the 1970s, the internationally famous stage magician and illusionist David Copperfield performed in major arenas, outdoors, and on special television broadcasts.

Stage magicians traditionally have asserted that they perform entertaining illusions only, and that their stage names, costumes, accoutrements, and claims of secret powers are not to be taken entirely seriously. They have invited audiences to consider how the tricks are done and to learn to avoid being fooled in the future. When modern magicians look at the perceived miracles and psychic powers of exotic fortune-tellers and other mystical advisers, they see the same tricks and illusions that they have performed on the vaudeville, or, more recently, Las Vegas, stages every night.

Magicians from Harry Houdini in the early twentieth century to Penn and Teller and James Randi today have made second careers out of exposing the methods of spiritual magicians and faith healers who make spiritual truth claims to explain their work. Believers in spiritual magic respond that these attacks are a way for stage magicians—who are unable to comprehend true spiritual power—to gain notoriety and promote their own performances.

Susan Nance

See also: [Houdini, Harry: Spiritualism.](#)

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Malcolm X (1925–1965)

A charismatic Black Muslim leader, community organizer, public speaker, and advocate of black nationalism, Malcolm X foreshadowed the transition from the civil rights movement of the late 1950s and early 1960s to the Black Power movement of the later 1960s. His intellectual legacies include criticism of nonviolence, a distinctive African American theology, and internationalizing the African American freedom struggle by fomenting political and cultural interest in Africa, Asia, and Islam. Framing revolutionary upheaval in terms of race and class conflict, the fight for land, identification of a new political force, and the street youth and the prison population as central to liberation movements, he made redemption and personal discipline an attribute of the counterculture. Above all, he was a great educator. His lack of formal education gave him the gift of allowing his grassroots constituency to see the essence of intellectual endeavor without the mediation of formal academic institutions and processes or the mystifications of media and government, as well as to see it as the pursuit of self-knowledge and social practice.



Black Muslim minister Malcolm X broke from the Nation of Islam and advocated a radical brand of political and economic nationalism. He converted to orthodox Islam in 1964 and was assassinated in February of the following year. (Library of Congress)

Born on May 19, 1925, in Omaha, Nebraska, as Malcolm Little to parents who were members of the Marcus Garvey black nationalist movement of the early twentieth century, he had a tragic childhood. His father, Earl, was assassinated for his activism. His mother, Louise, under the pressure of raising her large family in poverty, became mentally ill. Malcolm became separated from his family for a time as a ward of the state in Michigan, and

he received an inadequate education.

After working as a Pullman porter, he became a pimp, drug dealer, and petty criminal in Boston and New York City. He later reflected on his youth as a time of both self-hatred and ingenuity, marked by some joy as he pursued the fashions of popular culture—jazz, the zoot suit, and the Lindy Hop.

Malcolm had his awakening in prison. Serving a sentence from 1946 to 1952 on burglary charges, he read extensively and discovered the teachings of Black Muslim leader Elijah Muhammad. Upon his release from prison, he joined the Nation of Islam (NOI) and changed his name to Malcolm X. (As it was for other Black Muslims, the X was a rejection of a name imposed under slavery and signified the absence of an inherited African name.)

What made the NOI unique and controversial was its racial separatism and opposition to social integration and equality, an ideology that contradicted the main planks of the civil rights movement. The NOI believed in black economic autonomy from, and cultural superiority to, whites. Malcolm X came to personify this small but growing organization.

Through itinerant preaching and editing the newspaper *Muhammad Speaks*, known for its international perspective, Malcolm proved instrumental in building a movement by helping thousands of African Americans reclaim their lives from drugs, alcohol abuse, and crime, and in fostering their sense of personal dignity and cultural pride. His most famous recruit was heavyweight boxing champion Cassius Clay, who joined the NOI in 1964 and changed his name to Muhammad Ali.

CBS-TV introduced the NOI to mainstream America in a 1959 documentary as “the hate that hate produced.” The characterization was ironic, for despite the backgrounds of some of its membership and its rhetoric, the group was largely distinguished by a public reputation of asceticism and mild manners. Still, divisions would arise between Malcolm X and the Nation, as Elijah Muhammad became personally wealthy and fathered several children outside his marriage, and as the civil rights movement began to accelerate and be subjected to increasing brutality.

Malcolm X was critical of the August 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom led by the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. He called it “the farce on Washington” for its elite sponsorship and acceptance by the government. In November of that year, he declared the assassination of President John F. Kennedy a case of “chickens coming home to roost.” The hatred and violence that white society had directed at blacks, he contended, had escalated to the point of the murder of the president. Malcolm X advocated a direct-action movement against police brutality and the violence of the white supremacist fraternal organization the Ku Klux Klan.

In March 1964, Malcolm X permanently broke ties with the NOI after his criticism of organization leadership. After returning from a pilgrimage to Mecca and a tour of Africa in April and May of that year, he announced that he had become an orthodox Sunni Muslim and he founded the rival Muslim Mosque, Inc. and the Organization of Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

The final year of Malcolm’s life was remarkable for his evolving views. His visits to African nations and Mecca clarified to him a politics and fellowship beyond the color line even as he continued to oppose white supremacy. He became a more ecumenical public figure, minimizing religious differences and fostering a secular revolutionary Pan-Africanism, which as both an ideology and a movement strove to unify all blacks as part of a global African community. Still defending the need for autonomous black political and cultural organizations, he rejected racial separatism as an ultimate goal, promoting coalition with people of color of all nationalities and sincere whites. His fledgling group, the short-lived OAAU, strove to place women in positions of equality and leadership, and through its public forums was an important predecessor of the black studies movement.

The public war of words between Malcolm X and Elijah Muhammad led to threats against Malcolm X’s life and finally to his assassination, with the apparent support of the FBI. He was shot and killed while giving a speech in New York City on February 21, 1965.

See also: [African Americans](#): [Black Muslims](#): [Black Power Movement](#): [Civil Rights Movement](#): [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#): [Ku Klux Klan](#).

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Manson Family

The dark side of the often romanticized Flower Power era of the late 1960s was arguably best exemplified by the California death cult led by career criminal Charles Manson, whose followers collectively referred to themselves as “the Family.” The group consisted of people, most female and most in their late teens and early twenties, whose alienation from their parents, from traditional religion, and from “straight” society in general rendered them vulnerable to exploitation by an opportunistic and (at first) benign-looking guru known as “Charlie” Manson. In the summer of 1969, Manson inspired his followers to embark on a horrendous murder spree.

Family Roots

Beginning shortly after Manson’s release from prison in March 1967—at age thirty-three, he had been incarcerated for more than half his life for crimes ranging from car theft to forgery to pimping to robbery—the Family began to form in the San Francisco Bay Area. The group was drawn together over the course of several months and was held together by Manson’s personal charisma and his peculiar talent for interpersonal domination. Manson and his eight or nine followers adopted an itinerant existence, using an old school bus to float between temporary communes located mainly in the San Francisco and Los Angeles areas.

The Family, which included Manson’s girlfriend, Mary Theresa Brunner, and their infant son, Valentine Michael Manson, subsisted largely on odd jobs, the largesse of friends, petty crime, drugs, and religious fervor. Retention in the Family required the adoption of Manson’s eclectic mix of metaphysical and theological teachings, including a belief in reincarnation, the worship of both God and Satan, participation in or promotion of Manson’s ever-expanding harem, and the belief that “Charlie,” as he was known to Family members, was the living incarnation of Jesus Christ.

Manson and his followers—among them future murderers Susan (“Sadie Mae Glutz”) Atkins, Robert (“Cupid”) Beausoleil, Brunner, Bruce McGregor Davis, Steve (“Clem”) Grogan, Patricia Krenwinkel, Leslie (“LuLu”) Van Houten, and Charles (“Tex”) Watson—methodically took advantage of the disaffected children of the affluent and absorbed adult “truth seekers” into their ranks. The former Methodist minister Dean Moorehouse, father of Ruth Ann “Ouisch” Moorehouse, a young Manson acolyte whom the elder Moorehouse had initially sought to free from Manson’s clutches, eventually joined the Family himself.

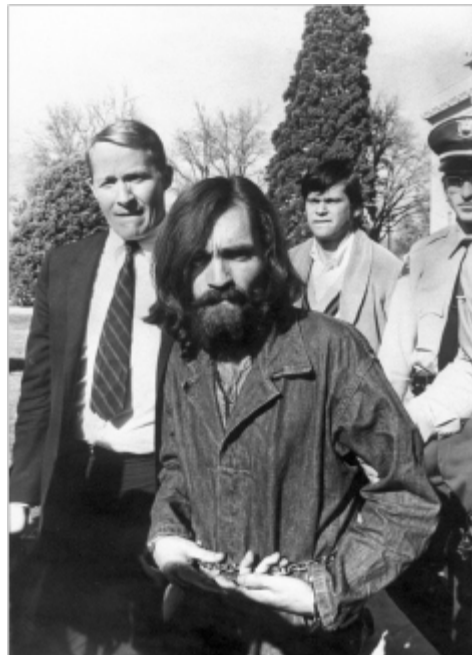
Manson had achieved a degree of proficiency as a singer, guitarist, and songwriter while in prison. After his 1967 release, he participated in a number of professional recording sessions and received serious consideration as a potential recording artist by producer Terry Melcher.

Manson began to draw new converts and patrons from the entertainment industry. The most prominent of these celebrity contacts was Dennis Wilson, drummer and singer for the Beach Boys, who allowed the Family the run of his Los Angeles mansion through much of 1968 and sustained losses of upward of \$100,000 as a consequence of Manson’s extended stay.

Cult Mentality

Like the charismatic leaders of many religious cults, Manson achieved an extraordinary degree of control over the lives and attitudes of his followers. He accomplished this largely through a regime of repetitive preaching and the application of fear and intimidation, reinforced by the use of psychoactive drugs, especially marijuana and LSD.

As the 1967 Summer of Love and its message of peace and love receded into history, Manson’s control over his flock intensified. His associations with a network of Los Angeles–area criminals, including several outlaw motorcycle gangs, turned his thoughts increasingly toward violence in 1968 and 1969. The mood of the Family darkened correspondingly.



Ex-convict Charles Manson controlled the members of his California “family,” a small group of followers, by means of drugs, fear, and cult teachings. Manson and his family were convicted of a gruesome multiple murder committed in August 1969. (Sahm Doherty/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

According to witnesses, Manson seemed to get an ever-increasing charge out of violence and death after ordering

the killing of Gary Hinman, a Los Angeles music teacher and drug dealer, in late July 1969. Murder witness Paul Watkins would later testify, "Death is Charlie's trip."

Manson came to believe in the inevitability of an all-out race war. After the conflict, he maintained that blacks would take over whatever remained of the world but would require the assistance of Charlie and the Family in order to rule successfully. Manson justified his apocalyptic vision based on his interpretation of the Book of Revelation and the lyrics of the Beatles. He eventually decided to ignite the race war himself by committing acts of violence calculated to provoke the nation's white-dominated power structure to respond in a way that would rouse blacks to all-out war.

Manson's control over the emotional lives of his followers made the Family a veritable extension of his growing preoccupation with quasi-eschatological violence. That obsession culminated on August 9, 1969, in the brutal knife-slayings of actress Sharon Tate (the wife of film director Roman Polanski), coffee heiress Abigail Folger and her boyfriend Wojciech (Voytek) Frykowski, internationally known hairstylist Jay Sebring, and teenage visitor Steve Parent. This was followed the next night by the killings of wealthy grocery-store magnates Leno and Rosemary LaBianca.

In the initial incident, Manson ordered Family members Watkins, Atkins, Krenwinkel, and Linda Kasabian to break in to the Tate-Polanski home near Bel Air, California, and kill whoever was inside. In the case of the LaBianca murders, Manson himself joined five other members in carrying out the brutal attacks. In furtherance of Manson's bizarre vision of a race war, Family members used their victims' blood to scrawl slogans on walls, doors, and appliances, such as "Rise," "Death to Pigs," and "Healter Skelter" [*sic*], all derived from the Beatles's 1968 release popularly known as *The White Album*.

Murder Trial, Imprisonment, and Beyond

Manson and the Family members who participated in the slayings were apprehended over the course of the next several months and put on trial in Los Angeles in June 1970. The proceedings became notorious for the noisy theatrics of the defendants—including chanting, shouting, the carving of swastikas into their foreheads, and even an attempt by Manson to rush the judge's bench—which resulted in their removal from the courtroom to watch the proceedings on closed-circuit television.

Found guilty of murder and conspiracy in January 1971, Manson and several Family members were sentenced to death at the end of the trial's penalty phase in April. Their sentences were reduced to life imprisonment after the California Supreme Court abolished the death penalty in 1972.

Although Manson has remained in custody continuously since late 1969, almost certain never to qualify for parole, the Family survived the conviction and confinement of him and other members. Manson acolytes not implicated in the murders maintained a vigil outside the courthouse during the legal proceedings in 1970 and 1971, and they continued to engage in further crimes in Manson's name.

Family members killed Manson's court-appointed defense lawyer, Ronald Hughes, during the trial because of Manson's wish to represent himself. On September 5, 1975, Manson lieutenant Lynette "Squeaky" Fromme made a failed attempt to assassinate President Gerald R. Ford, for which she, too, was arrested, tried, and sentenced to life in prison. Though much diminished, remnants of the Family survive to the present day.

In the annals of violent crime in America, the murder spree of Charles Manson's Family stands out as particularly shocking, not merely for its heinousness but also because of the way the group's cult mentality and ideology of hatred grew and festered amid the hippie idealism of the late 1960s. Manson himself, denied parole eleven times as of mid-2007, continues to receive thousands of pieces of fan mail annually, mostly from alienated young people seeking permission to join the Family.

See also: [Apocalypse Culture](#): [Beatles, The](#): [Branch Davidians](#): [Cults](#): [Flower Children](#): [Hippies](#): [Los Angeles, California](#): [LSD](#): [Marijuana](#).

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Mapplethorpe, Robert (1946–1989)

The controversial fine art photographer Robert Mapplethorpe produced elegant floral still lifes, sensual male and female nudes, and celebrity portraits, but he is most known for his homoerotic and sexually charged work and its role in the federal arts-funding controversies of the late 1980s. A 1989 retrospective exhibition of his work, titled "The Perfect Moment," toured seven major U.S. cities, receiving only moderate attention at some venues but enormous amounts at others. By its conclusion, the exhibition had suffered a cancellation in Washington, D.C., had resulted in the criminal prosecution of a museum director in Cincinnati, and had aided Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) in his drive to slash funding for the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA), an independent federal agency supporting artists and arts organizations.

Born in New York City on November 4, 1946, Mapplethorpe attended the Pratt Institute in Brooklyn from 1963 to 1970. He began his career as a filmmaker and sculptor. He began pursuing photography in the mid-1970s and began gaining attention for his large-scale black-and-white portraits and compositions.

Many of Mapplethorpe's photographs of the 1970s and early 1980s make reference to the gay lifestyle, of which he was an active participant. His subjects range from sensually isolated body parts to amorous same-sex embraces. More controversial, however, were his obvious references to homoerotic sadomasochism. Leather-clad men with whips and chains, and naked men in positions of bondage, confronted viewers with a disconcerting mixture of eroticism and violence.

Mapplethorpe also provoked criticism for his mixing of black and white models and his depictions of black men. "Thomas and Dovanna" (1987), in which a naked black man dances with a clothed white woman, alternately legitimated interracial relations or confirmed white-racist fears of miscegenation. While some critics praised Mapplethorpe's repeated treatment of the black male nude as a subversion of racial hierarchy, others saw his practice as objectifying and exploitative. "Man in a Polyester Suit" (1980), a cropped image of a black man in a three-piece suit with his large penis exposed, was criticized for reinforcing racial stereotypes.

Mapplethorpe's photographs of children provoked nearly as much controversy as his references to sadomasochism. Two photographs, "Honey" (1976) and "Jesse McBride" (1976), depict young children with their genitals exposed. Both photographs were quickly labeled as child pornography, which was another dimension to the controversy over his work.

As "The Perfect Moment" toured the country in 1989 and 1990, public and critical reactions varied widely. The exhibition went largely unremarked in Chicago and Philadelphia but caused a firestorm when it reached the

nation's capital. Days before the show was to open in Washington, Director Christina Orr-Cahall announced that the Corcoran Gallery was withdrawing as a host venue. Rather than calming the already heated political climate, the cancellation fanned the flames, alienating the art world while apparently affirming the views of conservative politicians and other critics.

Mapplethorpe's supporters actively protested the decision, while Senator Helms worked tirelessly to restrict the actions of the NEA. Helms eventually secured a ban on federal funding for any work of art that could be considered obscene. This legislation proved pivotal when the Mapplethorpe exhibition was shut down at the Cincinnati Contemporary Art Center and Director Dennis Barrie was prosecuted, though later acquitted, for "pandering obscenity." Barrie's acquittal by a Cincinnati jury in 1990 and its ruling of Mapplethorpe's work as valid have provided a legal cornerstone for photographers whose work has been labeled obscene.

Throughout his career, Mapplethorpe explored his own subjectivity through a series of self-portraits. He included himself in his depictions of sadomasochistic behavior and in more elegant portraits of his naked body. In the late 1980s, as he was battling the disease AIDS, Mapplethorpe produced haunting self-portraits documenting his increasingly gaunt appearance. He died on March 9, 1989, at the age of 42, only months before the political uproar that attended his retrospective developed.

Rachel Epp Buller

See also: [Pornography: Smith, Patti.](#)

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Marcuse, Herbert (1898–1979)

The German-born social philosopher Herbert Marcuse was perhaps the most influential theorist for the American New Left, the counterculture movement associated with the liberal, sometimes radical, political protest that took place on college campuses across America in the 1960s and 1970s. His theories of "one-dimensional man," criticizing the industrialization and bureaucratization of modern society (capitalist and communist alike), and of the "great refusal," advocating the popular rejection of a repressive social order without waiting for violent revolution, earned him a large following among campus radicals of the time.

Marcuse was born on July 19, 1898, to Jewish parents in Berlin, Germany. He was drafted for military service in 1916 but, due to poor eyesight, remained on the home front during World War I and was discharged in the winter of 1918. It was during the Great War and the German Revolution of 1918 that Marcuse first became interested in Marxist politics.

When the war was over, Marcuse entered Humboldt University in Berlin and later studied literature, philosophy, and political economy at the University of Freiburg, completing his doctoral dissertation in 1922. He returned to Freiburg in 1929 to work on his habilitation (post-doctorate dissertation) under the philosopher Martin Heidegger, but his studies were interrupted in 1932 by the rise to power of the openly anti-Semitic Nazi Party. He applied to work for the Institute for Social Research, also known as the Frankfurt school.

Marcuse joined the Institute for Social Research's branch office in Geneva, which director Max Horkheimer had presciently set up in anticipation of Nazi repression. Marcuse would later follow the institute as it moved to Paris and, ultimately, New York. Because of his strong ties to the institute and its members, Marcuse began to distance himself from his early intellectual interests in ontology and the development of a phenomenological Marxism. He began instead to devote himself to the institute's broader project of developing a critical social theory capable of grasping society as a whole.

Marcuse became a U.S. citizen in 1940. He worked for the Office of Strategic Services (OSS, a precursor to the Central Intelligence Agency) from World War II until 1951. At the OSS, he joined a group of left-wing academics and intellectuals who worked on research related to social and cultural aspects of Nazi ideology and on plans for dealing with Germany after the war. In 1952, he began what would be a highly successful teaching career at American universities, including Columbia, Harvard, Brandeis, and the University of California, San Diego.

It was his criticism of capitalism and capitalist society, particularly in the books *Eros and Civilization* (1955) and *One-Dimensional Man* (1964), that had the most powerful influence on the New Left and antiwar movements; the latter became a best seller among left-wing university students. According to scholar Douglas Kellner, Marcuse's view that modern, consumption-oriented, capitalist man "has lost, or is losing, individuality, freedom and the ability to dissent and to control one's own destiny [to a] society which shapes aspirations, hopes, fears and values, even manipulating vital needs" struck a chord with the American counterculture of the 1960s.

Thus, it was Marcuse's ability to capture the disenchantment with society felt by so many people in the 1960s and 1970s that led so many students to flock to his lectures and read his books. He died on July 29, 1979.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [New Left](#).

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Marijuana

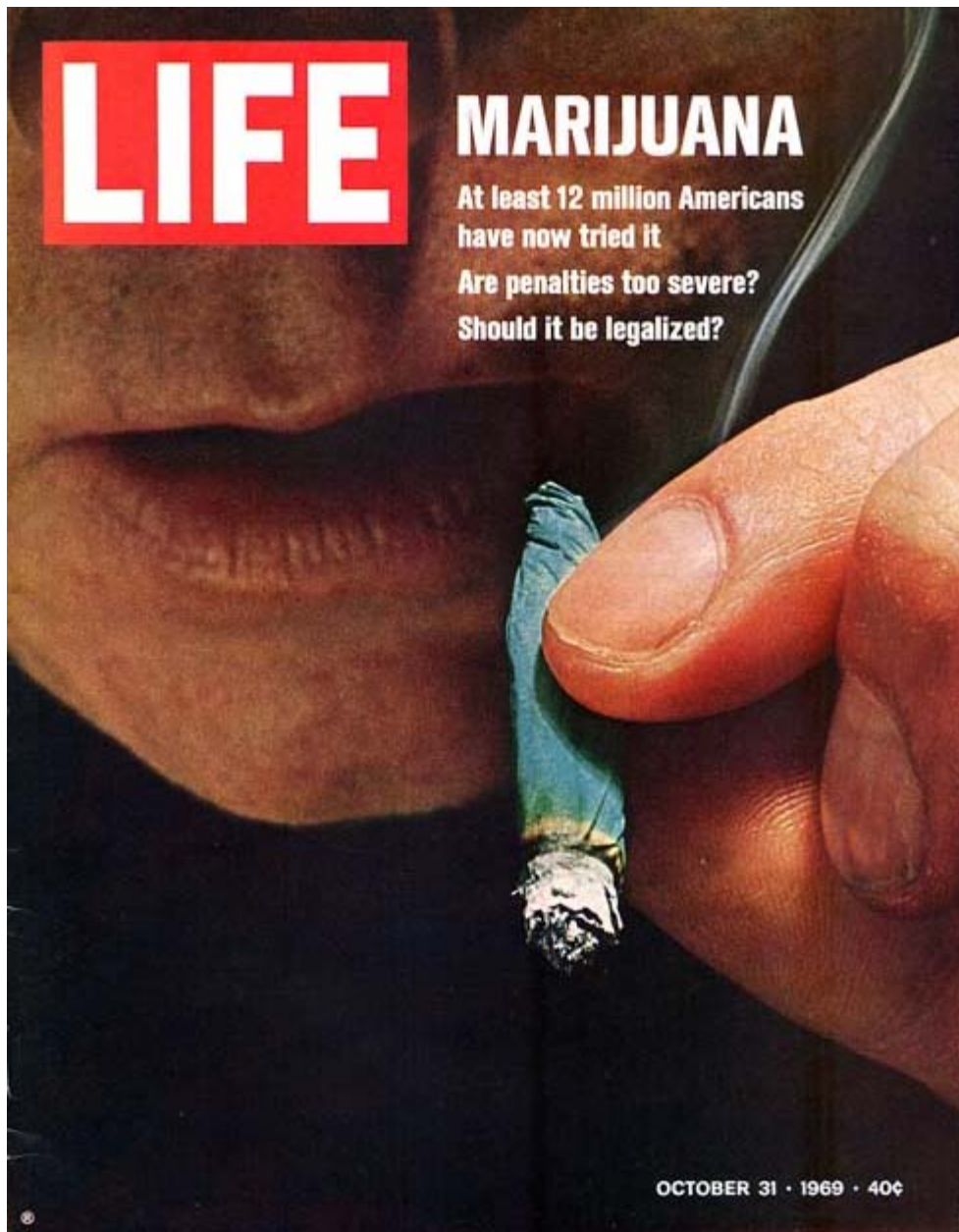
“Smoking pot makes you a criminal and a revolutionary. As soon as you take your first puff, you are an enemy of society,” proclaimed 1960s counterculture leader Jerry Rubin. Illegal in the United States since 1937, marijuana was a symbol of antiestablishment rebellion throughout most of the twentieth century.

The marijuana plant, or *Cannabis sativa*, grows in temperate and tropical climate zones. It has hairy, finely serrated leaves, small flowers, and seeds that emit a sticky resin containing the mind-altering chemical tetrahydrocannabinol (THC). When the dried foliage or seeds are smoked, or consumed in a food or beverage, the user feels a sense of euphoria accompanied by intensified physical sensations, a greater awareness of audio and visual stimuli, and, often, uncontrollable giggles. Marijuana, known by hundreds of slang terms—including *pot*, *grass*, *hash*, *Mary Jane*, *weed*, *herb*, *dope*, *reefer*, and *ganja*—is the most commonly used illegal drug in America, in spite of the fact that users, dealers, and growers chance prison terms for possession of it.

Since the 1920s, associations between marijuana, countercultural music genres, and fringe lifestyles have caused mainstream America to view the drug, and its users, as subversive to traditional values. During Prohibition (1920–1933), men and women gathered in speakeasies (nightclubs that served illegal liquor) to drink, dance, listen to jazz, and smoke. Jazz songs such as Bessie Smith’s “Gimme a Reefer” (1933) and Fats Waller’s “Viper’s Drag” (1929) reflected the popularity of marijuana among musicians, who often “lit up” and “got high” on hand-rolled “joints,” or cigarettes, between sets. “Tea pads,” similar to opium dens, where customers could relax and smoke marijuana in relative comfort, were established in cities such as San Francisco and New York.

Marijuana use was so widespread by the 1930s that moral crusaders, public health reformers, and the Federal Bureau of Narcotics engaged in antipot campaigns that characterized marijuana as a threatening substance in public health announcements and movies such as *Reefer Madness* (1936), which warned that marijuana use could lead to rape, suicide, and manslaughter. Yet, marijuana’s popularity continued to grow during the post–World War II era.

The drug’s illegal status only seemed to increase its appeal to disaffected youth who reveled in dissident behavior directly challenging mainstream conformity. Allen Ginsberg’s highly controversial *Howl and Other Poems* (1956) and Jack Kerouac’s *On the Road* (1957) flaunted excessive marijuana use, while defining the 1950s Beat culture as well as the hippie movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Marijuana featured prominently in the anti–Vietnam War protests, the Free Speech Movement, counterculture “be-ins,” and rock music of the 1960s.



A staple of the 1960s counterculture, marijuana was declared a Schedule I drug—one that has a high risk of abuse—under the Controlled Substances Act of 1970. Since then, a number of jurisdictions have decriminalized marijuana, even for nonmedical use. (Co Rentmeester/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

The euphoria and sense of community experienced by users created a daring culture of unity-in-rebellion. Popular music groups such as the Grateful Dead, the Rolling Stones, the Beatles, and many others acknowledged using the drug and wrote songs under its influence. Implements for smoking marijuana such as pipes, bongs (water pipes), and roach clips (to hold the butt of a joint) entered the American vernacular. Some paraphernalia also became fashion accessories—for instance, roach clips disguised as decorative hair clips, jewelry, and key chains.

In spite of its illegal status, recreational marijuana use in America has continued to increase. More recently, its medical use as an antiemetic—to help combat nausea and vomiting caused by chemotherapy and other cancer treatments—has been the source of sometimes rancorous public policy debate. While at least a dozen states have passed legislation allowing doctors' prescriptions for cannabis, the federal government does not recognize legitimate medical use. Possession and distribution of marijuana thus remain illegal. Large protest demonstrations have been held in several of the states where medical cannabis statutes have been overruled and access to the drug effectively blocked.

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Drug Culture](#): [Ginsberg, Allen](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Hippies](#): [Jazz](#): [Kerouac, Jack](#): [Rolling Stones, The](#): [Rubin, Jerry](#).

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Masses, The

The Masses was a wide-ranging journal of socialist politics and culture published from 1911 to 1917 under the leadership of two successive editors. It was established by the Dutch-born socialist Piet Vlag in 1911, with the financial backing of a wealthy, progressive executive. In its original incarnation, the journal was not dissimilar from other Socialist Party publications in form and content.

Despite attracting prominent writers and artists—including journalists Walter Lippmann and Mary Heaton Vorse, illustrator Art Young, and the Russian novelist and moral philosopher Leo Tolstoy—the publication was underfunded and could not find a place among the left-wing press. It failed in August 1912. By December of the same year, however, a group of writers and artists had decided to try to revive the journal, this time without any financial support, and they invited activist and writer Max Eastman to serve as editor.

For five years, Eastman's *The Masses* provided one of the premier venues in America for left-wing writing and progressive arguments (often independent and critical of Socialist Party doctrines), not solely on topics considered strictly political, but also on sexual freedom, birth control, artistic practice, and free expression. In many ways, it was as much a magazine of arts and culture as of politics.

Within months of taking on the originally unsalaried position, Eastman had conceived a new graphic design and layout for the publication, which, according to historian Christine Stansell, Eastman believed served as the inspiration for *The New Yorker*. *The Masses* introduced cleaner lines, wider margins, modern type, and illustrations and political cartoons of unparalleled quality. The journal's art editor, John Sloan, aided Eastman in attracting illustrators and cartoonists such as Robert Henri, Mary Ellen Sigsbee, Rockwell Kent, Art Young, George Bellows, Glenn Coleman, Boardman Robinson, and Maurice Becker.

Changes to the magazine came not only in its design, but also in the writing talent Eastman was able to attract. In poetry and fiction, Eastman published William Carlos Williams, Amy Lowell, Louis Untermeyer, Sherwood Anderson, and Carl Sandburg; in articles and reporting, he attracted Randolph Bourne, Louise Bryant, Mabel Luhan Dodge, Floyd Dell, Upton Sinclair, Helen Keller, Crystal Eastman, William Walling, and John Reed.

While *The Masses* could never be described as a financial success, Eastman's charm and rhetorical skills allowed him to raise funds from wealthy radicals, from which he could draw a salary and pay magazine expenses. Under his tenure from 1912 to 1917, the magazine circulation increased fourfold in as many years, growing from fewer

than 10,000 (mostly Socialist Party sympathizers) to more than 40,000 readers of varied backgrounds.

The magazine ran into trouble with governmental authorities several times for its leftist editorial positions. Finally, in 1917, when Eastman was strongly pressing an anti–World War I position, the federal government utilized the recently passed Espionage Act (which made it illegal to disclose information regarding national defense or interfere with the operation or success of the war effort) to revoke the serial's mailing rights and placed several editorial staff members on trial.

With their distribution system severely hampered, *The Masses* ceased publication in December 1917. The journal's legacy has been considerable, not only due to its content, but also because it served as an inspiring example for other publications—including *The Liberator* and the *New Masses*—that would capture the force of social movements in print.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Communism: Eastman, Max, and Crystal Eastman: *Liberator, The*](#).

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Mattachine Society

The first gay rights and homophile consciousness-raising group in America, the Mattachine Foundation was established in Los Angeles on November 11, 1950, by former Communist Party organizer Harry Hay and a small group of gay friends. The organization was founded as part of a broader vision of generating pride, meaning, and identity for gay males in America and the cultivation of a “homosexual ethic.” The group, which became known as the Mattachine Society in 1953, took its name from Les Mattachines, a secret society of medieval French folk dancers who performed a ritual that entailed the intertwining of swords by dancers who blurred gender roles. The dance troupe, made up of unmarried men who performed only in masks, traveled from town to town, often to protest social injustice against peasants.

Hay was a central figure in the formation of the larger homophile movement as well as the Mattachine Society in particular. A proponent of Marxist ideology, he understood and promoted homosexuality as a unified culture, with its own language and traits, that had been oppressed throughout history. Among other associations, Hay's invocation of the name Mattachine reflected the importance of homosexuals to society in the period before industrialization. That legacy, he felt, was appropriate to the formation of an organization based on cultural, rather than modern legal or medical, identity. Such a position advanced the new, homophile concept that gay men constitute a cultural minority akin to African Americans, Asian Americans, and Latinos rather than a secret,

degenerate subculture.

Hay's association with the Communist Party, as well as this somewhat revolutionary stance on homosexuality, drew the ire of the federal government. From the early 1950s, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and its Counter Intelligence Program, COINTELPRO, began conducting surveillance of the Mattachine group.

In 1953, the organization faced a crisis regarding its relationship to Hay's cultural thesis and its political leanings, leading to a shake-up of Mattachine's leadership. The result was a general restructuring of the organization along more conservative lines, emphasizing societal accommodation rather than cultural change, and the adoption of the name Mattachine Society.

Perhaps foreshadowing these changes, a number of Mattachine members had left the original group in 1952 to form ONE, whose chief purpose was to create education programs on gay issues through the publication of *ONE* magazine. In 1955, the renamed parent society began publishing the *Mattachine Review*.

While these ideological splits may have weakened the cohesiveness of the organization, Mattachine's importance to the overall gay rights movement cannot be overstated. Unaffiliated Mattachine Societies were formed across the United States—most notably in New York and San Francisco—and the various entities became part of the larger counterculture struggle against oppression, including the civil rights movement, the anti-Vietnam War movement, and the women's rights movement.

As some groups took a more radical approach to gay rights, more conservative members advocated assimilation into mainstream society. That schism, combined with financial difficulties, led to the final demise of the organization in the mid-1980s.

Kenneth Shonk, Jr.

See also: [Daughters of Bilitis: Gay Liberation Movement](#).

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Max, Peter (1937–)

The work and career of American pop artist Peter Max has passed through divergent phases since he burst onto the New York art scene in the 1960s—from psychedelic poster graphics and colorful silk screens of the hippie

counterculture to mainstream commercial advertising and corporate design. His cosmic-art images have appeared on the covers of national magazines such as *Time* and *Life*. He has produced several high-profile art projects, including *Peter Max Paints America*, an installation and book of paintings for every state in the Union to commemorate America's bicentennial in 1976. And he has designed the livery (the corporate design and paint scheme) for a Continental Airlines Boeing 777 aircraft.



The colorful, kaleidoscopic designs of artist Peter Max—posters, silk screens, murals, books, album covers, and consumer products—became the signature graphic style of the 1960s “love generation.” (Henry Groskinsky/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Born Peter Finkelstein in Berlin, Germany, on October 19, 1937, he was raised in Shanghai, China, where he lived in a pagoda-style house surrounded by a Buddhist monastery and a Sikh temple. His family moved to New York City in 1953, where he studied at the Art Students League, the Pratt Institute, and the School of Visual Arts.

He attained celebrity status nearly overnight in the late 1960s with his boldly colored silk screen posters. By the end of the decade, he was running a large-scale workshop, printing thousands of posters with innovative methods. Max's posters helped define the artistic style of the 1960s counterculture. His graphics, in the eyes of many, approximated the psychedelic-drug experience and were embraced by hippies and the rock and roll culture. Beginning with bold colors and a strong linearity, he experimented with swirling color patterns and neon black-lighting for visually stunning effects. Some of his posters featured kaleidoscopic imagery, while others incorporated the patterns and symmetries of tie-dye. Many made direct reference to the symbols and icons of the counterculture, featuring peace signs or rock and roll performers such as the Beatles.

In 1967, Max produced a poster featuring the words “Be” and “In” that inspired hundreds of thousands of New Yorkers to gather in Central Park at an event that became known, in part because of Max's publicity, as the “Be-In.” Milos Forman commemorated the scene in his 1979 film, *Hair*, an epic celebration of 1960s counterculture.

Max turned to another aspect of the counterculture when he embraced the trend of Eastern spirituality. He described a 1966 meeting in Paris, with yoga master Sri Swami Satchidananda as “life-changing” and became a devoted student. Max then invited the swami to New York City and became instrumental in introducing yoga to the United States. Together, they founded the Integral Yoga Institute and opened dozens of yoga centers around the country. Yoga, which Max describes as a way to find inner peace and to “love all and serve all,” coincided with the

peaceful idealism espoused by hippies.

In the early 1970s, Max retreated from public life, closing down his workshop to focus on painting and his family. He returned to the public eye intermittently, however, taking on occasional, high-profile commissions from organizations as diverse as the United States Postal Service (including the first environmental postage stamp in 1974) and the animal rights organization People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA). He also spearheaded the 1981 campaign to restore the Statue of Liberty, an icon he has painted countless times.

While Max's early work was closely associated with the social counterculture, his visually compelling designs always had a mass-market appeal. During the 1960s, the General Electric Corporation asked Max to design a line of clocks. By the end of that decade, his drawings adorned scores of commercial products.

Unlike artists who disdain commercial design and graphics—especially ones closely associated with a counterculture movement—Peter Max has become an artist of the people. Among other well-known projects, he has produced works to promote the Super Bowl, the Kentucky Derby, and the 1994 World Cup soccer tournament.

Rachel Epp Buller

See also: [Beatles](#), [The](#), [Be-Ins](#), [Hair](#), [Hippies](#), [People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals](#), [Psychedelia](#), [Yoga](#).

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MC5

An icon of late 1960s left-wing political music, the hard-rock band MC5 (short for Motor City Five) was based in Detroit and managed by John Sinclair. A counterculture figure, Sinclair formed the Trans-Love Energies Unlimited Commune, a radical arts cooperative, in Detroit in 1967, and the White Panther Party in 1968. The White Panthers were an American political collective modeled on the Black Panthers and were originally intended as an arm of activist Abbie Hoffman's highly theatrical Youth International Party (yippies). They gave free concerts and grew to have chapters throughout the United States.

Active from 1965 to 1972, the MC5 explored the anarchic outer limits of noise in an effort to destroy traditional boundaries of song. Its loud, aggressive, grungy sound incorporated elements of rock, avant-garde jazz, and blues; its lyrics invoked aggressive, macho sexuality; and its performance style incorporated substantial elements of late 1960s absurdist street theater. The band featured Brother J.C. Crawford, a member of the Trans-Love Energies collective, who would preach in a Southern hell-and-brimstone style. Ironically, the band's involvement with radical left politics was in part superficial, used to further their musical career. The connection between the MC5 and the White Panthers was based entirely on Sinclair's efforts to promote the two entities.

The band consisted of five members, all of who came from working-class backgrounds in Detroit: Rob Tyner, famous for his giant, white Afro hairstyle; guitarist Wayne Kramer; Fred "Sonic" Smith, who later married musician-

poet Patti Smith; Dennis Thompson; and Michael Davis. The band released three albums. The first, *Kick Out the Jams* (1969), is the most notable, as it conveys the unprecedented, raw intensity of the MC5 in live performance. The song “Kick Out the Jams,” a blast of street theater, was a deliberate incitement to riot. In performance, Tyler would scream out the anthemic refrain “Kick out the jams *motherfuckers!*” as an act of provocation to the police to storm the stage and arrest the band on obscenity charges.

The MC5 was the only band to perform at the 1968 Democratic Party National Convention in Chicago. They energized the antiwar protesters who had converged on the city with the song “Black to Comm,” featuring an extended avant-garde white noise musical freak-out and radical exhortations.

Ever the provocateur, Sinclair was a target of the police, and in 1969, he was sentenced to ten years in prison for possession of two marijuana cigarettes. In 1971, the Free John Now Rally was held in Ann Arbor, Michigan, featuring performances by John Lennon, who sang his song penned for the occasion, “John Sinclair.”

Three days after the rally, Sinclair was freed, although his release would not save the band from its demise. Amid heavy drug use (particularly heroin use by Davis), the MC5 broke up in 1972.

Monica Berger

See also: [Black Panthers](#); [Heroin](#); [Lennon, John](#); [Yippies](#).

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McCarthy, Eugene (1916–2005)

The Minnesota politician, educator, and writer Eugene McCarthy was most noted for his service in Congress (five terms in the House of Representatives, 1949–1959, and two terms in the Senate, 1959–1971), his opposition to the Vietnam War, and five unsuccessful bids for the U.S. presidency. He received nationwide attention in 1968 when he challenged President Lyndon B. Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination, running primarily as an antiwar candidate. His opposition to U.S. involvement in Vietnam earned him a strong following among America’s youth and a reputation as an outspoken, honest politician.

Eugene Joseph McCarthy was born on March 29, 1916, in Watkins, Minnesota. He earned a bachelor’s degree from St. John’s University (Minnesota) in 1935 and a master of arts degree from the University of Minnesota in 1939. He worked as a public school teacher in Minnesota and North Dakota until 1940, followed by professorships in economics at St. John’s and the College of St. Thomas.

His initial foray into politics came in 1947, when he worked as an organizer for the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in St. Paul. In 1948, he won the race for Minnesota’s Fourth Congressional District and spent the next ten years in the U.S. House of Representatives. His service in the House was distinguished by a national television debate with Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy in 1952 and his ongoing efforts to limit the activities of the Central Intelligence Agency.

McCarthy's constituency elected him as a Democrat to the U.S. Senate in 1958 and again in 1964. In that body, he chaired the Special Committee on Unemployment and served on the Foreign Relations Committee.

In the mid-1960s, McCarthy became one of the leading critics of President Johnson's foreign policy. Although he had voted to approve the Gulf of Tonkin Resolution in 1964 (giving the president broad powers in prosecuting the war), he eventually called for the full withdrawal of American troops from Southeast Asia and a negotiated peace. His opposition to the war and his commonsense approach to foreign policy, which struck a chord especially among college students, led McCarthy to launch a bid for the Democratic presidential nomination in November 1967 in opposition to Johnson.

The Tet offensive, a major series of attacks by the Vietcong in January 1968, shocked American public opinion and boosted McCarthy's campaign. His popularity soared among Democrats, as many voters saw him as offering hope for an end to America's involvement in Vietnam. In preparation for door-to-door canvassing, young antiwar volunteers cut their hair and shaved their beards to go "neat and clean for Gene." In the New Hampshire Democratic primary that March, McCarthy captured a stunning 42 percent of the vote.

The public's enthusiasm did not translate into the party's nomination, however. Senator Robert Kennedy, who also opposed the war, entered the race four days after the New Hampshire primary. President Johnson, recognizing the powerful antiwar sentiment in the party, announced he would not seek reelection, and Vice President Hubert Humphrey entered the race.

By early June, it appeared that Humphrey and Kennedy both would have more delegates at the convention than McCarthy. Kennedy's death on June 6 cast the race, and the nation, into turmoil, and the nomination finally devolved to Humphrey. Although he was not strictly an antiwar candidate, Democrats hoped he could unite the party and succeed where President Johnson had failed.

McCarthy told his activist supporters to stay away from Chicago during the Democratic convention that summer, but thousands descended on the city to demonstrate against the war and the political establishment. Television cameras captured the violent clashes between police and demonstrators, as well as the chaos that reigned inside the convention hall.

McCarthy sought the presidency four more times—as a Democrat in 1972 and 1992, as an Independent in 1976, and as a candidate of several left-wing state parties in 1988—but none of those campaigns captured nearly as much attention as his 1968 bid. A prolific author, the former senator wrote a number of books on politics, as well as a volume of poetry and a children's book. He died on December 10, 2005.

Jeffrey S. Cole

See also: [Democratic Party](#).

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McCarthyism

McCarthyism is a broad term commonly used to describe the anti-Communist and anti-leftist activities and atmosphere that characterized the 1950s through early 1960s. It refers to Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, a Republican from Wisconsin who raised the anti-Communist crusade to an unprecedented level of excess with his claims of rampant Communist activities in the federal government. McCarthy, who initially produced no hard evidence to back up his claims of Communists working for the government, was an effective propagandist. This was because the U.S. government already had taken action to track down and expose Communists in American society, largely through the efforts of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), an investigative committee of the House of Representatives formed in 1938.

The phenomenon that bore McCarthy's name thus was part of a larger political effort to discredit and marginalize the American political counterculture that included Communists, socialists, and other leftists (and, ultimately, liberals). McCarthyism pandered to the general climate of fear in the United States in the late 1940s and early 1950s, the beginning of the cold war era in which the Soviet Union and Communism were regarded as dire threats to American security.

McCarthy, who served in the Senate from 1947 to 1957, was relatively undistinguished until he began his anti-Communist crusade. He launched his campaign with a February 1950 speech in Wheeling, West Virginia, in which he warned of the presence of hundreds of Communists in the U.S. Department of State, which he blamed for the 1949 "loss" of China to Communist revolutionaries.

Although an initial Senate investigation disproved McCarthy's charges, he continued to make allegations of Communist infiltration, while managing to avoid producing evidence. As chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, he went on to make accusations against the Democratic administration of President Harry S. Truman, the Voice of America (the official radio and television broadcasting service of the government), and other segments of public life, while receiving support from conservatives, including many Americans who shared his Irish Catholic background.

Following the inauguration of the Republican President Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1953, McCarthy began an investigation into the U.S. Army, which turned up only one person who had belonged to a left-leaning group, the American Labor Party. McCarthy's continued harassment, however, finally led the army to turn the tables on him in 1954, calling for an investigation into McCarthy's alleged efforts to seek preferential treatment for a former aide, U.S. Army Private G. David Schine. The resulting U.S. Army–McCarthy Hearings, broadcast on television from a Senate hearing room from April to June, exposed McCarthy and led to his public downfall and censure by the Senate.

Investigations soon spread to Hollywood, organized labor, higher education, and public education. Countless careers and lives were ruined, whether as a result of actual arrest for Communist activities, or simply because of the stigma of being called before HUAC or one of the other investigating committees.

In Hollywood, hundreds of actors, writers, and directors were affected by a "blacklist" and by the publication of a pamphlet known as *Red Channels* that identified "subversives" in the entertainment business. Many writers, intellectuals, and performing artists, including those who had made serious contributions to the American counterculture, such as playwright Lillian Hellman, essayist and playwright Arthur Miller, and folk singer Pete Seeger, were blacklisted. Others had to choose between their careers and their beliefs and several earned opprobrium by naming names in order to clear their own, most notably playwright Bertolt Brecht and film director Elia Kazan.

While Communists were the official targets of McCarthyism, a variety of leftists and liberals, many of whom had belonged to socialist parties or related organizations in the 1930s, found themselves under suspicion and on the

defensive for expressing views that dissented from an increasingly conservative political mainstream. For example, leftist intellectuals such as Philip Rahv and William Phillips, the founding editors of *Partisan Review*, who had firsthand knowledge of the Communist Party USA and formed the anti-Stalinist left, found themselves in the difficult position of condemning the Soviet Union, while at the same time being tarred with its brush.

Lasting damage was done to America's leftist intellectual counterculture, pushing it even farther to the margins of mainstream American society. McCarthyism also helped pave the way for the birth of the neoconservative movement, which began as a political counterculture in the wake of increased challenges to liberalism in the American mainstream.

Since the late twentieth century, McCarthyism has become increasingly detached from its historical context. The term is used in reference to a range of activities and mindsets, from the moderate censoriousness that has characterized the twenty-first-century War on Terror to more general censorship (perceived or actual) of views that dissent from the mainstream, whether liberal or conservative. In no case, however, has there been government-sponsored censorship of dissenting views on a scale approaching what occurred during the height of Joseph McCarthy's influence.

Susan Roth Breitzer

See also: [Communism](#); [Film, Hollywood](#); [Miller, Henry](#); [Seeger, Pete](#).

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McKenna, Terence (1946–2000)

Renegade philosopher, writer, and psychedelics advocate Terence McKenna published several books that recounted his hallucinogenic experiences and was a guru to the drug counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. Critics have labeled him a "radical ethnobotanist" for his belief that many of society's ills can be traced to humanity's disconnection from psychedelics, plants, and other natural substances that produce altered states. His writings and lectures addressed such other wide-ranging themes as cosmic consciousness, virtual reality, the origins of culture and the human psyche, eschatology (the religion and philosophy of human destiny and finite time), and several highly original theories based on what he called "stoned apes" and "time waves."

Terence Kemp McKenna was born on November 6, 1946, in Paonia, Colorado, and moved to the San Francisco Bay Area in California after his sophomore year in high school. At age nineteen, he began course work at Tussman Experimental College, a short-lived two-year undergraduate program at the University of California, Berkeley.

While not a high-profile figure of the 1960s counterculture revolution, McKenna in many ways had a typical 1960s experience. After completing the Tussman program in 1967, he traveled extensively through Asia, Europe, and Central and South America. In 1972, he returned to Berkeley to finish his bachelor of science degree in ecology and the conservation of natural resources. His self-tailored degree program included an emphasis on the study of shamanism.

McKenna and his brother Dennis chronicled their psychedelic experiences traveling through the Colombian Amazon in their book *The Invisible Landscape: Mind, Hallucinogens, and the I Ching* (1975). The trip and the hallucinogenic experiences he had on it had a profound effect on McKenna's thinking. It was there that he began to formulate his unorthodox theory of the fundamental role played by psilocybin (psychedelic mushrooms) in the dawning of human civilization. So also emerged his interests in ethnobotany, or ethnopharmacology, and shamanism.

In 1976, the McKennas published a guide (under pseudonyms) on growing "magic mushrooms," which garnered them a certain celebrity within the psychedelic community. The San Francisco acid-rock band the Grateful Dead were fans of Terence McKenna's work; lead guitarist and vocalist Jerry Garcia called him "the only person who has made a serious effort to objectify the psychedelic experience." LSD advocate Timothy Leary later called him the "Timothy Leary of the 1990s."

In the 1980s, McKenna began consulting and writing extensively, eventually becoming known around the world for his highly original, wide-ranging ideas, his wit, and his adroit use of language, as seen in works such as *The Archaic Revival: Speculations on Psychedelic Mushrooms, the Amazon, Virtual Reality, UFOs, Evolution, Shamanism, the Rebirth of the Goddess, and the End of History* (1991) and *Dialogues at the Edge of the West: Chaos, Creativity, and the Resacrilization of the World* (1992).

McKenna was perhaps best known for his theory of novelty, formalized in a complex mathematical model he dubbed "Time Wave Zero," based on the *I Ching* (the Book of Changes, a central text of Chinese Confucianism). According to Time Wave Zero, an explosion of novelty—which he refers to as "runaway newness," or "extropy"—will take place in the period leading up to the year 2012 and result in the end of history.

With his wife, Katherine Harrison, McKenna founded Botanical Dimensions, a "nonprofit organization dedicated to the collection and propagation of medicinal and shamanic plants from the tropics around the world," in a Hawaiian rain forest in 1985. He was also a regular speaker at annual ethnobotanical symposia held throughout the 1990s in Mexico at the ruins of ancient Mayan cities such as Palenque. Because of McKenna's strong desire to openly share his knowledge and experiences, he encouraged the recording of his lectures and interviews, and they are available for free from numerous Internet sites maintained by his friends and fans.

Self-described as an "itinerant intellectual," McKenna relished his role as a "scientist without portfolio" and became a reluctant cult personality among youth in the California rave scene and the New Age psychedelic movement. What he termed the "archaic revival" was particularly evident in these cultural movements by the time of his death.

He died on April 3, 2000, from a rare form of brain cancer. His personal papers and rare book collection were destroyed in a fire at a storage facility owned by the Esalen Institute in California, in February 2007.

Jeremy Hockett

See also: [Grateful Dead](#); [Leary, Timothy](#); [New Age](#); [Psychedelia](#).

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McLuhan, Marshall (1911–1980)

The Canadian communications and media theorist Herbert Marshall McLuhan was among the most famous academic icons of the 1960s and 1970s. His provocative ideas at the intersection of popular culture and technology offered a theoretical framework for understanding, on a global scale and in historical perspective, the powerful influence of media. The fact that his reputation transcended academia was evidenced in, for example, the enormous sale of his books, a McLuhan festival held in San Francisco in 1965 at the height of the hippie movement, dozens of interviews in the popular press (including *Playboy* magazine in March 1969), a cameo appearance in Woody Allen's 1977 film *Annie Hall*, and numerous speaking engagements to corporate and private sponsors. He was variously referred to as “the Guru of the Boob Tube,” “the Oracle of the Electronic Age,” “the High Priest of Pophink,” and “the Dr. Spock of Pop Culture.”

McLuhan was born on July 21, 1911, in Edmonton, Alberta, Canada. After receiving his master's degree in English literature at the University of Manitoba in 1934, he earned his Ph.D. degree at Cambridge University in 1942 (submitting his dissertation from the United States) under the influential literary critic I.A. Richards.

In 1937, meanwhile, he had formally embraced Catholicism and begun teaching at St. Louis University. It was in St. Louis that he met his wife, Corinne Lewis, with whom he would have six children. Returning to Canada, he held teaching positions at Assumption College in Windsor, Ontario (1944–1946), and the University of Toronto (1946–1979). In 1963, he was made director of the University of Toronto's Center for Culture and Technology.

From his academic training in literary criticism, McLuhan learned to read texts closely and in historical context. This New Criticism approach is evident in his first book, *The Mechanical Bride* (1951), in which advertisements, rather than works of literature, are subjected to close readings. Such forays into popular culture ultimately expanded to more than 150 publications, his most prolific period being from 1962 to 1972. During that span, he published *The Gutenberg Galaxy* (1962), *Understanding Media* (1964), *The Medium Is the Message* (1967), *War and Peace in the Global Village* (1968), *Culture Is Our Business* (1970), *From Cliché to Archetype* (1970), and *Take Today* (1972).

Written during a period of radical social and political change, these works offered both a general lexicon and specific aphorisms to understand the new “postliterate” age. The counterculture especially embraced McLuhan's idea of the global village as a metaphor for peace building, environmental concern, and the transformation of consciousness. His work also encouraged a critique of corporate and establishment practices.

For McLuhan, the term *media* refers to any extension of the human body and senses. These extensions, or technologies, and particularly electronic media, powerfully and invisibly influence individual perception and society even as they extend the body and senses. But the power of such changes, he maintains, rests not so much in the information (content/product) delivered by such technologies, but in the means (form/process) of delivery: “the medium is the message” (or as McLuhan punningly put it, the medium is the *massage*—the receiver is molded and manipulated by the medium of this “mass-age”).

Noting the speed and pervasiveness of electric technologies, McLuhan viewed the global village as metaphorically shrinking but literally connected. This, he felt, represented a movement away from linear, fragmented, mechanical models that hitherto had dominated cultural behaviors. McLuhan also theorized a demarcation between “hot” and “cool” media, the former referring to passive audience participation and the latter to interactivity.

Marshall McLuhan died in Toronto on December 31, 1980. The McLuhan Program in Culture and Technology at the University of Toronto continues his work.

G. Kim Blank

See also: [Advertising: Hippies.](#)

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McPherson, Aimee Semple (1890–1944)

Aimee Semple McPherson was a pioneer of the Pentecostal movement of the early twentieth century and the founder of the popular and influential Foursquare Gospel Church in Los Angeles. Although she was never ordained, McPherson was one of the few women in the United States to form her own denomination, and she was the most famous female evangelist in American religious history.

She was born Aimee Elizabeth Kennedy on October 9, 1890, and grew up on a small farm near Salford, Ontario, Canada. The area was overwhelmingly Protestant, and Aimee was involved in the religious life of her family and community. However, it was not until her 1907 conversion in a Pentecostal mission in the nearby town of Ingersoll that her life took on specific purpose and energy.

Her first husband, Irish Pentecostal missionary Robert James Semple, died while the couple was serving as missionaries in China in 1910, and Aimee pledged to carry on his work. She would take this pledge with her throughout her lifetime, refusing to settle down to a quiet domestic life with her second husband, Harold McPherson, from whom she was divorced in 1921.

After the split, Aimee Semple McPherson established herself as a lay evangelist in Ontario, embracing a Pentecostal Christian ministry characterized by faith healing, glossolalia (speaking in tongues), the message of the Bible and the love of God, and showmanship. By 1923, she had become pastor of Angelus Temple in Los Angeles, where thousands would flock to hear her preach, and she founded the evangelical Pentecostal denomination today known as the International Church of the Foursquare Gospel. Her followers lovingly called her Sister Aimee.

McPherson received much media attention, and she embraced the spotlight. In May 1926, she disappeared for thirty-two days, returning with a story of kidnap and escape that was met with accusations that she had been seen with a married man in Carmel, California. Her unconventional activities continued, as she continued to speak against the perceived evils of mainstream society, while emphasizing that God's love and healing can rescue one

from them.

To spread her message, she capitalized on many elements of contemporary American society, including radio and her personal relationships with popular Hollywood figures. In 1924, in an effort to rescue humanity from worldly sin, she became the first woman to preach a radio sermon, on the Foursquare-owned station KSFG (now KXOL). While not particularly vocal on the issue, nor providing a developed argument for women in the ministry, McPherson became an early example of a strong female religious leader.

On September 27, 1944, McPherson was found unconscious in an Oakland, California, hotel room with a half-empty bottle of sedatives lying nearby. Her subsequent death was ruled an accident, but rumors of suicide persisted. It was one more controversial incident in the dramatic life of Sister Aimee.

D.E. "Gene" Mills, Jr.

See also: [Pentecostalism](#).

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Me Decade

The *Me Decade*, a term coined by novelist Tom Wolfe in 1976, refers to a perceived trend toward self-absorption and away from political and social awareness in America during the 1970s. It was a broad cultural phenomenon that entailed a turning away from 1960s radicalism and embraced self-reflection, self-improvement, and self-fulfillment. In place of the acute political awareness and community organizing of the 1960s, the Me Decade brought a retreat from collective action to the personal pursuit of material and spiritual well-being.

During the Me Decade, Americans were concerned about crime, drugs, sexual deviance, and rising gas prices. These issues caused many to want to escape the world's problems by instead focusing on the individual realm of physical and psychological growth. How Americans viewed the sources of social problems also changed. In the 1960s, the problems of society tended to be perceived as systemic ills that could be altered by community activism and human reciprocity. During the Me Decade, that optimism was replaced by the view that society's problems were too daunting to be solved through activism or community organization.

Personal growth was a catchphrase of the Me Decade, especially in the spiritual realm. This manifested itself in the rise of New Age beliefs and the human potential movement. Encompassing a wide range of concepts, practices, and healing methods—from astrology, reincarnation, meditation, and out-of-body experiences to the use of crystals, pyramids, and indigenous belief systems for psychic healing—New Age thinking provided an eclectic, easily individualized approach to the achievement of a higher, better self. Other popular elements of New Age thought included such long-established traditions as Hinduism, Zen Buddhism, Taoism, Theosophy, and Wicca. Beyond that, the spiritual yearnings of the Me Decade—the desire for inner peace and a sense of belonging—also gave rise to a spate of new religious cults.

In the everyday world of the body and mind, the Me Decade popularized self-help books that offered psychological guidance and supported a variety of health and fitness fads. Notable among these works were *I'm OK, You're OK* (1969) by Thomas Harris, which hit the best-seller list three years later; *Dr. Atkins' Diet Revolution* (1972), by Robert Atkins; *The Complete Book of Running* (1978), by James Fixx; and *The Complete Scarsdale Medical Diet* (1979), by Dr. Herman Tarnower and Samm Sinclair Baker (1979). Eating healthy, participating in aerobics, and jogging became cultural obsessions among the suburban middle class. Even jewelry reflected the American obsession with self-reflection, as mood rings became all the rage; the "stone" (a thermotropic crystal surrounded by glass) would change color according to the wearer's mood, supposedly offering insights into his or her emotions.

The sexual revolution was also important to the American way of life during the Me Decade. Higher rates of participation in premarital sex, single-parent households, and divorce all reflected disillusionment with the nuclear family and the pursuit of personal pleasure. The latter was apparent in popular media of the time, which turned away from socially relevant themes and toward more trivial ones, resulting in programs that prompted critics to call it the era of "jiggle television." Crime-fighting shows, such as *Charlie's Angels*, and fantasies, such as *Love Boat* and *Fantasy Island*, exemplified the viewing public's desire to escape from reality.

A sense of community was hard to foster during the Me Decade, as Americans picked up fads and, often, dropped them quickly. Fads in dance and music (disco, country, punk rock), fashion (Western wear, bell-bottoms, hot pants, platform shoes), play (pet rocks, ping-pong), and dieting and exercise represented the eclectic ways Americans in the Me Decade searched for happiness.

Lindsey Churchill

See also: [New Age: Sexual Revolution](#).

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Media, Alternative

The term *alternative media* refers to composing, organizing, producing, distributing, and interpreting cultural artifacts in ways different from, and often in opposition to, those used in conjunction with commercial media organizations. It typically designates media activities related to current affairs and other "factual" matters rather than entertainment or fictional material.

Alternative-media projects seek to provide a voice to groups in society whose viewpoints, lives, and concerns appear stereotypically, minimally, or not at all in commercial media products. Their rationale derives generally from liberal-democratic political theory: to provide the widest possible range of information and viewpoints and thus to aid informed public deliberation on public matters.

The term *alternative media* began appearing in conjunction with mainstream acceptance of the cultural values of the civil rights, feminist, and antiwar movements of the 1960s and the emergence of a large, youth-centered

popular culture. Explicit use of the term to describe media practices outside the mainstream can be traced to the early 1970s and the remaking of the 1960s “underground” counterculture into the post-1960s “alternative” culture.

Such developments included renaming the Underground Press Syndicate the Alternative Press Syndicate in 1973; the appearance of directories and how-to pamphlets and books on alternative media; and the emergence of alternative urban weekly newsmagazines as a niche, commercial publications targeted at young, hip readers, along with the formation of the Association of Alternative Newsweeklies (AAN) as the industry’s umbrella group. Since the early 1980s and the appearance of such books as *A Trumpet to Arms: Alternative Media in America* (1981), the term *alternative media* has been readily recognized and accepted.

Polemics

Although the term *alternative media* is relatively recent, the practice has roots in long-standing forms of radical criticism and representation. Polemical forms, in which writers assert their positions in carefully reasoned, witty, literate, and often passionate arguments, have their basis in the Enlightenment tradition of civil public deliberation centered in the exercise of human reason.

Exemplars such as Richard Steele and Joseph Addison debated political positions in pamphlets, newspapers, and literary magazines from the beginnings of popular publishing in England in the early eighteenth century. Political agitators such as Samuel Adams, Thomas Paine, and others working in the colonial American presses during the War of Independence also expressed their positions largely in polemical form, as did writers in the U.S. political press of the early to mid-nineteenth century.

Polemics was used as well in the publications of a wide range of nineteenth-century political and social reform movements, including abolitionism, women’s rights, labor, socialism, Evangelicalism, and ethnic movements. Prominent examples include William Lloyd Garrison’s abolitionist newspaper *The Liberator*, labor papers such as the *Workingman’s Advocate*, evangelical presses such as those operated by the New York City Tract Society, and a number of ethnic presses whose viewpoints often coincided with those of labor and socialist movements.

Polemics also was embodied in radical public oratory. For example, it was a feature of speeches by such late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century figures as anarchist Emma Goldman and socialist Eugene V. Debs.

Closely related to polemics is critical commentary, in which a writer establishes his or her position by rebutting dominant views found in mainstream news stories. Prominent examples include many nineteenth-century socialist publications, such as the *Appeal to Reason*, twentieth-century independent projects such as the writings of George Seldes and the newsletter *I.F. Stone’s Weekly*, and the more recent writings of critics such as Noam Chomsky and Edward Said.

Naturalism

A second form of alternative-media activity derives from naturalism, best understood as the belief that truth can be found and shared not simply through argumentation (as in polemics) but by uncovering and showing or describing through prose and image an actual event or situation. Once people see an unjust situation, it is believed, they will naturally take action to correct it.

This form was represented in magazines, novels, and early photography by work as varied as that of early-twentieth-century muckraking journalists Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens, who wrote exposés of corporate and governmental corruption and abuse of power, realist novelists such as Frank Norris and Upton Sinclair, and the photography projects of social reformers such as Jacob Riis.

By the late nineteenth century, a third form of alternative-media activity emerged, deriving from modernism. Proto-modernist thinkers such as British naturalist Charles Darwin, German political philosopher Karl Marx, and the Austrian founder of psychoanalysis, Sigmund Freud, refuted claims of human rationality and the truth inherent in direct appearances by detecting forces beyond the control and direct observation of individual humans (evolution,

material conditions, and the unconscious), which they claimed to be the real shapers of human lives and actions.

A positive take on modernism expressed faith in the rationality of technological progress, in universal theories that purported to explain timeless truths, in the scientific method as a means of finding truth, and in the universal community of humanity. The critical take focused instead on increasing dehumanization in the shadow of increasing powers of the state and the economic market, the uncontrollability of inhuman forces, and the resulting irrationality of “rational” modern human society, exemplified in stark terms in World War I and World War II.

In such an era, truth could not be found through reason or by showing or describing an external, universal reality. Instead, the only truth possible was individual, internal, and subjective. Applied to the making and interpretation of critical media products, the failure of naturalism and the corresponding elevation of individual points of view suggested in turn that deeper realities could be apprehended through seemingly unnatural means of representation.

Modernism

Modernism as a tradition of alternative-media composition and interpretation was particularly amenable to visual representation in the early decades of the twentieth century. For example, while political satire had long been expressed through allegorical illustrations (the precursor of present-day editorial newspaper cartoons), the emergence of the techniques of collage and montage, along with the proliferation of news-photo services and publicity firms, made possible not only an avalanche of widely available current-events photographs but also a technique of merging and reproducing combinations of separate photographs into new, public, critical compositions. The aim of montage was not simply to argue one’s point or to reveal a truth in direct appearances. Rather, it was to encourage people to recognize processes and connections submerged beneath common, accepted events and actions.

Avant-garde artists such as Raoul Housemann and others in the Dada movement, and André Breton and others who aligned themselves with surrealism, pioneered montage as a means of depicting the truths hidden behind gaps in time and space, mere appearances, and a barrier of socialization and unquestioned habit. Anti-Nazi propagandist John Heartfield developed montage to a high degree in his radical critiques of the German Nazi movement. Modernist aesthetics in stage theater—such as the “epic theater” pioneered by Bertolt Brecht—were further developed and democratized outside avant-garde theater in expressions such as the workers’ theater movement.

These traditions of alternative media—rationalist, naturalist, modernist—coalesced in 1960s counterculture, where criticism of the dominant culture and society took such varied forms as street theater, billboards and posters, and underground newspapers, all of which contained varying combinations of polemical arguments, naturalist exposés, and modernist visual critiques. Despite its ties to commercial record companies, popular music also embodied, for many counterculture activists, a collective voice of empowerment.

New Technologies

Alternative media were enabled further by increasingly cheap and available means of reproduction in the 1960s. Improvements in imaging came with the development of mass-produced film cameras, then with offset printing, mimeograph, and photocopying.

Paired with such advances were new means of electronic reproduction, best represented by the videocassette recorder and half-inch video Portapak, which freed video from the confines of studios and professional production companies. Guerrilla video collectives, such as People’s Video Theater, the Videofreex, Global Village, and Raintance, were among the groups that adapted this new technology to existing traditions of alternative media. In the post-1960s era, alternative-media practitioners within new social movements have elaborated and blended these traditions with new technologies.

Pirate radio (illegal or unregulated radio) of the 1960s continued in the footsteps of earlier labor radio stations such as WCFL, and helped spawn progressive radio organizations such as Pacifica Radio and Democracy Now! While polemical and critical commentary form the bulk of “serious” content, many pirate radio operators feel that simply playing music unavailable on commercial radio is a way to criticize the domination of the heavily formatted music industry. An attempt in early 2000 by the Federal Communications Commission to legalize community radio by establishing a low-power FM radio service became ensnared in bureaucratic regulation and has yet to fulfill its promise. However, Web radio (or Webcasting) seeks to overcome some of the regulatory limitations placed on over-the-air broadcasts and thus continues to work for social change.

Internet-based organizations such as Truthout.org and the Center for Media and Democracy distribute compilations of critical items from mainstream publications and provide critical commentary. The emergence of rentable satellite distribution has made possible a variety of alternative video services, such as Deep Dish TV, Free Speech TV, and Paper Tiger TV. Street theater continues in such ways as the parody of evangelical Christianity and consumerism by Reverend Billy and the Church of Stop Shopping.

With the spread of personal computers, the Internet access, and the proliferation of Web sites, modernist forms of critique such as montage have morphed into such innovations as “culture jamming.” Groups such as AdBusters either re-create existing advertising images or digitize them with slight changes that criticize their original intention. Such activity draws its rationale in part from the work of Guy Debord and the Situationist movement of the 1960s.

Another important modernist innovation is self-publishing in the form of zines, personal statements in the form of magazine-style stories written by a single person and sent through the regular mail to whomever requests a copy. Zines are based in anarchist or existentialist perspectives that have been blended with the DIY (do-it-yourself) culture embodied most aggressively in the punk movement of the 1970s and 1980s. The advent of the mimeograph and then the photocopier made them technically possible. Personal Web sites are extensions and variations of the paper-based zine.

New kinds of computer and Internet-aided forms of alternative media mushroomed in the wake of the World Trade Organization (WTO) meeting in Seattle in late 1999. A collective named TMark created Gatt.org, a culture jam of the official WTO Web site. Other groups involved in Internet-aided efforts to disrupt the Seattle meeting included the Yes Men, the Electrohippies, and Electronic Disturbance Theater. Text messaging has become an increasingly important alternative means of tactical, real-time organizing.

The anarchist-inspired, populist notion that making media is something anyone can do is increasingly expressed in innovative organizations such as Indymedia, which pioneered Web-based “open publishing,” whereby anyone can post text, images, audio, and/or video of a news event to the site. Similar Web-based services include OneWorld TV and OneWorld Radio. Many of these draw inspiration from the use of Internet-based technologies in the Zapatistas’ drive for political autonomy in southern Mexico.

A number of reactionary or depoliticized movements, ranging from the Republican Party to newsmagazines seeking young, urban readers, attempt to appropriate the countercultural tradition and energy of alternative media for their own programs of conservative politics or marketing.

The future of alternative media is not diminished by these and similar efforts, nor is it defined simply by the technology of the moment. Instead, its vitality is rooted in the handiwork of hundreds of thousands of people throughout the world who constantly are figuring out new means of sharing a sense of not just what is right and wrong with the world, but what the world might yet become.

James Hamilton

See also: [Anarchism](#): [Debs, Eugene V.](#); [Garrison, William Lloyd](#); [Goldman, Emma](#); [Internet](#): [Radio](#); [Zines](#).

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Medicine, Alternative

Alternative medicine, as its name implies, is comprised of therapeutic practices that fall outside the general boundaries of conventional treatment as practiced by modern mainstream physicians in the West. Natural, noninvasive therapies without the use of prescription drugs are common elements of alternative medicine. Examples include the practice of acupuncture (inserting needles through the skin at specific points to achieve physical and spiritual balance); the use of herbal medicine (herbs applied for medicinal or therapeutic purposes); and chiropractic therapy (involving spinal manipulation). With roots in traditional and ethnic practices as well as nineteenth-century medical experimentation, alternative medicine grew in popularity as the youth counterculture and New Age movement of the 1960s and 1970s emphasized the spiritual and physical well-being of the individual.

Nineteenth-Century Origins

A number of alternative practices date from two periods in the nineteenth century when American reformers sought therapies to counter traditional medical practice, such as bloodletting (phlebotomy), which was commonplace until the early nineteenth century. These alternative practices were viewed by some as quackery and heretical to the tenets of the medical community, but they were popular in society at large for varying periods of time.

The first period of reform, from the 1830s to the 1850s, saw the introduction of a number of alternative treatments and practices in the United States. One of the earliest movements was represented by followers of Samuel Thomson of New Hampshire who, although receiving little formal education, put forth a system of alternative medicine using herbs and botanicals, or specific plants that could be used in the healing process. Thomson based his therapeutic approach on the belief that harmful toxins in the body can be purged by natural remedies. He developed a system of plant-based drugs, broken down into categories for particular types of afflictions. Among the attractions of his therapy was the fact that a licensed physician was not required to administer the drugs. Thomsonianism, as it was called, became popular for its self-prescribing aspect in the individualistic, antielitist spirit of Jacksonian America. Although Thomsonianism would never regain the popularity it enjoyed in the 1830s, its emphasis on plant-based remedies continues to be regarded as an important step in the development of modern herbology.

Even more influential in the rise of alternative medicine were the theories and therapies of the Reverend Sylvester Graham, a Presbyterian minister from Connecticut. His anti-alcohol campaign soon expanded to include a program advocating avoidance of tobacco, coffee, tea, spices, meat, and all drugs. Based on his diet prescription, Graham came to be regarded as the “father of vegetarianism” in the United States. Active from about the 1860s to the 1880s, Graham’s followers, known as Grahamites, believed in proper exercise, frequent bathing, limited sexual activity, and a strict eating regimen. They preferred whole wheat to processed white wheat flour and devised an alternative to white bread called “Graham bread”—the original form of the graham cracker still eaten today. The modern vegetarian and vegan movements, both associated with late-twentieth-century countercultures, can be traced to the theories of Graham and his followers in the nineteenth century.

Two other nonconventional medical systems that arose in the first half of the nineteenth century were hydrotherapy and homeopathy. Hydrotherapy, or water treatment, is based on the concept that all diseases can be cured by bathing in or drinking water. This practice dates to the ancient Greeks and was further enhanced by the Romans, who built public baths, or spas, for therapeutic as well as hygienic purposes. The originator of modern hydrotherapy as an alternative medical treatment was an Austrian named Vincent Priessnitz, whose “nature cure” of mountain spring water and fresh air spread through Europe and to the United States in the 1840s. From the mid-nineteenth century to the early twentieth century, “water cures” remained popular among millions of Americans. The natural healing power of water was recognized again in the 1960s and 1970s, when hot springs and spas became popular as a therapeutic alternative to scientific medical treatments.

Homeopathy—an alternative system of medicine introduced in Europe in the 1790s and brought to the United States in the 1820s—was devised by a German, Samuel Hahnemann, who understood the symptoms of an illness as evidence of the curative response of the body. Based on that theory, he developed treatments from substances that cause or promote the specific disease symptoms and thereby hasten the natural curing process, called the “homeopathic effect.” Although the basis of homeopathy can be traced to folk remedies used for centuries, Hahnemann systematized the “law of similars” and developed a materia medica, or list of remedies and dosages. Like other alternative systems of treatment that originated in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, homeopathy was widely revived in the second half of the nineteenth century, in part because of its success in treating cholera and other diseases widespread at the time. Homeopathy again became popular from the 1960s on because of its emphasis on natural healing.

A second phase of health reforms swept the United States late in the nineteenth century, offering new precedents to alternative medical treatments that would come to fruition in the youth counterculture and New Age movement of the 1960s and 1970s. A therapy introduced by Andrew Taylor Still in the 1870s was based on the age-old practice of massage, as well as bone-setting techniques and gymnastics. Still had become disillusioned with regular medical practices of the day, which he regarded as ineffective and often barbaric, and he began to practice physical manipulation of the body to address various ailments. Adopting the name “osteopathy” (from *oste*, Greek for bone, and *pathy*, Greek for suffering), he devised a holistic system of treatment that combined manipulation of the musculoskeletal system and facilitation of the natural healing process through proper diet, exercise, and integration of the mind and body. Interest in osteopathy grew in the late nineteenth century, leading

to the opening of the first osteopathic school in the 1890s in Kirksville, Kansas.

In Iowa, meanwhile, a grocer named Daniel David Palmer drew upon a variety of alternative therapies, including magnetic healing, to bring forth in 1896 what he called “chiropractic” (literally, “done by hand”). Chiropractic therapy involves the manipulation of the spine, joints, and muscle tissue, especially in the back, to restore the proper functioning of the nerves. In 1897, the Palmer Chiropractic School opened in Davenport, Iowa. It was followed by other institutions in the next several years, and the first journal of chiropractic was published in 1903. Three years later, however, Palmer was prosecuted under a new state law and went to jail for practicing medicine without a license. Aside from opposition by the mainstream medical community, the chiropractic movement was weakened in the early twentieth century by dissension within the community of practitioners.

Yet another therapeutic approach that grew out of late-nineteenth-century interest in alternative methods of treating disease and promoting health was naturopathy. The basis for naturopathy can be traced to water cure treatments earlier in the century, particularly those of the Bavarian priest Sebastian Kneipp, who elaborated on the principles of hydropathy to develop his own water cure system. One of the advocates of Kneippism was Benedict Lust, who came to the United States from Germany in the early 1890s. Lust added several other nature cures to the Kneipp treatment, such as massage, exercise, and diet, and he purchased rights to the term *naturopathy*. In 1905, he founded the American School of Naturopathy in New York City, which awarded the first naturopathic doctorate degrees (NDs) two years later.

The next two decades saw the establishment of several other schools of naturopathy, the founding of professional naturopathic journals, and the opening of numerous health resorts featuring naturopathic regimens. Despite its early and ongoing popularity, interest in naturopathy as an alternative therapy made a quantum leap as the postwar counterculture movement sought more natural healing and hygienic practices.



The latter decades of the twentieth century brought a rise in non-Western and other “alternative” forms of medical treatment in the United States. Here, a woman undergoes the traditional cupping method of ancient Chinese acupuncture. (Lynn Johnson/Aurora/Getty Images)

Twentieth-Century Resurgence

Even as osteopathy, chiropractic, and naturopathy gained adherents in the early twentieth century, they also faced increasing attacks by the mainstream medical community, which had flourished with the rise of scientific medicine,

reforms in medical education, and the establishment of professional associations. Characterizations of such alternative therapies as quackery or medical cults became commonplace, as the mainstream medical community, pharmaceutical companies, and supporting services and institutions grew in strength and power through the twentieth century.

Only with the rise of the postwar counterculture was there an environment conducive to the rediscovery and revitalization of these alternative therapies. For many of the same reasons that such new approaches were developed in the nineteenth century, the philosophies of the youth counterculture—emphasizing a return to nature, spirituality, and personal growth—left many Americans open to practices antithetical to conventional Western medicine. Indeed, alternative therapies were essentially countercultural in their very nature, adding to their appeal and promoting a natural, holistic, more enlightened lifestyle.

The spread of unconventional treatments and therapies in the youth counterculture and New Age movement of the 1960s and early 1970s led to more mainstream acceptance and the adoption of the generic term *alternative medicine* in the late 1970s.

While alternative medical practices are still regarded with varying degrees of skepticism by the conventional medical community, the stigmas of cult and quackery have begun to diminish in some cases. In the last two decades of the twentieth century, the term *complementary medicine* began to be used in lieu of, or in combination with, *alternative medicine*, as a number of alternative approaches have been integrated into mainstream biomedical research and treatment.

James J. Kopp

See also: [Graham, Sylvester](#); [Health Foods](#); [New Age](#); [Vegetarianism](#).

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Medieval Reenactment

Medieval reenactment is an activity in which participants re-create various aspects of medieval European life, including combat, music, dancing, arts, armoring, blacksmithing, folklore, and other skills, trades, and special events. In the broadest sense, the term includes the many clubs, organizations, and businesses that sponsor or participate in reenactments. Reenactment groups may focus on different periods of time, different locations, and different skills or activities of medieval life. Some groups strive for strict historical authenticity, allowing only weapons, implements, and costumes that follow those of the specific period, while other groups allow a much wider variety of influences, including fantasy literature and film.

In the United States, the oldest and most well-established medieval reenactment group is the Society for Creative

Anachronism (SCA) in California, which boasts tens of thousands of members. The SCA began as a single chivalric tournament hosted by college friends David Thewlis, Ken de Maiffe, and Diana Paxson on May 1, 1966, in Berkeley, California. The medieval-style tournament was based on the Earl of Eglanton's Last Tournament in Scotland in 1839, a fair held by the young nobleman to celebrate the values of agrarian chivalry. In the face of rapid industrialization, the fair offered a return to the romantic values eulogized in the novels of Scottish poet and novelist Sir Walter Scott. Unfortunately, the Earl of Eglanton's 1839 event was rained out.

The weather for the Berkeley event in 1966 was favorable, however, and the new Last Tournament went off without a hitch and became an annual event. The idea of chivalric tournaments with fighting, dancing, and feasting spread quickly. The three University of California, Berkeley students had not expected the event to expand into the massive organization it has become in the twenty-first century, encompassing all aspects of archaic European reenactment, from armored combat with wooden swords to arts and sciences.

The rapid growth of the SCA sparked a medieval revival in the United States, and the subculture of medieval reenactment has grown exponentially. Most groups focus on medieval-style combat, using simulated swords with an array of costuming and armor. Combat-oriented groups run the gamut from armored fighting with metal weaponry ("live steel" fighting) to full-contact melees with padded weapons and armor ("boffer" or "foam" fighting). Other groups are strictly noncombat oriented, focusing on the revitalization of arts and crafts such as dance, folklore, blacksmithing, and weaving.

Most groups encourage members to take on a fictional name and persona to use at reenactment events. The personae adopted by reenactors largely depend on the group to which they belong. J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* (1954), as well as a number of contemporary fantasy novels, are important influences for some groups, especially literature focusing on character development and role playing.

A cottage industry has grown up to support the diverse interests of medieval reenactors, with numerous small companies manufacturing weapons, armor, clothing, jewelry, and other accoutrements of the hobby. Most states boast at least one semipermanent Renaissance fair (often called a "faire" or "festival"), where the general public pays admission to visit a multifaceted medieval reenactment in a theme-park atmosphere. Other events more closely resemble a country fair with elements of a traveling circus or minstrel show, featuring medieval music, acrobatics, short plays, storytelling, fortune-telling, and other entertainment, a variety of vendors, and exhibitions of traditional crafts. Again, attendees are encouraged to dress in period-appropriate garb and participate in the event.

Jeffrey Sartain

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Society for Creative Anachronism. <http://www.sca.org>

Menken, Adah Isaacs (1835–1868)

The actress, poet, and essayist Adah Isaacs Menken was a visible and controversial member of New York's counterculture during the 1860s. She challenged the cultural mainstream by bringing burlesque and apparent nudity to the middle-class theater. She is especially known for appearing nude (she was actually wearing a sheer body stocking) while strapped to a horse in the play *Mazeppa; or The Wild Horse of Tartary* (1861). In addition to

challenging the sexual mores of the period, she also contested the dominant gender norms in her poems and essays.

According to most scholars, she was born Adah Bertha Theodore on June 15, 1835, to a French Creole mother and free black father in New Orleans. Many of the facts about her early life are uncertain, however, because she often gave contradictory accounts of her childhood and ethnicity.

She began performing at a young age, dancing in the New Orleans French Opera House, and made her theatrical debut in 1857 in Louisiana in *The Lady of Lyons*. In 1859, she made her New York debut in *The Soldier's Daughter* and appeared on Broadway as well in *The French Spy*. Converting to Judaism, she married a Jewish musician named Alexander Isaac Menken and took his last name. Later divorced, she retained both her Jewish faith and the name Menken through three more marriages.

In an 1860 essay titled "Women of the World," Adah Menken advocated an expanded role for women in American society, criticizing the conventional limitation on women to the roles of wife and mother. In another essay that year, "Shylock," she challenged the idea among social reformers that strict adherence to Christianity would eliminate vice. Menken challenged men's domination of the public sphere by openly voicing her opinions on a wide range of political matters. Although there is no evidence that she participated in a homosexual relationship, literary critics have identified references to homosexuality in her poems and letters.

In *Mazeppa*, Menken played the title role, that of a male hero. Although the play had been popular with American audiences since the 1830s, no one had seen a woman play the title character. On June 7, 1861, crowds rushed to the Green Street Theatre in Albany, New York, to see if Menken, like the actors who had played the character before, would strip on stage. At the end of the first scene, Mazeppa is strapped to a horse and dragged across the stage, up a mountain of scaffolding, and into the rafters. Male actors considered the scene so dangerous that dummies had been used in their place. Menken performed the stunt herself.

She thus became the first woman to remove her clothes (or appear to) onstage in a middle-class theater, and she challenged gender stereotypes by doing what no male actor had dared do in the same role. She repeated the performance in productions of *Mazeppa* across the United States.

The notoriety of *Mazeppa* led to acting opportunities in Europe, where Menken lived from 1866 to 1868. She spent the final years of her life in Paris, Vienna, and London, and died in Paris at age thirty-three on August 10, 1868.

Matthew J. Johnson

See also: [Bohemianism](#); [Lesbian Culture](#).

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Mennonites

Mennonites are members of a Christian religious sect with roots in Anabaptism, a radical movement of the sixteenth century marked by a rejection of infant baptism. Some Anabaptist sects were products of the Protestant Reformation, the sixteenth-century movement to reform the Catholic Church; others were of independent origin. Anabaptists were the spearhead of the democratic religious movement and were ceaselessly persecuted, an estimated 2,000 being executed before 1530. Some Anabaptists acquired a permanent foothold in Holland, where they took the name of Mennonites from Menno Simons, a Dutch priest who at forty years of age renounced the Catholic faith and joined the Anabaptists. His followers adopted the name "Mennonites" to escape persecution.

The first German settlers in America were Mennonites who arrived and settled 10 miles (16 kilometers) north of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, naming their settlement Germantown (now part of Philadelphia). In 1683, Mennonite settlers also arrived in Pennsylvania's Bucks, Berks, and Northampton counties. By 1712, there were some 200 Mennonites in Pennsylvania with a collective church membership of at least 100. Perhaps the largest Mennonite community in the American colonies was in located present-day Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, which was made up largely of Swiss immigrants. Some were Amish Mennonites, who represented the most conservative branch of the body. By the end of the colonial period, there were 2,000 Mennonite families in America, most of them in Pennsylvania.

Many Mennonites wear distinctive clothing: a jacket without lapels known as the "plain coat" for men, and a small lace hat known as the "covering" for women. Mennonites are characterized by their beliefs in adult baptism, pacifism, and nonresistance. Their core belief is that Jesus Christ is central to worship and everyday living; proper behavior is to follow his example.

The Bible is considered the inspired word of God, and Mennonite worship services are focused on sermons that affirm the Scriptures. Congregational singing is traditionally in four-part a cappella style, though organ music in worship services gained popularity in the late twentieth century. Membership continues to be voluntary, with adult baptism performed upon the public declaration and confession of one's faith.

Mennonites are known for their staunch pacifism, based on their understanding of Jesus as a teacher of peace. Many members choose not to participate in military service. Some object to government military expenditures, with a few refusing to pay the percentage of their annual income tax that would go for military purposes.

In 1847, the Mennonite church experienced a schism between those who wished to adhere to the "old" practices and separation from other Christian churches and those who desired to become more secular. The division ultimately resulted in the founding of the General Conference Mennonite Church in 1860. Over the next century, however, many advocated for reconciliation.

In 2002, the two denominations officially joined to form the Mennonite Church USA; in Canada, the joint churches are called Mennonite Church Canada. Today, Mennonites number an estimated 1.5 million members in sixty countries. They exhibit a wide range of practices and embody various lifestyles, from those of traditional "plain people" to those of members indistinguishable from the general population.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Amish: Conscientious Objectors, Draft Dodgers, and Deserters: Pacifism.](#)

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Men's Movements

The American men's movements were multifaceted responses to changes that emerged following the civil rights movement, gay rights movement, and second wave of feminism of the 1960s and 1970s. These social movements had served to destabilize the social, economic, and political dominance of heterosexual white masculinity in America. This shift in and questioning of traditional power relationships created confusion, frustration, and, in some cases, enlightenment, predominantly among white men, regarding their role in society, and prompted many to take part in the diverse new men's movement. Some groups were largely conservative, aiming to solidify traditional power relationships between men and women, while others were progressive, advancing new roles for both genders and attending to issues related to race and sexuality.

The men's liberation movement of the early 1970s focused on the ways gender roles negatively affected men, especially through the societal pressure to be competitive "breadwinners" and "success objects" at the expense of personal relationships and emotional connectivity. The men's liberation movement supported feminism and saw the feminist movement as a step toward human liberation, but proponents saw men as no less oppressed by gender roles than women were.

The men's rights movement of the late 1970s and early 1980s was an outgrowth of the men's liberation movement, but it focused on men as victims both of traditional expectations of masculine performance and of the feminist movement, which it regarded as the impetus for a turning tide in American culture that gave women more power than men. The participants in this movement were concerned about the confining nature of traditional conceptions of masculinity and they sought to improve men's lives, but they did not agree with feminists that men enjoyed cultural, structural, and institutional privileges. Indeed, they were particularly concerned about the ways in which men were placed at a growing disadvantage in U.S. society, such as in child-custody battles, alimony situations, and the military draft.

The profeminist men's movement arose in the mid-1970s in response to the second wave of the women's movement, and it continues to some extent into the twenty-first century. This movement is the most progressive of the men's movements. Not only does it question the ways in which men are privileged in patriarchal societies, it also investigates the centrality of homophobia in men's lives and its intersection with sexism.

Profeminist men seriously consider feminist concerns regarding male dominance and they attempt to redefine masculinity to include a merging of both male and female qualities, which they argue are arbitrarily bifurcated based on social construction, not biology. They also address the ways in which homophobia works as a system of oppression. Today, many profeminist men are public intellectuals who publish widely.

Additionally, the National Organization for Men Against Sexism (NOMAS) is a social-justice organization that grew out of this movement and advances profeminist, gay-affirmative perspectives. The organization seeks to affirm men of all intersecting identities (men of color, gay men, and men of various spiritual backgrounds), while working to achieve democratic ideals of equality. The profeminist men's movement is marked by more cultural diversity than the other movements. It is largely a North American phenomenon, with major proponents living in the United States and Canada.

Perhaps the most flamboyant of the movements is the mythopoetic men's movement, commonly associated with Robert Bly, a poet and the author of the best-selling book *Iron John* (1990). The movement emerged in the 1980s and dissipated by the mid-1990s. The mythopoetic men's movement focused on the poverty of men's relationships with one another, particularly father-son relationships and relationships between coworkers, in modern industrial society.

Men who participated in the mythopoetic men's movement attempted to reconnect with other men and empower themselves psychologically and spiritually by getting in touch with a sacred masculine space, based on preindustrial rituals rooted in essentialist notions of masculinity. Participants gathered at seminars and retreats to take part in ritualistic events such as face painting, chanting, and dancing around bonfires, with the ultimate goal of connecting on an emotional and spiritual level. Such groups encouraged men to share their feelings and concerns with other men in an effort to heal past wounds. Although the mythopoetic movement was widely ridiculed and trivialized in the popular media, it held significant appeal for many men.

The fifth major strain of the men's movement is Promise Keepers, a Christian men's organization led by Bill McCartney that emerged in 1990 and peaked in the mid-1990s but still has adherents today. The group attempts to reinvigorate men's enthusiasm for leadership roles in the church and in society at large. Men involved in this movement come together in large gatherings to hear sermons and to engage in worship.



Members of Promise Keepers, a Christian men's organization that emphasizes individual social and spiritual responsibility, join in prayer on the Mall in Washington, D.C., in October 1997. The rally was called the largest gathering of men in U.S. history. (Porter Gifford/Getty Images)

Promise Keepers argue that the contemporary American male has become feminized and that this has forced women to take the leadership roles men should have assumed; men are encouraged to reclaim these roles. The movement's discourse often evokes images of Jesus and the Christian male as hypermasculine, and encourages men to reinvest in traditional notions of masculinity. While men in this organization may find the rhetoric espoused empowering, some women of faith who seek or hold leadership roles in their places of worship are troubled about the valorization of men's leadership at the expense and marginalization of women's leadership abilities.

Valerie Palmer-Mehta

See also: [Fundamentalism, Christian](#).

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Merry Pranksters

In the amorphous early hippie counterculture of the early 1960s in San Francisco, novelist Ken Kesey and a group of his friends informally banded together as the Merry Pranksters, a group that promoted psychedelic drug use and an outrageous aesthetic. Key members of the group were Ken Babbs, Ron ("Hassler") Bevir, and Carolyn Adams Garcia (known as "Mountain Girl," who had a child with Kesey and later married Grateful Dead band member Jerry Garcia).

In 1964, Kesey and the Merry Pranksters set off on a road trip that became legendary in counterculture history. The journey was an effort to push the frontiers of consciousness and shock mainstream America. In pursuit of these goals, the Pranksters named the bus "Furthur" (deliberately misspelled) and attracted as much media attention as they could. Neal Cassady, a member of the circle of 1950s Beat writers, drove the bus, establishing a link between the Beats and the blossoming hippie counterculture. Although similar to the Beats in their desire to experience each moment in its full intensity, the Pranksters represented a flamboyant new generation with little respect for social norms. Accompanied by Beat poet Allen Ginsberg, they met Beat novelist Jack Kerouac in New York, but offended him with their flagrant lack of respect for an American flag, which they had cut up for clothing.

The journey also served to link the psychedelic cultures of the West and East coasts. Former Harvard University professor Timothy Leary and other intellectuals on the East Coast considered some individuals better candidates for psychedelic use than others, and melded psychedelic use with Eastern philosophies, an air of scholarly mysticism, and the idea that one had to be prepared to take hallucinogenic substances.

Kesey and the Merry Pranksters refused this approach and handed out free LSD at parties called "Acid Tests," sometimes without the knowledge of the partygoers, and promoted the idea that anyone could benefit from the insights of the drug. The events, held in the San Francisco Bay Area, aimed to provide as much visual and auditory stimulus as possible to turn the use of psychoactive substances into a mind-blowing experience. The Grateful Dead and other West Coast bands became popular performers at these events, which eventually were billed as Trips Festivals.

Although the Pranksters sought to introduce their freewheeling sense of aesthetics and spontaneity to what they interpreted as an East Coast psychedelic snobbery, they were not especially successful. When the Pranksters arrived unannounced at Millbrook, Timothy Leary's psychedelic community in New York, they were greeted coolly.

The meshing of subcultures was more successful when freelance journalist Hunter S. Thompson introduced the Pranksters to the motorcycle gang Hells Angels in 1965, and they embarked on a friendly alliance lubricated by drug use. Thompson wrote a description of the event in *Hell's Angels: A Strange and Terrible Saga* (1967).

Although Kesey died in 2001, the Prankster legacy is continued by his son Zane and Babbs's son Simon. Their company, Intrepid Trips, sells videos, T-shirts, books, and other memorabilia related to the Merry Pranksters. The exploits of the Pranksters are chronicled most notably in Tom Wolfe's 1968 New Journalism novel, *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*.

Kim Hewitt

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Kesey, Ken](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [LSD](#).

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Mesmerism

Mesmerism, also referred to as “animal magnetism,” is the term for the theories of Franz Anton Mesmer, an eighteenth-century Austrian-born physician who sought scientific explanations for the nonphysical universe. Mesmer observed how the planets, celestial orbits, and the sun and moon all affect one other, and also affect earthly processes such as the tides. Cosmic occurrences, he asserted, influence all animate beings and systems, including the human nervous system, and can be explained in terms of an all-penetrating or invisible fluid that imbues everything in the cosmos. He also observed that earthly beings are subject to fluctuations similar to those in nature. The “ebb and flow,” or “intensification and remission” of the sea, for example, are said to be similar to the dynamics of a living being. The controlling factor, he theorized, is a form of magnetism emitted from stars and animals alike.

The theory of animal magnetism, the “vital life force” contained in all beings, also was used to explain the health or sickness of an individual. If the substance is distributed equally through the body, Mesmer believed, the person will be healthy; if not, the imbalance can cause illness. The technique proposed for curing an individual suffering from such an imbalance consisted of getting the sick person into a relaxed state and having the physician pass bare hands along his or her body, thereby shifting the magnetic force to restore balance. Mesmer believed that convulsions were part of the healing process, but later practitioners of mesmerism did not share this view.

Mesmer initially believed that magnets could help redirect the magnetic material in the body, but he later recanted this view. Others misunderstood him, however, and kept trying to test his ideas using magnets. When they produced no results, he was criticized.

In 1784, a French royal commission was created to investigate mesmerism. Among those who served on the commission were the American statesman and scientist Benjamin Franklin and the founder of modern chemistry, Antoine Lavoisier. The group concluded that the relationship between patient and physician could produce all of

the effects claimed by Mesmer, but that they were produced by patients' imaginations rather than by any "magnetic fluid." Mesmer spent the rest of his life trying to verify his nontraditional theories and refute claims of fraud—a difficult proposition given that his theory was not objectively verifiable.

By the late eighteenth century, students and followers shifted the direction of mesmerism. The French aristocrat Marquis de Puységur focused more on the effects of somnambulistic, or trancelike, states, rather than on trying to manipulate invisible substances in the body. Puységur, according to scholar Robert C. Fuller, found that people in "sleeplike consciousness" had "remembered long forgotten experiences with astonishing accuracy" and "spontaneously performed feats of telepathy, clairvoyance, and precognition." Such discoveries brought about new interest in somnambulist states, and the study and practice of hypnotism (a term invented much later) began to spread. Mesmerism, as it was then called, developed simultaneously as an applied "science" and a form of entertainment, spawning a generation of itinerant practitioners. In the 1830s, Frenchman Charles Poyen brought mesmerism to the United States, where John Bovee Dods and Reverend George Bush helped to spread the theory with lectures and demonstrations. LaRoy Sunderland toured up and down the Atlantic seaboard and claimed to have mesmerized thousands of people.

Once accepted by the American public, mesmerism provided a so-called scientific platform for a broader movement that was a reaction against the perceived constraints of established and organized religion—a reaction central to the religious modalities of American counterculture. In providing an apparent link between the human mind and higher realms of consciousness, mesmerism underwrote a more experimental and experiential approach to religious belief. The most notable nineteenth-century example was spiritualism—a "spiritual science" that was peculiarly American in its combination of science, religion, commerce, and popular entertainment.

Although the theoretical underpinnings of mesmerism are no longer taken seriously, the study of trancelike states has helped shape modern psychology and psychiatric practice. Mesmerism's most significant contribution was a deeper understanding of the subtle and intricate workings of the mind through the process of hypnotism.

Hollie Petit and Mark Harrison

See also: [Pseudoscience](#).

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Millay, Edna St. Vincent (1892–1950)

Edna St. Vincent Millay, the scandalous "girl poet" of bohemian Greenwich Village, personified the flapper culture of the 1920s, yet she became the first American woman to win the Pulitzer Prize in poetry, in 1923. Her sensuous, semi-autobiographical lyric verse won critical acclaim, even as her elfin beauty, bisexuality, and numerous

romantic affairs unsettled literary and social circles in 1920s New York City.

“Vincent,” as she was known to family and friends, was born in Rockland, Maine, on February 22, 1892. The family moved frequently, and her father abandoned them circa 1900. Despite stark poverty, her mother, Cora, encouraged musical and literary expression, and at age fourteen Edna Millay won prizes for poems published in a children’s magazine. Too poor to consider college, she remained at home after high school.

At age nineteen, she submitted the poem “Renascence” to a national contest. Although the poem did not win, it was published and led to lifelong friendships with poets Arthur Davison Ficke and Witter Bynner.

In 1912, Millay’s sister persuaded her to give a poetry reading at a nearby resort, which led a group of guests to arrange a scholarship for her to Vassar College. After graduating in 1917, she published her first book of verse, *Renascence, and Other Poems*, and moved to Greenwich Village in New York City. She would spend the next several years there, living a bohemian lifestyle, writing poetry and plays, and becoming involved in leftist political circles.

In 1918, she began acting with the Provincetown Players, an experimental theater group that included young playwrights Susan Glaspell and Eugene O’Neill. Floyd Dell, who was then fighting the government closure of his socialist magazine *The Masses*, cast her as the lead in his play *The Angel Intrudes*. He also introduced Millay to other radical friends, including journalist John Reed, who had recently returned from covering the Russian Revolution and World War I in Europe.

And she continued writing. In 1919 and 1920, the Washington Square Players produced her antiwar play, *Aria da Capo*. In the next three years, she published four more poetry collections: *A Few Figs from Thistles* (1920), *Second April* (1921), *The Ballad of the Harp-Weaver* (1922), and *The Harp-Weaver and Other Poems* (1923), for which she was awarded the Pulitzer.

Millay was unlike any poet Americans had ever known. Technically refined and often in conventional sonnet form, her poems nevertheless dealt with passion rather than love and epitomized the death of Victorian respectability.

Millay herself was as unexpected as her poetry. Her vibrant voice, flaming red hair, and unorthodox lifestyle raised eyebrows. Like others in Greenwich Village at the time, Millay made little effort to hide her sexual relations with both men and women. She attracted suitors including the critic Edmund Wilson and the poet John Peale Bishop, and some accused her of flaunting her sexuality for the sake of publicity.

In 1923, Millay married Eugen Boissevain, a widower who had been married to the suffragist Inez Mulholland. While they remained in contact with Greenwich Village friends, the couple lived primarily at Steepletop, their farm in Austerlitz, New York. It was an open marriage that survived Millay’s extramarital relationships and endured until Boissevain’s death in 1949.

Millay’s health was taxed by her frequent reading tours, yet she remained a prolific and popular writer. In 1925, she completed the libretto for a Metropolitan Opera production, *The King’s Henchman*. She also continued to profess her leftist politics and, in 1927, was arrested while protesting the Sacco and Vanzetti execution in Boston.

During the 1930s, Millay became increasingly despondent over the rise of fascism in Europe. In June 1940, she announced her rejection of pacifism in the book-length poem *There Are No Islands, Any More*. Her patriotic wartime poetry was popular among the general public but condemned by literary critics who preferred the Greenwich Village rebel of the 1920s.

Millay struggled with alcoholism in her final years, but she continued to write. She died on October 19, 1950, at her New York farmhouse after a fall on the stairs. At the time of her death, she was surrounded by penciled drafts of new poetry.

See also: [Bohemianism](#); [Free Love](#); [Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [Provincetown Players](#); [Sacco and Vanzetti Case](#); [Socialism](#).

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Miller, Henry (1891–1980)

Henry Miller, the author of a number of semiautobiographical novels containing sexually explicit material, obscene language, and surreal images, was one of the most significant figures in the American literary counterculture from the 1930s to the 1970s. His most famous work, *Tropic of Cancer* (1934) was banned from publication in the United States for its detailed sexual descriptions and obscene language. The ban was lifted by the U.S. Supreme Court in the case of *Grove Press v. Gerstein* (1963), which reversed a lower-court ruling and defined the work as one of literature rather than obscenity. As an anarchist and nonconformist, Miller was regarded as a literary outlaw for much of the twentieth century. Beyond issues of obscenity, his surreal writing style also broke with accepted literary conventions such as straightforward narration; his “stream of consciousness” style generated controversy between his devotees and mainstream literary critics who questioned the quality of his writing.

Henry Valentine Miller was born on December 26, 1891, in New York City, to Heinrich and Louise Niering Miller, German American Catholics, and he grew up in Brooklyn. Miller graduated from high school in 1909 and briefly attended New York’s City College.

After working various jobs, marrying twice, and making unsuccessful writing attempts, he moved to Paris in 1929 to join a group of expatriate American writers and artists, scraping together what income he could from teaching, proofreading, and writing. During his years in France, he drafted his first successful work, *Tropic of Cancer*, based on his life (including personal details) in Paris, where the book was first published in 1934.

Miller published his second novel, *Black Spring*, in 1936. It was followed by such notable works as *Tropic of Capricorn* (1939), a continuation of *Tropic of Cancer*, *The Colossus of Maroussi* (1941), based on Miller’s travels in Greece, and *Big Sur and the Oranges of Hieronymus Bosch* (1957), which promoted his vision of utopia.

As Miller’s fame as a writer grew, so did his notoriety. His prospective American publisher, Grove Press, lobbied for years for the acceptance of his work in the United States. The U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Grove Press v. Gerstein* was a breakthrough for writers of other important works of literature that had been deemed “obscene.”

Miller took the banning of his work and its lukewarm reception in stride, turning notoriety to his advantage to help lead the modernist literary movement. Unlike some of his contemporaries, notably Ernest Hemingway, Miller, who married five times, not only was personally untroubled, but publicly proclaimed his happiness. He died peacefully on June 7, 1980, at the age of 89.

Although he is best remembered for the erotica of the *Tropics* books, Miller was a prolific writer whose modern, individualistic style had a profound influence on subsequent generations of authors, including the Beat Generation

of poets. His novels were especially popular in the 1960s and 1970s counterculture, appealing to a generation whose sexual mores were increasingly shaped by the sexual revolution and loosening of social conventions.

Susan Roth Breitzer

See also: [Lost Generation](#): [Presses](#), [Small Book](#): [Sexual Revolution](#): [Surrealists](#).

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Miller, William (1782–1849)

William Miller was a self-educated Baptist preacher and prophet who spearheaded the religious movement of Adventism in the 1830s and 1840s. Persuaded by his reading of the Bible that the Second Coming of Christ was imminent, Miller attracted a large group of followers—called Millerites—and fostered a renewed sense of spiritual urgency in American culture. Among the denominations that grew out of his teachings are Seventh-Day Adventists, the Advent Christian Church, the Jehovah’s Witnesses, and the Bible Students.

Miller was born on February 15, 1782, in Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Raised on a farm in upstate New York, he had little opportunity for formal education and gained most of his knowledge by reading books—especially the Bible—on his own. Despite being instilled with strong Christian beliefs throughout his childhood, he struggled with his faith and eventually grew to embrace deism.

This personal spiritual battle would become a lifelong torment for Miller, especially while he served in the War of 1812. Confronted with the horrors and senselessness of battle, Miller sought solace in his familiar Christian beliefs and joined the Baptist faith. Still not entirely committed to embracing any one dogma, however, he began an intensive study to harmonize the inconsistencies of the Bible using only Scripture and *Cruden’s Concordance*.

In his quest for religious accord, Miller came upon a passage in the Hebrew Bible, Daniel 8:14, that alludes to the time believed to precede Armageddon. (“And he said unto me, Unto two thousand and three hundred days; then shall the sanctuary be cleansed.”) Based on a theory called the “day-year principle” and various assumptions, Miller predicted that the period would end sometime between 1843 and 1844.

Recognizing the dire urgency of his discovery, Miller began to relate his insights to family and friends; none was convinced. Despite these frustrations, Miller believed that he was given a personal sign by God to preach about his discovery in the Baptist Church. In 1831, Miller gave his first sermon on Christ’s impending return.

Inspired by Miller’s lectures, the Advent or Millerite movement spread through Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, and Congregational churches across New England. Many of Miller’s followers came from the region of upstate New York referred to as the “Burned-Over District,” which witnessed a series of revivals and spontaneous

religious movements that gave birth not only to the Adventist movement but also to Pentecostalism and Mormonism. (The term *burned-over* was coined by historian Whitney Cross to illustrate the extent to which the area had been converted during the Second Great Awakening, which occurred from 1800 to 1840.)

Miller's message, which emphasized the importance of personal soul-searching, moved congregants with his intensity and fresh insights into traditional Scripture. Followers were so convinced the end was fast approaching that they refrained from planting crops and sold their possessions.

By October 22, 1844, Miller's interfaith movement had grown to 100,000 believers. Yet this also was the last of several dates he had proposed for Christ's Second Coming. When the great event did not occur, thousands of embittered and disillusioned Millerites abandoned the movement.

While many deemed Miller's fundamentalist approach a hoax, others remained convinced of his authority and the validity of Adventist prophecies. Some of Miller's stalwart followers turned to other ideas regarding Daniel 8:14 and the prophecies associated with 1844. Seventh-Day Adventists, for example, came to believe that the sanctuary being cleansed in Daniel's verse referred to the sanctuary in heaven, not on earth. Ever firm in his convictions, Miller died on December 20, 1849, still believing that the world would soon be revisited by its savior.

Siobhan Kane

See also: [Mormonism](#); [Pentecostalism](#).

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Mills, C. Wright (1916–1962)

C. Wright Mills was a Marxian sociologist who gained popularity in the 1950s and 1960s counterculture for his radical critique of American society. His writings, along with those of other radical commentators of the early-to mid-twentieth century, such as Herbert Marcuse, contributed to the intellectual underpinnings of the counterculture movement.

Charles Wright Mills was born in Waco, Texas, on August 28, 1916, to a middle-class Catholic family. He matriculated at Texas A&M University (a quasi-military institution that provided insights into the military establishment he would later examine as an academic) and transferred to the University of Texas, where he received his undergraduate degree in 1939. He attended graduate school at the University of Wisconsin, where he earned his Ph.D. in 1941 and met his mentor and later collaborator, Hans Gerth.

Mills was especially concerned with aspects of power in American society, publishing three major works on this subject: *The New Men of Power: American's Labor Leaders* (1948), *White Collar: The American Middle Classes*

(1951), and *The Power Elite* (1956). The first book was a study of how the growing labor movement in America would cause workers to integrate with the dominant classes rather than rise up against them (as Karl Marx had theorized). The second work was an analysis of a rapidly emerging middle class that was becoming frighteningly conformist. The third book examined changes in American society after World War II that placed power in the hands of three major groups—the government, big business, and the military—that together constituted what President Dwight Eisenhower had called the “military-industrial complex.”

A later work, *The Sociological Imagination* (1959), became a classic in the field for its focus on the relationships between individual experience and societal structures. It solidified Mills’s reputation as one of the most popular and important social scientists of his era.

The young people of the 1950s who were to become the New Left were captivated by Mills’s maverick style and iconoclastic ideas. His nonconformist image was expressed not only in his writing but also through his persona. Despite being an Ivy League professor—teaching at Columbia University from 1945 to 1962—he was a burly, casually dressed motorcycle rider who seemed to thumb his nose at the establishment. He developed something of a cult among young intellectuals of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and other leftist organizations.

Although Mills’s writings exerted a profound influence on the youth of the 1960s, he did not live to see the activism of the counterculture movement. On March 20, 1962, while preparing for a debate on U.S. policy toward Cuba (just months prior to the Cuban missile crisis) that was to be nationally televised, he died of a heart attack at the age of forty-five.

Leonard A. Steverson

See also: [New Left: Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Mod

Mod is a shorthand term (originally *modernist* and sometimes *modist*) for a youth subculture and style popular in Great Britain and the United States in the late 1950s and early 1960s. The original mod was a well-to-do young man who wore slim-fitting Italian-style suits, listened to modern jazz music, and rode a motor scooter, projecting an air of urbane sophistication and rebelliousness. The height of the mod movement in Britain coincided with the rise of the Beat Generation in the United States; but when the movement arrived in America, it blended with existing countercultural trends to produce a new, uniquely American style. The mod counterculture presented itself as fresh, youthful, and trendy, free from outdated standards and ideas, and more open to experimentation.

Originally, the mods were an offshoot of the Teddy Boy subculture fashionable in Britain during the 1950s. Teddy Boys wore clothing inspired by the styles of the Edwardian era—high-waisted trousers and high-collared shirts,

worn with thin neckties and often with embroidered waistcoats.

As the Teddy Boy style began to fall out of fashion in the later 1950s, two other trendy subcultures emerged among British youth: those of the mods and the rockers. While the rockers tended to be working-class youths who favored jeans, leather jackets, motorcycles, and rock and roll music, the mods wore more traditional clothing—fashionable, European-style suits and ties—and listened to music that was less outwardly shocking to adults.

Rockers viewed mods as effeminate and snobbish, while mods looked down on rockers' uncultured, scruffy appearance and boorish attitudes. Fights often broke out when mods and rockers encroached on each other's territory. During the summer of 1964, gangs of mods and rockers fought pitched battles in seaside towns along the south coast of England. Even after police restored order, public disapproval of both youth subcultures continued, reinforced by media coverage of the "moral dilemma" facing Britain.

In sharp contrast to the violent conflicts depicted in the press, the mod image emphasized sophistication and a more relaxed attitude toward society, as opposed to the traditional and conservative attitudes against which the mod culture rebelled. As part of their interest in avant-garde Continental culture, mods enjoyed Italian neorealist and French New Wave (*Nouvelle Vague*) films, which rejected classical cinematic form in favor of a more expressionist approach. Mods also read the work of existentialist European philosophers such as Jean-Paul Sartre, Albert Camus, Maurice Merleau-Ponty, and Simone de Beauvoir, whom they revered for rejecting the historical traditions of Western philosophy.

Along with modern jazz, mods listened to the soul, ska, and rhythm and blues music popularized by American songwriters and record companies. The center of mod style and fashion in the United Kingdom was Carnaby Street in the Soho section of London, home to many independent music stores and small boutiques, including the fashionable shop of clothing designer Mary Quant.

Mod culture came to the United States as part of the British Invasion of rock bands and fashion in the early to mid-1960s, particularly as a result of the Beatles's popularity with American audiences. The U.S. mod scene built on the trends popularized by British youth, but mod style also influenced other aspects of American counterculture. The "hip" and subtly defiant image projected by the mods resonated with the emerging hippie counterculture, and the term *mod* eventually came to describe a young person who was "with it"—aware of the latest fashion and music trends and displaying a relaxed or even cavalier attitude toward traditional social and moral standards.

The influence of mod culture spread throughout the counterculture, spilling over into mainstream styles as well. The daring patterns and sleek lines of London's mod fashion designers influenced the bright, colorful clothes seen in magazines and on popular television shows such as *Rowan and Martin's Laugh-In*.

The popular series *The Mod Squad*, which ran on ABC-TV from 1968 to 1973, portrayed a group of young people who had agreed to work as undercover police officers to avoid being sent to prison for their own, minor criminal offenses. In contrast to the regular police force, members of the *Mod Squad* were able to use their youthful, hip personas to blend into the counterculture scene and investigate the suspects they had been assigned to bring to justice.

By the 1970s, mod style began to fall out of fashion as the hippie counterculture grew in popularity and new fashion trends began to emerge. There was a brief revival of the mod movement in Britain during the late 1970s and in America during the early 1980s, but the mod image remains primarily associated with London in the "Swinging Sixties"—perhaps best illustrated today by the character of Austin Powers (played by Mike Myers) in the eponymous movie series from 1997 to 2002.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Beatles, The](#): [Fashion](#): [Hippies](#): [Mod Squad, The](#): [Rock and Roll](#).

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Mod Squad, The

The first prime-time television series to target a counterculture viewership, *The Mod Squad* was an episodic police drama that aired on the American Broadcasting Company (ABC) network for a total of 123 episodes from 1968 to 1973, corresponding to the latter phase of the hippie movement.

Officially the creation of producers Aaron Spelling and comedian-turned-producer Danny Thomas, *The Mod Squad* was conceived by Bud Ruskin, a former Los Angeles police officer who derived the idea from his experiences working with a special youth squad ten or more years earlier. The premise was simple: A police captain, Greer (Tige Andrews), recruited three disparate members of the counterculture for a special undercover task force in exchange for dropping criminal charges pending against them.

The three hip recruits were Pete Cochran (Michael Cole), the troubled scion of a wealthy Beverly Hills family; Linc Hayes (Clarence Williams III), a radical African American; and Julie Barnes (Peggy Lipton), the daughter of a San Francisco prostitute. Their mission was to use their street credentials and hippie personae to infiltrate and obtain evidence against drug pushers, radicals, and other underworld factions.

The formula worked. The show proved extremely popular in the targeted demographic group, at least for the first few years, and the actors emerged as media sex symbols. Cole was a minor actor who had appeared in soap operas. Williams was a serious stage actor who continues to appear on TV shows in the 2000s. Lipton was a former model whose indifference to fame and being a sex symbol was reflected in her retirement from the screen after marrying music mogul Quincy Jones. (She returned to acting after her divorce in the late 1980s.)



Michael Cole (left, as Pete Cochran), Peggy Lipton (Julie Barnes), and Clarence Williams III (Linc Hayes) starred as hip, young undercover cops in the 1968–1973 television series The Mod Squad. (Authenticated News/Handout/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The cast and its acting skills were mocked in such venues as *MAD* magazine—this focus in itself testimony to their popularity at the time—but the most frequent criticism, the fact that the actors exhibited limited facial expressions, was in fact well suited to the characters they portrayed and the themes of the episodes. The inexpressiveness of the characters reflected their refusal to be fooled by “the Man” and was well suited to the seriousness of the social issues addressed in the show, including racial discord, drug use, and sexual promiscuity.

The Mod Squad is remembered fondly by TV-nostalgia buffs, and the cast gathered for a reunion show (“The Return of the Mod Squad”) in 1979. In one of a myriad of attempts by Hollywood to tap into the nostalgia, a film version of *The Mod Squad* was released in 1999, starring Claire Danes, Giovanni Ribisi, and Omar Epps as Julie, Pete, and Linc, respectively. Critical response was uniformly unenthusiastic.

D.K. Holm

See also: [Hippies: Mod: Television.](#)

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Modern Times

Modern Times was an individualist, free love commune founded in 1851 on Long Island, New York, by anarchists Josiah Warren and Stephen Pearl Andrews. The community was based on the concepts of individual sovereignty

and responsibility as espoused by its founders. Land and the products of labor were privately owned, and there were no civil or law enforcement authorities. Members were left to pursue their own interests. Modern Times continued to operate until the mid-1860s.

Located on 750 acres (304 hectares) in present-day Brentwood, New York, some 40 miles (64 kilometers) from New York City, Modern Times was Warren's fourth attempt to establish an "individualist" or "equitable" venture. In 1827, he experimented with a commercial enterprise in Cincinnati called a time store or equity store, in which an equal exchange of labor was included in the cost of any item; the store lasted two years. In 1830, based on the Cincinnati experiment and his earlier involvement in the New Harmony community of Robert Owen in Indiana, Warren established a community in Tuscarawas County, Ohio, that he called Equity. This attempt failed for several reasons, not least of which was its location in an area prone to outbreaks of malaria. In 1846, he self-published a book of his philosophy titled *Equitable Commerce*. Soon after its publication, he established another community near Claremont, Ohio, called Utopia, that lasted until 1850.

In 1850, Warren moved to New York, where he further developed his ideas and gave public lectures on the subject. Stephen Pearl Andrews heard Warren's message and found it consistent with his own views of labor, wages, and individual responsibility. Together, Warren and Andrews made plans for a new community, which they opened on March 21, 1851.

Accessible from New York City by the Long Island Rail Road, Modern Times drew a wide range of reformers, from abolitionists to advocates of vegetarianism. Among the reformers were advocates of free love, who applied Warren's concept of individual sovereignty to love relations and regarded conventional marriage laws as oppressive. The free love ethic soon overshadowed the original focus of the community and led to frequent attacks in the press. For several months in late 1852 and early 1853, the settlement and its ideology became the object of a debate in the pages of the *New York Tribune*, involving editor Horace Greeley, Andrews, and theologian Henry James, Sr. Andrews compiled the exchanges in a book titled *Love, Marriage, and Divorce, and the Sovereignty of the Individual* (1853).

Modern Times survived the free love controversy but never regained the focus on equitable commerce that Warren and Andrews sought, and became a haven for other radical reformists of the period. At its peak, the community had no more than about 200 inhabitants, though many more passed through.

Andrews left the community in the mid-1850s and founded another utopian community in Manhattan (Unitary House) in 1857. Warren stayed on until 1862, when the American Civil War further dampened the utopian ideals of the community. By 1864, much of the spirit of reform had subsided, and the community dissolved.

James J. Kopp

See also: [Abolitionism](#): [Communes](#): [Free Love](#): [Hippies](#): [Owen, Robert Dale](#): [Vegetarianism](#).

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Mole people is a term used to describe individuals who live in underground tunnels or subway systems, specifically in New York City; most are homeless and have nowhere else to go for shelter. Beginning in the 1980s, however, an urban legend developed that many of the mole people had organized into small groups that lived according to their own social codes, without interference from surface dwellers.

While all large cities have tunnels and subterranean areas, New York City likely has the largest underground complex in urban America. During the 1980s, stories began to circulate that groups of homeless people were living in the city's abandoned or forgotten subway tunnels. While the number was hard to gauge with any certainty, one estimate put the figure at several thousand. The idea of subterranean societies was used as part of the backstory in the television series *Beauty and the Beast* (1987–1989).

Firsthand accounts of organized mole societies date to 1993, when Jennifer Toth's book *The Mole People: Life in the Tunnels Beneath New York City* was published. In it, Toth describes her adventures as an intern for the *Los Angeles Times*, in which she traveled among the mole people of New York and learned how they lived. According to Toth, these were not just homeless people who lived as they could in the tunnel system where no one would bother them. Instead, she reported, the mole people indeed had formed small, functioning communities, similar to tribes. Numbering up to 200 people each, the groups were united by a sense of alienation from the world above and a sense that they lived a better life underground than in mainstream society.

The mole people viewed theirs as an alternative society based on caring and mutual protection; communication and love for other members were considered paramount. Some groups had members who were teachers and health-care givers. Other members were runners, who traveled aboveground to bring back supplies and mail. Although luxuries were limited, Toth's mole people tapped into utility systems for electricity, water, and showers. Scavengers brought back food and other necessities.

The authenticity of Toth's account has been questioned by some commentators. The tunnel system she describes does not correspond to the one known to exist, it has been said, and her account of group life is believed to be unrealistic. Nevertheless, few disagree that many people do live in the New York underground.

In 1989, authorities estimated that up to 5,000 people lived in the city's tunnel and subway systems. About half were believed to have some legal income, whether through collecting recyclables or minimum-wage jobs. A large proportion suffered from drug addiction or mental health problems. Many were harassed by gangs and other homeless people.

Toth's book inspired others to seek out mole people in the years that followed. In 1994, Steven Dupler made a short documentary film, *Outside Society*, in which he explored New York's underground, looking for communities such as the one Toth described. The year 2000 brought the release of *Dark Days*, a documentary made by people who lived in the tunnels to raise money for the underground homeless. Other books documenting mole settlements include Margaret Morton's *The Tunnel: The Underground Homeless of New York City* (1995).

Although efforts by city, state, and federal officials have reduced the number of homeless in the tunnels of New York, thousands of mole people are still known to reside in the city's underground rail and subway systems, adjacent to yet outside the boundaries of mainstream society.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Squatters and Squatting](#).

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Moonies

The Unification Church, known officially as the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity (HSA-UCW), was founded by Sun Myung Moon in Seoul, Korea on May 1, 1954, and established a U.S. headquarters by 1959. Moon would declare himself the true father of humanity and a messiah; followers became known as “Moonies.” The Unification Church was relatively obscure in the United States until the early 1970s, when it entered onto the political scene in support of the war in Vietnam and the beleaguered presidency of Richard M. Nixon.

Among the central tenets of the church’s philosophy is that God is both male and female. This conjoining of feminine and masculine principles finds primary worldly manifestation in the “true love” relationship between the perfected man and the perfected woman. The focus on love and marriage lends itself to one of the church’s more notorious rites, the “marriage blessing,” or mass marriage.

The first of these events, conducted by Moon in Seoul in 1961, brought together thirty-six couples. Growing in size over the years, these ceremonies continued to follow the same abiding philosophy: By entering into a marriage consecrated, and often arranged, by Moon himself (this practice has shifted somewhat, with parents of prospective couples entering more actively into matchmaking), the man and woman joining in marriage remove themselves from the sinful lineage of humankind. Thus, any child issuing from their union is born free from the burden of original sin. Entering into a marriage arranged by the church—often with a person previously unknown and of a different national and cultural background—is seen by members as a central act of faith. The first large-scale blessing outside of Korea took place at New York’s Madison Square Garden in 1982, witnessing the marriage of 2,075 couples and drawing enormous publicity and public interest. The ritual was liberalized in the 1990s, as non-church members became eligible for the blessing.

Another major source of public interest and controversy was the church’s use of recruitment and indoctrination practices that opponents referred to as “brainwashing.” Fear of “mind control” on the part of Moonie members’ families gave rise to the practice of abducting and “deprogramming,” as relatives saw it, cult members.

The controversies associated with the Moonies were part of a generalized moral panic that accompanied the rise of new religious movements in America during the 1960s and 1970s. In its search for alternatives to Western materialism, the counterculture had engaged in wide-ranging religious experimentation. A fascination with Buddhism had been inherited from the Beat movement, and classic texts of Hinduism and Taoism gained whole new audiences. The scriptural encounter with Eastern religious traditions was accompanied by a more experiential component, with contemporary exponents of Eastern mysticism drawing the attention of spiritual seekers. The transcendental meditation of Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, the ashrams of Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh, and Bhaktivedanta Swami Prabhupada’s International Society for Krishna Consciousness all drew young adherents and touched off a variety of controversies over religious freedom. Brainwashing, deprogramming, and the supposedly hypnotic powers of charismatic leaders all came under scrutiny in what authors David G. Bromley and Anson D. Shupe, Jr., have called “the great American cult scare.”

Over the years, much of the Unification Church's growth in the United States has consisted of the creation of an increasingly complex web of affiliated organizations and political alliances. The twenty-first-century membership and organizational size of the church are difficult to determine given its propensity for front organizations and diverse commercial holdings (the list of affiliated organizations, according to the Freedom of Mind Center, runs into the hundreds). The church itself claimed a worldwide membership of 3 million in 1995, including 50,000 in the United States. More conservative estimates place worldwide membership in the hundreds of thousands and U.S. membership around 5,000. Today, the Unification Church stands both as a functioning religious and political organization and as an object of controversy in the area of non-Judeo-Christian spiritual practice in America.

Mark Harrison

See also: [Cults](#); [Hare Krishna](#); [Transcendental Meditation](#).

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Moore, Michael (1954–)

A political-documentary writer and director, Michael Moore broke onto the national scene in 1989 with *Roger & Me*, a film about trying to track down the chairman of General Motors (GM) and confront him about job losses in Flint, Michigan. Moore became a gadfly to conservatives and Republicans with subsequent films and books critiquing America's gun culture, economic leadership, foreign policy, health-care system, and financial system..

Michael Francis Moore was born on April 23, 1954, to working-class parents in Flint. He attended Catholic school as a child. Wanting to effect social change by becoming a priest, he enrolled in seminary after eighth grade. He quit one year later and started tenth grade. Soon after turning eighteen, he won election to the local school board. Dropping out of college following his freshman year, he returned home to host a weekly radio show, *Radio Free Flint*, and to start an alternative newspaper called *The Flint Voice*.

In early 1986, Moore moved from Flint to San Francisco to work as an editor at *Mother Jones* magazine—which fired him four months later. He sued for wrongful termination and received \$58,000 in damages. Moore used the money to write, produce, direct, and narrate *Roger & Me*. The film chronicles the disastrous effects of massive autoworker layoffs in Flint by GM in the 1980s and Moore's hilarious attempts to persuade GM chairman Roger

Smith to visit Flint. *Roger & Me* became the highest-grossing documentary film up to that time, garnering accolades for Moore and catapulting him into the national spotlight as a progressive voice for the working class in postindustrial America.

Moore kept busy throughout the 1990s, making two full-length films. *Canadian Bacon* (1995) is a fictional story about an American president who tries to start a cold war against Canada to raise his sagging popularity during bad economic times. *The Big One* (1997) is a documentary about the promotional tour of his 1996 book *Downsize This! Random Threats from an Unarmed American*. Neither film achieved the critical or box-office success of *Roger & Me*; however, his book was a best seller.

The first of his two television shows, *TV Nation* (1994–1995), which satirized persistent social problems such as racism and poverty, aired on NBC and won an Emmy Award for outstanding informational series. His second show, *The Awful Truth* (1999–2000), which satirized corporate crooks, inept police officers, and corrupt politicians, aired on cable television.

In 2001, Moore published *Stupid White Men... and Other Sorry Excuses for the State of the Nation*, an irreverent critique of the 2000 presidential election and the administration of President George W. Bush. The book stayed on *The New York Times*' best-seller list for over a year and sold more than 4 million copies worldwide.



Documentary filmmaker Michael Moore, an avowed liberal, has tweaked conservatives, Republicans, and corporate America with features on job loss in the automotive industry, globalization, the gun culture, the War on Terror, and the health-care system. (Stephen J. Boitano/Stringer/Getty Images)

The next year, he released the film *Bowling for Columbine*, which examines America's gun culture. It concludes that Americans, unlike people in other liberal, democratic countries, are so violent because they live in a nation dominated by a culture of fear, bigotry, and violence. The documentary earned more than \$21 million at the domestic box office (tripling the record held by *Roger & Me*) and received an Academy Award for best documentary. During his acceptance speech, which was watched by 1 billion television viewers in March 2003, less than a week after the start of the second American-led war against Iraq, Moore denounced President Bush and the war. He was cheered and booed.

Later in 2002, he published the best-selling book *Dude, Where's My Country?* In this work, Moore analyzes the weakness of America's Republican administrations and ways the Bush administration has used the War on Terror to strip Americans of their civil rights.

Weathering a firestorm of controversy in the summer of 2004, Moore released *Fahrenheit 9/11*, a cinematic op-ed piece highly critical of the Bush administration's actions before, during, and after the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks in New York City and Washington, D.C. After being dropped by its initial U.S. distributor just weeks before release, the film went on to win the prestigious Palme d'Or (first place) at the Cannes Film Festival in France. It soon found another U.S. distributor and opened in America, earning \$25 million during its first weekend and setting attendance records for a documentary. A month later, it passed the \$100 million mark. In 2007, Moore released *Sicko*, a documentary condemning the highly profitable American health-care industry, to critical acclaim. In 2009 came *Capitalism: A Love Story*, an indictment of the U.S. financial system and capitalist economic order in the context of the 2007–2009 credit crisis and recession.

Despite his phenomenal success as an author and filmmaker, critics accuse Moore of anti-Americanism and omitting important pieces of evidence or context in his works in order to justify his agenda. Nevertheless, he remains one of the most recognizable and provocative political and social commentators on the American scene.

Roy L. Sturgeon

See also: [Film, Independent: *Mother Jones*](#).

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Moravians

The Moravian Church, now a relatively mainstream Protestant denomination closely associated with Lutheranism, was, for at least the first 300 years of its history, part of a Christian counterculture in Europe and colonial North America. This counterculture's practices and beliefs set it apart from the religious and secular mainstream.

Formally known as the *Unitas Fratrum*, or United Brethren, the church was established in an area of central Europe called Moravia during the late fourteenth century. Rebelling against the Catholic Church in Rome more than a century before Martin Luther, the early Moravians rejected the authority of the pope and believed that the gospel should be preached in the local language rather than in Latin. These beliefs led to frequent persecution. Their leader, Jan Hus, was burned at the stake in 1415; the church itself was nearly wiped out by the religious wars of the seventeenth century.

In 1722, however, a small band of Moravians was taken under the wing of a German nobleman named Nikolaus von Zinzendorf. The movement grew under his protection, and by the 1730s the Moravians were sending missionaries to the New World and elsewhere. (Theirs was the first large-scale missionary movement among Protestant sects.) In the British colonies of North America, the largest Moravian settlements were Bethlehem, Pennsylvania (founded 1741), and Salem, North Carolina (1753).

The Moravians of eighteenth-century America believed that mainstream Christianity had become too rigid and legalistic. While other Protestant denominations focused on sin, guilt, and the fine points of doctrine, Moravians practiced a "heart religion" that emphasized joy, pleasure, and an intimate personal relationship with God. Many of their fellow colonists were disturbed by these beliefs, which they felt undermined their own social order as well as religious principles. At a time when European colonists were almost constantly at war with Native Americans, the Moravians sent missionaries to the frontier to learn the languages of the native peoples and bring to them a message of peace.

Moravians practiced communal living and believed in universal education and equality. The basic unit of religious and social organization in Moravian communities was the "choir," a community system that grew out the belief that men and women benefit more from the shared experiences of people at the same stage in life than from members of their biological families. All choirs—peer groups organized by age, gender, and marital status for worship, work, and instruction—were considered equal, and the fact that the Holy Spirit was believed to be female helped ensure equal rights for women.

The feminine characteristics of Jesus Christ were emphasized as well, with particular importance attached to his side wound in the crucifixion. Just as the vagina is the opening through which a human child is born, so, according to Moravians, the wound in Christ's side is the locus of spiritual rebirth. During the so-called sifting period (ca. 1740–1760), the Moravians were criticized for the use of erotic language in their hymns and religious poetry. The Moravians in Pennsylvania in particular held liberal attitudes toward sex, encouraging couples not to think of it as sinful as long as it is done with respect for one's partner and in moderation.

The influence of the Moravian Church spread as members moved west with other German settlers in the nineteenth century. Many sought political freedom and social acceptance, although, by that time, the church had adopted less-radical views and was no longer considered a threat to mainstream Protestant belief.

Despite the fact that their communities were no longer closed to outsiders, Moravians, like the Amish, continued to be set apart by their use of the German language. Another aspect of Moravian belief and practice that distinguished them from many mainstream Americans in the nineteenth century was their active opposition to slavery.

Now numbering 50,000 in the United States, the Moravians continue to emphasize tolerance, simplicity, and the importance of individual experience. Their motto is: "In essentials, unity; in nonessentials, liberty; and in all things, love."

Michael Taylor

See also: [Amish](#).

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Mormonism

Mormonism is the set of religious beliefs and way of life practiced by those who accept the nineteenth-century leader Joseph Smith as a prophet of God who translated the divinely inspired *Book of Mormon*. Mormonism significantly challenges traditional Christianity by adding scriptural revelation as well as differing views of God, atonement, sin, and creation. In addition, Mormonism, especially in its early years, has challenged traditional views of family, community, economics, and politics. The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS), based in Salt Lake City, Utah, remains the largest group of Mormons.

Origins and Early History

In Palmyra, New York, on September 21, 1823, Joseph Smith claimed to have had a vision in which the angel Moroni told him that all current churches were wrong and that Smith would be given a great work to do. The day after that vision, subsequently canonized within Mormonism as the First Vision, Moroni showed Smith a golden book, which he was not allowed to begin translating until September 22, 1827.

Behind a curtain, and with the aid of the Old Testament breastplate stones Urim and Thummim, Smith began translating, with the help of scribes, what would become the *Book of Mormon*. Mormons faithfully believe that Moroni and his father, Mormon, had written the book many centuries earlier and that Smith ultimately returned the original gold Bible and breastplate stones to Moroni.

Every copy of the *Book of Mormon*, initially printed in March 1830, includes the Testimony of the Three Witnesses and the Testimony of the Eight Witnesses, contemporaries who claimed that they saw the gold plates before they were returned to Moroni. These statements have been used to counter criticisms leveled at the book for its anachronisms, such as the appearance of horses and steel weapons centuries before their arrival in North America, and the lack of archeological evidence supporting the story.

Considered God-inspired scripture and held in as high or higher regard than the Christian Bible, the *Book of Mormon* tells the story of the ancient Israelites and their descendants in America. According to the book, the Jaredites migrated to the Americas around the time of the city of Babel, or roughly 2250 B.C.E. In about 600 B.C.E., just prior to the Babylonian captivity, the Hebrew prophet Lehi is said to have fled with his family to America. Jesus Christ, it is written, visited these “lost Israelites” after his death and resurrection.

Lehi’s descendants through his son Nephi became prosperous city builders who retained the word of God; Lehi’s descendants through his son Laman become nomadic warriors cursed with dark skin. The Lamanites, whom Mormons identify as the ancestors of American Indians, ultimately defeated the Nephites in a great battle at Hill Cumorah, a site in New York’s Finger Lakes region. Mormon, one of the last Nephite leaders, passed the historical account of these events to his son, Moroni, who, in his post-mortal angelic state, revealed its location to Smith.

Six individuals officially chartered the Church of Christ, which met for the first time on April 6, 1830, with some thirty followers, in Fayette, New York. In 1831, the group relocated to Kirtland, Ohio. In 1834, to reflect their belief in Christ’s imminent return, they changed their name to the Church of Latter-day Saints. The church taught that all current churches fell into a “Great Apostasy” shortly after Christ’s resurrection, and that Mormons alone knew the true gospel. In 1835, Smith bought some papyri and Egyptian mummies from a traveling showman. Claiming that the papyri had been handwritten by Abraham while traveling in Egypt, Smith undertook a translation that became known as the *Book of Abraham*. That text, along with the *Book of Moses*, a “retranslated” section of the Gospel of Matthew, the thirteen *Articles of Faith*, and the canonized version of the First Vision, would ultimately comprise Mormonism’s third book of added scripture: *The Pearl of Great Price*.

When, in 1831, Smith declared Independence, Missouri, the “center place”—site of the Garden of Eden in the past and of Christ’s Second Coming in the future—Mormons moved again. In 1838, Smith and his followers changed the name of their church one last time, to the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Later that year, amid increasing attacks by neighboring groups, seventeen Mormons were slaughtered at Haun’s Mill. To the faithful, harassment and persecution only confirmed their status as the true church.

Brigham Young and Later History

In 1839, a follower named Brigham Young ferried refugees from Missouri to Illinois, where they developed many of the church’s most distinctive practices. Smith, who had been jailed, rejoined his followers in the town of Nauvoo and served as mayor. In the face of ongoing persecution, he established a militia with state-authorized commissions and equipment, and a unique city charter with a habeas corpus provision, whereby the city council could free arrested persons. Intended as protection for Mormons, the provision resulted in Nauvoo’s reputation as a haven for counterfeiters and river pirates.



A statue of Brigham Young, the second president of the Mormon Church and leader of its migration to Utah in the 1840s, stands in front of the central Salt Lake Temple.(George Frey/Stringer/AFP/Getty Images)

In 1841, the church began vicarious baptism for the dead; the following year, it began the practice of “endowment,” which included rituals and symbols borrowed from Freemasonry. In 1843, Smith began teaching that God once had a body of flesh and bone, and on April 7 of the following year, he delivered the King Follett Discourse, laying out Mormonism’s most radical departures from Christianity. Among these were the beliefs that God had been human, that there were numerous gods, and that God “created” by organizing already existing matter. Four days later, Smith had himself appointed “king, priest, and ruler over Israel on Earth.” He went on to announce his candidacy for president of the United States and later declared that all of America was Zion.

In secret, Smith and other church leaders took plural wives, publicly denying doing so when rumors about the practice began circulating. However, these marriages, including both polygyny (more than one wife per husband) and, more rarely, polyandry (more than one husband per wife) created strong bonds of loyalty and increased family ties among the leadership.

As a result of these practices, some of Smith's earlier followers left the fold and on May 12, 1844, established the Reformed Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints. This was not the first schism within Mormon ranks, nor would it be the last. When the *Nauvoo Expositor* began criticizing the new doctrines and the habeas corpus provision, Smith ordered its printing press destroyed. The climate of fear and mutual suspicion between Mormons and other settlers in the area escalated. On June 27, an angry mob killed Smith and his brother Hyrum in the Carthage, Illinois, jail.

It was Young, again, who led the Mormon refugees to safety, this time into Utah. Not everyone chose to go, however; among those who stayed behind were Smith's first wife, Emma. Once in Utah, the Mormons openly practiced polygamy and went about building a theocratic community, developing a number of cooperative irrigation and business projects. To help new converts move to Salt Lake City, the church established the Perpetual Emigrating Fund; to minimize costs (covered wagons were expensive), handcarts were used to help settlers walk their possessions to Utah.

In the 1856 presidential election campaign, the Republican Party platform promised to rid the country of the "twin barbarisms" of slavery and polygamy. Of greater concern was the quasi-independence of the theocratic kingdom developing at Salt Lake.

In 1857, President James Buchanan, falsely informed that the Mormons were rebelling, dispatched the largest peacetime army to date to install the territorial governor. In the resulting Utah War of 1857 to 1858 not a shot was fired, despite apocalyptic rhetoric. In September 1857, Mormons refused to sell goods to a non-Mormon wagon train, whose occupants responded with taunts. The angry Mormons, not authorized by church elders, attacked the wagon train and killed more than 120 settlers in what came to be called the "Mountain Meadows Massacre."

As long as Utah was a territory, the federal government appointed governors and other local officials. The Mormons thus desired statehood and the freedom it would bring. Polygamy became an issue upon which to delay statehood, but non-Mormons were more worried about church control. As part of the campaign to end polygamy, in 1870 Utah women became the first in the nation to receive the (territorial) right to vote. Polygamy cases finally went to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1879 and 1880; its ruling in *Reynolds v. United States* (1879) that the First Amendment does not protect the practice of polygamy represented its first limitation on religious liberty. In 1887, the government dissolved the initial corporation of the church and set about disposing of its assets.

Struggling for survival, the Mormon Church announced the end of polygamy in its "Manifesto" of September 25, 1890. The next year, the church dissolved its People's Party and told members to choose between the two national parties. Utah was granted statehood in 1896, but polygamy was still practiced and quietly condoned until the church officially denounced the practice in 1904, threatening polygamists with excommunication. Fourteen years of ambiguity fueled the rise of splinter groups, some of which continue the practice of polygamy to this day.

Structure and Beliefs

The Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints maintains top-down control and a three-in-one leadership structure. At the top of the pyramid, known as the General Authorities, are the First Presidency (the president assisted by the first and second counselors) and the Quorum of Twelve Apostles. Below them, the seven-man Presidency of the Seventy supervises all Quorums of the Seventy (who do not actually number seventy) and the Second Quorum of Seventy (who do not number seventy either). A president with a first and second counselor lead the church's regional unit, called a "stake." A bishop with a first and second counselor (called a "bishopric") leads the local congregations, called "wards."

All choices are approved by those higher up. The bishopric appoints the heads and approves the counselors who form the leadership trio for the women's Relief Society, Young Women, Young Men, Primary, and Sunday School auxiliaries. Leaders of local congregations interview each member annually about loyalty to church leaders, paying the full 10 percent tithe to the church, and upholding church teachings. Appropriate responses earn the member a wallet-sized "temple recommend" card, without which the member cannot perform the central rituals of the faith.

Mormonism has a universal priesthood for males, but there is no paid clergy. Children born into the Mormon faith are baptized at age eight, and boys enter the Aaronic priesthood at age twelve. Between the ages of fourteen and sixteen, they can become teachers, speak at church meetings, and participate in home teaching (the monthly visit to each ward household for spiritual strengthening). Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen, they can become priests—which allows them to conduct home teachings, baptize, administer the sacrament, and ordain teachers. At age eighteen or older, young men enter the three-tiered Melchizedek priesthood. As first-tier elders, they can lay hands to pronounce blessings, pray for healings or confer the priesthood, hold leadership positions, or become a church missionary.

Church missionaries work in pairs, wear a distinctive white shirt and dark suit, and serve unpaid for two years, completing their mission before graduating from college. The second-or high-priest level is held by the ward bishop, stake president, or higher church authority. The rank of Seventy or Apostle is reached by men who hold those titles among the General Authorities. African Americans were denied the priesthood until a 1978 "prophecy" declared it open to them.

Marriage is required to achieve the highest level in Mormonism's three-tiered heaven. The goal is to procreate a family throughout eternity, and begin the creation of worlds for one's own spirit children. For Mormons, existence passes through three stages: a pre-mortal state of spirits waiting to be born, the current mortal state, and a post-mortal state as potential gods. Domestic bliss is the future goal and cultivated in this life. Members have the opportunity to "seal" their marriages for all eternity if they wish.

The goal of reuniting families for all eternity, coupled with the belief in a vicarious baptism for the dead, makes genealogy of fundamental theological importance to Mormons. Indeed, the LDS Church operates the largest genealogical archive on Earth, with more than 2 billion names on record. Members conduct proxy baptisms (whereby the dead are given the chance to accept Christ's offer of entering his kingdom) for family ancestors as well as for others. Volunteers take the names of deceased persons from public records and submit them for ordinance work.

Some of the lifestyle demands of the Mormon Church are similar to those of conservative Christianity, while others are unique. Mormons are expected to remain chaste until married; abstain from drugs, tobacco, alcohol, and caffeine (hot or cold); avoid debt, gambling, and pornography; and be good citizens. As a legacy of their millennialist background, Mormon families store a year's worth of food supplies. And as a reminder of their unique beliefs, they wear holy underwear.

The single greatest challenge to Christianity posed by Mormonism is the doctrine of God. While mainstream Christians wrestle with the paradox of how an all-powerful God can allow evil, Mormons avoid the dilemma entirely. The Mormon God is a self-made deity who once was human and continues an ongoing process of moral development. God the Father, Jesus Christ, and the Holy Spirit are separate entities. As God the Father is married, there is also a mother God (though Mormons do not pray to her).

For Mormons, Adam's fall was a planned transgression that allowed him and Eve to fulfill the first commandment to "Be fruitful and multiply." Eating from the Tree of Life was a deliberate act, done to enable them to follow the sacred goal of procreating—making Adam a hero next to Jesus Christ. For Mormons, there is no concept of Original Sin; nor does Christ take on the sins of others.

For many, the greatest appeal of Mormonism is its strong support system—its tradition of involving all members and its emphasis on family values. Most Mormon converts come from Christian backgrounds, and the faith

continues to grow throughout the world. The religion has grown so rapidly in recent years—to nearly 14 million worldwide according to the LDS Church in 2009—that some scholars believe Mormonism could become the first important new world religion since Islam.

Melissa Weinbrenner

See also: [Smith, Joseph](#); [Young, Brigham](#).

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Morrison, Jim (1943–1971)

Jim Morrison, lead singer and lyricist for the rock group the Doors, brought a dark, poetic sensibility to the acid rock scene of the late 1960s. Backed by the dark-carnival sound of the band, Morrison's lyrics described a world of guilt, foreboding, violence, and dread—themes that were a direct contradiction of the themes of peace and love espoused by the popular music of the day. Morrison helped create the “post-Elvis” rock god archetype and found himself at odds with the “establishment” before dying a death that some consider as mysterious as his life.

James Douglas Morrison was born in Melbourne, Florida, on December 8, 1943, into a career military family. As a student, he was intelligent and driven, with particular interest in fields as diverse as literature, psychology, religion, and philosophy. While still a teenager, he discovered the writings of German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, Beat poet Jack Kerouac, French poet Arthur Rimbaud, German political philosopher Karl Marx, and English poet and mystic William Blake, each of whom helped shape Morrison's growing antiestablishment worldview.

After a brief stint at a local community college, Morrison studied film at the University of California, Los Angeles, where he befriended keyboardist Ray Manzarek. The duo, along with guitarist Robby Krieger and drummer John Densmore, formed the Doors, naming the band after a line from William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* (1793), “If the doors of perception were cleansed, everything would appear to man as it is, infinite,” which Morrison had discovered in Aldous Huxley's book *The Doors of Perception* (1954).

The band built a fan base playing gigs in the L.A. club scene and signed a recording contract in 1966 with Elektra Records, then a small folk music label. They released their first album, *The Doors*, the following year, and it

became one of the best-selling albums of the late 1960s. The album featured the group's best-known song, "Light My Fire," but it was the oedipal musings of "The End," in which Morrison symbolically kills his father, that became emblematic of the band's image and dark, moody themes. Morrison cited Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872) as an influence on his lyrics, with the overarching themes of cutting ties with the establishment and symbolic death and rebirth.

The single "Light My Fire" hit number one in 1967. This landed Morrison and the Doors their first shot at nationwide U.S. media exposure, an invitation to appear on the popular *Ed Sullivan Show*. The prime-time TV variety show was already notorious in the music industry for having censored Elvis's gyrating hips, and Morrison should not have been surprised when censors demanded that the Doors change the lyrics of "Light My Fire" from "Baby we couldn't get much higher" to the less threatening "Baby we couldn't get much better." The band agreed, but Morrison sang the original lyrics in the live performance. Sullivan was so angry that he refused to shake their hands after the performance and made sure they were never invited back. This was the first time Morrison openly challenged the establishment and lost.

Trying to capitalize on the success of their debut album, the band released *Strange Days* in 1967, *Waiting for the Sun* in 1968, and *The Soft Parade* in 1969. As the Doors became more successful, however, Morrison became more self-destructive, pursuing a bohemian lifestyle of drugs, alcohol, and sex. His self-abuse led to a decline in the quality of music the band produced and in Morrison's onstage persona. He became less of a sex object and more rebellious, which led to a number of brushes with the law.

This culminated in Morrison's March 1969 arrest for allegedly exposing himself to a concert audience in Miami. He was later convicted of indecent exposure and sentenced to six months of hard labor. Out of jail while the case was on appeal, he moved to Paris, France, in March 1971—just before the release of the Doors' final studio album, *LA Woman*—to focus on his writing.

Morrison died, apparently from an overdose of heroin, on July 3, 1971, in Paris. Rumors that he had faked his death to escape the spotlight or that he was assassinated by the establishment circulated. His grave at Père-Lachaise cemetery in Paris has remained a frequently visited counterculture shrine, his stage persona has influenced rock-band leaders from the Who's Roger Daltrey to Led Zeppelin's Robert Plant, and the music of the Doors has attracted fans with each new generation of rock-music listeners.

B. Keith Murphy

See also: [Huxley, Aldous](#); [Kerouac, Jack](#); [Rock and Roll](#).

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Morrison, Toni (1931–)

A significant element of American counterculture involves the critique of white racism and cultural dominance. In fiction and nonfiction works renowned for their imaginative language, vivid characters, and sheer power, Toni Morrison unrelentingly asserts the realities and complexities of black life in America, making visible a presence that she argues has been erased and distorted since the founding of the republic.

Born Chloe Anthony Wofford in the multiracial steel town of Lorain, Ohio, on February 18, 1931, she was one of four children of George Wofford and Ramah Willis Wofford. Her working-class parents taught her to read at a young age and, along with the maternal grandparents who shared the family home, imbued her with a deep understanding of African American culture and community.

She changed her name to Toni while attending Howard University, from which she graduated in 1953, and went on to receive a master's degree in English from Cornell University in 1955. She married Harold Morrison, a Jamaican architect, in 1958 and bore two sons before their divorce in 1964.

After completing her master's degree, Toni Morrison took up the first of many academic posts and worked as an editor for Random House, acting as a mentor for many African American writers. She is best known as a novelist, but also is a literary critic, children's author, playwright, and lyricist. Her highly acclaimed novel *Beloved* (1987) won the Pulitzer Prize in 1988. In 1993, she became the first African American woman to win the Nobel Prize in Literature.

Morrison's success can be attributed largely to her gifts as a storyteller, but she also draws heavily on African American folklore, ghost stories, songs, and history as structuring elements of her stories. Her fiction is often highly rhythmic, presents frequent changes in the voice of the narrator, shifts back and forth in time, and moves effortlessly between the real and the supernatural. As a result, her writing sometimes has been characterized as unrealistic or confusing, but more often is celebrated for its lyricism and multiple layers of meaning.

Her writing is overtly political, and her focus on race, as well as class and gender, resonates strongly with central cultural concerns of late-twentieth-century America, as manifested in prominent social movements such as the civil rights movement, Black Power, and feminism. This is evident in her works of fiction; for example, in *The Bluest Eye* (1970), a young African American girl is literally driven mad in 1940s America by pernicious Eurocentric notions of beauty and as a result of being raped by her father. Set in the Caribbean, *Tar Baby* (1981) addresses themes of class and racial difference within the black community by exploring a fraught love affair between the affluent, highly educated model Jadine and the handsome wastrel Son.

On the subject of slavery, *Beloved* is a fictionalized account of the true story of Margaret Garner, a runaway slave who murdered one of her own children to keep her daughter from suffering a life of slavery. *A Mercy* (2008), her ninth novel, describes the life of slaves, their Dutch owners, indentured servants, and Native Americans in and around a Maryland plantation in the late sixteenth century. Morrison believes it is only through storytelling that the deep horror of practices such as slavery or child abuse can be effectively communicated, and that such truth telling is essential in order for African Americans to reclaim their historical experience and assert their rightful place in American society.

Likewise, Morrison's nonfiction focuses on issues of class, race, and gender. The edited anthology, *Race-ing Justice, En-gendering Power* (1992), addresses allegations of sexual harassment investigated in the Senate confirmation hearings of an African American nominee to the U.S. Supreme Court. Her first book of literary criticism, *Playing in the Dark* (1992), investigates the racism of the central texts of the American literary canon. No matter what the genre, Morrison provides a compelling African American literary voice within the antiracist element of American counterculture.

Julie Wuthnow

See also: [African Americans: Black Power Movement: Nation, The: Slave Culture.](#)

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Morton, Thomas (ca. 1576–1647)

The colonial poet, merchant, and adventurer Thomas Morton founded Mare Mount, a community in early-seventeenth-century Massachusetts that, with its lax morality and multiethnic population, challenged the values of its Puritan neighbors. One of America's first poets, his works celebrated freedom as man's natural state and criticized what he believed to be the stifling atmosphere of New England Calvinism, a theological doctrine of the Reformed and Presbyterian churches derived from French theologian John Calvin's *Institutes of the Christian Religion* (1536).

The son of an Anglican military officer, Morton was born in about 1576 in the West Country of England, a region where pro-Stuart, Royalist, and Cavalier attitudes dominated. He was educated at Clifford's Inn in London between 1593 and 1600, and practiced law before signing on with an expedition to seek fame and fortune in the New World. In the spring of 1625, Morton made his way to New England with a group of speculators and indentured servants to supply coastal settlements and market their goods. Established at Mount Wollaston (present-day Quincy), Massachusetts, the enterprise was a failure. When the adventurers went in search of better prospects, Morton remained behind to reorganize the settlement. Aware of the antagonism between Europeans and native peoples, the West Country Cavalier opened his settlement to "all comers" and began exchanging guns for furs with the tribes, a dangerous trade that the Dutch and French had initiated elsewhere.

In addition, Morton transformed the outpost, now renamed Mare Mount, into an intercultural center for Europeans and Native Americans based on trade and entertainment. To improve commerce, he erected an 80-foot (24-meter) Maypole and attached a rack of antlers at the top, ostensibly to serve as a marker for prospective traders. The settlement adopted a carnival-like atmosphere and guests were treated to homemade beer and enjoyed games, revels, sports, dancing, music, and other Elizabethan leisure activities. Native women, "lasses in beaver coats," were even invited to cohabit with Morton and his followers. However bold and risqué, Morton's inducements paid dividends. Trade peaked in 1626 and 1627, as the outpost tapped the fur trade as far north as the Kennebec River in Maine.

While Mare Mount was enjoying its reputation as a lucrative trade and intercultural center, nearby separatists of Plymouth Plantation nervously monitored Morton's activities. Governor William Bradford labeled Morton the "the Lord of Misrule" and charged him with engaging in "illicit" trade.

In early summer 1628, on a day when Morton was too intoxicated to defend himself, Captain Myles Standish seized the host of Mare Mount. Morton was confined on the Isle of Shoals off the New Hampshire coast before being deported to England.

Embittered, Morton returned and attempted to revive his settlement, now dishonorably renamed Mount Dagon by his enemies. He was rearrested in 1630 by the stern Puritan John Endicott and dispatched to England again. This time, officials felt compelled to burn Mare Mount.

Rebuffed but not defeated, Morton returned yet again to New England in 1645. Governor John Winthrop, aware of Morton's disparaging remarks about his Calvinist enemies, most decidedly in the *New English Canaan* (1637), ordered him imprisoned for a year. At age sixty-nine, Morton, still unrepentant, was released and relocated to York, Maine, where he died in 1647.

A.J. Scopino, Jr.

See also: [Puritans](#).

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Mother Jones

Mother Jones magazine was founded in San Francisco in 1976 as part of the Foundation for National Progress, a nonprofit agency devoted to radical scholarship established by Richard Parker, Adam Hochschild, and Paul Jacobs. Named after the legendary labor organizer Mary Harris "Mother" Jones, whose political "hell-raising" the magazine has sought to emulate with its muckraking stories, *Mother Jones* has focused on socially conscious journalism with prize-winning investigative reporting on social justice, environmental issues, and abuses of political and corporate power—especially stories ignored by the mainstream by the media.

Mother Jones first made its mark on American society with a 1977 exposé revealing that the Ford Pinto was prone to explosion in rear-end collisions, and that the Ford Motor Company had been made aware of this fact before production of the automobile, yet willfully ignored the issue. The article won several journalism awards, gained the attention of major media around the country, and prompted Ford to recall 1.5 million Pintos for repairs.

Mother Jones soon came to be recognized as a liberal mainstream news source, as well as a threat to conservative values. In 1981, at the beginning of the Ronald Reagan administration, the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) challenged the magazine's nonprofit, tax-exempt status, resulting in a legal dispute that was resolved in *Mother Jones's* favor in 1983. Many regarded the IRS initiative as a politically motivated attempt to censor the magazine.

Historically, *Mother Jones* has found defining its image to be a challenge, even though its core values have not changed. Reader polls conducted by the magazine have confirmed that, far from drawing the young, countercultural readership of its early years, the primary audience of *Mother Jones* has grown older along with the magazine and now earns a solid upper-middle-class living. As a result, the magazine has undergone several major face-lifts in an effort to appeal not just to its "very loyal band" of readers, but also to a younger audience. In a further attempt to expand its audience, *Mother Jones* in 1993 became the first general-interest magazine to offer its content online.

Over the years, there have been several major shake-ups on the editorial staff; the most famous was when future

filmmaker Michael Moore, who served as editor for four months in 1986, was fired in a highly public way. And while *Mother Jones* reported to readers in 1980 that it was the fastest-growing magazine in the United States, circulation fluctuated throughout the 1980s and much of the 1990s (as of 2008, it exceeded 230,000). In addition, although the magazine began as a monthly publication, by the early 1990s it had become bimonthly.

Like its namesake, the magazine has proven adept in meeting its challenges. *Mother Jones* won the prestigious National Magazine Award for general excellence in 2001, and the publication was nominated for the award again in 2005 for its reporting on Exxon Mobil's payoffs to climate experts.

Sarah McHone-Chase

See also: [Moore, Michael](#).

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Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán

El Movimiento Estudiantil Chicano de Aztlán (the Chicano Student Movement of Aztlán, or MEChA) is a student-based organization that was founded in 1969 on two core ideas: Chicanismo and the mythological significance of Aztlán, the legendary Aztec homeland. It was formed to implement El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán (the Spiritual Plan of Aztlán), which articulates a vision of the Chicano people as proud of their heritage and a political imperative to raise consciousness within the community for change, and inspired students to demand change on their respective campuses.

MEChA traces its heritage to the Chicano Movement, a component of the civil rights movement in the United States during the late 1960s and early 1970s that sought political empowerment and civil rights for Mexican Americans. In 1969, the Chicano Coordinating Council on Higher Education held a conference in Santa Barbara, California. Members from diverse organizations within the Chicano Movement, all with vested interests in implementing the Spiritual Plan of Aztlán in the American education system, decided to unite in order to have greater impact. The plan had been devised collectively in Denver that same year, at the National Chicano Youth Liberation Conference. It was at this time that many groups united under the name MEChA.

The ideology embraced by MEChA and Chicanismo represented a departure from previous Mexican American thinking; rather than seeking assimilation in the Anglo American mainstream, Chicanos would promote pride in their own ethnicity and cultural heritage. At the same time, Chicanismo was a community-organizing strategy that put a spotlight on the institutionalized racism still affecting the Mexican American people and called for direct confrontation of it. For MEChA, such action would focus on community-based projects and changing the enrollment and hiring practices in higher education.

Aztlán, the Aztec homeland before the Nahuatl-speaking people migrated south into the area of present-day central Mexico, is a symbol more than a historical fact. It is said to have been located in the heart of what is now the U.S. Southwest, on land gained by the United States in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo in 1848. Modern

Chicanos chose to identify with their indigenous background through the Aztecs, and the idea of Aztlán continues to serve as a reminder of the U.S. colonization of Mexico after the treaty.

At the heart of the Chicano Movement, it was a call for a separate nationalist movement and a view of history and culture that legitimized for the Chicanos both the right and the responsibility to determine their own destiny. In the educational system, this identification led to actions to redress MEChA's belief that Mexican American culture was being systematically repressed in language, history, course content, and faculty hiring.

While the central focus of MEChA was and continues to be activism in the college and university systems, the movement has always included both community interaction and support of high school students in their campaigns for improved education. The struggle was especially heated in California during the 1960s and 1970s, as Chicanos demanded the establishment of formal Chicano studies departments and degree programs and the hiring of Chicano faculty and administrators. MEChA was also outspoken against the Vietnam War, helping organize antiwar moratoriums and demonstrations against Chicano participation in the war.

In the decades since, the organization has gone through generations of change. Local chapters have pursued their own concerns, while MEChA chapters everywhere continue to be united at the cultural and historical levels in their central purposes: to ensure that the Chicano community has a say in its own liberation and governance, and to battle continuing prejudice and oppression in academic institutions.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Chicano Movement](#).

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Ms.

The pioneering feminist magazine *Ms.*, cofounded by writer-editor Gloria Steinem, was first published as a one-time special supplement to *New York* magazine in December 1971. The first stand-alone issue was published in January 1972, and the magazine went monthly in July of that year, making it America's first mainstream feminist periodical with national circulation. It became widely known as the voice of second-wave feminism, dealing with issues of equality in all areas of women's lives.

The name for the magazine came from the marital-status-neutral title created by feminists as an alternative to Miss or Mrs. Its statement of purpose was clearly outlined in an ad in the first issue: “Ms. is a magazine for female human beings. Unlike traditional women’s publications, it does not identify us by role—as wives, mothers, lovers or even as workers and professionals. It assumes that women are full human beings who are both complex and individual.” This purpose was in stark contrast to traditional women’s magazines of the time, which focused on women’s roles as wives, mothers, and homemakers by running articles on housekeeping, child rearing, and cooking.



Ms. magazine appeared in 1972 as the first national periodical devoted to women’s issues and the feminist movement. Activist Gloria Steinem (left) was a founding editor; Patricia Carbine served as publisher. They are pictured here in the mid-1980s. (Angel Franco/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

From the outset, *Ms.* was controversial for eschewing these topics and addressing issues that no mainstream women’s magazines—and few other publications at all—would take on. It was the first to identify such contemporary women’s problems as unequal pay for equal work, sexual harassment and discrimination, date rape, domestic violence, the connection between pornography and violence against women, and women’s health, including the dangers of breast implants and illegal abortion. The very first issue featured an image of a female superhero on the cover and included a two-page feature titled “We Have Had Abortions.” The article discussed the dangers of current abortion laws and included a petition for reform with the names of fifty-three prominent women, including Billie Jean King, Nora Ephron, and Steinem herself.

Since its inception, *Ms.* also focused on subjects related to alternative lifestyles for women, from cohabitation (instead of marriage) and lesbianism to nontraditional approaches to child rearing (such as day care, cooperative care, and reversal of professional-homemaker roles between husbands and wives). By examining such issues, the magazine contributed significantly to changing gender roles and identities in America.

The magazine also featured fiction and poetry by women, expanding the audience for feminist literature. Among those whose work have appeared in its pages are Margaret Atwood, Barbara Ehrenreich, and Alice Walker. Political coverage, another major editorial component, has included feminist political theory and women’s perspectives on general electoral politics and world news.

The magazine was a success from its inception, as all 300,000 nationwide test copies sold out in eight days. During the first year, subscriptions rose from 145,000 to 200,000, with another 200,000 copies sold at the newsstand. With multiple readers per copy, the magazine was estimated as having about 1.5 million readers per

issue. In addition to Steinem, the magazine's early editorial content was crafted by several prominent women in the publishing world, including founding editors Letty Cottin Pogrebin and Patricia Carbine (formerly of *McCall's*).

In 1972, the nonprofit Ms. Foundation for Women was founded to organize programs and raise money to promote economic justice for women and reproductive health and rights, and to combat violence against women and teen pregnancy. In 1976, it became the first national foundation in America to grant awards to shelters for battered women. Its most visible project has been the Take Our Daughters to Work Day, launched in 1992 (and renamed Take Our Daughters and Sons to Work Day the following year). In 1979, *Ms.* became the nonprofit publication arm of the Foundation for Education and Communication, a subsidiary of the Ms. Foundation for Women.

The magazine was sold several times between the late 1980s and 2001, when it was purchased by the current owner, the Feminist Majority Foundation. It continues to carry no advertising, and Steinem remains actively involved as a consulting editor. And, true to its original spirit, *Ms.* continues attract attention and spark controversy. A 2005 story by Martha Mendoza, "Between a Woman and Her Doctor," was nominated for a National Magazine Award, and the September 2006 issue carried a new petition to keep abortion legal that began with the names of some of the original 1972 signers.

Judith Gerber

See also: [Feminism, Second-Wave.](#)

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MTV

MTV (Music Television) is a cable television network based in New York City. It was launched as a single station on August 1, 1981, to showcase music videos for adolescent and young-adult viewers. Today, the MTV network also features news about the entertainment industry, shows on contemporary youth and pop culture, and other fare for the same demographic. MTV became an integral part of the cultural consciousness of the generation of Americans who grew up in the 1980s and 1990s. MTV created a model for music consolidation, dissemination, and consumption that spread throughout the United States and the rest of the world. It changed the way artists produced their music, the way record companies marketed their artists, and the way consumers experience the music. While MTV helped revolutionize the mainstream entertainment industry, it also drew sharp criticism from social conservatives and other segments of mainstream society for its purportedly subversive programming.

The phenomenon of a dedicated channel on which the various players (musicians, producers, industry executives, fans, audiences) could congregate was an innovation of MTV. When it was launched, the official number of U.S.

subscribers was 3 million, a number that has grown exponentially over the years.

Many of the videos that played on MTV in the early years were gritty performances, or scenes excerpted from live concerts. MTV turned many rock music acts into household names during the 1980s, contributing in a major way to the popularity of leading rock artists. In addition to influencing the growth of the recording industry in general, MTV revolutionized the industry as well. The music video became a unique medium of musical expression on film; its arrival was marked with the premiere of the MTV Music Video Awards in 1984. With the advent of music videos, the VJ (video jockey) replaced the traditional DJ (disc jockey).

Millions of Americans fashioned and refashioned their lifestyles around the channel. Significant segments of American youth were turned into MTV junkies, as they took in and regurgitated the lingo, dress, mores, and lifestyles they saw on the station. In the early years, this meant that many youths celebrated a kind of social, cultural, and political radicalism defined by nonchalant indifference to established rules. Thus, many parents reacted negatively to the original channel, which also drew the wrath of America's conservative religious establishment.

In its early years, MTV tended to promote white rock acts, which caused a furor among nonwhite rock and pop groups and their advocates. Michael Jackson was one of the first African American pop acts to break into MTV heavy rotation. Rap music eventually found an outlet on the network, ensuring a more varied mix of pop culture fare and a more racially broad viewership.

Over the years, critics have accused MTV of promoting a subculture of drug use, violence, and misogyny. In the early 1990s, the channel responded by airing popular artists who presented a more wholesome image and represented more benign values. But there were contradictions. The employment of popular artists promoting education and sobriety was largely a move to appease the critics, as the network still promoted the work of artists whose message embraced drug use, condoned violence, and denigrated women.

Beginning in the late 1980s, programming included nonmusic, youth-oriented shows. In the early 1990s, the station aired animated features, including ones that explored mature themes, such as the popular *Beavis and Butt-head*. By the late 1990s, the station was driven by nonmusic shows and comedic presentations such as *Punk'd*. In the 2000s, its major emphasis has been on reality shows. In some respects, in fact, MTV sparked the trend in reality TV shows with the experimental 1992 program *The Real World*.

While diehard fans of the original MTV concept have lamented the network's declining interest in music and music videos and its expanded interest in commercialized programming, the network has attempted to stay on the cusp of new developments in the entertainment industry and popular culture (if outside the exclusive realm of music recording). MTV has divested much of the interest in music to affiliated stations such as VH1, MTV2, BET, CMT, and Tempo; MTV Hits and MTV Jams play music videos exclusively. In addition to these cable networks, the MTV network also operates sister stations for various ethnic and demographic groups in the United States; MHD, a high-definition channel; dozens of affiliated stations for audiences around the world; and the Web site MTV.com.

Curwen Best

See also: [Television](#).

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Nader, Ralph (1934–)

Ralph Nader is an attorney, consumer rights advocate, fierce critic of the automobile industry, and former presidential candidate whose central role in the creation of a modern consumer movement helped launch a new era in public citizenship.

Born on February 27, 1934, in Winsted, Connecticut, to Lebanese parents, Nader graduated from Princeton University in 1955 and received a law degree from Harvard Law School in 1958. At Harvard, young Nader challenged the traditional concerns of corporate law pedagogy by initiating research on safety violations in the automobile industry. This line of inquiry proved highly sensitive, as no product or industry epitomized the postwar consumer society more than the automobile.

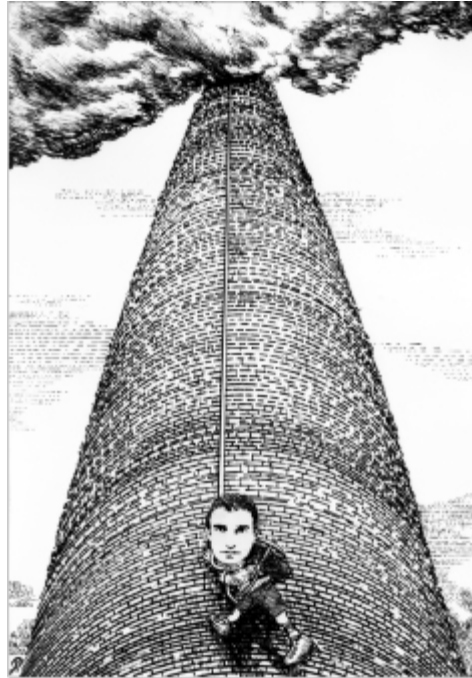
After graduation and brief service in the U.S. Army, Nader worked as an independent lawyer in Hartford and taught at the University of Connecticut. In 1964, he moved to Washington, D.C., where, as a consultant to government agencies and research groups and an adviser to a Senate subcommittee investigating automobile hazards, he began his life as a public citizen and consumer rights crusader.

Nader rose to fame with the publication of *Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965), the landmark book that exposed the dangers of General Motors's Chevrolet Corvair and other American car models. By sacrificing automotive safety for stylistic and marketing concerns and by planning for obsolescence, Nader argued, General Motors (GM) had endangered the American consumer and should be held responsible for its actions. As a result of his exposé, the National Traffic and Motor Vehicle Safety Act was passed in 1966. In the era of civil rights and antiestablishment and anti-corporate sentiments, Nader's assault on corporate interests extended the notion of public rights to the American consumer.

Establishing the American consumer as a political agent in his or her own right served as the ideological underpinning for more than two dozen public-interest organizations founded by Nader in the decades that followed. Organizations such as the Center for the Study of Responsive Law, Public Citizen, and the Public Interest Research Groups (PIRGs), for example, have been largely responsible for the passing of important legislative and regulatory measures. Passage of the Freedom of Information Act (1966), a federal law establishing public access to government documents; establishment of the Occupational Safety and Health Administration (1970), a federal agency charged with issuing and enforcing standards for employees' health and safety in the workplace; creation of the Environmental Protection Agency (1970), a federal agency dedicated to protecting the environment; and creation of the Consumer Product Safety Commission (1972), a federal agency charged with protecting the public from unreasonable risks from consumer products are among the public initiatives prompted and aided by Nader's activism.

In the aftermath of Nader's victory on the GM Chevrolet Corvair issue, a number of young, intensely committed activists emerged as an important watchdog consumer-advocacy group. Dubbed "Nader's Raiders" by journalist William Greider of the *Washington Post* in the early 1970s, this mostly volunteer or low-paid coterie of university

students exemplified a new generation of consumer activists who monitored the activities of government and private industry in product and workplace safety, environmental protection, food safety, and other important public issues. Nader's Raiders were mostly law school students who worked in task forces, especially during the summer, to mount campaigns against corporate perpetrators of consumer abuse. The group was recognized as an example of the socially conscious youth movement, committed to public service, that had emerged in America during the 1960s.



Attorney and activist Ralph Nader is regarded as the founding father of the American consumer protection movement. An early advocate of environmentalism as well, he is portrayed in this 1972 political cartoon scaling an industrial smokestack. (Library of Congress)

After extending his crusade against the insurance industry, corporate welfare, and international trade agreements in the 1980s and 1990s, Nader capped a lifetime of public service by running for president under the banner of the Green Party in 2000 and as an independent in 2004 and 2008. He continued to speak out on behalf of Americans and their rights to safety, to education, and to a government that is responsive to the people.

Victor Jose Rodriguez

See also: [Green Party: *Nation, The*](#).

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Naropa University

Naropa University is a private, nonprofit liberal arts college located in Boulder, Colorado. Founded in 1974 as Naropa Institute by Buddhist teacher Chögyam Trungpa Rinpoche, its mission has been to combine the best of Eastern intuitive and contemplative studies with Western scholastic and artistic disciplines.

The institute was based on the model of Nalanda, an Indian university that flourished from the fifth to the twelfth centuries. Naropa was the name of an eleventh-century abbot of Nalanda who was known for bringing together scholarly wisdom and meditative insight. Like Nalanda, Naropa University seeks to foster an environment that attracts artists and scholars from diverse disciplines and spiritual orientations in order to foster wisdom with heart.

Chögyam Trungpa was a Tibetan lama who escaped Tibet in 1959 during the Chinese invasion. After four years in India, he migrated to England and studied philosophy, comparative religion, and fine arts at Oxford. After moving to the United States in 1970, Trungpa became one of the most influential conveyors of Buddhist teachings to Western society. In early 1974, he designed and launched the initial program for Naropa, using funding from Karma Dzong, a meditation center he had founded in Boulder three years earlier. Trungpa served as president of Naropa from 1974 to 1985, when the institute was reorganized as an autonomous, nonprofit corporation under the direction of a board of trustees. He died in 1987.

Naropa opened for a summer session in 1974 and hoped to attract about 300 to 400 students. More than 2,000 applied for course offerings in such topics as Eastern philosophies, Tibetan and Sanskrit languages, cybernetics, anthropology, Tai Chi, and tea ceremony. The first classes were taught by Trungpa, the renowned LSD researcher-turned-Hindu-spiritual-leader Ram Dass (formerly Richard Alpert), cyberneticist Gregory Bateson, poet Allen Ginsberg, and other well-known scholars, writers, and artists. Another session was held the following summer, and it was equally successful. Naropa began offering degree and certificate programs in 1976 and applied for accreditation, which was granted in 1986.

The most famous institution within Naropa University is the Jack Kerouac School of Disembodied Poetics. Named after the Beat author of *On the Road* (1957), the department was created by poets Anne Waldman, Diane di Prima, and Ginsberg. Faculty members also have included William S. Burroughs, Gregory Corso, Gary Snyder, Bobbie Louise Hawkins, and numerous other prominent poets and writers.

In the early years, Naropa endured financial difficulties and criticisms of Trungpa's lifestyle and teaching methods, but the school grew steadily in academic prestige and artistic reputation. Its bachelor's and master's degree programs are all fully accredited, and the institution has achieved financial stability.

Naropa University continues to attract prestigious faculty and artists in residence, flourishing as a center for spiritual and religious studies, writing and literature, visual and performing arts, psychology, and environmental studies. Enrollment for the 2009–2010 academic year totaled 1,056 undergraduate and graduate students.

Jerry Shuttle

See also: [Buddhism](#); [Ginsberg, Allen](#); [Kerouac, Jack](#).

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Nation, The

The Nation is a weekly news and opinion magazine that has maintained a consistently leftist/liberal focus—on issues of social liberalism, social democracy, socialism, and communism—since its founding as an abolitionist publication in 1865. As the United States's oldest political journal, its focus always has been on political issues. Since the 1960s, however, *The Nation* has given increased coverage to cultural issues, and in the 2000s has become notable for its book reviews.

Known proudly as “the flagship of the American left since 1865,” *The Nation* was first published on July 6, 1865, as a New York–based abolitionist journal. Under the editorship of Edwin Lawrence Godkin, *The Nation*'s articles promoted civil-service reform, African American rights, and public education. After its first year of operation, Godkin assumed ownership from Joseph H. Richards. Although Godkin sold the journal to Henry Villard in 1881, he continued to edit it until 1899.

When Villard died in 1900, his son Oswald Garrison Villard assumed control of both *The Nation* and the *New York Evening Post*, which published the journal as its weekly supplement. A staunch pacifist and resolutely independent publisher, Villard continued his father's editorial policy of promoting civil rights for African Americans in the pages of *The Nation*, and he cofounded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909.

Villard also opposed U.S. participation in World War I. This controversial position, along with *The Nation*'s support of wartime dissenters, forced him to sell the *New York Evening Post* in 1918 over accusations of pro-Germanism. In addition, government authorities delayed the mailing of one issue of *The Nation* because of an editorial proclaiming “Civil Liberty Dead,” and Albert J. Nock's editorial criticizing Samuel Gompers's and the American Federation of Labor's support of U.S. participation in World War I resulted in further government suppression.

The magazine continued publishing under Villard's leadership until 1934. Since separating from the *Post*, *The Nation* remained fiercely independent. While sharply edited by Freda Kirchwey and Carey McWilliams from 1937 through 1965, the magazine barely survived financial crises and major editorial disputes over the cold war.

By 1965, publisher George Kirstein's financial acumen returned stability to the publication, and *The Nation* became known for its incisive criticism of the Vietnam War and its insightful literary and artistic criticism. Ralph Nader first reported the U.S. automobile industry's safety records in the pages of *The Nation* in 1959, and civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., published annual articles on the civil rights movement in the magazine until his death in 1968.

Beyond its role as an alternative journalistic organ, online as well as in print, *The Nation* also has functioned as an educational resource, providing materials for schools and sponsoring special literary/intellectual events, the latter of which have contributed to something of an elitist image. Nonetheless, *The Nation*'s editorial and activist focus has remained decidedly populist, including a 2007 protest against postal rate changes proposed by Time-Warner that would end special publication rates and favor larger publishers at the expense of smaller, independent periodicals.

The Nation's circulation peaked at 186,600 in 2006. The editor and publisher was Katrina vanden Heuvel, and the

editorial board included labor historian Eric Foner, liberal writer and columnist Barbara Ehrenreich, civil rights scholar Lani Guinier, activist Tom Hayden, and novelist Toni Morrison. Regular columnists included feminist writer Katha Pollitt, humorist and novelist Calvin Trillin, and radical journalist Alexander Cockburn.

Susan Roth Breitzer and John Thomas McGuire

See also: [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#); [Morrison, Toni](#); [Nader, Ralph](#); [Socialism](#).

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National Lampoon

National Lampoon was an American humor magazine rooted in the sex, drugs, and rock and roll counterculture of the 1960s. It blended sophisticated wit with scatological, often sophomoric humor and ultimately brought politically charged, sexually themed, and socially taboo humor out of the nightclubs and placed it at the center of American popular culture. The magazine ceased publication in 1998, but the National Lampoon name—forever associated with offbeat humor and satire, often on the brink of bad taste—was licensed to an unending stream of books, films, and shows on television, radio, and the live stage.

First published in April 1970, *National Lampoon* was founded by three recently graduated editors of the *Harvard Lampoon* humor magazine—Douglas Kenney, Henry Beard, and Robert Hoffman—who translated the taboo material of counterculture comics such as Lenny Bruce and Mort Sahl into the mainstream of American mass media. The success of *National Lampoon* ultimately made edgy and sometimes offensive material acceptable to a wide audience, spawning a comedy revolution that was represented in TV shows such as *Saturday Night Live*, *The Simpsons*, and *South Park*, and mock news sources such as *The Onion*.

The magazine mixed humor and all forms of parody (literary, film, magazine), while tackling a number of sensitive subjects (sex, politics, racism) with a no-holds-barred attitude. It was merciless in its treatment of the Nixon administration, yet it also trashed the hippies and the counterculture. The long-running stage variety show *National Lampoon's Lemmings* parodied the Woodstock music festival of August 1969 as a hypocritical sellout by money-hungry rock stars and featured vicious impersonations of musicians James Taylor, Bob Dylan, Joan Baez, and other hippie icons.

National Lampoon also served as a training ground for comedy writers and performers, all of whom avidly contributed to the magazine and many of whom would become well-known figures in mainstream American humor, among them Kenney, Michael O'Donoghue, John Belushi, Gilda Radner, Bill Murray, Christopher Guest, P.J. O'Rourke, Harold Ramis, Ann Beatts, and John Hughes. *National Lampoon* extended its brand into stage shows (*Lemmings*, *The National Lampoon Show*), a nationally syndicated radio show, films (*Animal House*, the *Vacation* series), and television. In 1974, the magazine achieved its peak circulation at roughly 1 million for the October issue; some studies showed the *Lampoon's* primarily male pass-along readership at nearly 8 million, with

the magazine circulated around fraternities, dorms, and high school campuses.

During the first half of the 1970s, several *National Lampoon* covers became popular emblems of counterculture humor, including a rendering of the Mona Lisa as an orangutan (“Mona Gorilla”); Vietnam War criminal Lieutenant William Calley depicted as *MAD* magazine’s mascot Alfred E. Neuman, with the headline, “What, My Lai?”; and the famous “If You Don’t Buy This Magazine, We’ll Kill This Dog” cover, which shows a dog staring nervously at a pistol pointed at his head. That image is routinely named among the most famous magazine covers of the twentieth century.

The best-selling *National Lampoon Encyclopedia of Humor* (1973), edited by O’Donoghue, a frequent contributor to the magazine and later the head writer of *Saturday Night Live*, featured a Volkswagen ad parody with a VW Beetle floating in a body of water (which the automaker claimed it could do) and the headline “If Ted Kennedy Drove a Volkswagen He’d Be President Today.” The parody so accurately depicted an actual ad that Volkswagen received numerous letters of complaint. In 1974, *The National Lampoon 1964 High School Yearbook* became the best-selling special issue in American magazine history and was hailed by *Harper’s Magazine* as “the best example of group writing since the King James Bible.”

The peak of the magazine’s influence was from 1970 to 1975. In the latter year, publisher Matty Simmons was required to buy Kenney, Beard, and Hoffman out of their interest in the magazine at a price of \$7.5 million. The financial impact of that deal, mounting pressure from the Religious Right, and the loss of talent such as Kenney, Beard, and O’Donoghue hampered the magazine in a world that was less shocked by *Lampoon*-style humor. In fact, by the mid-1970s, the magazine’s brand of comedy had become almost mainstream.

The 1978 film *Animal House*, written by Kenney, Chris Miller, and Harold Ramis, helped reestablish the *Lampoon* brand, earning \$60 million in four months and ultimately becoming the most successful comedy film of all time. *National Lampoon* failed to produce another hit until 1983, however, when *National Lampoon’s Vacation* was released. By this time, however, the magazine had lost its place as the preeminent voice of American comedy.

Josh Karp

See also: [Baez, Joan](#); [Bruce, Lenny](#); [Dylan, Bob](#); [Film, Hollywood](#); [MAD](#); [Simpsons, The](#); [South Park](#); [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Native American Church

The Native American Church developed as a spiritual movement in the late nineteenth century among various American Indian tribes, combining the beliefs and rituals of tribal traditions with aspects of Christianity. Known for

the sacramental use of the hallucinogenic drug peyote in a ritual ceremony, the Native American Church is the largest religious organization of indigenous people in North America, with an estimated 250,000 followers from a wide variety of tribes and nations. The denomination is also sometimes referred to as the Peyote Church, the Peyote Way Church, Peyotism, and the Native American Church of North America.

Among Native American Church members, peyote, or mescal (the common name of a small, spineless cactus, *Lophophora williamsii*, found from the southwestern United States to central Mexico), is regarded as sacred. Church members ingest peyote as a sacrament, either eating the button or drinking it as a tea. Like the ritual use of psychoactive and hallucinogenic substances (entheogens) in other religious traditions, peyote is used to induce an experience of the divine and reveal the numinous nature of the world. The beliefs and practices of church members vary considerably among different regions and tribes; there is no formal, written doctrine. The religion is taught through vernacular forms of expression, such as oral traditions, folklore and custom, and direct experience. Although not embraced by all members of the Native American Church, common elements include belief in the Great Spirit (a supreme God), the Mother Earth, intermediary gods, and indigenous spirits, and the view that peyote is a sacrament given to native peoples by a divine being, such as Jesus Christ.

Many believers embrace the interconnection of the supernatural and natural worlds, and the idea that the divine is present in natural objects and at specific natural locations. The peyote ceremony itself is rooted in indigenous native and Mexican traditions, and influenced by Christianity; however, Christian themes, rituals, and imagery are embraced only to certain degrees and are mostly absent from ceremonies. The central values and teachings of the Native American Church include proper living, truthfulness, care of family, kindness, self-reliance, community involvement, prayer and meditation, and the avoidance of alcohol and recreational drugs. Peyote is not addictive, and members assert that it purifies the body, decreases the desire for alcohol, and cures alcoholism and other destructive addictions.

The Native American Church was officially founded in Oklahoma in 1918, but the movement had begun among the Kiowa in about 1890, and spiritual use of peyote (referred to as “Father Peyote” by members) already had a long legacy in the Americas—perhaps thousands of years. By the 1600s, its use was a common ritual practice in parts of the American Southwest. In the 1870s, the Comanche and Kiowa tribes embraced the practice, and traveling “peyote roadmen” later promoted the spiritual and ritualistic aspects of peyote throughout the Plains and adjacent areas.

Noteworthy advocates of the movement in the late nineteenth century were the Comanche leader Quanah Parker and John Wilson of the Caddo tribe. The following statement by Parker underscores the experiential spirituality of the peyote ritual: “The White Man goes into his church and talks about Jesus. The Indian goes into his Tipi and talks with Jesus.”

Peyote ceremonies also flourished because they offered an alternative to the versions of Christianity imposed by missionaries, and a renewal of native communities at a time when tribal religions were in decline. Like the Ghost Dance movements of the 1870s and 1890s, peyote religion often has been interpreted as a revitalizing response to the genocide and oppression of Native Americans and the destruction of their traditional cultures.

Although peyote possesses psychedelic properties and contains various alkaloids including mescaline, it is not considered to be a drug by Native American Church members, but a holy medicine with the sacred powers necessary for healing, teaching, blessings, and inspiration. The ingestion of peyote produces feelings of well-being and harmony, a calm euphoria and meditative state, and a revelation of the numinous. For many church members, hunting for peyote buttons is a religious pilgrimage; prayers are offered at the gathering of peyote and in the course of preparation. In the peyote ceremony, usually held in a tepee, a large peyote button (the Chief Peyote) is placed on an altar built of earth, sometimes sharing space with the Bible. In addition to the consumption of peyote, the ceremony—which lasts from evening to dawn—entails the use of various ceremonial objects, the singing of sacred songs, drumming, and chanting prayers, followed by a ritual meal of parched corn, fruit, sweetened meat, and water.

Throughout the Americas, those who practiced the ceremonial use of peyote have been persecuted repeatedly, beginning with early Catholic missionaries who condemned the beliefs connected with the ceremony as “pagan superstition.” By 1620, during the Spanish Inquisition, peyote use was considered diabolical and punished by torture and death.

In the United States, those participating in the ceremonies have been persecuted both by Christian churches and by governmental agencies. As the religious use of peyote grew in popularity in the late 1800s and early 1900s, the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Board of Indian Commissioners, the Bureau of Catholic Indian Missions, and other white institutions worked aggressively to suppress and condemn the religion. In 1918, the U.S. Congress attempted to outlaw the use of peyote; subsequent decades brought new efforts to declare the religious use of peyote to be illegal. A number of state and federal court cases resulted in the imprisonment of Native American Church members.

Not until the American Indian Religious Freedom Act of 1978, as amended in 1994, was the ritual use of peyote by indigenous peoples protected by federal law—though this hardly put a stop to the legal battles. In the twenty-first century, the sacramental use of peyote remains a profoundly meaningful religious ritual for members of the Native American Church and a symbol of identity, unity, and tradition for many American Indians.

Daniel Wojcik

See also: [Ghost Dance: Native Americans.](#)

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Native Americans

The indigenous peoples of the territories now claimed and occupied by the United States comprise more than 500 distinct groups commonly identified by the terms *Native American* or *American Indian*. Each of these groups—most of which now refer to themselves as independent “nations”—has a unique culture, way of life, and history. Despite the great cultural diversity among America’s indigenous peoples, they have faced similar social prejudices, economic oppression, and government restrictions throughout U.S. history.

Beginning as early as the American Revolution, the tendency of white settlers to treat all Native Americans as the same and to subject them to policies of cultural transformation has produced a long history of resistance and dispute. In the twentieth century, Native American activism developed along with, and was inspired by, various other counterculture movements, such as the civil rights and Black Power movements, relying on similar forms of protest and actions to achieve social justice.

Early History

As a result of constant efforts by the United States to eliminate Native American cultures, histories, and people, every American Indian nation has faced serious decisions about how to preserve their traditions and ways of life. While tribes such as the Cherokee attempted to mold their cultures to meet American expectations, many other native nations furiously resisted demands by European Americans to make cultural changes.

By 1806, the Shawnee nation brothers Tecumseh and Tenskwatawa had begun organizing a coalition of Native American nations in the Ohio Valley to fight to retain their traditional practices and to hold on to the lands targeted by American settlers. After the French and Indian War (1754–1763), England had imposed a Line of Proclamation, forbidding colonists to expand into the North American interior, where native peoples still posed a military threat. After the American Revolution, American settlers began pressing on into these lands, intent on securing new territory, resources, and wealth. Indiana, for example, paid bounty hunters \$50 per Native American scalp.

Tecumseh was well aware of the destruction and dismantling of the native nations to the east, and he recognized that the United States would never cease its expansion or allow native traditions to flourish. Rather than simply await annihilation, Tecumseh looked to develop a transcontinental Native American military, extending north to the Great Lakes and south to the Gulf of Mexico, while his brother crafted the cultural and spiritual resistance.

Tenskwatawa, also known as the “Shawnee Prophet,” established Prophetstown along the Wabash River in northern Indiana, where only traditional cultural practices and religions were allowed, and all elements of European American culture were forbidden. Alcohol, European goods, and the practice of Christianity were prohibited. Tenskwatawa positioned the village to serve as an outpost for watching the border between “white” and “Indian” lands, with his warriors ready to expel any American invaders. While the coalition formed by the Shawnee brothers and their followers ultimately failed to protect their lands and cultures, their organized resistance served as an early example of pan-Indian cooperation against American efforts to colonize the North American interior.

Starting in the 1850s, the U.S. military sought to subdue the nomadic Apache nations in the Southwest so that Americans could settle the territory and the Santa Fe Railroad could build a route into California. Many Apache believed that their territory was given to them by the Creator, Ussen, and that they would die if they left or were removed from their traditional lands.

The Apache ultimately went to war against the United States after a Chiricahua chief, Cochise, was arrested under a flag of truce in 1861 and U.S. soldiers killed the highly respected Apache tribal chief Mangas Coloradas during what was supposed to have been a peaceful meeting at Fort McLane in the territory of New Mexico, in 1863. Geronimo, a respected warrior and medicine man, stated in his autobiography that the killing of Coloradas was “perhaps the greatest wrong ever done” to the Apache, and it set him on a path of resistance against the United States. Geronimo was already at war with Mexico because a local militia had killed his mother, wife, and three children during a raid on the family’s camp in the late 1850s.

In the mid-1870s, more than 100 Chiricahua Apache refused to be confined to the barren San Carlos reservation lands in southeastern Arizona. Led by Geronimo and hereditary leader Naiche, a group of Chiricahua fled the reservation and hid throughout southern Arizona and northern Mexico, eluding capture by both the U.S. and Mexican militaries. For a decade, Geronimo and his followers (including women and children) raided settlements and reservations, while maintaining their traditional nomadic life off the reservation.

After Geronimo’s final surrender in 1886, he and all of his sympathizers were sent to prison at Fort Marion, Florida. Geronimo was never allowed to return to Arizona, and he died at Fort Sill, Oklahoma, in 1909.

Early Twentieth Century

The beginning of the twentieth century was a difficult time for most Native Americans. By 1900, the total

indigenous population of the United States had reached a historic low of 250,000 (compared to an estimated 5 million at the time of contact with Europeans). Native children were being sent to Indian boarding schools to unlearn their native ways of life, tribal communities were assigned Christian missionaries and denied traditional religious practices, and federal land policies were taking millions of acres out of native hands.

In the face of these challenges, many native leaders founded self-help organizations to better their lives, to resist the total destruction of their cultures and populations, and to dispute the usurpation of tribal lands. European Americans who admired native cultures or were upset with federal treatment of Indian peoples frequently supported such organizations and activities, producing effective political coalitions that helped revitalize many native communities.

Following the model set forth by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1907, Indian boarding school-educated leaders such as Charles Eastman (a Dakota), Carlos Montezuma (a Yavapai), and Arthur C. Parker (a Seneca) organized the Society of American Indians (SAI) on October 12, 1911, in Columbus, Ohio. The SAI sought to create a unified pan-Indian movement that could help native people become social, economic, and political equals to European Americans. Eastman and Montezuma, both practicing physicians, used their national recognition as professionally successful boarding school graduates to gather political and economic support from philanthropists and legislators; they demanded that the federal government fund and support Indian education and development.

In 1917, Montezuma was arrested for encouraging Native Americans to refuse to serve in the military as the United States moved toward participation in World War I, while Parker successfully lobbied the Onondaga nation to independently declare war against Germany as an act of native sovereignty. As the SAI weakened in the early 1920s, it was replaced by another pan-Indian organization, the National Congress of American Indians (NCAI).

Founded in 1926 by Gertrude Simmons Bonnin, a Nakota and former teacher at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, the NCAI still functions as a significant national organization for Native Americans. Within twenty years of its establishment, the NCAI was able to pressure the federal government to establish the Indian Claims Court, a legal forum where tribes could contest the means by which they had lost their land. During the court's thirty-two year existence, native nations made more than 800 claims and were awarded more than \$800 million in compensation.

In the early 1920s, Native Americans from Southern California joined with nonnative political activists to form the Mission Indian Federation. Led by Adam Castillo (a Cahuilla), the federation worked to eradicate the power of the Bureau of Indian Affairs (BIA) to make political decisions for native peoples, essentially demanding recognition of full sovereignty for native nations.

Castillo and a European American legal adviser, Jonathan Tibbett, forced the state of California to compensate the tribes of California for the more than 8.5 million acres of land lost after Congress did not ratify eighteen treaties signed between 1851 and 1852. In 1944, the state finally awarded more than \$17 million for the lost lands (although \$12 million was then subtracted for government expenses). Commissioner of Indian Affairs John Collier once noted that the Mission Indian Federation, rather than seeking inclusion as equals with the United States, approached their work as "ousting a foreign power from the native soil or beating off an invasion of a foreign power."

Because of their vehement political opposition to the U.S. government's control over Native Americans (legal "wardship"), Mission Indian Federation members were briefly arrested in 1922 on the charge of "conspiracy against the government"; they were released after all Native Americans were granted full legal citizenship under the 1924 Indian Citizenship Act. The organization continued to work on complex legal issues relating to Native American sovereignty, until it disbanded in the mid-1960s.

Like the Mission Indian Federation, the All-Pueblo Council was formed as a result of a regional coalition of tribes and nonnative supporters sharing concerns about the legal and political standings of Native Americans. In 1922,

twenty Pueblos united as the All-Pueblo Council in order to challenge federal legislation, the Bursum Bill, aimed at opening Pueblo lands and resources to white squatters. The Pueblo people successfully defeated the proposal through alliances with wealthy supporters such as Mabel Dodge Luhan and public appeals at key locations, such as the New York Stock Exchange. The Pueblo activism ultimately contributed to the 1929 conviction of U.S. Secretary of the Interior Albert Fall for accepting bribes from private companies.

The All-Pueblo Council also gave impetus to the Indian Reorganization Act of 1934, which was intended to enhance tribal self-government for all Native American nations. Today, the council remains active in promoting social and economic justice for indigenous peoples.

Late-Twentieth-Century Activism

During the 1960s and 1970s, Native Americans protested social inequalities and began reclaiming traditional cultural practices such as claiming treaty-guaranteed hunting and fishing rights, holding powwows, performing religious ceremonies, and speaking in native languages. More radical activists organized in groups such as the American Indian Movement (AIM), while others worked in moderate organizations such as the Native American Rights Fund (NARF).

Individual native nations across the country, including the Mashantucket Pequot in Connecticut, worked to assert or reclaim their sovereignty from the United States and regain control of their own political, economic, and cultural destinies. In many cases, efforts at cultural identification and self-definition involved the contestation of stereotypical and racist imagery produced by nonnative people, such as the use of Indian figures as team mascots.

In 1970, NARF was established in Boulder, Colorado, by lawyers with expertise in Indian law in order to provide legal services to Native American nations, organizations, and individuals. This nonprofit organization became the first national clearinghouse for legal cases involving individuals who maintain a special legal relationship to the United States as members of sovereign native nations. For instance, NARF was central to the legal challenges made by the Mashantucket Pequot against the United States in the 1980s. In 1996, it filed a lawsuit against the secretary of the interior and the BIA for mismanagement of \$2.4 billion of tribal trust monies.

Since its founding, NARF has been involved in most of the important court cases concerning issues of Native American sovereignty, especially those that have been heard by the U.S. Supreme Court. In its advertising campaigns, NARF has continued to demonstrate that Native American sovereignty is critical to tribal survival and that this special legal standing (established by treaties) remains under attack. In 2007, its advertisements boldly stated that “the Indian Wars never ended” and proudly proclaimed that NARF’s work is that of “modern day warriors” who fight with the weapons of law rather than with violence.

The most recognized event of postwar Native American activism was the 1969 takeover of Alcatraz Island in the San Francisco Bay and the 1973 occupation of Wounded Knee in South Dakota. On November 20, 1969, after a series of brief symbolic takeovers of Alcatraz that often lasted only hours, a group of mostly urban Native American college students came together under the name Indians of All Tribes and began a twenty-month occupation of the abandoned former federal prison. The occupiers cited an 1868 treaty between the Sioux and the United States that promised native people the first claim to surplus government lands.

Among the leaders of the occupation was San Francisco State College student Richard Oakes (a Mohawk), a non-California transplant relocated to the growing urban Indian population of the San Francisco Bay Area. When the San Francisco Indian Center had burned down, in October 1969, Oakes and community organizer and businessman Adam Nordall (an Ojibwe) had come together with local media to plan and enact the full-scale occupation of Alcatraz. The Indians of All Tribes demanded that title to the island be handed over and declared their intention to construct a Native American cultural center, university, and museum to retell and support the history and culture of indigenous peoples. The occupation ended on June 11, 1971, when the handful of remaining occupiers were removed by federal agents. Nevertheless, the government already had responded by

increasing funds to Native American programs and passing six pieces of legislation in support of tribal self-rule and cultural survival.

AIM was formed by urban-based Ojibwe in 1968 in Minneapolis, Minnesota, as a response to police brutality, discrimination, poverty, unemployment, and cultural deprivations. Partly modeled after the Black Panther Party, AIM sought to provide community services, protect native people, and reclaim traditional cultural practices. In 1973, AIM members, led by Russell Means (a Lakota) and Dennis Banks (an Ojibwe), occupied the town of Wounded Knee on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota, the infamous site of the Sioux massacre of 1890.

The occupation at Wounded Knee was staged in protest over what AIM members and many traditional Lakota saw as the cultural and political corruption of the Pine Ridge Tribal Council. The council was led by tribal chairman Richard Wilson, who was supported by the BIA and ruled the reservation with the help of a personal police force called the GOONS (Guardians of the Oglala Nations). Wilson was accused of political and financial corruption; many Lakota who sought to impeach him called on AIM for assistance. Wilson banned AIM members from the reservation and called in additional armed forces from the BIA, Federal Bureau of Investigation, and U.S. Marshals Service. The seventy-one-day standoff resulted in the deaths of two occupiers (Frank Clearwater and Lawrence Lamont) and prompted the federal government to reconsider its policies of supporting particular tribal governments.

In 1986, the Mashantucket Pequot of Connecticut jump-started the national trend of opening gambling facilities on Native American reservations. For many American Indians, gambling casinos and the economic freedom they represent stand as powerful symbols of tribal sovereignty—the ability to make independent choices about the community's way of life, while not being subject to the dictates of society at large. The Mashantucket, for example, regained lost lands and reestablished themselves as a federally recognized tribe. Their bingo operations eventually would grow into the massive gaming resort Foxwoods in 1991, and their advocacy would open the door for other native nations to build similar facilities of their own. Since reservation lands are exempt from state laws that prohibit high-stakes gambling, Indian casinos have allowed many long-impooverished tribes to fund their governments, community infrastructures, police and fire services, student scholarships, health care, and cultural and language revitalization programs.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the use of purportedly Indian images as institutional mascots became a subject of widespread public debate. Sports teams such as the University of Illinois's Fighting Illini and professional football's Washington Redskins modeled their mascots, names, or both after Native Americans. These were high-profile examples of the use by many nonnative Americans of American Indian imagery as cultural symbols, despite widespread feelings among indigenous people that such images are derogatory and racist.

Efforts by Native American activists and their allies have fostered numerous additional changes by various institutions, while others have resisted social pressures. In 1972, for example, Stanford University changed its sports teams' mascot from the Indian to the Cardinal. Twenty-five years later, the Los Angeles Unified School District required that all of its public schools eliminate Native American mascots. In 1992, Native American activist Suzan Shown Harjo (a Cheyenne and Muskogee) filed suit against the owners of the Redskins, winning a court decision five years later against the trademark license of the team mascot. In February 2007, after decades of intense resistance from its students, administration, and alumni, and following a move by the National Collegiate Athletic Association to ban the school from hosting postseason games in 2005, the University of Illinois announced that it would discontinue the use of its Chief Illiniwek mascot.

While Native Americans have long existed as a kind of counterculture by virtue of their social and economic marginalization, American Indian customs and images also have emerged as popular expressions of other counterculture movements. During the 1960s and 1970s, for example, non-Native Americans began to embrace the ideals of indigenous cultures and traditions, recognizing them as representations of a more authentic and fulfilling way of life. The adoption of Native American spirituality became widespread in the New Age movement that began in the 1960s, even as sports mascots, casino gambling, and mainstream media images continue to shape popular stereotypes.

See also: [American Indian Movement](#); [Deganawidah](#); [Ghost Dance](#); [Jemison, Mary](#); [Neolin](#); [Ward, Nancy](#).

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Neolin (ca. 1720–ca. 1766)

Neolin, also known as the “Delaware Prophet,” was the first of a number of Native American spiritual leaders during the eighteenth century who taught that indigenous life and custom had been corrupted by the encroachment of whites. He called upon native peoples to give up all activities and goods introduced by Europeans and resume their virtuous lives. Among his followers was the Ottawa chief Potomac, who invoked his teachings to build an intertribal following for his war against the British in 1763.

Little is known of Neolin's early life. A member of the Delaware (or Lenni-Lenape) tribe, he is believed to have been born in about 1720. Neolin (his name means “four”) first came to prominence in 1761 in the village of Tuscarawas, which was located on the Muskingum River in Ohio.

At the time, Delaware society and culture were being directly threatened by white settlers. Most tribes east of the Mississippi had been devastated by European diseases and increasingly had adopted elements of European culture. Trade goods, such as firearms, steel knives and tools, and alcohol, were now central to the native lifestyle. Destructive behavior, especially drunkenness, had become commonplace. The native peoples hunted wildlife to extinction for pelts and hides to trade, rather than for subsistence. Much of the territory formerly occupied by the Delaware and other tribes had been taken over by white settlers.

Preaching a message that combined nativist and Christian aspects, Neolin began attracting disciples. Having met the Creator, or Great Spirit, in a vision, Neolin learned that the problems facing his people were the result of corrupting influences by whites. The path to heaven was blocked, Neolin preached, and most Native Americans were doomed to hell (a Christian concept) unless they followed a different path. Native peoples needed to purify

themselves through fasting, the use of emetics, and monogamous relations or sexual abstinence.

The Creator, said Neolin, also expected them to return to their virtuous, traditional way of life. All products of European culture, including alcohol, firearms, and manufactured goods, should be given up. Native Americans should unite and end fighting between different groups. They could then drive the white men out of their lands and live in harmony with the Creator.

Neolin's message spread rapidly through the tribes. As he traveled from place to place, he left copies of a map said to have been given to him by the Creator. The map outlined territories that had been given up to the whites, providing a reminder of what had been lost and what should be regained. Neolin also left prayer sticks, with a prayer to be said morning and night by his followers.

By 1763, tribes as far as the Illinois country had heard Neolin's message. They were concerned because the friendly French, who were dependable trading partners, had been defeated and succeeded by the British. British colonists, who were less generous with gifts and trade goods, also were moving into territory claimed by Native American tribes west of the Appalachians.

In the Great Lakes region, Chief Pontiac became one of Neolin's followers and recognized that his message of Native American unity could help drive out the British. Ignoring certain elements of Neolin's message, such as the rejection of firearms, Pontiac succeeded in bringing the leaders of twenty tribes into an alliance against the British. In April 1763, nearly all British garrisons west of the Appalachians were overwhelmed by a coordinated, three-year campaign that came to be called Pontiac's Rebellion. Only the tenacity of their garrisons at Detroit and Pittsburgh, combined with major reinforcements, saved the British presence.

When the uprising finally faltered, so did faith in Neolin. European observers last saw him in 1766, in a village on the Tuscarawas River in Ohio. His message of renewal and a return to native traditions was taken up by others, such as the Shawnee prophet Tenskwatawa.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Native Americans](#).

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New Age

New Age spirituality is a broad term that encompasses a variety of beliefs and interests, including Eastern philosophy, mysticism, neo-paganism, parapsychology, holistic healing, alternative cosmologies, psychic development, paranormal phenomena, metaphysics, meditation, the occult, reincarnation, channeling, enlightenment, and astrology. Persons considered part of the New Age often construct individualized beliefs and practices from various religions and philosophies, modifying them to suit their own views of life and the world.



Adherents of the New Age movement in its many forms, such as these meditators in New Mexico, seek spiritual growth, healing, and self-actualization through a variety of mystical or religiously inspired exercises and rituals. (Michael Mauney/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

1960s and 1970s

The New Age, as a countercultural phenomenon, arose during the 1960s and 1970s. The social, political, and cultural upheavals that led to the creation of the counterculture of the 1960s also led to a greater rejection of organized religion and an intensification of interest in alternative forms of spiritual practice.

Over the next twenty years, these widely differentiated religious and social countercultures began to build up a network of bookstores, publishers, lectures, and conferences that encouraged a shared general outlook and goals for societal uplift. The New Age movement moved into the mainstream with the 1987 television miniseries *Out on a Limb*, which documented actress Shirley MacLaine's exploration of reincarnation and other New Age beliefs. By the late 1980s, the New Age became a recognized part of American popular culture.

While this collective identity emerged slowly in the 1980s, the roots of the New Age extend back to the religious ferment of the nineteenth century. It drew from spiritualism, the belief that it was possible to communicate with the spirits of the dead, and transcendentalism, the philosophical movement associated with New England writers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. It also borrowed from Theosophy, the religious philosophy developed by Helena Blavatsky in 1875 that proposes a complicated system of spiritual evolution, and New Thought, a late-nineteenth-century religious movement that argued that spirit is the only reality and stressed the power of the mind over the physical world.

Other important influences included Eastern religions, which began to become familiar to Americans after the U.S. tour of Swami Vivekananda, a Hindu teacher from India, in the 1890s. Decades later, the Immigration and

Naturalization Act of 1965 permitted a large number of immigrants from Asia and Africa and led to wider familiarization with Eastern religious practice and African religious traditions.

By the 1970s, New Age drew on Eastern religious systems such as Buddhism, Hinduism, and Sufism and often borrowed other tools of spiritual expression, such as crystals, tarot, drumming, and yoga. The New Age spiritualism also included elements of Western mysticism and folk religions, including various forms of goddess worship, astrology, Wicca, and other modern neo-pagan movements.

Many advocates of the New Age self-consciously rejected modern technology and rationalism in favor of intuition and a desire to reconnect with elements of Native American or other indigenous spiritual practices from around the world. This tendency was highlighted by the popularity of the writings of Carlos Castaneda, a California anthropologist who wrote a series of books about his supposed encounters with the Yaqui shaman Don Juan Matus. In their willingness to combine elements from a wide variety of sources, New Age adherents continued the tradition of syncretic individualism that has long characterized American spiritual practice.

New New Age Ideas

Along with these spiritual and religious elements, the New Age came to include techniques and practices often associated with psychology and the human potential movement. Psychologist Abraham Maslow's work on self-actualization and Harvard University professor Timothy Leary's advocacy of psychedelics, for example, offered methods for exploring the inner self. Whether it was the hallucinogenic drug LSD or new psychological therapies such as primal therapy, a treatment method developed by Arthur Janov that enabled patients to directly access repressed pain and trauma, almost any method that promised to enhance the process of personal transformation found some place in the emerging New Age movement.

A variety of health practices also were incorporated in the New Age. Many of its adherents rejected modern, Western allopathic medicine in favor of alternative medical practices such as homeopathy, naturopathy, or chiropractic. They embraced ancient medical practices such as Chinese acupuncture or the Indian Ayurvedic system. They also championed organic food, vegetarian and vegan diets, and forms of bodywork like massage, Reiki, and Rolfing, or movement systems such as Feldenkrais. This New Age focus on individual health often went hand in hand with broader concerns for the environment and various forms of animal rights activism.

The use of the term *New Age* reflects the influence of American millenarianism on the movement and highlights the widespread belief that the world was about to experience a spiritual transformation. Moreover, many New Age adherents believed that their work to expand individual consciousness would play a decisive role in ushering in this worldwide enlightenment, which they called the "Age of Aquarius."

Since the 1960s, when the impending arrival of the Age of Aquarius achieved mainstream recognition, there have been claims that a particular date or event would mark this transition. Among these predictions were the so-called Harmonic Convergence of August 16–17, 1987, and the end of the millennium in the year 2000. On the designated dates in 1987, thousands of people from a wide variety of traditions gathered in locations around the world that they believed to be spiritually "charged," in the hope that the moment of change was at hand. After the Harmonic Convergence and the turn of the millennium passed, December 21, 2012—marking the end of the "Fifth Sun" of the ancient Mayan calendar—became a subject of considerable debate and expectation among those who still anticipate the imminent dawning of a New Age.

Just as certain periods of time are considered auspicious for spiritual uplift, so various New Age movements identify particular places as loci of spiritual power. These include sites associated with ancient civilizations such as Machu Picchu in Peru, Stonehenge in England, and the Great Pyramids in Egypt; or natural landscapes, such as Mount Shasta, California, or Sedona, Arizona, that are considered to be charged with special energy. A number of teaching centers, such as the Esalen Institute in Big Sur, California, also have become closely identified with the New Age.

Although many of these elements have faded from the forefront of popular culture, newer and often more subtle forms of New Age spirituality continue to attract attention. Works by writers such as the physician Deepak Chopra and books such as Neale Donald Walsch's *Conversations with God* (1995) continue to find a secure place on best-seller lists. In fact, the entire genre of self-help books, featuring authors such as the motivational speaker Anthony Robbins, owes much to the New Age.

One of the more controversial elements of the New Age movement is channeling. This practice, which also was a part of the spiritualist and theosophical movements of the nineteenth century, posits that certain individuals are able to make contact with spiritual or otherworldly beings. These contacts are often the source of teachings, predictions, or guidance. Channeling has produced some popular manuscripts, such as the Seth material, first channeled by Jane Roberts in 1963, or the widely influential A Course in Miracles series by Helen Schucman and the Foundation for Inner Peace. Channeling also created New Age celebrities such as J.Z. Knight, who rose to prominence in the 1980s by channeling the 35,000-year-old enlightened being Ramtha.

The more unusual and theatrical elements of New Age, like channeling, have led to criticism—and even ridicule—from many quarters. Both secular skeptics and Christian fundamentalists have bemoaned the movement's negative impact on American culture. Many opponents of the New Age have accused it of taking complicated spiritual systems such as Buddhism and transforming them into simplistic, consumer-friendly commodities. Others have blamed the New Age movement for transforming interest in “real” social change, such as political revolution, into personal quests for improvement and transcendence. In response, many advocates of New Age practices argue that the widespread pursuit of individual enlightenment is the best way to achieve broad societal change.

Stephen D. Andrews

See also: [Astrology](#): [Buddhism](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [LSD](#): [Medicine, Alternative](#): [Theosophy](#): [Transcendental Meditation](#): [Transcendentalism](#): [Witchcraft and Wicca](#).

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New Left

Consisting largely of college students, the New Left political counterculture came of age in the United States during the 1960s, as many young people were radicalized by the civil rights movement, the war in Vietnam, and the perception of widespread social and economic injustice in America. The first organized group associated with the New Left, and the spearhead of the radical political movement of the 1960s, was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). Established in Michigan in 1960, the group held its first convention two years later and

issued a manifesto, the Port Huron Statement, that called for a brand of “participatory democracy” based on the principles of nonviolent civil disobedience.

The SDS and the leftist political movement grew rapidly, stoked first by restrictions imposed at the University of California, Berkeley—triggering a student response that came to be known as the Free Speech Movement—and followed by the escalation of the war in Vietnam and the perceived failure of Great Society poverty programs to remedy the plight of blacks in America. In addition to challenging the institutions and ideologies of mainstream America—referred to as “the establishment”—the young student movement also distinguished itself from the Old Left, whose energies had been devoted largely to the cause of organized labor.

The term *New Left* had been coined by the radical sociologist C. Wright Mills, who called for a new leftist ideology in the United States—one that would move beyond the concerns of the Old Left and toward such underlying contemporary problems as the authoritarianism, alienation, and injustice afflicting postwar American society. As disaffected youth responded to the call, they immediately began challenging the institutions, structures, and prevailing ideologies of government, corporate America, the armed forces, the educational system, and any and all elements of the establishment. The New Left took a radical activist approach that they believed might lead to genuine social and political revolution.

This is not to suggest that the New Left was monolithic in organization, ideology, or tactics. Some elements of the movement were distinctly anarchical in orientation and looked to earlier versions of American socialism—or even foreign communism—for inspiration; revolutionary figures such as Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), Ho Chi Minh, and Che Guevara became icons to the more radical factions in America’s New Left. The movement also drew new inspiration—and adherents—from the African American community, as the civil rights movement gave way to the Black Power movement in the mid-1960s; the Black Panther Party was especially prominent in that regard. The Black Power movement in turn inspired the American Indian Movement, founded in 1968 to actively redress injustices against Native Americans.

By the latter part of the decade, the New Left was beginning to feel the strain of competing goals and agendas, not to mention surveillance, infiltration, and disruption by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and other law enforcement agencies. The New Left began to splinter into smaller organizations, some of which, like the Weathermen, adopted terrorist tactics to further their political and social agendas.

The Weathermen, also known as Weather Underground, adopted the image and ideology of urban terrorists or peasant guerrillas, depending on the current vision of their militant standing within the organization, and attempted to create a myth of political bravado that would force the hand of an entire generation of passive, disengaged youth. Their strategy was based on the shock effect of an almost suicidal militancy; they adopted the radical slogans of the Black Panthers to make their point, chanting such expressions as “Off the pig” and “Seize the initiative.” The Weathermen also engaged in acts of terrorist violence, including bombings of banks, courthouses, and federal facilities throughout the United States, including the Capitol Building (1971) and the Pentagon (1972) in Washington, D.C. The Weathermen’s activities were intended, among other things, to motivate other left-leaning groups, especially younger students and intellectuals, to take action.

In addition to the activist political organizations associated with the New Left, some members of the counterculture sought nonpolitical alternatives that would recapture and exploit the feeling of radical unity from the early days of the movement. The most visible example was the yippies, adherents of the Youth International Party founded by Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, and others, who believed that the political wing of the movement had overlooked the cultural revolution taking place in the lives of young Americans. The yippies engaged in political theater—such as an invasion of the New York Stock Exchange and the nomination of a pig to serve as president—to dramatize what they regarded as the breakdown of middle-class values. They sought to cause political and social chaos through humorous, highly publicized acts of disruption, often with multiple meanings.

The New Left began to wane in the mid-1970s, as activist groups and individuals committed themselves to party politics, established their own social justice organizations, or dropped out of politics altogether and adopted

alternative lifestyles. Many of those who had supported the New Left during the 1960s became involved in the institutions they had once opposed. Tom Hayden, for example, a founding member of the SDS, served in the California legislature for eighteen years. Yippie founder Rubin later went to work on Wall Street.

In its heyday, the New Left brought together antiwar, free speech, and civil rights advocates, while providing a bridge between liberals and more radical revolutionaries. The SDS, in particular, became the leading organization in the anti-Vietnam War movement on American college campuses.

Elsewhere, other radical political groups of the 1960s and 1970s shared in the spirit and ideology of the American New Left. Among such international movements were the 1968 Prague Spring movement for socialist reform in Czechoslovakia, the student revolt in France in May 1968, the Provo movement in Holland during the mid-1960s, and the socialist blue-collar Autonomia movement in Italy during the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Bart Dredge

See also: [American Indian Movement](#): [Berkeley, California](#): [Black Panthers](#): [Black Power Movement](#): [Mills, C Wright](#): [Students for a Democratic Society](#): [Weathermen](#): [Yippies](#).

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New School, The

The New School, founded in 1919 as the New School for Social Research, was renamed New School University in 1997 and took its current name in 2005. A private, coeducational university located in New York City's Greenwich Village, the New School offers both graduate and undergraduate degree programs. It was founded by former Columbia University faculty, including the historian Charles Beard, who were disaffected by the university administration's decision to take disciplinary action against those who spoke out against U.S. participation in World War I. Over the years, the New School gained a reputation as a haven for émigré faculty members who had fled Nazi, Fascist, and later Communist repression in Europe, and for an academic tradition of merging progressive American thinking with European intellectual trends.

Into the early twentieth century, most American universities were controlled by boards of trustees and presidents who exercised a high level of control over curriculum, faculty appointments, and promotions. School administrators enforced tight codes of conduct for faculty that severely limited their freedom of expression. Such control was most evident in the social sciences and humanities, where professors who challenged the dominant social mores

of the day were often subject to ostracism or removal from their appointments.

During World War I, the situation came to a head at Columbia University when professors who spoke out against U.S. participation in the Great War were fired. The dismissals prompted Beard and other sympathetic faculty to resign in solidarity. The dissident scholars, along with like-minded academics at other institutions, decided that a new type of university was needed—one based on academic freedom and faculty governance. Beard resigned from Columbia in 1917, and the New School for Social Research was founded in Manhattan two years later, with financial support from philanthropist and social activist Dorothy Payne Whitney.

Most of the founders and original faculty members of the New School, who included philosopher and educator John Dewey and economists Thorstein Veblen and James Harvey Robinson, were political and social progressives. They believed that the university should be a space of free thought and inquiry where scholars could pursue their own, self-directed research free from bureaucratic control. The faculty's emphasis on research and scholarship downplayed undergraduate teaching, which many regarded as a distraction from the higher goal of research and critical discussion. In its early years, the New School survived financially on the donations of progressive New York philanthropists and fees collected from its now-famous adult education programs.

Unlike universities that tend to isolate themselves from the local community on fortress-like campuses, the New School from the outset considered itself a part of the wider New York City culture. The original campus consisted of several brownstones in the Chelsea section of lower Manhattan, later adding the famous Bauhaus building on West 12th Street in Greenwich Village. The adult education program consisted of weekly lecture courses offered by prominent public intellectuals of the day, including the controversial Veblen. Students were mostly older adults who attended courses not in order to advance their careers but for intellectual development. Through its adult education program, the New School became an integral part of the wider New York progressive movement, a role and reputation that continues in the twenty-first century.

In the 1930s and 1940s, under the direction of Alvin Johnson, the New School began an ambitious project to rescue European intellectuals under threat from the spread of Fascism and Nazism. Johnson and the New School were responsible for offering many of these scholars academic positions, relocating them to New York, and financing their scholarship. In 1933, Johnson established the University in Exile as an extension of the graduate school specifically for émigré scholars. Among the early notables associated with the University in Exile (later renamed the Graduate Faculty of Political and Social Science) was Max Wertheimer, one of the founders of Gestalt psychology.

Also in 1933, the New School began to offer graduate degrees in the social sciences and humanities. The programs offered by the graduate faculty were unlike those offered at other American universities at the time. The faculty was overwhelmingly Jewish, socialist, or progressive, and the academic culture was more European than American, marked by a spirit of free debate and critical inquiry. The standard form of teaching was the seminar rather than the lecture, with students playing as vital a role in discussions as professors. In the period following World War II, the New School continued to recruit European faculty—including the renowned philosopher Hannah Arendt and political theorist Leo Strauss—and to offer a critical intellectual environment unparalleled elsewhere in North America.

During the 1950s, the faculty's emphasis on democracy and democratic theory meant that it shunned the dominant ethos of McCarthyism, while at the same time strongly criticizing Soviet communism. In the 1960s and 1970s, the New School played a key part in the revival of Greenwich Village as a center of counterculture and radical politics. Faculty members offered courses featuring increasingly radical subject matter, and the seminar style of teaching represented a fundamentally different approach. Still, the New School's emphasis on research and scholarship over activism seemed quiescent to many young radicals of the time, and many rejected the master-apprentice nature of the faculty-student relationship as anachronistic.

Today, the Graduate Faculty remains one of the most prominent centers of left-wing scholarship in the United States and continues to offer unique courses of study. Eugene Lang College, founded in 1985 as the university's

undergraduate liberal arts division, also attracts many students whose politics are out of step with mainstream culture. Twenty-first-century faculty of note include feminist theorist Nancy Fraser, leftist philosopher Richard Bernstein, and socialist historian Robin Blackburn.

Still, the pressure to compete in a globalized education marketplace has brought change to the university. Part of the transformation has been the strengthening of the administration under the presidency of former U.S. Senator Bob Kerrey (2000–) and an attempt to craft an image as a “real university,” in order to promote competitiveness and attract more tuition-paying students in search of practical skills and career advancement. Structural changes and an attempt to more aggressively market the university generated opposition from students and faculty, who regarded such changes as antithetical to the university’s historical mission. The ongoing protests, in the eyes of participants, continued the struggle against the hierarchical control of higher education that led to the creation of the New School in the first place.

Michael F. Gretz

See also: [Columbia University: Greenwich Village, New York City: McCarthyism.](#)

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New Thought

New Thought was a pantheistic (all is God) religious philosophy that developed in the spiritual turmoil of nineteenth-century America, promoting constructive thinking and meditation as ways of realizing the presence of God. Although adherents were relatively few in number, New Thought was especially influential as a philosophy. Its tenets helped shape the views of the American transcendentalists, especially the nineteenth-century poet and essayist Ralph Waldo Emerson and the twentieth-century author-lecturer Emmet Fox.

The nineteenth century in New England was a very creative and somewhat chaotic time of spiritual experimentation and discovery. As the strictures of Puritan Calvinism crumbled in many segments of the society, especially among the well-educated elite, a barrage of new religious ideas and movements began to appear. Some of these, such as the utopian social experiment of the Oneida Community, were short lived. Others, such as Christian Science and Mormonism, became institutions in their own right. Still others persisted mainly as harbingers of other philosophies. New Thought was one of these.

New Thought philosophy was developed by Phineas Parkhurst Quimby, a philosopher and scientist from Belfast, Maine, who believed that disease is mental in origin and that correct thinking has a healing effect on the body. From his office in Portland, Maine, he treated many patients with physical ailments. Among the students and patients who participated in his studies and helped disseminate his ideas were Warren Felt Evans, the author of

The Mental Cure (1869) and *Mental Medicine* (1872) and founder of a “mind-cure” sanitarium at Salisbury, Massachusetts; Annetta Seabury and Julius Dresser, a husband and wife who practiced mental healing and were the first to organize New Thought as a structured movement; and Mary Baker Eddy, founder of the Christian Science movement.

Quimby's fundamental teaching was that thought itself is a dynamic force in the universe. Quite literally, one creates the world one lives in by one's thoughts. This being the case, group and individual practice of New Thought focused on positive meditation, prayers and affirmations that facilitate positive meditation, and “the power of positive thinking.” The present-day religious denomination most legitimately seen as the institutional heir of New Thought, the Unity Church, is characterized by its avoidance of dogma, focus on group singing, “lifting each other up” in prayer, and a generally open and affirmative atmosphere. There are also less direct connections to the Christian Science and Swedenborgian (New Church) denominations.

Although doctrinal disputes are avoided, differences of opinion among New Thought writers can be discerned. Some modern interpreters make conscious attempts to understand New Thought in light of modern physics. One school of New Thought draws specifically on the Process philosophy of twentieth-century English mathematician and logician Alfred North Whitehead. Others try to remain more determinedly immersed in the writings and cultural context of the nineteenth century.

Some contemporary writers emphasize that New Thought is not simply a New Age philosophy, as it predates the modern New Age trend by at least a century. Nevertheless, New Thought resounds in such widely distributed modern New Age classics as Rhonda Byrne's *The Secret* (2006), which expounds the “Law of Attraction,” an encapsulation of the basic idea that people create the world of reality by the dynamism of their thoughts.

Daniel Liechty

See also: [Christian Science](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Harmonialism](#); [Mormonism](#); [New Age](#); [Oneida Community](#); [Swedenborgianism](#).

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Newport Folk Festival

The Newport Folk Festival is an annual folk-music festival that has been held in the resort town of Newport, Rhode Island, since 1959. The first major outdoor folk event in America, the early festival reflected society's broader civil rights interests and political activity, as performers such as Joan Baez and Peter, Paul and Mary sang songs that promoted social justice and peace. During its most active years, from 1959 to 1970, the Newport festival served as a forum for performers to express their views on contemporary issues, from civil rights to nuclear proliferation to the Vietnam War. It also became a springboard for later outdoor events, such as the Monterey International Pop Festival in California in 1967 and the Woodstock Music and Art Fair in upstate New

York in 1969. In addition, the Newport Folk Festival is renowned for introducing performers who went on to become icons of postwar American music, including Baez and singer-songwriter Bob Dylan.

The Newport festival was founded by folk singer Pete Seeger and three entrepreneurs: jazz pianist and promoter George Wein (also founder of the successful Newport Jazz Festival); Wein's partner, music manager Albert Grossman; and Austrian-born singer and actor Theodore Bikel. About 13,000 people attended the 1959 festival, held from July 11 to 12 in the town's Freebody Park. The inaugural events featured performances by Baez; Chicago folk singer and musician Bob Gibson; bluegrass banjoist Earl Scruggs; Peter Yarrow of the folk trio Peter, Paul and Mary; and the Kingston Trio folk group. Like the Newport Jazz Festivals held nearby for the previous six summers, the folk festival was held outdoors.

The 1960 event was expanded to three days and nights, running from June 24 to 26, 1960. The second annual festival featured more than thirty performers; Baez was the only one to be given two consecutive evening concert spots. Because the 1959 and 1960 festivals were not financially successful and ticket sales had not covered expenses, Seeger recommended the establishment of a nonprofit organization, the Newport Folk Foundation, in 1962. (There was no folk festival in 1961 or 1962.) The foundation had two goals: to present folk music in an atmosphere free of a festival's usual economic necessities; and to help preserve folk-music traditions, featuring both big names and less-known talent. The foundation's board declared that all performers would be paid a flat fee of \$50 per day.

Dylan joined the lineup in 1963, just weeks after he and Seeger sang at a benefit concert supporting voter registration in Greenwood, Mississippi. At the Newport festival, Seeger and Dylan sang Dylan's duet, "Ye Playboys and Playgirls," against "fallout shelter sellers," proponents of "Jim Crow," "insane tongues of war talk," and "red baiters and race haters." Dylan also appeared with a mix of mainstream folk singers (such as Jack Elliott), the gospel-oriented Freedom Singers, Odetta and other blues singers, Peter, Paul and Mary, and Baez.

The performers sang solo, and they sang together, participating in numbers such as "We Shall Overcome," a song Seeger had popularized at many festivals; it would become an anthem of the civil rights movement of the 1960s. One month after the 1963 festival, several of these musicians joined the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, a large political rally in Washington, D.C., during which the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech.

Attendance at the Newport Folk Festival exceeded 46,000 in 1963 and doubled by 1965, when 228 ensembles and musicians performed. The 1965 festival also marked a juncture of change, as Dylan shocked audiences (some of whom booed him) by taking the stage with an electric guitar. Ahead of his time, Bob Dylan was ready to fuse folk and rock music. The sound system at Newport was not set up to accommodate electric instruments very well, and most of what the audience could hear was feedback from the speakers. Dylan was not the only artist to play an electric instrument. Seeger, however, was so incensed that he attempted to cut the power to Dylan's set—not only because of the poor sound quality, but because, to Seeger, Dylan's playing electric folk music was equivalent to selling out to commercialism.

Following the death of American folk balladeer Woody Guthrie in 1967, the 1968 Newport festival included a tribute to the great musician, attended by more than 73,000 fans. The Newport Folk Festival ceased in 1971 due to financial hardship, but it was reinstated as an annual event in 1986. Dylan returned to the festival in 2002.

Still active, the festival continues to attract both less well-known and more mainstream artists, such as Elvis Costello, Hazel Dickens, Linda Ronstadt, Ralph Stanley, the Allman Brothers Band, and Emmylou Harris. The 2009 Newport Folk Festival—the fiftieth annual event—featured performances by cofounder Pete Seeger and Judy Collins.

Ralph Hartsock

See also: [Baez, Joan](#); [Civil Rights Movement](#); [Dylan, Bob](#); [Folk Music](#); [Guthrie, Woody](#); [King,](#)

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Newton, Huey (1942–1989)

As cofounder of the militant Black Panther Party (BPP) with Bobby Seale in 1966, Huey Newton was a prominent voice for the self-defense of African Americans against police brutality and white oppression. In an era when the civil rights movement was advocating nonviolent resistance as the means of achieving its goals, Newton espoused a militant alternative. Later, he led the Black Panthers in community organizing and providing independent social services, such as a food program and free clinic, for impoverished blacks of the San Francisco Bay Area.

As a community organizer, Newton was as comfortable working with social workers, academics, and aspiring politicians as he was consulting with the drug dealers, petty thieves, and street-gang members who populated Oakland, California, neighborhoods. Alternately shy and brash, he was an unpredictable public speaker who enjoyed debating and theorizing. Charismatic among crowds, he also could be a recluse. He denounced the growing pervasiveness of drugs in the black community, though he was an addict much of his life.

Newton was born the last of seven children in Monroe, Louisiana, on February 17, 1942. The family migrated to Oakland, where his father, a former sharecropper, served as a Baptist minister. Despite Newton's religious upbringing and close family ties, he was a troubled student. Involved in petty crime and subjected to repeated expulsion from school during adolescence, he was angry and illiterate. Embarrassed, he taught himself to read at age sixteen with the assistance of his older brother and Plato's *Republic*.

After graduating from Oakland Technical High School in 1959, he entered Oakland City College, where he earned his associate's degree. Newton also took courses at San Francisco Law School. Reading the political ideas of the Pan-Africanist educator and historian W.E.B. Du Bois, author and essayist Frantz Fanon, Chinese revolutionary leader Mao Zedong (Mao Tse-tung), and black separatist Malcolm X shaped his thinking.

In college, Newton participated in student activist groups but was never satisfied with their impact. Exposed to groups such as Donald Warden's Afro-American Association, which gave public lectures on black history and culture, and the Soul Students Advisory Council, he would quarrel with leaders of the former about the nature of capitalism and the value of precolonial African culture for contemporary struggle, and the latter over the strategic importance of public promotion of armed self-defense.

Having grown up among poor African Americans, Newton was aware that the legal breakthroughs of the civil rights movement did not create necessary jobs and social services such as adequate health care at the neighborhood level. Neither did such breakthroughs address issues of racial discrimination and pervasive police

brutality. Thus, in October 1966, he cofounded the BPP with Seale, an acquaintance he had met at college, in order to promote African American civil rights and self-defense.

In October 1967, Newton was arrested for allegedly killing Officer John Frey, an Oakland policeman who attempted to disarm him during a Panther street patrol. Newton's trial would be the first among many during the next decade in which police brutality and the mistreatment of blacks under the law were highlighted. The prosecution and defense debated over Newton's character—whether he was a humanist or a cop killer. In September 1968, he was convicted of voluntary manslaughter and sentenced to two to fifteen years in prison.

Members of the BPP formed a coalition with the majority-white Peace and Freedom Party to “Free Huey”; his conviction was later overturned. Meanwhile, the Free Huey campaign made Newton the embodiment of the fight against police brutality and established terms of solidarity for subsequent political prisoners in the United States.

In the early 1970s, Newton attempted to refocus the BPP, placing less emphasis on militancy and more on the development of community outreach programs. In 1972, Newton published his Panther writings and speeches in *To Die for the People: The Writings of Huey P. Newton*; his autobiography, *Revolutionary Suicide*, appeared the following year. Throughout both works, he espoused the radical Black Panther philosophy: If black males of the lower working class and street force were on a self-destructive path in a racist society that found them obsolete and dangerous and favored the rich, they should risk being radical and “die for the people.”

In 1974, Newton was arrested for allegedly killing Kathleen Smith, a teenage prostitute, in a street brawl. Following a three-year exile in Cuba and having earned a place on the Federal Bureau of Investigation's Most Wanted list, Newton returned to the United States and faced charges of murder; he was acquitted.

In 1980, Newton completed his doctoral dissertation, *War Against the Panthers: A Study of Repression in America* (published in 1996), earning his Ph.D. in social philosophy from the University of California, Santa Cruz. On August 22, 1989, he was murdered by a crack dealer in the streets of Oakland, California.

Matthew Quest and Nathan Zook

See also: [African Americans: Black Panthers: Black Power Movement](#).

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Noyes, John Humphrey (1811–1886)

The social reformer and religious radical John Humphrey Noyes established two experimental utopian societies in the mid-1800s: the Bible Communists, later called Perfectionists, in Putney, Vermont; and the Oneida Community

in Oneida, New York. Noyes was known for his social and religious activism, including experimentation with so-called complex marriages (where all men and women in a group are married to the group rather than to a single partner and thus share partners); male continence (intercourse without ejaculation, as a method of birth control); and eugenics, or deliberate mating strategies to produce ideal human beings.

Born on September 3, 1811, to a wealthy New England businessman in Brattleboro, Vermont, Noyes graduated from Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, in 1830 and pursued advanced studies in law. After attending a revival led by the charismatic evangelist Charles Finney, however, Noyes experienced a religious conversion and decided to become a minister.

He enrolled at the Andover Theological Seminary in Massachusetts 1831 and later transferred to Yale Divinity School in Connecticut. At Yale, he first pronounced his belief in the concept of Perfectionism—the idea that freedom from sin, or “perfect holiness,” can be achieved on earth through religious conversion and personal determination. In 1834, having declared himself Perfect and free of sin and, at the same time, maintaining that the Second Coming of Christ was not at hand but had already taken place, he was barred from preaching and expelled from Yale. At about the same time, Noyes expressed dissatisfaction with conventional marriage, perhaps in response to being jilted by his first love, Abigail Merwin, who left him to marry another man.

In 1836, Noyes established a religious society, the Bible Communists. In 1838, he married Harriet Holton, who experienced five difficult pregnancies in the next six years; only one child survived and four were premature. Citing his desire to help women avoid the kind of suffering endured by his wife, Noyes advanced the concepts of complex marriage and male continence among his followers in the society.

Already at the time that he wed the socially well-connected Holton, Noyes had announced that the marriage would not be exclusive. The first recorded practice of complex marriage occurred in 1846, when John and Harriet Noyes exchanged partners with George and Mary Cragin. While Noyes asserted that the extended family system could dissolve selfishness, outsiders viewed it as immoral, and law enforcement authorities viewed it as adulterous. Indeed, Noyes was arrested for adultery in 1847. Fearing that he would be lynched, he forfeited his bail money and fled Vermont with a group of followers. They resettled in central New York State, where Perfectionists he knew owned a large tract of land, and established a new community at Oneida in 1848.

In 1868, Noyes lifted the community ban on procreation and introduced the concept of eugenics—selective mating to produce superior or ideal human beings. Those who were to produce children were carefully chosen and paired. Of the sixty-two children born during the next few years, Noyes fathered nine. When Noyes began engaging in sexual intercourse with teenage girls in the community, the men of Oneida rose in opposition. Accused of rape in 1879, Noyes was forced to flee to Niagra Falls, Ontario, Canada, to avoid legal action. The Oneida Community disbanded two years later.

Noyes is credited with writing a number of books and pamphlets espousing his Perfectionist doctrine, including *The Way of Holiness* (1838), *A Treatise on the Second Coming of Christ* (1840), and *The Berean: A Manual for the Help of Those Who Seek the Faith of the Primitive Church* (1847). He also wrote *History of American Socialisms* (1870), a study of utopian communities in the United States. John Humphrey Noyes died on April 13, 1886, in Niagara Falls.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Communes](#); [Free Love](#); [Oneida Community](#); [Perfectionist Movement](#); [Utopianism](#).

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Nudism and Nudist Colonies

Modern American nudism and its occasionally practiced form of communal life, nudist colonies (sometimes forced on nudists by disapproving surrounding communities), have their origins in a fin-de-siècle German movement. From approximately 1890 to the 1910s, *Nacktkultur* (nudism) emerged in response to a variety of concerns in Germany at the time. Among these were the continually accelerating expansion of an alienating industrial society, the expansion of class division through distinctive clothing styles, and the feeling that modern social life contained unhealthy impurities. This German body culture movement was, in many ways, a neo-Romantic-styled response to modernity that sometimes entailed conservative political elements. The turn of the twentieth century immigration to the United States of groups of German nudists helped establish the American nudism movement.

Although influenced from abroad, American nudism, or naturism, as it is sometimes called, took on distinctive democratic characteristics. For example, while American nudists also regarded the movement as an opportunity to minimize the class distinctions that became obvious when clothes were worn, they stressed the universality of the human form and the acceptance of various body types, questioning societal notions of beauty and value. Occasionally, American nudist language even used biblical imagery to make its points, recalling in particular the original state of humanity in the Garden of Eden.

Early American writers such as Henry David Thoreau and Walt Whitman espoused early forms of naturism, but a major shift for the nudist movement took place when bohemians in early-twentieth-century Greenwich Village (in New York City) took to the practice. The famous 1916 photograph of radical journalist Louise Bryant reclining nude on a beach in Provincetown, Massachusetts, captures the spirit with which social mores were challenged. In the 1910s and 1920s, Bryant's comrades, journalist John Reed, editor-writer Floyd Dell, playwright Eugene O'Neill, and radical editor Max Eastman, were early adherents of social nudism.

The U.S. government made a number of attempts to discourage and prohibit nudism, typically by equating it with obscenity. In 1941, for instance, Congress reinstated the late-nineteenth-century Comstock Law—which prohibited the sending of so-called obscene material through the mail—in order to eliminate the circulation of nudist magazines, which were the primary form of information dissemination and discussion among adherents of nudism.

In early 1958, however, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the postmaster general did not have the right to prohibit the distribution of a monthly called *Sunshine and Health*, and nudist magazines began to flourish again in the 1960s. Of the many nudism magazines published during the course of the decade, one in particular—published under variations of the title *Jaybird*, such as *Jaybird Happening* and *Metropolitan Jaybird*—combined traditional naturist practices with 1960s hippie countercultural elements in an especially popular publication.

In 1972, new federal legislation required nudist magazines to be sold exclusively in shops that were licensed to vend “obscene” material. Meanwhile, more and more communities around the country were passing ordinances to curb social nudism.

Nevertheless, the practice of social nudism remains popular, if confined to private camps, colonies, and beaches. Organizations such as the Naturist Society, established by Lee Baxandall in 1980, and the American Association for Nude Recreation, which succeeded the American Sunbathing Association in 1995, show that broader cultural

changes have relaxed stereotypes of nudism.

Lawrence Jones

See also: [Bohemianism: Hippies](#).

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Nuyorican Poets Café

The Nuyorican Poets Café is a multicultural, multidisciplinary arts venue located on the Lower East Side of Manhattan, in New York City. Cofounded in about 1973 by poet and Rutgers University professor Miguel Algarín, it served as a hub for the Nuyorican literary and cultural movement of the 1970s and as a venue for many of its leading poets and playwrights, including Algarín, cofounder Miguel Piñero, Pedro Pietri, Sandra María Esteves, and Tato Laviera. An important cultural space for New York City's Puerto Rican and Latino communities, over the years it has become an influential arts organization and an internationally renowned forum for innovative music, spoken word, visual and performing arts, comedy, and theater.

The café began as a salon in the living room of Algarín's East Village apartment. It soon became so popular that Algarín and the others were forced to rent a larger space, an Irish bar called the Sunshine Café on East Sixth Street, which they renamed the Nuyorican Poets Café. While *Nuyorican* had been a derogatory term used by Puerto Ricans on the island to refer to their New York counterparts, Algarín and Piñero appropriated it to signify the distinctive culture and artistic expressions of New York Puerto Ricans.

Like the New Rican Village on the Lower East Side, and the Taller Boricua in East Harlem, the Nuyorican Poets Café showcased New York Puerto Rican artists with an antiestablishment sensibility. It attracted such countercultural icons as Allen Ginsberg and Amiri Baraka, both of whom would become semi-regulars. The bilingual, irreverent, and often political poetry performed at the café found a larger audience with the publication, in 1975, of Algarín and Piñero's foundational anthology, *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Words and Feelings*.

In 1980, the Nuyorican Poets Café moved into a new building at 236 East Third Street; it closed in 1982 and reopened definitively in 1989. The 1990s brought international popularity to the café, thanks in part to the efforts of poet, performer, and entrepreneur Bob Holman. Holman brought the performance poetry competitions known as "slams," first developed in Chicago in the early 1980s, to the venue, and helped bring a new generation of performance poets to the attention of MTV and *The New York Times*.

By the mid-1990s, the café was the hub of a nationwide poetry renaissance, and a few breakout stars had emerged from the slam scene, among them Edwin Torres, Reg E. Gaines, Tracie Morris, and Paul Beatty. The new generation of poets included many non-Puerto Ricans, especially African Americans and Asian Americans;

the venue's increasingly pan-ethnic and multicultural orientation is evident in the Algarín-Holman anthology *Aloud: Voices from the Nuyorican Poets Café* (1994), which won an American Book Award. In 1997, Algarín and Lois Griffith published *Action: The Nuyorican Poets Café Theater Festival*, a selection of theater pieces by authors affiliated with the café, including Baraka, Ntozake Shange, Ishmael Reed, and Miguel Piñero.

Holman left in the late 1990s, but Algarín remains on the board of directors, and the Nuyorican Poets Café continues in its dual role as New York Puerto Rican community space and multicultural arts organization. Since the 1990s, hip-hop events have attracted especially sizable audiences.

Urayoán Noel

See also: [Performance Art: Piñero, Miguel.](#)

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N.W.A.

N.W.A. (Niggaz With Attitude), a hip-hop group formed in 1986 in Compton, California (in Los Angeles County), popularized the subgenre of music known as “gangsta rap.” Gangsta rap reflected the lifestyle and activities of inner-city street-gang members, especially those operating in impoverished neighborhoods in places such as South Central Los Angeles. Featuring heavy bass rhythms and explicit language, gangsta rap offered a bold and unashamed urban voice. The music explicitly described drug dealing and usage, drive-by shootings, gang and prison cultures, prostitution, and sexual acts. In addition to describing street life in often graphic lyrics, N.W.A.’s music also turned national attention to the crime, poverty, unemployment, and violence devastating the country’s inner cities.

The group originally consisted of founders Eazy E (Eric Wright), Dr. Dre (Andre Young), and Ice Cube (O’Shea Jackson), as well as DJ Yella (Antoine Carraby), The D.O.C (Tracy Curry), MC Ren (Lorenzo Patterson), and the Arabian Prince (Mik Lezan). In contrast to the politically oriented lyrics emerging from contemporary East Coast hip-hop groups such as Public Enemy, N.W.A.’s breakout album *Straight Outta Compton* (1988) stirred controversy for its sexual and violence-filled lyrics, embrace of gang life, and descriptions of violence against police.

Frequently called upon to defend their work, the members of N.W.A. argued that their songs were reflections of personal experience in poor, heavily minority urban areas where crime, drugs, gangs, and violence were commonplace. In addition to depicting life on the streets, their songs also called attention to such issues as police brutality and racial profiling against African Americans.

One of their most controversial songs, “F— the Police” (released on *Straight Outta Compton*), prompted a letter from the assistant director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who denounced the encouragement of hatred

and violence against police officers. In that song and others, N.W.A. fantasized about fighting back against police, whom they characterized as active racists, and killing them to escape harassment or arrest. After being detained by police for partially performing the song in Detroit in 1989, N.W.A. became notorious in many circles and a symbol of state-sponsored censorship in others.

Despite (or perhaps because of) the controversies over the lyrical content of N.W.A.'s music, record sales skyrocketed, and the group found a strong following among middle-class white listeners. Their lyrics answered this response, continuing the explicit descriptions of violence, inner-city life, and sex. After selling millions of albums, the group disbanded over the course of several years, starting in 1989, as individual members were in conflict over the group's financial arrangements.

Several of the members of N.W.A. went on to individual success as music artists, producers, and actors. Eazy E began producing the innovative rap-singing group Bone Thugs-N-Harmony out of Cleveland, Ohio, before his death in 1995 from HIV/AIDS. Dr. Dre released solo albums, including the highly successful *The Chronic* (1992), and began to produce for such emerging rap stars as Snoop Dogg of Long Beach, California, in 1993 and the Detroit-based white rapper Eminem in 1999. Ice Cube went on to a successful solo career, releasing such albums as *AmeriKKKa's Most Wanted* (1990) and *The Predator* (1992), while also venturing into acting; he has appeared in a number of major motion pictures, including *Boyz n the Hood* (1991), *Three Kings* (1999), and *Barbershop* (2002).

Natchee Blu Barnd

See also: [Gangsta Rap](#): [Rap Music](#): [Snoop Dogg](#).

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Oberlin College

Oberlin College is a private, four-year liberal arts college located in Oberlin, Ohio. Founded in 1833 by Presbyterian ministers John Shipherd and Philo P. Stewart and named after an Alsatian minister they admired, Oberlin was initially envisioned as a community for progressive Christian learning. The college became widely known during the 1850s, primarily because of the work of its second president, the renowned evangelist Charles Grandison Finney.

Founded as the first coeducational college in the United States, Oberlin also was the first to admit African Americans as full-time students, beginning in 1835. Today it is among the few top-ranked private liberal arts colleges in the United States that also features a music conservatory; the Oberlin Music Conservatory (1865) is the oldest continuously operating conservatory in the country. Most of Oberlin's approximately 2,800 students are enrolled in general liberal arts programs; about 500 are enrolled in the conservatory or pursue degrees in both programs. A higher percentage of Oberlin's students go on to earn doctoral degrees than alumni of any other liberal arts college in the country.

Oberlin traditionally has been associated with progressive causes, most notably abolition and civil rights. During

the era just before the American Civil War, Oberlin attracted national controversy as a hotbed of abolitionism. Students and faculty participated in the controversial rescue of an escaped slave in 1858, known as the Oberlin-Wellington Rescue. A key stop on the Underground Railroad, the secret network that transported Southern slaves to free homes in the North, was located on the Oberlin campus. A monument to the Underground Railroad, in the form of a rail pointing toward the sky, stands on the campus.

A century after the abolition of slavery, Oberlin and its students were heavily involved in the civil rights movement and protests against the Vietnam War. Oberlin students are still dedicated to progressive causes, including various pacifist and human rights campaigns.

Meanwhile, the Oberlin Student Cooperative Association (OSCA) is operated as a nonprofit organization, with members performing a wide variety of community service and outreach projects. OSCA claims to be the nation's largest student community service program relative to the size of the school. The group is also the largest student organization on campus, because Oberlin bans fraternities and sororities. All dormitories are coed; a kibbutz-like project initiated by Jewish students also operates on campus.

Traditionally, Oberlin has been regarded as a welcoming environment for liberal and progressive students. The college features a thriving LGBT (lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender) community, and *Princeton Review* has ranked the student body as one of the most politically active in the United States.

Also, more than at most other small colleges in the United States, Oberlin students often have protested against the college's administration and its practices. A 1990 protest against college president S. Frederick Starr resulted in the arrests of several students. Starr was forced to resign over the protests, which had been inspired by his fractious relations with faculty. Later student protests led to the banning of Coca-Cola products on the Oberlin campus, and a 2005 vote of no confidence against college president Nancy S. Dye.

Oberlin is known for its permissive attitudes toward art, music, and sexuality. Student nudity, including streaking, are common on campus during special events, and the college's annual Safer Sex Night and Drag Ball garner national attention.

Above all, perhaps, the Oberlin student body is renowned as a thriving community of musicians, who are offered many venues for performance and networking. Nationally known musical artists to emerge from the Oberlin scene include the Sea and Cake, Come, and the Yeah Yeah Yeahs. Meanwhile, Oberlin runs a unique art rental program, in which the college's Allen Memorial Art Museum allows students to rent famous works of art (including original works by Pablo Picasso, Salvador Dali, and Andy Warhol) for their dormitory rooms.

Oberlin's progressive tradition has been reflected as well in its roster of noteworthy commencement speakers, selected for diversity of background and point of view. Speakers have included civil rights leaders Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Archbishop Desmond Tutu, and Jesse Jackson and cultural icons Robert Frost and Pete Seeger.

Oberlin alumni include several Nobel laureates and many renowned academics in a variety of fields. Well-known alumni include the abolitionists Lucy Stone and Antoinette Louisa Brown, award-winning writers Tracy Chevalier and Franz Wright, politicians Erwin Griswold and Adrian Fenty, foreign leaders Eduardo Mondlane of Mozambique and H.H. Kung of China, and entertainers Jim Burrows and Eric Bogosian.

Benjamin W. Cramer

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [African Americans](#); [Civil Rights Movement](#); [Underground Railroad](#).

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O'Brien, Fitz-James (1828–1862)

Fitz-James O'Brien was an innovative Irish American writer of the mid-nineteenth century who came to be known as a pioneer of supernatural fiction, fantasy, and science fiction. Corresponding with his uninhibited personal life, O'Brien's stories, poetry, and plays were considered wild and unconventional for the antebellum literary scene in America. Through the relatively new medium of the literary magazine, O'Brien helped propel the short story to a new level of popularity.

O'Brien was born in county Limerick, Ireland, on December 31, 1828. An only child, he was left a sizable inheritance upon his father's death. At first, he used the money to further his education at Trinity College in Dublin and to travel abroad. While staying in London in 1849, however, O'Brien fell into a profligate bohemian lifestyle and spent the rest of his fortune.

At the same time, O'Brien succeeded in publishing a large number of poems, stories, and articles in Irish, Scottish, and English periodicals. It was in London that O'Brien also was introduced to the theater, an experience that would inspire his expanding repertoire as a writer, playwright, and critic.

In 1852, O'Brien continued his literary success in the United States. After landing in Washington, D.C., he traveled to New York City and joined with the American enclave of bohemians who frequented Pfaff's Cellar on Broadway. At Pfaff's, O'Brien also was a respected fighter who would incite fisticuffs over any subject from literature to social discourtesies.

Along with such other writers as Henry Clapp and Walt Whitman, O'Brien found literary success by engaging in an uninhibited and avant-garde way of life. His exalted and witty personality was both an asset and detriment to his trade. O'Brien had expensive tastes and many eccentric personal habits, including a propensity for napping. He often slept ten to fifteen hours per day, leading literary historians to suggest that prolonged dreams and subconscious thought may have provided the inspiration for his bizarre creative writing. Such unconventional habits also led to cycles of indolence and exertion, as he would often wait until his deadlines approached before producing his poems, stories, humor pieces, sketches, columns, and reviews.

O'Brien published his first American literary piece in the comic journal the *Lantern*, to which he became a regular contributor. Thereafter, he worked as an editorial writer for *The New York Times*. During the 1850s, he published short stories and poems in a variety of magazines, including *Harper's New Monthly Magazine and Weekly*, *Putnam's Magazine*, *The Atlantic Monthly*, and *Vanity Fair*.

He also wrote a regular column in Henry Clapp's *Saturday Press*, titled "Dramatic Feuilleton." In this column, he encouraged patronage of the emerging American drama scene and criticized U.S. dramatists when they fell short of European standards. The interest in theater he shared with fellow bohemian writers such as John Brougham, Ada Clare, and William Winter led O'Brien to write plays, including *A Gentleman from Ireland* and *The Sisters* in 1854.

Inspired by the supernatural work of Edgar Allan Poe, O'Brien also produced a number of light fantasies and dream stories. His greatest success came in 1858 with the publication of "The Diamond Lens" in *The Atlantic Monthly*. In this creative and bizarre story, an eccentric scientist discovers and falls in love with a microscopic

humanoid creature.

Throughout the later half of the nineteenth century, O'Brien continued to produce innovative and controversial surrealist fiction stories. Dealing with previously untouched subjects such as demons, invisible creatures, and robots, these sensational tales incited awe and intrigue among American readers.

At the onset of the American Civil War, O'Brien felt the need to transfer his passion for writing and fighting to a more noble and righteous setting, and he enlisted in the Union Army. He joined New York's Seventh Regiment of the National Guard with the rank of captain. Both deeply troubled and inspired by this traumatic time, O'Brien produced some of his most celebrated work during the war. Critics regard his Civil War poems as among his best; however, these literary works were also his last.

In February 1862, O'Brien was shot by a Confederate soldier while on a scouting mission. He died from tetanus on April 6 in Cumberland, Maryland.

Siobhan Kane

See also: [Pfaff's Cellar: Science Fiction.](#)

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Ochs, Phil (1940–1976)

A protest singer and songwriter of the 1960s, Phil Ochs identified with an earlier style in American folk music exemplified by Woody Guthrie, Pete Seeger, and the Weavers. His music was direct, timely, and often highly critical of the cruelties of racism and war. Sometimes described as social commentary, his songs were laced with a razor-sharp wit and biting sarcasm that made him controversial. As he wrote in *Broadside* magazine, "Every newspaper headline is a potential song." It was in this tradition that Ochs composed and performed such songs as "Here's to the State of Mississippi," "I Ain't Marching Anymore," and "Love Me, I'm a Liberal" and earned a reputation as a fearless American troubadour.

Born on December 19, 1940, into a somewhat conventional, if nomadic, middle-class family, Ochs began studying music at an early age. He was born in El Paso, Texas, and raised in Far Rockaway (Queens, New York City) and upstate New York. Throwing himself into music at the Capital University Conservatory of Music in Columbus, Ohio, in what became his usual manic way, he excelled at the clarinet, earning the status of principal soloist by age sixteen.

Ochs soon grew less interested in the necessary discipline and more interested in the creativity of writing and politics. He honed these skills studying journalism at Ohio State University, where a friend introduced him to traditional American folk music. Ochs was fascinated by its possibilities. He won his first acoustic guitar in a bet on

the 1960 presidential election with the same friend. Ochs bet \$100 that Massachusetts Senator John F. Kennedy would win the contest. Learning to play the guitar, he also found a way to express himself in lyrics.

By the late 1950s and into the early 1960s, Ochs, like a number of other singer-songwriters of the day, was swept up in a full-blown revival of folk music. This resurgent interest in folk grew out of a combination of ongoing prosperity and the idealism of the era, including the often-violent struggle over civil rights and the anti-Vietnam War movement. Reared on this sense of optimism and social justice, the younger generation became disenchanted by the slow pace of change and the glaring inconsistencies in American life.

Out of this mixture came a counterculture consisting of folk and jazz music, the poetry and prose of the beatniks, the use of marijuana and, in general, the rejection of the assumptions of mainstream society. Ochs was part of a new generation of folk singers-songwriters that included such luminaries as Seeger, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan, and that brought together the old and new forms of American folk in a way that resonated with young listeners.

For a time, Ochs enjoyed the admiration of both his peers and the wider folk and countercultural audiences. Toward the end of the 1960s, however, he became increasingly dismayed over the tragedy of Vietnam, the confusion and collapse of the 1960s counterculture movements, and the state of American culture and politics. Sinking deeper into depression, he turned increasingly to alcohol and became more and more isolated from his peers. After an extended period of depression, Ochs took his own life on April 9, 1976.

James M. Carter

See also: [Baez, Joan](#); [Beat Generation](#); [Dylan, Bob](#); [Folk Music](#); [Guthrie, Woody](#); [Seeger, Pete](#).

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O'Keeffe, Georgia (1887–1986)

The modernist painter Georgia O'Keeffe, an original member of the American avant-garde in the 1920s and a major figure on the American art scene throughout the twentieth century, challenged the conventional roles of women in society and in the arts. Known especially for her paintings of nature and wildlife in the Southwest—especially flowers, still lifes, and landscapes—O'Keeffe pushed the limits of artistic expression by bringing a quiet, mystical, abstract quality to her subjects. She became the first truly successful and influential female artist in the United States.



In the area of Taos, New Mexico, where she began visiting in the 1920s and later settled permanently, painter Georgia O'Keeffe reduced the desert landscape and its natural elements—flowers, bones, rocks, and sky—to objects of stark, simple beauty. (Tony Vaccaro/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Born in Sun Prairie, Wisconsin, on November 15, 1887, to a well-established dairy-farming family, O'Keeffe grew up spending a great deal of time outdoors, taking in the natural world. She was a solitary child who showed artistic promise at a young age. The self-confident youngster was ambitious, declaring by the age of thirteen that she would grow up to be an artist. As a teenager, she had already established a kind of mythic persona among her peers for her eccentric behavior, including forgoing social events in favor of art. As she would for much of the rest of her life, she also shunned faddish styles and fashion statements, typically choosing practical, comfortable clothes, usually in black or white, and often dressing like a man.

Beginning art classes at age seventeen, O'Keeffe was dismayed to find that she was required to copy the work of others. She eventually found a teacher who encouraged his students to try their hands at original paintings and drawings. O'Keeffe never studied the great masters, nor even the late-nineteenth-century pioneers of modern art, which was unusual for one who would become an accomplished artist. From a young age, she remained largely uninfluenced by the style and subject matter of others, painting only for herself and only what and how she wished.

While she was an extremely private person who kept her art to herself, not even giving works as gifts, she decided to send some drawings to Anita Pollitzer, a friend from art school. Pollitzer took it upon herself to show the drawings to Alfred Stieglitz, an influential gallery owner credited with introducing modern art to America, and himself an accomplished artistic photographer. Stieglitz experienced a “eureka moment,” having discovered an original, expressive female artist. With his influence artistically, as a manager, and emotionally—he would later become her husband—O'Keeffe pushed herself and excelled in her work.

O'Keeffe found beauty in the natural world, especially in flowers and landscapes, particularly the desolate geographies of Texas and, later, New Mexico. She taught herself to paint the natural world through an emotional perspective. In the 1920s, she began her well-known flower paintings, using a bold palette of colors. The paintings focused on the color, shape, and texture of the flowers, and critics noted their sexual imagery. Only much later, in the 1950s and 1960s, would these paintings gain full acceptance.

As her work became well known, O'Keeffe's paintings started to sell for record amounts. Commercial success

provided financial independence, which fueled her ability to create only the art she chose. Meanwhile, she was beginning to distance herself from the New York art scene. Starting in 1929, O’Keeffe spent her summers away from her aging, older husband, preferring to live in the remote areas of New Mexico outside Taos. There, she began a new series of work, often landscapes; many included sun-bleached bones found in the desert and the hues of a more serene palette.

Despite taking on commercial work, O’Keeffe always remained true to her art, putting it first in her life, using only the techniques, colors, and subjects that were important to her. Friends and travel aside, she spent a great deal of time alone. Her independent spirit and solitary life in the desert, where she permanently relocated in 1949, led her to become a feminist icon as well as an influential modern artist. She died on March 6, 1986, in Santa Fe, New Mexico.

Caren Prommersberger

See also: [Luhan, Mabel Dodge](#); [Taos, New Mexico](#).

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Omphalism

Omphalism (from the Greek *omphalos*, or navel) is the theological concept, originally proposed in the nineteenth century, that Earth and everything on it were created not new but with evidence of aging—thus explaining how Earth can be only thousands of years old, as suggested by biblical scholars, rather than billions of years old, as indicated by science. Although no religious movements were organized expressly around omphalism, it remains one of the intellectual arguments used by some in the Christian fundamentalist counterculture today.

Omphalism derives its name specifically from Philip Henry Gosse’s 1857 book, *Omphalos: An Attempt to Untie the Geological Knot*. In this work, Gosse, an English naturalist and marine biologist, argues that God, in order to create a world that “worked,” included elements that appear to have developed gradually rather than in a moment, even though they had not. Trees were created with their rings, for example, and mammals, rather than evolving from sea creatures, appeared already covered in hair. Similarly, canyons and mountains, while created in a single moment, appear to have emerged through slow, natural processes. Gosse used the term *omphalos* as the catchphrase for his theory because, he said, Adam and Eve were created with navels, even though they were created as adults rather than born by natural means (and hence had no need for an umbilical cord). According to the theory of omphalism, the world came into existence with seemingly “mature” attributes that make it impossible to date the age of God’s creation on the basis of natural objects.

Gosse wrote his book at a critical time in the development of American Christianity. In the decades before the 1850s, European and British geologists such as James Hutton and William Smith had been developing the idea of geological time. They argued that fossils discovered at various levels within the ground showed that Earth

developed over millions or billions of years.

These geological theories directly challenged the widely accepted chronology proposed by the Anglican bishop James Ussher in the 1650s. Ussher had used the dates of events described in the Bible to determine that Earth was created in 4004 B.C.E. This timeline was accepted among Christians into the nineteenth century.

Omphalism supported Ussher's chronology by arguing that fossils and other evidence used by geologists were merely artifacts of the creation process and so provided no evidence of extreme antiquity. Omphalism was only one theory used to explain away geologic arguments. Other supporters of a "Young Earth" argued, for example, that the "days" referred to in Genesis should not be understood literally and actually refer to much longer periods of time.

Omphalism came under widespread criticism. Scientists regarded it as a kind of sophistry, deeming all evidence from the natural world unreliable. Religious critics argued that Gosse presented a God who filled creation with lies and illusions, an image that did not fit well with the idea of a benevolent creator. Other critics have derided omphalism as "Last Thursdayism," claiming that, using Gosse's logic, there is no way to be sure that the world, including the memories of humans, were not created in toto last Thursday.

Despite these attacks, versions of omphalism continue to provide fundamentalist Christians with a rebuttal to scientific theories, both geological and biological, that point to millions or billions of years of gradual evolution.

Stephen D. Andrews

See also: [Fundamentalism, Christian](#).

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Oneida Community

The Oneida Community was the utopian Perfectionist society founded in 1848 when social reformer and lay preacher John Humphrey Noyes relocated his group of religious followers from Putney, Vermont, to Oneida, New York. The congregation, which lived together and held all things, including marriage partners, in common, was forced to move following Noyes's arrest for adultery. After posting bond, Noyes fled to Oneida, where a majority of his followers joined him. The members of the Oneida Community believed that Jesus Christ had returned in the year 70 C.E., and, therefore, it was possible to create Christ's millennial kingdom themselves. As Perfectionists, members believed that they could achieve perfection, that is, become entirely free of sin, within their lifetime. What made those at Oneida different from other Perfectionists was their practice of Noyes's innovative ideas, including complex marriage, male continence, mutual criticism, ascending fellowship, and eventually eugenics, or stirpiculture (selective breeding among people).

With complex marriage, Noyes's Perfectionists regarded themselves as wedded to the group as a whole rather than to a single partner. Each should be married to all in body, mind, and spirit. Community members were encouraged to pursue a continuous variety of heterosexual relationships; exclusive sexual or romantic relationships were prohibited. It was not compulsory for couples who had been married prior to joining the community to legally divorce; however, they were expected to share their love, thereby helping bind the community together.

As a sign of grace, males were encouraged to engage in sexual continence, or withholding ejaculation during coitus to avoid impregnating their female partners. Postmenopausal women were encouraged to introduce sex to young boys just entering puberty. This provided both with legitimate partners and entailed little risk of pregnancy while the youth mastered the practice of continence.

In an effort to eliminate objectionable character traits, every member of the community was subject to mutual criticism, either by committee or by the community as a whole, during a general meeting. Noyes himself was subjected to such criticism, although, it has been noted, his occurred less often and was less severe than that of the other members of the community.

Ascending fellowship was an endeavor to improve oneself through sexual relations with those said to be spiritually superior. In the hierarchy of the community, men were regarded as spiritually superior to women, and the elderly superior to the young. After a community member had attained a certain level through ascending fellowship and other factors, he or she was expected to then engage in descending fellowship with those attempting to attain a higher level.

Women did enjoy equality with men in the governance of the community, and Noyes published a tract titled *Slavery and Marriage*, in which he argued against the fashionable idea that women were incapable of self-determination. As a physical representation of their freedom, the women of Oneida wore bloomers (loose trousers over which they wore a short skirt); these also allowed them greater freedom of movement than the cumbersome longer skirts worn by women outside the community.

Initiated in 1869, stirpiculture, or selective reproduction, was intended to create model children. Prospective parents were presented before a committee and matched on the basis of similar spiritual and moral characteristics. Reportedly, fifty-three women and thirty-eight men participated in this experiment, which produced sixty-two children, nine of whom were fathered by Noyes.

Children were raised communally and housed together in a special section of the community house known as the Children's Wing. Biological parents and children were permitted to visit one another, but if it was suspected that a parent and child were becoming too attached, a period of separation was enforced.

Like many other religious, communal, utopian societies in nineteenth-century America—including the Shakers, the Harmony Society, the Society of Separatists of Zoar, and the Amana Society—the Oneida Community was a prosperous, self-sufficient venture. Within the first two years of its existence, the community's original 87 members grew to 172; by 1878, there were more than 300. Growing and canning fruits and vegetables; raising silkworms and producing silk thread; and manufacturing brooms, shoes, and animal traps were the principal commercial enterprises at Oneida. Although monetarily successful, these industries, along with processing flour and milling lumber, were meager compared to the manufacture of silverware, the commodity for which Oneida became best known.

The decline of the Oneida Community began when Noyes attempted to groom his son, Theodore, as his successor. This created a rift from which the community was unable to recover. By 1879, those outside the community deemed complex marriage to be immoral; in addition, Noyes was charged with statutory rape after having sexual relations with teenage girls in the community. Before an arrest warrant could be served, he fled to Niagara Falls, Ontario, Canada, where he lived until his death in 1886.

Those remaining at Oneida agreed to reject complex marriage, and the Oneida Community dissolved during the course of 1880, when more than seventy members entered into traditional marriages. On January 1, 1881, the

Oneida Community was formally reconstituted as a joint stock company, the silverware and cutlery company Oneida Limited.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Communes](#): [Free Love](#): [Noyes](#): [John Humphrey](#): [Perfectionist Movement](#): [Utopianism](#).

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O'Neill, Eugene (1888–1953)

Playwright Eugene O'Neill, credited with nothing less than elevating the fledgling American theater of the early twentieth century to the level of mainstream world drama, was nevertheless a controversial figure in his time, bucking convention and forging innovative directions. His use of the vernacular, recurring themes of disillusionment and despair, social and moral critiques of American society, and forays into avant-garde expressionism at once defined his distinctive, tragic vision and helped move American theater beyond the conventional melodrama of the commercial Broadway stage. At the height of his creativity, from 1918 to 1928, he wrote more than a dozen plays, including some of the most enduring works of modern American drama.

Eugene Gladstone O'Neill was born on October 16, 1888, to popular melodrama star James O'Neill and Mary Ellen Quinlan O'Neill. Most of his early life was spent traveling the country on tour with his parents. His mother, however, he would later write, "never was an actress, disliked the theatre, and held aloof from its people."

O'Neill was educated at a series of elite private schools, but as a young man he decided to follow the lead of his derelict older brother Jamie, dividing his time between New York flophouses and international adventures. Between 1907 and 1912, he worked as a gold prospector in Honduras, a machinist in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and a seaman on a transatlantic liner. He contracted tuberculosis in 1912 and spent six months recovering at the Gaylord Farm Sanatorium in Wallingford, Connecticut.

There, O'Neill began reading the Greek tragedians and the major nineteenth-century European dramatists. He quickly wrote eleven one-act plays, one of which, *Bound East for Cardiff*, caught the attention of writers Susan Glaspell and George Cook, who were in the process of founding an experimental amateur theater company, the Provincetown Players. O'Neill's one-act was their first production in 1916, staged at their Wharf Theatre in Provincetown, Massachusetts. Other short plays written by O'Neill followed at the group's theater on MacDougal Street in New York City. In 1920, his full-length play *Beyond the Horizon* had found a home on Broadway.

The move from off-Broadway to Broadway marked a shift in O'Neill's dramaturgy. The early, realist plays drew from his experiences wandering the world and brought to the stage characters from the lower rungs of modern society: industrial workers, seamen, and barroom flunkies. Never before had the American theater, long dominated by European imports and sentimental melodramas, seen such unflinching portraits of everyday men and women.

By the 1920s, however, O'Neill had come to reject his early realism in favor of a more expressionistic approach. Drawing on the works of the radical German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche, the psychologist Sigmund Freud,

and especially Swedish playwright August Strindberg, who himself pioneered a nonrealistic dramatic style in Europe, O'Neill sought to discover ways to present the inner psychological workings of the human mind on stage. This shift marked the first American attempt to seriously engage with the European theatrical avant-garde, and it won O'Neill two Pulitzer Prizes, one for *Beyond the Horizon* and the other for *Anna Christie* (1922).

In 1936, when O'Neill became the first American playwright to win the Nobel Prize in Literature, he was already slipping into obscurity. Isolated from the mainstream American theater, he began crafting unflinching autobiographical accounts of his early family life, composed, he said, "in tears and blood." The works of this period represent some of O'Neill's finest achievements, including *The Iceman Cometh* (1946), *Long Day's Journey into Night* (1956), and *A Moon for the Misbegotten* (written in 1943, published in 1952).

O'Neill died on November 27, 1953, a forgotten icon of the early-twentieth-century stage. In 1956, a revival of *The Iceman Cometh* and the posthumous Broadway premier of *Long Day's Journey* returned him to his status as one of America's most respected dramatists.

David Kornhaber

See also: [Provincetown Players: Theater, Alternative.](#)

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Onion, The

A leading source of "faux news," *The Onion*—published weekly in print and daily online—offers news parody, satire, and irreverent commentary on contemporary cultural and current affairs. Founded in 1988 as a small newspaper by two University of Wisconsin students, Tim Keck and Christopher Johnson, *The Onion* was sold two years later. Growing in stature and popularity, it moved to the Internet in 1996.

By 2006, *The Onion* was attracting more than 3 million Web readers weekly, had a print distribution of 549,000 (it was available for free in Chicago, Denver-Boulder, Los Angeles, Madison, Milwaukee, Minneapolis-St. Paul, New York, and San Francisco), a successful radio program, and a best-selling book line. It has won many awards, including the Thurber Prize for American Humor and numerous Webby awards for Best Humor or Best Public Voice.

Often acerbically, *The Onion's* news parody takes aim particularly at the "news you can use" format, style, and language of *USA Today* and other "infotainment" newspapers. All manner of life's small inanities are turned into full-fledged articles. Each issue contains numerous pointless but full-color graphs and charts in its Statshot feature, and many articles mock research or stories of dubious newsworthiness.

Amid the general parodic tone, however, *The Onion* frequently presents adept political and cultural critique. Whether satirizing socioeconomic realities ("Inner-City Stabbings Leave Five Maidless"), politics ("Congress Approves \$540 Million For Evil," "State Department To Hold Enemy Tryouts Next Week"), or global issues

("Sudanese 14-Year-Old Has Midlife Crisis"), or wryly commenting on cultural currents ("Women Now Empowered By Everything A Woman Does"), *The Onion's* articles often contain a measure of serious commentary and depth. Indeed, they provide a running commentary on, and an ever-present undercutting of, dominant news, political, and cultural discourse.

One of its stronger issues, for instance, released just days after American and coalition forces attacked Iraq in March 2003, took a defiant stand against mainstream support for the war and the war's leadership. The attack was dubbed "Operation: Piss Off the Planet," and related articles examined the creation of a bomb capable of killing 1,500 terrorists in a single blast; an American plan for postwar dictatorship in Iraq; and a plan by President George W. Bush for the United States to form its own United Nations. Particularly biting articles reported the aftermath of a misguided missile attack ("Dead Iraqi Would Have Loved Democracy") and took a satiric swipe at institutional racism in America ("U.S. Continues Proud Tradition Of Diversity On Front Lines").

The Onion's continued success can be measured not only by its ever-growing distribution numbers, but also by the success of its line of books anthologizing *Onion* articles, several of which have spent numerous weeks on *The New York Times* best-seller list. One original title, *Our Dumb Century* (1999), even "Onion-ized" American history, providing a fabricated edition of *The Onion* from each year of the twentieth century. *The Onion* writers turned their satirical eyes back in time with such articles as "U.S. Enters War; Wilson Vows To 'Make World Safe for Corporate Oligarchy'" and "Martin Luther King: 'Perhaps We Shall Not Overcome After All.'" *The Onion* followed it up with another original title, *Our Dumb World: Atlas of the Planet Earth*, in 2007.

Ultimately, however, the faux paper has been able to capitalize on the Internet as a safe gestation zone. Both online and in print, the publication continues to offer free countercultural expression and creativity, providing daily relief from and satire of mainstream journalism.

Jonathan Gray

See also: [Internet: Media, Alternative.](#)

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Organic Farming

Organic farming is a method of agriculture that produces food without the use of chemically formulated or synthetic fertilizers, growth stimulants, livestock-feed additives, pesticides, or antibiotics. Instead, it produces food from seed, fertilizer, and other products of plant-or animal-based material only. Prior to the Industrial Revolution of the mid-nineteenth century, all farming could be classified as "organic" because it relied on materials found in nature, as well as on ancient methods such as crop rotation and cultivation, to control insects, pests, and weeds and to provide plant nutrients. That changed as the inventions of the Industrial Revolution led to the use of new,

mechanized methods and tools, and with the introduction of chemicals to increase crop production.

By the turn of the twentieth century, the development of manufacturing processes to produce artificial fertilizers and pesticides led to further changes in farming and increased crop specialization. As a result, chemical farming became the predominant or conventional method of agriculture in North America and Europe. The prevailing belief among scientists at the time was that soil contains few if any useful nutrients and its only function is to hold plants in place.

A small number of farmers and scientists began to take a more holistic view of the relationship between plants and soil, recognizing the importance of maintaining the organic systems by returning nutrients to the soil. This approach ultimately gave rise to modern organic farming; its philosophy is summarized by the motto “feed the soil, not the plant.”

In the early 1900s, Sir Albert Howard, a British botanist, worked in India as an agricultural adviser and became an advocate of traditional Indian farming practices. This approach emphasized the importance of organic soil matter and proper aeration to promote fertility and plant nutrition. As one of the first proponents of a holistic, systems approach to plant-soil cultivation, Howard came to be referred to as the father of modern organic agriculture. In 1940, he published his guidelines and methods in a book titled *An Agricultural Testament*, one of the most influential texts on organic farming and one that is still widely used by organic farmers today.

J.I. (Jerome Irving) Rodale, the son of a New York City grocer, is credited with being the first to popularize the term *organic* in the United States, using it in a series of articles published in the 1920s. Rodale became one of the earliest advocates for organic farming techniques when, in 1930, he founded Rodale Press and, a little more than a decade later in 1942, launched *Organic Farming and Gardening* magazine.

In addition to the magazine, Rodale Press began publishing books and booklets on organic agriculture and other extensions of Howard's work. In them, Rodale outlined what he considered good farming practices, such as crop rotation and mulching. Healthy soil requires the use of compost, he contended, and the avoidance of pesticides and artificial fertilizers. Moreover, healthy soil was said to be linked to healthy living; eating plants grown in organically enhanced soil would make people healthier.

Because his publications were the most accessible and visible source of information about organic farming and gardening, Rodale is credited with having the greatest influence on bringing the organic method to the American public. That influence is still felt today, as Rodale Press—based in Emmaus, Pennsylvania, since its founding—continues to publish books and magazines, and *Organic Farming and Gardening* magazine, now called *Organic Gardening*, remains the most widely read gardening periodical in the world.

Despite Rodale's influence, the use of natural or organic methods was considered a radical idea among American farmers for most of the twentieth century. Most growers continued to embrace conventional technologies and chemicals, accepting their promises of increased crop yields, efficiency, and profitability. In comparison, organic farming still was regarded as impractical and inefficient.

This continued until 1962, when Rachel Carson, a prominent marine biologist, published the book *Silent Spring*, detailing the environmental effects of DDT and other pesticides. The book became an international best seller, and it is widely credited with launching the modern environmental movement. Those who began to look for alternatives to pesticide use and industrial agriculture that relied on chemicals were drawn to organic agriculture because it avoided the use of synthetic pesticides.

For many, organic farming carried the further appeal of being associated with the counterculture movement; it wasn't just an agricultural method, it was a philosophy of living as well. This, in turn, led to differences in approach and a resistance, in some circles, to the true organic processes advanced by Howard and Rodale.

The need for a clearer definition of organic farming became increasingly clear in the 1970s, as an industry and a consumer market began to emerge that needed to be more rigorously distinguished from conventional agriculture

and its products. In 1980, amid increasing pressure from farmers and consumer groups for government regulations, the United States Department of Agriculture (USDA) gave its first official definition of organic farming.

This led to an ongoing series of laws, regulations, and certification standards that began in 1990 with the Organic Foods Production Act (approved but never fully implemented). In 1992, the USDA established the National Organic Program and appointed the National Organic Standards Board. In December 2000, the National Organic Program Rules were finally agreed upon and the National Organic Standards were adopted for certified organic growers. The organic rule went into effect in April 2001, and the Organic Foods Production Act was finally fully implemented in 2002. Today, certified organic farming operates on both the principles of traditional organic farming and new scientific principles such as biodiversity, natural pest management, natural plant nutrition, and sustainability.

The formal definition and regulation of organic agriculture, not to mention the growing popularity of its products, marked the end of its countercultural identification. For a variety of reasons, organic farming and organic products—including meat and dairy as well as fruits and vegetables—have gone mainstream. Since certification rules began to be established in the early 1990s, consumer demand for organic food has increased nearly 20 percent annually, reflecting desires for healthier, higher-quality food, increased food safety, and a reversal of the perceived environmental damage caused by conventional farming.

Judith Gerber

See also: [Carson, Rachel: Health Foods.](#)

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Outsider Art

Outsider art is a form of creative expression by individuals who, for a variety of reasons, exist on the fringes of society and have not been educated—or indoctrinated—in the traditions, norms, and values of mainstream artistic culture. The individuals who produce outsider art are not merely untrained or self-taught. They also lack awareness of the conventions of so-called high art and do not consider themselves to be artists at all. It is precisely the creators' lack of awareness of formal methods and standards, combined with a lack of aspiration for the achievement of status in the world of visual arts, that separates outsider art from other categories, such as naive art, marginal art (*art singulier*), and folk art.

Coined by British art historian Roger Cardinal in 1972, the term *outsider art* approximates the concept of *art brut*, or “raw art,” as defined in 1945 by the French painter and sculptor Jean Dubuffet in response to works created by psychiatric patients. Dubuffet characterized these works of art as “raw,” meaning that they were “uncooked” or unmediated by cultural influences external to the minds of their creators, and hence more authentic and powerful.

Outsider art, like its French counterpart, is valued for its originality, as well as its unfettered expression of the inner world of the artist. A key difference between the two terms, however, may be found in their levels of exclusivity. *Art brut* is a highly bounded category of work; the designation is now reserved only for works included in the Collection de l’Art Brut in Lausanne, Switzerland. These works are not allowed to be exhibited outside the collection, and the collection alone has the authority to designate any newfound works as *art brut*. *Outsider art* is a much more fluid and amorphous designation, often used, and misused, to refer to a wide range of visual art, from work by the mentally ill, religious visionaries, and autodidactic artists to work by those who have been trained in, but actively reject, mainstream techniques and standards.



Sam Rodia's Watts Towers in Los Angeles—a monument of steel, concrete, and found materials constructed over thirty-three years—epitomizes works of outsider art. Its creators are untrained in formal artistic methods, conventions, and theories. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Since its introduction, the term *outsider art* has been the subject of social and cultural controversy. Those opposed to the term argue that its use serves to reinforce the primacy of “high art”—with standardized, mainstream works by trained artists embraced as “insider art,” while unconventional works by untrained people are cast to the margins. Others find the term useful, however, for highlighting the genesis and nature of unorthodox artistic production. Two issues are key: (1) whether outsider art is different enough, yet cohesive enough, to warrant a unique category; and (2) whether the term *outsider art* (or *outsider artist*) further disenfranchises individuals who are already socially and culturally alienated, and who produce art under marginalized circumstances.

Examples of outsider art include works by Adolph Wölfli, who produced both visual art and music from 1895 until his death in 1930, despite being confined to a psychiatric institution for most of his adult life; the art of Martin Ramirez, who, while also extensively institutionalized, developed an elaborate iconography based on Mexican folk figures, which first caught the attention of a psychologist at DeWitt State Hospital in Auburn, California, in 1948; and the images and narratives of Henry Darger, whose tortured 15,000-page opus, *The Story of the Vivian Girls...* (undated), was discovered after his death in 1973 in the second-floor room of a Chicago boarding house that he had seldom left in more than forty years.

Cynthia J. Miller

See also: [Outsider Music](#).

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Outsider Music

Outsider music is analogous to so-called outsider art—that is, naive art or *art brut*, produced by untrained artists unaware of their shortcomings in terms of technical competence, taste, creative finesse, and lack of concern for formal standards. Outsider music tends to be produced by nonconformist individuals, but it also includes works by misadvised celebrities. The music may be unintentionally disturbing, funny, creepy, or just plain bad. The genre generally does not encompass avant-garde music, exotic non-Western music deemed amusing to Western ears, novelty or spoof songs, once-cool but now campy tunes, or anything self-consciously kitsch or “cheesy.”

Although outsider music has no doubt been made for as long as music has existed, only through the medium of recording and the advent of exchange networks, such as record companies, information magazines, zines, and the Internet, has an archival trail been blazed and the genre recognized. The United States is a particularly rich breeding ground for the outsider phenomenon, with an economy that allows affordable, readily accessible recording technology to a wide number of people, a cultural obsession with stardom and the idea of the American Dream, and the widespread embracing of the concept of kitsch.

Outsider music generally comes from home recordings or independent studios with no quality control. The best-known examples include works by the Shaggs, a band of sisters from New Hampshire active in the 1960s and 1970s, who have been criticized for seeming to play different songs (badly) at the same time. The 1960s singer-songwriter Tiny Tim is an outsider success story, as his quirky music and personality fortuitously coincided with the sensibility of the hippies, who embraced him as one of their own. Ill-starred celebrity recordings include those by actors Mae West, Telly Savalas, and William Shatner; the latter's 1968 cover of the Beatles' *Lucy in the Sky with Diamonds* marks, according to critics, one of the low points of his entertainment career.

A good portion of outsider music came out of American “song factories” dating back to the 1960s, where would-be pop stars could pay anything up to a few hundred dollars to have their lyrics set to music. Studio musicians composed simple tunes in genres ranging from country to disco, and hired singers warbled out some of the most financially and creatively unsuccessful music to date. One notorious example is Ramsey Kearney's *Blind Man's Penis* (which is “erect because he's blind”), a graphic lyric puzzle sung deadpan by a bleary country singer to a tinny, lackluster tune.

A number of projects have sprung up since the 1980s to exhume the treasures of outsider music. These include radio shows, Internet fan sites, and, most notably, Irwin Chusid's book and recordings, *Songs in the Key of Z* (2000), one of the first commercial attempts to introduce and market outsider music as a genre, and *The American Song-Poem Anthology* (2003), from Bar/None Records, which documents the song-factory phenomenon.

Julia Pine

See also: [Outsider Art](#): [Zines](#).

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Owen, Robert Dale (1801–1877)

Robert Dale Owen, who lived and worked on his father's utopian community in New Harmony, Indiana, became a leading figure in the American utopian and spiritualist movements of the nineteenth century. The utopian movement—established by notable transcendentalists and utopians, such as William Miller and John Humphrey Noyes, who founded “ideal” communal societies in New England, New York State, and the Midwest—attempted to extricate Americans from the hectic life of capitalism and to provide a tranquil and egalitarian social and economic system.

Owen was born on November 9, 1801, in Glasgow, Scotland. The son of a prominent social reformer and industrialist, Robert Owen, the younger Owen grew up knowing and understanding the ravages of English industrialization. In his youth, he studied at his father's community of New Lanark. Afterward, he continued his studies in Switzerland to pursue his ideological and political development.

In 1825, his father, influenced by his successes at New Lanark, decided to leave England and establish a utopian society in the United States. He purchased the settlement of New Harmony, Indiana, from religious fundamentalist George Rapp, who had managed a vast estate as a haven for religious dissenters who were being persecuted by Protestants. With the new land deal and a utopian vision, this new community of 800 people was to promote the ideals of egalitarianism without unemployment or poverty. New Harmony would be a community of goods distributed according to age, the substitution of ethical lectures for religious worship, the public care of children, and cooperative—rather than competitive and capitalist—labor, with the intention of making it a thriving colony for the mutual benefit of all.

From 1825 to 1827, Robert Dale Owen managed the local newspaper, the *New Harmony Gazette*. First published on October 1, 1825, this free thought journal published all of the elder Owen's speeches, as he reinterpreted Christianity and the Bible. The *Gazette* began with an initial subscription base of only 300 but eventually became popular. The New Harmony commune, however, due to its extremely individualistic nature, did not offer the vocational training necessary to build a successful community, and failed in the spring of 1827.

In the aftermath, Robert Dale Owen partnered with social reformer Frances Wright to form a group of Free Enquirers, who denounced traditional religion, advocated education for all people, and pushed for lenient divorce laws and a fairer distribution of wealth among the masses. Owen moved to New York City in 1829, where he voiced his theories as editor of the *Free Enquirer*, as well as through the Workingmen's Party, the first labor-oriented U.S. political party, formed in New York in 1829.

Like his father, Owen became an advocate of spiritualism, writing two books on the subject, *Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World* (1860) and *The Debatable Land between This World and the Next* (1872). He died on June 24, 1877.

See also: [Communes](#): [Utopianism](#): [Wright, Frances](#).

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Pacifica Radio

Airing for the first time in April 1949, Pacifica Radio was the first successful experiment in listener-sponsored radio in the United States. With its focus on live, uncensored discussion of political and cultural topics, Pacifica provided an alternative to the commercial, mass-appeal radio that dominated the airwaves throughout the cold war. America's first public radio network, Pacifica today comprises five independently operated, commercial-free, local stations—KPFA in Berkeley, California (the flagship station), KPFK in Los Angeles (site of the network's recording archives), KPFT in Houston, WBAI in New York City, and WPFW in Washington, D.C.—and more than 100 affiliate stations. The network, operated by the Pacifica Foundation, is known for its progressive political and social perspective, with a declared mission “to promote peace and justice through communication between all races, nationalities and cultures” and “to contribute to the democratic process through public discourse and promotion of culture.”

Although the original station was based in Berkeley, the name Pacifica was not a reference to the nearby Pacific Ocean. Instead, it was meant to reflect the pacifist convictions of the organization's founder, Lewis Hill, who had been a conscientious objector during World War II. After the war, Hill worked briefly in radio in Washington, D.C., before moving to the San Francisco Bay Area, where he felt he would have the most freedom to implement his vision of a radio station devoted to pacifist principles. His idea was to harness the democratic potential of radio as a medium to create a public sphere for political discussion and social commentary, a forum in which conversation could be idealized as a mode for creating peace throughout the world.

The first few years were a struggle for survival. Broadcasting on the then-little-used FM band, KPFA found it difficult to build an audience that could support it through sponsorship alone. A 1951 Ford Foundation grant brought stability for a few years, but Pacifica soon found itself plagued by internecine squabbles over government investigations into its purported Communist links.

Although Communist connections were never proven, KPFA's programming during the 1950s was truly revolutionary for American radio. Whether it was interviews with members of the Catholic Worker Movement (the Catholic social service movement founded by Dorothy Day and Peter Maurin in 1933), explanations of Zen Buddhism by philosopher and writer Allan Watts, lessons in anarchist thought by poet and essayist Kenneth Rexroth, or iconoclastic film reviews by Pauline Kael, Pacifica's free-form programming opened new territory in terms of acceptable subject matter for radio discussion.

Pacifica branched out with the establishment of KPFK in Los Angeles in 1959, followed by WBAI in New York City in 1960. The political and cultural currents of the 1960s both enhanced and challenged Pacifica's identity. It gave airtime to representatives of the emerging youth culture who would lead the hippie movement, anti-Vietnam War movement, and the highly theatrical Youth International Party (whose members were called yippies), and it experimented with new styles of radio reportage and commentary, including direct broadcasts from the inner councils of the Berkeley Free Speech Movement in 1964.

Weathering the occasional U.S. Senate investigation, Pacifica continued to press at the boundaries of First Amendment freedoms throughout the 1960s and into the 1970s. WBAI's broadcast of comedian George Carlin's "Seven Dirty Words" routine in 1973 led to stricter Federal Communications Commission regulations, while Bob Fass of the same station pioneered what would come to be called "talk radio," in which individuals who might not otherwise have a public voice were allowed to express themselves on the air.

Despite many challenges from both the left and the right of the political spectrum, Pacifica has remained tied to Hill's original intuition: that a radio station supported by a community of listeners, and thus free from corporate sponsorship and state control, is necessary to the survival of a vibrant democracy.

Michael Van Dyke

See also: [Carlin, George](#); [Catholic Worker Movement](#); [Free Speech Movement](#); [Radio](#); [Rexroth, Kenneth](#); [Watts, Alan](#); [Yippies](#).

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Pacifica Radio Foundation. <http://www.pacifica.org>

Pacifism

Although most widely associated in America's collective memory with the civil rights and anti-Vietnam War movements, pacifism has a long and vibrant tradition on U.S. soil. A testament to this tradition is its historical influence on international movements to overthrow tyranny and establish national sovereignty. Indeed, global figures, from Russian social reformer Leo Tolstoy to Indian spiritual leader Mohandas Gandhi and Polish politician and human rights activist Lech Walesa, have acknowledged a debt to America's tradition of nonviolent resistance. That tradition includes such diverse figures as the transcendentalist (but not fully pacifist) Henry David Thoreau, the radical socialist and Catholic Dorothy Day, and civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr.

With the lure of religious tolerance, America imported the pacifism of European sects such as the Quakers and Mennonites during the colonial era. Most influential among the foundational sectarian pacifists of the eighteenth century were the Quakers John Woolman and Anthony Benezet, both of whom were tireless activists who helped establish moral suasion as a strategy for opposing social injustice.

From the 1830s onward, William Lloyd Garrison and others added the call to abolish slavery. Although they had professed to rely exclusively on nonviolent tactics to overthrow chattel bondage, legions of Garrisonian abolitionists rushed to enlist in the Union army during the American Civil War. If ultimately unsuccessful in its goal to abolish slavery by nonviolent means, Garrisonian resistance marked a crucial stage in the development of pacifism by transforming the traditionally nonconfrontational ideology into a public challenge of the power structure.

For the next century and beyond, socialists and members of the labor movement, the civil rights movement, prison strikes, and a litany of antiwar movements have employed nonviolent tactics in pacifist political protest. Originally a sectarian ideology based on the sixth commandment of the Hebrew Bible, "Thou shalt not kill," pacifism has adapted to the complexities of twentieth-century military conflict and political struggle. Civil rights leader James Farmer effected a synthesis of cultural traditions by bringing Gandhi's *satyagraha*, or soul-force, to America by systematically training demonstrators in nonviolent direct action.

In a landmark 1965 U.S. Supreme Court case, defendant Daniel Seeger appealed the conviction of a lower court for refusing induction into the armed forces as a conscientious objector. Testing the legal standard for conscientious-objector status, Seeger argued that any sincere philosophical view, moral code, or personal belief system is synonymous with religious conviction. The court found in his favor, overturning the requirement of belief in a Supreme Being and essentially legitimizing secular pacifism as grounds for conscientious-objector status and exemption from military service.

The development of pacifism as an ideology and volatile protest tactic was advanced by the unapologetic radicalism of brothers Daniel and Philip Berrigan, both Catholic priests, who in opposition to the Vietnam War removed Selective Service files from a local Maryland draft board in May 1968 and set them on fire. As had Thoreau after his refusal to pay taxes during the Mexican-American War, the Berrigan brothers interpreted their prison sentence as the cost of nonviolent civil disobedience.

Although the nature of pacifism in America has changed through the centuries, pacifists from all eras are united in their basic adherence to nonviolence, support for causes typically adopted by the political left, commitment to social justice, and revulsion at chauvinistic patriotism. Pacifists have been faced with the prospects of conscription or alternative, noncombatant duty and the dilemmas of living in a capitalist economy that is inextricably intertwined with military aggression. They have refused to pay federal taxes that ultimately finance military endeavors, to serve as noncombatants that potentially free a willing and able-bodied man to fight, or to accept alternative service because, to committed pacifists, any participation in a society mobilized for war is connected with the successful prosecution of military activity.

Generations of pacifists have echoed the sentiments of the "people's historian" (and World War II veteran) Howard Zinn: "I've come to the conclusion that war, by its indiscriminate and mass killing of large numbers of people, cannot be justified for any political cause, any ideological cause, any territorial boundary, any tyranny, any aggression."

David Lucander

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Catholic Worker Movement](#); [Conscientious Objectors](#); [Draft Dodgers](#); [and Deserters](#); [Garrison, William Lloyd](#); [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#); [Mennonites](#); [Quakers](#); [Thoreau, Henry David](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Palahniuk, Chuck (1962–)

Author of the apocalyptic cult novel *Fight Club* (1996), Chuck Palahniuk is a critically acclaimed writer and freelance journalist. He won the 1997 Pacific Northwest Bestsellers Association Award and the 1997 Oregon Book Award for *Fight Club*. He was not catapulted to national celebrity, however, until director David Fincher adapted the novel into a 1999 film of the same name, starring Brad Pitt and Edward Norton. In the tradition of William S. Burroughs, J.G. Ballard, Charles Bukowski, and other practitioners of so-called transgressional fiction, Palahniuk in his early novels pursued a genre that explores characters who resort to sometimes self-destructive means to escape the confines of conventional social norms. Later works, while pursuing a number of similar themes, are satirical horror stories.

Charles Michael Palahniuk was born on January 21, 1962, in Pasco, Washington, and raised in the Pacific Northwest. After graduating from the University of Oregon's School of Journalism in 1986, he worked briefly for small newspapers in Portland. Financial hardships forced him to take a job as a diesel mechanic at Freightliner, the truck manufacturer, where he worked until 1999. Palahniuk continued writing, however, and from 1992 to 1996 was enrolled in a community writers' workshop, Dangerous Writing, offered by Portland-based novelist Tom Spanbauer.

In the workshop, Spanbauer's teachings were based on the work of several contemporary minimalists, including Amy Hempel, Denis Johnson, and Gordon Lish. The workshop forced Palahniuk to codify the particularities of the minimalist style he came to use in his best-selling novels, including terse prose, concrete imagery, repeated choruses, and unified metaphors to reinforce overarching ideas. Thematically, Palahniuk's writing addresses cultural alienation in many forms: violence, vandalism, cults, substance abuse, and sex addiction, among others.

All of Palahniuk's novels begin as a single short story, which he later expands into a book-length narrative. During the course of the Dangerous Writing workshop, Palahniuk published the short stories that would evolve into his first three novels, *Fight Club*, *Invisible Monsters* (1999), and *Survivor* (1999).

Palahniuk quit his mechanic's job in 1999, a personally momentous year that brought the release of the *Fight Club* film and his second and third novels. That same year, his father was murdered by the ex-husband of a woman he had met through a classified ad. Palahniuk made headlines again in 2003 while on tour for his sixth novel, *Diary* (2003). He used the occasion to read a new short story, "Guts," and its account of the injuries suffered by men during masturbation caused some forty listeners in North America and Great Britain to pass out.

A prolific writer, Palahniuk continues to publish novels, stories, and journalistic works at a steady rate. In 2003, he published a highly acclaimed travelogue, *Fugitives and Refugees*, about his hometown of Portland. The following year, he brought out a collection of nonfiction pieces titled *Stranger Than Fiction: True Stories*. Other novels have included *Choke* (2001), *Lullaby* (2002), *Haunted* (2005), *Rant* (2007), *Snuff* (2008), *Pygmy* (2009), and *Tell All* (2010).

His work was the subject of academic conferences at Edinboro (Pennsylvania) University in 2001 and 2003, and a documentary film, *Postcards from the Future* (2004). Palahniuk also maintains a strong presence on the Internet through his official Web site, where he has run an online writers' workshop explaining the minimalist writing style and answering questions.

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Palmer, Phoebe (1807–1874)

Pioneering theologian Phoebe Palmer was a leader of the nineteenth-century Christian Holiness movement, which was based on the belief that Christians can attain absolute freedom from sin through faith in Jesus and the power of the Holy Spirit. Palmer lived a dynamic and controversial life. She was a revival and camp-meeting evangelist who became one of the best-known religious speakers of her time in North America and Great Britain. Her endearing manner, dynamic personality, and passionate message made her the catalyst of this religiously conservative counterculture movement. Her activities and teachings became especially influential in the Methodist and Pentecostal Christian communities.

She was born Phoebe Worrall in New York City on December 18, 1807. Her father was a convert of the English Methodist preacher John Wesley, and she grew up reading the works of John and Charles Wesley and other Methodist leaders. In 1837, she married physician Walter Palmer, and the couple became interested in Wesley's doctrine of perfection (that the souls of Christians can be cleansed of original sin).

Although Phoebe Palmer's life was traumatic—including the deaths of three young children—she experienced what Wesley called "entire sanctification" (the complete love of God) on July 26, 1837. She had begun teaching the Tuesday Meeting for the Promotion of Holiness in her home the previous year, and this became the primary outlet for her new message, testimony of the Spirit of God within her and the desire to live in a close relationship with God.

Writing extensively about her experiences, in 1843 Palmer published *The Way of Holiness*, the first of her eighteen books, and became the editor of the Holiness periodical, *Guide to Holiness*. Her path to holiness consisted of three steps: self-conscious surrender to God, an "altar" faith of complete personal and spiritual sacrifice, and public testimony of the experience. The emphasis on individuality implied by that process—relocating the confirmation of sanctity from community testimony to individual experience—placed her theology in the American cultural mainstream but contrary to the majority of Christian thought, both Calvinist and traditional Wesleyan.

Although she never referred to herself as a preacher and never sought ordination, Palmer was a feminist by example. At a time when public speaking by women was widely frowned upon, she was busy speaking to thousands at a time. One of her books was a 400-page argument for the support of women in the ministry based on her heritage, experience, and theology concerning the biblical promise of God's spirit working through all humanity, both male and female.

Palmer was also a social activist who supported the antislavery movement by her attendance at meetings and through donations to antislavery organizations. While distributing religious tracts among New York City's poor, she developed the view that meeting material needs such as food, clothing, and shelter was key to God's work among

the people. To this end, she worked for the New York Female Assistance Society for the Relief and Religious Instruction of the Sick Poor and led the Ladies Home Missionary Society in 1850 to found a mission in the Five Points slum district of New York, where the needy were able to access rent-free apartments, a chapel, schools, and public baths.

Palmer's Tuesday Meetings remained popular throughout the remainder of her life. The meetings were continued after her death on November 2, 1874.

D.E. "Gene" Mills, Jr.

See also: [Pentecostalism](#).

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Patchen, Kenneth (1911–1972)

Kenneth Patchen was a politically and artistically iconoclastic poet and novelist of the Beat Generation. As a contemporary of Beat writers Lawrence Ferlinghetti, Richard Brautigan, Allen Ginsberg, and Kenneth Rexroth, Patchen shared their nonconformist values, anger at the political status quo, and disillusionment regarding social justice, but he saw love as the cure to society's ills. His creative style was distinguished by experimental verse and prose, painting, and decorative pages of poetry. He played a pivotal role in the poetry revival of the 1950s on the West Coast and was instrumental in establishing a new kind of performance art, reading poetry to a live jazz background.

Patchen was born on December 13, 1911, in Niles, Ohio, to a large working-class family. Early in life, he was sensitized to the plight of workers in the steel and coal industries, as he witnessed his father return from work, black with soot, exhausted from physical labor. Patchen began writing poetry at age twelve as a response to the deaths of his two sisters.

After high school, he worked in an Ohio steel mill to earn enough money to attend Alexander Meiklejohn's Experimental College in Wisconsin, where he honed his already apparent writing skills. In 1930, he attended one semester at Commonwealth College in Arkansas, then left the academic world for New York City to write full time.

In New York, Patchen met Miriam Oikemus, an antiwar organizer at Smith College in Massachusetts. Together, they merged as poet and muse, expressing ideas that would evolve as ideals of the 1960s counterculture. The couple married in 1934 and moved to Greenwich Village, the avant-garde hub of New York City, where artists, musicians, writers, and theater people networked and mingled. There, Patchen published *Before the Brave* (1936), his first book of poems, for which he won a Guggenheim Fellowship.

From the mid-1930s until 1950, Patchen wrote angry and emotional works, including *The Journal of Albion Moonlight* (1941), an antiwar novel set at the time of America's entry into World War II. The protagonist, Albion Moonlight, sees everything that is wrong in society but is powerless to control or change any of it. Other influential works of this period include the collections *Red Wine and Yellow Hair* (1949), *Fables and Other Little Tales* (1953), and *Hurrah for Anything* (1957).

At the height of this productive period, Patchen injured his back and, for the remainder of his life, suffered from intractable pain. His poetry took on a new dimension, as he added illustrations and designs around the margins of each page.

Patchen escaped the military draft for World War II. Saved from the stress of forced regimentation and indoctrination, he expressed his views as a conscientious objector. In 1946, he published *An Astonished Eye Looks Out of the Air*, a collection of antiwar poems. "[That] who destroys his fellow," he wrote in one poem, "destroys himself." In another poem in the collection, he envisions a future world in which love has conquered all and saved everyone.

Although Patchen frequented City Lights, Ferlinghetti's bookstore in San Francisco and the hub of the Beat Generation, he resisted identification with any literary group or artistic movement. Ideas about art and the role of the artist are frequent subjects of his work. Although many of his values—such as the futility of war, the primacy of love, and disdain for organized society—were prominent in the counterculture, he did not share in the hipster persona or dropping-out ethic of many of his contemporaries. Nevertheless, upon his death on January 8, 1972, a memorial service was held at City Lights Books to honor a man who, in their eyes, had influenced a generation of poets and artist.

Lana Thompson

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Brautigan, Richard](#): [City Lights Books](#): [Ferlinghetti, Lawrence](#): [Ginsberg, Allen](#): [Greenwich Village, New York City](#): [Jazz](#): [Rexroth, Kenneth](#).

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Peace and Freedom Party

The Peace and Freedom Party (PFP) is a socialist, feminist, working-class political organization in California that has been active since the 1960s in presenting a leftist alternative to the Democratic and Republican parties. While the PFP has not achieved statewide or national success at the polls, it has managed to elect its members to local offices and to press a left-wing alternative to the mainstream political agenda.

In 1966, three candidates for the U.S. House of Representatives from New York and Washington identified themselves as members of the Peace and Freedom Party. The party was not officially founded until June 23 of the following year, by activists in the anti-Vietnam War, civil rights, and farmworkers' movements. Many of the

founders were disaffected members of the Democratic Party who opposed its support for the Vietnam War and criticized the party for its failure to support the civil rights and migrant labor movements. More than 100,000 Californians registered for the PFP in 1967, and it was officially placed on California's voting ballot at the start of 1968; a dozen other states followed suit that year.

At the party's 1968 national convention in Ann Arbor, Michigan, black radical Eldridge Cleaver, a major figure in the Black Panther Party, became the PFP's first nominee for president of the United States. Following the convention, supporters of activist and comic Dick Gregory separated from the PFP and formed the Freedom and Peace Party. (In the general election that November, Gregory actually received more votes than Cleaver.) In 1970, the California PFP ran the first Mexican American candidate for governor in the twentieth century, Ricardo Romo. In 1974, it ran the nation's first openly gay candidate for U.S. Senate, Gayle Justice. And in 1978, it ran the first openly lesbian candidate for governor of any state, Marilyn Seals.

According to its Web site, "The PFP is committed to socialism, democracy, ecology, feminism, and racial equality." The PFP's numerous national goals have included popular elections for president, a socialist economy, free high-quality health care, free higher education, an equal rights amendment for women, promotion of gay and lesbian rights, punishment of police brutality, the legalization of marijuana, abolition of the death penalty, an end to U.S. intervention abroad, and open international borders.

As an alternative to the two dominant political parties, which focus much of their efforts on elections, the PFP acknowledges that few of its candidates have run successfully. Instead, it seeks to remain active between elections by fighting oppression at the local level. Community activities and services such as union strikes, food co-ops, and free clinics have been supported and even initiated by the PFP.

Those candidates who do seek office through the PFP have the larger goal of presenting an alternative perspective ignored by the Democratic and Republican parties. Since 1968, the PFP has sometimes sponsored the candidates of other parties. In 1972, for example, it supported the People's Party nominee, Benjamin Spock. The PFP has also sponsored a large number of women running for office. In 1994 and 1998, for example, it backed Gloria La Riva, formerly the presidential nominee of the Workers World Party, in her bid for the California governorship. In 2004, the PFP nominated the militant Native American activist Leonard Peltier—who is serving life sentences for the murder of two Federal Bureau of Investigation agents—as its candidate for president.

Although it lost ballot status in California from 1999 until 2003, the PFP was restored to the slate in 2003 following a widespread mobilization to register new voters. Through its articulation of socialist and feminist national policies and its support of controversial candidates ignored by the Democratic and Republican parties, the PFP has continued to present a left-wing alternative to the political mainstream. The party's 2008 ticket of Ralph Nader for president and Matt Gonzalez for vice-president appeared on the ballots of both California and Iowa, though it did not achieve the 1 percent of votes necessary to ensure ballot status in future voting.

Nathan Zook

See also: [American Indian Movement](#); [Black Panthers](#); [Democratic Party](#); [Feminism, Second-Wave](#); [Spock, Benjamin](#).

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Pentecostalism

The year 1906 was momentous in the history of California. In October, the city of San Francisco was devastated by one of the strongest earthquakes on record and the fires that followed. Six months earlier, a seismic event of a more spiritual cast took place farther down the Pacific Coast. In a former livery stable in Los Angeles, an African American minister named William J. Seymour led the first of a series of religious services that would develop into the Azusa Street Revival and modern Pentecostalism, the movement within Evangelical Christianity that emphasizes direct personal experience of God through baptism in the Holy Spirit. From this small beginning at the turn of the twentieth century, the Pentecostal movement grew to have approximately half a billion adherents worldwide.

Roots of Social Inclusiveness

To many outside observers, the most disturbing part of the revival was not its critique of traditional Christian spirituality, but the unregulated mixing of races and genders in “compromising” physical proximity. In the *Los Angeles Examiner* of September 24, 1906, a local Baptist preacher was quoted as saying, “They rant and jump and dance and roll in a disgusting amalgamation of African voodoo superstition and Caucasian insanity.” Other contemporary newspaper accounts emphasized not only the exhibition of radical spirituality, but highlighted the “disturbing” mixture of black, white, Asian, and Hispanic peoples, as well as of males and females.

Even in the Methodist Wesleyan-Holiness revivals that had developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, which were radically inclusionary for their times, there was careful adherence to the distinction of male and female roles and the formal segregation of races. In 1906 Los Angeles, by contrast, blacks and whites were laying hands on each other in prayer and embracing each other as tears of joy ran down their faces. Women who had already experienced what was described as the “baptism in the Holy Ghost” would pray over men, some of whom were visiting ministers, so that they might also receive the “blessing.”

As scholar and former Pentecostal minister Walter Hollenweger later wrote, “In the Los Angeles revival white bishops and black workers, men and women, Asians and Mexicans, white professors and black laundry women were equals.” Perhaps above all, it was this gender-and race-based ecclesiastical ethic that members of more established traditions regarded as unacceptable. And it was this democratization of spirituality, revivalism, and church pragmatics that lent countercultural status to the early stages of the Pentecostal movement.

With roots in the “invisible institution” of slave religion, the nineteenth-century Wesleyan-Holiness movement, and the Welsh revival under the leadership of Evan Roberts, Pentecostalism has become the fastest-growing religious movement in the world. From African and African American slave religion, Pentecostalism inherited spirited worship practices that include dancing, shouting, clapping hands, raising hands, “running the aisles,” enthusiastic singing, and being “slain in the spirit” (falling down in a spirit-induced trance). Such practices alone set Pentecostals apart from mainstream Protestants. From the Holiness revival, Pentecostalism took a strong sense of personal piety, the language of being “baptized in the Spirit,” and a sense of communally ordered morality. For Pentecostals, personal sanctification as taught by Christian revivalist preacher Phoebe Palmer and others has remained a vital doctrine and practice.

Through Holiness ministers Joseph Smale and Frank Bartleman, the burgeoning Pentecostal movement drew inspiration and an evangelical fervor from the Welsh Revival. In Wales, they had seen more than 30,000 conversions and 20,000 new church members just after the turn of the twentieth century; the early American Pentecostals saw no reason why their results should be any less impressive.

The most direct ideological influence on the Azusa Street Revival, however, is found in the teachings of Charles Parham, Seymour's spiritual mentor. While his personal ethics, especially after 1909, have caused many scholars of Pentecostalism to de-emphasize Parham's role, it is generally recognized that he was the first to teach a central doctrine of the movement: glossolalia, or speaking in tongues, as confirmation of baptism in the Holy Ghost. In 1901, according to Pentecostal testimony, Parham challenged students at his small Holiness Bible school in Topeka, Kansas, to search the Scriptures for evidence of the baptism. They found it in Acts 2:4: "They were all filled with the Holy Ghost, and began to speak with other tongues, as the Spirit gave them utterance." The verse became a cornerstone of Pentecostal preaching. Parham later taught William Seymour at his Bible school in Houston, where the latter was forced to sit outside because he was African American.

The countercultural aspect of early Pentecostalism lay in social as well as religious factors. Most people involved in the fast-growing movement, whether at Azusa Street, in Topeka, or in the mountains of North Carolina and Tennessee, were in some way disenfranchised from the mainstream of society. They were common laborers, small farmers, and others with little voice in the affairs of society. In their evening revival meetings, however, they created a new communal structure in which the least stood with the greatest. The hierarchy found in established churches did not apply, since the earliest Pentecostals assumed that the majority of church history had been lacking true Christianity. Theirs was an attempt to return to the purity of the New Testament no matter the cost, including persecution.

Legacy

These seeds of Pentecostal cultural, social, and ecclesiastical critique carried throughout the twentieth century, albeit with a decrease in strength. The early practice of racial and gender democratization soon gave way to societal norms in much of the movement as Pentecostals sought to align themselves with Baptists, Methodists, and other established Evangelicals.

The lower-to lower-middle-class status of the vast majority of early Pentecostals has gradually been elevated, making American Pentecostalism more middle class and a less countercultural phenomenon. Though the movement is still not fully aligned with secular democratic society, a number of Pentecostals occupy prominent positions in government, business, and society.

D.E. "Gene" Mills, Jr.

See also: [Los Angeles, California](#).

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People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals

People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals (PETA), based in Norfolk, Virginia, is the largest and most influential animal rights organization in the United States, with more than 2 million members and supporters as of 2010. According to its mission statement, PETA operates under the principle that “animals are not ours to eat, wear, experiment on or use for entertainment.” PETA sponsors cruelty investigations and protest campaigns, lobbies for legislation, and capitalizes on celebrity advocacy to fight for animal rights in laboratories, factory farms, the clothing industry, and the entertainment industry. PETA differs from more conservative animal rights groups, such as the Humane Society, in its radical methods of protest. These have included picketing or otherwise protesting in the nude, throwing pies at those who wear fur, and, some say, condoning the use of violence and threats against corporations and individuals who do not agree with their views.



A member of People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals protests the treatment of circus animals in 2005. The group resorts to public theatrics, including nudity and overt lawbreaking, to promote its cause. (Timothy A. Clary/AFP/Getty Images

Established in 1980 by Alex Pacheco and Ingrid Newkirk, PETA reflected a growing subculture of animal rights activists at the time. The burgeoning movement was largely influenced by Australian philosopher Peter Singer, who in 1975 published the book *Animal Liberation*. Arguing against speciesism (discrimination against certain species), *Animal Liberation* propelled issues of animal rights into the U.S. cultural arena as a philosophical and ethical debate.

An integral part of this debate was the issue of experimentation on animals, which was demonstrated in the so-called Silver Spring monkey case of the 1980s. In 1981, Pacheco went undercover in the Silver Spring, Maryland, laboratory of Dr. Edward Taub, a researcher who kept seventeen monkeys in small wire cages in unsanitary conditions. Under the premise of researching the regeneration of severed nerves, Taub, with funding from the National Institutes of Health (NIH), carried out experiments with electroshock therapy on the monkeys. As a result of PETA's investigations of his lab, Taub became the first "animal experimenter" to be convicted on animal cruelty charges. Following the verdict, PETA began a lengthy cultural and legal campaign for the guardianship of the Silver Spring monkeys. Although the animals ultimately were euthanized or died in the custody of the NIH, the trial brought PETA and animal rights to the forefront of the American media and cultural imagination.

The advent of the Internet also allowed PETA to reach a wider audience. PETA TV, which is accessible online, features graphic videos of the practices at fur farms, the clubbing of baby seals, and the mistreatment of livestock at dairy and meat farms. It also includes listings of companies that offer "cruelty free" products.

PETA's efforts, however, do not focus only on exposing the moral and ethical quandaries associated with animal cruelty. The organization often enlists celebrities as spokespersons in antifur ad campaigns; among them are the famous "I'd rather go naked than wear fur" ads, which feature scantily clad celebrities denouncing the fur trade. PETA also repudiates celebrities who wear fur by publicly shaming them in the organization's annual worst-dressed list. In support of its mission, PETA also promotes vegetarianism as a lifestyle choice that can provide a more desirable body and hosts a "sexiest vegetarian alive" contest.

Despite its size and celebrity support, PETA remains an essentially marginalized group in American culture. Indeed, its staunch advocacy of animal rights and vegetarianism, unorthodox protest methods, and undercover missions in farms and laboratories have led some to deem PETA a radical organization.

Lindsey Churchill

See also: [Vegetarianism](#).

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Peoples Temple

Peoples Temple was a millennialist religious cult led by the Reverend James (Jim) Warren Jones. The movement combined revivalist-style Christianity, an apocalyptic view of the world, and a message of deliverance from poverty, racism, and injustice that reflected both the Christian “Social Gospel” and Marxist socialist influences. The Peoples Temple began in Indiana in the 1950s, moved to California in the 1960s, and then relocated to a remote area of Guyana, South America, in 1977, where the members lived communally in an attempted utopian society called Jonestown. The experiment ended tragically on November 18, 1978, with the mass suicide of Jones and nearly all other members, most of whom drank fruit punch mixed with poison. Although there are conflicting accounts and conspiracy theories about the tragedy, Jonestown has come to epitomize the notion of a dangerous “doomsday cult” in American popular culture and consciousness.



More than 900 members of the Peoples Temple commune in Guyana committed mass suicide in November 1978. The group had been led there from California by apocalyptic cult leader Jim Jones, who persuaded them to die together as an act of loyalty. (Matthew Naythons/Getty Images)

Jones began his ministry in the 1950s in Indianapolis, Indiana, as a self-taught preacher in the Pentecostal tradition. His charismatic style made him a popular preacher, and he came to regard himself as a manifestation of the Christ Principle, with powers of healing, prophecy, and salvation. The inclusion of African Americans in his services threatened the administrators of his segregated church, so Jones formed his own interracial congregation, which he named Peoples Temple.

Jones preached a Marxist-influenced version of what he called “apostolic socialism,” asserting that capitalist society dehumanizes people. He embraced deeply apocalyptic beliefs, condemning the world as corrupt and on the verge of annihilation. Claiming to be an end-times prophet, he had visions of nuclear cataclysm and a fascist takeover of the United States, with resulting race wars, and the establishment of a police state and concentration

camps.

After one vision of nuclear war, Jones moved his congregation to Northern California in 1965, believing that they would be safe there from the coming catastrophe. He soon expanded the movement to San Francisco, opening a facility in the Fillmore district, a poor black ghetto, and later established another church in Los Angeles. During this time, Peoples Temple was praised for its humanitarian work and the social services it provided for the poor, the elderly, and members of the African American community.

In 1974, Peoples Temple acquired nearly 4,000 acres (1,620 hectares) of land in a jungle in northwest Guyana, a multiracial, socialist nation whose black minority government welcomed the idea of dissatisfied Americans relocating there. In 1977, after several controversies, government investigation into Temple finances, and accusations against the group by concerned relatives of members of Peoples Temple, Jones and more than 1,000 members moved from California to Guyana. There, Jones attempted to establish his vision of a socialist utopia, opposed to capitalism, poverty, competition, and racism.

The members of Peoples Temple came from a range of socioeconomic backgrounds, and many were attracted to Jones's message of social justice and racial equality. Some residents of Jonestown were African Americans who had come from the ghetto, others were white and college-educated, an estimated one-third of the members were under the age of eighteen, and roughly 150 people (about one-sixth) were senior citizens.

At Jonestown, members of the Peoples Temple worked long hours with minimal food and resources, struggling to support the settlement. Self-sacrifice and commitment to the community were continually stressed, and Jones closely controlled the behavior of members through the use of public confessions, communal punishments, imprisonment, drugging, sleep deprivation, and other types of coercion and manipulation.

During this time, Jones's own physical and mental health reportedly began to deteriorate, he became addicted to various drugs, and his behavior became increasingly erratic. His feelings of persecution and paranoia increased when the Peoples Temple was threatened by damaging news coverage and accusations of members being held against their will.

In 1978, members' relatives persuaded San Francisco Congressman Leo Ryan (D-CA) to travel to Jonestown to investigate possible human rights violations and other allegations against Jones and Peoples Temple. During the tense mid-November visit, about a dozen disaffected members of the community chose to leave with Ryan and his delegation. Convinced that opponents of the Temple were out to destroy the community, Jones's armed guards killed Ryan, three journalists, and one defecting Temple member as the group attempted to leave at a nearby airport. Jones then gathered his community and told them that the end had come for the Peoples Temple, that the outside world would soon persecute and destroy them, and that there was no choice left but collective suicide.

Nurses mixed a vat of purple Fla-Vor-Aid (a British version of Kool-Aid) with cyanide and tranquilizers. Parents gave their children the poison to drink or injected them, and senior citizens were given poison in their dormitories. The evidence seems to indicate that most of the remaining adults took the poison willingly, though some were forced. Jones then apparently committed suicide by shooting himself. More than 900 members of Peoples Temple died in all.

The community had previously practiced loyalty tests as well as suicide drills, according to some accounts, and for Jones and for many of his followers, "revolutionary suicide" was regarded as a protest against and an escape from the cruelty and inhumanity of the world and imminent persecution by outside forces. Suicide was embraced as an expression of true loyalty to the group and to Jones; those who took their own lives apparently were convinced that it was better to die together as a "family" than to witness the destruction of their community or to live in a world that they viewed as evil and doomed.

Daniel Wojcik

See also: [Communes](#); [Cults](#).

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Perfectionist Movement

The Perfectionist movement, which sought spiritual perfection on Earth, was a product of the revivalist heartland of upstate New York during the Second Great Awakening, a sweeping evangelical revival from the 1800s to the 1830s. The Perfectionist movement emphasized the quest for individual perfection, or seeking a life free from sin. It brought together two strong currents of the activist, revivalist version of Christianity that continue to run deep within the undercurrents of the American counterculture: Holiness teachings, or the view that individuals can rid themselves of the effects of original sin; and the millennial current, the expectation of God's coming to institute a time of earthly harmony, literally heaven on Earth. Among the most extreme Perfectionists are sectarian groups that have institutionalized such ascetic practices as vegetarianism and sexual renunciation. The earliest, most prominent Perfectionist sect was the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing, commonly known as the Shakers, who believed that Perfectionism could come only through celibacy.

The influence of Perfectionist ideas can be seen among many of the nineteenth-century transcendentalists, such as Ralph Waldo Emerson and Henry David Thoreau. However, historians generally point to reformer John Humphrey Noyes as the central philosopher of Perfectionism, primarily because he employed the term in his writings and also because he founded one of the more interesting communal experiments of the nineteenth century, the Oneida Community in western New York. While the ideal of sinless people living in a perfect society was present in some measure in all utopian socialist programs, the influence of the Perfectionists stemmed from their easy blending of these currents.

Noyes was well educated for his time, having attended the best schools in New England, including Dartmouth College (Hanover, New Hampshire), Andover Theological Seminary (Massachusetts), and Yale University (New Haven, Connecticut). It was during his time at Yale, in the early 1830s, that he formulated his views on the perfectibility of human nature; by 1835, he had declared himself free of sin. Although this declaration placed him outside the Protestant religious establishment, there were many supporters to encourage him in developing his views. Noyes's critical mind soon landed on the institution of monogamous marriage as the foundation of selfish,

possessive, and egotistical (sinful) behavior. Although he did marry in 1838, his search for alternative forms of marriage marked the rest of his life.

Charged with adultery (a criminal offense at the time), Noyes fled his native Vermont for the frontier of western New York, where the laws were more lenient and the social mores less fixed. It was there that he founded his utopian socialist community, Oneida, in 1848. Noyes was determined to rid the community of the sins of egotism and possessiveness associated in his mind with monogamous marriage. To do so, he instituted a system of complex, or plural, marriage (a type of regulated free love) and eventually a system of “stirpation,” in which the community (a committee) decided who would be allowed to have children together.

Outside of communal living, Perfectionists were influential in the abolitionist movement, particularly among the more radical Garrisonians, followers of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison. Many, including the former Presbyterian minister Luther Myrick, viewed participation in mainstream denominations—which refused to call for the abolition of slavery—to be corrupting and withdrew to form separate “abolition churches.” Perfectionist abolition churches claimed to free themselves from the bonds of denominationalism, which they portrayed as analogous to the chains of slavery. The abolitionist “come-outers” led in the founding of the Liberty Party, whose mission was to promote abolitionism outside the Democrat and Whig parties. The Liberty Party had a strong Perfectionist element, putting forth its candidates as “entirely sanctified” and defining the party’s ultimate goal as keeping all men from sin.

Following the American Civil War, some Perfectionists became radical pacifists. Others, particularly in the Methodist Holiness movement of the mid-nineteenth century, emphasized self-denying personal behavior, the shunning of alcohol, coffee, and other stimulants, as well as card playing, the theater, and other amusements. Although Christian Perfectionism became much less prominent in American culture in the twentieth century, the Perfectionist impulse to a life free from sin or compromise with a corrupt society has continued to motivate a number of separatist and counterculture groups.

William E. Burns and Daniel Liechty

See also: [Garrison, William Lloyd](#); [Noyes, John Humphrey](#); [Oneida Community](#); [Shakers](#).

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Performance Art

Performance art is avant-garde, conceptual, improvisational art in which the actions of a performer or a group constitute the work itself. It combines in various ways elements of theater, mime, dance, film, and monologue, among other mediums. Performance art emerged in the early 1960s as a criticism of traditional conceptions of art

as objects created by exceptional individual artistic geniuses. By contrast, performance art conceives of art not only as something people do, instead of simply observe or listen to, but as an activity in which every person can participate. Performance art has played a key role in the counterculture by challenging traditional definitions of aesthetic expression and by advancing the view that art has the potential for creating social change.

Performance art can be traced to the bohemian cafés of the nineteenth century, the European artistic movement called Dada, and various other avant-garde artistic movements of the early twentieth century. Its flowering in the United States commenced in the late 1950s and early 1960s in the form of “happenings,” public activities that carried artistic and conceptual significance.

Artist and composer John Cage was a major early influence on the development of happenings in the United States through such works as “Theater Piece No. 1” (1952), in which he joined other artists, performers, and musicians on ladders, each performing simultaneously and among the audience instead of on a stage. Allan Kaprow, a student of Cage’s, took the phenomenon a step further in such happenings as “Household” (1964), in which—among other things—participants applied fruit jam to the hoods of wrecked cars and then licked it off. The work of the international art collective Fluxus (which for a time included Yoko Ono, wife of Beatles singer-songwriter John Lennon) consisted of everyday activities, such as “Instruction No. 2” (1965) by Ben Patterson, which consisted of a small package that contained a bar of soap and the instructions to wash one’s face.

Performance art grew more overtly political in the 1960s. The San Francisco Diggers—a community-action group of improvisational actors active between 1966 and 1968 in the Haight-Ashbury district—confronted traditional values in such performances as “Free Store,” at which anyone could take from or add to its shelves. Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin, as the most visible members of the Youth International Party (known as the yippies), also engaged in politicized performance art in such ways as assembling a crowd of people around the Pentagon in order to “levitate” it during the March on Washington in October 1967. These and similar events often drew media coverage, with members of the press sometimes persuaded to take part.

Performance art has since become more varied. On one hand, a depoliticized version of performance art focuses on celebrity artists and performers, whose fans pay to see them. Examples in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries include the multimedia and musical sets of Laurie Anderson; the in-your-face, rapid-fire, raw theater of Eric Bogosian; and the contemplative ruminations of actor and monologist Spalding Gray.

On the other hand, a politicized version of performance art exists entirely outside commercialism and celebrity status. Reverend Billy and the Church of Stop Shopping stages street performances in major U.S. cities in which a white-suited, bouffant-haired, faux televangelist preaches against the sins of consumerism, with his choir and anyone else who wishes trailing in his wake and punctuating his pronouncements with an “Amen!” The Surveillance Camera Players, based in New York City, stage short, iconic plays critical of state video surveillance (with a member of the group filming the performance for display on a security monitor).

More recent forms of inclusive performance art include the flash mob (related to the term *smart mob* coined by futurist and author Howard Rheingold), in which the performance consists of a large group of people meeting in a single location, performing a strange activity, then dispersing. Directions are typically distributed via mobile text messaging, with the ultimate location not revealed until the last minute.

Despite their originality and inspiration, the hoped-for shock value of performance art works has been increasingly diluted by guerrilla marketing and big-budget advertising campaigns. To the extent that performance art becomes either a vehicle for celebrities or, simply, strange publicity events, its political value as a countercultural response and critique remains uneven at best.

James Hamilton

See also: [Anderson, Laurie](#); [Guerrilla Theater](#); [Happenings](#); [Yippies](#).

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Performance Space 122

Performance Space (P.S.) 122 is an off-Broadway, multidisciplinary, nonprofit arts center located in New York City's East Village neighborhood. Along with The Kitchen, Franklin Furnace, and Artists' Space, it is one of a number of downtown "alternative spaces" established during the 1970s that can be distinguished from both music clubs and traditional theaters. The venue is housed in a former school building; hence, P.S. stands for both "public school" and "performance space." Since its inception in 1979, P.S. 122 has developed from marginalized status as a grassroots community improvement initiative to its current position as a key institution for the exhibition of performance genres including dance, theater, and music. Such acclaimed artists as Penny Arcade, Eric Bogosian, Karen Finley, Diamanda Galás, and Holly Hughes have presented work at P.S. 122. Politics, gender issues, and sexuality figure prominently in P.S. 122 performances, and its artists are often confrontational in their delivery.

New York's Lower East Side and East Village neighborhoods were once known not only for their incubation of countercultural groups and arts-activism projects but also for the speed with which these underground currents gave rise to gentrification. P.S. 122 is bound to this story as much as it is a touchstone for the history of the downtown New Wave, gay, and performance art scenes.

In 1977, the building stood empty, and local neighborhood groups solicited artists such as painter Sally Eckhoff and choreographer Charles Moulton, who later recruited performance artists Charles Dennis, Peter Rose, and Tim Miller, to use the space for rehearsals. This informal arrangement lasted until 1979, when Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer shot the film *Fame* at P.S. 122, producing the necessary funds for its refurbishment but also forcing resident artists to temporarily relocate.

During their hiatus, collaborating artists solidified their relationships and began to publicly stage new work on a regular basis. The group returned to P.S. 122 later that year and began presenting weekly performances and workshops. Its long-running cabaret "Avant-Garde-Arama," for example, debuted in 1980 and continues to operate in the 2000s. In little over two years, local artists transformed P.S. 122 from a neighborhood hazard into a thriving creative community.

Some of the artists affiliated with P.S. 122, such as Miller, Finley, and Hughes, were at the center of the 1990 debates in Washington, D.C., on funding distributed through the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA). Senator Jesse Helms (R-NC) and other members of the Christian Right were chiefly responsible for initiating a backlash

against provocative works of art, including performances with themes relating to homosexuality and the AIDS crisis. The NEA's revocation of grants to artists dealing with these issues produced a maelstrom of protest within the art world as well as a wave of support for those affected by government control.

Colleen Becker

See also: [Kitchen, The: Performance Art: Theater, Alternative.](#)

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Peter, Paul and Mary

Peter, Paul and Mary was one of the most successful ensembles of the folk music revival of the 1960s. In addition to popularizing songs of social conscience, members Peter Yarrow, Noel Paul Stookey, and Mary Travers played an active role in causes ranging from civil rights and the anti-Vietnam War movement of the 1960s to the anti-nuclear power campaign of the 1970s. Of their social and political activism, Stookey said, "You have to put your body on the line from time to time in order to make a statement or change a law." This philosophy guided the group over the course of its musical career.

Each member had had a fledgling entertainment career before creating the group. Stookey, who had played electric guitar in a rock band during his studies at Michigan State University, had moved to New York and performed as a stand-up comic in Greenwich Village. Travers, with an early interest in folk music, had been a member of the Song Swappers, a group that performed in Carnegie Hall and recorded albums with folk singer Pete Seeger. Yarrow had learned violin and guitar as a child, majored in psychology at Cornell University, and taught music there before returning to New York and taking up folk music full time. He had gone on to perform on the television program *Folk Sound, U.S.A.*, and at the Newport Folk Festival in May 1960.

Folk singer Milt Okun discovered each member individually and encouraged them to form a trio in 1961. With Seeger as their role model, Peter, Paul and Mary debuted in 1962 at The Bitter End in New York City's Greenwich Village, each member able to perform both as lead singer and in harmony. After the early hit singles "Lemon Tree" and "If I Had a Hammer," they released the album *Peter, Paul and Mary* on the Warner Bros. label in 1962.

The album included Seeger's "Where Have All the Flowers Gone," Hedy West's "500 Miles," "If I Had a Hammer" by Seeger and Lee Hays, and Peter Yarrow's "Cruel War," which became anthems of the 1960s counterculture and its participation in the anti-Vietnam War and civil rights movements. The following year, the trio recorded Bob Dylan's protest song "Blowin' in the Wind" and helped it, too, to become a counterculture classic.



Paul Stookey and Mary Travers (with baby) of the Peter, Paul and Mary folk trio protest the closing of New York City coffeehouses for fire code violations in 1960. Like other folk revival and Beat artists, they got their start in the underground club circuit. (Bob Gomel/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

On August 28, 1963, Peter, Paul and Mary performed "If I Had a Hammer" before hundreds of thousands of spectators at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C, where Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his historic "I Have a Dream" speech. Two years later, the trio marched alongside King and hundreds of other civil rights activists from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to protest the discrimination and intimidation that had prevented Selma's black population from registering to vote.

The group also participated in a number of anti-Vietnam War events, including a protest by 100,000 dissidents at the Lincoln Memorial in October 1967. In November 1969, they joined Seeger, Coretta Scott King, and Senators George McGovern (D-SD) and Eugene McCarthy (D-MN) in the March Against Death, also in Washington, D.C.

In 1967, Yarrow composed the antiwar song "The Great Mandala (The Wheel of Life)," later issued on Peter, Paul and Mary's retrospective album *Songs of Conscience and Concern* (1999). A portion of that album's proceeds was donated to nonprofit organizations, including the Center for Constitutional Rights, the Children's Defense Fund, and Oxfam.

In 1970, the group disbanded, as each member recorded solo albums. They united again in 1978 for an antinuclear fund-raiser at the Hollywood Bowl. And in 2005, Peter, Paul and Mary joined the Townsfolk and the Weavers—vocal groups of the 1950s and early 1960s—in *The Civil War*, a documentary video in which they sang folk music of the nineteenth century.

As an ensemble, Peter, Paul and Mary exhibited their complementary personalities and spirituality in such popular songs as "Puff the Magic Dragon" and "Early in the Morning." "Wedding Song" (1971), composed for Yarrow's

marriage to Marybeth McCarthy, the niece of former Senator Eugene McCarthy, and originally released by Stookey, became the founding piece for the Public Domain Foundation, an organization promoting the creation of cause-related music for social and political justice. Stookey's solo performance was reissued on the group's boxed-set recording *Carry It On* (2004). In its program notes, Coretta Scott King remembered the trio as "three of the performing arts' most outstanding champions of social justice." Mary Travers, suffering from leukemia, died on September 16, 2009.

Ralph Hartsock

See also: [Civil Rights Movement](#); [Folk Music](#); [Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#); [Newport Folk Festival](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Peyote

The common name for a spineless cactus (*Lophophora williamsii*) with hallucinogenic properties, peyote is found in the southwestern United States and Mexico. Known to indigenous peoples for approximately 10,000 years, peyote has played an important part in some Native American cultures and, in the 1950s and 1960s, sparked an interest in therapeutic psychedelic-substance use. The dried top of the peyote cactus is called a mescal button, and contains more than fifty psychoactive ingredients, including mescaline. When ingested, peyote induces a trancelike state that may last up to twelve hours. Mescaline, isolated from the cactus in 1896 and synthesized in 1918, produces similar effects.

At least 2,000 years before European explorers recorded the use of peyote, indigenous peoples of what are now Mexico and the American Southwest were using the "divine plant" in religious and healing ceremonies. Because peyote induces an altered state of consciousness, these cultures considered it a direct link with the divine and believed it bestowed special powers of healing and clairvoyance on its users.

Spanish conquistadors and Jesuits who came to the New World in the early sixteenth century considered the use of peyote a threat to Christianity and sought to curtail it. Nevertheless, the use of peyote spread to more northern tribes by the late 1800s. Native Americans restricted to reservations began to conduct peyote ceremonies in an effort to revitalize their disintegrating culture. The Cheyenne, Shawnee, Blackfoot, Sioux, and other tribes as far north as Canada adopted peyote rituals at the urgings of Native American prophets such as John Wilson. The Kiowa and Comanche, who had been relocated to Oklahoma, were active proponents of the new peyote religion.

Further opposition to peyote use, this time from local governments, ensued. In 1918, native peoples in Oklahoma organized the Native American Church to protect their freedom of religion, incorporating peyotism—the sacramental use of the drug—as a central element of the faith. By 1922, the church had more than 13,000 members; in the 2000s, membership is estimated at about 250,000.

In the early twentieth century, several intellectuals, including psychologists William James and Havelock Ellis,

experimented with mescaline. In 1953, the English novelist and essayist Aldous Huxley wrote *The Doors of Perception* about the visionary states he had achieved during his first mescaline experience, prompting widespread interest in the use of psychedelic substances in psychiatric treatment as well as for spiritual insight. In the 1950s and 1960s, researchers explored the use of mescaline in treating alcoholism and other psychological problems. At the same time, anthropologists set out to witness the search for wild peyote and its ceremonial use in Native American cultures.

In 1978, the U.S. Congress passed the American Indian Religious Freedom Act, which protected the rights of Native Americans to conduct traditional rituals in their worship. In 1990, however, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Employment Division v. Smith* that peyote use for religious reasons is not protected by the First Amendment and allowed states to regulate the substance.

A storm of protest led to passage of the Religious Freedom Restoration Act in 1993, which was amended in 1994 specifically to permit the religious use of peyote by Native Americans. Although peyote ceremonies differ from tribe to tribe, the Huichol people of western Mexico still conduct peyote ceremonies, as do members of the Native American Church and more than forty Native American tribes.

The controversy over peyote use for religious purposes challenged established boundaries between state and federal law and the rights of individuals to religious freedom. Scientific and anthropological research into the medicinal, psychological, and spiritual uses of peyote also challenged mainstream views about the regulation of illegal substances and the value of altered states of consciousness.

Kim Hewitt

See also: [Huxley, Aldous](#); [Native American Church](#); [Native Americans](#).

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Pfaff's Cellar

Pfaff's Cellar was a subterranean gathering place for American bohemians in antebellum New York. Housed beneath 653 Broadway, north of Bleecker Street, Pfaff's Cellar welcomed writers, artists, intellectuals, actors, and its largest group, journalists. Notable among its patrons were Fitz-James O'Brien, Thomas Bailey Aldrich, Fitz Hugh Ludlow, George Arnold, Walt Whitman, and Henry Clapp, Jr. Pfaff's went against the cultural norm of the times by welcoming women through its doors. Ada Clare, often referred to as the "Queen of Bohemia," was in Pfaff's as much as her male counterparts.

Established by Charles Pfaff in 1855 and modeled after the German rathskeller, Pfaff's became the favorite place

for New York bohemians under the dynamic force of Henry Clapp—the “King of Bohemia” and editor of the *Saturday Review*. Its interior was dark, not very clean, and cramped. Regular patrons were referred to as Pfaffians, cave dwellers, or Clappians.

When the Clappians began meeting at Pfaff’s in the 1850s, the bohemian spirit was still largely a French idea. Edgar Allan Poe, an American who embodied the bohemian spirit and lifestyle, functioned as a kind of spiritual ancestor to the Pfaffians. Poe’s morose cynicism devolved to the Pfaffians, who often talked of suicide and drank heavily—even if observers regarded them as a convivial group of people. Poe’s penury was another aspect of bohemianism that the Pfaffians knew firsthand.

One of Pfaff’s famous patrons was Walt Whitman, who had published the second edition of his poetry collection *Leaves of Grass* in 1856. While Whitman spent many nights at Pfaff’s, he was more of an observer than a participant. Rather than take a place at the table, he would sit, back against the wall, and watch the activities of the evening. He did not drink as much as his companions, but he did receive their praise and, sometimes, their teasing for his poetry.

The American Civil War intruded into the lives of the Pfaffians, propelling them in various directions. The early innocence of the 1850s Pfaffians was replaced by the Poe-like cynicism captured in graffiti on the cellar walls: “See Pfaff’s and die” (referring to the deaths of many of the original patrons).

Pfaff’s had good wine and ale; its food got mixed reviews. Some people did enjoy Pfaff’s ales, wines, and cheeses, but when people wanted a fine dining experience, they would eat at nearby Delmonico’s. Pfaff moved business to midtown in 1870, and the original building was demolished. Pfaff’s Cellar is remembered not for its food or location, but for the people who met there and their bohemian spirit.

Michael Susko

See also: [Bohemianism](#); [Clapp, Henry](#); [Ludlow, Fitz Hugh](#); [O’Brien, Fitz-James \(1828–862\)](#); [Brien, Fitz-James](#); [Whitman, Walt](#).

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Phish

Phish was an American rock band active from 1983 to 2004 and known for its fusion of musical styles, extended improvisational jam sessions, and community of followers in the tradition of the Grateful Dead. Its most devoted fans—referred to as Phans or Phisheads, among other terms—followed the band from concert to concert for weeks or months on end and took on the identity of a distinctive community or subculture.

Formed in 1983 at the University of Vermont, the original band included Trey Anastasio (guitar), Mike Gordon (bass), John Fishman (drums), and Jeff Holdsworth (guitar). Marc Daubert (drums) joined in late 1984 and left in

early 1985; Holdsworth left in 1986. The other longest-running member, Page McConnell (keyboards), joined the band in 1985. Phish followed a meteoric climb from the club scene of Burlington, Vermont, to regional touring and larger clubs, and finally to theaters, indoor arenas, and sprawling outdoor festival sites worldwide.

Phish drew from a wide range of musical influences, including rock, jazz, psychedelia, bluegrass, metal, blues, country, Latin, calypso, folk, funk, hardcore, Broadway, and classical. The band was known for simple lyrics, sophisticated instrumentals, extended improvisation, and extensive musical communication. Phish distinguished itself from other bands by its combination of technical skill, diverse styling, creativity, experimentation, and in-depth study of music across all genres.

Above all, Phish was known and appreciated as a live band. Its extensive song list and tour history encompassed more than 600 songs played at 1,183 shows—and it never played the same set twice. Shows were filled with the antics of band members and the hijinks of audience members. Props used by band members included trampolines, vacuum cleaners, and a Slip'n Slide. The diversity of their music, unpredictable nature of their shows, and roving community of fans define the essence of Phish. Its outdoor concerts became massive festivals that broke records for both attendance and playing duration.

Wherever, whenever, and however Phish played, music was always the focal point—and community was the result. Phish shows were not just concerts; they were throwbacks to the “happenings” of the 1960s. For the devoted, the “event” would start with a road trip, followed by quality time in the parking lot. The “lot scene,” as it was called, was a kind of bazaar at which participants would mingle, converse, and connect, often bartering such items as beads, hemp products, foodstuffs, tapes, CDs, and just about anything imaginable. Then, indoors or outside, the lights would lower, the smoke would rise, and the music and dancing would begin.

Credibility within the Phish subculture was based on the number of shows attended, knowledge of facts about the band, and open-mindedness toward other Phans. Conversations might be filled with requests for extra tickets, catching up with friends, “calling” (predicting) songs, and telling tales from tours. Broader communication might cover politics, sexuality, and spirituality, about which the Phish subculture was generally more open and accepting than society at large. Divisions within the subculture might readily be observed between young professionals swilling from large coolers of beer and more streetwise drifters selling grilled cheese sandwiches or veggie burritos to get to the next show.

Commonly observed apparel included roomy threads reminiscent of hippie or rave clothing styles; hair was generally long and unshaven. Yet it would be a mistake to categorize Phans as hippies, for theirs was a distinct subculture steeped more in music and partying than in antiwar protest or demonstrating for social justice. Exceptions to the ethic of partying for partying's sake were the efforts of the so-called Phunky Bitches, who provided rides and personal care items to women fans in need, and the Mockingbird Foundation, a nonprofit, volunteer organization founded by Phish fans in 1997 to support music education for children.

Phish lyrics were often mysterious, lending themselves to wild speculation, interpretation, and rumor. The song played live most frequently, “You Enjoy Myself” (from the studio album *Junta*, released in 1988), is said to have derived from words uttered during a tour through Italy, though their true origin and meaning remain unknown. That the band's lyrics were often indecipherable was of great appeal, creating fodder for ongoing dialogue and community building.

The stamina and community feeling of the Phish subculture were embodied in seven weekend-long festivals: the Clifford Ball (1996), the Great Went (1997), Lemonwheel (1998), Camp Oswego (1999), Big Cypress (1999), It (2003), and Coventry (2004). The largest, with more than 85,000 people in attendance, was Big Cypress, held December 30 to 31, 1999, at the Big Cypress Seminole Indian Reservation in Florida. Big Cypress was also the longest Phish concert, with the band playing multiple sets over two nights, culminating in a seven-hour set ending at sunrise on New Year's Day.

Phish, as a musical act, officially came to an end in 2004, when Anastasio announced on Phish.com that the band

was breaking up. The band's final concert was held at the Coventry Festival in northern Vermont in August 2004. In keeping with tradition, and for one last weekend, Phish fans created their own community, one larger than many cities.

To the delight of its fans, the band held three reunion concerts in Hampton, Virginia, in March 2009, followed by thirteen shows on a summer tour, the release of a new album—*Joy*—in September, and a fall tour. So, too, the traveling Phish community was revived in full force

Todd Anderson

See also: [Grateful Dead: Rock and Roll](#).

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Physical Culture Movement

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century proponents of Physical Culture—what many people today would call bodybuilding, but which at the time encompassed both other activities and a more expansive philosophy—saw it as a way to restore a vitality they thought they were at risk of losing. To begin with, many white Americans at the time, particularly those in the middle class, were anxious about their place in a country that was changing quickly and drastically. Many were now living in big cities and working for large, impersonal companies, which contributed to a sense of anonymity and loss of community.

The growing sense of alienation and loss of autonomy, combined with contemporary theories about evolution and Social Darwinism—the idea that biological evolution and survival of the fittest operate in society as well, and that social evolution is a product of group conflict—led some to think that perhaps America was becoming *too* civilized. Concerns that turn-of-the-century lifestyles were making Americans “soft” and vulnerable to diseases such as neurasthenia (a widely diagnosed physical ailment thought to be the result of insufficient physical stimulation) thus carried apparent threats to the survival of native-born white Americans as a distinct civilization. And they did so at a time when non-Anglo-Saxon immigrants were entering the country in unprecedented numbers. These newcomers, many of whom worked in physically demanding industrial occupations, seemed to possess exactly the kind of primitive physical prowess that native-born whites were afraid of losing.

The same trends in work also led to increased time for and emphasis on structured recreational activities. The increasing bureaucratization of society and separation of occupation from personal identity contributed to an increased emphasis on crafts, hobbies, vacationing, and physical fitness, among other activities, as expressions of individuality and self-identity. Many people simultaneously gained the means and motivation to begin efforts at self-improvement. Increasingly, they sought out activities and products that would provide them with intense experiences and restored physical vitality, through which they could enjoy all the benefits of living in an advanced civilization while retaining their physical dynamism.

Physical Culture and Its Advocates

Physical Culture was seen as a way of retaining that dynamism by building muscles and strength. The movement challenged long-held beliefs that the body's energy is finite, overexertion depletes that supply and leads to ill health, and maintaining a slight physique helps conserve energy and health. Physical Culture advocates, by contrast, believed that with proper habits, especially vigorous exercise, the body could be shaped, repaired, and conditioned for better health. It is a perfectible machine with a capacity for producing more energy can be tapped the individual.

“Muscular Christianity,” an important element of the broader Physical Culture movement, took this concept further by connecting perfection of the body with perfection of the spirit. It combined the popular emphasis on individualism with concerns about protecting the United States as a whole. Bolstered by such prominent adherents as President Theodore Roosevelt, it held that the best Christians are the strongest and the fittest, and, therefore, that cultivating physical prowess through sports such as weightlifting and boxing advances American Christian civilization.

To address this new public interest and way of thinking, entrepreneurs were quick to begin offering a wide variety of products and services. Among them was the influential European strongman “Professor” Louis Attila (born Ludwig Durlacher), who used his nickname in part to gain prestige for the importance of physical education. Attila came to the United States in 1893 having already run several successful gymnasiums in Europe. After opening a few relatively modest gyms, he constructed an ornate and lavish one in New York City that catered to the social elite. Its clients included financier J.P. Morgan, sportsman Alfred Vanderbilt, theatrical producer Florenz Ziegfeld, theatrical manager Oscar Hammerstein, bandmaster and composer John Philip Sousa, and heavyweight boxing champion James J. Corbett. Their presence both demonstrated and reinforced the popularity of the movement. At first resistant to training women, Attila finally relented, and one of his female students, Carolyn Bowman, became well known for her physique and strength.

The new values of the Physical Culture movement combined with changes in mass culture to help produce a new type of fitness celebrity. The most famous were Attila's student Eugen Sandow and Bernarr Macfadden. Both men sought to embody Physical Culture and the perfection to which it could raise its practitioners, and each believed that his own methods were the most effective ways to achieve that perfection. They considered fitness the most important attribute any person can possess—more so than wealth or social standing—because it is the foundation of all other attributes, including physical health. They considered sickness and physical weakness to be the consequences of bad personal choices and weakness of character. The connection between a person's physical body and inner self was clear to them, and they believed one should cultivate the former to benefit the latter. Accordingly, both men sought always to be the personification of health and strength.

Sandow was born Friedrich Müller in Königsberg, Germany, in 1867. He worked as a circus strongman and wrestler early in his career, but, with the aid of various managers, turned bodybuilding into a business, selling fitness publications and a variety of products to satisfy the public's fascination and desire to acquire a physique like his. Becoming the proverbial poster child (or poster man) of Physical Culture, he made money by displaying his body in exhibitions and photographs and projecting his personal charisma. He was so admired by women that, when he married, his manager tried to conceal the fact in order to maintain the image of his availability. Male emulators were legion.

A talented self-promoter known to be liberal with the truth, Sandow gave countless interviews, produced a magazine to advertise himself and his fitness advice, and published several autobiographies, all of them ghostwritten and containing a number of inconsistencies. He spent much of his career in England, but successfully toured the United States for several years in the 1890s. He left an enduring impression, especially on the man who became his greatest rival, Bernarr Macfadden, who saw Sandow at the Chicago World's Fair of 1893.

Bernarr Macfadden, born in Mill Spring, Missouri, in 1868, had a poor and sickly childhood but grew up to become the most financially successful American bodybuilder of his time, a man whose tombstone bears the inscription

“Father of Physical Culture.” Like Sandow, Macfadden worked for a time as a wrestler, but he soon recognized the business opportunities offered by Physical Culture and capitalized on them. Also like Sandow, he was liberal with the truth about his personal life in the many books and articles he wrote or to which he contributed.

Macfadden used his celebrity status to launch the movement’s first magazine, initially called *Physical Culture*, in 1899, beating *Sandow’s Magazine* by only a few months. A talented businessman, Macfadden used the magazine as the foundation of what would become a publishing empire, Macfadden Publications, which later included such popular titles as *True Story* and *True Romances*, as well as magazines on sports and film and a tabloid newspaper. His holdings also included several hotels, gymnasiums that featured his own style of physical training, and a breakfast cereal called Strengthro.

Both Sandow and Macfadden considered Physical Culture more than just a business and themselves as more than just exercise trainers. They thought of themselves as health reformers, offering a range of lifestyle advice that often challenged both the social conventions and medical wisdom of the time. Macfadden, for example, saw an equal place for women in Physical Culture. He published the first fitness magazine for women, *Women’s Physical Development*, held contests to find the best physically formed woman, and advised women that exercise and muscle development were the way to real beauty. Macfadden was also an advocate of sexual education and, to an extent, sexual liberation. He believed that sex within marriage is healthy, that men should be vigorous lovers, and that women should acknowledge and embrace their own sexual drives.

The medical advice of both men was as unsound as their biographical information: Sandow sold his own line of cigars, and Macfadden was an outspoken disbeliever in germ theory.

Decline and Legacy

The Physical Culture movement thrived well into the 1920s, but declined quickly after the onset of the Great Depression in 1929. Many Americans no longer had the disposable income to spend on gym fees, exercise equipment, or even fitness magazines, and neither of the movement’s two greatest spokesmen was able to stop the decline. Sandow had died in 1925, and the Great Depression took such a severe toll on Macfadden Publications that the founder was ousted from the company (although he remained an active businessman and Physical Culture advocate throughout his life).

The movement did not disappear, however, as a young fan of both Sandow and Macfadden—an Italian immigrant named Angelo Siciliano—ensured that many of the ideals of Physical Culture would live on. In 1922, Siciliano, better known as Charles Atlas, cemented his status as “The World’s Most Perfectly Developed Man” by winning two consecutive contests held by Macfadden and *Physical Culture* magazine. After the second victory, Atlas began selling his own fitness program via the mail, creating what would eventually become one of the most successful mail-order businesses in American history.

Charles Atlas Ltd. took off in the late 1920s after its founder took on a partner named Charles Roman. The company continued to thrive during the Depression because the program stressed affordability. Atlas spurned expensive weightlifting equipment and gym membership fees in favor of an early form of isometric exercise he called “Dynamic Tension.” The only expense was a relatively low one-time fee for the correspondence course.

Atlas was as emphatic a health adviser as his predecessors, but he adapted many of Physical Culture’s concepts regarding health and fitness to new times. His company’s most famous ad, aimed at young men and boys, portrayed muscular development as a way to handle the threat of bullies and offset adolescent insecurity. Still, the program touted benefits to all participants of all ages. Like his predecessors, Atlas considered fitness a lifestyle, not a hobby, and he offered advice on everything from proper sleep habits to the health benefits of regular enemas.

Atlas served as a critical bridge for the Physical Culture movement, helping many of its concepts endure even as others faded. Many of the principles continue to be followed in the 2000s, some directly. Atlas’s company, for

example, remains in business. But the legacy also continues in subtler ways. The public's interest in bodybuilding, muscle-bound movie stars such as former bodybuilder Arnold Schwarzenegger, and in exercising and staying fit retain elements that originated with the turn-of-the-twentieth-century Physical Culture movement.

Jack Fiorini

See also: [Macfadden, Bernarr](#).

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Pilgrims

The Pilgrims were radical Puritans (also known as Separatists), religious dissidents who fled from England in 1608 to Holland and then to North America to found Plymouth Plantation in 1620, the first English colony in what was to become known as New England. Their historic voyage across the Atlantic Ocean on a ship called the *Mayflower* in search of religious freedom, their survival during their first year, and the feast celebrated with the Pokanoket chief (*sachem*) Massasoit became the basis for the holiday of Thanksgiving and part of the founding myth of the American nation. They were America's first countercultural group.

Puritans, so named because they sought to “purify” the Church of England, opposed the dominant religious culture by rejecting the established church hierarchy, liturgy, and doctrines. They believed that the Reformation had not gone far enough and wanted to rid the Anglican church of Catholic influence. While many Puritans wanted to reform the church from within, the Separatists broke with it altogether and formed independent congregations.

By refusing to participate in the Church of England, the Separatists faced the wrath of the government. Many were persecuted or executed; others fled to the city of Leiden in Holland. After living there for about ten years, a small congregation decided to leave for North America and establish a settlement where they could practice their religion freely and perpetuate their own traditions and lifestyle. The group left Leiden in July 1620, stopped in England to secure finances, and sailed west on the *Mayflower*, dropping anchor at Cape Cod on November 21, 1620. From there, they explored the area inland, looking for a suitable place to settle.

Before establishing their settlement, they drew up the historic Mayflower Compact, a document through which they bound all members of the expedition—both Pilgrims and non-Pilgrims—to a common code. Because the community they were about to establish was not under the jurisdiction of any English grant, it was important to declare a set of governing principles. The compact, signed by forty-one adult males, established majority rule, allegiance to King James I, and the right to establish laws. It was signed on November 11, 1620.



Pilgrim leader William Bradford reads the Mayflower Compact, establishing a “civil body politic,” before landing at what would become the Massachusetts Bay Colony. The Pilgrims were Puritan Separatists who had broken away from the Church of England. (Library of Congress)

On December 21, 1620, the Pilgrims landed at Plymouth and founded Plymouth Plantation. They spent a harsh winter, during which they built their houses, and endured a few skirmishes with Native Americans before meeting and reaching agreement with Massasoit and sachems of other nearby groups, from whom they received considerable help in surviving that first winter. That spring, the natives helped the Pilgrims learn to plant and tend crops.

In the fall of 1621, a feast was held to celebrate the survival of the colony, the harvesting of crops, and the alliance between the Pilgrims and their Native American neighbors. In all likelihood, the feast was held in September or October, not November, and consisted of venison, duck and goose, wild turkey, fish, and items made from the corn, beans, and squash the Indians had taught them how to grow. Of the 103 men, women, and children who sailed on the *Mayflower*, only fifty-two survived the journey and the first year.

Susan Love Brown

See also: [Native Americans: Puritans.](#)

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Piñero, Miguel (1946–1988)

The Puerto Rican playwright, poet, and performer Miguel Piñero was recognized as one of the key figures of the Nuyorican literary and cultural movement of the 1960s and 1970s. With a mix of irreverence and documentary realism, his work addressed such controversial topics as race and class conflict, incarceration, drug use, homosexuality, prostitution, and socioeconomic oppression. Closely identified with Manhattan's Lower East Side, and in particular with the Nuyorican Poets Café—the renowned cultural space and performance venue that he cofounded—Piñero was known as much for his outlaw persona and rousing readings as for his plays and poems. His work is notorious for its vivid, unvarnished depictions of life in the ghettos, barrios, and prisons in and around New York City.

Piñero was born on December 19, 1946, in Gurabo, Puerto Rico, to Miguel Angel Gómez Ramos and Adelina Piñero. As a young child, he moved with his parents to the Lower East Side; his father would abandon the family a few years later.

By his early teens, Piñero was involved with gangs, hustling, and experimenting with drugs, and he never graduated from high school. By age twenty, he was a heroin addict with a long criminal record, and by age twenty-five he was incarcerated in Sing Sing prison (Ossining, New York) for armed robbery.

While at Sing Sing, he became involved in a theater workshop led by directors Clay Stevenson and Marvin Felix Camillo, where he conceived what would become his best-known play, *Short Eyes* (1974), a sordid and bitterly humorous drama detailing the complex racial, sexual, and political dynamics of life in an unnamed prison. Lauded for its brutal realism and deft use of language (often mixing English and Spanish), *Short Eyes* won an Obie Award, the Drama Desk Award, and a New York Drama Critics' Circle Award for Best American Play, and launched Piñero into overnight fame.

In about 1973, Piñero and his best friend, Rutgers University professor Miguel Algarín, founded the Nuyorican Poets Café on the Lower East Side as a haven for local artists and for the area's sizable Puerto Rican community. Influenced by Beat poets such as Allen Ginsberg and by African American prison poets unknown to the outside world, the bilingual, vernacular, and performance-oriented poems that Piñero showcased at the Poets Café would come to define the Nuyorican movement. They also formed the core of the groundbreaking anthology he coedited with Algarín, *Nuyorican Poetry: An Anthology of Puerto Rican Words and Feelings* (1975). A sampling of these poems, which anticipate the hip-hop and spoken word poetics of the 1990s, was published in 1980 as *La Bodega Sold Dreams*.

In the late 1970s and 1980s, Piñero capitalized on the success of *Short Eyes*, occasionally editing and writing

scripts for television police dramas. He even secured some acting roles on television and in films such as *Fort Apache, the Bronx* (1981), but mostly in secondary roles or typecast as a drug dealer or street person.

Despite his flirtation with Hollywood, Piñero continued writing and publishing, and he was awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1984. Later plays, such as the ironic *The Sun Always Shines for the Cool* (1984), continue his exploration of the outlaw fringes, though none came close to the critical success of *Short Eyes*.

Miguel Piñero died of cirrhosis of the liver in New York City, on June 16, 1988. He is the subject of the Leon Ichaso film *Piñero* (2001).

Urayoán Noel

See also: [Ginsberg, Allen: Nuyorican Poets Café](#) .

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Pirate Radio

The term *pirate radio* refers to illegal or unwelcome forms of radio broadcasting, usually as unlicensed stations that transmit without official permission. An unlicensed FM station (often run by an amateur radio operator) that manages to occupy a commercial or state-run FM band is an example of a pirate or "bootleg" radio station. Radio stations that operate on legal bandwidths in one location may be considered pirate radio stations in another location, if the station violates the latter's licensing regulations or broadcasting laws. Pirate radio stations operate both on land and at sea, often from transmitting points in international waters and beyond the boundaries of conventional law enforcement.

The earliest forerunner of the pirate radio station was Radio Luxembourg, a small private radio station that began to transmit French- and English-language broadcasts from the Grand Duchy of Luxembourg in 1933. The station was shut down during World War II but returned to the airwaves in the 1950s—and its English-language broadcasts soon began to compete with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) for listening audiences in the United Kingdom. Radio Luxembourg was popular and successful with British audiences, but according to British broadcasting law, it was an "unauthorized" radio station and therefore illegal.

The commercial success of Radio Luxembourg inspired the creation of other pirate radio stations broadcasting to or within the United Kingdom, such as Radio Caroline and Wonderful Radio London. Many of these stations broadcast from sea-based locations, such as specially designed transmitter ships and other marine structures anchored in the waters off the British Isles. The heyday of pirate radio in the United Kingdom drew to a close in the 1970s as changes in broadcasting technology, increased competition from officially licensed broadcasting stations, and increased interference from regulatory authorities made it uneconomical and overly complicated to operate a pirate station.

In the United States, pirate radio stations were part of the counterculture movement of the late 1960s. As an act of rebellion against the mainstream media, small amateur radio operators began to produce unlicensed, clandestine broadcasts described as “free radio.” As its name suggests, free radio was designed to be accessible to anyone without cost, unencumbered by the weight of corporate advertising or political regulation said to taint the programming of mainstream, licensed networks. Advocates of amateur broadcasting soon adopted the term “free radio,” and the Free Radio Association was founded in the United Kingdom to advocate for the rights of amateur radio operators who wished to continue producing their own pirate broadcasts.

U.S. government efforts to shut down pirate radio stations centered on official restrictions on low-power broadcasting. In 1979, the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) eliminated the class D license, the only one available to small, low-power radio stations such as local or college stations. Without an official license, a station could be forced off the air entirely or bumped down to secondary status, severely hampering its broadcast range and accessibility to a potential audience.

Pirate radio stations nonetheless managed to survive. Attempts by the FCC to track down and prosecute pirate radio broadcasts were not always successful, in part because of the wide availability of inexpensive and portable radio equipment. In 2000, after much lobbying on the part of amateur and local radio enthusiasts, the FCC reinstated low-power FM licenses.

Seen from the perspective of Soviet and Eastern European authorities, the U.S. government was also guilty of producing pirate radio transmissions during the cold war era. Radio Free Europe, created in 1950 and initially funded and directed through the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), broadcast news, information, and American propaganda to the Soviet Union and communist countries of Eastern Europe. Although the original transmitting stations were not illegal, the broadcast material led government authorities in the targeted countries to attempt to jam these unauthorized broadcasts—in much the same way that British and American regulatory authorities attempted to suppress pirate radio stations.

With the development of new digital recording technologies and the wider availability of and access to resources for online broadcasting (clandestine or otherwise), many pirate radio stations have moved from the airwaves to the Internet. Attempts by the FCC and the Recording Industry Association of America (RIAA) to place restrictions on the online broadcasting of music—by instituting mandatory fees that online radio stations must pay to broadcast music legally, for instance—have been met with fierce opposition and protests from old and new free radio enthusiasts. In this sense, pirate radio broadcasters on the Internet continue to carry on the traditions of Radio Caroline and other well-known icons of the amateur radio counterculture.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Radio](#).

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Pirsig, Robert M. (1928–)

Robert Maynard Pirsig is known as the author of *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* (1974), a philosophical novel that describes his life as a child prodigy who spent his time trying to relate to society and individuals. In the book, Pirsig articulates a philosophy he calls the Metaphysics of Quality (MOQ), a way of viewing reality influenced by his study of East Asian philosophy, pragmatism, and Native American culture. Since its original publication, *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance* has sold millions of copies worldwide. It retains its status as a cult favorite into the twenty-first century.

Pirsig was born on September 6, 1928, in Minneapolis, Minnesota. His father was a law professor who spent most of his career teaching at the University of Minnesota Law School. Pirsig was quickly recognized as a prodigy; when he was nine years old, his IQ was measured at 170. Because his abilities were beyond those of other children his age, school administrators advanced him several grades. His youth, small size, and lack of social maturity, however, made it hard for Pirsig to get along with other students. He was often bullied and fell under enormous stress.

By the time he was fifteen, Pirsig was taking college courses at the University of Minnesota. At first, he hoped to specialize in biochemistry, but he could not reconcile the idea that more than one hypothesis could explain various phenomena observed in science. As a result, he turned away from science to search for life's answers in other areas.

In 1946, Pirsig was expelled from the University of Minnesota for insufficient attention to his studies and poor grades. After drifting around Montana, he joined the U.S. Army and was shipped out to South Korea, where he began to study Buddhism and other Asian philosophies. He returned to the University of Minnesota in 1948 to formalize those studies and received a bachelor's degree in 1950; he continued his exploration of Eastern spirituality at Banaras Hindu University in India for a year and a half.

In 1952, he enrolled at the University of Minnesota School of Journalism, where he coedited the university's literary magazine, *The Ivory Tower*, with Nancy Ann James. In 1953, the couple moved to Reno, where James divorced her husband and later married Pirsig.

Pirsig continued his search for enlightenment during the 1950s, even while slipping into mental instability. He supported his family with freelance writing jobs before taking a position teaching first-year students at Montana State College in 1959. His teaching methods were considered unconventional at best; for example, he urged his students to define *quality* in rigorous terms, but he refused to grade their efforts.

After moving to the University of Illinois in Chicago in 1961, Pirsig became unable to function. Over the next two years, he was in and out of mental hospitals and received electroconvulsive shock treatments. He returned to freelance writing but continued to suffer from depression during the 1960s. In an effort to forge a closer bond with his son Chris, Pirsig took him on a cross-country motorcycle trip during the summer of 1968.

It was during that trip that Pirsig began to write *Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance*, outlining his philosophy of quality. After writing a substantial portion, Pirsig sent copies of the manuscript to publishers. The book was rejected by more than 120 publishers, until James Landis, an editor at William Morrow, recognized its potential; in 1973, the manuscript was finally accepted for publication.

Zen and the Art of Motorcycle Maintenance is Pirsig's story of his quest for truth, using the motorcycle trip as a metaphor for the philosophical journey he had undertaken in life. Through his narrator, Phaedrus, Pirsig discusses the different ways in which people view the universe: While some are satisfied with the large picture without focusing on details, others need to know the inner workings of things. Pirsig saw the best approach as one that combines the Japanese philosophy of Zen Buddhism with rational thought and reason.

The book quickly gained a dedicated following. Many in the American counterculture, themselves searching for

meaning and truth, were entranced by the novel. For Pirsig, however, life continued to be difficult. Chris was stabbed to death in a random mugging in 1979. Pirsig had divorced his wife in 1978 and remarried later that year. He and his second wife, Wendy, spent most of their time sailing, while he worked on his second book, *Lila: An Inquiry into Morals* (1991), which develops his notions of quality through the story of a boat trip on the Hudson River.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Beat Generation](#).

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Poe, Edgar Allan (1809–1849)

The nineteenth-century short story writer, poet, literary critic, and editor Edgar Allan Poe, best known for his tales of the mysterious and grotesque, is also credited with developing the short story as an American art form, creating the detective genre, and writing one of the earliest, if not first, modern science fiction stories. In literary circles, he was and is known for his critical reviews and keen eye for talent. His collected reviews, *The Literati of New York* (1846), promoted the careers of such early-nineteenth-century American writers as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Caroline Kirkland, and Epes Sargent. His critical theory, formulated in *The Poetic Principle* (1848), foreshadowed the rules and methods of New Criticism, the leading literary theory of modernism. Gaining fame only after death, Poe has become a symbol of the troubled genius or misunderstood artist. He was emblematic of the struggling writer, never gaining financial security, never earning his living from his stories and poems, and suffering from health problems and personal tragedy in addition to poverty. Contrary to myth, however, he was not an alcoholic, a drug addict, or mentally unstable.

Poe was born in Boston on January 19, 1809. His parents, David Poe and Elizabeth Hopkins, were traveling actors. After their separation and Elizabeth's death, in 1811, the two-year-old Edgar was taken into the Virginia home of John Allan, a Richmond merchant, and his wife, Frances.

Poe received a superior education and at age seventeen matriculated at the University of Virginia in Charlottesville. He was an excellent student but soon left the university, as Allan withheld living and study expenses over Poe's gambling debts and literary interests. Thus began an estranged relationship between the two.

Poe enlisted in the U.S. Army, earned the rank of sergeant major, and quietly began his literary career, publishing his first collection of poems, *Tamerlane and Other Poems* (1827), anonymously. In 1830, he entered the United States Military Academy at West Point (New York), but, not receiving sufficient money or support from his foster

father, purposely broke regulations to get himself discharged. His next publication, *Poems by Edgar Allan Poe, Second Edition* (1831), was dedicated to his fellow West Point cadets; it did not meet with critical notice.

His first literary success came with “A MS Found in a Bottle” (1833), which won the *Baltimore Saturday Visitor’s* prize for best story and earned him the position of editor at the *Southern Literary Messenger* in Richmond in 1835. That same year, he secretly married his thirteen-year-old cousin, Virginia Clemm. So began his turbulent literary career, which included editorial positions at *Graham’s Magazine* (1841–1842) and the *New York Evening Mirror* (1844).

Poe moved to Philadelphia in 1838 and lived there until 1844; these were his most fruitful years. In 1838, he published “Ligeia,” his favorite story, which, along with “The Unparalleled Adventures of One Hans Pfaal” (1835), is considered an early example of American science fiction. Also in 1838, Poe published his only novel, *The Narrative of Arthur Gordon Pym*.

In 1839, he published “The Fall of the House of Usher,” one of his most-anthologized stories. “The Murders in the Rue Morgue” (1841), featuring the character Auguste Dupin, and “The Purloined Letter” (1845) are credited as the originators of the detective genre.

In 1842, he published “The Masque of the Red Death.” This was followed by Poe’s most prolific year, 1843, during which he published “The Black Cat,” “The Tell-Tale Heart,” and “The Pit and the Pendulum.” These stories follow the romantic tradition, marked by the macabre, horrific, terrifying, and gothic (though exaggeration of the gothic often hints at irony and parody).

In 1844, Poe moved to New York to work for the *New York Evening Mirror* and later the *Broadway Journal* (1845–1846), which he owned. Although owning a newspaper fulfilled a lifelong dream, the *Broadway* went bankrupt due to unpaid previous debts.

During his New York years, Poe published “The Raven” (1844) and *The Raven and Other Poems* (1845). These works influenced the French poet Charles Baudelaire, who described Poe as a social rebel and became a catalyst of the French symbolist movement. Poe published the last of his famous stories, “The Cask of Amontillado” in 1846. He lost his wife to tuberculosis the following year.

Poe died in Baltimore on October 7, 1849. The cause of his death is still a matter of speculation, but the more reasonable theories attribute it to any of several possible illnesses, including diabetes, epilepsy, and brain lesions.

Jeff Williams

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Polar Bear Clubs

A Polar Bear Club is a group or organization in which members participate in the pastime of swimming in extremely cold waters, particularly during winter when the temperature of oceans and lakes drops to freezing or near-freezing. The practice may include ice swimming (done in a body of water where the surface has frozen over but where the water below the surface remains liquid), but the water does not have to be frozen for members of a Polar Bear Club to swim in it.

In the United States, the Coney Island Polar Bear Club in New York is the oldest organization devoted to ice swimming and winter bathing. It was founded in 1904 by physical fitness advocate Bernarr Macfadden, an early proponent of the benefits of ice swimming as part of a health-conscious lifestyle. Ice swimming was only one of the alternative fitness ideas that Macfadden promoted—his Physical Culture diet included long walks, semivegetarian eating habits, fresh air, and minimal clothing—but the club he founded has continued to attract members since its inception.

The Coney Island Polar Bear Club holds open swims starting in January of each year, most often in the open waters near New York City and specifically near Coney Island (Brooklyn). The club also supports local charitable causes and organizations through fundraising and sponsorship drives, encouraging members of the public to participate in the pastime. A loosely organized network of Polar Bear Clubs and other ice swimming groups and organizations helps connect aficionados in different cities in the United States and around the world, creating an extended subculture.

Club members claim that a number of health benefits can be derived from swimming in cold water. It is said to improve circulation and ease the general symptoms of arthritis, and some ice swimmers claim that regular dips in cold water also may help improve the immune system's ability to resist colds and flu.

The health benefits of ice swimming may be considered a form of alternative medicine. Club members who treat diagnosed medical conditions with ice swimming are participating in a form of physical therapy that many health and medical professionals would consider ineffective, counterproductive, or even physically hazardous. Indeed, the American Medical Association proclaimed Macfadden a practitioner of medical quackery.

Polar Bear Clubs are in part designed to cater to the safety of their members. The dangers of swimming in extremely cold water include hypothermia, which can quickly incapacitate a swimmer and lead to drowning. Ice swimming and other forms of winter bathing also carry the danger of a specific kind of physiological shock caused by the “mammalian diving reflex,” a reflexive reaction that may induce cardiac or respiratory arrest. Not even experienced bathers are immune to this phenomenon, though individuals who are generally in good health usually have less cause for concern than those who have existing heart or other health conditions.

Many clubs provide special equipment to help bathers warm up quickly and safely if they get into difficulties during an icy plunge. Most important, swimming in larger and well-organized groups such as Polar Bear Clubs allows participants to keep an eye on one another and ensure that everyone stays safe in the frigid water.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Macfadden, Bernarr: Physical Culture Movement.](#)

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Pop, Iggy (1947–)

Dubbed by music critics the “godfather of punk rock” for his groundbreaking style, Iggy Pop is one of the most innovative and tenacious countercultural musical figures of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Although he has never topped the sales charts, Pop has an extensive and highly dedicated fan base in the both the United States and overseas, with a solo discography built up over more than thirty years and a reputation for dynamic stage performance.

Born James Newell Osterberg, Jr., in Ann Arbor, Michigan, on April 21, 1947, the fledgling musician changed his name to Iggy after one of his early bands, the Iguanas. As Iggy Pop, he has consistently flirted with diverse genres, from rock to glam to punk to heavy metal and back to punk, although he has never embraced pop music. Yet he has always retained a distinct musical style, a unique stage persona (incorporating self-mutilation and exhibitionism in his act), and his own personal approach to life.

Pop, whose first important recording was made with his band the Stooges in 1968, proved influential on the American and U.K. music scenes, making it big in glam rock circles. With his punk music of the late 1970s, he influenced icons from the Sex Pistols and the Ramones to such later bands as Guns N’ Roses, the Red Hot Chili Peppers, and, later, Sum 41 and Green Day. Although Pop has enjoyed a revival thanks to the emergence of neo-punk, he was quoted as saying, “I’m not a punk anymore. I’m a damned man!”

Pop has recorded some twenty solo albums, as well as five with the Stooges. Despite occasional hiatuses in recording, he maintains his wildly energetic stage presence. The albums *Raw Power* (1973) and *Lust for Life* (1977) are regarded by many fans and critics as among his best. Songs with which he is widely associated include “I Wanna Be Your Dog,” “No Fun,” “Lust for Life,” “Shake Appeal,” and “Candy,” recorded with Kate Pierson from the B-52s. Although he became addicted to heroin in the early 1970s (a habit he managed to kick), Pop collaborated frequently during that decade with British star David Bowie, who had a hit with his cover of Pop’s “China Girl” in 1981.

Iggy Pop has been the subject of several books, his music has been extensively covered, and no fewer than four tribute albums have been produced. In addition to performing, he has written songs for a number of films, including *Crocodile Dundee* (1986) and *Trainspotting* (1996). He also has acted in a number of film and television productions, including *Sid and Nancy* (1986), *Miami Vice* (1984–1989), *Star Trek: Deep Space Nine* (1993–1999), and *Dead Man* (1995).

Although Pop has never been particularly political, focusing more on issues of sexuality, self-esteem, and rough living, he expresses a particularly strong disenchantment with the music industry. “It’s hard to care anymore,” he wrote in 1993. “The music industry is fat and satisfied. They can buy anything, and turn anyone into a spiritual eunuch. That means no balls.... As for ‘today’s music industry’ and its bed-mate ‘music journalism,’ I just don’t care anymore. How could I?”

Julia Pine

See also: [Glam Rock](#).

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Pop Art

In the period after World War II, the American cultural ideals of suburban conformity and mass consumerism were both challenged and embraced by artists who focused their creative attention on the common consumer items flooding the nation's marketplace. Supermarket commodities from soap pads to soup cans and pop-culture products from comic books to the characters inside them became the subject of paintings and sculptures, giving rise to a new modern art form called pop.

Indeed, the new aesthetic represented an enshrinement of contemporary culture and values. Pop art was not uniquely American, as British artists also worked with popular consumer products, and the very term was coined in London by art critic Lawrence Alloway in the mid-1950s. Nevertheless, the omnipresence of American consumer products—combined with the growing international influence of the U.S. television, film, and advertising industries—made pop art a particularly American genre.

Pop art came of age in the early 1960s as the postwar art market boomed and collectors sought new artists and works to invest in and promote. Andy Warhol, Roy Lichtenstein, and James Rosenquist emerged as leaders of the movement in New York, with their work prominently featured at the 1964 World's Fair. These artists began their professional careers as commercial illustrators and designers, and they were savvy about the connections between art and business—a theme they embraced and parodied in their art.

Edward Ruscha, a Los Angeles-based artist and participant in the famous bohemian gallery Ferus (active from 1957 to 1966), often played with themes of success and failure and construction and destruction in his commercially successful paintings. In his painting *Burning Gas Station* (1965–1966), for example, he depicts the burning of a previous work, *Standard Station, Amarillo, Texas* (1963); it is the metaphorical destruction of one of the pieces that had made him famous. The subject of celebrity in modern media culture was a particular fascination of Warhol, whose *Twenty-Five Colored Marilyns* (1962) and *16 Jackies* (1964) forced viewers to see so many mechanical reproductions of the same likeness that the faces—of Marilyn Monroe and Jacqueline Kennedy, in these cases—were rendered at once mundane and iconic.

Pop artists were fascinated by the changing cultural landscape of postwar America, drawing car culture and consumer advertising into constant dialogue. In the wake of the 1956 Interstate Highway Act, an ambitious federal road construction initiative, tens of thousands of miles of asphalt were laid across the country. The new freeways were fast and uniform, marked by standardized billboard advertising, gas stations, and fast-food restaurants. Pop artist Allan D'Arcangelo commented with paintings of dark highways to nowhere, lit only by the light of gas station

signs and reflective road paint. The landscapes of both Ruscha and D'Arcangelo are notable for their lack of people, creating an eerie, unnatural atmosphere amid the familiar advertising motifs.



A museum visitor ponders Andy Warhol's pop art classic Marilyn, 1967. The pop genre both mimicked and challenged the mass consumerism and celebrity culture of postwar American society. (AFP/Stringer/Getty Images)

Art critics generally were not fond of pop. Critic Peter Selz wrote in the summer 1963 issue of *Partisan Review* that “the reason these works leave us thoroughly dissatisfied lies not in their means but in their end: most of them have nothing at all to say.” Similarly, the May 3, 1963, issue of *Time* reported that “[Pop art] is essentially a mild, unrebelling comment on the commonplace made by picturing it without any pretense of taste or orthodox technical skill.”

Despite these critiques, the general public and collectors loved pop art, generating large audiences for museum

exhibits and hefty price tags for artists and their dealers. Collectors paid skyrocketing prices for original pop works. In the twenty-first century, pop continues to sell extremely well. In 2006, Warhol's *Small Torn Campbell Soup Can (Pepper Pot, 1962)* fetched \$11.8 million at auction.

The central conflict of pop art and its criticism is an inherent ambivalence regarding consumer culture and the boundary between popular culture and high art. While pop artists were technically skilled craftsmen, their work seemed—to laymen, at least—unnervingly amateurish. In the case of Warhol, the artist often did not make his own art at all. Rather, he would conceive a piece and then have a staff of studio artists use photo silk-screening to create and reproduce a Warhol “original.” This, in turn, threw into question the authenticity of his work and indeed, the value of art itself. Lichtenstein, best known for his enormous comic-book-style paintings, defended pop in a lecture to the College Art Association in Philadelphia in 1964, stating:

It is, however, the real quality of our subject matter—the particular awkward, bizarre and expedient commercial art styles which Pop Art refers to and amplifies. Since works of art cannot really be the product of blunted sensibilities, what seems at first to be brash and barbarous turns in time to daring and strength, and the concealed subtleties become apparent.

In short, pop represented a creative response to the culture of baby boom affluence and, in both form and function, reflected the tastes and anxieties of American youth. Critics have pointed out that the huge scale of many pop pieces, particularly the well-known outdoor works of Claes Oldenburg and Jeff Koons, bring to mind children’s toys or a child’s perspective on the world. There is something joyful but also terrifying in a 6-foot-tall hamburger (Oldenburg) or a 43-foot-tall puppy (Koons).

Sarah Schrank

See also: [Poster Art](#); [Warhol, Andy](#).

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Populism

Perhaps most associated with the Populist (or People’s) Party and the political revolt of Western farmers, miners, and industrial workers during the late nineteenth century, the philosophy of populism has a long and vital position in American social, cultural, and political history. From the earliest days of the republic to the present day, conflicts between the powerful and the powerless have permeated American civic life. In almost every election campaign from the eighteenth to the twenty-first century, politicians—both liberal and conservative—have vowed to fight for ordinary Americans and against business interests and government bureaucracy. No matter the vehicle or time

period, populism can be defined as the mobilization of ordinary Americans—variously referred to as the people, the masses, the working class, the middle class, and middle America—against the rich, powerful, self-serving elite and entrenched government and corporate interests.

Ideology and Roots

Populists have waged fierce battles between “us” and “them” throughout the course of American history, often igniting passionate debates about the meaning of Americanism itself. Populists have railed against elites who have ignored, corrupted, or betrayed the core principle of American democracy: rule by the common people. Despite their rhetoric, however, populists have not always advocated a purely democratic society. Although boundaries have shifted over time, the “vast majority of Americans” to whom populist candidates appeal has consisted largely of white working-class men.

Inherent within the populist critique is an evangelical Christian ethic to eradicate sin and protect the producer-citizen, two fundamentally American ideologies that emerged during the Revolutionary period and became commonplace by the 1830s and 1840s—the so-called age of the common man. Populism has its roots in the rhetoric of such figures as Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, and Abraham Lincoln, whom populists remembered for inspiring ordinary Americans—usually white men—to rise up and defend themselves, and for employing both spiritual and rational arguments to defend democracy. Jefferson fought against the Federalists and pro-British merchants, landholders, and conservative religious leaders. Jackson fought against an elite “money power” in the form of a national bank. And Lincoln fought against the “slave power” that was corrupting both the South and the North and jeopardizing the existence of the Union.

Populism also has roots in the numerous efforts to organize workers and farmers against elite capitalists and their government allies during the period of massive urbanization, industrialization, and immigration known as the Gilded Age (the roughly two-decade period following Reconstruction, from the mid-1870s to the mid-1890s). On Washington’s Birthday in 1892, hundreds of grassroots activists from all over the country came to Exposition Hall in St. Louis to participate in an industrial conference that ended with the formation of the Populist Party, the first national political organization of its kind. Although women played an important role and organizers made a limited effort to include African Americans, the Populist Party remained largely the voice of white male citizen-producers during the 1890s.

The organizing strategy paid off at the ballot box. In 1892, Populist Party presidential nominee James Weaver, a former Union officer from Iowa, won more than a million votes, or 8.5 percent of the total. He earned a majority of votes in three states and a plurality in two other states; all five states were west of the Mississippi, where populists traditionally garnered the most support in their battle against Eastern industrialists and politicians. In 1894, Populist candidates across the country won a total of 1.5 million votes; seven Populists were elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, six to the Senate, and hundreds to state legislatures.

In 1896, the Populists nominated William Jennings Bryan, a thirty-six-year-old former Nebraska congressman, as their presidential candidate. In his historic “Cross of Gold” speech, which he delivered hundreds of times on his 18,000-mile campaign trail, Bryan called for the free coinage of silver as “American Money for Americans,” and he cited Jefferson and Jackson in his defense of Western farmers and miners against businessmen and political elites. Bryan, who became known as the Great Commoner, nevertheless was defeated in three separate bids for the presidency. The People’s Party dissolved after 1908.

Twentieth-Century Populism

The demise of the People’s Party, however, did not mark the end of populism in America. Throughout the twentieth century, a number of political hopefuls with disparate ideas invoked populism to gain the support of ordinary—usually white—citizens in their critique of America’s ruling elite. Populist rhetoric seeped into the organizing efforts of labor leader Samuel Gompers and the American Federation of Labor during the reform-minded Progressive Era (from about the mid-1890s to the end of World War I). It influenced Frances Willard and

the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, which had success in its fight for prohibition during the same period. It figured prominently as well in the rhetoric of Father Charles Coughlin and his largely Catholic following during the Great Depression, and in the efforts of the Congress of Industrial Organizations to build support among workers and ally itself with President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his relief, recovery, and reform programs collectively known as the New Deal.

After World War II, American populism manifested itself in the conservative anticommunist hysteria during the early years of the cold war. The largely white, middle-class Students for a Democratic Society and the African American Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee also used populism in their efforts to promote civil rights and protest the Vietnam War during the 1960s. Conservatives such as Alabama Governor George C. Wallace and Republican presidential candidate Richard M. Nixon, who claimed to represent ordinary, middle-class Americans during the 1960s and early 1970s, relied on populist rhetoric to win votes.

The rise of conservative Republican Ronald Reagan and the Christian Right during the 1980s was likewise fueled by populist appeals to ordinary voters who had become increasingly critical of President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society programs—including aid to education, the institution of Medicare, urban renewal, and the War on Poverty—and the secular humanism of the liberal agenda.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [Great Depression](#): [Prohibition](#): [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Pornography

A notoriously difficult term to define, *pornography* has generally referred to sexually explicit media considered indecent or distasteful by the general public. In America, it was first officially regulated with an 1842 law prohibiting the importation of "indecent and obscene" visual material. Federal and local obscenity restrictions were not zealously enforced, however, and pornography was not a significant social issue in American until the post–Civil War era and the advent of photography.

In 1873, antice crusader Anthony Comstock persuaded Congress to pass legislation—henceforth referred to as the Comstock Law—that made it illegal to send "obscene, lewd, and/or lascivious" material (including contraceptive devices and related information) through the mail. Not until 1957, in *Roth v. United States*, did the U.S. Supreme Court modify the Comstock Law and the definition of obscenity, ruling that Congress has the authority to ban only material that is "utterly without redeeming social importance."

Increasing Visibility

By the time of *Roth v. United States*, the U.S. pornography market had expanded greatly. Sexually explicit photographs and writings had proliferated over the course of a century, as did “stag films” showing people engaging in sex. But the era following World War II saw a dramatic shift in the character of the commercial porn market, as it grew increasingly visible and accessible.

Hugh Hefner's *Playboy* magazine debuted in 1953, featuring pictures of film star Marilyn Monroe naked and subsequent monthly Playmate centerfolds. Circulation of the magazine surpassed 1 million by the end of the decade, signaling a shift in social mores and again raising the question of what pornography really is or is not. In any event, a flood of *Playboy* imitators followed.

In the meantime, nudity also had entered legitimate movie theaters in the late 1950s. Whereas stag films generally played for private groups, nudist films such as *Garden of Eden* (1954) and Russ Meyer's popular *The Immoral Mr. Teas* (1959) graced the screens of motion-picture houses in the late 1950s. These films included no explicit sex but featured copious female nudity, albeit with the genitals always hidden.

The trend toward increasing cultural visibility was matched by increasing explicitness. The early 1960s saw such films as *White Slaves of Chinatown* (1964) and *The Defilers* (1965) move beyond nudity to include simulated sex, often accompanied by violence.

In the 1962 case of *MANual Enterprises v. Day*, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that gay male magazines could not be held to more stringent standards than their straight counterparts. Other High Court rulings allowed for the unexpurgated publication of such long-suppressed novels as D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1928) and Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* (1934).

Finally, in 1966, two imported films brought full-frontal nudity to the American big screen: *I, a Woman* (1965), from Sweden, and *Blow-Up* (1966), from Italy. Foreign films would continue to lead the march toward greater explicitness, as seen by the 1968 American release of the Swedish *I Am Curious (Yellow)*, which introduced the sight of male full-frontal nudity to legitimate theaters.

Although the Supreme Court continued to expand the boundaries of free speech by overturning obscenity convictions, the movement of pornography—at least in the eyes of many—into the cultural mainstream met with substantial resistance. J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, repeatedly asserted a link between pornography and sex crimes. Picking up where Hoover left off, the national anti-obscenity lobbying group Citizens for Decent Literature rose to prominence during the 1960s. Its head, Charles Keating, claimed that most pornographic publications ended up in the hands of children, who could be transformed by such material into juvenile delinquents, homosexuals, or rapists. The controversy over pornography grew so great that President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed an official Commission on Obscenity and Pornography to investigate the issue in 1968.

By 1970, cinematic depictions of actual intercourse—generally referred to as “hard-core” pornography—had appeared on the screens of several small storefront theaters in large urban areas. Many of the films masqueraded as documentaries, taking anthropological approaches to foreign cultures or offering marital advice, all in the interest of claiming the “redeeming value” required by the Supreme Court. But other films, utilizing the cheap new 16-millimeter film technology, dispensed with narrative and often even titles to simply show people having sex.

Later that year, the president's Commission on Obscenity and Pornography released its findings. Its report asserted that pornography had no relation to sex crimes or deviancy and suggested that all laws prohibiting adult access to obscenity be repealed.

Changing Law

The report had little of its intended effect. By 1970, the conservative Republican Richard M. Nixon had been

elected president and, along with a vast majority of the Congress, rejected the commission's findings. Using his powers of appointment, Nixon also was able to reshape the Supreme Court by replacing retirees with new, conservative judges. The result, in *Miller v. California* (1973), was a ruling that altered the criteria of *Roth* to allow for easier prosecution.

Ironically, as *Miller* was being decided, pornography was entering the mainstream. The hard-core film *Deep Throat* became a surprise hit in spring 1973, attracting massive media attention, glowing reviews by media celebrities, and a box office estimated in the tens or hundreds of millions. Its star, Linda Lovelace, appeared on *The Tonight Show*, and journalists heralded the birth of "porno chic," as middle-class couples began attending films previously aimed largely at single male patrons. Films such as *Behind the Green Door* (1972), *The Devil in Miss Jones* (1973), and *The Opening of Misty Beethoven* (1975) brought better production values and narratives to cinematic pornography, further entrenching porno chic in mainstream American culture.

Neither the *Miller* decision nor porno chic brought the consequences many had expected. Criminal prosecutions did not skyrocket, though high-profile pornography trials such as that of *Deep Throat* star Harry Reems in 1976 kept the issue alive in the media. And porno chic proved a passing fad, as pornographic films returned to their traditional low-cost, lowbrow quality by the late 1970s.

More significant than either the Supreme Court ruling or cultural fads was the advent of the home video market, which allowed consumers to watch films in the privacy of their own homes rather than in theaters. As porn theaters struggled to stay open at the turn of the 1980s, the video market flourished.

Again, however, resistance arose. Feminists in the late 1970s pointed out the sexist, dehumanizing character of pornography and blamed it for the oppression of women. Groups such as Women Against Pornography and authors such as Andrea Dworkin and Catharine MacKinnon amassed large followings with their critiques of porn. Meanwhile, the rising power of the conservative New Right, evidenced by Ronald Reagan's 1980 presidential victory, provided a religiously based condemnation.

Feminists and conservatives, at odds over most other issues, worked together on antipornography legislation in several cities in the 1980s. Only Minneapolis and Indianapolis passed such ordinances, however. In the former case, the mayor vetoed the ordinance; in the latter case, it was overturned in court by proponents of free speech.

The Reagan administration sponsored a new federal investigation under Attorney General Edwin Meese. Not surprisingly, the new commission's report, issued in 1986, rejected the findings of the Johnson-era investigation and found that pornography did indeed have morally corrosive effects on viewers and readers. The new report called for a tightening of restrictions but carried little weight among intellectuals and policymakers, who generally saw it as biased and moralistic.

In the decades since, the pornography debate has continued without resolution. During the 1990s, the terrain of the debate shifted to the Internet and concern over children's access to sexually explicit Web sites. The 1996 Communications Decency Act—the first federal attempt to regulate pornography on the Internet—was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court.

Whitney Strub

See also: [Hefner, Hugh](#); [Miller, Henry](#).

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Poster Art

Posters—large, printed sheets of paper that combine text and graphics and are displayed in public places—have a long and varied use in commercial advertising. The relatively low production costs of the poster also have made it a medium popular with countercultural groups, who used posters throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries to declare their ideas and announce their events to a broad audience. During the 1960s, changes in youth culture and politics, along with changes in technology and art culture, led to an impressive flourishing of countercultural poster art.

The relationship between the artist and the poster has been vexed by its use in advertising, as the poster came to be associated by many U.S. artists with commerce and the masses rather than with fine art. During the Great Depression, many prominent artists working in the United States, such as Mexico's Diego Rivera and David Siqueiros, embraced public art as a part of their socialist politics; the poster, though somewhat less spectacular than the mural, became a popular means for artists to communicate leftist political messages to the masses.

That tradition faded somewhat during the prosperity and political quietism of the 1950s, when advertising and graphic design became increasingly dominant. Even in the realm of art posters per se, the aesthetic developed in applied commercial forms played a significant role for the next decade and more.

Poster art underwent a great resurgence during the 1960s for several reasons. The flourishing of advertising and graphic design began to affect art culture itself, most notably in the advent of the pop art movement, which utilized materials and subjects associated with consumer culture—as in Andy Warhol's paintings of Campbell's soup cans—to imply that the methods and materials of art and commerce were intimately related in mainstream American culture. The silk-screened poster was a popular medium among these artists.

As pop art muddied the boundary between high and applied art, the resurgence of countercultural activism meant that the aspects of the poster that had been seen in the previous decade as unappealing—its association with popular culture and ability to reach a mass audience—became immensely valuable to a New Left that sought to effect a widespread revolution of consciousness. Additionally, counterculture activists of the 1960s recognized the stranglehold that corporate interests had on the powerful medium of television, so they used the poster to communicate their dissent to a large audience in a new age of visually centered mass media.

Although the aesthetic diversity of poster art during its golden age in the late 1960s and early 1970s was impressive, three themes deserve special attention. The first took recognizable poster imagery from the past—including the American flag, advertising images, and popular propaganda imagery from World Wars I and II—and altered them to critique contemporary U.S. culture. One anonymous 1972 poster, for example, features a famous Uncle Sam army-recruiting poster but replaces most of the iconic Sam with a skeleton, making an implied critique of deaths caused by the Vietnam War. Modern artist and printmaker Jasper Johns likewise critiqued the war by selling a poster reproduction from his series of American flag paintings, this one rendered in camouflage and garish orange and titled "Moratorium."

Another poster style deployed a single, bold graphic image and a large, clear slogan to make a point strikingly.

For example, a 1970 poster produced in the Strike Workshop at the Massachusetts College of Art shows a large photograph of Black Panther Bobby Seale behind bars and simply declares, “Free Bobby.”

Finally, a significant trend developed in producing eye-catching posters for concerts by acid rock bands such as Jefferson Airplane and the Grateful Dead. Within that genre, a subgenre of psychedelic posters emerged whose loud colors, wavy lines, and strange typography were meant to evoke the visual hallucinations of a drug experience. This aesthetic remains associated with drug culture to the present day.

In a world where art and commerce are increasingly integrated, the poster continues to be a popular art commodity but is no longer considered a unique medium of design or dissent. As for the countercultural messages of poster art, street art has become a more diverse enterprise that incorporates posters and wheatpasted images with strategies of stenciling and aerosol painting, diminishing the dominance of the rectangular poster.

Susanne E. Hall

See also: [Advertising](#); [Black Panthers](#); [New Left](#); [Pop Art](#); [Warhol, Andy](#).

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Pound, Ezra (1885–1972)

The expatriate American poet, cultural critic, and translator Ezra Pound is one of the most famous and controversial literary figures of the twentieth century. He has been variously hailed as a revolutionary modernist master, dismissed as an egotist, and condemned as a traitor and anti-Semite. Critics and scholars regard him as a major force in modern literature not only for his own works, but also for his influence on such other major poets and writers as T. S. Eliot, Robert Frost, Ernest Hemingway, James Joyce, D.H. Lawrence, and William Butler Yeats.

Ezra Loomis Pound was born in Hailey, Idaho, on October 30, 1885, and grew up in the town of Wyncote, Pennsylvania, outside Philadelphia. He earned a bachelor of philosophy degree from Hamilton College, in Clinton, New York, in 1905 and went on to receive a master of arts degree from the University of Pennsylvania in 1906.

In 1907, with little money, Pound sailed to Gibraltar and southern Spain, then on to Venice, where in June 1908 he published, at his own expense, his first book of poems, *A Lume Spento*. That fall, he went to London, where he met the writer and editor Ford Madox Ford, who published his verse in the *English Review*.

Pound entered the circle of William Butler Yeats and joined the “School of Images,” a group of writers who tried to bring a new clarity and directness to poetry through the use of precise visual images. He eventually decided to settle in England, where he published a series of small books of poetry—including *Personae* (1909), *Exultations* (1909), *Canzoni* (1911), and *Ripostes* (1912)—that attracted attention for their originality and erudition.

Pound's works of this period helped establish and promote the principles of imagism. In England, Pound's poetry and criticism were well received. He was the London correspondent for Chicago-based *Poetry* magazine and for a time led a group of poets who subscribed to imagism as a response to the more sentimental and soft-edged poetry of the day.

Pound's largest and most celebrated work is his series of cantos, a highly complex, eclectic collage in which he sought to develop a unifying, modern cultural tradition. These poems, on which he worked for much of his life, appeared in a series of volumes published between 1925 and 1970.

With the Great Depression of the 1930s and worldwide concern over global economic and political conditions, Pound began to write about monetary reform and became increasingly involved in politics. While living in Italy, he became an admirer of Fascist dictator Benito Mussolini and, during World War II, he made a series of radio broadcasts criticizing the U.S. war effort.

After the war, Pound was arrested for treason, but doctors declared him mentally unfit for trial. For twelve years, he remained at a hospital in Washington, D.C., where he continued writing. He was released in 1958, and the charges against him were dropped.

As one of the eccentric leaders of the expatriate avant-garde, Pound lived in Europe for more than fifty of his eighty-seven years. He died on November 1, 1972, in Venice, Italy.

Yuwu Song

See also: [Great Depression](#); [Hemingway, Ernest](#); [Lost Generation](#).

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Presley, Elvis (1935–1977)

A revolutionary figure in the history of pop music, Elvis Presley was also one of the most successful entertainers of the twentieth century. From the moment he burst onto the music scene in 1956, his name, his songs, and his stage persona were well known throughout the world—adored by young fans and reviled by older generations. As the so-called King of Rock and Roll, Elvis did more to popularize that musical genre than anyone before or since, and he became the first major embodiment of its social significance.

Elvis Aaron Presley was born on January 8, 1935, into a poor sharecroppers' family in Tupelo, Mississippi. He was exposed to hillbilly music at an early age, came to know gospel music from church services, and listened to rhythm and blues (R&B) aired on black radio stations. He began playing guitar before adolescence and, at age nine, won second prize in the 1946 Mississippi-Alabama Fair and Dairy Show talent contest for his song "Old Shep."

In 1949, the family moved to nearby Memphis, Tennessee, where Elvis attended L.C. Humes High School. After graduating in 1953, he went to work as a truck driver. During the summer of that year, however, he came to the attention of Sam Phillips, president of the Sun Record Company in downtown Memphis. Phillips was seeking “a white man who had the Negro sound and the Negro feel.”

By this time, mainstream American popular music, mostly sentimental ballads and novelty songs, was growing out of fashion. The most vital and attractive genre was black R&B, but many white people felt uncomfortable listening to black music unless it was re-recorded by a white musician or group. Phillips found the performer he was looking for in eighteen-year-old Presley, whose background enabled him to unite disparate musical strains. Even more importantly, Presley had the skills to present the resulting musical fusion with great impact. He could sing black music without sounding pretentious or ridiculous.

In 1954 at Sun, Presley recorded his first commercial releases, “That’s All Right Mama” and “Blue Moon of Kentucky,” an up-tempo blues song with an exuberant sense of freedom. The following year, RCA Victor bought his recording contract from the Sun Record Company.

By 1956, Presley had become a best-selling recording artist and television star. In that year alone, he had five number-one singles: “Heartbreak Hotel,” “I Want You, I Need You, I Love You,” “Don’t Be Cruel,” “Love Me Tender,” and the song that became his signature tune, “Hound Dog.” And for the next two decades, his popularity only grew.

His work in the mid-1950s helped create two new types of music. The first, rockabilly, was a mixture of hillbilly and rhythm and blues. Hillbilly was thereby transformed into country and western, and gained a much wider audience. The second genre, rock and roll, also evolved out of R&B. As rock’s popularity spread, mainstream white culture started to accept black singers and performers.

Although Presley had a pleasant baritone voice and a sincere delivery, it was his suggestive pelvic gyrations—considered wildly sexual by a generation of teenagers and their shocked parents—that launched him to stardom and earned him the nickname Elvis the Pelvis, although he became known to his fans simply as Elvis. Few who saw him perform could forget his unique stage presence and captivating voice.

Presley dominated rock music until 1963 and the arrival of the British Invasion. His musical success also spawned a spate of B movies. The first movie he starred in, *Love Me Tender*, was released in 1956; there would be thirty-two more.

A charismatic entertainer, his rise to fame from obscurity while retaining the common touch became exemplary for a generation. In Presley’s own mind as well his fans’, he became a figure of spiritual dimensions; he believed that his talent and success were gifts from God that he was obliged to share with others. Wishing to entertain as many people as possible and make everyone happy, he drove himself to perform and shared his wealth with people he did not know. Critics severely criticized the concerts of his last years, but fans continued to flock to his performances.

In his later years, unable to go out in public without being mobbed by fans, Presley became increasingly reclusive. He gained weight and took large quantities of prescription drugs.

Elvis Presley was found dead at his Memphis estate, Graceland, on August 16, 1977, having succumbed to heart failure brought on by the heavy use of prescription medicine. His death in no way diminished his popularity with fans. His records continued to sell heavily, Graceland became a kind of shrine, and legions of Elvis impersonators spawned a cottage entertainment industry.

Yuwu Song

See also: [Rock and Roll](#).

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Presses, Small Book

Small book presses have provided an alternative to commercial publishers throughout much of the history of the United States. Along with little magazines, small book presses have provided an alternative, often subversive, voice for the American people. Noncommercial in focus, small presses do not operate solely for profit. They often are independently owned, with private financial backing, usually publishing only a few titles per year, with limited press runs. These presses generally publish unknown writers as well as writers whose work is not appropriate for mainstream, commercial outlets.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, works not supported by mainstream publishing houses usually were self-published. Walt Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* (1855), Mark Twain's *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1885), and Stephen Crane's *Maggie: A Girl of the Streets* (1893) all were self-published, either because they were rejected by commercial publishers who deemed their subject matter inappropriate for mainstream audiences, or because the authors did not want to be shackled by the business practices of the mainstream presses.

Modernism's artistic and experimental movements in Europe during the early part of the twentieth century and literary devices such as stream of consciousness influenced American expatriates in Paris to create small presses. Among these were Contact Editions (Robert McAlmon), Three Mountains Press (Bill Beard), Black Sun Press (Harry and Caresse Crosby), and Plain Editions (Gertrude Stein).

In the United States, James Laughlin founded New Directions in New York City to publish works that commercial publishers ignored, such as F. Scott Fitzgerald's *The Crack-Up* in 1945, and reprinted and revived works, such as Fitzgerald's *The Great Gatsby*, when the original 1925 edition was out of print. New Directions continued to publish poets such as Gary Snyder and Denise Levertov in the 1950s and 1960s.

The heyday of small press publishing began in the mid-twentieth century. As commercial printing evolved from lithography to offset press, production became more cost effective and less labor intensive, facts that contributed to the survival of small presses. Because small presses could easily control production and distribution and bypass corporate ownership and censorship, thousands of small presses emerged. Small presses that published alternative social voices and experimental literary voices during this period include Grove Press (established in 1951), City Lights Publishers (1955), Black Sparrow Press (1966), Third World Press (1967), New Rivers Press (1968), the Greenfield Review Press (1969), Shameless Hussy Press (1969), the Feminist Press (1970), Toothpaste Press (1970; later Coffee House Press, 1984), Graywolf Press (1974), the Pushcart Press (1976), and Milkweed Editions (1979).

Grove Press, founded by Barney Rosset, Jr., introduced controversial works. Under Rosset, Grove brought to national prominence the art and artists of the counterculture, including the San Francisco and New York Beats (with works like Jack Kerouac's *The Subterraneans* in 1958). These works, many of which were deemed obscene and had been censored, included D.H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover* (1959), Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer*

(1961), and William S. Burroughs's *Naked Lunch* (1962). Shunned by commercial publishers and considered a financial liability for distributors, these novels and others like them found their homes with small presses—and thus reached the market for which they were intended, a readership looking for alternative themes and ideas.

The women's, civil rights, and peace movements of the 1960s and 1970s provided the context for America's small presses to grow in size and influence. Radical thinking, marginalized for years by mainstream publishers, found expression in small presses during these decades. Many activists and intellectuals were involved in starting up the presses, dedicating themselves and their works to exploring innovative and progressive ideas.

Third World Press, formed by Haki R. Madhubuti to give voice to the black experience in America, published such authors as poet Gwendolyn Brooks and activist-poet Amiri Baraka (formerly LeRoi Jones). The Greenfield Review Press, founded by Joseph and Carol Bruchac, was established to present the culture and storytelling art of Native Americans. Shameless Hussy Press, founded by Alta (Gerrey) in Oakland, California, is recognized as the first feminist press in America, and one that inspired the formation of other feminist small presses, such as the Feminist Press (1970), Women's Press Collective of Oakland (1970), Diana Press (1972), and Daughters Inc. (1972). Curbstone Press (founded in 1975), which emerged during the Chicano Movement of the 1970s, publishes works by Latino writers and is dedicated to disseminating books that espouse social change and human rights.

By the end of the 1970s, small book presses provided untold numbers of nonmainstream authors and fringe movements a home for their writing and ideas. In the twenty-first century, small presses continue to publish new and unknown authors, experimental literature, and works representing social causes—from anti-globalization to environmentalism—that might not otherwise find their way into print.

Michael Susko

See also: [Chicano Movement](#); [Feminism, Second-Wave](#); [Fitzgerald, F. Scott](#); [Miller, Henry](#).

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Priestley, Joseph (1733–1804)

The scientist and radical theologian Joseph Priestley was a tireless advocate of rational religion and civil liberties both before and after he emigrated from his native England to the United States in 1794. His Unitarianism and rejection of religious authority deeply influenced the development of American Christianity. Regarded as a founder of modern chemistry, Priestley was also a philosophical materialist who denied any form of spiritual reality and a determinist who denied the doctrine of free will, or the human ability to choose freely between alternatives.

Born near Leeds, England, on March 13, 1733, Priestley came from a family of Protestant Dissenters, opposed to

the established Church of England, and he served as a Dissenting minister and schoolmaster. Although he is best remembered today as a scientist, particularly for his discovery of oxygen, he was equally active in the fields of politics and religion, publishing an enormous number of books and pamphlets.

As a political writer, Priestley was, like many Dissenters, sympathetic to the grievances of the American colonists before the War of Independence. (He also was connected to America through his friendship with statesman Benjamin Franklin, who shared his scientific interests.) Priestley's political pamphlets of the time, such as *Address to Protestant Dissenters on the Approaching Election* (1774), opposed religious discrimination and English oppression of the Americans.

Priestley became a Unitarian, denying Jesus's divinity but continuing to believe him to be the Messiah. This view was illegal in Britain at the time, although the law was rarely enforced. Priestley also was a millenarian, interpreting the French Revolution and the rise of Napoleon as signs of the forthcoming apocalypse. He was an enthusiastic supporter of the French Revolution, and in 1791 a conservative "Church and King" mob, tacitly supported by local magistrates and Church of England clergy, attacked his dwelling in Birmingham, destroying much of it. Priestley emigrated from Britain to the United States with his family in 1794.

In America, Priestley was disappointed in his attempts to found a college near his home in Northumberland, Pennsylvania. Alarmed by the conservatism and hostility to revolutionary France exhibited by the American government under President John Adams, he aligned himself politically with the anti-Federalists, defending his political opinions in *Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland* (1799). Some in the U.S. government argued for Priestley's expulsion as a seditious foreigner, but this never happened, possibly out of respect for his eminence as a scientist and religious thinker. Priestley's religious opinions, nevertheless, were received with hostility by many American clergymen.

Although he never sought U.S. citizenship, Priestley became more at home in his adopted country during the administration of President Thomas Jefferson, who was an admirer. Priestley's religious writings were particularly important to Jefferson in forming his own "enlightened" religion. After extended illness, Priestley died at his Northumberland home on February 6, 1804.

William E. Burns

See also: [Unitarianism](#).

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Prohibition

Prohibition was the period from 1920 to 1933 when, under the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, “the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors” was prohibited in the United States. Drinking remained popular nevertheless, and supplying Americans with alcohol became a major business of organized crime. In addition, Prohibition fostered an underground world of illicit nightclubs, known as speakeasies, attended by drug and tobacco use. Prohibition was repealed by ratification of the Twenty-first Amendment in 1933.

Background

Throughout the course of the nineteenth century, alcohol consumption and alcoholism in America were so high that moral and civic groups pressured the U.S. Congress to make alcohol illegal. The social pressure began to be manifested in the 1790s; by 1846, thirteen states had prohibition laws. Although many of these laws were overturned by courts, temperance groups such as the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) fought for a dry United States. Even before national Prohibition, a number of states experimented with high and low licensing plans to regulate the type of alcohol sold.

The wheels for national Prohibition were set in motion in 1917, when the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives adopted a resolution to submit the constitutional amendment prohibiting liquor. The Eighteenth Amendment was passed by the Senate on December 18, 1918, and ratified on January 16, 1919. It went into effect one year later.

While the measure prohibited the manufacture, sale, and transportation of alcoholic beverages, it did not specifically proscribe drinking or define what constituted unlawful drinking. In order to effect the intention of the amendment, on October 28, 1919, Congress passed the Volstead Act (over the veto of President Woodrow Wilson), which defined intoxicating beverages as those containing at least one-half of one percent of alcohol by volume.

The intention of Prohibition was to ameliorate negative social conditions resulting from alcohol consumption. While statistics indicate that overall consumption did decline, American society appeared to become more, rather than less, devoted to drinking and frequenting the clandestine meeting places where drinking flourished, the speakeasies. For the average person, secrecy and stealth offered a new measure of excitement. Determined to flaunt the law, people invented creative ways to transport liquor, using hip flasks, hollowed-out books, coconut shells, hot-water bottles, and garden hoses. Commonplace objects of everyday life suddenly became containers for illegal liquor, now at the center of America’s recreational activities.

New words and meanings were added to the popular vocabulary as a result of Prohibition. “Baptized” referred to liquor that had been diluted. A “barrelhouse” was a place where someone could purchase illegal booze; gin mills and speakeasies became popular hangouts for those who wanted to be “wet.” Slang terms for liquor, which proliferated, included “hooch,” “moonshine,” “Red Eye,” “Moon,” “Monkey Swill,” and “squirrel” (whiskey).

Popular Culture

The still became a popular machine in rural areas, manufacturing potent, sometimes lethal, alcoholic products. “Jamaica Jake” was one such poison alcohol popular among lower-income persons; it could cause blindness and paralysis. Popular songs of the era thus alluded to the “jake walk” and “jake leg.”

The Allen Brothers recorded “Jake Walk Blues” in 1930; singer Ma Rainey recorded “Moonshine Blues” and “Barrel House Blues” in 1923 and “Booze and Blues” in 1924. A widely heard tune at the beginning of Prohibition was “Every Day Will Be Sunday When the Town Goes Dry.” Annette Hanshaw’s 1929 version of “Button Up Your

Overcoat” exhorted her lover to “take good care of yourself” by keeping away from “boot leg hooch.”

Harlem, the predominantly black neighborhood of Upper Manhattan in New York City, housed two popular nightclubs during Prohibition, the Cotton Club and the Everglades. In these chic meeting places, many Caucasian patrons listened to jazz by the top African American performers of the day. Classics such as “Tiger Rag,” “West End Blues,” and “St. Louis Blues” were performed there by musicians such as Louis Armstrong, Earl “Fatha” Hines, Fletcher Henderson, and Duke Ellington. African American music, blues and jazz, was especially popular in the speakeasies and nightclubs.

In previous years, during World War I, America had been singing George M. Cohan’s “Over There” and other songs associated with military life, such as “Pack Up Your Troubles in Your Old Kit Bag” and “I’ll Be Seeing You.” During Prohibition, songs such as “I Wish I Could Shimmy Like My Sister Kate,” “Sheik of Araby,” “Hot Time in the Old Town Tonight,” and “I’m Always Chasing Rainbows” were the popular tunes. Novelty or nonsense songs such as “What! No Spinach,” “Aba Daba Honeymoon,” “Crazy Words—Crazy Tune (Vo-do-de-o),” “Yes, We Have No Bananas,” and “I’ve Got a Lovely Bunch of Coconuts” also found an audience. Hot jazz could be heard in Harlem, Kansas City, and Chicago.

Prohibition helped build relations between citizens of the United States and Canada, by way of the roadhouses that sprang up along the shoreline of the Detroit River. Roadhouses were places where patrons could get a drink, listen to hot jazz, gamble, and dance. Public drinking and sale of alcohol was illegal across the border, too, but Canadian laws did not proscribe the manufacture or exportation of liquor. As a result, much of the illegal liquor that came into the United States during Prohibition arrived from the north by way of rumrunners on the Detroit River, Lake Erie, Lake St. Clair, and the St. Clair River.

In New York, wet restaurants, nightclubs, and speakeasies were popular gathering places. Barney Gallant, reportedly the first person to be arrested and jailed in New York for selling alcohol, served it freely in his Greenwich Village establishment. In 1924, he closed the Club Gallant and opened a new club on West Third Street, where a bottle of scotch cost \$16 and a bottle of champagne \$25, large amounts for the day. Gallant’s boldest move came in 1932, when he opened the exclusive Washington Square Club in an equally exclusive neighborhood where elite New York families lived.

Organized crime grew exponentially during Prohibition, bringing with it daily violence, widespread corruption, and a hefty increase in so-called victimless crimes, such as prostitution, gambling, and narcotics. Motion pictures such as *The Public Enemy* (1931), *Little Caesar* (1931), and *Scarface* (1932) presented a window on the world of organized crime and illegal booze.



The enactment of Prohibition in 1919 gave rise to an active national campaign for repeal—as well as illegal resistance in the form of speakeasies and bootlegging controlled by gangsters. The "noble experiment" finally was ended in 1933. (Library of Congress)

Activist groups such as Pauline Sabine's Women's Organization for National Prohibition Reform (WONPR), formed in 1929, began a crusade to overturn the Volstead Act on the grounds that it caused an increase in crime and attracted young people to illicit locales such as nightclubs and speakeasies. By the 1930s, Prohibition had become a hot political issue. Politicians, columnists, and middle-class Americans were among the many who not only flaunted Prohibition but opposed it formally.

The end of Prohibition finally came on December 5, 1933. The thirty-sixth state needed for repeal (Utah) voted to do so, and the Twenty-first Amendment was added to the U.S. Constitution.

Michael Susko

See also: [Gangsters](#); [Harlem Renaissance](#); [Jazz](#).

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Provincetown Players

The Provincetown Players, an experimental theater group that would have a profound influence on the modern American stage, grew out of the summer recreation of a collection of bohemians from New York's Greenwich Village. Escaping the city's summer heat in 1915, writers Susan Glaspell and George "Jig" Cram Cook invited a cadre of playwrights, artists, and political revolutionaries to their summer home in the quiet fishing village of Provincetown, on Cape Cod in Massachusetts, to form an amateur theatrical group and stage plays in the couple's living room.

The next year, the group took steps toward becoming a formalized performance troupe, finding in the work of a young playwright named Eugene O'Neill the material for its first official season. O'Neill's focus on the trials of the working class provided the ensemble with the kind of innovative drama they believed could revolutionize the staid American theater. His one-act play *Bound East for Cardiff* was the company's first official presentation. It took place at the newly opened Wharf Theatre in Provincetown on July 28, 1916.

In search of a larger audience for its radical, new brand of drama, the company moved its primary residence to New York's Greenwich Village in the winter of 1917, opening a venue on MacDougal Street christened the Provincetown Playhouse. There, they premiered works by O'Neill ("nearly all of my short plays," according to the playwright), Glaspell, set designer and writer Robert Edmund Jones, and journalist and revolutionary John Reed, among others. Attempting to replicate in America the kind of small, avant-garde theaters that had become common in Europe in the early twentieth century, the Provincetown Playhouse was, in effect, the first significant off-Broadway venue in New York City, where writers could develop and present challenging new works apart from the commercial pressures of the Broadway stage.

Before long, interest in the little theater rose, and several of its plays, particularly those of O'Neill, began to transfer to Broadway venues. Glaspell and Cook objected to what they saw as the commercialization of their experimental venture, and in 1922 they left the company and relocated to Greece.

Other artists infused the ensemble with new life, in particular the emerging poet and playwright Edna St. Vincent Millay, who joined the Players as an actor but worked her way up to the positions of director and playwright. Even as the company began to produce plays on Broadway in addition to smaller works at the Provincetown Playhouse, it maintained its tradition of promoting groundbreaking works by fledgling authors.

The Provincetown Players dissolved in 1929, unable to weather the stock market crash of that year. Its impact remained great, however, influencing the development of the little theater movement in America—predecessor to the similarly radical regional theater movement of the 1960s—and inspiring the creation of such other notable New York companies as Harold Clurman's Group Theatre and, later, Julian Beck and Judith Malina's Living Theatre. As historian Xavier Xanders would write, "From its inception to its demise in 1929, the Provincetown Players flourished as a noncommercial experimental theater group of actors, playwrights, and stage designers controlled by artists rather than businesspeople."

David Kornhaber

See also: [Bohemianism: Greenwich Village, New York City: O'Brien, Fitz-James \(1828–862\)](#); [Neill, Eugene: Theater, Alternative](#).

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Pryor, Richard (1940–2005)

The African American comedian Richard Pryor was a highly successful and controversial entertainer of the 1970s and 1980s, drawing on personal and social tragedy for his comic material. His stage appearances were flavored with irreverent, bold, graphic humor that depicted the dark underside of life in America, including racial injustice, poverty, and street culture. He succumbed to drug abuse and made a suicide attempt at the height of his career, but not before selling millions of albums and starring in a number of acclaimed film roles. Pryor's work had a direct

influence on the next generation of black comics, including Eddie Murphy, Whoopi Goldberg, and Arsenio Hall.

Born on December 1, 1940, in Peoria, Illinois, to an unwed mother whom he claimed was a prostitute, Pryor grew up in his grandmother's bordello, where he was routinely exposed to alcohol, drugs, and sex from an early age. When he was eleven years old, Pryor began to hang around a local community theater, where he was eventually cast in several productions and received his first accolades for performing. He served in the U.S. Army from 1958 to 1960 and then began a career as a stand-up comedian in local comedy clubs around Peoria.

Pryor soon established himself on the comedy circuit in the Midwest, including such cities as East St. Louis, Missouri, and Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. In 1963, he decided to move to New York City, where he continued performing his stand-up act and eventually made television appearances on *The Ed Sullivan Show*, *The Merv Griffin Show*, and *The Tonight Show Starring Johnny Carson*. With more exposure came more opportunities, and Pryor took his act to the West Coast, moving to Los Angeles, where he began appearing in minor film roles as he continued to hone his comedic skills.

In the late 1960s, Pryor's stand-up act began to evolve into his signature form. His material got angrier and edgier, dealing with subjects and subcultures unheard of in most comedy clubs to that time. He routinely invoked such epithets as "nigger" and "motherfucker," with observations about life in the ghetto, drug abuse, alcoholism, and sex. His act became a unique mix of traditional stand-up comedy, performance art, and profanity-laced social commentary. His rants—at once funny and frightening—broke new ground for onstage intensity.

In his personal life, meanwhile, Pryor was abusing alcohol and drugs, had numerous scrapes with the police, and was involved in a number of volatile relationships; he married a total of seven times to five different women. In 1980, in a highly publicized incident, the comedian nearly died after setting himself on fire while freebasing cocaine. (He parodied the event and his subsequent hospital stay in the 1982 concert movie *Live on Sunset Strip*.)

Through it all, Pryor remained popular with his fans and won numerous honors and awards for his comedy recordings and work in films and on television. Acclaimed screen appearances included his role in *Lady Sings the Blues* (1972), a biopic about singer Billie Holiday, for which he earned an Academy Award nomination, and a costarring role in the hit comedy-suspense film *Silver Streak* (1976). Among his most notable comedy albums were Grammy Award winners *That Nigger's Crazy* (1974) and *Bicentennial Nigger* (1976). Critics cited the film *Richard Pryor Live in Concert* (1979) as one of his greatest successes, for his poignantly comic portrayals of America's forgotten class—drunks, junkies, prostitutes, and pool hustlers.

Pryor went on to write, direct, and star in the semi-autobiographical film *Jo Jo Dancer, Your Life Is Calling* (1985), about a popular stand-up comedian who, after severely burning himself in a drug incident, has a spiritual awakening. In 1986, Pryor was diagnosed with multiple sclerosis, which he kept secret for the next five years. He continued to perform but grew progressively weaker over the next decade. As his health declined, Pryor became more reclusive.

In 1998, he became the first performer to win the annual Mark Twain Prize for American Humor from the John F. Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. Richard Pryor lived quietly for the next several years, making few public appearances. He died of cardiac arrest on December 10, 2005, in Los Angeles.

Ben Wynne

See also: [Cocaine](#).

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Pseudoscience

Pseudoscience is any belief or body of knowledge that claims to offer explanations about the world, the universe, or natural processes in a scientific manner but fails to follow generally accepted scientific methodology or requirements of substantiation. The label of pseudoscience generally carries a negative connotation, suggesting that the belief system lacks factual content. Some people, however, justify their belief in a pseudoscience by blaming conspiracies or a lack of open-mindedness on the part of observers as reasons for the label. In rare instances, belief systems that were considered pseudoscience have gained general acceptance. In the majority of cases, they remain unproven.

Prominent contemporary examples of pseudoscience include neuro-linguistic programming, rebirthing, and primal therapy. Neuro-linguistic programming (NLP) is based on theories of psychotherapy and behavior modification; advocates believe that changing sensory input, such as color and brightness, as well as clarifying verbal and nonverbal messages, will lead to self-improvement.

Rebirthing teaches that birth is a traumatic event, the memory of which is suppressed. According to this theory, the experience can subconsciously affect a person's entire life because it is recorded in cellular memory throughout the body. By a system of breathing exercises, students are taught to relive the experience of birth and release or deal with their emotions.

Primal therapy advocates believe that any intense emotional pain is stored in the lower brain and nervous system. Standard psychotherapy cannot relieve the pain, according to the theory, because it does not reach these emotional centers. Only by reliving and experiencing the pain can someone deal successfully with it. As exemplars of pseudoscience, neuro-linguistic programming, rebirthing, and primal therapy all run counter to generally accepted beliefs and values. They hold a promise of relief or improvement for adherents, but independently documented successes are rare.

Origins

The concept of pseudoscience dates to the scientific revolution, the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century movement to find the natural laws that govern the world through observation and experimentation. The idea that the world and nature can be explained in rational ways led to the realization that some beliefs are not scientific; that is, they do not follow universal laws that do not allow for divine intervention. Use of the term *pseudoscience* dates to the middle of the nineteenth century. It first appeared in an 1844 edition of the *Northern Journal of Medicine*, in which an author defined pseudoscience as a collection of facts connected by erroneous reasoning.

In the twentieth century, philosophers such as Karl Popper and Paul Thagard sought to develop criteria by which one could identify a pseudoscience. Popper suggested that science can be distinguished from nonscience by falsifiability. In other words, if a statement can be demonstrated to be false, then the topic is in fact "scientific." But if the statement can be proven to be neither true nor false, it is inherently nonscientific—and possibly an example of pseudoscience. Popper also developed a theory known as the "demarcation problem," referring to the criteria used to distinguish science from pseudoscience. Thagard refined the criteria by proposing that pseudoscience is not progressive in its development and that supporters rarely rely on a pseudoscientific theory in trying to solve

problems or explain phenomena.

Characteristics

Many scientists, psychologists, and philosophers agree that pseudoscientific concepts share general characteristics. The first is that they are not rational, or that they disregard rational principles. Much pseudoscience depends on revelation from some other authority. In some cases, this authority is ancient writings, legend, or word handed down from a spiritual guide. Distinct from religious beliefs, which depend on faith for their authority, however, pseudoscience presents itself as science. For instance, a pseudoscience that draws on ancient writings for its authority is the one Erich von Däniken puts forth in *Chariots of the Gods* (1968), according to which Native American art depicts aliens visiting Earth.

Another characteristic of pseudoscience is the failure to follow scientific method in experimenting or testing a hypothesis. For example, proponents of alternative medicines, including reflexologist Eunice D. Ingraham, Laetrile proponent Ernst Krebs, Jr., and the American Naturopathic Medical Association, have been challenged for failing to confirm whether favorable results are a response to a particular treatment or a function of the placebo effect (a response based on the power of suggestion or other purely psychological factors). Experiments in homeopathy—a form of alternative medicine founded by the German physician Samuel Hahnemann in which substances that cause symptoms similar to those of a disease are heavily diluted and introduced to the body in order to heal it—have been criticized for lacking the laboratory controls to test whether the doses of diluted substances actually cure patients of disease.

Additionally, pseudoscience has been charged with the inability to re-create phenomena or results claimed to have been produced. For example, regarding the theory of orgone energy—the “universal life energy” that psychoanalyst Wilhelm Reich claimed is present in all humans and blockages of which cause illness in the body—nonbelievers are unable to observe or detect the energy, let alone undertake objective experiments to test its effects.

Evidence to support pseudoscientific claims is limited. Supporters tend to cite evidence that supports their claims and ignore that which does not. Much evidence used by pseudoscience is anecdotal and based on isolated observation by individuals. In addition, other factors may influence the experience or observation. A prominent illustration is the “evidence” of unidentified flying objects (UFOs) as typically reported. While many people claim to have seen an unidentified object in the air, there is little evidence that what they have seen is indeed an alien space ship, and the evidence is virtually impossible to reproduce. Unexplained lights or objects may turn out to have any number of plausible explanations that never occur to the observer or that are beyond their realm of knowledge or experience—from planetary motion and meteors to ball lightning and experimental military aircraft.

Pseudoscience also tends to rely on misleading or unclear language. At times, practitioners use this tactic intentionally, to appear more rigorously scientific. Sometimes, the terminology entails the use of unfamiliar terms for common materials, such as “dihydrogen monoxide” for water; the forbidding-sounding name is then listed as a major component in such harmful substances as acid rain and toxic wastes. In other instances, pseudoscience followers have coined their own terms, such as *orgone energy*, which have no universally accepted meaning.

Another defining feature of pseudoscience is its lack of expansion, refinement, or progress. While most scientific fields are subject to the development of new hypotheses, testing, and the advancement of general knowledge in the field, pseudoscience cannot make such claims. New theories and discoveries are rare. While science is based upon recognizing mistakes and modifying claims in response to new hypotheses, pseudoscience and its theories change little, or not at all, over time.

Pseudoscience tends to personalize issues. Nonbelievers are often accused of being enemies or members of a conspiracy to keep the truth from the public. Supporters of pseudoscience also tend to develop networks and communities of like believers. While a hallmark of science is the publication of theories and experimental results in scholarly publications, pseudoscience appears in either popular magazines or journals that circulate primarily in

their own communities.

According to the National Science Foundation, belief in pseudosciences increased during the 1990s with the rise of the New Age movement and peaked around the turn of the millennium. Although pseudoscience has reportedly declined since 2001, popular acceptance remains high. For instance, widespread belief continues in the predictions of astrology, particularly in the form of daily horoscopes. Although the spread of modern science has led many Americans to question the validity of astrology and its popularity has waxed and waned throughout U.S. history, an estimated 88 percent of Americans believe astrology has some scientific basis.

Finally, some theories and areas of study have passed the tests of verifiability sufficiently to have made the transition from pseudoscience to “true” science. Examples include continental drift theory, which posits that the continents shift and move across the surface of the world; osteopathy, a branch of medicine that emphasizes the role of the musculoskeletal system; and physical cosmology, a form of astronomy that studies the large-scale structure of the universe.

Tim J. Watts

See also: [Medicine, Alternative](#); [New Age](#); [UFOs](#).

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Psychedelia

The term *psychedelia* generally refers to the music (often combining jazz improvisation, Indian modality, and folk and blues song structure), fashion (bright colors, wide stripes, paisley patterns sometimes combined with Old West touches or Victorian militaria), and art (often art nouveau inspired) produced by the 1960s hippie subculture. Taking hallucinogenic drugs such as LSD often inspired the original creators of psychedelia, who also intended for their work to be used as part of the psychedelic experience. Thus, psychedelia was a product both of and for the

counterculture.

The psychedelic movement drew on the spiritual and philosophical writings of “guru” authors such as Aldous Huxley, Timothy Leary, Ralph Metzner, and Richard Alpert (also known as Baba Ram Dass) and was expounded in underground newspapers such as the *San Francisco Oracle* (1966–1968). Adherents believed that by expanding the limits of perception with hallucinogenic drugs, the individual could better understand the interconnectivity of the world and his or her place in it. Hallucinogenic drugs combine and associate sensory experiences in unaccustomed ways and dissolve the user’s sense of self, so that he or she begins to perceive and explore previously unrecognized connections. (In his book *The Beyond Within*, 1964, Sidney Cohen refers to the experience as “instant zen.”)

The goal of psychedelia was often the creation of a multimedia experience as a positive setting for this form of experimentation. One of the first artifacts of the psychedelic era was the bus named *Furthur*, used by novelist Ken Kesey and his followers, the Merry Pranksters, on their legendary road trip of 1964. The sight of the bright, swirling patterns of its paint job was shocking enough, but the vehicle was also wired for sound so the Pranksters could play their music and drug-fueled rants to the public.



Liquid light shows, bright swirling colors, and curvilinear art nouveau graphics—products and evocations of the hallucinogenic drug experience—were hallmarks of psychedelic style and aesthetics. (Bill Ray/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

As the hippie culture germinated in and around San Francisco from 1965 to 1967, “Acid Tests,” happenings, be-ins, and rock concerts continued to emphasize this multimedia approach. At these gatherings, bands such as the Grateful Dead and the Quicksilver Messenger Service played highly amplified, improvisational, and, at times, formless music that disregarded the normal time and structural constraints of the pop rock formula. Music was perhaps the most important element of these events, but the artwork used for advertisement and decoration (by artists such as Rick Griffin, John van Hamersveld, Gary Grimshaw, Stanley Mouse, and Alton Kelley), the smell of burning incense, the liquid light show that projected over the musicians, the clothing, and the occasional Day-Glo body paint on audience members all were part of an experience meant to envelope participants and create a totalizing effect on their senses.

Psychedelia stagnated after about 1967, as the hippie subculture merged into the mainstream. As an easily appropriated element of the increasingly popular youth culture, psychedelia was co-opted by both commercial interests and consumers, torn from its original context. For example, J.C. Penney sold knock-offs of psychedelic fashion, companies such as Pepsi commissioned psychedelic-style advertising, record labels rushed to sign acid rock bands, and psychedelic-themed clubs sprang up in cities around the country in an attempt to replicate the experiences of the San Francisco ballrooms. Simultaneously, a rise in the use of nonhallucinogenic drugs such as

cocaine, heroin, and speed (methamphetamine) further signaled the turn away from the experimentation that had inspired psychedelia.

Nevertheless, psychedelia remains one of the most durable legacies of the 1960s. Musical groups influenced by the experimentation of the time period, sometimes called “neopsychedelic” bands, have included the Soft Boys and the Teardrop Explodes in the 1970s, the Los Angeles “Paisley Underground” scene of the 1980s, and the various bands of the Elephant Six collective in the 1990s. The bright colors and patterns of psychedelic fashion periodically come back into style. Films set during the 1960s often use psychedelia to evoke the time period, and the first two movies of the Austin Powers franchise are a veritable psychedelic pastiche (absent the essential drug connection).

Aside from postmodern evocations, the continued use of the drugs that inspired psychedelia help explain its endurance. As Beatles singer-songwriter John Lennon said in 1980, “You don’t hear about it anymore, but people are still visiting the cosmos.”

Chad Martin

See also: [Grateful Dead](#): [Hippies](#): [Huxley, Aldous](#): [Kesey, Ken](#): [Leary, Timothy](#): [Lennon, John](#): [LSD](#): [Merry Pranksters](#).

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Psychobilly

Psychobilly, also called “punkabilly” or “mutant rockabilly,” is a subculture that emerged in the 1980s from the unlikely combination of rockabilly and punk rock. The provocative and sometimes outrageous style associated with psychobillies (also known as “psychos”) mixes the blue-collar rawness and rebellion of 1950s rockabilly with the confrontational do-it-yourself style of 1970s punk rock, a syncretism infused with themes from monster and horror films, campy sci-fi movies, and even professional wrestling.

Psychobilly bands tend to celebrate gruesome, depraved, and taboo topics, usually presented in an ironic manner: revenge, lust, murder, insanity, death, demons, massacre, lurid sex, and apocalypse, as well as hot rods, werewolves, zombies, vampires, voodoo, flying saucers, booze, broken hearts, and outlaw hillbillies. Influential precursors to psychobilly include Screamin’ Jay Hawkins, Johnny Cash, Hasil Adkins, the Legendary Stardust Cowboy, Link Wray, the Stray Cats, 1960s garage bands, and especially the Cramps, who anticipated the psychobilly movement in the 1970s by combining rockabilly, punk rock, kitschy Americana, sleaze, and monster-

movie themes in their music.

Psychobilly as a distinctive subculture began in the early 1980s with the rise of the Meteors in London. The band got its start in the punk clubs of the day, specifically the Klubfoot in West London, which became the center of the new movement. In response to the notoriously politicized punk scene of the time, the Meteors declared their performances “political free zones,” establishing the apolitical stance that continues to characterize the movement today.

A number of other psychobilly groups were formed in the mid-1980s, and the subculture eventually spread to the European continent, the United States, Canada, and parts of Asia, with an especially fervent following in Japan. The early psychobilly groups typically were minimalist, three-piece bands, with a steel guitar, drums, and an upright bass. In the ensuing years, a number of variant styles have emerged, including Gothbilly, Cowbilly (an emphasis on country and western), and Killbilly (death metal influences).

Regardless of the subgenre, the unifying theme is some innovation on rockabilly in its raw form, as an expression of primordial emotions, pure rebellion, unbridled sexuality, and grassroots revelry, in contrast to the pompous art-rock pretensions of subsequent rock music groups and pop music styles. After the Meteors, notable psychobilly bands have included Batmobile, the Sting-Rays, the Krewman, the Polecats, Coffin Nails, the Sharks, the Guana Bats, the Frantic Flintstones, King Kurt, Demented Are Go, Nekromantix, the Klingonz, the Reverend Horton Heat, Mad Sin, and the Quakes, among others.

The psychobilly subculture is primarily a white male phenomenon, although increasing numbers of females have joined the scene, as have ethnic minorities. The psychobilly scene is strongly heterosexual, unlike the early punk subculture, which tended to emphasize sexual ambiguity and gender confusion.

Male psychobilly expresses themes of working-class masculinity and sexuality, with characteristic styles for men featuring tight, cuffed blue jeans, body art, studded belts, boots, and tight T-shirts or shirts from working-class jobs that are adorned with patches or badges. Often, the sleeves are torn off the shirts, or rolled up, sometimes with a pack of cigarettes curled into a sleeve. Fans may wear black leather jackets, decorated with hand-painted slogans, band logos, and grotesque imagery, and increasingly seem to be adorned in black, “fetish party” styles.

Psychobilly is known for its distinctive hairstyles, in which the Elvis-style rockabilly pompadour is heightened and stylized into an exaggerated quiff (forelock), sometimes dyed in neon colors or bleached. A wedge-shaped pompadour, combined with a punk Mohawk style, is called a “psychohawk.” Other hairstyles include shaved heads, flattops, or other styles from the 1950s. Some psychobilly performers and fans occasionally appear at shows with faces painted to resemble ghouls, zombies, and other characters from horror films, evoking a time-warped vision of a postapocalyptic community of 1950s movie monsters, outcast hillbillies, the living dead, and sexualized “babes and cool cats.”

Female psychobilly style often emulates the hyper-feminized look of the “bad girl” pinup model (especially Bettie Page of the 1950s), while also reflecting a femme fatale and third-wave feminist “tough chick” style, influenced by punk aesthetics, especially the Riot Grrrl subculture. Psychobilly “devil dolls” may simultaneously embrace and mock sexual stereotypes through exaggeration and parody, dressing in a sexually suggestive manner that combines 1950s-style fishnet stockings, tight sweaters, revealing blouses, arm-length gloves, horn-rimmed glasses, and high-heeled shoes with a bricolage of 1970s punk-style bondage gear, spiked collars, chains, leather wear, tattoos, and body piercings. Psychobilly women tend to favor vintage dresses in bold colors, animal prints, and crinoline skirts from the 1950s. Female “psychos” often sport vintage hairdos in the style of Marilyn Monroe or other 1950s stars, and they frequently dye their hair, or at least their bangs, in bright colors, and may use bandannas as headbands.

Both female and male psychobillies tend to be heavily tattooed, usually with traditional American tattoo designs such as flames, dice, pinup girls, demons, skulls, hot rods, horseshoes, playing cards, and other symbols of luck. For some psychobillies, the subculture is a complete way of life that includes, in addition to music, clothes, and

body art, certain types of classic automobiles, vintage home decor, cigarettes, food, and alcoholic beverages.

The hallmark of the psychobilly scene continues to be the “weekender,” which brings together a number of bands for a weekend-long music festival and impromptu community to share styles, merchandise, and other mutual interests. At these weekends, psychobilly fans often engage in “wrecking,” a style of dance described on the psychobilly Web site wreckingpit.com as “a mixture of slam-dancing and freestyle wrestling.” Wrecking is known to be dangerous and violent, a psychobilly version of *Fight Club*-like events, and wreckers are sometimes injured. Despite the appearance of uncontrolled violence, psychobilly wrecking is generally characterized by a degree of decorum and camaraderie, with fallen’billies helped from the floor by their comrades.

Psychobilly remains a marginalized subculture because of its darkly carnivalesque celebration of violence, sex, and the macabre, although in recent years touring bands such as Tiger Army, Nekromantix, Deadbolt, HorrorPops, and the indefatigable Reverend Horton Heat have brought psychobilly to a wider audience. Although it may—or may not—ultimately find its way into the mainstream rock music and youth style markets, it remains a largely noncommodified scene that provides a sense of identity, community, and pure fun for those involved in the movement.

Daniel Wojcik

See also: [Presley, Elvis](#); [Punk Rock](#); [Science Fiction](#).

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Public Enemy

Public Enemy is a hip-hop music group that originated on Long Island, New York, in 1982 and gained a national and international following for its explicit political messages and focus on African American social issues and history. The original band was made up of main lyricist Chuck D (Carlton Ridenhour), Flavor Flav (William Drayton), Professor Griff (Richard Griffin), and DJ Terminator X (Norman Rogers). In addition to the attention they generated for black urban issues, Public Enemy helped hip-hop expand its audience, as its music attracted middle-class white youth who had previously ignored or been unaware of the music being created in urban areas.

Public Enemy released its first album, *Yo! Bum Rush the Show*, on Def Jam Records in 1987. From the outset, the group built its artistic distinctiveness by openly discussing race and politics, bringing attention to inequality and racism in contemporary America. Its costume and performance style mirrored the militant arm of the black civil rights movement of the 1960s and 1970s; its dance troupe, Security of the First World (or the S1Ws), dressed in paramilitary uniforms and marched on stage with simulation Uzi machine guns. Public Enemy openly participated in political activism, sometimes joining forces with African American community leaders such as the Nation of Islam’s Louis Farrakhan and the Reverend Jesse Jackson, while invoking the words of the late Stokely

Carmichael, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King, Jr.

The group's music and message garnered immediate popular attention in the late 1980s and early 1990s, especially after the song "Fight the Power," from their third album, *Fear of a Black Planet* (1990), served as the theme music for director Spike Lee's major motion picture release *Do the Right Thing* (1989). In 2005, the Library of Congress selected *Fear of a Black Planet* as one of only fifty sound recordings for preservation as part of the National Recording Registry, reflecting its significance as a musical and cultural phenomenon.

Since the beginning, Public Enemy has remained consistent in its message of political and cultural empowerment for African Americans and all oppressed groups. Its early prominence helped usher in a wave of artists who used hip-hop to express the voice and culture of urban African American communities. Public Enemy's style of highly charged, politically conscious messages dominated East Coast hip-hop groups during the time—the mid-1980s—that the Los Angeles-based group N.W.A. (Niggaz With Attitude) was surfacing with a new, heavily explicit, and violence-filled hip-hop style that would come to be known as gangsta rap.

After a brief hiatus, Public Enemy reemerged on the hip-hop scene in the 2000s. Its 2006 release *Rebirth of a Nation* includes Oakland, California-based rapper Paris (who once dubbed himself the "Black Panther of Rap") and former N.W.A. member MC Ren. *How You Sell Soul to a Soulless People Who Sold Their Soul*, the band's tenth studio album, was released in 2007.

Natchee Blu Barnd

See also: [Black Panthers](#); [Hip-Hop](#); [N.W.A.](#); [Rap Music](#).

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Pulp Fiction

Named for the cheap, rough, untrimmed wood-pulp paper upon which it was printed as much as for its stylistic infelicities, the term *pulp fiction* refers to a broad range of popular American genre fiction that was widely read from the late nineteenth century until about the middle of the twentieth. Driven by the economics of a rapidly expanding U.S. population of unprecedented literacy, as well as by low printing and distribution costs (thanks to the advent of steam-powered presses and cheap, reliable rail transport) and the absence of competing storytelling media such as motion pictures or television, pulp fiction magazines encompassed every popular genre of fiction, including men's adventure, mystery, romance, horror, Westerns, fantasy, and science fiction.

The all-fiction pulp-magazine format was the brainchild of publisher Frank A. Munsey, who devoted his *Argosy* to genre fiction beginning in 1896. *Argosy's* success in anthologizing original genre fiction inspired others, such as

Street & Smith (already successful as the publishers of dime novels and boys' magazines), to enter the pulp market. Street & Smith's *The Popular Magazine* (1903) introduced color covers and grabbed the attention of the pulp adventure audience with a serial by H. Rider Haggard, whose popular work in the "lost world adventure" genre would later help inspire filmmakers George Lucas and Steven Spielberg in the creation of Indiana Jones. The magazines measured approximately 7 inches (18 centimeters) by 10 inches (25 centimeters) and contained anywhere from 128 to 196 pages.

Over the next three decades, pulp publishers proliferated in Cambrian profusion, filling every conceivable audience niche with such titles as *Air Wonder Stories*, *Amazing Stories*, *Black Mask*, *Dime Detective*, *Doc Savage Magazine*, *Flying Aces*, *High Adventure*, *Horror Stories*, *Marvel Tales*, *Oriental Stories*, *The Phantom Detective*, *Planet Stories*, *Science Wonder Stories*, *Scientific Detective Monthly*, *The Shadow*, *Spicy Detective*, *Startling Stories*, *Thrilling Wonder Stories*, *Unknown*, and *Weird Tales*. The last-named magazine debuted many Conan the Barbarian stories by the character's creator, Robert E. Howard, as well as tales of the monstrous elder god Cthulhu by horror master H.P. Lovecraft.

Traces of the early pulp legacy endure to the present day. The digest-sized *Analog Science Fiction-Science Fact*, formerly published in the pulp format as *Astounding Science Fiction*, continues to appear on a monthly basis, as it has since its inception in 1930. Both *Amazing Stories* and *Weird Tales* return intermittently to the newsstands every few years, though not very profitably, as publishing licenses change hands.

Pulp writers, who were paid by the word, had to produce their material quickly to keep up with the public's voracious demand, making the pulp publications literary factories of a sort. Stories, settings, and characters were often formulaic, though the pulp environment nurtured and popularized many well-regarded authors whose works and influence still endure, including Ray Bradbury, Max Brand (also known as Frederick Schiller Faust), Edgar Rice Burroughs, Raymond Chandler, Ray Cummings, George Allan England, Ralph Milne Farley (also known as Roger Sherman Hoar), Dashiell Hammett, William Hope Hodgson, Jack London, A. Merritt, Sax Rohmer, and Garrett Putnam Serviss. The pulps also greatly enhanced the mass-market popularity of the "slick" magazine genre writers they published, such as Haggard and H.G. Wells, arguably forging an organic, countercultural literary movement supported by an audience that America's literary sophisticates did not consider particularly literate.

As distinct from their tamer, more upscale, family-oriented, slick-paper cousins (known in the magazine trade as "the slicks"), the pulp fiction magazines of the first half of the twentieth century are probably best remembered for their frequently exploitative story content and the often lurid illustrations that adorned their colorful, varnished covers. This is not surprising, given that the pulps are the direct descendants of the sensational dime novels and "penny dreadfuls" of the nineteenth century, and ancestors to both the contemporary mass-market paperback and the modern superhero comic book.

Because of the sales impact of the pulp magazines' covers, which usually presented garish images of scantily-clad damsels in distress awaiting rescue by the hero of the hour, pulp cover art was of critical importance. Cover illustrations were sometimes created well in advance of the rest of the magazine's editorial material, which writers would create in haste to conform to the cover images. The pulp fiction era produced a number of acclaimed cover illustrators whose works are still sought after and imitated in the twenty-first century, among them Margaret Brundage, Edd Cartier, Virgil Finlay, Frank Kelly Freas, Frank R. Paul, and Norman Saunders.

Although the rise of the cinema in the 1920s posed serious competition, the heyday of pulp fiction was likely extended by the grinding poverty and despair of the Great Depression, which made cheap, escapist entertainment a psychological necessity for a public more in need of hope, heroism, and distraction than during any earlier period in American history. Paper rationing during World War II spelled the beginning of the end of the pulp era, however, forcing many titles to switch to the smaller digest format familiar to modern audiences, beginning in 1941 with *Ellery Queen's Mystery Magazine*.

Following the war, the pulps lost much of their remaining audience, both to the movies and to the new medium of television. Competition from comic books and the mass-market paperback helped to complete the pulps' eventual

slide into oblivion, although the term *pulp fiction* endures, mostly as a pejorative in the still-ghettoized genre categories of science fiction, crime, adventure, or horror.

In 1994, the medium that arguably bears the most responsibility for the demise of the pulp magazines—cinema—paid tribute with Quentin Tarantino’s unabashedly lurid film *Pulp Fiction*. Like its acid-paper forebears, *Pulp Fiction* told several crime-oriented stories that doted stylishly on violence and sex, braiding together several disparate yet fundamentally “pulpy” elements.

Michael A. Martin

See also: [Science Fiction](#).

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Punk Rock

Punk rock is a musical style that began as a challenge to the perceived commercialism of the music scene. In 1977, an explosion of bands from the United Kingdom reached America, beginning with the Sex Pistols, the Clash, the Damned, X-ray Spex, and Generation X, among others. These groups had been influenced by American pre-punk bands such as the Ramones, who had been formed in 1975 and played loud, abrasive, three-chord rock in and around New York City’s CBGB nightclub. Punk vocals were almost always shouted or sung and backed by electric guitar, electric bass, and acoustic drums. The punk sound was characteristically raw and guitar driven, with heavy distortion and catchy choruses. This musical style, first popularized as a genre in Britain, spawned a vibrant counterculture movement in the United States.

Punk was a protest against the complacency of the hippie culture that typified the early 1970s. (“We don’t care

about long hair,” the Sex Pistols sang, “I don’t wear flares.”) The dress of punk rockers was individualistic, postapocalyptic, and urban, typified by dyed, spiked, or Mohawked hair; torn jeans; boots (combat or Doc Martens); face and body piercings; and studded leather jackets with band names or slogans hand-painted on them. It created an image that was shocking in the late 1970s.

Sometimes compared to Dada and futurism (European art movements of the post–World War I era), punk rock unknowingly shared a few characteristics of these movements, primarily in its outrageous fashion, rejection of traditional art forms, and provocative performances. However, it was punk’s antiestablishment ideology, focusing on such contemporary youth frustrations as unemployment and the threat of nuclear war, that made it relevant as an energetic counterculture movement.



The Sex Pistols—with bass player Sid Vicious (left) and lead singer Johnny Rotten—was the first commercially successful punk band. Raw and rebellious, punk was a kind of antiestablishment rock that spawned a distinctive counterculture in the 1970s. (Michael Ochs Archive/Getty Images)

U.K. Roots

As some of the early British punk bands disbanded or changed musical styles by 1980, many new groups surfaced in the United Kingdom. A second wave of punk rock reached the United States from 1980 to 1984. Now harder and faster in their musical style, these groups included the Exploited, G.B.H., Anti-Nowhere League, and U.K. Subs.

A new, ultrapolitical brand of the punk rock movement also emerged in Britain, characterized by bands such as Crass, Conflict, Subhumans, Discharge, Icons of Filth, Chaos U.K., and Rudimentary Peni, whose songs went beyond earlier social content and addressed such topics as nuclear annihilation, animal rights, and anarchism. These bands helped promote the antiwar and nuclear disarmament movements of the time; brought attention to the plight of animals in factory farms, inspiring some punks to adopt the vegan lifestyle (abstaining from all animal products, including milk and eggs); and charged mainstream politics with rampant corruption.

Punk Rock in America

Punk rock in America was characterized by early West Coast artists such as the Germs, the Weirdos, Black Flag, the Dickies, and X. The Runaways, an early pre-punk, all-female Los Angeles group that featured teenage rock icon Joan Jett, was the original “girl power” band.

By 1982, the American variant of punk rock had taken on a clear identity of its own, with groups such as Black Flag, Fear, the Dead Kennedys, and Bad Brains playing a faster music termed “hardcore,” a synonym for punk. The message of these bands was distinctly antiauthoritarian, with the Dead Kennedys’ lyrics more political than most. Early East Coast bands, such as the Dead Boys and Television, had similar weight in the New York underground. The New York scene would reach its apex in the late 1980s with such bands as Agnostic Front and

Cro-Mags.

In Washington, D.C., Minor Threat, headed by Ian MacKaye, began to question the drug abuse and self-destruction becoming rampant in the punk rock scene, and the band began refraining from alcohol and drugs. Setting themselves apart by marking an X on their hands—which a local D.C. punk rock venue used to identify underage concertgoers at the bar—the band and its fans initiated “straight edge,” a movement that rejected the usage of drug and alcohol. That movement was particularly popular on the East Coast, and later, in Southern California, with bands such as Minor Threat and DYS adhering to the straight edge lifestyle. In the late 1980s and early 1990s, bands such as Youth of Today, Gorilla Biscuits, and Unity fueled a resurgence of straight edge in the United States and worldwide.

On both coasts, and throughout the 1970s and 1980s, punk’s emphasis was on lyrics and energy rather than on technical musical ability, though many groups displayed true talent. Often, punk musicians had little formal training, but many bands, especially in the mid-to late 1980s, began opting for a more commercial, heavy metal sound. Referred to as “crossover,” this style included palming the guitar strings, lengthy guitar solos, and a double-bass pedal on the kick drum. Though some bands, such as D.R.I., had success with this hybrid metal and punk sound, the credibility of some groups was questioned when they signed with record companies owned or distributed by major corporate labels. A trend of the 1990s, in which some punk bands went softer in the pop-punk style, helped make them more radio friendly but also had a damaging effect on their reputation.

Since the late 1980s, Minneapolis, Minnesota, has been an epicenter for anarchist punk rock, mainly due to *Profane Existence*, the name of both a magazine and a record label and distributor. *Profane Existence* began in 1989 as a small underground fanzine, and despite a brief hiatus, remains a popular international punk journal, with a circulation of about 20,000. Minneapolis bands with anarchist-themed lyrics that tackle issues such as animal vivisection include Destroy!, a British-influenced group that played in the fast and heavy “crust” style; Code 13, later formed by singer Felix Von Havoc of Destroy!; and Misery.

A revival of the more political brand of punk continues in the 2000s through the efforts of such street punk bands as Total Chaos, Anti-Flag, and the Casualties. Many of the original ideals of punk, and some of the older bands, remain very much alive, making it one of the longer lasting counterculture movements in the United States.

Punk Culture

Punk has had a major influence on Western trends beyond the music world. The vegan lifestyle was popularized by punk rockers, giving it street credibility. Many bands involved with straight edge began to convert to veganism by the early 1990s. In addition, punk fashion, such as dyed hair, Mohawks, piercings, and military-style boots, have been adopted in the popular culture.

The fans of punk rock have a literature of their own as well, mostly in the form of “zines”—publications with small press runs, often in DIY (do-it-yourself) format with informal typesetting and a local or topical focus. Among the early influential punk zines was the crudely produced British publication *Sniffin’ Glue*, which snidely chronicled the emerging London punk scene in 1976 and 1977. A few American punk zines had larger press runs, such as Los Angeles’s *Flipside*; the in-depth, political, and long-running *Maximum Rocknroll*, published in San Francisco; and the overtly subversive *Profane Existence*.

Punk continues to remain relevant as a social youth movement in America. Many contemporary musicians cite punk rock as an inspiration for learning an instrument and joining a band. The reissue of many older punk LPs—now considered classics—on CD made the message accessible to a younger generation. The combination of strong lyrics and an urgent delivery has contributed to the resilience of punk music and, in turn, its resurgence as a counterculture movement.

Kirby Thomas Pringle

See also: [CBGB](#); [Ramoness](#); [The Straight Edge Culture](#); [Zines](#).

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Puritans

Puritans were members of extreme dissident Protestant congregations from England, Scotland, and the Netherlands in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries who rejected the Protestant Reformation for not going far enough in reforming the doctrines, liturgy, and rituals of the Roman Catholic Church. In the early seventeenth century, Puritan groups seeking to break away from the Church of England and escape the pressures of the British Crown migrated to the New World under a series of grants from joint-stock companies that sought to establish permanent settlements there.

The Puritans in America are associated primarily with the Plymouth Colony (established 1620), Massachusetts Bay Colony (1629), and the towns and villages that grew up around the settlement at Boston and spread throughout New England. Their religious beliefs had a deep and lasting influence on the social and political development of what would become the New England colonies and eventually part of the United States.

Philosophy

Puritan religious philosophy encompassed all aspects of human existence, defining mankind's place in the world with rigid and absolute clarity. Faithful Puritans knew who they were, what they might become, and what God expected of them in both the temporal and spiritual spheres.

The fates of individual men and women were less clear. Individuals were aware that God had decided the fate of each person (according to the doctrine of predestination), but there was no specific or infallible outward indication of the nature of God's decision. Therefore, Puritan religious belief stressed that people were entirely without power to influence the choices God already had made. At the same time, individuals were exhorted to use all of their abilities to secure the grace of God, to show proof of their salvation.

This philosophy of extreme self-criticism and self-awareness demonstrated a deep Puritan concern with one's state of mind and its relationship to personal salvation. As a result, a common theme in Puritan writings and moral teachings is consideration of the familiar figure of the tormented soul trapped in a mortal body, filled with fearful awe of the final judgment to come.

As the name Puritan suggests, a core tenet of the faith was a desire to cleanse, or purify, both individuals and the

world of sin and evil. The driving force of this desire was a need to purify what they regarded as a corrupt and licentious society that was not worthy of God's creation. (In this sense, the Puritan movement may be compared to similarly motivated religious movements focused on the idea of purification, such as the Calvinist society established in Geneva, Switzerland, in the heyday of the Protestant Reformation; the Wahabi movement in Sunni Islam; and the Shiite revolution that sought to purge Iran of the Western influences personified by secularism and the Westernized shah.)

In Puritan eyes, if a social institution was able to corrupt individuals by enticing them or pressuring them to stray from the strict moral code that faith demanded, then that institution had to be reformed, or destroyed, to prevent people from falling victim to the temptation to sin against God. Yet the removal of one corrupt institution would likely reveal further evils poised to threaten the stability and even existence of the community, perpetuating the quest for purification. The ideal Puritan society thus was one that could be totally controlled, that was as free as possible from temptations that could lead its members astray, and consisted entirely of a community of the "pure" individuals, who accepted their humble position in this world in the hope of a greater reward in the next.

In religious communities similar to that of the Puritans, the goal of individual purity may be either voluntarily accepted by the people or enforced by an authority. The Puritans' authority was vested in the clergy and the well-to-do, pious pillars of the community, who exercised significant control over the civil, social, individual, and, above all, spiritual lives of all who lived in the society. To be a full-fledged member of New England Puritan society, with all the civil rights afforded (such as voting privileges for men), an individual would have to accept in full the covenant of the church, its doctrine, and its discipline.

Even those who did not or could not become members of the church had to pay taxes to support it and its works. Members and nonmembers alike could face public censure or be made to pay fines if they did not attend worship services regularly, or if they violated the holiness of the Sabbath by working or enjoying any worldly pleasures on that day.

In addition, the close-knit nature of the community ensured that there was little personal privacy, further enabling community leaders to keep a close eye on individuals and ensure that the common man or woman knew his or her place. Those who appeared to live beyond their means or station—for instance, by wearing silk or other fine cloth in spite of having a low yearly income—could be subject to fines or public disgrace, with the offender made to serve as an example to the community of the sins of pride or avarice. Laws forbade the wearing of frills, ribbons, or brightly colored fabrics.

Personal failings and shortcomings were also subject to control. The men and women of Puritan New England could be punished for idleness, gossiping, excessive frivolity, drunkenness, gambling, or any other kind of scandalous behavior (especially if the scandal involved fornication or adultery). The concern over individual behavior reflected Puritan fears about the collective nature of evil and the catastrophic fate that might await a society that succumbed to evil influences.

Examples from the Bible and other religious writings suggested that a people who failed to honor their covenant with God would be subjected to both natural and manmade disasters—such as wars, plagues, famine, floods, poor harvests—and only dedicated prayer and sincere repentance would be sufficient to turn away the wrath of the Lord. A community of the faithful and devout, on the other hand, would live in peace and sober prosperity for as long as they dedicated themselves to a simple, purified life in keeping with the teachings of their religious leaders.

New England

The initial "Great Migration" of Puritans lasted from 1629 to 1642, ending only when the outbreak of civil war between Cavaliers (loyalist supporters of King Charles I) and Roundheads (supporters of the more Puritan Parliament, against the king) led Charles I essentially to stop all emigration from England. The Puritan communities of the Massachusetts Bay Colony regarded the English Civil War through the prism of their religious

faith, examining the conflict from a cosmic perspective. Now that the battle between the true church and the corrupt, popish factions that had dominated it appeared to be coming to a head, there was a great temptation to view the war as the means of carrying out the reform and purification so needed in society. New World communities were enjoined to pray for the victory of their Puritan brethren still in England, and the victory of Oliver Cromwell's Roundhead forces in 1651 appeared to herald a new and more godly age.

The temptation to see cosmic battles reflected on Earth was still a potent element of Puritan religious thought. In 1666, when news of the Great Fire of London reached Boston, there were rumors that the end of the world was nigh and that the faithful might look to the sky to see Christ descending with his angels to battle the Antichrist. Yet Cromwell's victory had slowed further Puritan immigration, and as individuals from other religious backgrounds settled in New England, new ideas and beliefs began to challenge the tenets and principles of the initially homogenous society.

Many of the immigrants who arrived in New England after the 1640s regarded the Puritan theocracy as a more oppressive state than the one they had left behind in England. Because the Puritan communities were not strictly separatist (i.e., did not regard themselves as having formally separated from the Church of England), individuals who did wish to see the church break ties with the Anglican community were likely to be accused of heresy and punished accordingly.

Roger Williams, an early proponent of the separation of church and state, was expelled from Puritan Massachusetts in 1635 and founded a settlement in what is present-day Rhode Island, providing a home for Quakers, Baptists, and other religious communities that had been persecuted by the Puritan authorities. Anne Hutchinson was excommunicated from her Puritan congregation in 1638 after being charged with blasphemy, having dared to preach and speak out against the authority of the local ministers.

The fate of Mary Dyer, a Puritan woman who had become a Quaker and who traveled around New England to protest the laws that banned Quakers from preaching, was a particularly noteworthy example of the religious intolerance of the Puritan colony. In May 1660, Dyer was arrested, tried, and convicted of the crime of being a Quaker in Massachusetts; because she refused to repent and renounce her faith, she was hanged on June 1, 1660. Since Puritan religious authority required a firm control over society and the individuals within it, challenges such as these could not be treated leniently.

As immigration to the North American colonies increased in the eighteenth century, the direct control and influence of Puritan religious leaders continued to decline. The restoration of the monarchy to the English throne (with Charles II in 1660), the growth of colonial settlements outside Puritan religious control, the controversies that accompanied social upheavals such as the witch hunts in Hartford (1661–1663) and Salem (1691–1692), and a growing secularization of society in general contributed to the waning of religious authority in colonial New England in general and of Puritan authority in particular.

Puritanism as Counterculture

If the definition of a counterculture is that of a cultural group that embraces a set of personal values and social behaviors that run counter to the mainstream opinion accepted by the group's contemporaries, then the early Puritan immigrants to the New World formed a counterculture. Puritans were not merely a religious counterculture in England and Scotland; their opposition to the unreformed Church of England and the spiritual authority of the Crown placed them in political opposition to the established society of their time.

Persecuted for their beliefs and their vocal demands for liturgical reform, the Puritans fled that persecution with the hope of founding a society where they would be able to create their "city upon a hill" (in the words of early Puritan leader John Winthrop), a purified community of the faithful. In doing so, their counterculture became the dominant culture—one that played a significant part in shaping the foundations of American society and became part of the founding myth that continues to mold the American cultural psyche into the present day.

See also: [Antinomianism](#): [Dyer, Mary](#): [Hutchinson, Anne](#): [Pilgrims](#): [Quakers](#): [Williams, Roger](#): [Witchcraft and Wicca](#).

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Purple, Adam (ca. 1932–)

Adam Purple has been variously described by friends and observers as a social activist, visionary, philosopher, artist, and revolutionary. Clad from head to toe in purple clothing, he was, for decades, a vibrant fixture in the community life of the poorest neighborhoods on Manhattan's Lower East Side. Little is known of the early life of the man, born David Wilkie, who would, following his arrival in Manhattan in 1972 and until his eviction in 1999, go on to become an international icon of urban ecological sustainability.

In 1975, Purple initiated the project that would provide his lasting legacy, the internationally renowned Garden of Eden, an urban garden artwork (in Purple's term, an eARTHWORK). Through the Garden of Eden, Purple turned the desolate and crime-ridden abandoned lots behind his tenement at 184 Forsythe Street into a neighborhood sanctuary and gathering space. Before it was bulldozed by the city in 1986, the garden had grown to more than 15,000 square feet (1,400 square meters) as it returned to nature the lots left behind when other tenements were torn down.

Purple "created" the dirt by hand from manure he gathered in Central Park. The garden was built in concentric circles, each composed of similarly colored plants and flowers, making a spiral rainbow. The center of the garden featured double yin-yang symbols, the Buddhist symbol of the unity of differences, and a Chinese Empress tree. A total of forty-five fruit and nut trees flourished in the garden. The stunning work was featured in photo essays in

number of mainstream publications, including *Stern* and *National Geographic*.

The Garden of Eden was appreciated by observers from a diversity of backgrounds and perspectives. Some admired it as an example of urban agriculture and food sharing that provided free corn, cucumbers, tomatoes, peaches, and raspberries to urban residents who might otherwise never have seen the plants that provided their food, outside of pictures. Others, including several arts organizations, celebrated the garden as a living street sculpture. Most of all, the garden was enjoyed by the community members who spent time in it, especially the children who played in its once-threatening yards. For many, it was a refuge from the stresses of urban life.

Some viewed the Garden of Eden as a revolutionary act, an organic and evolving testament against private property. The refusal of city planners to incorporate the garden into their plans for a housing development led many to question their motives. Purple's project was recognized by architects as an inexpensive and healthy convergence of housing and an oxygen-producing landscape.

In 1999, Purple was forced from his own tenement by the city, which had owned the building since 1976. For eighteen years, he had lived in the building without gas, electricity, or running water. During that period, he lived on less than \$2,000 per year, money he earned largely by returning cans and bottles for recycling. His diet consisted primarily of vegetarian stew, made with vegetables from the garden or ones that he had salvaged from the garbage, and water from fire hydrants. Admirers regarded his life as a testament to ecological living and minimizing one's negative impact on the planet.

When his former building was slated for demolition, local residents entered the site to preserve the boxes of papers Purple had accumulated regarding his various projects. Those documents have been archived through the Lower East Side cultural center ABC No Rio, and Purple's experimental book *ZENTences* (1968) is housed in the Rare Books Division of the New York Public Library.

Since his eviction, Adam Purple has, despite being homeless, maintained his local activism. He also has moved his work online, initiating the Internet discussion group "speciesurvivalibrary."

Jeff Shantz

See also: [Squatters and Squatting](#).

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Pynchon, Thomas (1937–)

Thomas Pynchon is a reclusive American novelist, essayist, and short story writer who has been hailed as one of the most important literary figures to emerge from the 1960s. His novels are known for blending high poetic prose and slapstick comedy in a manner that has incorporated traditionally adolescent interests, such as comic books

and conspiracy theories, into mainstream literature.

Thomas Ruggles Pynchon, Jr., was born on May 8, 1937, in Glen Cove, Long Island, New York, to Thomas Ruggles Pynchon, Sr., the scion of a prominent family that traces its roots to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, and the former Katherine Frances Bennett. Pynchon began writing publicly at Oyster Bay High School, from which he graduated early, in 1953, to attend Cornell University in Ithaca, New York, as an engineering student. After a stint in the U.S. Navy, Pynchon returned to Cornell in 1957 as an English major. He took classes from the innovative Russian American fiction master Vladimir Nabokov and became friendly with the charismatic aspiring novelist Richard Fariña. After graduating in 1959, Pynchon went to work for aircraft manufacturer Boeing in Seattle, where he contributed to the in-house magazine.

Meanwhile, having published several short stories in literary magazines, Pynchon produced and published his first novel, *V.*, in 1963. The work won the William Faulkner Foundation Award for best first novel of the year, and Pynchon became an instant cult novelist. His appearance on the literary scene coincided with the rise of the counterculture, and his literary interests matched several concerns of the hippie movement: drug use, sexual liberation, suspicion of the establishment, and a pursuit of political reform coupled with an idealistic pursuit of spiritual enlightenment.

Pynchon validated his early promise with *The Crying of Lot 49* in 1966, but became an international sensation with the publication of *Gravity's Rainbow* in 1973. An epic modernist novel about the dehumanizing effects of technology and the bureaucracy of war, *Gravity's Rainbow* recounts the adventures of various American soldiers, British scientists, European expatriates, and Nazi missile experts toward the end of World War II and after the fall of Berlin. Beginning and ending in mid-sentence, the novel blends comedy and emotionally heightened literary prose, sexual hedonism, and political paranoia in the story of a young American whose sexual encounters seem to anticipate the locations of future V-2 bomb landings. A complex, ambitious work stretching backward and forward in time well beyond the limits of its 760 pages, the novel offers critiques of behavioral psychology, the morality of air war against civilian targets, and religion, among numerous aspects of modern society.

Long gaps stretched out between Pynchon's subsequent novels, while the author himself kept a low profile—much in the manner of J.D. Salinger, whose first-person prose style finds echoes in Pynchon's fiction. A brief collection of short stories and essays, *Slow Learner*, was published in 1984, followed by the novels *Vineland* (1990), *Mason & Dixon* (1997), *Against the Day* (2006), and *Inherent Vice* (2009).

No one publicly admits to knowing Pynchon or his whereabouts, and there are precious few photographs of the writer at any age. In 2004, Pynchon made two anonymous voice-over “appearances” in the satirical, animated Fox television series *The Simpsons*, in which his character appears with a paper bag over his head; he repeated the voice-over cameo in a 2006 episode of the show.

Little is known of Pynchon's whereabouts, family, or way of life.

D.K. Holm

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Quakers

The Religious Society of Friends, whose adherents are commonly known as Quakers, was founded in 1648 as a Nonconformist sect of Christianity. As Separatists from the Anglican Church, the Quakers faced extreme persecution in Puritan England, as well as in the British North American colonies. Some Quakers were put to death for their religious beliefs; the most famous, Mary Dyer, was hanged in Boston for the crime of “being a Quaker in Massachusetts.”(Dyer is believed to be the only woman in the United States to die for religious freedom.) Founded by William Penn, the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania was a safe haven for Quakers, and other religious dissenters, to practice their faith.

George Fox, credited as the founder of Quakerism, was born in 1624 in Drayton-in-the-Clay, Leicestershire, England, approximately 15 miles (24 kilometers) southwest of Leicester. His father, a weaver, espoused strong Puritan beliefs and encouraged his son to enter the ministry. After completing an apprenticeship as a cobbler and shepherd, Fox began to minister publicly in 1648, preaching in marketplaces and farmers' fields. Although this date coincides with the year conventionally accepted as that of the establishment of the Religious Society of Friends, there is no conclusive documentation that Fox founded the religious sect, and several practices observed by Quakers during their worship services, including the most familiar, silent waiting, were known to have been in existence prior to this date.

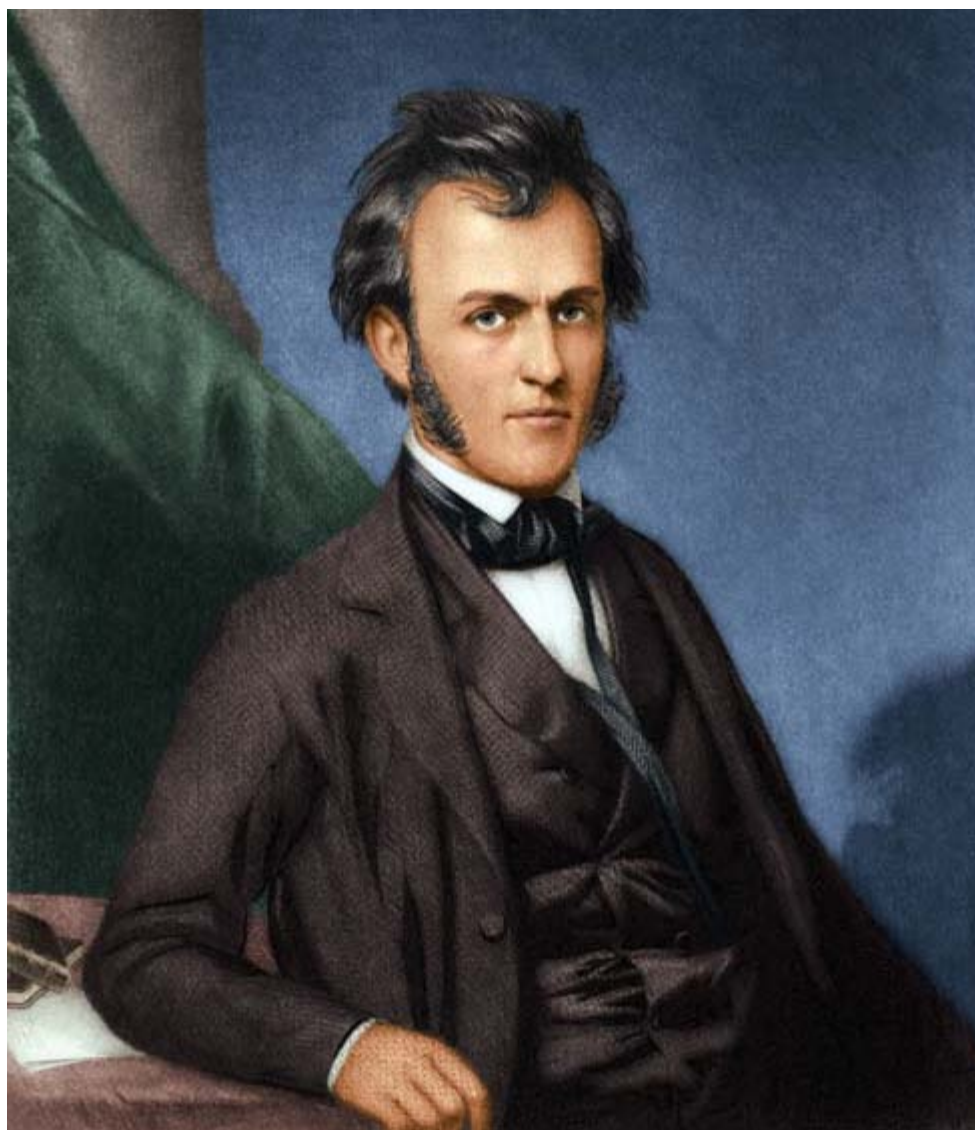
The name Quaker was first used in 1650, when Fox was charged with blasphemy and brought before the chief magistrate of Derby. In his journal, Fox recounts the judge referring to the church members as Quakers, because they trembled at the word of God. Fox and his followers, who preferred to be known as “children of light” or “friends of the truth,” objected to the name, which continues to be commonly employed by nonmembers. The official name, Religious Society of Friends, was adopted in the eighteenth century; “Quakers” was added in parentheses for the sake of clarity. Some congregations do not include the word *religious* in their name, referring to themselves simply as the Society of Friends.

Divergent Beliefs and Practices

Over time, several divisions have occurred in the Society of Friends. The best known is the Hicksite-Orthodox split, which occurred in 1827 when the views of a liberal New York minister, Elias Hicks, came into conflict with the historical traditions of the Friends. The Quakers who did not follow Hicks were called Orthodox. The 1842 Gurneyite-Wilburite split was the result of a dispute between Joseph Gurney of England and John Wilbur of Rhode Island. Gurney believed in the authority of the Scriptures and promoted working with other Christian groups. Wilbur claimed the authority of the Holy Spirit and worked to preserve the self-sufficiency of the Friends. A third branch, known as the Beanites, became popular in the western United States beginning in the 1870s and 1880s. The Beanites were named for Joel Bean, who opposed the evangelical movement then coming into vogue.

Although the various branches of the Religious Society of Friends have widely divergent beliefs and practices, the central concept—that of God within each person—is uniform. Thus, there is no need for the statements of faith or creeds common in other religions. The lack of a single set of authoritative doctrines has resulted in the development of a broad range of doctrines and beliefs among Friends. A common feature, however, is a strong

commitment to the merit of testimonies, traditional statements of Quaker belief that have evolved over time.



Advocating humanitarian causes as a matter of faith, Quakers were among the earliest and most ardent abolitionists in America. Editor and lecturer Benjamin Lundy of Ohio began the first antislavery newspaper in 1821. (Stock Montage/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The Testimony of Simplicity has generally been a reference to material possessions. Friends traditionally limit their property and belongings to essentials and believe they should not use more than their fair share of Earth's resources. The Testimony of Peace enshrines the belief that violence is always wrong. The Religious Society of Friends is considered one of the historic peace churches in America. Through the nation's history, many conscientious objectors to war have been Friends, and in 1947, the Friends Service Council and American Friends Service Committee, Quaker social-service organizations in Great Britain and the United States, respectively, were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.

The Testimony of Integrity calls on adherents to place God at the center of their lives. Integrity is defined as being honest and fair in dealing with others, acknowledging others' contributions, and accepting responsibility for one's own actions. The Testimony of Equality is based on the belief that all people are created equal and, therefore, deserve equal treatment. Friends were some of the first to campaign for women's rights and to become leaders in the antislavery movement. From its founding, both men and women were permitted to actively participate in

worship services.

Typically, Quaker worship services are referred to as “unprogrammed” or “programmed” meetings. Unprogrammed worship is the more traditional style, in which the members assemble together and silently wait for divine inspiration. It is common for the meeting to be entirely silent, but sometimes members speak when divinely inspired to offer a testimony. It is common for the service to last about one hour; it ends when a predesignated member shakes the hand of his or her neighbor, and then all participants shake hands with their neighbors. Programmed worship resembles a typical Protestant worship service and includes Scripture reading, hymn singing, and a sermon from the minister. Some congregations engage in semi-programmed worship, which combines programmed elements such as hymn singing and Scripture readings with an unprogrammed service.

Role in Countercultures

The basic tenets of Quaker beliefs have led many Friends to support the ideals of various counterculture movements throughout history. Resistance to war and the military have influenced Quaker youth to participate in demonstrations promoting peace and nonviolence. Although many were notable as organizers and frontline demonstrators in the anti-Vietnam War protests of the 1960s, Quakers have been acknowledged as conscientious objectors from the Revolutionary War to the present day.

Quaker involvement in social action and humanitarian service has resulted in their advocacy for social reform. Historically, Quakers have promoted the rights of those considered to be marginalized by society, from slaves and prisoners to the mentally ill and ethnic minorities. Quakers were among the earliest and most active participants in the antislavery movement—the first formal abolitionist organization was founded by Quakers in 1783—including in the Underground Railroad, the secret network to transport escaped slaves from the South to freedom in the U.S. North and in Canada.

Because of its emphasis on the personal experience of God, the Religious Society of Friends is sometimes referred to as one of the mystic religions; this appellation is misleading. Unlike traditional mystical religions, the Quakers focus on group spirituality and not that of the individual. Additionally, the Quakers do not advocate the withdrawal of members from the everyday world.

Today, there are approximately 350,000 Quakers throughout the world, with the highest concentration (43 percent) living in Africa. Thirty percent live in North America, 17 percent in Latin America and the Caribbean, 6 percent in Europe, and 4 percent in Asia and the western Pacific.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Dyer, Mary](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Queer Nation

The activist group Queer Nation, with multiple chapters across the United States, took the gay and lesbian community by storm as it sought to eliminate homophobia and increase gay, lesbian, and bisexual visibility through a variety of hands-on tactics. The group was founded in 1990 in New York City by four members of ACT UP (AIDS Coalition to Unleash Power) in response to antigay and antilesbian violence and prejudice. Its united “queer” style of direct action and civil disobedience caught on fast, with additional groups springing up in San Francisco and elsewhere in quick succession. By 1992, most chapters of Queer Nation had dissolved under the weight of internal conflict, but, by then, they had left their mark on American culture.

Queer Nation eschewed the model of social activism in which minority groups politely lobby for their causes. Instead, the group forcefully asserted the presence of homosexual men and women at the center of mainstream culture through such slogans as “We’re here. We’re queer. Get used to it.” Queer Nation actions included “kiss-ins” at straight bars and raucous, campy expeditions into suburban shopping malls by the Suburban Homosexual Outreach Program (SHOP). Queer Nation was out to shock and to claim a place, literally, for gays and lesbians. By invading presumed heterosexual settings, the group proclaimed its right to occupy the center of public space.

Queer Nation’s militant tone was in part a product of the times. The group was strongly influenced by the urgency of the HIV/AIDS epidemic, which, by 1990, had devastated gay male communities and had provoked increased homophobia and antigay violence from people who considered AIDS a “gay disease” or, in some cases, just punishment for sinners. In addition, government response to the epidemic was slow and minimal, leaving queer activists angry, frustrated, and ready for strong action to protect their communities. ACT UP, formed in New York in 1987, with its slogan “Silence = Death” and militant activist tactics, had a major impact on the style and strategies of Queer Nation.

The practices of Queer Nation also echoed the radical activism of the 1960s. In the same way that Black Power advocates had proclaimed “Black is beautiful,” Queer Nationals sought to reclaim the term *queer* as a celebration rather than an insult. And just as radical feminists had parodied sexist norms, for example in “The BITCH Manifesto,” written in 1968, members of Queer Nation mocked the prudishness of so-called normal society by creating committees with acronyms like LABIA (Lesbians and Bisexuals in Action).

Queer Nation differed from earlier movements in how it conceptualized its membership and what those members hoped to achieve. Whereas the feminist and Black Power movements of the 1960s had focused their efforts on liberating clearly defined social groups from oppression, the designation of queer was deliberately ambiguous. While it included bisexuals and transgendered people alongside gays and lesbians, there was a marked reluctance to draw rigid boundaries around group membership. The use of the term was intended to disrupt and raise questions about so-called normal sexuality, rather than to pit homosexual against heterosexual.

In keeping with postmodern cynicism and academic trends, Queer Nation focused as much, or even more, on parody and the subversion of societal norms as on the effort to win liberation. Questions remain, however, regarding the effectiveness of this purposeful ambiguity. Some members alleged that Queer Nation was dominated by white gay men, raising the specter of old-fashioned sexism and racism. Others raised concerns that the focus on parody may have favored aesthetics over politics and diminished the real impact of the group.

Julie Wuthnow

See also: [Gay Liberation Movement](#); [Lesbian Culture](#).

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Radio

From its early use as a Morse code transmission device to its modern mass-media role as a source of news, music, and information, radio has both shaped and been shaped by America's counterculture movements and trends. The tensions between the scientific exploration, artistic expression, business interests, and altruism that combine in radio have made it not only a revolutionary medium of communication but a manifestation of counterculture itself.

When radio entered mainstream America in the early twentieth century, commercial interests generally viewed it as a novelty, likely to be useful only for minimal communication between businesses and Wall Street. Amateur ham radio operators, however, viewed the new technology as an intellectual challenge. Clubs sprang up across the nation with members as young as ten years old building and operating their own transmitters.

The camaraderie and sense of community that developed among ham operators became the hallmark of countercultural influences in radio. Despite government restrictions and fierce opposition from emerging commercial networks, amateur interest in radio provided the impetus for radio's expansion and maturation.

The Golden Age and Beyond

Technological advances made during World War I allowed commercial stations to broadcast a greater variety of programming during the 1920s and 1930s, primarily on the AM (amplitude modulation) band. The widespread availability of affordable receivers ushered in the golden age of radio with hours of dramas, slapstick comedies, newscasts, and musical performances. An increasing number of performers on the radio were African American. Although the rigid segregation of the Jim Crow era applied to the host venues, there was no way to differentiate between white and black music on the radio. Whites grew to appreciate the talent and originality of black performers, especially jazz artists. The assimilation of black music into white America's youth culture helped soften racial barriers.

As commercial radio expanded after World War II, the gradual integration of black and white culture continued. The social and economic mobility of the emerging black middle class offered too ripe a prize for commercial operators. Despite seemingly inflexible racial limitations, station WDIA in Memphis, Tennessee, beginning in the late 1940s, operated with an exclusively African American broadcast staff and catered to an enormous African American audience, at times as high as 10 percent of the total black population of the United States. It also reached a significant segment of the white population of the rural South. The anonymous accessibility to black culture provided by stations such as WDIA paved the way for "crossover" music and the rock and roll revolution that inundated white America in the 1950s, forever altering the political, social, and musical landscape of America.

Although white disc jockeys (DJs) such as Alan Freed and Wolfman Jack were credited with creating the rock and roll phenomenon, undoubtedly black music was the true object of white teenagers' fascination. DJs attempted to use "race ventriloquism" to sound blacker and therefore more authentic to their white audiences.

As rock became the lingua franca of teenagers, DJs held more sway over teenagers' decisions than did their

parents, let alone societal norms and customs. As white youth embraced black culture and civil rights, the establishment attempted to rein in the forces of cultural change. Many influential DJs fell to the infamous payola scandals involving pay-for-play transactions with record labels, a common practice since the early days of commercial radio. Strict Top 40 playlists and homogenized copy neutralized the DJs' cult of personality, reinstating the monotony of pre-rock mainstream radio.

FM Revolutions

One of the DJs ousted in the payola fiasco, Tom Donahue, resurfaced in San Francisco, where by 1967 the mix of drugs, innovative music, and barren airwaves prompted him to embrace an alternate form of transmission, FM (frequency modulation). With his wife, Rachael, Donahue pioneered a free-form style of broadcasting.

Giving DJs complete freedom of choice and action, the new FM stations not only introduced such legendary artists such as the Doors and Jimi Hendrix, but they also provided a voice and source of information for the hippie counterculture and other movements of the time. From broadcasting public-service announcements concerning tainted drugs to spearheading protests against the Vietnam War, FM radio served as the conduit of communication among, as well as the harbinger of trends within, the various factions of the movement. Ultimately, however, free-form FM's success became its undoing, as corporate control soon stifled DJ creativity and silenced alternate voices much as it had in the 1950s.

As commercial rock became the mainstay of the FM band, its former home, the AM band, saw the development of a novel concept, which, ironically, had its roots in the freewheeling ramblings of the free-form FM DJs. Talk radio stations gained increasingly larger shares of bandwidth and listeners throughout the 1980s and 1990s.

By the mid-1990s, AM talk radio was a bastion of conservative counterculture. Bombastic hosts such as Rush Limbaugh used the airwaves to counter what they perceived as an erosion of morality in American politics and culture through the domination of all forms of media by liberal elites. Ironically, while conservatives vilified National Public Radio (NPR) as liberal and countercultural, most liberals and noncommercial broadcasters viewed the network as not only a tool of the government, but as a collaborator with commercial radio.

In 2004, liberal activists launched an alternative to both NPR and AM talk radio, Air America Radio. Using the deep pockets and name recognition of celebrities such as Al Franken and Robert Kennedy, Jr., Air America created instant buzz and attracted franchise investors across the country.

As talk radio staked its flag on the AM dial, the institution of formats and increasing consolidation of corporate holdings saw FM radio lose its influence among not only the counterculture, but among mainstream listeners as well. Although college radio stations attempted to sustain a modified free-form style, disgust with the state of radio led to the emergence of pirate radio stations.

Although the practice of "squatting" on frequencies dates back to the early days of the ham operators, pirate stations specialize in thumbing their noses at the Federal Communications Commission's (FCC's) regulations as well as at society in general. From call letters to playlists to publicity tactics, pirate stations stand for the fringes, the off-the-beaten-track listeners. Stations such as KPBJ San Francisco and KBLT Los Angeles play cat-and-mouse games with the FCC, while enjoying rabidly loyal followings.

Playing within the law are micro FM stations, low-wattage stations that cater to small geographic areas and often provide the only access to local news and events. Others serve as the voice of political outsiders, such as Radio Conciencia, connecting the embattled Immokalee tomato workers of Florida while transmitting vital weather and news bulletins in Central American dialects. Higher power but geographically limited stations operating as nonprofits, collectively called community radio, also provide alternative voices. Nevertheless, micro FM stations and community radio both lack the range and money to compete with commercial stations.

New technology has continued to revolutionize commercial broadcasting. Some dissatisfied with the state of mainstream radio create Internet-only stations, avoiding the cost and hassle of acquiring a broadcasting license.

Disputes with record labels over royalty payments often silence the stations before fan bases can be built, however.

An older broadcasting method, satellite radio, has emerged as an important commercial player. A subscriber-based format outside the jurisdiction of the FCC, satellite provides cover for nationally syndicated shock jocks such as Howard Stern, who had faced increasing pressure from the FCC to clean up his show's language and content on the FM band. Major satellite networks Sirius and XM Radio have become standard issue in American cars as well as being aired on cable and satellite television, virtually guaranteeing an increasing share of the listening market.

The emergence of satellite and Internet as alternative media outlets has not diminished the impact or allure of traditional radio. Hundreds of thousands of citizens have bombarded the FCC with complaints about consolidation and lobbied for expansion of micro FM licensure. Community stations around the country enjoy robust membership and provide vital community services while crafting innovative programming. If anything, the availability of affordable satellite service and the advent of Internet streaming have only enhanced the reach and mission of alternative radio, ensuring the continuation of the romance between the airwaves and the counterculture.

Ann Youngblood Mulhearn

See also: [Pirate Radio](#).

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Ramones, The

Formed in 1974 in Forest Hills (Queens), New York, the Ramones were an iconic punk rock band. Regarded by many as the first punk band, they remained at the heart of the American counterculture for almost twenty years. Famously hardworking, the band produced furiously fast cartoon punk-pop music influenced by early punk artists such as the Stooges, Iggy Pop, and the New York Dolls, as well more mainstream rock bands such as the Who, the Rolling Stones, and the Beatles.

The band included singer Joey Ramone (Jeffrey Hyman); lead guitarist Johnny Ramone (John Cummings); bassist Dee Dee Ramone (Douglas Colvin), who left the group in 1989; and, variously, drummers Tommy Ramone (Thomas Erdelyi), Marky Ramone (Marc Bell), Elvis Ramone (Clem Burke), and C.J. Ramone (Christopher Joseph Ward). In addition to the Ramone surname, inspired by a pseudonym of Beatles singer-songwriter Paul McCartney, band members shared uniform long hair and leather jackets.

The Ramones began playing in the New York City punk club CBGB alongside early versions of the bands the Talking Heads and Blondie. By 1975, the Ramones had earned full-page coverage in *Rolling Stone* magazine. Their eponymous first album was released in 1976 on Sire records, with which they remained signed until 1992, when they moved to the Radioactive label. The Ramones recorded more than twenty-five albums, fourteen of which were original studio recordings.

They rarely reached the singles charts in the United States. However, they gained cult status in South America, Japan, and Europe. They were particularly influential on the British punk scene, where they inspired bands such as the Clash, the Damned, and the Sex Pistols. The pared-down style of songs such as “Sheena Is a Punk Rocker” stood out at a time of musical flamboyance. Meanwhile, the excesses of the members’ rock and roll lifestyle became legendary, particularly their relationship with music producer Phil Spector, who produced four of their singles, including “Baby I Love You.”

Ever ready to deal with marginal or taboo subject matter, the Ramones often were denied airplay on commercial radio stations. Concurrently, their cult status grew, encouraged by celebrity fans such as horror writer Stephen King, who mentioned the band in a number of his books. In turn, the band wrote and recorded a song for the soundtrack of the film *Pet Sematary* (1989), based on King’s novel of the same title. In addition, the Ramones had appeared in the 1979 film *Rock’n’ Roll High School*.

In later years, the band toured alongside U2, Pearl Jam, White Zombie, and Soundgarden. In 1985, Joey Ramone joined Steven van Zandt (guitarist for Bruce Springsteen’s E-Street Band and an actor on the hit television show *The Sopranos*) and other musicians in recording for Artists Against Apartheid, a group founded by van Zandt to denounce apartheid in South Africa. And Dee Dee, while still writing songs for the Ramones, recorded a rap album as Dee Dee King in 1989.

The longevity of the group’s touring career, compounded by health problems and increasing personal animosity, finally led the Ramones to disband after a farewell tour in 1996. They reunited for two final appearances in 1997 and 1999. Three of the band’s original members died in the ensuing years: Joey of Hodgkin’s lymphoma in 2001, Dee Dee of a heroin overdose in 2002, and Johnny of prostate cancer in 2004. The Ramones were inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 2002, and their legacy continues through the music and style of bands on both sides of the Atlantic.

Lucy Robinson

See also: [CBGB](#); [Punk Rock](#).

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Rand, Ayn (1905–1982)

Novelist and philosopher Ayn Rand, founder of the philosophic system known as Objectivism, was a quintessential counterculture thinker. She often said that she was challenging 2,500 years of traditionalist, Judeo-Christian culture by proclaiming a secular standard of morality for human life and declaring rational self-interest as the means to its achievement. According to Objectivism, reality is what it is, independent of what human beings think or feel, and reason is the only means to knowledge. In novels such as *We the Living* (1936), *The Fountainhead* (1943), and *Atlas Shrugged* (1957), Rand dramatized her views that individual rights are essential to survival in a social context, and that laissez-faire capitalism is the only social system consonant with such rights. In these and other works, she celebrated the fully integrated individual, who recognizes no conflict between mind and body, reason and emotion, thought and action, or morality and prudence.

Rand was born Alisa Zinov'yevna Rosenbaum on February 2, 1905, in St. Petersburg, Russia. Her father's pharmacy was confiscated by the Soviets after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, and the family moved to Crimea. She returned to St. Petersburg to study philosophy and history at the University of Petrograd (later St. Petersburg State University), earning her degree in 1924.

In February 1926, having been granted a visa to visit relatives in the United States, she traveled to New York and Chicago—and resolved not to return home. Moving to Hollywood in hopes of becoming a screenwriter, she changed her name to Ayn Rand and found odd jobs as a script reader. She married the actor Frank O'Connor in 1929 (the couple would remain together until his death in 1979) and became a U.S. citizen two years later.

Given her background, Rand's advocacy of capitalism was no mere apologia for the American status quo. She was a radical critic of what she characterized as the mystical, altruist, and collectivist roots of contemporary culture and the "New Fascist" statist politics that it made possible. In nonfiction anthologies such as *The Virtue of Selfishness* (1964) and *Capitalism: The Unknown Ideal* (1966), Rand maintained that government intervention had been the cause of socioeconomic injustice and instability, including militarism, monopolies, business cycles, and ever-increasing social fragmentation along material, racial, ethnic, sexual, generational, and other lines. Conflict among groups was inevitable in the current system, argued Rand, requiring the sacrifice of some groups for the benefit of others and leading to the triumph of groupthink in social life.

Rand's advocacy of free-market capitalism suggested little common ground with the radical left counterculture of the 1960s and 1970s. And while she repudiated the New Left for its "Hegelian" and "Marxist" ideology, and the hippie student rebels of the 1960s for their "emotionalism," "subjectivism," and "nihilism," her work had a certain kinship with the counterculture revolt against authoritarianism and social conformity. Rand shared with the student rebels an opposition to the Vietnam War and the military draft, and she joined in their rejection of social hypocrisy. At the same time, Rand contended that counterculture activists of the time merely reflected the bankruptcy of the establishment by blaming science, technology, and capitalism for the woes of society and by proposing an "anti-Industrial Revolution" as the antidote.

Despite the disdain that Rand heaped on the counterculture, students of the 1960s ranked her as among those who had most influenced, or were most admired by, that generation. Among writers, Rand was tied for sixth place with feminist Germaine Greer, behind satiric novelist Kurt Vonnegut, Lebanese American poet Kahlil Gibran, journalist Tom Wolfe, French philosophers Jean-Paul Sartre and Albert Camus (tied for fourth place), and Beat poet Allen Ginsberg.

Many in the counterculture responded favorably to Rand's attacks on intellectual, political, and educational elites. Her influence would extend to popular artists of the era, including rock musicians such as Neil Peart, drummer and lyricist for the band Rush, which paid tribute to "the genius of Ayn Rand," and comic-book artists and writers Steve Ditko and Frank Miller, whose stories expressed a Randian politics of rebellion.

Although Rand rejected many of the collectivist social and political claims of 1960s sexual liberationists, she also influenced a generation of individualist feminist writers (such as Joan Kennedy Taylor, Wendy McElroy, and Sharon Presley) and gay libertarian writers (including those affiliated with the Independent Gay Forum) who were

inspired by her heroic vision of individual authenticity. Ayn Rand died in New York City on March 6, 1982.

Chris Matthew Sciabarra

See also: [Feminism](#), [Second-Wave](#), [Gay Liberation Movement](#), [New Left](#).

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Randolph, A. Philip (1889–1979)

One of the twentieth century's foremost labor organizers and civil rights activists, Asa Philip Randolph was the founder of the first black labor union in the United States, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP), in 1925, and he played a central role in bringing African Americans into the labor movement.

A native of Florida born in Crescent City on April 15, 1889, and raised in nearby Jacksonville, Randolph joined the Great Migration and relocated to New York City in 1911, searching for greater economic and educational opportunities. In his early twenties, Randolph worked a variety of odd jobs to support himself while studying Shakespeare, socialism, public speaking, and other subjects of interest at the free City College.

Along with Chandler Owen, a fellow traveler in New York City's vibrant political and cultural scene during the early twentieth century, Randolph launched a monthly magazine called *The Messenger*. Through the magazine's pages, he denounced U.S. participation in World War I, encouraged African Americans to resist enlistment in a segregated military, and provided an opportunity for scores of writers to articulate a socialist-influenced program for black liberation.

Randolph put his principles into action by dedicating his talents to the BSCP, a predominantly African American labor union representing Pullman porters. As the union's president, Randolph situated himself in the vanguard of a decade-long struggle by black workers to represent themselves in collective bargaining. In addition to confronting a corporation with a strong reputation for hostility to independent unions, Randolph and the BSCP regularly came to loggerheads with the American Federation of Labor (AFL) about racial discrimination in local affiliates, a problem that Randolph would confront throughout his career, well into the 1950s.

In addition to being his generation's premier African American labor leader, Randolph made other significant contributions to the struggle for black equality. Most important among these was the 1941 founding of the March on Washington Movement (MOWM). Supported by African American leaders of the mid-twentieth century, including Walter White, Lester Granger, and Mary McLeod Bethune, the movement threatened widespread public protest during World War II and forced President Franklin D. Roosevelt to issue an executive order prohibiting racial discrimination in defense industries.

Although there was no actual march on the capital, Randolph's harnessing of pressure to force the federal government to address racial inequality was pioneering. Additionally, the MOWM was a training ground for African American activists of the 1940s to discuss and implement Gandhian nonviolent civil disobedience, a protest tactic that would later be widely employed in the civil rights movement.

Randolph's lifetime dedication to struggle included newspaper publishing, labor organizing, spearheading the MOWM and an effective postwar campaign to desegregate the armed forces, and joining Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Prayer Pilgrimage of May 1957 (the largest civil rights demonstration in America to that date). Randolph's final major battle against racial inequality was the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Organized by Randolph with activist Bayard Rustin, this mass demonstration would prove to be emblematic for many observers of the civil rights movement. Although the day is best remembered for King's historic and moving "I Have a Dream" speech, it was Randolph who, in the demonstration's keynote address, declared, "The civil rights revolution is not confined to Negroes; nor is it confined to civil rights." It is fitting that a protest embodying the goals of the civil rights movement marked the culmination of Randolph's career as an activist.

In more than half a century of struggle, Randolph was guided by progressive socialist principles, but he remained virulently anticommunist, and his faith in American democracy never wavered. As a labor leader, trailblazer in the use of nonviolent mass-protest tactics, and shaper of African American thought, he sought not to destroy capitalism but to incorporate African Americans into the nation's capitalist democracy on equal footing with whites. Randolph died on May 16, 1979, in New York City.

David Lucander

See also: [African Americans: Civil Rights Movement: King, Martin Luther, Jr.](#)

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Rankin, Jeannette (1880–1973)

Jeannette Rankin was the first woman to be elected to the U.S. Congress and the only member to vote against U.S. entry into both World War I and World War II. A suffragist, pacifist, and worker for social reform, she assumed roles that were counter to both the prevailing culture and traditional views of femininity.

Rankin was born on June 11, 1880, near Missoula, Montana, where she attended local public schools and graduated from the University of Montana in 1902. She taught school for several years before entering the New York School of Philanthropy in 1908, and she later served as a social worker in Montana and Washington.

Discontented with social work, Rankin enrolled at the University of Washington and while a student there became involved in the woman suffrage movement. Eventually, she became legislative secretary of the National American

Woman Suffrage Association, an organization that, through a series of well-orchestrated state campaigns, was active in securing ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, guaranteeing women the right to vote.

A member of the Republican Party, Rankin ran for Congress in Montana in 1916, campaigning for universal suffrage, prohibition, child welfare reform, an end to child labor, and keeping the United States out of World War I. One of her first actions was to introduce a bill that would have allowed women citizenship independent of their husbands.

On the evening Congress convened in April 1917, President Wilson called for a resolution for the United States to enter the Great War. Although Rankin had not been previously identified as a pacifist, she decided to vote against U.S. participation in the conflict. Carrie Chapman Catt of the National American Woman Suffrage Association tried to change Rankin's mind, because she thought that a vote against war would brand suffragists as unpatriotic. By contrast, Alice Paul of the Woman's Party thought that women in politics should speak for peace. In the end, Rankin voted with forty-eight other members of Congress against war with Germany.

Her controversial views on World War I, trade union rights, equal pay for men and women, and birth control cost her the Republican nomination for the U.S. Senate in 1918. She ran as an independent, but was easily defeated without the support of the party.

After leaving Congress in 1919, Rankin campaigned for the Sheppard-Towner Maternity and Infancy Protection Act of 1921, which provided federal funding for the health and welfare of women and children; the Child Labor Amendment, which proposed to limit and regulate child labor; and a variety of pacifist causes and organizations, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, the oldest women's peace organization in the world. In addition, she served as a field representative for the National Council for the Prevention of War, established in 1921 by representatives of seventeen national pacifist organizations to serve as a clearinghouse for the peace movement.

In 1940, Rankin won reelection to the House of Representatives, again as a Republican from Montana, but this time on an explicitly antiwar platform. After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor the following December, she was the only member of Congress to vote against the United States entering World War II. She was convinced that President Franklin D. Roosevelt had deliberately provoked the attack. After casting her vote on FDR's war measure, Rankin hid from angry crowds in a nearby phone booth until police could escort her home. Her vote made her extremely unpopular, and she did not seek reelection in 1942.

In the years after World War II, Rankin traveled to India to study the pacifism of spiritual leader Mohandas Gandhi. In the 1960s, she established a self-sufficient women's cooperative in Georgia and actively campaigned against the Vietnam War. In January 1968, at age eighty-seven, she led 5,000 peace protestors—calling themselves the "Jeannette Rankin Brigade"—in a demonstration against the Vietnam War in Washington, D.C. She died in Carmel, California, on May 18, 1973.

Kathy Warnes

See also: [Pacifism](#); [Suffragists](#).

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Rap Music

Rap music is a genre defined by the presence of “rapping” (also known as “MCing” or “rhyming”). The term describes a popular form of syncopated, rhythmic street poetry that first gained popularity in the United States through young urban poets in the late 1960s and early 1970s. The art form gained momentum in New York City during the remainder of the 1970s. The term *rap* is commonly understood as an abbreviation of *rapid*, in reference to the comparatively quick, poetic delivery of the genre. In the 1970s and 1980s, rap artists typically infused lyrics with an easy-to-follow rhyme scheme, blunt self-referential humor, and brutal honesty about the harsh circumstances of inner-city life, including gang violence and drug abuse. Rap music, along with emerging affiliated trends such as break dancing, graffiti art, and “turntablism,” formed the elements of a new and accessible hip-hop counterculture movement that was embraced in many urban circles across the nation, primarily in the 1980s.

Young listeners in urban centers, including New York City, Chicago, Los Angeles, and Detroit, often were attracted to early rap music, as many failed to relate to the hollow concepts of love and picturesque good times portrayed in mainstream music. In the wake of the civil rights movement of the 1960s, many African American artists and audiences embraced the genre as a revelatory and definitive new voice in American media. Since the late 1960s, many rap artists have used the genre to explore and comment upon inner-city poverty, violence, race relations, gender issues and roles, urban drug use, and rampant materialism. They have intertwined lyrics with autobiographical touches, particularly in relation to poverty, violence, and romance, and often with humor. Rap artists have addressed these topics from many different perspectives with widely varying aims, including sheer entertainment, political motivation, and shock value.

Iconic figures in rap music throughout the genre’s history include pioneers Kool DJ Herc (Clive Campbell), Afrika Bambaataa (Kevin Donovan), Ice-T (Tracy Marrow), Tupac Shakur, and Dr. Dre (Andre Young), along with groups like the Sugar Hill Gang, Run DMC, N.W.A. (Niggaz With Attitude), Public Enemy, and A Tribe Called Quest.



Slain hip-hop star Tupac Shakur, symbol of the West Coast rap style and subculture, is memorialized in urban graffiti art. West Coast rap emphasized heavy bass music and edgy lyrics about ghetto life. (Al Pereira/Michael Ochs Archives/Getty Images)

Roots

Rap music in America began with the formation and success of the African American, New York City–based group the Last Poets in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Formed in 1968 on Black Muslim leader Malcolm X’s birthday in response to the urban turmoil of the civil rights movement, the group relied heavily on primitive, noninvasive rhythms to showcase rapid-fire poetic delivery. In songs such as “When the Revolution Comes” (1970) and “This Is Madness” (1971), the group’s furious lyrics and delivery were used to explore the circumstances of African Americans living in urban centers. The success of the Last Poets was a watershed event in the history of rap music, as the group’s reliance on harsh tribal rhythms, racially charged lyrics, and frenetic delivery earned it a tremendous following. The Last Poets embraced and endorsed traits that would be further popularized by successful groups such as Public Enemy and the Jungle Brothers in the following decade.

As the 1970s progressed, artists such as New York–based Jamaican refugee Herc solidified the success of the genre through the promotion of rap-based block and club parties in urban centers of the Northeast. Herc, inspired by the uplifting work of black activist and poet Gil Scott-Heron, occupies a dual place in the history of the genre as the first hip-hop disc jockey and one of the first popular American rap artists. Artists who followed closely in Herc’s footsteps, including Coke La Rock and Melle Mel (Melvin Glover), focused primarily on MC duties while allowing DJs to provide beats and samples.

By the close of the 1970s, artists such as Herc, La Rock, and Mel solidified a New York City following at parties and in clubs. A thriving rap-devoted club following developed in the city as the disco movement thrived simultaneously.

In 1979, rap experienced a thunderous embrace from new demographic groups with the release of the Sugar Hill Gang’s first single, “Rapper’s Delight,” on Sugar Hill Records. The nine-member Sugar Hill Gang was formed primarily of workers at a New York City pizzeria. Upon the single’s release, the group gained an immense following from performances at New York City block parties. Often considered the first commercially successful rap single, the group’s sixteen-minute tour de force continues to hold the record as the best-selling single in rap history. Through its easy-to-follow rhyme structure, autobiographical subject matter, and aurally-familiar sampling

of Chic's disco hit "Good Times" (1979), "Rapper's Delight" offered solid proof of the genre's appeal among young audiences, across economic and gender boundaries. Many Sugar Hill artists progressed to success in the early 1980s.

Golden Era

The years 1980 to 1997 are often called the Golden Era of rap music, primarily due to the barrage of genre-defining material that was released then. Many of the rap artists who surfaced in the 1980s reached a degree of critical and commercial acclaim that remains unrivaled by contemporary musicians within the genre.

In 1982, *The Message*, an album by Grandmaster Flash and the Furious Five, married the DJ-produced sound of late Sugar Hill records with the social consciousness and ferocity of the early-1970s work by the Last Poets. This trend continued throughout the decade, as material by artists such as EPMD, Erik B. and Rakim, Run DMC, Biz Markie (Marcel Hall), Slick Rick (Richard Walters), and LL Cool J (James Smith) formed the standard by which critics and audiences judge the majority of contemporary rap music. All of these artists employed the successful formula of "Rapper's Delight" to some degree, combining creative DJ-driven implementation of samples from popular music with straightforward and accessible rhyme delivery.

Golden Era artists, primarily groups, also had an influence on 1980s urban fashion and humor as well as the lifestyles of many teenagers and young adults across the nation. Audiences in New York donned matching leather jackets and gold chains in mimicry of Run DMC. (New York-based artists already had influenced fashion earlier in the decade, when groups of friends across the city purchased matching jumpsuits in emulation of groups such as the Sugar Hill Gang.)

Many Golden Era groups relied on fashion gimmicks, along with humorous lyrics, to win the hearts and minds of increasingly large audiences. This trend was most evident in the work of the George Clinton-inspired, California-based 1980s rap group the Digital Underground, in songs like "The Humpty Dance" and "The Way We Swing" from the album *Sex Packets* (1989). Like Clinton's 1970s-era bands Parliament and Funkadelic, the Digital Underground embraced stage theatrics; during performances, group leader Shock-G (Gregory Jacobs) would often change into contextually specific costumes for different material. Many artists in the Golden Era were also scathingly autobiographical, often with humor and particularly in reference to subjects such as heartbreak. Both of these trends are evident in Biz Markie's "Just a Friend" (1989), in which the rapper leaves behind the genre's traditional romantic boasting to offer consecutive personal tales of unrequited love.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, as news of the HIV/AIDS epidemic spread, many Golden Era artists, including the California artists Dr. Dre, Snoop Dogg (Calvin Broadus), and Ice Cube (O'Shea Jackson), consistently alluded to safe sex practices. As was the case in the 1970s for limited audiences, Golden Era rap music offered a compelling alternative for listeners tired of the trite themes of more radio-friendly fare. Many young African American teenagers across the country mimicked the style (in humor, fashion, and behavior) of Golden Era MCs, particularly in the case of Run DMC. Rap-exclusive labels such as Tommy Boy Records and Def Jam Records emerged during the 1980s as a result of the genre's overwhelming popularity among young audiences.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s, an interesting dichotomy emerged in American rap music. On the one hand, the emergence of East Coast gangsta rappers, whose violent lyrics were inspired by pioneers like Ice-T, Schoolly D (Jesse Weaver), and KRS-One (Lawrence Parker), gained mainstream appeal in the work of such groups as California's N.W.A. The gangsta subgenre became popular in the 1990s primarily through the efforts of labels such as Death Row Records and Bad Boy Records. The violent, often misogynistic material by California artists such as Eazy E (Eric Wright), Ice Cube, and Dr. Dre was embraced by many West Coast gangs, while Bad Boy Records artists like Biggie Smalls (Christopher Wallace) were embraced by similar audiences on the East Coast. In both regions, gangsta rap labels relied on use of popular hooks and samples in an attempt to increase mainstream appeal and record sales.

On the other end of the rap spectrum, the success of politically and emotionally charged rap artists such as Public

Enemy, the Pharcyde, and A Tribe Called Quest in the late 1980s and early 1990s gave way to an emerging independent rap movement in the 1990s.

Defining record labels emerged for the independent movement, including Quannum Projects and Definitive Jux Records. Gangsta rap flourished until 1997, a year punctuated by the murder of two of the subgenre's biggest names, West Coast rap artist and actor Tupac Shakur in September 1996 and East Coast gangsta Biggie Smalls (or Notorious B.I.G.) in March 1997.

Mainstream Leanings

While independent rap production continues to capture the attention of primarily college-aged audiences, mainstream interest in gangsta rap has given way to an era of label-controlled, homogenized, radio-friendly fare. Overall, critics and audiences often see independent rap music as a continuation or elaboration of traditions and techniques established during the Golden Era. Artists such as Blackalicious, Dead Prez, Jedi Mind Tricks, Sage Francis, and the People Under the Stairs have attained cult followings in recent years. Many of today's mainstream artists continue to maintain popularity despite a hollow lyrical focus on materialism. Traditional rap events in the style of Kool DJ Herc's parties also surface in large-city competitions between lyricists, primarily in California and along the East Coast, where audiences often judge artists on lyrics and rhyme delivery.

On the other hand, many of the artists and producers who embraced the gangsta rap trend either have softened their abrasive lyrics or have catered to mainstream demands to increase popular appeal. In the 2000s, widely diverse styles of rap emerged from mainstream and independent rap artists. Despite the pervasive commercial success of the genre, the countercultural aspects of rap music, including direct inspiration from Golden Era artists, independent record distribution, and rap competitions in large cities, no doubt will continue to flourish.

Wesley French

See also: [Gangsta Rap](#): [Hip-Hop](#): [Malcolm X](#): [N.W.A.](#): [Shakur, Tupac](#): [Snoop Dogg](#).

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Rastafari Movement

Rastafarianism is a millenarian religious and cultural movement that arose in the 1930s among black Jamaicans and continues to the present day. According to Rastafarian belief, former Ethiopian Emperor Haile Selassie (originally known as Ras Tafari and accepted as the "Lion of Judah" as referred to in the Hebrew Bible) was God incarnate. Crucial to the emergence and spirit of Rastafarianism were the black separatist teachings of Jamaican

liberationist Marcus Garvey, who advocated the formation of separate black businesses and social institutions, and came to be regarded as a Rastafarian prophet. Other lifestyle practices associated with Rastafarians include growing the hair into long braids known as dreadlocks, not eating certain foods thought to be unclean, such as pork, and the ritual use of ganja (marijuana). The Rastafari movement has spread throughout the world, largely on the strength of its popular musical style, reggae.

Origins

The crowning of Haile Selassie I as emperor of Ethiopia in 1930—making him the monarch of Africa's only independent nation—was regarded by many working-class and peasant Jamaicans as fulfillment of the biblical prophecy that a black king would be crowned in Africa. Although evidence is scant, it appears that several individuals had simultaneously begun to promote Haile Selassie I as a black liberator and messianic figure. The most famous of these was Leonard Howell, who regarded Selassie as the incarnation of God and claimed to be his divine messenger. From 1933 to 1940, Howell preached the tenets of Rastafarianism. His message asserted the superiority of blacks to whites and advocated resistance to white oppression. His advocacy of violent revolution attracted the attention of Jamaican authorities, and in 1933 he was sentenced to a two-year prison term for sedition. In 1940, he established a Rastafarian community known as Pinnacle on an abandoned colonial estate. By the mid-1950s, there were a dozen or more small (20 to 200 members) Rastafarian groups in the Kingston area. By the 1970s, the number had grown to fifty or more.

Rastafarians believe that they are the descendants of the Israelites, whom they see as God's chosen people, and that they will someday be returned to Zion (Ethiopia). Many organized religions throughout history have instructed their downtrodden followers to suffer silently while awaiting their heavenly reward. Rastafarianism, by contrast, teaches that heaven is on Earth and that political struggle can be used to improve social conditions. This philosophy proved appealing to thousands of poor Jamaicans, who could relate to the Rastafarian emphasis on the present human condition as opposed to a mythical afterlife.

The basic tenets of Rastafarianism, according to George Simpson's classic 1955 article "Political Cultism in West Kingston," are as follows: (1) black people were exiled to the West Indies because of their transgressions; (2) whites are inferior to blacks; (3) the Jamaican situation is hopeless—that is, there is no way Jamaican blacks can ever be truly liberated as long as they remain in Jamaica; (4) Ethiopia is heaven; (5) Haile Selassie is the living God; (6) the emperor of Abyssinia (now Ethiopia) will arrange for expatriated persons of African descent to return to the homeland; and (7) blacks will soon get their revenge by compelling whites to serve them.

Despite influences such as Garvey's, modern-day Rastafarianism is a diffuse movement with a wide range of beliefs. Many Rastafarians believe in some but not all of the tenets. For example, some believe in the divinity of Haile Selassie while others do not; some Rastas eat meat while others are vegetarians (although most follow Ital, or "vital," rules for the procurement and preparation of food); and some Rastas smoke ganja while many others choose not to. The variations in belief reflect the loose, decentralized nature of the movement itself. There is no universal structure or central authority and no single leader. Followers, both in the United States and in Jamaica, tend to gather in small, informal groups, and often refuse to take part in elections. This has changed in recent decades, as more Rastafarians have become politically active. Socialist Prime Minister Michael Manley attempted to win Rastafarian votes during the elections of the 1970s by addressing their concerns and adopting reggae songs, most notably Delroy Wilson's "Better Must Come" (1971), as campaign anthems.

Growth and Influences

The mid-to late 1950s was a period of rapid growth for Rastafarianism in Jamaica, as more traditional Afro-Caribbean religions, such as revivalism, went into decline. The growth continued into the 1970s and 1980s. While older Rastafarians believed strongly in the repatriation of Jamaican blacks to their ancestral African homelands, the return-to-Africa movement was de-emphasized in later years as younger Rastafarians insisted that improvements in the living conditions of the Jamaican poor must stem from changes in Jamaican society.

Rastafarians believe that “Babylon,” usually identified with the United States, Great Britain, the Jamaican government, and organized religion, is the root cause of the poverty of Jamaican blacks.

Rastafarianism has had a profound influence on reggae, Jamaica’s indigenous popular music. Rastafarian themes are common in both ska and reggae, and the movement even has its own form of music, known as *nyabinghi*, which makes heavy use of African percussion and polyrhythms. Awareness of African identity and culture is a predominant theme in several forms of Rastafarian cultural expression. Rastafarian culture has spread throughout the Caribbean, the United States, and the world, in large part through reggae music but also through art, literature, and philosophy. Reggae music in general and singer Bob Marley’s work in particular have gained wide popularity all over the world, especially in Africa. Elements of Rastafarian culture also have become popular among non-Rasta American youth, including the dreadlocks hairstyle, ganja smoking, and Rasta-influenced clothing styles.

Rastafarianism in the United States

Although there have been no comprehensive studies of Rastafarianism in the United States, it is believed that the movement was a largely Jamaican phenomenon until the mid-1960s. Many Caribbean people migrated to the United States in the 1960s and 1970s, increasing the visibility of Rastafarians in U.S. cities with substantial Jamaican populations, such as Boston, New Haven, New York, Philadelphia, Washington, D.C., Miami, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles, and the San Francisco Bay Area. New York City has historically been the most important U.S. urban center for Rastafarianism, in large part because of Marcus Garvey’s early work in that city. Early black leaders such as Leonard Howell also spent significant periods of time in New York.

After a period of growth in the 1970s and 1980s, Rastafarianism in the United States today remains a limited phenomenon. National surveys conducted in 1990 and 2001 indicate that between 10,000 and 15,000 self-identified Rastafarians live in the United States. These numbers are comparable to those for such other folk religions such as Wicca and Eckankar, though many researchers believe that estimates severely under-represent actual numbers of followers. In the earliest days of Rastafarianism in the United States, the movement’s adherents were often portrayed in the mainstream media as violent, drug-addicted criminals.

Most U.S. Rastas are Caribbean immigrants, though others are African, African American, Native American, and even white American. Due partially to their emphasis on self-reliance, many Rastafarians in the United States have started their own businesses, including reggae record stores, health food stores, Rasta accessory stores, and Ital restaurants.

As in Jamaica, the Rastafarian community in the United States is a decentralized and leaderless movement, unaffiliated with any organized church or congregation. Nevertheless, there are several important Rastafarian and Afrocentric churches and other organizations in the United States, among them the Ethiopian World Federation (established in New York City in 1937), the Twelve Tribes of Israel, the Ethiopian Orthodox Church, and the Church of Haile Selassie I.

Paul Kauppila

See also: [Garvey, Marcus: *Universal Negro Improvement Association*](#).

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Rave Culture

Rave culture is the underground music and dance scene associated with raves, all-night parties typically held in warehouses, clubs, or outdoor venues and featuring laser light shows, electronic music, and, in many cases, ecstasy and other drugs. With antecedents in the 1960s, rave emerged as a distinctive culture and style in the 1980s. Rave parties reflect a collective sense of well-being and enthusiasm that, despite the opposition of politicians and law enforcement in the early years, transcends ethnicity, social-economic class, and sexual orientation. It is an inclusive culture in which up to thousands of partiers dance until the sun comes up, at which time they part ways and return to their jobs, schools, neighborhoods, and separate lives.

In the spirit of 1960s psychedelic rock culture, English club-goers in the 1980s combined acid house and techno music with the drug ecstasy in a series of large, outdoor dance events. These raves, as they came to be called, attracted thousands of people to venues in London and Manchester during the summer of 1988. By the early 1990s, New York DJ Frankie Bones shared his English club-scene experiences with America through his STORMraves, huge raves that also attracted thousands of partygoers. British DJ Steve Levy brought raves to Los Angeles, while Dianna Jacobs, Preston Lytton, and Mark Heley (an English expatriate) brought Toon Town parties (cartoon-themed raves) to San Francisco.

Most early raves were held illegally on private property in places such as brickyards, warehouses, parking garages, and even churches, or outdoors on beaches or in deserts, wooded areas, or cow pastures. The illicit and unconventional nature of the events, not to mention the drug use, added elements of danger and excitement that only increased the allure to rebellious partygoers. However, chronic shutdowns by law enforcement proved to be a disappointment for both partygoers and promoters. As a result, promoters such as Les Borsai and his archrival, Daven “the Mad Hatter” Michaels, turned to promoting large, extravagant, themed raves in legally reserved venues.

DJs, or so-called digital shamans, such as Doc Martin, Jenö, Richie Hawtin, and Sven Vath, utilize a combination of synthesizers, turntables, and computer programs to set the mood and control the crowd as it writhes, bounces, and surges to the techno, house, and electronica beats under laser light and artificial fog. A DJ may incorporate punk, pop, funk, rock, movie themes, and even nursery rhymes into the music, laying down a seamless soundtrack for the night's experience. The DJ's role is so crucial to the ambience that good ones are sought after, catered to, and widely celebrated in the rave world.

As the music pulses, ravers—who may be waving glowsticks, wearing “kandi” necklaces and bracelets made of plastic beads, clad in “phat pants,” and sporting nostalgic backpacks and clothing with childhood favorites such as Winnie the Pooh and Teletubbies on them—dance alone, with friends, or with strangers. Drugs such as ecstasy induce a sense of euphoria and unity, while heightening the senses (causing sounds to become sharper and colors more vibrant); some ravers wear dust masks smeared with Vicks VapoRub to enhance the effects of ecstasy. The marathon dancing and drug use carry the risk of dehydration, so many ravers take breaks to lounge together in “chill out” areas with bottles of water. The experience, for some spiritual and for others tribal, culminates in a sense of PLUR (an acronym for peace, love, unity, and respect) that promotes acceptance, connection, and oneness with fellow beings.

The increasing commercialization of raves since the 1980s has led many old-school ravers to lament that “rave is dead.” By its very nature, they argue, rave rejects popular culture and entrenched social mores. Nevertheless, as

raves have gained in popularity, event promoters and corporate sponsors have mainstreamed the experience. Organized raves are regarded by purists as formulaic in presentation, expensive (with promoters charging upwards of \$50 a ticket), and commercialized. Another factor in the changing nature of rave culture is the increased use of harder drugs, such as crystal meth, ketamine (“Special K”), and LSD, as well as alcoholic beverages, such as Vex and Gruv, and highly caffeinated nonalcoholic drinks such as Red Bull. The edgier scene created by harsher drugs, alcohol, and direct marketing is said to detract from the utopia-like environment and has alienated many original ravers.

Jennifer Aerts Terry

See also: [Ecstasy](#).

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Ray, Man (1890–1976)

One of the most influential American artists of the early twentieth century (though he lived for much of his life in Paris, France), Man Ray is known primarily for his avant-garde photography, but he also worked as an assemblage artist, draughtsman, painter, and filmmaker. He is credited with founding the American arm of the Dada “anti-art” movement, which began in Europe as a rejection of the aesthetics of modern visual art, and was a central figure as well in the surrealist and abstract art movements.

Born Emmanuel Rudnitsky in Philadelphia on August 27, 1890, to Russian immigrants, he moved with his family to Brooklyn, New York, at an early age. It was there that he developed interest and inclinations in art. Moving to Manhattan after high school to pursue his career as an artist, he eventually befriended the French Dadaists Marcel Duchamp and Francis Picabia, photographer and Gallery 291 owner Alfred Stieglitz, and other members of the early-twentieth-century American avant-garde.

In 1921, after publishing one issue of a magazine called *New York Dada* and helping found a modernist organization called Société Anonyme, Man Ray famously declared that “Dada cannot live in New York” and moved to the Montparnasse section of Paris. While making his mark as an avant-garde photographer, he became deeply involved with both the French Dada and the surrealist art movements. Especially during the interwar years in Paris, Man Ray experimented extensively with photographic technique. This led him to the highly innovative use of solarization—the partial reversal of tones in a photographic image—grain enlargement and prints made without a camera, which he called Rayographs. These, he produced by placing objects directly on photographic paper and exposing them to light to capture their silhouettes.

With a growing reputation for portraiture as well, he documented some of the most famous literary figures of the

period, including James Joyce, T.S. Eliot, Ernest Hemingway, and Gertrude Stein. In addition to the surrealists and other members of the Paris art vanguard, such as Pablo Picasso and Constantin Brancusi, Man Ray's artistic circle included the photographer Lee Miller and the Parisian singer Kiki de Montparnasse, both of whom were his lovers.

Man Ray once said, "I paint what cannot be photographed. I photograph what I do not wish to paint." Many of his works have become icons in the history of modern Western art. Among these are "Tears" (1932), the close-up image of an eye "crying" glass tears; "Ingres' Violin" (1924), picturing Kiki's back with sound holes like those of a stringed instrument; "Gift" (1921), a menacing surrealist object consisting of a flatiron with nails attached to its surface; "Object to Be Destroyed" (1923), an assemblage consisting of a metronome with the photograph of an eye attached to it; and "At the Observatory Hour—The Lovers" (1934), a Magritte-like painting of a pair of disembodied lips floating in the sky.

Man Ray also produced an arresting and impressive body of fashion photographs for *Vanity Fair*, *Harper's Bazaar*, and *Vogue* magazines. His film credits include several surrealist productions of the 1920s, including *Le Retour à la Raison* (*The Return of Reason*, 1923), *Emak Bakia* (1926); *L'Etoile de Mer* (*The Starfish*, 1928), and *Les mystères du Château du Dé* (*The Mysteries of the Château of Dice*, 1929).

To escape the Nazi occupation of Paris, Man Ray returned to America to live in 1940. He went back to Paris in 1951 and remained a resident until his death on November 18, 1976.

Julia Pine

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Realist, The

Edited and published by social critic and stand-up comic Paul Krassner, *The Realist* was one of the most influential and durable underground publications in America during the latter half of the twentieth century. Beginning with its first issue in 1958, the magazine quickly established itself as a consistently readable source of satire, news, commentary, conspiracy theory, and hoax. Published out of the same building as the satirical *MAD* magazine, *The Realist* was viewed in many ways as the adult counterpart to the teen magazine.

In its most bracing moments, the magazine blurred the line between fiction and reality, often leaving readers questioning what they were willing to accept as true. In perhaps the paper's most outrageous and infamous article, Krassner used a real vignette from the 1960 Democratic Party leadership race between John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson to introduce a report claiming that Kennedy's widow, Jacqueline, had caught Johnson having sex with the dead president's neck wound while on the flight from Dallas to Washington following Kennedy's assassination in 1963. The May 1967 article, titled "The Parts That Were Left Out of the Kennedy Book," was presented as unpublished excerpts from historian William Manchester's controversial book about the killing, *The Death of a President*.

Another piece that brought a great deal of attention to *The Realist*, ranging from the wildly positive to the harshly critical, was the Disneyland Memorial Orgy poster in 1967. Illustrated by *MAD* artist Wally Wood and published shortly following the death of Walt Disney, the poster depicted beloved Disney characters in varying states of undress and engaged in a variety of sexual activities. Designed as a statement against the repressive social codes and conservatism of the later 1950s and early 1960s, as represented by Disney, the poster would become probably the most popular, and most enduring, work to appear in the magazine. It has proven such a lasting image that digitally colored versions of the poster still sell in the twenty-first century.

The Realist provided a home for the critical voices of writers and activists who were denied publishing opportunities in the mainstream press. Among those who were given space within its pages were sex-worker organizer Margo St. James and conspiracy theorist Mae Brussell, who detailed the operation of the Watergate break-in well before the mainstream media took notice of it. The magazine also published social commentary by playwright Norman Mailer, novelist Ken Kesey, philosopher Robert Anton Wilson, and satirical novelist Joseph Heller.

In no ways a journal of detached satire, *The Realist* maintained a connection with real-world social developments and movements. Editorship of issue 81 in August 1968 was turned over to the anarchist-communist Diggers collective, providing them with an opportunity to present their radical egalitarian philosophies to a broader public.

Through *The Realist*, Krassner developed an influential form of what he called “participatory journalism.” When, following the publication in 1962 of an interview with humane abortionist Dr. Robert Spence, women called Krassner in search of safe abortions, he provided an underground abortion referral service. While covering the anti-Vietnam War movement in the United States, Krassner ended up cofounding the Youth International Party with Abbie Hoffman and Jerry Rubin in 1967. With money raised by selling “Fuck Communism” posters through *The Realist*, Krassner sent to Southeast Asia a reporter critical of the U.S. war effort.

After publishing regularly throughout the 1960s and into the early 1970s, *The Realist* was forced to suspend publication due to financial constraints in 1974. Krassner revived *The Realist* as an irregular newsletter in 1985 and continued publishing until the final issue, number 146, in 2001.

Jeff Shantz

See also: [MAD: Yippies.](#)

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Recycling

Recycling is the practice and industry of separating, collecting, and breaking down domestic and industrial waste

for the purpose of manufacturing new items from the same raw material. In theory, the practice allows ecologically savvy citizens and businesses to cut back on the amount of waste produced by society at large. The motivation for recycling, ultimately, is to reduce energy consumption and conserve the earth's natural resources. Glass, paper, aluminum, and plastic have been the most commonly recycled materials since the practice was widely adopted in the United States in the latter decades of the twentieth century.

Recycling was implemented in a number of countries during both World War I and World War II, as citizens on the home front were encouraged or required to limit their consumption of vital commodities and to collect others for reuse. Although recycling continued to be encouraged after the wars in areas with depleted resources (such as Japan), Americans became entrenched in a massive cycle of environmental abuse.

Rather than expand or even continue its recycling campaigns, or seeking other solutions for its growing waste problem, the United States continued to open large waste dumps in the late 1940s. The Fresh Kills Landfill in New York, for example, built in 1948, reached such heights that it became the only manmade object visible from outer space besides the Great Wall of China. Other environmentally unsound American innovations of the 1940s included aerosol sprays, Styrofoam, and aluminum beverage cans.

As the suburbs expanded and mass consumption continued to increase in the 1950s and early 1960s, many people began to recognize that rampant waste and environmental destruction had become a fact of everyday life in America. Environmentalists such as Rachel Carson published books that called attention to the damage being caused to the natural world and the threats to human health. Carson's *Silent Spring* (1962), which focused on the indiscriminate use of chemical pesticides and fertilizers, was one of the first books to warn of the danger of ecological carelessness and to suggest recycling as a means of preserving nature. The warnings of Carson and others gave birth to the modern environmental movement.

The first wave of modern recycling programs were drop-off arrangements: participants brought aluminum, paper, and plastic materials to a collection site located in a shopping area or other easily accessible place. There, workers crushed or otherwise prepared the different materials for transport. Generally, brokers bought the recyclable materials and sold them to manufacturers, who in turn used them to create new products.

Federal officials tried several options in the mid-1960s to curb the unparalleled accumulation of waste, starting with the Solid Waste Disposal Act of 1965, which restricted the use of landfills. In 1969, a Modesto, California, group called Ecology Action organized a "Survival Walk" across the state, during which participants, led by environmentally conscious citizens Cliff and Mary Humphrey, created recycling collection sites along the way.

At the turn of the decade, Senator Gaylord Nelson (D-WI) called for the establishment of an annual teach-in called Earth Day. The first Earth Day was held in spring 1970. Modeled after the large-scale antiwar protests of the 1960s, the event attracted 20 million people to activities that promoted environmental education and encouraged Americans to embrace recycling. Within six months, approximately 2,000 collection programs were started nationwide.

As energy prices rose to unprecedented heights during the 1970s, glass bottle return centers and other recycling facilities began to surface in large cities, particularly in the states of California, Oklahoma, and Rhode Island, which offered cash for raw materials. In 1976, the Resource Conservation and Recovery Act mandated the sanitization of existing landfills by establishing Environmental Protection Agency regulations to protect citizens from potentially toxic overflows.

Recycling gradually increased in popularity among average citizens, and curbside collection made it easier to recycle from home. By 1986, San Francisco met its goal of recycling 25 percent of the city's waste. That same year, Rhode Island instituted the first statewide legislation to require citizens to use recycling centers for metal, glass, newspapers, and plastic. In 1987, Philadelphia became the nation's first large city to mandate citywide recycling; other municipalities have followed suit.

Since the late twentieth century, many major corporations, including McDonald's, Coca-Cola, and Pepsi, have

switched to recycled packaging material in an attempt to improve their public images and environmental “footprints.” Recycling retains a positive social connotation in the early twenty-first century, thanks in part to television commercials and films designed to increase environmental awareness. Community services, such as public recycling bins, scheduled pickup of various recycled materials, and the operation of recycling centers in most areas, have made it increasingly easy for citizens to participate in recycling programs.

Wesley French

See also: [Carson, Rachel: Environmentalism.](#)

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Reed, John (1887–1920)

The journalist and Communist sympathizer John Reed was a war correspondent, friend of the Russian revolutionist Vladimir Lenin, and founder of the U.S. Communist Labor Party in 1919, one of the predecessors of the Communist Party USA. He is perhaps best known as the author of *Ten Days That Shook the World* (1917), a sympathetic account of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917, which he experienced firsthand.

Reed was born on October 22, 1887, in Portland, Oregon, in the mansion of his maternal grandparents. Both of his parents were of prominent families; his father sold agricultural implements and insurance. As a boy, Reed attended public schools in Portland and suffered frequent bouts with a kidney ailment.

After graduating from Harvard in 1910, Reed moved to New York, where he worked on the *American Magazine* and published his poetry. During this period, he became acquainted with the work of muckraking journalists Ida Tarbell and Lincoln Steffens, but he felt that they were not doing enough to help oppressed workers. Drawn into socialist circles, Reed joined the staff of Max Eastman’s radical journal *The Masses*, in 1913, contributing more than fifty articles and reviews. He also experienced his first arrest that year, as a result of supporting striking garment workers in Paterson, New Jersey.

In 1914, Reed went to Mexico to report on that country’s revolution. He was sympathetic to Pancho Villa’s revolt there. Villa took a liking to the earnest young American and made him a staff officer with the rank of brigadier general. With the outbreak of World War I in Europe, Reed traveled overseas as a reporter for *Metropolitan Magazine*, serving as a war correspondent on several fronts.

In 1917, his reporting took him and his wife, fellow journalist and feminist Louise Bryant, to Petrograd (later Leningrad and St. Petersburg), Russia, to witness the October Revolution. His coverage of the activities of

revolutionary leaders and the rise to power of the Bolsheviks led to his close friendship with Lenin, who wrote a preface to the original edition of *Ten Days*.

Reed returned to New York as the Russian consul in 1918, but the U.S. government refused any dealings with him. Expelled from the Socialist Party the following year, he joined with a number of other radicals in forming the American Communist Labor Party, the first communist party in the United States. His activities, speeches, and several articles in the *Voice of Labor* led to his indictment for sedition in 1919.

Reed fled the United States for the newly formed Soviet Union in hopes that Lenin would grant him asylum and perhaps even a position in the government. However, Reed's opposition to the increasingly dictatorial nature of the Soviet regime strained relations between him and the Bolsheviks. He attempted to return to the United States several times, hoping to resume his communist agitation at home. During one such attempt, he was arrested in Finland and held for thirteen weeks before being returned to the Soviet Union.

In 1920, Reed contracted typhus. He died on October 20 while still in the Soviet Union. He was given a state funeral and became the only American to be buried at the Kremlin Wall in Moscow.

Leigh Kimmel

See also: [Communism: *Masses, The*](#).

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Reed, Lou (1942–)

Lou Reed is an iconoclastic rock musician who was an inspiration to a generation of New Wave and punk musicians during the 1970s and 1980s, both as a founding member of the band the Velvet Underground and as a solo performer.

He was born Lewis Alan Reed on March 2, 1942, in Brooklyn, New York, the first of two children. In 1953, his conservative Jewish family moved to the middle-class suburb of Freeport, Long Island, where the rebelliously eccentric and moody Reed channeled his energies into music. Concerns about his emotional health, however, led his parents to have him undergo electroshock treatment from 1959 to 1960.

Reed entered Syracuse University in 1960. The beatnik milieu, drug culture, and writings of Beat poets and writers Allen Ginsberg, Jack Kerouac, and William S. Burroughs, as well as figures from popular culture (such as actors Marlon Brando and James Dean, comic Lenny Bruce, and folk singer-songwriter Bob Dylan) reinforced his existing penchant to challenge the conventions of contemporary college life. At Syracuse, Reed formed rock and roll bands, composed, and presented a morose persona. He also met the self-destructive poet and professor Delmore Schwartz, who became a lifelong mentor. Reed graduated from Syracuse in 1964.

A year later, Reed met the musical prodigy, bassist, and keyboardist John Cale, with whom he formed what many consider to be one of the most influential bands in rock history, the Velvet Underground. Reed received managerial direction from pop artist Andy Warhol, who ensconced the band in New York's seedy avant-garde counterculture and played off Reed's bisexuality. Warhol would remain a strong influence on Reed's life and career.

Although the Velvet Underground achieved little commercial success with the four albums it released before Reed left the group in 1970, the band's cult following continued to grow, especially in Europe. Its music, ranging from punk to rock and lyrical to experimental, is characterized by Reed's deadpan vocals and his searching lyrics about drug abuse, deviant sexuality, and bleak emotions; the dark, urban romanticism that marked Reed's identity was central to the band's distinctiveness.

From its inception, the Velvet Underground was closely associated with the avant-garde art and music scene in New York City, which was influenced by surrealism and experimental art, including underground cinema. The Velvet Underground worked with several filmmakers to create a multimedia experience of music and visual art during its performances. In 1966, the Velvet Underground began working with Warhol on his Exploding Plastic Inevitable multimedia tour. The group provided the music during screenings of Warhol's films and during dance performances. Through a suggestion by Warhol, Christa Paffgen, also known as Nico, sang a number of songs on the group's debut album *The Velvet Underground and Nico* (1967). This album became known for Warhol's progressive cover art of a banana with the words "peel slowly and see"; when it was peeled, a pink peeled banana was revealed.

The group's second album, *White Light/White Heat* (1968), embraced a more aggressive sound not found on its first album. Tension developed between Reed and Cale as they struggled to influence the musical direction of the band. By the time the group recorded its third album, *1969: The Velvet Underground Live* (recorded in 1969; released in 1974), Doug Yule had replaced Cale. Before the group released its fourth album, *Loaded* (1970), Reed left the group.

Reed's sullen intensity and unpredictability continued in his solo recordings and performing career in the 1970s. The musical styles in his numerous albums include punk, pop, glam rock, art rock, rock and roll, hints of doo-wop, heavy metal, and, in one eccentric double album, pure electronic noise. Despite growing but uneven commercial recognition (beginning especially in 1973 with the album *Transformer*, produced by music icon David Bowie), Reed's discontent and disaffection remained part of his music: he was anxiously ambivalent about fame and artistic pretension.



Rock and roll veteran Lou Reed, who founded the Velvet Underground in 1965, is accompanied by performance artist Laurie Anderson at his 2006 photography exhibit. As of 2010, Reed continues to write and record music, as well as publish poetry. (Andrew H. Walker/Stringer/Getty Images)

Reed's second marriage, to Sylvia Morales in 1980, led to some stability (the couple would later divorce) and his recording and performing continued, but he struggled to control drug-addiction problems. Since the early 1980s, a seriousness has been apparent in Reed's music and lifestyle, which includes benefits for various causes as well as recording soundtracks. In early 2008, Reed married his longtime companion, performance artist Laurie Anderson. In the years since, he has continued to tour, perform, and record.

G. Kim Blank and Michael LaMagna

See also: [Anderson, Laurie](#); [Beat Generation](#); [Bowie, David](#); [Rock and Roll](#).

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Regulators

In the mid-eighteenth century, disgruntled farmers in the Piedmont backcountry of the Carolinas who called themselves “Regulators” challenged what they regarded as inequitable treatment at the hands of colonial elites. Active in the western territories of current-day North Carolina and South Carolina, the Regulators mobilized by the hundreds, then by the thousands, to intimidate local sheriffs and other royal officials. Their anger at the perceived tyranny of urban elites, both British and American, was testimony to the egalitarian radicalism in the colonies during the 1760s and 1770s.

Backcountry German, Scottish-Irish, and Welsh settlers fought to preserve their traditional ways of life. Rural families in the region put a premium on economic cooperation, self-sufficiency, and isolation from city affairs. The absence of hard currency in their barter system, however, placed them at the mercy of tax collectors, who demanded payments to the British Crown in silver and gold.

As taxes rose to pay for government salaries, the sheriff’s wagon filled with items from a recently foreclosed farm was an increasingly frequent and distressing sight. The settlers’ pleas for issuance of paper money with which to pay taxes fell on deaf ears among nonelected local officials, who could increase their own salaries either by collecting more taxes than required or by selling off rural property to speculators.

Piedmont farmers felt compelled to restore accountability for corrupt authority. Drawing upon longstanding European traditions of popular resistance, they proposed to “regulate” the Crown’s tyrannical hold over them. Leaders and organizers, foremost among them the outspoken Quaker Herman Husband, emerged in the early 1760s to channel rural grievances against the courts. Regulator ideology spread rapidly by means of songs and ballads. In an age when common people were expected to defer to the wisdom and virtue of political elites, thousands embraced radical democratic principles in the name of preserving their accustomed livelihoods.

New taxes to pay for an expensive statehouse and governor’s residence proved the catalyst for widespread Regulator revolt in 1768. Their petitions ignored, the farmers took up arms against perceived abuses of power. Seven hundred Regulators from Orange County marched on the town of Hillsborough in April after Husband and another Regulator were arrested for “inciting to rebellion.” Later that month, 100 men shut down the court in Anson County and refused to pay taxes.

Temporary measures by the royal governor to satisfy Regulator demands eventually broke down, and on May 16, 1771, 2,000 poorly armed and organized farmers confronted 1,000 North Carolina militiamen at the Battle of Alamance. The Regulators were quickly routed, with each side losing about nine persons. Seven leaders of the movement were executed by the state, and the spirit of Regulation quickly receded.

The Regulators vividly demonstrate the complex popular origins of the American Revolution. The same sentiments that drove farmers to resist local and state corruption would fuel the colonial break from England. In 1776, the backcountry would arise again to defend its liberties.

The Regulator drama, rehearsed in North Carolina, was reenacted after the Revolutionary War in Daniel Shays’s 1786 rebellion against the Massachusetts tax system. The last Regulator-style revolt occurred in 1791 in western Pennsylvania, where President George Washington and 15,000 cavalymen eventually arrested and then pardoned

a still-fiery Herman Husband. The Regulators are the subject of former president Jimmy Carter's historical novel, *The Hornet's Nest* (2003).

Mark Edwards

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Reich, Wilhelm (1897–1957)

Wilhelm Reich was a psychoanalyst, political theorist, and experimental scientist whose theories of human sexuality and its relationship to broader social problems made him one of the boldest and most controversial figures in the history of modern psychiatry. He came to be regarded by the mainstream psychoanalytic community as a renegade, chiefly for his concept of “orgastic potency”—the surrender of the human organism to the emotion of love and sexual excitement—as the basis of mental health.

Reich was born on March 24, 1897, in Dobrzycynica, Austria. He attended medical school at the University of Vienna, where he became interested in the work of Sigmund Freud. He became a regular member of the Vienna Psychoanalytic Association in 1920 and received his M.D. degree two years later.

Reich's most important psychoanalytic work concerned character theory, in particular the observation that neurotic patients tend to develop routinized patterns of behaviors and reactions—what he termed “character armor”—as a way of deflecting the pain of traumatic events from the past. In Reich's view, character armor is a major barrier to the healthy integration of the ego.

Despite the positive reception accorded to this theory, Reich's psychoanalytic colleagues did not treat his other main interest nearly as warmly. That interest was the link between human sexuality and neurosis. Reich argued that many neurotic symptoms are not so much the result of repressed childhood trauma, as Freud had posited, but the product of an unhealthy sex life in the present. According to Reich, social mores that stigmatize sex and force people to express their sexuality only in the confines of the family lead to a deficiency of “orgastic potency.” This, in turn, contributes to the process of character armoring and helps produce neuroses.

Reich's increasing involvement in politics did not help his cause within the psychoanalytic community. In 1928, he joined the Austrian Communist Party, while in his theoretical work he increasingly made the link between sexual repression and social oppression. Indeed, he called for a sexual revolution as a necessary complement to social and political revolution. In 1930, Reich published one of his best-known books, *The Sexual Revolution*, in which he praised the sexual liberalism of the early Soviet Union.

Reich set up a number of sexological clinics designed to offer sex education and contraceptive devices specifically to working-class youth. In 1933, he published his greatest political work, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, in which he argued that Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Germany was made possible by his manipulation of the sexual frustration and character armor of the masses.

Reich's work was cause for embarrassment on the part of the Austrian Communist Party as well as the International Psychoanalytic Association, both of which began to view his ideas as dangerous and heretical. He was expelled from the former in 1933 and from the latter in 1934. Professional setbacks and the increasing Nazi repression of Jews and political dissidents (Reich was both) prompted him to flee Germany in 1933. He bounced between several European countries before finally landing in the United States in 1939.

By the time Reich arrived in America, the focus of his work had become more biological in orientation. Spurred by his interest in the orgasm, he embarked upon a quest to identify the biological energy source that "flowed" during orgasms. After a series of experiments, he claimed to have identified what he called "orgone energy," or the primordial energy underpinning all organic forms of life. Reich considered his discovery of paramount scientific importance, claiming that many of humankind's problems could be alleviated by using orgone energy to cure all types of diseases.

Although his ideas were not given much credence by the scientific community, Reich was able to gather around himself a dedicated group of young researchers who took his work seriously and who sought to advance this new field of "orgonomy." In succeeding years, Reich and his collaborators produced what he called an "orgone accumulator": a large wooden compartment lined with metal, with an opening through which orgone energy was said to enter; it would then accumulate. The idea was for patients to sit inside and reap the therapeutic benefits of the concentrated orgone energy.

During the 1940s and 1950s, Reich's work took on an increasingly mystical tone, as he began to regard orgone energy as a cosmic force. Humanity as a whole was suffering from an "emotional plague," he contended, and only the successful harnessing of orgone energy could cure it. Reich's marketing of the orgone accumulator as a medical device drew the attention of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration, and in 1954 he was served with a court injunction to stop selling the device. In 1956, Reich was arrested for violating the injunction and sentenced to federal prison. He died of a heart attack there on November 3, 1957.

Despite the academic discrediting of orgonomy and the prosecution for his device, many of Reich's young collaborators continued his work, training new generations of Reichian therapists and orgonomists. In the 1960s, the republication of many of Reich's political writings influenced the protest movements that challenged traditional institutions and social relationships, especially the conventional family. He was also widely cited by intellectuals exploring the relationship between Marxism and psychoanalysis.

Michael F. Gretz

See also: [Communism](#); [Medicine](#); [Alternative](#); [New Age](#).

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R.E.M. is a pioneering alternative rock band. It was formed in Athens, Georgia, in 1980, and features Michael Stipe on vocals, Peter Buck on guitar, Mike Mills on bass, and Bill Berry on drums. The group became a staple of college radio and built a large fan base during the early and mid-1980s, before emerging as a superstar in the late 1980s.

The group built upon folk roots to create a rhythmic, guitar-enriched sound that was a far cry from the synthesizer-heavy Top 40 music of the time. Many R.E.M. songs contain lyrics that are hard to understand, especially those on the early albums (including the appropriately titled *Murmur*, 1983); lyrics were not provided with the albums. The band evolved as it became famous, yet it refused to become subject to the whims of pop music, instead charting its own course.

The band's style changed with each album. Its folk rock songs are infused with lush harmonies and twanging guitars, while its harder rock songs feature a relentless, electric garage-band sound (especially on the multiplatinum seller *Monster*, 1994). After Berry left the band for health reasons in 1997, it recorded the somber and dense album *Up* in 1998 without a replacement drummer.

R.E.M. addressed a number of sensitive issues in its music, in statements to the press, and through participation in the activities of left-wing-leaning nonprofit organizations. Among the topics on which R.E.M. has expressed its views are American imperialism, freedom of speech, and the destruction of ecological systems. The band felt that each of its albums should serve as a snapshot of the time during which it was recorded. During the administrations of presidents Ronald Reagan and George H.W. Bush in particular, R.E.M. found strong inspiration for social commentary. Lead singer Stipe became known for his counterculture views on a number of subjects, including the environment and the activities of the federal government.

The album *Fables of the Reconstruction* (1985) includes the song "Green Grow the Rushes," about the plight of Latino migrant workers in the United States. *Document* (1987) is packed with overtly political songs, including "Exhuming McCarthy" (a reference to the rabidly anticommunist Republican Senator Joseph McCarthy of the 1950s), "Welcome to the Occupation" (about the U.S. role in Nicaragua during the 1980s), and "Disturbance at the Heron House" (about revolution). Also on that album is the song "It's the End of the World as We Know It (and I Feel Fine)," an up-tempo laundry list of the ills of the modern world.

With the release of the album *Green* on election day in 1988, R.E.M.'s message continued to carry political and social themes. The song "Orange Crush" alludes to the use of the herbicide-defoliant Agent Orange by the U.S. military during the Vietnam War. In 1991, R.E.M. released the album *Out of Time*, which contains the hit single "Losing My Religion."

The Best of R.E.M., a greatest-hits album released in 2003, features the song "Bad Day," begun in the 1980s and finished during the presidency of George W. Bush, about the games played by both the media and the political establishment. R.E.M. toured on behalf of Democratic presidential candidate John Kerry in 2004; an album released just before the 2004 election, *Around the Sun*, contained a number of songs inspired by the U.S. war in Iraq. The band was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in March 2007 and released its fourteenth studio album, *Accelerate*, the following year.

R.E.M. has long favored the offbeat. Prolific outsider artist Reverend Howard Finster designed the cover art for the album *Reckoning* in 1984. The band's 1992 album *Automatic for the People* includes the song "Man on the Moon," about the eccentric comedian Andy Kaufman. When the movie *Man on the Moon* was released in 1999, the band contributed another song about Kaufman, "The Great Beyond." The *Monster* album contains the song "What's the Frequency, Kenneth?" based on the bizarre incident in October 1986 in which newscaster Dan Rather was beaten by an unknown attacker who kept asking that question. In addition, Stipe has produced several offbeat feature films, including *Being John Malkovich* (1999), *American Psycho* (2000), and *Saved!* (2004).

See also: [Environmentalism: McCarthyism.](#)

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Rexroth, Kenneth (1905–1982)

The American poet Kenneth Rexroth, recognized as a catalyst of the post–World War II San Francisco Renaissance in poetry and art, had a major creative and intellectual influence on the Bay Area's literary and radical subcultures during the mid-twentieth century and beyond. The model he provided for younger writers and artists in both politics and aesthetics contributed to a flowering of cultural activity, establishing a link between twentieth-century modernists such as Ezra Pound and William Carlos Williams, and the West Coast wing of the iconoclastic Beat Generation.

Born on December 22, 1905, in South Bend, Indiana, Rexroth was orphaned at the age of twelve and sent to live with an aunt in Chicago. As he matured, Rexroth became increasingly involved in Chicago's radical bohemian and artistic circles; he soon decided that he would devote his life to art and poetry. When he moved to San Francisco in 1927, he carried with him the memory of Chicago's intense cultural ferment, which he ultimately tried to replicate.

San Francisco's radical political legacy, however, heightened Rexroth's interest in developing an overall social and political vision. After flirting with communism in the 1930s, he slowly pieced together an anarchist philosophy that provided a strong critique of American capitalism and militarism. He then spent much of the rest of his life trying to inculcate this vision in a new and youthful "alternative society" in the San Francisco Bay Area.

This began during World War II, when Rexroth provided a haven for conscientious objectors (COs) in the Pacific Northwest who came to the city on weekend leaves from their CO camps. Many of these were writers and artists whom he befriended. They would later play a role in the postwar cultural renaissance in San Francisco.

In the late 1940s, Rexroth held a weekly salon at his apartment, where he educated a varied group of writers and artists in the tenets of anarchism, communal living, and aesthetics. This public function continued in the 1950s through idiosyncratic book reviews he broadcast on KPFA radio. A recurring theme in these reviews was that all cultures are possessed of a transcendental social vision, carried forth in the writings of its most cultivated individuals. Rexroth also was a regular contributor to the two leading anarchist periodicals of the time, George Leite's *Circle* and the more militant *Ark* magazine.

Because of his stature in the community, Rexroth was the natural choice to be emcee of the famous Six Gallery reading of October 1955, at which Allen Ginsberg kicked off the San Francisco Renaissance by reading his poem *Howl* for the first time. Rexroth's elder statesman role in relation to the Beat poets, however, portended his decline as an active member of the San Francisco scene.

In 1968, he moved south to Santa Barbara, where he collected his poetry, essays, and social criticism in books that would continue to have a strong influence on West Coast counterculture movements. After a lifetime of activism and art, Rexroth died in Montecito, California, on June 6, 1982.

Michael Van Dyke

See also: [Anarchism](#): [Beat Generation](#): [Conscientious Objectors, Draft Dodgers, and Deserters](#): [San Francisco, California](#).

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Rice, Thomas Dartmouth (1808–1860)

The actor Thomas Dartmouth (“Daddy”) Rice made a fortune “blacking up” as the rebellious, raunchy figure of Jim Crow, who mobilized his racial otherness to lambaste the white culture set on disenfranchising black subjects. In fact, Rice became the most popular actor in the United States and Britain from the 1830s to the 1850s by playing a figure whose comic unruliness thrilled audiences even while exposing to ridicule the malignant racism that led up to the American Civil War. Thus Rice came to be known as the “father of American minstrelsy.”

Rice was born on May 20, 1808, in New York City. He got his start in acting in the 1820s in Noah M. Ludlow’s company in Louisville, Kentucky, playing characters such as the subservient black Sambo in English farces. But Rice’s legacy would be the theatrical reversal of traditional black subservience, using blackface, biting satire, and elements of African American folk culture.

He returned to New York in 1830 and performed a popular song-and-dance routine as the old black slave “jumping Jim Crow” in *The Kentucky Rifle* at the Bowery Theatre. Audiences flocked to see a black character who punctured Sambo’s air of gracious servility and whose power depended on understanding black subjects as obedient figures content to exist on the periphery. In Rice’s play *Oh Hush! or, The Virginny Cupids!* (1833), his Jim Crow character smashes his minstrel’s violin over the head of the Sambo character, garnering applause through physical humor even as he smashes the way blacks were perceived. Rice’s performances were not invested in performing black authenticity, but rather in using race to critique a society of slavery. “The words Jim Crow,” one reviewer perfectly summarized, “are a nom de guerre.”

Throughout plays such as *The Virginia Mummy* (1835) and *Bone Squash* (1839), Rice engaged in theatrical warfare by exploding white Americans’ convictions about black sexuality, slavery, miscegenation, and white authority. Through the Jim Crow character, he condemned chattel slavery and championed abolitionism, all while confronting his audience with the fact that America’s dominant culture was becoming risible. In plays such as *Bone Squash*, for instance, Jim Crow evades a white devil figure through lowbrow comedy, fantasy, and stage magic, casting himself all the while as a real—and rebellious—runaway slave. Jim Crow not only dodged white

authority, but he also staged for an eager audience the methods by which one might perform one's resistance to the power of the white devil.

Perhaps Rice's most rebellious role, however, was his burlesque version of the title role in William Shakespeare's *Othello* (1604–1605), which he performed in the early 1850s. Not only did Rice mock white culture's deep investment in Shakespeare as a cultural authority, but he also used the play's focus on the relationship between black and white identity to ask pointed questions about the racial politics of antebellum America.

Rice achieved these goals by recasting *Othello* in significant ways. For instance, while Desdemona is famously murdered by Othello, who is himself killed at the end of the original, both characters live in Rice's reworked version. Thus, by presenting not racial annihilation but racial union, he underscored a theme of racial integration rather than division. Moreover, in a subversive coup de théâtre, Rice presented for his American audience Desdemona and Othello's child, a literal embodiment of interracial productivity and thus a provocative challenge to the nation's burgeoning miscegenation statutes and regulations.

Rice died on September 19, 1860. By the end of his career, he had developed a stage tradition that had taken the United States by storm and whose legacies still can be seen today in everything from television programs such as *Chappelle's Show* (2003–2006), to films such as Spike Lee's *Bamboozled* (2000), and to plays such as Suzan-Lori Parks's Pulitzer Prize-winning *Topdog/Underdog* (2001). Rice's Jim Crow provided a crucial figure in the early to mid-nineteenth century for interrogating racial stereotyping and repression, and thereby offered a productive challenge to cultural institutions that worked—and continued to work—to control and contain black culture.

Matthew Rehorn

See also: [African Americans](#).

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Riot Grrrl

Riot Grrrl is a punk feminist movement developed primarily by white, middle-class female youth on the East Coast of the United States during the early 1990s. A subculture within the larger punk music scene, Riot Grrrl is a more complex countercultural community that involves other activities and forms of expression—group meetings, support groups, self-defense courses (such as Home Alive), and a thriving underground zine culture—as well as political activism that often involves benefit concerts. As evidenced by their allegiance to the do-it-yourself ethic, Riot Grrrls embrace a variety of radical ideologies, particularly those associated with feminism and socialism, while also reconfiguring them in an effort to galvanize, celebrate, and support female youth, a demographic group whose

members are doubly disenfranchised because of their sex and age.

Riot Grrrl formed unofficially during the spring of 1991 in Washington, D.C., where members of two Northwest punk bands, Bikini Kill and Bratmobile, were living temporarily. When a race riot erupted in the neighborhood, a local friend and early Bratmobile member, Jen Smith, suggested that the male-dominated punk scene could use a “girl riot,” or more active participation by females.

Emboldened by that concept and wanting to communicate with other female youth marginalized in the punk community, as well as in the rest of society, Allison Wolfe and Molly Neuman of Bratmobile started a zine, or underground magazine, *Riot Grrrl*. Meanwhile, Kathleen Hanna and other members of the bands solicited girls in the D.C. punk scene for weekly get-togethers. Much like feminist consciousness-raising groups of the 1960s and 1970s, these meetings allowed girls to share their experiences of the patriarchy, misogyny, and homophobia prevalent in both mainstream society and their punk communities.

As a result of the *Riot Grrrl* zine and these girls-only meetings, more friends were made, more support groups were developed, and more zines, music, and work in other media were produced, as more girls realized the political power and necessity of their self-expression and solidarity. The name eventually attached to this counterculture and its members was Riot Grrrl.

Another significant moment in early Riot Grrrl history was the August 1991 indie music festival, the International Pop Underground (IPU) convention held in Olympia, Washington. During what has come to be known as “Grrrl Night,” female members of the bands Bikini Kill, Bratmobile, Heavens to Betsy, 7 Year Bitch, Mecca Normal, Suture, and others performed as part of an all-female billing called “Love Rock Revolution Girl Style Now,” and encouraged female youth in the crowd to become politically and culturally active. At this event, many youth who had conversed by mail or phone finally met in person. As a result, more music, zines (including *Satan Wears a Bra*, *Princess Charming*, *Diabolical Clits*, *Pussycat Rag*, and *The Bad Girl Club*), and videos were created within this community, and production and distribution companies run by feminist youth, such as Horse Kitty Records, Riot Grrrl Press, and Big Miss Moviola, were founded.

In 1992, Riot Grrrls began organizing annual conventions so that larger groups of girls could meet each other, discuss issues of common concern, organize for political action, and experience an alternative culture created by and for feminist youth. One of the first Riot Grrrl conventions was held in Washington, D.C., in July and August 1992.

The mainstream press lost interest in Riot Grrrl in 1992 when its members initiated a media blackout in an effort to stop their misrepresentation and commodification. Although the Riot Grrrl movement had splintered by the mid-1990s, the counterculture continued to thrive in a number of countries in the 2000s, offering female youth a safe and supportive network through which to explore radical identities, ideologies, and cultural practices. Riot Grrrls have increasingly turned to the Internet, especially fan sites and message boards, to converse, organize, and distribute products.

Mary Celeste Kearney

See also: [Feminism, Third-Wave](#); [Punk Rock](#); [Zines](#).

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Ripley, George (1802–1880)

A Unitarian minister, transcendentalist thinker, journalist, and social reformer, George Ripley is best known as the founder in 1841 of the utopian cooperative community Brook Farm in West Roxbury, Massachusetts, near Boston. Modeled on the ideas of the French socialist Charles Fourier, Brook Farm became a self-sufficient community whose economic strength lay in farming and light industry. Although Ripley's experiment in secular cooperative living flourished for less than a decade, Brook Farm is considered one of the antecedents of the antiestablishment communes prevalent in the United States during the latter part of the twentieth century.

Ripley was born in Greenfield, Massachusetts, on October 3, 1802. As the son of an affluent New England businessman, he was educated at Harvard College, graduating with highest honors. He pursued graduate studies at the Harvard Divinity School, while teaching mathematics courses for his alma mater. In 1826, he became an ordained minister and began serving at the newly formed Purchase Street Unitarian Church in Boston. The following year, Ripley married Sophia Willard Dana, who capably assisted him in the establishment of the utopian community of Brook Farm.

Ripley's breadth of knowledge and writing talents provided him entrée into the elite social and literary circles of Boston. There, he met such contemporaries as Henry David Thoreau, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and Karl Marx; many of these notable acquaintances would lecture at the Brook Farm school. During this time, Ripley was one of the editors of the fourteen-volume work *Specimens of Foreign Standard Literature* (the first two volumes of which were published in 1838), which contained the English translations of many important works by European writers. He also assisted in editing the transcendentalist magazine *The Dial*.

According to an anonymous pamphlet, *An Essay on Transcendentalism*, often credited to Charles Mayo Ellis, "Transcendentalism... maintains that man has ideas, that come not through the five senses, or the powers of reasoning, but are either the result of direct revelation from God, his immediate inspiration, or his immanent presence in the spiritual world" and "it asserts that man has something besides the body of flesh, a spiritual body, with senses to perceive what is true, and right and beautiful, and a natural love for these, as the body for its food." As the transcendentalists became disenchanted with the Unitarian Church, their literary pursuits and common activities increased steadily. Ripley—whose own home since 1836 had been the meeting place of the Transcendentalist Club, the core of the movement—resigned from the ministry in 1841 and founded Brook Farm.

A fire that swept through Brook Farm in 1846 caused devastating damage from which the community never recovered; it disbanded the following year. George and Sophia Ripley moved to New York City, where he continued to publish and edit *The Harbinger*, a journal first issued at Brook Farm in 1845, and wrote for Horace Greeley's *New York Tribune* and the *Christian Register*. Later, Ripley helped establish and edited *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* and the *New American Cyclopaedia*.

Four years following his wife's death in 1861, Ripley married Louisa Schlossberger, and together they remained active in New York social and literary circles. During the last year of his life, he was beleaguered by ill health. On July 4, 1880, Ripley died while writing an editorial for *Harper's*.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Brook Farm](#); [Communes](#); [Dial, The](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Rivers, Larry (1923–2002)

Larry Rivers was a painter and sculptor whose works have been described by critics as a combination of abstract and pop art. His subjects were far reaching, including portraits of friends and family members; historical figures and themes, including the Russian Revolution and the Holocaust; everyday items; and sex and eroticism. Rivers's work marked a crucial transition in mid-century painting, from the abstract expressionism of the 1950s to the pop art of the 1960s. Rivers was also known in New York's mid-century bohemian counterculture as a jazz musician, filmmaker, actor, and provocateur, pushing the boundaries of taste as well as aesthetics.

Rivers was born Yitzroch Loiza Grossberg in the Bronx, New York, on August 17, 1923. His most important early passion was jazz. After serving in the U.S. Army Air Corps during World War II, he studied at the prestigious Juilliard School of Music in New York, where he met many of the finest musicians of his generation. Among these was Miles Davis, who gave Rivers an entrée into the city's flourishing jazz counterculture. Rivers subsequently began touring with various groups as a jazz saxophonist.

In 1945, an encounter with a book on modern painting redirected Rivers's interest from music to art. He took up painting, studying at the Hans Hofmann School as well as at New York University, from which he graduated in 1951. Rivers quickly became part of the New York School of painters and poets, meeting such rising stars as painter Jackson Pollock and poet and art critic Frank O'Hara, with whom he became close friends.

Rivers's best-known early works are semi-abstract paintings that reimagine traditional, historical subjects. For example, his *Washington Crossing the Delaware* (1953), a painting that measures 10 feet (3 meters) long, features washed-out colors and an urgent, half-drawn, half-painted appearance that would become a trademark style. His fifty-three-piece mixed media work *The History of the Russian Revolution: From Marx to Mayakovsky* (1965) features portraits of Russian rulers, maps, and vignettes of Russian history. Rivers's work subsequently began to incorporate images from popular culture—such as dinner menus, cigarette packs, and banknotes—prefiguring the trend of pop art to come in the 1960s.

Sex and eroticism were other frequent subjects of Rivers's works. In 1965, he was commissioned by *Playboy* magazine to interpret the playmate (the magazine's nude models) in a work of art. The result was the semi-naked *Plexi Playmate*, made of Plexiglas and vinyl. He followed that work with a graphic lamp-sculpture called *Lampman Loves It* for an erotic exhibition. Using the shock factor of sexuality to draw attention, Rivers often painted male and female nudes; the physical beauty or age of his subjects was unimportant. In 1964, he painted *The Greatest Homosexual*, a mixed-media work depicting Napoleon that was inspired by Jacques-Louis David's classic *Napoleon in His Study* (1812).

In both his art and lifestyle, Rivers earned a reputation as a contrarian. He also was well known for his uninhibited enjoyment of marijuana and sex, and for his extensive associations with other artists and writers of mid-century bohemian countercultures. Among his acting credits is a starring role in *Pull My Daisy* (1959), a short film about a raucous bohemian party written by Beat writer Jack Kerouac and costarring poet Allen Ginsberg, among others.

Rivers lived at New York's Hotel Chelsea during the 1960s, a spot famous for housing eccentric artists and writers.

Rivers continued to work on his own and collaborative projects into his seventies. He designed art for the windows of the Lord & Taylor department store in New York and attended the opening in 2001, saxophone in hand to perform for fans. The techniques of his work had changed over time, but what remained consistent was his energy in critiquing entrenched artistic styles and forms. He was and continues to be the object of harsh criticism by some, who consider his renown to be more a function of his eccentric lifestyle and famous friends than of his own artistic innovation and talent. Rivers died on August 14, 2002.

Susanne E. Hall and Richard Panchyk

See also: [Jazz](#); [Pop Art](#).

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Robbins, Tom (1936–)

The American novelist Tom Robbins, known for a uniquely inventive, humorous, highly charged style, became an icon of post–World War II counterculture literature for works of offbeat social and political satire beginning in the 1970s, the best known of which is *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues* (1976; film version, 1993).

Born on July 22, 1936, in Blowing Rock, North Carolina, Thomas Eugene Robbins was the oldest child of a utility company executive, George T. Robbins, and an author of children's stories, Katherine (Robinson) Robbins. He was raised in North Carolina and Virginia but, like many characters in his novels, Robbins was an adventurer. After withdrawing from Washington and Lee University, he hitchhiked across the United States and then settled in New York's Greenwich Village, where he hoped to become a poet. Unable to support himself and facing the prospect of being drafted, he joined the U.S. Air Force and served for three years in South Korea in the late 1950s.

Upon completion of military service, he returned to school at the Richmond Professional Institute (now Virginia Commonwealth University) and received his degree in 1960. After a brief stint as a journalist in Richmond, he moved to Seattle, Washington, to pursue a master's degree in Far Eastern Studies and write for the *Seattle Times* and *Seattle Post-Intelligencer*. Even as he continued mainstream journalistic pursuits, Robbins took his adventures in new directions, including experimenting with LSD—an event that shaped his personal philosophy and writing style, and led to his friendship with Timothy Leary.

Robbins's first novel, *Another Roadside Attraction* (1971), is the wild, eccentric story of the mummified body of Jesus Christ, which ends up in a hot dog stand/wildlife preserve in the Pacific Northwest. His second novel, *Even Cowgirls Get the Blues*, solidified his reputation as an innovative storyteller and caught the attention of younger

readers and others rooted in the counterculture sensibility of the 1960s and 1970s. The novel recounts the adventures of a large-thumbed hitchhiker named Sissy Hankshaw, from the fashion scene of New York to a health spa in North Dakota, where she joins a rebellious band of feminists.

Still Life with Woodpecker (1980), subtitled “Sort of a Love Story,” is the tale of a modern-day princess and her unlikely match with a terrorist named Woodpecker. *Jitterbug Perfume* (1984) is the story of the search for the perfect scent, combining heavy doses of absurdity and mysticism with a touch of political commentary. Similar elements are also central to *Skinny Legs and All* (1990), in which a spoon, a sock, and a can of beans play roles as critical as those of their human counterparts in assessing and solving the situation in the Middle East. In *Half Asleep in Frog Pajamas* (1994), Robbins enlists another oddball cast of characters who comment collectively on the state of society, again only slightly removed from absurdity.

International intrigue, central to many of Robbins’s novels, figures prominently in *Fierce Invalids from Hot Climates* (2000) and *Villa Incognito* (2003), both of which capture the eccentricities of the Tom Robbins style. *Wild Ducks Flying Backward* (2005) is a collection of essays, short stories, and reviews. And *B is for Beer* (2009) is a children’s book about a planet whose inhabitants consume copious amounts of beer. Robbins’s major works convey many of the central themes of the counterculture—drugs, sexual promiscuity, and communal living—and track political and social trends over the course of more than three decades with consistently poignant sarcasm.

James J. Kopp

See also: [Leary, Timothy](#).

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Robeson, Paul (1898–1976)

Through both his personal achievements and his radical politics, Paul Robeson defied cultures of white supremacy in America and abroad. He earned international fame as an actor and bass-baritone singer, but in the years leading up to World War II, he dedicated his efforts to the liberation of African peoples worldwide. Although Robeson is still celebrated by the American left in the twenty-first century, his outspoken criticism of President Harry S. Truman’s postwar foreign policy made him one of the nation’s most unpopular and tragic figures of the cold war era.

Paul Robeson was born on April 9, 1898, in Princeton, New Jersey, to William Drew Robeson, a pastor who was a former slave, and Maria Louisa Bustill. After the young Robeson's mother died in a household fire, he and his family settled in Somerville, New Jersey, in 1909. A distinguished student, performer, and athlete while in high school, Robeson entered Rutgers University in 1915 on a four-year scholarship, becoming the third African American ever to attend that school, and the only one on campus at the time. Facing sometimes violent racism, he nevertheless excelled in football, basketball, baseball, and track, and graduated as valedictorian of his class in 1919.

Robeson moved on to Columbia Law School, where he earned his degree in 1923, and took up the practice of law in New York City. His legal career proved short-lived. When white colleagues and office staff refused to work with him, he left the profession to pursue a full-time career in entertainment.

Performances in the title role of *The Emperor Jones* (1924) and other works by playwright Eugene O'Neill in the 1920s established Robeson as an actor of note. His rendition of the song "Old Man River" in the Jerome Kern musical *Show Boat* (1927) became legendary, and his performance in the lead role of *Othello* (1943–1945) made it the longest-running Shakespeare production in Broadway history.

From 1925 to 1942, Robeson also appeared in thirteen motion-picture films, though only four of them were made in the United States. Dismayed by the treatment of African Americans in all walks of life and increasingly attracted to radical politics, he spent much of the 1930s in England and the Soviet Union.

While abroad, Robeson befriended politically radical Africans and gained a lifelong appreciation for perceived Soviet egalitarianism and antiracism. He joined African American educator W.E.B. Du Bois and other black activists in forming the pan-African Council on African Affairs (CAA) in 1937. Its goal was to unite people of African descent in support of African liberation from Western European colonialism. As chairman of the CAA, Robeson spoke to audiences worldwide and raised funds for the cause. The United States officially supported decolonization during World War II, and few Americans seemed to object to Robeson's new political views. In fact, his performance of the patriotic "Ballad for Americans" on the CBS network in 1939 received the longest applause in radio history.



Scholar, athlete, actor, and renowned bass-baritone Paul Robeson championed the cause of oppressed peoples and became a friend of the Soviet Union. In 1949, he stirred controversy with remarks at the Communist-supported Paris World Peace Congress. (Nat Farbman/Stringer/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

The resurgence of anticommunism in cold war America would prove to be Robeson's undoing. He openly criticized racial segregation after World War II and argued that American aid to Europe through the Marshall Plan would extend colonialism in Africa. Such remarks brought him under the close scrutiny of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) and the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC).

With the exception of the progressive press, the white media censored Robeson's activities, and he was blacklisted from performing in the nation's concert halls. After several newspapers reported that he had made pro-Soviet remarks while attending the Paris World Peace Congress in 1949, the U.S. State Department promptly revoked his passport.

Robeson's reputation was further damaged when, at the apparent instigation of U.S. State Department officials, some of the African American press disparaged him as a Communist sympathizer. That impression seemed confirmed in 1952, when the Soviet government awarded him the Stalin Peace Prize.

When Robeson's U.S. passport finally was renewed in 1958, he left the country for Great Britain, performing and traveling extensively. He did not return to the United States until 1963, plagued by ill health and chronic depression. He made few public appearances during the remaining years of his life, not even attending a seventy-fifth birthday celebration held for him at New York's Carnegie Hall in 1973. He died of a stroke two years later, on January 23, 1976, in Philadelphia.

Mark Edwards

See also: [African Americans](#); [Communism](#); [Du Bois, W.E.B.](#)

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Rock and Roll

The term *rock and roll*, previously used as a sexual allusion in popular song lyrics, was first applied by Cleveland disc jockey Alan Freed in 1951 to an emerging wave of music that mixed both “black” and “white” American traditions. The merging of blues, hillbilly, gospel, Tin Pan Alley, and other styles is perhaps best seen in the early music of Elvis Presley, Chuck Berry, Jerry Lee Lewis, and Little Richard. In addition to mixing previously segregated musical styles, the early rock and roll performers challenged mainstream culture with their flamboyant, sexually charged, rebellious style and public personae. The focus of their lyrics on leisure-time activities from dancing to cars to sex and a casual, free lifestyle flew in the face of middle-class cultural values in postwar America.

By the beginning of the 1960s, however, a new type of rock and roll musician had emerged: the social commentator. First in folk music and later in psychedelic rock, the construct of popular music itself was challenged by singers and songwriters who had a message as well as a song in their hearts. Whether unplugged (armed just with an acoustic guitar, a voice, and maybe a harmonica) or plugged in (playing in a band with an electric guitar, bass, drums, and vocals, all projected through a microphone and amplifier), the emerging artist-critic attacked the institutions of contemporary society.

Counterculture and Social Change

Thus, in differing ways, rock and roll was at the center of the American counterculture throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. In its early days, the music was countercultural in that it challenged the conventional norms of mainstream society and placed young people in opposition to both adults and institutions by focusing on leisure, consumption, and sexuality. The rock and roll music of the 1960s was countercultural in that it had strong political overtones, which openly opposed the foreign and domestic policies of the U.S. government and gave the youth of America—during a rebellious movement in the nation’s history—a voice, a channel through which to communicate and be heard, and a place to find a common identity. As the anti-Vietnam War movement peaked in the late 1960s and early 1970s—during the administrations of presidents Lyndon B. Johnson and Richard M. Nixon, a Democrat and a Republican, respectively—rock and roll music was an instrument of change and source of generational identity as much as a form of entertainment.

One of the main reasons rock and roll survived and continued to grow was the purchasing power of American teenagers. Songs such as Chuck Berry’s “Sweet Little Sixteen” and Little Richard’s “Lucille” (both 1957) played an important role in the creation of a distinct youth identity and consumption ethic. As the recording industry aggressively marketed its product, the new youth market became a mainstay of the American economy. The rise in annual gross revenues of the U.S. recording industry—from \$109 million in 1945 to \$213 million in 1954 to \$603 million by 1959—mirrored the explosion in overall consumer spending in the period after World War II. In the words of *American Bandstand* host Dick Clark, “Teenagers have nine billion dollars a year to spend.”

Up-and-coming folk and rock musicians in the 1950s and 1960s both heralded the political and social changes of the emerging counterculture and were products of it. Musicians who helped inspire the new way of thinking included leading voices of the folk revival such as Pete Seeger, Joan Baez, and Bob Dylan (who alienated more traditional fans by going electric in the mid-1960s), followed by British Invasion bands such as the Beatles and the Rolling Stones, and homegrown psychedelic-rock groups such as the Grateful Dead, Jefferson Airplane, and the Doors, among others.

Dylan, for one, appeared to view himself more as a poet than a singer, and the lyrics of his songs were rife with political commentary. His was the voice and music of youthful energy, political and social awareness, and challenge to the status quo. “The times they are a-changin’,” he sang, and few could disagree. For Dylan and his legions of successors and counterculture comrades-in-arms, the Vietnam War became a rallying point, and opposition to it became the basis of shared moral conviction and generational identity.

The seriousness of the times—including other heady issues such as Black Power, the plight of inner cities, political corruption, and the perceived enervation of the “establishment”—also helped transform the innocent pop entertainer of earlier times into the musical artist and earnest troubadour. By 1966, the term *artist* had begun to be applied to rock musicians, denoting a growing separation from the cultural and commercial mainstream, or bohemianism.

The evolution from “mere” entertainment to social commentary and musical artistry coincided with the replacement of the single by the LP (long-playing album) as the dominant medium, thereby giving the artist forty minutes of canvas instead of the traditional three-minute record. With the LP came eleven-minute songs and concept records, and the notion that music could be made for art’s sake, instead of primarily for commercial purposes. The Beatles and their landmark album *Sgt. Pepper’s Lonely Hearts Club Band* (1967) were seen as the catalysts of this transition.

Musical Artistry, Psychedelics, and New Directions

An example of the transition from entertainers to artists can be seen the changes in the Beatles’ cover art and music, from *Meet the Beatles* (1964) to *Sgt. Pepper’s*. As the band took a hiatus from touring to focus on studio recordings, their themes shifted from love to social criticism; the graphics, production values, and musical energy of their LP efforts reflected greater interest in artistic music than commercial sales, as well as increased drug use and spiritual searching. At this time the Beatles also began producing their own music and designing their own

cover art, rather than allowing their label to do the work. The entire transition, not coincidentally, paralleled the transition of American youth from consumer-oriented teenage frivolity to political engagement, social criticism, and increased drug use at university campuses and musical events across the country.

What followed the Beatles' explosion into mainstream rock was the movement of acid rock and psychedelic rock. Built on the social critiques of Dylan and the artistry of the Beatles, this music is perhaps best known for its association with the mind-altering drug LSD. It was a new sound that mixed jazz, Latin, and blues music with electric guitars and distortion. The vanguard of this movement—including Jimi Hendrix and his ripping guitar solos, which were full of distortion and unlike anything ever heard before in popular music—challenged the conventional notions of musical form in much the same way the Beats and the bebop jazzers had a decade earlier. Hendrix played the guitar with his teeth or behind his head. At the end of his performances, he smashed his guitar against the stage or set it on fire.

Perhaps the pinnacle of the counterculture movement in rock and roll came at the Woodstock music festival, held in Bethel, New York, in August 1969, an event that was supposed to draw only a small number of fans but instead drew hundreds of thousands and lasted three days. The festival showcased many of the icons of the counterculture, including San Francisco bands such as the Grateful Dead and Jefferson Airplane, singers such as Janis Joplin and Joan Baez, and guitarists such as Hendrix and Carlos Santana. Other musicians who performed included the Who, Joe Cocker, Sly and the Family Stone, Ravi Shankar, Richie Havens, Blood, Sweat and Tears, and Creedence Clearwater Revival.

The 1970s brought further change in rock and roll music and its connection with American youth and counterculture. Disillusionment over the perceived lack of success of the 1960s protest movements coupled with the aging of the baby boom generation—now re-entering mainstream society by finding jobs and having families—moved rock and roll in two different directions.

On the one hand, some rock music got “harder,” with a stronger emphasis on escapism—as reflected in the music of artists from Led Zeppelin to Black Sabbath. On the other hand, rock musicians took an even greater interest in technical artistry, focusing on innovative sound productions and special effects, as in the case of supergroups Pink Floyd and Genesis. In both cases, while rock and roll still appealed primarily to younger audiences, it had lost some of the rebellious and counterculture energy that was central to its identity and success in the 1960s.

Stephen Gennaro

See also: [Beatles, The](#); [Dylan, Bob](#); [Grateful Dead](#); [Hendrix, Jimi](#); [LSD](#); [Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Rocky Horror Picture Show, The

The Rocky Horror Picture Show, directed by Jim Sharman and released by 20th Century Fox in 1975, is considered the quintessential cult movie. Based on a stage musical by Richard O'Brien, *Rocky Horror* was first performed at the London Royal Court Theatre Upstairs in 1973. Initial enthusiasm for the play brought it to the United States, where it was adapted for the screen with many members of the original cast. At first a box-office flop, the movie developed a cult following that rescued it from obscurity. Special screenings after regular features, typically at midnight, created a highly ritualized viewing experience that has continued for more than three decades.

The plot of *Rocky Horror* involves a fresh-faced couple—Janet (played by Susan Sarandon) and Brad (Barry Bostwick)—who stumble upon a “castle” in the woods (really a spaceship) inhabited by aliens posing as an eccentric household. There, Janet and Brad encounter a parade of larger-than-life characters: Dr. Frank-N-Furter (Tim Curry), the megalomaniacal cross-dressing scientist; Rocky (Peter Hinwood), his Aryan sex toy; Magenta (Patricia Quinn) and Riff Raff (O'Brien himself), the incestuous brother-sister servant team; Columbia (Little Nell), the fuchsia-haired groupie; and Eddie (the overstuffed Meat Loaf), who is the object of Columbia's rock and roll desire.

During the course of the film, Brad and Janet, both seduced by Frank-N-Furter, become increasingly uninhibited sexually. In the film's climax, most of the cast performs the cancan in fishnets and boas, Magenta and Riff Raff take over the castle, Frank-N-Furter ostensibly repents, Rocky dies, and the castle returns to Transsexual Transylvania, leaving Brad, Janet, and their friend Dr. Scott (Jonathan Adams) dazed and confused in its wake.

A send-up of B-level science-fiction and horror movies, drag shows, coming-of-age stories, rock operas, and popular culture in general, *Rocky Horror* struck a chord with mid-1970s youth sensibility, creating a carnivalesque space where social pressures were lifted and sexuality was unleashed. Fans began to appear at screenings dressed as characters in the film, sang along with the music, ritually injected dialogue at key moments, and tossed around any number of props—from confetti to toast to teddy bears—transforming film attendance into one great costume party.

Rocky Horror is an intriguing study in cult phenomena: the film itself, and much of the audience participation, has remained consistent, while the fan base is forever changing. Many Americans admit to having gone through a “*Rocky Horror* phase” at some point in their young adulthood but—other than the diehards who claim to have seen the film hundreds of times—few make it a prolonged pastime.

Still a popular stage play in the twenty-first century, productions of *Rocky Horror* continue to be staged throughout North America and Europe. Its influence is seen in productions such as the *Sing-Along Sound of Music* (2000), the audience-participation version of the 1965 Academy Award-winning film *The Sound of Music*, which encouraged costume wearing as well as singing, and the film *Moulin Rouge* (2001), a postmodern pastiche of camp, costumes, and cultural references in a fantasy atmosphere.

Julia Pine

See also: [Film, Cult](#).

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Role-Playing Games

Role-playing games (RPGs) are board games that focus on storytelling, characterization, and cooperation among players, rather than on winning and competition, as in more traditional board games. In most RPGs, the game is controlled by a central storyteller, or “gamemaster,” who monitors the ebb and flow of the game. The other players control the central characters, working as a team to solve puzzles and challenges put forth by the gamemaster.

Popular role-playing games began with the first incarnation of *Dungeons and Dragons* in 1974, a high-fantasy game created by Gary Gygax and Dave Arneson, and distributed by Tactical Studies Rule (TSR). *Dungeons and Dragons* quickly gained in popularity, spawning a number of spin-offs and new editions over the next three decades. Many companies had joined the RPG market by the 1980s, when film tie-ins became especially marketable; game titles based on film franchises, such as *Star Wars*, *Star Trek*, James Bond, and *The Lord of the Rings*, all debuted in this era. Marketing tie-ins soon included popular novels, cartoons, and television series.

In the early 1980s, computer-game companies began using the RPG model of storytelling and characterization as a new paradigm for computer games, also known as RPGs. Strategic Simulations, Inc. (SSI), with its licensed *Dungeons and Dragons* games, and Sierra with its King's Quest series, were early leaders in the computer RPG market. Since then, the number of games and their sales have exploded. By the early 2000s, hundreds of computer RPGs were available. The Internet also has spawned Massively Multiplayer Online Games (MMOG), in which hundreds of players can log on and interact in the game format.

RPGs began to take on a darker cast in the 1990s, in both subject matter and graphic design. In 1991, Mark Rein-Hagen and the publishing company White Wolf introduced the revolutionary gothic-horror RPG, *Vampire: The Masquerade*. Based on its horror RPG line, White Wolf also debuted the first mass-market Live-Action Role Playing (LARP) game, in which players act out their characters' roles in a setting best described as guided improvisational theater.

Another innovation took the gaming industry by storm during the early 1990s: *Magic: The Gathering* achieved instant success as the first collectible card game (CCG). Combining elements of role playing with marketing hype for the collectibles, *Magic* cards sold in vast quantities and made Wizards of the Coast the richest game manufacturer in the United States. Many imitators followed, and, by the 2000s, tie-in CCGs were standard elements in major film and television marketing campaigns.

By the end of the 1990s, however, a slew of bankruptcies and corporate buyouts signaled a slump in the gaming industry. Industry giant TSR declared bankruptcy in 1997; it was followed by other major companies such as West End Games. New management teams were brought in, bringing a greater emphasis on commercial appeal and profit margins, and many flagging RPG manufacturers were revitalized. As of the early 2000s, the RPG industry was showing strong signs of recovery, with revivals of classic RPGs and innovative new ones leading the way.

Jeffrey Sartain

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Rolling Stone

Rolling Stone magazine rose from obscurity in the late 1960s to become the primary source for information on rock and popular music in America. The magazine was started in San Francisco by Jann Wenner—still the editor and publisher today—and the noted music critic Ralph Gleason. Its first managing editor was *Newsweek* journalist Michael Lydon, and its first photographic editor was Baron Wolman. The first issue was published on November 9, 1967, and featured the Beatles' John Lennon on the cover. Of 40,000 copies shipped to newsstands, 34,000 were returned unsold.

Despite its inauspicious beginnings, the magazine continued and eventually thrived, largely due to the tenacity of publisher Wenner, the dearth of credible youth music magazines, and advertising revenue from the major record labels. By early 1968, *Rolling Stone* could number almost every major record company among its advertising accounts, including Atlantic, Capitol, Columbia, Reprise, Elektra, A&M, Warner, and RCA.

In February 1969, the magazine's issue on the groupie subculture, often referred to as "The Groupie Issue," was published. Using the company's last \$7,000, Wenner bought a full-page ad in *The New York Times* and, with ballyhoo worthy of nineteenth-century showman P.T. Barnum, situated his magazine as the ultimate source on the subject. By November 1969, the monthly publication had turned a corner and reported a paid circulation of nearly 60,000.

Rolling Stone may have had considerable cultural capital, but its financial fortunes in the 1970s were not assured. Indeed, the magazine almost went into bankruptcy in 1977. This was also the year that *Rolling Stone* moved its offices from San Francisco to New York City; issue number 248 was the first to be produced from its new offices at 745 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan. By the close of the 1980s, Robert Draper, author of *Rolling Stone Magazine: The Uncensored History* (1990), described the magazine as "respected but no longer relied upon, a force among other forces—an institution, surely, and like many such institutions, disregarded." Despite this lukewarm analysis, *Rolling Stone* continues as a successful publication into the second decade of the twenty-first century.

To cognoscenti of the counterculture of the 1960s and early 1970s, the words *Rolling Stone* conjure up some unforgettable achievements, including the gonzo journalism of Hunter S. Thompson or the prose of Greil Marcus, both of which graced the magazine's pages. Others may wax poetic about the music reviews of Ed Ward and Lester Bangs, or the interviews of Ben Fong-Torres. Still others remember the hard-hitting investigative journalism of Joe Eszterhas and the sublime photography of chief photographer Annie Leibovitz, whose rock celebrity portraits helped define the look of the magazine. Although the focal points of their memories may vary, to people who were under thirty during this era and involved in music and the counterculture, *Rolling Stone* was a relied-upon source of news and counterculture commentary.

See also: Rock and Roll.

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Rolling Stones, The

The British rock group the Rolling Stones, originally formed in 1962, has remained one of rock and roll's most enduring and popular bands on the strength of their driving, blues-influenced style, the creative songwriting of lead singer Mick Jagger and guitarist Keith Richards, high-energy concert performances, and an edgy, defiant image. First achieving notoriety alongside the Beatles and other bands from England as part of the so-called British Invasion, the Stones have consistently maintained their place in the public eye with the release of new music, frequent worldwide concert tours, and the enduring popularity of their older songs. Although they have achieved commercial success equaled by few other musical acts of any kind—with fifty-five albums released and hundreds of millions of copies sold as of 2007—the Rolling Stones have persistently flouted social convention and produced some of the most innovative, radical music of their time.



Lead singer Mick Jagger (left) and guitarist Keith Richards are original members of the Rolling Stones. The duo is

also responsible for writing many of the band's hit recordings. In their fifth decade, the Stones have released over forty original albums. (George Rose/Getty Images)

Early Days

While the Beatles began their career with cheery pop tunes, the Rolling Stones got their musical start singing about the darker side of love. Playing blues standards by the likes of Howlin' Wolf and Muddy Waters (from one of whose songs the band takes its name), the Stones quickly became one of England's best-known blues bands.

The composition of the band changed several times during its first year of existence, but by 1963 the lineup had been set. The quintet included singer and front man Michael Phillip (Mick) Jagger, guitarist Keith Richards, multiple-instrument-playing Lewis Brian Hopkin (Brian) Jones, bassist William George Perks (Bill Wyman), and drummer Charles Robert (Charlie) Watts.

It was in this form that the Rolling Stones began their first club residency, at the Crawdaddy in London, England. During their tenure at the Crawdaddy, the band attracted the attention of businessman and Beatles publicist Andrew Loog Oldham, who became their manager soon thereafter. Oldham's efforts ultimately resulted in the group's first recording contract, with Decca Records, as well as in the somewhat manufactured and highly promoted image of the Rolling Stones as the bad boys of Britain. This image stood in stark contrast to the more clean-cut appearance of the Beatles.

The group's self-titled first album, *The Rolling Stones* (1964), contained a number of blues and rock and roll covers and only one original song. The album did well, however, and, by the end of the year, the band had released two more albums, resulting in a number of hit singles and increasing airplay in England and the United States.

By the summer of 1965, the Rolling Stones began to break away from recording covers in favor of more original work. The songwriting team of Jagger and Richards gained their first big hit with "(I Can't Get No) Satisfaction" (1965), melding their blues roots with a rock and roll sound, and the group quickly rose to superstardom.

Counterculture, Exoticism, and Psychedelics

Like rock and roll music itself, the Rolling Stones were fond of thumbing their noses at societal norms, such as puritanical attitudes regarding sex and the consumerist mind-set that seemed commonplace in 1950s and 1960s America. Although their music was less overtly political than that of the Beatles and certain other groups, it was no less radical, because they sang about taboo subjects, especially sex, drugs, and disrespect for authority figures, and discussed them openly in interviews.

The Stones refused to censor themselves, and their music was aggressively frank in its portrayal of these subjects. Beyond that, band members flouted social norms in their overt sexuality and drug use, including Jagger's periodic sporting of women's clothing and makeup and Richards's flagrant drug use and multiple arrests. In short, not only did the band seem to seek out controversy in their music and public life, but they seemed to revel in the publicity and understand that they did not have to please the public in order to be highly successful.

With the growing attention being paid to Eastern thought and music in the mid-1960s, Jones began experimenting with more exotic musical sounds and instruments, especially the sitar. Following the Beatles' success with the psychedelic *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, the Stones released *Their Satanic Majesties' Request* in 1967. Also an experiment into psychedelia, the album was recorded soon after a visit to India by Jagger to meditate with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi and after multiple drug arrests of Jagger, Richards, and Jones.

The foray into psychedelic music was to prove brief, however, as the music of the Rolling Stones continued to evolve. Refining what has become a signature of their sound, Richards began using open guitar tunings. This evolution led to some of the band's most recognizable sounds, such as those heard in "Honky Tonk Women,"

which appeared on their album *Get Yer Ya-Ya's Out!* (1970).

While most of the band was pleased with the emerging sound, Jones was growing disenchanted with the new directions the band was taking. He left the group in June 1969 and was found dead in his pool a month later. Mick Taylor took Jones's place in the group, and in 1975 Ron Wood replaced Taylor, creating what would become the longest-running incarnation of the Rolling Stones.

Tragedy and Resurgence

The death of Jones was not the band's only tragedy in 1969. The Woodstock music festival held in Bethel, New York, that August, and billed as "three days of peace and music," had been such a success that the Rolling Stones hoped to create a similar concert experience on the West Coast. Held at the Altamont Speedway in Northern California, the concert was planned as a free, all-day event featuring several acts and culminating with the Rolling Stones. At the suggestion of members of the Grateful Dead, the Stones hired the Hells Angels biker gang to provide security for the concert, in exchange for alcohol. By the time the Stones took the stage, there had already been altercations between the drunk and violent Hells Angels, several musicians, and the crowd. During the Rolling Stones' set, a young man was fatally beaten and stabbed before Jagger's eyes by several of the Hells Angels.

The disaster at Altamont might have been a death knell for many bands, but for the Rolling Stones it became merely a footnote. Continuing to record and perform in the aftermath of the killing, the band produced much of its most enduring music in the years immediately following, including the albums *Sticky Fingers* (1971) and *Exile on Main Street* (1972).

No longer perceived as a threat to the dominant culture, the Stones have continued to create provocative new music, as evidenced on such albums as *Some Girls* (1978) and *Tattoo You* (1981), which included such hits as "Beast of Burden," "Shattered," and "Start Me Up." In the twenty-first century, they have released *Forty Licks* (2002), a greatest-hits album with four new tracks; *A Bigger Bang* (2005), which lyrically took on neoconservative politics in America; and *Shine a Light* (2008), the soundtrack of a concert film of the same title directed by Martin Scorsese. Recording and touring to the present day, the Rolling Stones have been one of the most enduring yet innovative rock groups of all time.

Kathryn L. Meiman

See also: [Beatles](#), [The](#); [Rock and Roll](#).

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Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In was a comedy television series that ran on the NBC network from January 1968 to May 1973. Hosted by comedians Dan Rowan and Dick Martin, *Laugh-In* consisted primarily of short, rapid-fire, often unconnected comedy sketches filled with jokes and innuendo-laden wordplay. The program frequently ventured into political satire, lampooning current events and poking fun at politicians and other establishment figures. The title *Laugh-In* alluded to the teach-ins, be-ins, and love-ins of the 1960s hippie counterculture, as well as the sit-ins of civil rights and anti-Vietnam War protestors, invoking the irreverent and antiauthoritarian attitude of these public demonstrations.

The weekly program followed a predictable format, recycling similar scenarios and characters. Rowan and Martin highlighted their two-man stand-up comedy act, with Rowan as the straight man and Martin as his clownish comic foil. Other regular actors established recurring characters, including Goldie Hawn as a stereotypically ditzzy, giggling blonde, Lily Tomlin as an irritating telephone switchboard operator, and Flip Wilson as the cross-dressing Geraldine. During breaks between sketches, the show often featured clips of bikini-clad female cast members dancing to go-go music and displaying jokes, flowers, and other decorations painted on their bodies.

Another regular feature was "*Laugh-In* Looks at the News," a parody of network news broadcasts that commented on current events, poked fun at historical events, and predicted future events and news stories. (*Laugh-In*'s news parodies owed much to the early-1960s British satire *That Was the Week That Was* and later inspired the "Weekend Update" segments on *Saturday Night Live*.) *Laugh-In* also was known for creating a number of popular catchphrases that passed into everyday parlance:

"*Look that up in your Funk'n' Wagnalls!*" (referring to the *Funk and Wagnalls* encyclopedia, as well as hinting at the perceived obscenity of the word *funk*)

"*You bet your sweet bippie!*" (another hint at obscenity, with *bippie* replacing a crude anatomical reference)

"*Sock it to me!*" (a generally meaningless phrase used mostly for emphasis, though it also could carry a vaguely sexual meaning depending on the context)

Laugh-In's status as a counterculture media phenomenon rests on its comedic, satirical, and often flippant attitudes toward authority figures and current events, a perspective that helped to make it especially popular with younger television audiences. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) files on the show were later turned up, specifically in connection with jokes made on the show about the bureau and its longtime director, J. Edgar Hoover.

Laugh-In went off the air in May 1973 after 140 episodes, but the format of the comedy-sketch variety show would appear again about two years later with the first airing of *Saturday Night Live*, which was created by Lorne Michaels, a veteran *Laugh-In* writer.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Television](#).

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Rubin, Jerry (1938–1994)

A founder of the radical theatrical political group Youth International Party, whose adherents were known as yippies, Jerry Rubin mobilized American youth of the 1960s with his outrageous rhetoric, including “Don’t trust anyone over thirty.” His infamous use of street theater and his antics as a defendant in the Chicago Seven trial following antiwar demonstrations at the Democratic National Convention in Chicago in August 1968 put him at the forefront of the counterculture revolution.

Rubin was born on July 14, 1938, in Cincinnati, Ohio. His father was a bread delivery truck driver and a member of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Rubin studied at Oberlin College and the University of Cincinnati before moving with his younger, teenaged brother, Gil, to Israel upon the deaths of their parents. Rubin enrolled as a graduate student in sociology at Hebrew University.

The year 1964 marked the beginning of counterculture radicalism for Rubin. He moved back to the United States in January and began graduate studies at the University of California, Berkeley. Six weeks later, he withdrew from his graduate program to walk a picket line against a grocery store that was not hiring African Americans. Within the next few months, he volunteered to travel illegally to Cuba, where he had the opportunity to hear President Fidel Castro speak and to interview the Argentine-born Marxist revolutionary Che Guevara. Upon Rubin’s return, the U.S. government confiscated his passport.

Having been involved in the student-led Free Speech Movement at Berkeley in 1964 and 1965, Rubin sought to harness the same energy in the movement against the U.S. war in Vietnam. In 1966, subpoenaed to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), Rubin showed up for the hearings dressed as a soldier from the American Revolution and distributed copies of the Declaration of Independence to emphasize the patriotism of the antiwar movement.

Rubin’s theatrics made headlines with increasing frequency over the course of the next several years. He was sent to prison for thirty days for spilling blood on the limousine of a U.S. Army general. Upon his release in early 1967, after moving to New York City, Rubin and fellow activist Abbie Hoffman created havoc on the floor of the New York Stock Exchange, when they scattered dollar bills from a balcony above. The crush of stockbrokers scrambling for the money brought the exchange to a halt and—in the eyes of the perpetrators, at least—perfectly illustrated the rampant greed on Wall Street.

In collaboration with Hoffman’s wife, Anita, Paul Krassner, and Nancy Kurshan, Rubin and Hoffman conceived the Youth International Party to lend a more formal, organized image to the antiwar counterculture movement. In August 1968, the group’s presence in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention diverted media attention from the political proceedings and drew the spotlight to antiwar demonstrations. The yippies’ “Festival of Life” rally resulted in physical violence between protestors and police.

Among those arrested were eight protest organizers, who went on trial for conspiracy and inciting a riot. Bobby Seale, cofounder of the Black Panther Party, was gagged under order of the judge for his inflammatory courtroom remarks and tried separately; the remaining defendants, including Rubin and Hoffman, became known as the Chicago Seven. Represented by radical attorney William Kunstler, the Chicago Seven rose to national celebrity for their courtroom antics. Five of the defendants were found guilty of related offenses, but their convictions were later overturned on appeal.

Rubin summarized his antiestablishment philosophy and advocacy of revolution in a 1970 handbook, *Do It!: Scenarios of the Revolution*. The volume became a best seller, helping perpetuate the youth counterculture in a new decade. In the Yippieland of the future, Rubin wrote, "police stations will blow up. Revolutionaries will break into jail and free all the prisoners. Clerical workers will ax their computers and put chewing gum into the machines.... Kids will lock their parents out of their suburban homes and turn them into guerrilla bases, storing arms."

Rubin was accused of selling out to the mainstream establishment in the 1980s. In a startling change of stripes, he became an unabashed businessman, entrepreneur, and investor, taking a job on Wall Street and starting innovative business ventures to encourage corporate networking.

On November 14, 1994, while jaywalking on a six-lane boulevard in Los Angeles, he was hit by an automobile and seriously injured. He died fourteen days later.

Nathan Zook

See also: [Chicago Seven](#); [Free Speech Movement](#); [Yippies](#).

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Sacco and Vanzetti Case

Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti, two Italian-born U.S. anarchists, were arrested on May 5, 1920, on suspicion of robbery and murder. The victims, shoe-factory employees Alessandro Berardelli and Frederick Parmenter, were shot dead in South Braintree, Massachusetts, on April 15 of that year while delivering the factory's payroll. Despite evidence of Sacco and Vanzetti's apparent innocence, another man's confession, and the fact that the money could be traced to neither of the accused, the two were found guilty at trial and executed on August 23, 1927. The case was one of the most controversial in American history, causing outrage among those who believed the defendants had been convicted because of their political beliefs and immigrant status.

Sacco and Vanzetti originally were taken into custody based only upon their loose association with a fellow anarchist who was suspected of having participated in a similar crime. Although both men provided heavily corroborated alibis for the South Braintree robbery and murders, and despite inconclusive ballistics evidence that may have been tampered with by the prosecution, Sacco and Vanzetti were found guilty after only five hours of jury deliberation.

Presiding Judge Webster Thayer, who admitted apparently faulty evidence and allowed for nearly abusive cross-examination by prosecutor Frederick Katzmann, was widely suspected of bias against the two men due to their radical political affiliations. Thayer's presumed bias may have been exacerbated by the flamboyant personality and indecorous courtroom manner of the defendants' lawyer, radical labor advocate Fred Moore. While Moore was able to turn Sacco and Vanzetti's case into a cause célèbre among the left, he was unable to save his clients.

At the time of Sacco and Vanzetti's arrest and conviction, America was in the grip of its first Red Scare, characterized by rampant fear of Communists and Communist activity, especially the infiltration of Communists into the U.S. government. After the Russian Revolution of 1917, many Americans feared that immigrants would foment a similar revolution in the United States. Europeans associated in any way with leftist politics or the labor movement were especially suspect. Terms such as *Bolshevik*, *Communist*, *anarchist*, and *radical* were used interchangeably in reference to anyone who appeared to pose an ideological or physical threat to the establishment.

Both Sacco and Vanzetti were active radicals who subscribed to the ideology of Italian anarchist Carlo Tresca, and counted among their compatriots a number of radicals who had been scooped up in recent raids by the federal government. One such compatriot, Andrea Salsedo, had died under suspicious circumstances while in police custody. When arrested, Sacco and Vanzetti were not informed of the crimes with which they were being charged; they merely were asked if they were anarchists—which they denied. Although the denials were made in fear for their lives, the defendants later testified, their credibility was cast in doubt with jurors. The tactics of the prosecution and bias of the judge, moreover, made it all but impossible for the defendants to overcome the stigma of their political leanings.

Sacco and Vanzetti's defense team submitted multiple motions for a new trial but was rebuffed each time, even when one Celestino Madeiros freely confessed to the crimes. Nor did a scathing exposé of the trial's shortcomings by *Atlantic Monthly* reporter and future U.S. Supreme Court Justice Felix Frankfurter sway the Massachusetts court system.

Leftists and civil libertarians throughout the United States made Sacco and Vanzetti a focus of public discourse from shortly after their arrest through their execution in 1927. Meanwhile, in response to extraordinary worldwide support, Massachusetts governor Alvan T. Fuller assembled an independent commission to review the case. Once again, the appeal to justice was denied. Sacco and Vanzetti finally were sentenced to death on April 9, 1927. On August 23, they were electrocuted amid a torrent of worldwide indignation and sympathy.

It was not until half a century later, in 1977, that Massachusetts governor Michael Dukakis signed a proclamation clearing the names of Sacco and Vanzetti, admitting the abuses of Judge Thayer and the prosecution, and naming August 23 Sacco and Vanzetti Day.

Nicole Zillmer

See also: [Anarchism](#): [Communism](#).

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Salinger, J.D. (1919–2010)

J.D. (Jerome David) Salinger is a reclusive American writer best known for his only published novel, *The Catcher*

in the Rye (1951), the story of sixteen-year-old Holden Caulfield and his experiences in New York City in the days following his expulsion from preparatory school. The cynical and complex Caulfield, who abhors everything he sees as “phony” in the adult world, has become an enduring symbol of the alienation felt by many adolescents.

Salinger was born in New York City on January 1, 1919. As a child, he lived with his father, Sol, mother, Marie, and older sister, Doris, and attended public schools in Manhattan. He entered the McBurney prep school there in 1931 but failed to advance past the tenth grade. Happy to get away from his family, he attended Valley Forge Military Academy in Wayne, Pennsylvania, and received his diploma in 1936.

Following graduation, Salinger enrolled at New York University but dropped out after completing only one semester. Briefly pursuing the same trade as his father, he worked as a meat importer in Vienna, Austria, before returning to the United States in 1938 (months before the Nazis assumed power). After attending Ursinus College in Collegetown, Pennsylvania, for a semester, he took a writing class at New York’s Columbia University with Whit Burnett, the editor of the magazine *Story*. In 1940, *Story* published Salinger’s story “The Young Folks.” Drafted into the U.S. Army in 1942, shortly after the United States entered World War II, Salinger participated in the D-day invasion of Normandy in 1944 and the Battle of the Bulge. During the course of the war, he continued publishing stories in magazines, among them *The Saturday Evening Post*, *Collier’s*, *Harper’s*, *Good Housekeeping*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *The New Yorker*, where his stories were published almost exclusively by the late 1940s. One story he wrote during the war, not published in *The New Yorker* until 1946, was titled “Slight Rebellion Off Madison.” This story’s main character was Caulfield, later the protagonist of *The Catcher in the Rye*.

Near the end of the war, after helping liberate Jews from a concentration camp, Salinger suffered a nervous breakdown. Following his recovery, he married a woman he had met while serving overseas. Their marriage lasted only a few months, however, and, in 1946, he returned to New York City. In 1952, after studying the writings of religious philosopher Sri Ramakrishna and his disciple, Swami Vivekananda, Salinger converted to Advaita Vedanta Hinduism. His second marriage, to Claire Douglas in 1955, produced two children, Margaret Ann and Matthew. The couple divorced in 1967. In the following decades, Salinger was romantically linked to the actress Elaine Joyce and the writer Joyce Maynard. Then, in the late 1980s, he met his third wife, Colleen O’Neill, a nurse. These sparse details are among the few pieces of personal information known about Salinger.

The Catcher in the Rye chronicles Holden Caulfield’s activities after he is expelled from an elite private school as he heads off seeking to understand the adult world and his role in it. He checks into a New York City hotel, gets drunk in a nightclub, has an encounter with a prostitute, and attempts to rekindle several old relationships. Each event leads to disaster and takes an increasing emotional toll on the ever-sympathetic young hero.

The book was an almost immediate commercial success despite markedly mixed reviews from critics. While many praised its effective use of satire and other forms of humor and its telling portrayal of adolescence, others criticized the work for its glorification of alcohol abuse, premarital sex, prostitution, and foul language. Despite the controversy surrounding the book, it has sold hundreds of thousands of copies, and is widely regarded as a modern American literary classic.

Following the publication of *The Catcher in the Rye*, Salinger became a virtual recluse and published only sparingly. Subsequent works include three collections of short stories—*Nine Stories* (1953), *Franny and Zooey* (1961), and *Raise High the Roof Beam, Carpenters and Seymour: An Introduction* (1963)—and a novella, *Hapworth 16, 1924* (*The New Yorker*, June 19, 1965). A number of his thirty-five published short stories feature a group of characters called the Glass family. Salinger died at his home in Cornish, New Hampshire, where he lived for more than fifty years, on January 27, 2010.

Lindsay Schmitz

See also: [*Catcher in the Rye, The*](#).

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San Francisco, California

Since the middle of the nineteenth century, when the forty-niners of the California Gold Rush descended upon the region to prospect for riches, San Francisco has been a haven for society's dreamers and outcasts. It thus has been the site of a variety of alternative cultural movements and activities, some of which have been labeled radical or extreme. As a port city, however, San Francisco also has been one of the foremost centers of commerce on the West Coast, and the necessity of establishing structures and institutions for the management of capitalist activities has existed in perpetual tension with the constant influx of new groups, ideas, and vitalities.

In the half century before the earthquake of 1906, San Francisco developed a reputation for boisterous living amid reckless entrepreneurship. It was the place where Samuel Clemens became Mark Twain (literally), after encountering an atmosphere that set him loose to be a thorn in the side of bourgeois society.

By the turn of the twentieth century, several bohemian and radical subcultures had grown up around Montgomery Block, a large office building in the city. Authors such as Ambrose Bierce, George Sterling, Jack London, and Edwin Markham traded ideas about socialism and utopianism while having a drink at Coppa's restaurant (later the site of the Transamerica Pyramid). The city also attracted practitioners of various occultisms, from astrology and palm reading to the nature mysticism of outdoorsmen such as John Muir.

The 1906 earthquake reshuffled the cultural deck in San Francisco. Rebuilding the city gave the upper hand to commercial interests, and most bohemian or radical activities were dispersed. A budding organized-labor movement was stopped in its tracks and did not reassert itself until the maritime and general strike of 1934.

It was not until the 1930s that countercultural activities within the city began to grow again, too. The Black Cat Café on Montgomery Street became a popular bohemian hangout, presaging the café culture of the 1950s Beat and 1960s hippie movements.

In the North Beach section of the city, Italian anarchists, still bitter about the murder convictions of Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti in 1927, began to nurture a wider affinity for anarchist thought among younger writers and artists. During and after World War II, the poet Kenneth Rexroth was instrumental in forming several anarchist clubs that kept this legacy alive.

The San Francisco poetry renaissance and the Beat movement of the 1950s—which established the works of poets and novelists Allen Ginsberg, Philip Whalen, Jack Kerouac, and William S. Burroughs—were built, philosophically, on the foundation of anarchist social criticism that Rexroth and radical periodicals such as *Circle* and *Ark* helped to establish. But the demographics of San Francisco also were changing dramatically. A deep Asian influence was showing itself in the arts and in the religious perspectives of the city's counterculture, and Mexican and African American migrants chipped away at the predominately white, Anglo-Saxon character of the city's population. The deportation of Japanese Americans during World War II, along with a large contingent of conscientious objectors, solidified radical sentiments in the region.

Thus, the generation that grew up after World War II found in the Bay Area a mixture of radical dissent and mystical religion. This environment was attractive to East Coast poets and writers such as Ginsberg and Kerouac, who were transformed by their San Francisco experiences, ultimately providing a bridge between the emerging Beat, or beatnik, movements on both coasts. Though the Beats were criticized in the media for their seeming “know-nothing bohemianism,” they were actually attempting to create a synthesis of Asian religious traditions (especially Zen Buddhism) with European literary traditions, an effort which was in keeping with the way San Francisco seemed to present a combination of the two cultures. Many of the Beats’ activities were not recorded in books, however, since much occurred in poetry readings at bars such as the Cellar and the Black Hawk, where the verse often was declaimed to the accompaniment of a jazz band.

In the 1960s, with the advent of the Vietnam War era, the Beat movement gradually gave way to the hippie phenomenon in San Francisco. The word *hippie* initially was a derogatory term applied to “little hipsters” by the older, more literary Beats, but it was quickly embraced by the younger runaways and artists who congregated near the area of the city where Haight and Ashbury streets intersected.

Though the hippies were often associated negatively with drugs and psychedelic experiences, the more articulate in the Haight-Ashbury scene saw themselves as primarily concerned with mind expansion and expression of their most personal selves. This impulse can be most clearly seen in the drug experiments and road trips of writer Ken Kesey and his group of Merry Pranksters, as well as in the music of the Grateful Dead and their lead guitarist, Jerry Garcia, a native San Franciscan.

A high point of the San Francisco hippie era was an antiwar rally called the Gathering of the Tribes at Golden Gate Park in January 1967, a “Human Be-In” that brought together members of the 1960s counterculture and encouraged them to “question authority” in regard to civil, women’s, and consumer rights. During the subsequent Summer of Love, young people from all over the United States came to San Francisco to camp out, make and listen to music, take drugs, and have sex.

During the transitional period between the heydays of the Beats and the hippies, the anarchist impulse in the Bay Area also was kept alive by a group that called itself the “Diggers,” taking their name from a seventeenth-century English group of agrarian communists. The San Francisco Diggers operated stores that gave out free food and communicated their ideas through an aggressive form of street theater. The radical political stance of the Diggers, soon was engulfed in more widespread Bay Area activism against the Vietnam War. For a while, Berkeley, on the other side of the San Francisco Bay, became the center of American countercultural activity.

In the 1970s, gay pride activists in the Castro district and other neighborhoods south of Market Street in San Francisco turned the city once again into a symbol of dissent and a haven for alternative lifestyles. Yet it is possible to see their political activities as part of a larger cultural trend, centered in San Francisco, to celebrate diversity, multiculturalism, and a militant ecological ethos—a trend that continued throughout the 1980s, 1990s, and into the 2000s, despite a fervent conservative backlash.

Michael Van Dyke

See also: [Anarchism](#): [Beat Generation](#): [Be-Ins](#): [City Lights Books](#): [Ginsberg, Allen](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Haight-Ashbury, San Francisco](#): [Hippies](#): [Kerouac, Jack](#): [Kesey, Ken](#): [Merry Pranksters](#): [Rexroth, Kenneth](#).

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Sanger, Margaret (1879–1966)

Social activist, author, and nurse Margaret Sanger is known for her pioneering work to help women in America gain access to birth control, a term she coined. She was the founder of the National Birth Control League (1914), the American Birth Control League (1921), and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau (1923), the first legal birth control clinic run by doctors in the United States. The American Birth Control League and the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau merged in 1942 to become Planned Parenthood Federation of America, based in New York City, which, by the early 2000s, had more than 800 health centers nationwide. Sanger later (1953) served as the founding member of the International Planned Parenthood Federation. She was the author of *What Every Girl Should Know* (1916), *What Every Mother Should Know* (1916), *Family Limitation* (1916), *Woman and the New Race* (1920), *The Pivot of Civilization* (1922), *Happiness in Marriage* (1926), *My Fight for Birth Control* (1931), and *Margaret Sanger: An Autobiography* (1938). She also founded the newspapers *The Woman Rebel*, *Birth Control Review*, and *Birth Control News*.



Margaret Sanger coined the term birth control and pioneered the movement. She faced criminal charges for distributing literature on the subject through the U.S. mail and for opening the nation's first family-planning clinic in 1916. (Library of Congress)

Born Margaret Louise Higgins on September 14, 1879, in Corning, New York, she was the sixth of eleven children. Margaret attended Claverack College, the Hudson Institute, and the nursing program at White Plains Hospital. In 1902, she married architect William Sanger. Together, they had three children and, upon moving to New York City, became part of the prewar radical bohemian culture, identifying with socialist and early labor movements, including labor strikes led by the Industrial Workers of the World; the couple separated in 1914.

Margaret Sanger came to her activism for birth control due to her observations working as a nurse, her mother's early death from tuberculosis (which Sanger believed was due to eighteen pregnancies and eleven live births), and her work with social causes among New York City's working class. According to biographer Esther Katz, she came to believe that "family limitation [was] as a tool by which working-class women would liberate themselves from the economic burden of unwanted pregnancy."

Legally prosecuted for her public speaking, for mailing and distributing contraceptives and birth control information (illegal under the federal Comstock Law of 1873, which classified all contraceptive pamphlets as pornographic and forbade their distribution through the mail), and for opening the nation's first birth control clinic (in Brooklyn, New York, in 1916), Sanger was jailed several times and on other occasions fled the country. Her efforts, and the public support of her work, eventually led to changes in the legal system regarding the ways birth control information and contraceptive devices could be distributed, and allowing physicians the right to prescribe birth control for medical reasons.

Throughout her adult life, Sanger fought for cheaper, easier-to-use, more accessible means of contraception, at times smuggling devices from Europe. Her efforts ultimately led to funding for the development of the birth control pill in the mid-1950s and approval by the U.S. Food and Drug Administration in 1960. Sanger died in Tucson, Arizona, on September 6, 1966.

See also: [Birth Control Pill: Bohemianism.](#)

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Santería

Santería, also known as Lukumi, is a syncretistic or “creolized” folk religion that developed among African slaves in Cuba. Santería is derived from the traditional Yoruba culture of West Africa, from which a large proportion of Cuban slaves had been captured. Lukumi, which can be translated from the Yoruba language as “friends,” is still practiced in West Africa; the term is also used to identify adherents of Yoruba beliefs who have been dispersed around the world due to slave trading and later migrations. In recent times, some practitioners of Santería have attempted to reunite the faith with seminal Lukumi beliefs of Africa, in an attempt to decrease the effects of slavery and colonialism.

During the slavery era, Cuban authorities outlawed the practice of Lukumi and compelled the slaves to convert to Christianity. Adherents of Lukumi responded by claiming that their revered spiritual leaders, the Orishas, were in fact Catholic saints—a subterfuge that allowed them to secretly worship the Orishas while carrying out the required Christian rituals. The term *Santería* was used derisively by the Spanish to describe this practice and to criticize Lukumi’s over-devotion to “saints” rather than to a single deity.

The original practitioners of Lukumi in Cuba, like slave owners, were scattered throughout the island. This led to an ongoing fragmentation and dilution of beliefs until the early eighteenth century, when Cuban authorities allowed slaves to intermingle in societies called *cabildos*. The slaves had the opportunity to reconstitute their belief systems, which came back together as Santería, essentially an evolved version of Lukumi with New World influences.

After the abolition of slavery, Santería spread beyond Cuba to other areas of the Americas with large Afro-Latin populations. Adherents were found in the United States, Canada, Mexico, several nations in South America, and many Caribbean islands. A similar religion, called Cadomble, is widely practiced in Brazil, and a number of similarities also can be found with Haitian Vodun (Voodoo), the historical development of which was comparable to that of Santería.

The core beliefs of Santería are directly descended from the Lukumi faith. A supreme deity known as Olorun or Olodumare is believed to be the creator of the universe and the immediate authority figure over the Orishas. Religious rituals include animal sacrifice and sung invocations. An initiated priest may enter a trance state brought on by music and dance, during which the priest channels an Orisha, communicates with spirits, and performs healing.

Santería does not stipulate judgments of good and evil or right and wrong; instead, it professes that all things,

people, and events are mixtures of both and must be judged in context. Most of the rituals are dedicated to respecting and communicating with one's ancestors. The belief system places great responsibility on the individual practitioner for developing good character. Santería is practiced in secret and the rituals are kept off limits to nonadherents.

There are several large American churches, particularly in the South, in which Santería is practiced in the present day. Of particular note is the Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye in Hialeah, Florida, whose animal sacrifices were outlawed by the city in the late 1980s. The church won back the right to follow such practices in a landmark 1993 ruling by the U.S. Supreme Court (*Church of Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah*), in which the justices unanimously recognized Santería as a legitimate, organized, legally protected religion. While not legalizing animal sacrifice per se, it declared the Hialeah ordinance unconstitutional for targeting the practices of a particular religious group.

Other important Santería churches in the American South include South Carolina's African Theological Archministry and Florida's Church of Seven African Powers. There is also a noteworthy Santería community in New York City, where shrines and totems are highly visible in the homes and businesses of practitioners. All told, an estimated 5 million or more people in America observe Santería/Lukumi.

Benjamin W. Cramer

See also: [Voodoo, Hoodoo, and Conjure](#).

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Saxton, Alexander P. (1919–)

A professor emeritus of history at the University of California, Los Angeles, Alexander P. Saxton spent his early years as a radical novelist and member of the American Communist Party. His novels, though constituting only one aspect of his life's work and personal history, nonetheless occupy an important place in the genre of radical literature.

Alexander Plaisted Saxton was born on July 16, 1919, into a middle-class family in Great Barrington, Massachusetts. As a college student at the University of Chicago, he joined the Communist Party in about 1940. Intensely interested in issues of socioeconomic class and labor, Saxton's firsthand observances during the Great Depression added to his desire to join the party. Saxton served in the U.S. Merchant Marine during World War II

and, upon his return, settled in California.

His first book, *Grand Crossing* (1943), was favorably received, and he immediately began work on a second, *The Great Midland*, which was published in 1948. *The Great Midland* is the story of American Communist Party activists and their attempts to unionize and promote better working conditions on the Great Midland Railroad. Saxton himself admitted that the novel was an attempt to portray the party and its participants in a favorable light. Many of the characters are based on comrades who Saxton encountered in the course of his own activities, lending a vital authenticity to the novel. Published after the conclusion of World War II, at a time when anti-Communist sentiments were running high in the United States, *The Great Midland* was shunned by reviewers, booksellers, and even the publisher. When the novel did not do well financially, Saxton began working as a carpenter to support himself, continuing to write novels and stories on the side.

Because of his membership in the Communist Party, Saxton was called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), the special congressional committee formed in 1938 to investigate communist and other extremist political organizations in the United States, in 1951. When questioned about his politics and comrades, Saxton revealed nothing and claimed protection under the Fifth Amendment right to avoid self-incrimination. While the committee did not charge Saxton with any crime, the fallout from his refusal to testify was severe. His third novel, *Bright Web in Darkness*, was not published until 1958.

It was around this time that Saxton resigned his membership in the Communist Party, primarily because it no longer seemed effective in meeting its goals. Earning his master's and Ph.D. degrees in history from the University of California, Berkeley, in 1962 and 1967, respectively, Saxton began his career as a history professor. In 1976, he joined the faculty of the University of California, Los Angeles, where he remained more than forty years later.

Although he discontinued writing the radical novels for which he first became known, Saxton's legacy in that genre has endured. *The Great Midland* remains a compelling examination of race, class, and gender exploitation in America during the first half of the twentieth century. His involvement in the Communist Party informed his work with a firsthand understanding of the state of radical politics in America, and his insights into racial consciousness and the immigrant working experience were reflected in fictional characters who worked side by side to promote radical politics, better working conditions, and racial and ethnic equality at a time when these values were widely sought but feared by mainstream American society.

Lisa A. Kirby

See also: [Communism](#).

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Schools, Alternative and Experimental

Alternative education typically refers to any and all options outside the mainstream educational system. Alternative

schooling can be designed around a particular educational or life philosophy or a unique approach to curriculum, or to meet the needs of a specific population, or some combination of these. Historically, the alternatives have been offered in private school settings or outside of school entirely, as in homeschooling.

Many alternatives to mainstream schooling were introduced or revived during the 1960s and 1970s, often organized around principles of self-determination and lack of central authority. These were principles that appealed to the counterculture community of the time, which criticized conventional education for contributing to the problems of American society. In the 1970s and 1980s, critics also began to examine the reverse process—that is, how the problems of mainstream society were affecting the school system. Today, some of these alternatives are offered via the educational establishment in the form of charter schools.

Many of the alternative schooling experiments in the United States have been inspired by the work of Progressive Era educators and philosophers such as John Dewey. Dewey's writings from the early twentieth century, including *The Child and the Curriculum* (1902) and *Democracy and Education* (1916), promoted the ideal of the school as a vital component in maintaining a vibrant democracy. As such, Dewey argued, school ought to encourage self-motivation and problem-solving skills. Rather than having the teacher or administration be the locus of control, Dewey believed the focus ought to be on the learner. He also believed that school should provide an environment in which children could mature into socially responsible citizens.

While Dewey was promoting progressive education in the United States, A.S. Neill was exploring similar ideals in Europe. In 1921, he founded an alternative, coeducational boarding school in England called Summerhill, where students were not required to attend classes and everyone, staff and students alike, had one vote at weekly administrative meetings. Because the students were allowed to choose what they would do or not do, whether to study or not study, Neill called the experiment a "free" school. Summerhill did not receive much public support and had only about twenty-five students by the late 1950s. Then, in 1960, Neill published a book about the school, *Summerhill*, which was an instant sensation in the United States. Not only did the Summerhill school survive, but it inspired many other such schools around the world.

Among the philosophical descendants of Summerhill is Sudbury Valley School in Framingham, Massachusetts, founded in 1968 along the philosophical lines promoted by Dewey and Neill. Sudbury is a day school, where students can choose what they want to learn and how they want to learn it. The school also has a weekly meeting at which each student and each staff member has one vote.

Another form of alternative education, emphasizing early learning, is based on the theories of the Italian physician and educator Maria Montessori. In 1907, Montessori opened a day-care center in a poor area of Rome, where she adapted the objects and materials she had used with disabled children for use with preschoolers. With the classroom arranged as a collection of activity centers designed to engage the interest and challenge the abilities of the children, young pupils were then free to move about the room at will and choose their own activities. The interior and exterior environments of the school were designed on a child-sized scale.

Montessori's methods enjoyed widespread popularity in the United States in the early 1900s, lost popularity in the 1930s and 1940s, and enjoyed a revival in the late 1950s. Today, there are approximately 4,000 Montessori schools in the United States, some of which are charter schools.

Another notable innovator in modern education was Rudolf Steiner, founder of the Waldorf School in Stuttgart, Germany, in 1919. The school was based on Steiner's spiritual-scientific theory of the developmental stages of childhood in roughly seven-year increments, with the curriculum designed accordingly. One unique feature of the Waldorf method was the teaching of eurythmy, a kind of language through movement. Introduced to the United States in 1928, Waldorf education did not catch on quickly. By 1965, the United States still had only eight Waldorf schools. Most of the more than 150 Waldorf schools in the United States today have been formed since 1980. Some of these are charter schools.

An increasing number of American parents choose to educate their children at home. They may have

philosophical or religious differences with the way schools are run, they may not live near or be able to afford alternative schools that share their views, or they may be opposed to public schooling altogether. Homeschooling was the norm in America through the nineteenth century, until compulsory education laws and the expansion of formal public schooling in the early part of the twentieth century made it all but obsolete.

In the 1960s, however, many critics of the public school system began reconsidering the homeschool option. Some were influenced by the writings of educator John Holt, including *How Children Fail* (1964) and *How Children Learn* (1967). Although these works were critical of public education, Holt did not specifically advocate homeschooling in them. Other thinkers of the time did, including Ivan Illich in his book *Deschooling Society* (1971) and Hal Zina Bennett in *No More Public School* (1972). By 1976, Holt had joined the cry for alternatives to compulsory education, and in 1977 he began publishing a magazine for homeschooling families called *Growing Without Schooling*.

In the early 1980s, more and more parents decided to school their children at home. Between 1982 and 1993, thirty-four states passed laws allowing parents to legally teach their children at home. By 1998, all fifty states had passed such laws.

Diana Stirling

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Science Fiction

Science fiction (or *sci-fi*) is a broad term applied to a cluster of related yet heterogeneous subgenres of contemporary popular literature spanning virtually every medium, including novels, short fiction, film, television, comics, and games. Although precise genre definitions remain subject to vociferous debate by both writers and readers, science fiction generally speculates about scientific, technological, and ethical issues, including those related to space travel, extraterrestrial contact, robotics and artificial intelligence, telepathy and other psionic (paranormal psychic) abilities, cloning, time travel, nanotechnology, alternate history, and the general and specific effects of technological change (negative or positive) on individuals and on the human condition. Robert A. Heinlein, widely considered the dean of modern science fiction, described the genre as “realistic speculation about possible future events, based solidly on adequate knowledge of the real world, past and present, and on a thorough understanding of the nature and significance of the scientific method.”

Golden Age and Beyond

Early science fiction was characterized by turgid and inelegant prose stylings, and lurid illustrations depicting bug-eyed alien monsters menacing scantily-clad Earth women. Although it took many decades before any serious cultural respectability would accrue to the field, it nevertheless gathered much of its enduring power as an American pop-culture touchstone and countercultural force during the first half of the twentieth century.

This is largely attributable to that era's relentless, headlong march of science, technology, and industry, all of which drove the sales of innumerable pulp sci-fi periodicals from the 1920s through the post-World War II years, with *Amazing Stories* (established in 1926 and published intermittently until 2005) and *Astounding Science Fiction* (now *Analog Science Fiction and Fact*, 1930–), and later *The Magazine of Fantasy & Science Fiction* (1949–) and *Galaxy Science Fiction* (1950–1980), at the forefront. The genre spread throughout American culture, owing largely to a profusion of sci-fi comics, radio shows, feature films, and movie serials.

Prose science fiction's first great period of creative fecundity, broadly described as the Golden Age, arrived in 1937 with John W. Campbell's assumption of the editorship of *Astounding* and arguably lasted through the 1950s. Campbell nurtured some of the genre's most influential writers, including Heinlein, many of whose works comprise one of the field's first and greatest "future history" timelines (much of it available today in a volume titled *The Past Through Tomorrow*, published in 1967).

As the launch of the first space satellite, the Soviet Union's Sputnik, in 1957, catalyzed an acceleration of technological progress that would take the United States to no less a science-fictional destination than the Moon by 1969, interest in sci-fi among America's youth hit its high-water mark. This was the era of Heinlein's "juveniles," short, youth-oriented adventure novels marked as much by their inculcation of math and science (*Rocket Ship Galileo*, 1947; *Red Planet*, 1949; and *Have Space Suit, Will Travel*, 1958) as by their libertarian notions of self-reliance and individual rights (*Starship Troopers*, 1959).

In addition to Heinlein, Campbell mentored a cadre of younger up-and-coming sci-fi stylists known collectively as the "Futurians," a group that included genre luminaries such as Poul Anderson, Isaac Asimov, James Blish, Damon Knight, Judith Merril, Frederik Pohl, and Donald A. Wollheim. Campbell pushed his writers to achieve a significantly higher level of characterization and literary quality than the customary pulp-era norm, and he emphasized the use of plausible science, believable aliens, and the primacy of humanity in most human-alien conflicts. Although his influence unquestionably challenged sci-fi to transcend its adolescent roots, Campbell's belief in Earth's "cosmic manifest destiny" might have betrayed the editor's parochial racial attitudes, whether conscious or unconscious, or this belief simply may have revealed him to be a product of his time.

Other seminal authors in sci-fi's putative Golden Age included Arthur C. Clarke, most famous for writing the novel and coauthoring the screenplay for the Stanley Kubrick film *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968), as well as for conceptualizing the modern telecommunications satellite; A.E. Van Vogt, whose feared-and-hated superhuman mutants portrayed in *Slan* (1940) provided the template for generations of fictional alienated superhumans; Jack Williamson, perhaps best remembered for his Humanoids, Legion of Space, and Legion of Time series; and L. Ron Hubbard, renowned not only for his best-selling *Battlefield: Earth* series of alien-invasion novels (which debuted in 1982), but also for founding the controversial organization known as the Church of Scientology.

Williamson scorned Scientology as "a lunatic revision of Freudian psychology," and Campbell's preoccupation with Hubbard's new belief system prompted author Alfred Bester to stop writing for *Astounding* in favor of the other pulps of the period. Whatever its merits (or lack of same), Scientology, as laid out in Hubbard's best-selling *Dianetics* (1950), proved greatly influential over Campbell, whose *Astounding* published one of Hubbard's earliest articles explicating the subject. More than two decades after his death, Hubbard maintains the distinction of being the only sci-fi writer to have created something that, arguably, amounts to a world religion.

Film and Television

The increased sophistication of the genre began creeping slowly into film and even invaded the new medium of television. Sci-fi used the visual media as an allegorical mirror for society's concerns rather than to serve up thoroughgoing escapism. Robert Wise's *The Day the Earth Stood Still* (1951) made trenchant observations about the tragic human predilection for aggression and self-destruction. George Pal's *When Worlds Collide* (1951) allowed a cosmic, Earth-destroying disaster to stand in for America's growing anxieties about nuclear annihilation. Pal's 1953 adaptation of the seminal 1898 H.G. Wells novel, *The War of the Worlds*, provided cathartic escape

from the era's seemingly omnipresent Red Menace (via a metaphorical Martian invasion), as did Don Siegel's much-imitated *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* (1956), in which pernicious humanlike alien doppelgängers represented either lurking Communists or authoritarian red-baiters of the Joseph McCarthy era.

Films such as Bruno VeSota's *The Brain Eaters* (a 1958 adaptation of Heinlein's 1951 novel of humans covertly enslaved by aliens, *The Puppet Masters*), the amusingly dreadful *Plan 9 From Outer Space* (1956) from Edward D. Wood, Jr., and *I Married a Monster from Outer Space* (1958) from Gene Fowler, Jr., all demonstrated the prevalence in the 1950s of a fear of American society being quietly subverted from within. Other general anxieties of the Atomic Age were worked out in the national pop-cultural psyche in films such as Gordon Douglas's *Them!* (1954), which depicted desert nuclear weapons tests that spawned terrifyingly destructive giant ants.

Despite its often dismal track record with sci-fi in terms of both seriousness and quality, television allowed the science-fictional literary zeitgeist to penetrate even further into the American consciousness with the advent of such generally well-crafted, anthology-format series as Rod Serling's *The Twilight Zone* (1959–1964) and *The Outer Limits* (1963–1965), both of which frequently employed significant genre writers such as Jerome Bixby, Harlan Ellison, Damon Knight, Richard Matheson, and Norman Spinrad.

September 8, 1966, marked the premiere of *Star Trek*, the brainchild of writer-producer Gene Roddenberry. Likewise retaining the services of a number of influential genre writers, including Bixby, Ellison, Theodore Sturgeon, and Robert Bloch, the series served up an optimistic and ecumenical future despite the manifold social upheavals of the day. Although low ratings killed the original *Star Trek* after three seasons, persistent fan interest resurrected the show, both as a Saturday morning animated series (1973–1974) and as a film franchise (1979–2008), ultimately leading to four more live-action television series.

Maturation and Modernity

Unsurprisingly, prose sci-fi advanced far ahead of both film and television sci-fi as the 1960s ushered in the genre's New Wave movement, named after the work of such innovative French filmmakers as Jean-Luc Godard and François Truffaut. During this period of intense creative ferment, the 1950s Beat writers and mainstream modernist and surrealist fiction such as that of William S. Burroughs also were extraordinarily influential on American writer Philip K. Dick, probably best remembered for the existentially tortured androids ("replicants") and android hunters of his 1968 novel *Do Androids Dream of Electric Sheep?* (the basis for Ridley Scott's stylish, dystopian 1982 film *Blade Runner*). Dick created a body of fiction infused with paranoia over the unreliability of memory, personal identity, and even reality itself, as in *Flow My Tears, the Policeman Said* (1974), *A Scanner Darkly* (1977), and *We Can Remember It for You Wholesale* (1966).

African American sci-fi writer Samuel R. Delany explored themes relating to social mobility, employed the "soft sciences" of linguistics and sociology, and weaved both mythology and alternative sexuality into works such as *Nova* (1968), *Dhalgren* (1975), and *Stars in My Pocket Like Grains of Sand* (1984). Groundbreaking feminist authors such as Ursula K. Le Guin, Joanna Russ, and James Tiptree, Jr. (also known as Alice B. Sheldon), gained unprecedented prominence by further opening up the genre to themes impelled by the social sciences, straying from sci-fi's more traditional stomping ground of physics, astronomy, and chemistry. Le Guin's *The Left Hand of Darkness* (1969) and *The Dispossessed* (1974) explore, respectively, the issues of gender identity and communal living versus individual rights. Russ's *The Female Man* (1975) offers a satirical feminist perspective on gender issues. And Tiptree routinely fuses sophisticated New Wave prose stylings, feminist, and "soft" (or sociological) science-fiction themes with the rivets-and-rockets tech more commonly associated with earlier epochs of "hard" science fiction (as in "Houston, Houston, Do You Read?" 1976).

New Wave sensibilities unleashed a veritable torrent of sci-fi creativity, with authors such as Spinrad, J.G. Ballard, John Brunner, Philip José Farmer, Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., and Roger Zelazny examining religion, mythology, politics, and sex to an unprecedented degree. Even the conservative Heinlein loosened up with *Stranger in a Strange Land* (1961), the saga of a man raised from childhood by Martians who becomes a religious icon upon his return to Earth. Reading and "grokking" (Martian for "understanding") *Stranger in a Strange Land* became an almost

mandatory rite of passage in the 1960s hippie counterculture.

Meanwhile, space opera collided with both ecological concerns and messianic religion with the publication of Frank Herbert's *Dune* (1965). This novel spawned an enduring series set on the harsh but resource-rich desert planet Arrakis.

Traditional hard science fiction received a new breath of life from the cutting-edge science literacy and storytelling skills of Anderson and Larry Niven. The former may be remembered best for his Time Patrol series and numerous stories and essays advocating human space exploration as a survival necessity. The latter is renowned for committing wild but scientifically plausible speculations in such novels as *Ringworld* (1970), a tale set on an artificially constructed, solar-system-sized torus built around a star, and *The Integral Trees* (1984), in which humans live weightlessly in forests suspended in a planetless bubble of atmosphere in orbit around a star. Niven also has distinguished himself by applying the rationality of hard sci-fi to the fantasy milieu, effectively transforming sorcery into an alternate form of science in *The Magic Goes Away* (1978) and its sequels.

In film, Kubrick's *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) set new standards for style, production values, and scientific rigor (for the first time in cinematic history, spaceships made no sound in the vacuum of space). Like the best of the era's print science fiction, Kubrick's other sci-fi-tinged works covered important sociological ground; *Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb* (1964) commented on the absurdity of the cold war nuclear doctrine of Mutually Assured Destruction, while 1971's *A Clockwork Orange* (based on a 1962 novel by Anthony Burgess) presented a convincingly wrought future British dystopia in which street gangs and an authoritarian government vie for supremacy.

Whatever later blockbuster movies such as George Lucas's *Star Wars* (1977) and its sequels and prequels may have lacked in sophistication compared to the earlier groundbreaking sci-fi films mentioned above, they compensated for with a sense of adventurous fun that evoked the movie serials of the 1930s. The *Star Wars* franchise garnered enormous audiences, whetting the appetites of millions for more similar sci-fi film fare while spreading sci-fi tropes farther into the mainstream culture, sometimes arguably to the detriment of "real" science fiction. James Cameron's 2009 blockbuster *Avatar* (2009), screened in lush 3-D stereoscope and featuring cutting-edge computer graphics seamlessly merged with live action, lacked nothing in sophistication or audience appeal. It quickly became the top-grossing film of all time.

The Modern Era

By the 1980s, the term *science fiction* had come to encompass such a broad array of styles, subgenres, and subject matter as to nearly defy definition entirely. The fin-de-siècle anarchism of the cyberpunk subgenre, inaugurated by William Gibson's 1984 novel *Neuromancer* and continued in the works of Rudy Rucker and others, influenced the explosive real-world growth of modern Internet culture while building upon the alienation themes of earlier authors such as Bester and Dick. A related variant subgenre known as "steampunk," practiced by Gibson, Bruce Sterling, Neal Stephenson, and others, transposes cyberpunk's "rebel hacker" sensibilities onto other times and technologies, most notably the Victorian Era, thereby making Wells and Jules Verne in vogue.

Science fiction, its tropes, and its current real-world offspring (rockets, robots, computers, cell phones, etc.) now so suffuses mainstream culture that divisions within the genre are more artifacts of publishers' marketing departments than the natural creations of authors. The fact that much of the output of contemporary mainstream novelists such as Jonathan Lethem or Thomas Pynchon is considered by many to be sci-fi of the modern or postmodern stripe (Lethem's *Gun, with Occasional Music*, 1994, and Pynchon's *Gravity's Rainbow*, 1973, stand out as conspicuous examples) seems to have freed such works from their customary confinement to the sci-fi ghetto—or at least from booksellers' science-fiction sections.

What Dreams May Come

Whatever meaning the increasing trend toward cross-genre promiscuity might hold for science fiction's future, or

for its artistic purity, remains open to debate. But despite the trumpeting of impending doom so often heard among both writers and fans, whether because of allegedly declining American literacy levels or the perceived threat to “serious” science fiction posed by the proliferation of media tie-in novels (e.g., *Star Trek* and *Star Wars* “franchise fiction”), a diverse and lively core of hard science fiction—defined loosely as literature in which the absence of a story’s scientific content would cause the entire narrative to collapse—persists in reaching a robust American audience.

Science fiction partisans can draw hope from the fact that the number of sci-fi and fantasy titles published annually continues to rise, even if sci-fi unit sales do not. And while the audience for sci-fi magazines, once the genre’s very lifeblood, continues its decades-long decline, occasional smash successes such as J.K. Rowling’s Harry Potter novels suggest that the steadily graying readership of fantastic literature may replenish itself as youthful, new readers seek more challenging fare. Hope may yet remain of rejuvenating science fiction’s aging fandom, and of keeping both entropy and dystopia at bay for yet another generation.

Michael A. Martin

See also: [Cyberpunk](#): [Pulp Fiction](#): [Pynchon, Thomas](#): [Trekkies](#): [UFOs](#): [Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr.](#)

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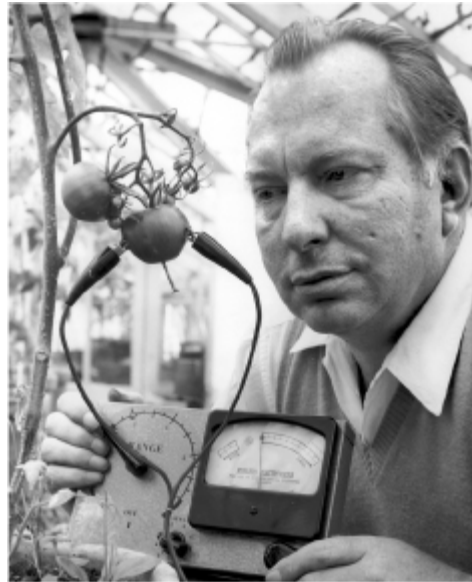
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Scientology

Conceived by American science fiction author L. Ron Hubbard in the early 1950s as an extension of his self-help system, Dianetics, Scientology is a nonmainstream religion whose adherents claim to help people achieve full awareness of their spiritual existence and, in the process, become more effective in the contemporary world. A

controversial presence in American popular and religious culture, Scientology finds its institutional identity in the beliefs and practices of the Church of Scientology (founded in 1953), essentially a network of affiliated organizations that claim sole authority to disseminate beliefs and principles and to monitor religious practice. Characterized by Hubbard as an “applied religious philosophy,” Scientology is, according to the church, “the study and handling of the spirit in relationship to itself, others and all of life.” Based on the principle that “Man is an immortal, spiritual being” whose “experience extends well beyond a single lifetime” and whose “capabilities are unlimited,” the goal of Scientology is to achieve certain knowledge of one’s spiritual existence and thereby attain “higher states of awareness and ability.”



Scientology, an “applied religious philosophy,” was founded in the early 1950s by former pulp and science fiction writer L. Ron Hubbard. He is seen here in 1968 using his Hubbard Electrometer (or E-meter) to determine if tomatoes feel pain. (Evening Standard/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Church teachings, referred to as “Tech” or “Technology,” thus suggest that adherents can be relieved of their everyday miseries and become more successful in business and other areas of life. This can be accomplished by disposing of the “bank” of traumatic memories known as “engrams” said to inhibit one’s success. Through the process of “auditing,” one can reach the state of “Clear” and, following that, the even higher level of “Operating Thetan.” (Thetan is the immortal spirit, the source of life, and individual identity, akin to what other religions refer to as soul.) Each successive state represents the recovery of native spiritual abilities and confers dramatic mental and physical benefits as well.

Led by a trained Scientology counselor, each step in the process of auditing is a personal instruction session. The eventual goal is to return the human soul to its native condition of spiritual freedom, gaining direct control over matter, energy, time, and space. Many members claim that the practices of Scientology have left them with an improved intelligence quotient, a greater ability to articulate their needs, and enhanced memory. Others credit the religion with alleviating dyslexia and attention deficit problems, as well as a host of other problems. Many other members have abandoned the religion entirely.

Among Scientology’s most controversial positions is its opposition to conventional psychiatry and psychotherapy, both of which are regarded as abusive. At the same time, Scientology owes a debt to the psychological theories of Sigmund Freud and Carl Jung, while also drawing upon Buddhism, Hinduism, and the heretical form of Christianity known as Gnosticism.

This mix of doctrines and attendant practices has led many former members and outside observers to charge the

Church of Scientology with being little more than a commercial enterprise that has perverted religion, exploited its own members, and harassed defectors. Now practiced around the world, Scientology is regarded by some governments as a legitimate religious movement fully entitled to legal protections, and by others as a pseudoreligion, a dangerous cult, or, at best, a fraudulent and exploitative corporation.

Contemporary critics and some former members believe that Scientology is not a church at all, but an enormous and well-organized cult that fleeces the gullible and the vulnerable by enslaving them in an army of followers who live under a form of mind control. One means by which the group recruits new members, they maintain, is to showcase the lives and beliefs of members who happen to be Hollywood celebrities. Actors Tom Cruise, Kirstie Alley, John Travolta, and others have become fixtures in Scientology campaigns to solicit new members. Celebrity Scientologists not only help identify and locate potential new members, but they also publicly endorse the teachings of Hubbard and provide Scientology greater legitimacy in mainstream America.

The Church of Scientology claims anywhere from 7 to 15 million members worldwide—estimates that some observers regard as greatly exaggerated. Scientology organizations and missions have been established in dozens of countries, with the “worldwide spiritual headquarters” located in Clearwater, Florida, and the highest concentration of U.S. adherents and church activities in Los Angeles.

Although there is no single, formal scripture associated with the religion, its principles and practices are laid out in a number of books by, or based on the writings of, L. Ron Hubbard, beginning with *Dianetics* (1950) and including *Science of Survival* (1951), *Dianetics 55!* (1954), *Scientology: The Fundamentals of Thought* (1956), *Have You Lived Before This Life?* (1960), *Scientology: A New Slant on Life* (1965), *Dianetics Today* (1975), *The Way to Happiness* (1981), *The Future of Scientology and Western Civilization* (1985), and *The Scientology Handbook* (1994), among others.

Bart Dredge

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Seattle, Washington

As the major population center of the Pacific Northwest region of the United States, the city of Seattle, Washington, has long provided a home for a diversity of thriving countercultures. At the same time, its general isolation from other American urban centers and its status as a so-called secondary city has meant that countercultural activity in Seattle developed along its own unique lines and beyond the media focus received by the counterculture in larger cities, such as New York and Los Angeles.

Given the city's status as a Pacific port and hub for resource industries, the earliest countercultures in Seattle had a strong working-class character. In the early decades of the twentieth century, Seattle was an important

organizing base for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), a revolutionary union that made innovative use of music, poetry, and public performance to develop a working-class counterculture in opposition to the exploitative economic culture of capitalism.

The Seattle General Strike of 1919 stands as the first citywide labor shutdown in American history. The strike began with demands by shipyard workers for increased wages and spread, through sympathy strikes, to calls for social revolution. It ended with raids on IWW social centers, union halls that served as schools, meeting spaces, and hubs of working-class culture.

During the 1960s and 1970s, Seattle was home to numerous local countercultures, echoing the development of countercultures nationally during that period. The epicenter for countercultural activity was the so-called Hippie Hill area, a piece of land on the edge of the University of Washington campus. Hippie Hill quickly became a popular counterculture destination, rivaled on the West Coast only by San Francisco's Haight-Ashbury district. Other important counterculture spaces during this period included El Centro de La Raza, a formerly abandoned school that was occupied and turned into a community center and base for Chicano organizing.

Seattle countercultures came to national prominence during the late 1980s and early 1990s with the emergence of grunge rock, also called the "Seattle sound." Locally based bands such as Nirvana, Mother Love Bone, Screaming Trees, Soundgarden, Green River, and Tad provided a creative mix of heavy metal, punk, and psychedelic rock in an era of synthesizer pop and light rock. Influenced by the earlier hippie and punk movements, grunge bands also espoused counterculture values of collaboration, independence from the mainstream music industry, and do-it-yourself recording, production, and promotion.

Seattle gained a central place in the history of early-twenty-first-century global countercultures with the tumultuous protests against the Ministerial Conference of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in November 1999. Plans by the WTO to launch a new round of trade negotiations were halted for the first time ever when demonstrators, numbering at least 50,000, blockaded streets outside the Seattle convention center and delegates' hotels and took direct action against symbols of corporate globalization. The Battle of Seattle, as it came to be known, marked the emergence into broad public consciousness of new countercultures, ones with global connections and organizing capacities, especially through the Internet and a willingness to engage in militant activities against police, corporations, and government officials.

The Battle of Seattle also stirred an old and seemingly vanquished countercultural specter, that of anarchism. Striking media coverage of angry, black-clad, balaclava-wearing youth demonstrating outside the global meetings of government and corporate power holders stirred memories of the moral panic over anarchism that marked the beginning of the twentieth century.

The so-called uncivil disobedience, especially where it concerned damage to corporate property, was attributed to "black bloc" anarchists at the 1999 WTO meetings. It returned anarchists to the headlines and landed them on the covers of *Time* and *Newsweek* in addition to a feature story on television's *Sixty Minutes II*. As well, police assaults on anarchists in Seattle, using pepper spray, tear gas, rubber bullets, and mass arrests, suggested to the general public that anarchists were something to be feared.

Jeff Shantz

See also: [Grunge Rock: Industrial Workers of the World](#).

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Seeger, Pete (1919–)

Singer, songwriter, banjo player, and music collector Pete Seeger served as a role model for many folk musicians who became prominent in the late 1950s and early 1960s, and he is a vital force in the revival of the folk music tradition in America. In the course of his long musical career, Seeger also has become known as a labor activist, outspoken advocate of peace, and ardent environmentalist.

Born on May 3, 1919, in New York City to Juilliard School of Music professors Charles and Constance Seeger, Seeger was surrounded by music from the beginning. When he was sixteen, he and his father attended a square dance festival in Asheville, North Carolina, where Pete first heard the five-string banjo. He fell in love with its sound and the folk-oriented music he heard at the festival. The five-string banjo became his instrument of choice, and folk music became his devotion.

Seeger enrolled at Harvard University in 1936 to study journalism and sociology, but left in the middle of his sophomore year to pursue his growing interest in folk music. He traveled extensively, selling original watercolors to help support himself, playing wherever he could and learning all he could about the genre.

During parts of 1939 and 1940, he worked at the Archive of American Folk Song in the Library of Congress as an assistant to folklorist John Lomax and served as a field assistant to Lomax and his son Alan, traveling around the country to record traditional folk music. On March 3, 1940, Alan Lomax introduced Seeger to legendary folk artist Woody Guthrie at a migrant-worker benefit concert in New York City. The two became fast friends and later that year formed the Almanac Singers, a folk group that also included Sonny Terry, Brownie McGhee, Lee Hays, and Sis Cunningham.

In 1941 and 1942, Seeger and Guthrie toured the United States playing for labor unions and other politically oriented groups. They both joined the American Communist Party in 1942, because they opposed the system of private profit and thought their efforts would help people find jobs. Seeger left the party in 1950, but his career would suffer for his membership and for his political and social views. In the meantime, he was drafted into the U.S. Army Special Services in 1942 and served for the rest of World War II entertaining soldiers in the South Pacific and at home.

Seeger first came to national prominence in 1948 as a member of the Weavers, a folk-singing group he formed with Hays, Ronnie Gilbert, and Fred Hellerman. The Weavers's second recording, "Goodnight Irene," went to number one on the charts in 1950 and sold more than 2 million copies. Other Weavers's hits included "On Top of Old Smokey," "So Long, It's Been Good to Know You," "Wimoweh (The Lion Sleeps Tonight)," "Rock Island Line," and "Kisses Sweeter Than Wine," all of which were recorded by numerous other artists.

With all of their success, however, the Weavers were blacklisted in 1952 because of Seeger's previous membership in the Communist Party and the left-wing political views of Seeger and other members. The group disbanded, and Seeger continued performing as a solo artist, mostly on the college circuit and to left-oriented political groups. He rejoined the resurrected Weavers in 1955 but left again in 1958 after opposing their participation in a cigarette commercial.

The House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), a congressional body appointed to investigate communist and other radical groups in America, subpoenaed Seeger to testify in 1955. Many witnesses who appeared before the committee invoked their Fifth Amendment rights against self-incrimination, but Seeger refused to testify on First Amendment grounds, arguing that to be forced to discuss his political views and answer questions about his friends would violate his rights of free speech and free association. The next year, he was indicted on ten counts of contempt of Congress.

It was more than five years before the case came to trial; in 1961, Seeger was convicted and sentenced to a year in jail. He appealed the verdict, and in May 1962 the charges were dismissed. Seeger continued to be blacklisted, however, and he was barred from appearing on radio and television for more than fifteen years.

Meanwhile, Seeger worked tirelessly to promote the American folk music tradition. In 1946, he founded People's Songs, a kind of labor union for folk singers. In 1950, the organization began producing *Sing Out! The Folk Magazine*, which remains in publication in the 2000s. Seeger also helped found the music magazine *Broadside* in 1961, which helped bring attention to such folk artists as Bob Dylan, Phil Ochs, Tom Paxton, and Eric Anderson. He was also instrumental in founding the Newport Folk Festival in 1959.

Several of Seeger's songs covered by folk artists in the early 1960s became countercultural, then popular, standards. Among these were Peter, Paul and Mary's recording of "If I Had a Hammer" and the Byrds's recordings of "The Bells of Rhymney" and "Turn, Turn, Turn." Seeger himself received extensive radio play in 1964 with "Little Boxes," a song against cultural conformity written by Malvina Reynolds.

Pete Seeger also is known for his lifelong struggle for social justice. Supporting the civil rights movement in the 1960s, he spent significant time in the South as a volunteer and activist. His rendition of the old spiritual "We Shall Overcome" became the anthem of the entire movement. An early and vocal opponent of the Vietnam War, Seeger also generated overnight national controversy when he sang the protest song "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy" on the *Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, a popular television show, in 1967. His appearance on that program marked the end of his blacklisting by the American media, and he began appearing regularly thereafter, primarily on public television.

After reading Rachel Carson's book *Silent Spring* (1962), which called attention to environmental degradation, Seeger became more interested in environmental activism. He formed the Clearwater Organization in 1969, dedicated to cleaning up New York's highly polluted Hudson River, and helped raise money to build the *Clearwater*, a replica of the river sloops that navigated the Hudson in earlier centuries.

In addition to recording more than eighty albums, many of them for children, Seeger has compiled a number of folk songbooks. His many awards and honors include the National Medal of Arts, Kennedy Center Award, and Harvard Arts Medal (all 1994); induction into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame (1996); and a Grammy Award for Best Traditional Folk Album, for *Pete* in 1997. In May 2009, an all-star lineup of musicians gathered at Madison Square Garden for a concert celebrating Seeger's ninetieth birthday and his advocacy of environmentalism and social justice. The words written on his famous five-string banjo exemplify Seeger's commitment to peace and freedom through his music: "This machine surrounds hate and forces it to surrender."

Jerry Shuttle

See also: [Broadside](#): [Communism](#): [Dylan, Bob](#): [Folk Music](#): [Guthrie, Woody](#): [Peter, Paul and Mary](#).

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Settlement Houses

Settlement houses were community-based organizations that served the urban poor during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. They emphasized independent, urban living and offered a range of cultural services and educational programs, including courses in English language, art, music, nutrition, and family planning. Settlement houses were considered a radical experimental approach to solving the problems of urban poverty. They directly challenged the established assumption that poverty is the result of personal shortcomings and moral failings, such as laziness, drunkenness, or gambling, and embraced the philosophy that the working poor, including recent immigrants, could learn effective methods of helping themselves. In settlement house workers' efforts to find more effective solutions to social issues relating to poverty, they pioneered the social work profession.

Rather than following the reigning model of established charity organizations, in which the more economically stable volunteers would visit those in poor neighborhoods to provide moral uplift, workers in the settlement house movement took up residency (thus, the settlement house designation) in these neighborhoods. The settlement house movement especially attracted young women who were educated in fields such as nursing, social work, and education. Through the use of such methods as group work, residence empowerment, social action, community organization, and lobbying for urban policy and legislation, young settlement house participants sought to use their skills and education to directly effect change in the poor neighborhoods of major cities.



Social settlement houses were nondenominational community centers for the urban poor, offering such services as day care, child recreation, and language instruction. The movement represented a radical, new approach to urban poverty. (Library of Congress)

The first settlement house was Toynbee Hall, founded in East London in 1883 by two Oxford University students,

Frederick Denison Maurice and Charles Kingsley, both socialists. Toynbee Hall inspired several Americans, most notably Stanton Coit, to establish the Neighborhood Guild (later the University Settlement) on the Lower East Side of New York City in 1886. By 1897, there were seventy-four settlements in the United States, and by 1910 there were 400.

The most prominent of the early settlement houses were Hull-House, founded in 1889 by Jane Addams and Ellen Gates Starr in an impoverished neighborhood of Chicago, and the Henry Street Settlement, established in New York in 1893 by Lillian Wald. Besides social services and community action efforts, activities at Hull-House included a kindergarten for children and activities for adults that focused on building social relationships. Administrators encouraged socializing by providing an environment in which people from different ethnic groups could engage in conversation, friendship, and a sense of community. Hull-House became a model for other settlement house experiments; its influence extended far into the twentieth century through the work of Dorothy Day and the Catholic Worker Movement, a social-services organization.

Settlement houses demonstrated that neighborhood organization could have a positive effect on the problems of urban poverty, and thus presented a clear challenge to conservative assumptions about the sources and nature of poverty. Beyond this, their importance to the American counterculture lies in the fact that, during the period from 1880 to 1930, America was producing a generation of talented, idealistic, and educated young women within a socioeconomic system that had no real place for them. Many of these young women found their way into the settlement house movement.

As settlement house workers, these young women had their first experiences of social independence, program management, alternative living conditions, and political organization and action. They also were exposed to the reality that there are many other ways to live than according to the norms and mores of middle-and upper-class American society. It was, in short, an entry point into public life for a number of young women, many of whom went directly into other social movements and ushered in the first wave of feminism.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes and Daniel Liechty

See also: [Catholic Worker Movement: Socialism](#).

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Seven Arts, The

The Seven Arts was a literary journal founded by poet and author James Oppenheim in 1916 as a tool to transform American society through literature and criticism. Criticized by more mainstream publications for its

radical bias, *The Seven Arts* ceased publication in 1917 after antiwar essays and a pacifist editorial position frightened financial backers and brought threats of criminal action for treason.

The Seven Arts owed its existence to what historians refer to as the Little Renaissance between about 1910 and 1919. New styles and movements became popular in the arts, and a greater appreciation developed among many Americans for creative expression of all kinds.

Influenced by Sigmund Freud's new psychoanalytic movement, many young American artists believed that truth and value could be found in expressing their inner selves. Inspiration came from experience, many held, and art should be as realistic as possible. Additionally, writers, painters, and other artists of the Little Renaissance believed that American subjects and traditions had unique, intrinsic value and that art should adopt a "cultural nationalism" as opposed to imitating European norms.

Oppenheim was a poet and writer who subscribed to this view, and he sought to create a magazine that would help reshape American society and make it more humane. Oppenheim's dream was shared by novelist and critic Waldo Frank and musician Paul Rosenfeld, and the trio managed to convince Annette Rankine, a wealthy patron of the arts, to provide financial backing.

Rankine sold part of her art collection for start-up money and accepted a clerical position on the magazine. Oppenheim became the editor, assisted by Frank. A distinguished seven-person advisory board was named that included the literary critic Van Wyck Brooks, anthropologist and poet Louis Untermeyer, and poet Robert Frost. Oppenheim named the new magazine *The Seven Arts* in reference to medieval terminology referring to the division of knowledge into arts and sciences.

In the first issue, published in November 1916, Oppenheim laid out the purpose and principles of the magazine in a manifesto: "We have no tradition to continue; we have no school of style to build up. What we ask of the writer is simply self-expression without regard to current magazine standards. We should prefer that portion of his work which is done through a joyous necessity of the writer himself." Poetry, short stories, and plays were featured in its pages. Criticism and essays also appeared and soon became the most prominent material in the journal. Oppenheim and his contributors believed that cultural and social criticism could be used to initiate dialogue among readers and thereby promote the goals the editors espoused.

The Seven Arts attracted a number of young, unknown writers who would eventually become famous and influential, among them Amy Lowell, Robert Frost, Sherwood Anderson, Stephen Vincent Benét, and Walter Lippmann. Others whose work appeared in its pages included Eugene O'Neill, John Reed, John Dos Passos, and H.L. Mencken. Most contributors shared the anticapitalism and anti-industrial philosophy of the editors.

One of the most outspoken authors in *Seven Arts* was Randolph Bourne, who published a series of essays in its pages that opposed American involvement in World War I and eventually led to the magazine's collapse. In his most critical essay, "The War and the Intellectuals," published in the June 1917 issue, Bourne attacked liberal intellectuals, such as his own mentor, philosopher John Dewey, for changing their attitudes to support the war. He criticized the restrictions on speech and open discussion imposed by the federal government and argued that democratic freedoms were being jeopardized. Oppenheim, also a militant pacifist, did not hesitate to print Bourne's essays as well as other antiwar writings.

The journal's open antiwar position ran counter to general sentiment in the United States as well as to official government policy. The Espionage Act, passed on June 15, 1917, made it a crime to engage in disloyal acts, and Rankine, fearing prosecution for the antiwar articles, withdrew her financial support for *The Seven Arts*. The journal was never financially self-sufficient, and Oppenheim was forced to cease publication with the September 1917 issue.

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Sex Trade and Prostitution

The sex trade refers to any commercial enterprise in which there is an exchange of sexual services or other sexually oriented activity for money, including prostitution, stripping, sexual massage, pornography, live and Internet sex shows, and phone sex operations. In America as elsewhere, historically the sex trade has been predominantly operated by, and for the financial benefit of, males, while prostitution and other types of sex work have been predominately feminized occupations. While rarer, men who provide sexual services to women are known as gigolos.

Today, a person who supervises mostly female prostitutes—in legal or illegal settings—is known as a pimp. Pimps take a portion of the prostitute's income as their own, perhaps providing protection and support in exchange. Supervised prostitution in brothels or so-called houses of ill repute is often under the direction of other women, referred to as madams. Male patrons of prostitutes are known as johns.

In many periods of American history, children, teenagers, and young adults in their twenties were especially desired as sex workers. Young workers were regarded as more likely to be virginal or pure, and a female's virginity was a valuable commodity—one that might be advertised and sold several times over. Youths also were regarded as less likely to carry a sexually transmitted disease, a significant concern before the advent of medical treatments such as antibiotics.

Prostitution has been a part of life in America since the early days of the republic. Historical documents of New York City and Boston indicate the existence of prostitution dating to the late eighteenth century, likely the result of soldiers being stationed there during wartime. Prostitution and sex work in various other forms became increasingly available with urbanization in the mid-to late nineteenth century, most often geared to male consumers. Prostitution was so prevalent that political and religious officials were known to frequent brothels; regarded as normative male behavior, this was hardly even noted in gossip circles.

The most prominent locale for prostitution and brothels in New York City from 1770 into the early 1800s was the Holy Ground, located uptown near King's College (later Columbia University). Other cities known for their brothels during the 1800s were St. Louis, Philadelphia, New Orleans, and Chicago. While prostitution was generally tolerated during this period, it was practiced predominantly by young women and concentrated in specific neighborhoods.

During the course of the nineteenth century, the sex trade expanded significantly, particularly with the advent of industrialization. Restricting and regulating prostitution have been attempted sporadically during the course of American history, and this was especially true during the Victorian Era of the late 1800s.

Prostitution also proliferated in Western territories during the period of settlement in the nineteenth century. The early decades, in particular, brought large numbers of men and relatively few women, a demographic skew that produced enormous economic opportunity in prostitution. The gold rushes of midcentury likewise were a boon to prostitution. And later, with the arrival of railroads and construction of port facilities, cities on the West Coast attracted growing populations and an increasing sex trade, especially for railroad workers and sailors.

The occupation of prostitution always has been characterized by several levels of prestige, today ranging from high-class call girls or escorts, who may be self-managed or work for an escort service, to streetwalkers, who may or may not be managed by a pimp. In many towns of the early West, women who worked in brothels were considered of higher prestige, while streetwalkers were regarded as having the lowest status. With the advent of the Internet, the culture and practice of prostitution and other sex work, such as pornography, has become increasingly visible and accessible.

In most of the United States today, prostitution is illegal. Notable exceptions are some counties of Nevada, where legalized “Bunny Ranches,” or brothels, provide prostitution service to men. However, legal prosecution of prostitutes has historically focused on streetwalkers, who are more visible, and less on brothel workers or escorts.

Pornography and other aspects of the sex trade, meanwhile, have become increasingly legitimized and prevalent. With the advents of still photography and then the motion picture industry, nude modeling and film pornography became areas of especially significant growth, which continued throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first century.

While estimates are unreliable, it is believed that more than 1 million persons in the United States are employed in prostitution today, and many millions more are involved in the rest of the sex trade. More than 100,000 arrests occur annually for illegal prostitution alone. Most likely to be arrested are the prostitutes themselves, while patrons and pimps are at much lower risk.

Daniel Farr

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Sexual Revolution

The sexual revolution of the 1960s and 1970s was a movement that entailed sweeping changes in American sexual mores, encompassing a newfound acceptance of sex outside of marriage, the replacement of procreation with pleasure as the perceived function of sex, and the integration of sexual themes into the media and public discourse.

This shift was not an abrupt transition but the culmination of a lengthy process. Accelerated urbanization near the start of the twentieth century allowed for greater sexual freedom for young people. Working girls explored romance and relationships in new environments—from the workplace to amusement parks to speakeasies—with a freedom previously unknown to them, while city life also facilitated the formation of an urban gay subculture. Outside the cities, automobiles brought new opportunities for mobility, privacy, and sexual exploration to small-town and rural teens in the 1920s.

While terms such as *necking* and *petting* became familiar, however, sex itself remained highly regulated in mainstream American culture. Religious values continued to exert great influence, as did the cultural tenet that “good” girls preserved their virginity until marriage. As a practical matter, birth control methods either were unreliable (such as the rhythm method or withdrawal) or were seen as awkward (diaphragms and condoms).

Kinsey Reports and the Pill

This cultural regulation of sex maintained its hold on Americans for another two decades, but the years following World War II brought upheaval. Two groundbreaking empirical studies—*Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* (1948) and *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female* (1953), by Indiana sociologist Alfred Kinsey—revealed the true extent and variety of American sexual activity on the basis of massive research, revealing widespread premarital, extramarital, homosexual, and autoerotic activity on the parts of both men and women. These revelations shocked the nation, but the publicity the reports received ensured general public awareness of their content.

In the 1950s, American media followed Kinsey’s lead in addressing sex more frankly. Magazine publisher Hugh Hefner introduced *Playboy* in 1953, combining pictures of naked women with quality writing. Best-selling novels such as Grace Metalious’s *Peyton Place* (1956) dealt with sex overtly. Films also grew bolder. In 1953, Otto Preminger’s film *The Moon Is Blue* challenged convention by using the word *virgin*; by 1959, Russ Meyer’s *The Immoral Mr. Teas* featured bountiful shots of naked women.

These developments clearly challenged convention, but it was the 1960 approval of the birth control pill (known as “the Pill”) by the Food and Drug Administration that heralded what came to be known in the media as the sexual revolution. Suddenly, women could control their own reproduction easily and effectively. The impact of the Pill was massive; by 1965, some 5 million women—both married and single—were using it.

The technological severing of sex from procreation was mirrored by cultural indications of a new focus on pleasure. Examples include Helen Gurley Brown’s book *Sex and the Single Girl* (1962), which climbed the best-seller lists and was produced as a major motion picture two years later.

Students, Hippies, and Swingers

In universities, students challenged the *in loco parentis* tradition by which schools served as proxy parents, implementing curfews and prohibiting opposite-sex visits to dormitory rooms. Coed dorms grew increasingly common during the 1960s—even the staunchly conservative University of Kansas had two by 1964. Unmarried female students at Brown University in Providence, Rhode Island, received prescriptions for oral contraceptives from the director of the school’s health services in 1965. And in 1968, undergraduate Linda LeClair defied the rules at Barnard College in New York City by living off campus with her boyfriend; the resulting flap led Barnard to change its rules to allow off-campus living. The following year, protests by students at the University of Tennessee in Knoxville resulted in the end of dormitory curfews for female students.

While universities gradually accommodated shifting sexual mores by allowing more student freedom, other groups displayed new sexual attitudes as well. Hippies celebrated nudity and free love, while “swinging” and “wife swapping” became the marks of liberated couples in the middle-class suburbs. Sandstone, a 15-acre (6-hectare) retreat in Southern California, opened in 1969 as a swinger utopia and hosted hundreds of couples every weekend.

These new attitudes carried over into other spheres as well. In *Griswold v. Connecticut* (1965), the U.S. Supreme Court struck down a state anticontraceptive law, indicating official recognition of sex as an activity for more than procreation. Human-sexuality researchers William Masters and Virginia Johnson carried on the Kinsey tradition, overturning conventional wisdom in their groundbreaking text *Human Sexual Response* (1966), which explained that female orgasms stem from the clitoris, not the vagina. And when New York police raided the Stonewall Inn, a gay bar in Greenwich Village, in June 1969, the patrons revolted, starting a two-day riot that led to the formation of the Gay Liberation Front, the umbrella name for a number of gay liberation groups.

Much of the political radicalism of the 1960s failed to carry into the 1970s, but the sexual revolution continued unabated. By 1970, a reported two-thirds of all Catholic women were using birth control methods disavowed by the church. Alex Comfort's *Joy of Sex*, an explicit, how-to book about sex published in 1972, quickly reached best-seller status and went on to sell 12 million copies in two-dozen languages. The pornographic film *Deep Throat* (1972) earned a record-breaking box office and spawned a spate of X-rated feature films referred to as the "porno chic" movement. The following year, the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Roe v. Wade* institutionalized women's control over their bodies by legalizing abortion. Clubs such as Plato's Retreat, which opened in New York City in 1977, institutionalized heterosexual swinging, while a plethora of gay bathhouses offered anonymous public sex to patrons. Disco clubs, too, such as the famous Studio 54 in New York City, created sexual space for both straight and gay attendees.

Backlash

Not everyone embraced the sexual revolution. Many women felt anger at the widespread male chauvinism of 1960s, seen in such draft-protest slogans as "Girls Say Yes to Guys Who Say No." Robin Morgan's 1970 manifesto, "Goodbye to All That," dismissed the sexual revolution as a sham, used by men to obtain sexual favors from women, who could be chastised as prudish, frigid, or "unhip" if they rejected male overtures. Dissatisfaction with the sexual revolution helped the women's liberation movement coalesce and grow. Many lesbians, too, took exception to the gay male insistence on public sex as integral to gay identity, leading to tensions within the gay liberation movement.

Perhaps the most powerful voice of opposition to the sexual revolution was the New Right, a coalition of the Republican Party and the Christian conservative movement that acquired unprecedented power in the late 1970s. Antigay measures, such as singer Anita Bryant's 1977 battle to repeal a gay rights amendment in Dade County, Florida, and the failed 1978 Briggs initiative in California to allow the firing of gay teachers, became staples of the New Right. Opposition to abortion and support of abstinence-only sex education also marked the New Right, which sought to restore the connection between sex and procreation. The election of conservative Ronald Reagan as president in 1980 constituted a major victory for the New Right and highlighted the traditional values of Republican America.

Most destructive to the sexual revolution, however, were the new medical threats of the 1980s. Herpes emerged as a noncurable venereal disease in 1979, and it was quickly represented by the mainstream media as a sign of the risks of promiscuity. *Time* magazine in 1982 called it "the new scarlet letter." Far more threatening, however, was the HIV/AIDS crisis, which first appeared in the early 1980s among urban gay populations but quickly spread to other groups, especially intravenous-drug users and hemophiliacs, who contracted the disease through contaminated needles or blood samples.

While conservative politicians exploited the HIV/AIDS epidemic to advance their religiously based agendas, mainstream culture also restored some of the moral and behavioral norms of a previous generation as an imperative of public health. The sexual revolution would not be reversed or undone, as sexual activity had been divorced, perhaps forever, from its purely procreative function, but the spirit and direction of change seemed over.

Whitney Strub

See also: [Birth Control Pill](#): [Free Love](#): [Hefner, Hugh](#): [Hippies](#).

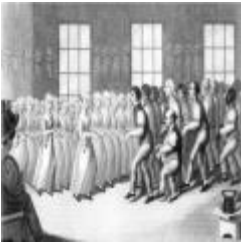
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Shakers

A hardworking, communal religious sect in the eastern United States that peaked in popularity during the mid-1800s, the Shakers came into existence in England as an offshoot of the Quakers during the mid-1700s. They were first called the “Shaking Quakers,” after the shaking movement they made during the “testimonial” portion of their communal prayers. Their first and most important leader was a charismatic woman known as “Mother” Ann Lee, who immigrated to America in 1774 just before the Revolutionary War, along with other Believers, as they also called themselves.

Although she was illiterate and married (her husband left her and the movement not long after arriving in America), Lee was believed to embody the feminine principle of the divine. With her guidance, the Shakers, originally known as the United Society of Believers in Christ’s Second Appearing, established a foothold in upstate New York. Their first village was built at Niskayuna (later Watervliet), near Albany, in 1776. The early days of the Shakers were marred by strife. Mother Ann was imprisoned on charges of spying for the British. As the Shakers tried to spread the word of their beliefs, they were, at times, verbally abused and physically injured by suspicious crowds. William Lee, Ann’s brother, died of a skull fracture he received in such a conflict. Despite some continued opposition, the Shakers won converts in the years following the Revolution.

Over time, the Shaker lifestyle was no longer seen as a threat to society, and the religious sect attracted hundreds of people. The first organized Shaker community, New Lebanon, was established in 1787, and became the guiding authority of all later settlements. The governing principles developed there were adopted in other Shaker villages. Each community included respected elders, men and women with seniority to whom others could go for spiritual guidance and conflict resolution. Villages were divided into two to eight distinct living groups called “families.”

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the Shakers formed communities in New York, Connecticut, Massachusetts, Maine, New Hampshire, Kentucky, Ohio, and Indiana—more than any other religious group of the time. The last new community was formed in the mid-1820s. At its peak, in the mid-nineteenth century, the Shaker population in America numbered between 4,000 and 6,000 members.

Even after Ann Lee’s death in 1784, Shaker leaders continued to hold Mother Ann’s teachings in the highest esteem. The Shaker faith and lifestyle were based on principles of hard work and continual prayer, following the mandate of Mother Ann, who had said, “Hands to work and hearts to God.” Work was seen as a path to salvation and the most useful way to expend one’s energy. The Shakers raised their own crops, and their villages were largely self-sufficient. It was common for the Shakers to make their own nails and bricks to build meetinghouses.

The Shakers expressed prayer daily through the spoken word and numerous hymns and spirituals. They also craved simplicity. Their best-known hymn is "Simple Gifts," which begins with the words "'Tis the gift to be simple, 'tis the gift to be free." As had been dictated by Lee, order and neatness were an integral part of the Shaker lifestyle. Dirt and dust were considered mortal enemies.



The Shakers were a celibate millenarian sect that established communal settlements in upstate New York during the American Revolution. They got their name from the shaking and dancing that characterized their worship services. (Library of Congress)

Although they lived in their own communities, the Shakers did not shun contact with the outside world. Indeed, they allowed outsiders to visit and to watch their religious ceremonies. Committed pacifists, they requested and received exemption from service in the American Civil War from President Abraham Lincoln.

The Shakers cultivated a thriving trade with the outside world. They kept their hands busy in every spare moment by making craft items and furniture that could either be used within the community or labeled as "worldly goods" and sold to outsiders. Shaker design emphasized basic, straight lines and fine craftsmanship. Their furniture and crafts have been imitated for more than a century, including the ubiquitous ladder-back chair and the oval, fingered wooden box.

Although they valued handiwork, Shakers did not shun technology. By the mid-to late nineteenth century, they had adopted several modern technologies to assist them in their daily lives. In fact, they were at the forefront of the technology of the time. Their industrious nature and communal problem-solving abilities led to the invention of numerous machines and improvements in tools, including the circular-saw blade, a mechanical washing machine, and the flat broom.

Perhaps most important in distinguishing Shakers from the rest of society was one of the primary rules of their religion: Shakers were not to marry or have children. In taking the vow of celibacy and in leaving one's family behind to join the community, a new Shaker was in effect trading in his or her biological family for a new family of strangers who were fellow Believers. Thus, Shaker communities grew only by the taking in of orphaned children or by outside adults choosing to join. Personal effects and wealth also were banned; converts donated all of their worldly goods to the community.

By the 1870s, largely because of the practice of celibacy, the Shaker population in America had declined to about

2,500 members; by 1900, it had fallen to about 2,000 members. Ten Shaker settlements, once thriving, were abandoned between 1900 and 1930. By 1945, there were only a few hundred Shakers left in the United States.

Tourist interest and an appreciation for Shaker culture and arts revived in the latter decades of the twentieth century, and some villages have been preserved as museums. The last surviving Shaker community is at Sabbathday Lake Shaker Village in New Gloucester, Maine, where a few Believers still carry on the centuries-old traditions in earnest.

Richard Panchyk

See also: [Communes](#); [Lee, Ann](#).

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Shakur, Tupac (1971–1996)

Tupac Amaru Shakur was a hip-hop artist and actor known for his outlaw identity, hard-edged songs about racism and ghetto violence, and death by shooting in September 1996. Recognized as a best-selling rap recording artist, and by many fans and critics as the most accomplished of all rappers, Shakur was central to the development of West Coast rap style, which emerged in the 1990s to challenge the popularity of East Coast rap music, emphasizing bass-heavy music and “reality” lyrics that chronicle the struggles of ghetto life. Shakur remains a revered figure in hip-hop culture.

He was born Lesane Parish Crooks in East Harlem, New York City, on June 16, 1971. His mother, Afeni Shakur, was a member of the Black Panther Party who had just been acquitted of multiple charges of conspiracy against the U.S. government; his stepfather, Mutulu Shakur, later became known for planning the \$1.6 million robbery of a Brink’s Company armored truck in New York in 1981. Tupac Shakur was renamed in honor of the Incan ruler and revolutionary leader Tupac Amaru II (ca. 1742–1781), who was executed after leading an indigenous rebellion against the Spanish colonization of Peru.

After living in New York and Baltimore, Shakur and his family moved in 1988 to Marin City, California, where he served as a lyricist for the local hip-hop group Strictly Dope, before joining the Oakland-based group Digital Underground. He gained national recognition as a rap artist for his contribution to Digital Underground’s “Same Song” (1991). Shortly thereafter, Shakur launched his solo career with the album *2Pacalypse Now* (1991). He released a total of five more studio albums during his brief career: *Strictly 4 My N.I.G.G.A.Z.* (1993), *Thug Life* (1994), *Me Against the World* (1995), *All Eyez on Me* (1996), and *The Don Killuminati: The 7 Day Theory* (1996). As his music career took off, Shakur also ventured into acting, starring in such feature films as *Juice* (1992),

Poetic Justice (1993) with costar Janet Jackson, and *Above the Rim* (1994).

Shakur was the preeminent figure in the development of what was called the “East Coast versus West Coast rivalry” in rap music. Shakur signed with Death Row Records in 1995, a Los Angeles recording label headed by Suge Knight, a controversial CEO with Mob Piru Bloods gang connections and a dislike for the East Coast hip-hop label Bad Boy Records (headed by Sean Combs).

While driving with Knight in Las Vegas, Nevada, Shakur was shot. He died from the wounds six days later, on September 13, 1996, at the age of twenty-five. The murder was never solved, but many suspected the involvement of New York-based rapper Notorious B.I.G. (of Bad Boy Records), whom Shakur had earlier accused of arranging a 1994 New York recording studio robbery during which Shakur had been shot several times. The suspicions over Shakur’s murder stirred growing animosity, until Notorious B.I.G. himself was killed in Los Angeles six months later, on March 9, 1997. In the aftermath of that incident, many hip-hop artists and social activists began a concerted and successful effort to quell the East-West rivalries.

Venerated as a hip-hop cultural icon, Shakur is regarded by fans and critics of the genre as a “ghetto saint.” His songs intimately and eloquently express the joys and the pains of African American life in the inner city. On the one hand, songs such as “Brenda’s Got a Baby” (1991) and “Dear Mama” (1995) celebrate and pay homage to women, especially mothers, while “Keep Ya Head Up” (1993) and “Life Goes On” (1996) offer a broad message of hope and spiritual uplift for everyone facing hard times. On the other hand, songs such as “I Get Around” (1993) glamorize Shakur’s sexual exploits, while “Hit’Em Up” (1996) champions the violence and intimidation needed to live a successful “thug life.” The complexities and contradictions in his music and his personal life secured Shakur a loyal following among those who respected his lyrical honesty and welcomed his representation of their own lives.

More than a decade after his death, Shakur’s vocals continued to garner significant album sales. Since 1997, several successful albums have been released using previously recorded songs or lyrics. In addition, Shakur’s poetry was published in *The Rose That Grew from Concrete* (1997) and *Inside a Thug’s Heart* (2004); the documentary film *Tupac: Resurrection*, about his life and death, was released in 2003. A majority of his albums, produced both before and after his death, have achieved platinum and multiplatinum certification.

Natchee Blu Barnd

See also: [Gangsta Rap](#): [Hip-Hop](#): [Rap Music](#).

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Simpsons, The

Starting its television life as a series of short, animated sketches on *The Tracey Ullman Show* in 1987, *The Simpsons* graduated to network-show status on the then-burgeoning Fox Network in 1989. An animated nuclear-family sitcom, the show has served as a richly developed mouthpiece of social, political, cultural, consumer, and media satire and parody. Challenging the very notion of counterculture, *The Simpsons* arguably has become one of the counterculture's most mainstream texts, attaining widespread fame and notoriety both in America and abroad, and becoming one of television's longest-running and most easily recognizable programs.

The Simpsons follows the lives of parents Homer and Marge and children Bart, Lisa, and Maggie in the never-precisely-located suburban landscape of Springfield, U.S.A. Originally written by Matt Groening, previously known for the subversive cartoon "Life in Hell," *The Simpsons* continued its predecessor's interest in contesting authority figures. Springfield's mayor, Joe Quimby, Principal Seymour Skinner, and local nuclear power plant owner Montgomery Burns form a triumvirate of corrupt, self-serving leadership, surpassed only by the most dysfunctional authority figure of all, Homer Simpson as father.



Creator and animator Matt Groening poses with a cutout of everyman Homer Simpson, the father character in his animated hit television series The Simpsons. The sitcom has broken new ground in satirizing politics, society, media culture, and family life. (Alan Levenson/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Harkening back to the Springfield of television's 1950s family series *Father Knows Best* and to the barrage of whitewashed, perennially happy sitcoms that preceded it, *The Simpsons* centers its family on the ignorant, overeating, ill-fated antifather, and offers up the "underachieving, yet proud of it" son, Bart, as its initial moral engine. Bart's rebellious platitudes and unruly attitude drew quick focus from parent groups and schools nationwide, and even inspired comment from family values-oriented presidential candidate George H.W. Bush, who in 1992 called for "a nation closer to the Waltons than to the Simpsons." Over time, the show challenged patriarchal authority more convincingly by shifting greater emphasis to the precocious and environmentally, ecologically, and socially aware Lisa. Indeed, one episode studies a family gene that renders all its men stupid but the women geniuses.

Ultimately, however, the program's greatest offering to the counterculture, and that which has won it a cult following among college students and liberal academics nationwide, is its predilection to comedically attack capitalist consumerist values. Frequently mocking the form and content of advertising in particular, *The Simpsons* depicts consumerism as gluttony.

Using its four-fingered yellow characters to comment on reality, the program also often lampoons other genres of television, such as the news show and the documentary, as well as celebrity. While *The Simpsons* has hosted major celebrities, including pop star Michael Jackson, *Harry Potter* author J.K. Rowling, *Star Wars* star Mark Hamill, and rock band U2, it often mocks them in the process.

Meanwhile, *The Simpsons* habitually mocks itself and its own position in the cultural and economic mainstream, even occasionally taking satiric swipes at Fox owner Rupert Murdoch. The show has spawned a wealth of commercial merchandise ranging from T-shirts to bottle openers, but similarly ridicules its own act of selling out, most notably by offering the figure of debased children's television icon and product-pusher Krusty the Clown as its on-screen stand-in.

Reflecting a certain postmodern cynical chic, *The Simpsons* is iconic of its age. It has given birth to numerous followers, most notably the animated television shows *King of the Hill* (1997–2009), *South Park* (1997–), and *Family Guy* (1999–).

Jonathan Gray

See also: [South Park](#).

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Sinclair, Upton (1878–1968)

Upton Sinclair was one of America's great crusading writers and a vocal supporter of socialism in the twentieth century. A prolific author, he wrote ninety novels, thirty plays, and countless articles, stories, and pamphlets. Well known for his polemical concern for progressive reform, he was a firm believer in the power of literature to improve the human condition. As one of the prominent social critics—popularly known as “muckrakers”—of his time, he displayed an intense interest in social and industrial reform by exposing injustice and corruption with his pen.

Upton Beall Sinclair was born on September 20, 1878, in Baltimore, Maryland. He graduated from City College of New York in 1897 and attended graduate school at Columbia University while supporting himself by writing for newspapers and magazines.

In 1904, he was sent by the socialist newspaper *Appeal to Reason* to report on the unsanitary conditions in the meatpacking industry in Chicago. His report in fictional form was serialized in the paper during the summer of 1905. It was published in early 1906 as *The Jungle*, a brutally graphic novel of the Chicago stockyards in which Sinclair describes the wretched sanitary and working conditions of the industry.

The book is based on Sinclair's eyewitness accounts and interviews with workers, who revealed the tuberculosis and cholera that developed as a result of exposure to and repurposing of spoiled meat, a result of what Sinclair saw as the "monstrous disease" of industrial capitalism. After living a life of poverty, death, and destruction, the book's main character, factory worker and Lithuanian immigrant Jurgis Rudkus, turns to socialism.

The Jungle soon became a national sensation. Although Sinclair had hoped that his writing would arouse sympathy for the worker, it created tremendous public indignation at the deplorable quality of food industry standards. Sinclair was quoted as saying, "I aimed at the public's heart and by accident I hit it in the stomach." The book's popularity is believed to have been instrumental in passage of the Pure Food and Drug Act of 1906 by the U.S. Congress.

Publication of the novel placed Sinclair in the ranks of such leading muckraking writers as Ida Tarbell, Lincoln Steffens, and others. Proceeds from the book provided Sinclair with the finances to open the cooperative-living community Helicon Hall (Helicon Home Colony) in Englewood, New Jersey, a utopian-socialist project that lasted until 1907, when a fire destroyed the hall and the venture was abandoned.

Sinclair continued writing muckraking novels that attacked social evils. Representative works, in addition to *The Jungle*, include *King Coal* (1917), which reveals the conditions of Western coal miners of the time; *Oil!* (1927), loosely based on the Teapot Dome oil scandal of the Warren G. Harding administration; *Boston* (1928), about the Sacco and Vanzetti murder case; and *Little Steel* (1938), which explores union resistance in the oil industry.

He also wrote eleven historical novels, known as the Lanny Budd series, beginning with *World's End* (1940), which examines the life of an antifascist hero. One of the Lanny Budd novels, *Dragon's Teeth* (1942), about Adolf Hitler's rise to power in Nazi Germany, won Sinclair the 1943 Pulitzer Prize. His final novel in the series, *The Return of Lanny Budd* (1953), explores the United States's hostile sentiment toward post-World War II Soviet Russia.

During the Great Depression of the 1930s, Sinclair played a part in organizing a socialist reform movement in California called EPIC (End Poverty in California), which proposed that the state repurpose idle factories and farmland into cooperatives that would hire the unemployed. In 1934, he entered politics by running as a Democrat for governor of California; he lost the election to Republican candidate Frank Merriam. Upton Sinclair died on November 25, 1968, in Bound Brook, New Jersey.

Yuwu Song

See also: [Socialism](#).

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Ska

Ska is an upbeat, horn-driven style of music that emerged in Jamaica during the 1950s, drawing upon aspects of mento (the indigenous folk music), calypso, jazz, and American rhythm and blues. Ska and the subcultures associated with it are often divided into three waves. Jamaican ska thrived until the mid-1960s, when it was replaced in popularity by rock steady and reggae music. The second-wave ska revival, in the form of the Two-Tone movement, occurred in the 1970s and 1980s in the United Kingdom. A third revival took place in the 1990s, this time largely based in the United States. Ska music and style were popular in the Jamaican Rude Boy subculture, as well as among some members of the punk, mod, and skinhead movements.

Jamaican ska arose in the context of the Jamaican independence movement, which inspired a nationalistic yearning for music based on island traditions. During the same period, portable sound systems (mobile discotheques) proliferated in Jamaica, playing dance music for crowds of people. As sound system operators became more competitive, they began producing their own records that emphasized a “Jamaican feel” and aesthetic; ska music flourished. Of the numerous groups of the time, the Skatalites dominated the scene as true pioneers of ska and epitomized the sound.

Others influential in the movement included Laurel Aitken, Clement “Coxsone” Dodd, Don Drummond, Desmond Dekker and the Aces, Prince Buster, Roland Alphonso, Toots and the Maytals, Bob Marley’s band the Wailers, the Duke Reid Group, the Ethiopians, and Peter Tosh, among others. While early ska music often entailed the instrumental reworking of popular American and British songs, much of it drew upon local culture and folk traditions, and sometimes took the form of social commentary, addressing the hardships faced by the poor and marginalized in Jamaican society.

In the 1960s, ska music was embraced by the Rude Boy (or “Rudie”) subculture that emerged in the ghettos of Kingston. In response to poverty, unemployment, and oppression, Rude Boys became gangsters and petty thieves with a reputation as stylish street hooligans who lived by their wits and tried to beat the system. Some Rude Boys were armed with knives or handguns and, when organized in gangs, would roam through West Kingston on foot or stripped-down chrome motorbikes.

Ska music both celebrated and criticized the Rude Boys’ subterranean lifestyle, alluding to street fights, the ghetto, crime, sexual encounters, gambling, guns, prison life, and dying young. The Rude Boys’ unique street style involved a streamlined, hard-edged, trimmed-down look, with sharply cut suits, cropped slim trousers, porkpie hats, tightly cropped haircuts, wraparound hipster sunglasses, white socks, polished black shoes, and leather jackets. Rude Boys also favored mohair, and “tonic” suits that shimmered with the two-tone effect of contrasting colors, such as black-red or electric blue.

Ska music and Rude Boy style were brought by Jamaican immigrants to the United Kingdom and North America in the late 1960s and 1970s. In the United Kingdom especially, the sound and style of ska were appealing to white youth (such as hard mods and nonracist skinheads) who disliked the styles and values of the hippies and other youth movements of the time; it also influenced a number of musicians, such as the Clash, the Police, and Elvis Costello.

In the late 1970s, the ska revival movement known as Two-Tone (after the influential 2 Tone record label) drew upon punk ethos and style, and emphasized racial harmony, societal problems, and social justice. Black and white youth, often in black and white suits, “skanked” (danced) together at dance halls to the music of racially integrated groups such as the Specials and, later, the Selecter, Madness, and the Beat (also known as the English Beat). These bands and the associated subculture did not just revitalize the style of ska; they directly confronted racial prejudices. More politically oriented than most movements of the time, they faced violent confrontations with racist skinheads, conservative nationalists, and others at dance halls and elsewhere.

The Two-Tone ska movement resulted in the formation of ska bands in the United States, such as the highly influential Toasters (in existence since the early 1980s and led by Robert Hingley, who later created Moon Ska Records). This led to the third wave of ska music, in the 1990s, further popularized by bands such as the Untouchables, Fishbone, Bim Skala Bim, Operation Ivy, the Scofflaws, the Mighty Mighty Bosstones, the Slackers, Hepcat, the Pietasters, the Voodoo Glow Skulls, Reel Big Fish, Skankin' Pickle, Let's Go Bowling, Save Ferris, Less Than Jake, and the Aquabats. Some of these bands achieved commercial success, with musical styles that reflect a range of influences including punk, hard core, heavy metal, funk, soul, surf, and others. Ska-influenced bands such as Rancid, No Doubt, and Sublime also popularized and commodified the ska sound.

After the mainstreaming of pop-ska sounds on MTV and commercial radio, popular interest peaked and then declined in the late 1990s, as other styles were promoted to capture mainstream attention. Out of the limelight, the ska scene continued to develop at a more grassroots level, with some enthusiasts taking an inclusive, hodgepodge approach in innovating on the style. Others, more traditionalist in attitude, embraced the Jamaican 1960s-style ska, while some bands and fans were deeply committed to the Two-Tone movement and Rude Boy style, sometimes with mod culture influences.

Although the American third-wave ska is often depicted as being solely party music—skanking to catchy rhythms and having fun—some of it offers relevant social commentary. The appearance of a fourth wave of ska came to be debated in fanzines and on Web pages, as subcultural events and tours of ska bands promoted the eclectic range of contemporary ska. Though separated from ska's original context and related social conditions, the various forms of ska style continued to signify a subcultural identity for some youth, offering a sense of community, creativity, and aesthetic pleasure.

Daniel Wojcik

See also: [Folk Music](#): [Jazz](#): [Punk Rock](#).

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Skateboarders

Skateboarders are mostly, although not exclusively, young males who practice the sport of skateboarding and who belong to a broader youth subculture defined by the “skater” identity. While the specific content of this identity has

shifted since it first emerged in the 1950s—moving from a heavily surf-and punk-inspired image of destructive rebelliousness to a more urban, hip-hop–influenced image of personal creative expression—the skater identity has consistently challenged dominant social and cultural norms and values.

While a profitable skateboard industry has existed for decades and produces some wealthy professional skateboarders, most skaters are urban and suburban youth who reject “adult” values of career advancement and who struggle to escape the discipline of alienated labor in the job market. For most skaters, life is about advancing their sport, enjoying life through the associational experience of belonging to an underground movement, and reclaiming public space through the creative use of the skateboard itself.

History

As a recreational activity, skateboarding got its start in Southern California during the late 1950s when surfers attached roller-skate wheels to wooden planks in an effort to simulate surfing on land. Dubbed “sidewalk surfing,” skateboarding was originally part of Southern California’s larger surf and beach culture.

During the 1960s and 1970s, skateboarding emerged as an independent form of recreation when several companies began to market skateboards and skating equipment to suburban youth. As part of their marketing campaigns, companies promoted skateboard competitions, which, in turn, gave rise to a number of amateur and professional skateboard athletes. During this period, the dominant technical practice of skateboarding featured mostly handstands and spins or downhill racing.

In Southern California, however, surfers continued to practice a form of skateboarding very different from that of the official contest circuit. Based largely in the ethnically diverse working-class beach communities of Venice and Santa Monica, these surfer-skaters sought to emulate the smooth-flowing style of surfing on land, developing long carving and sliding maneuvers to re-create the motion and sensation of riding the waves. These youth skated the banked and sloped terrains of the city, where they practiced a form of boarding that was aggressive and smooth at the same time. They also began a process of creatively reappropriating urban space, which has been a hallmark of skater culture ever since.

The first significant confrontation between the two poles in skateboarding culture occurred in 1975, when the Zephyr team from Santa Monica entered a slalom and freestyle contest in Del Mar, California. The Zephyr team, or “Z-Boys,” brought the aggressive style of skating they practiced on the streets into the public eye. Their maneuvers evidenced an aggressive slashing, grinding, and sliding style that was largely foreign to the figure-skating–like practice of skateboarding at the time.

During the same period, skateboarding also expanded to suburban backyards, where skaters took their craft to the smoothly sloped and vertical terrains of swimming pools drained during the drought of 1976. Often, skaters did not have the permission of the property owners, bringing them into direct conflict with police and the idea of private property itself, and indicating the subversive character skateboarding culture was taking on.

As the more aggressive style of skating became popular, corporate interests were quick to see it as an opportunity to expand their market. Many of the original members of the Z-Boys team were signed to lucrative contracts with manufacturing companies that exploited their image to increase market share. At around the same time, entrepreneurs and municipalities across the country began to open skate parks that emulated the concrete terrains of the city and the backyard pool. By the close of the 1970s, skateboarding had penetrated popular culture and become a multimillion-dollar business.

Nevertheless, in the late 1970s and early 1980s, a rash of liability and insurance problems forced many of the skate parks to close. As public interest in the sport waned and its profitability declined, skateboarding was once again driven underground. With the decline of the concrete skate parks, die-hard skaters began to build “half-pipes” from plywood and two-by-fours in backyards and in abandoned or fallow spaces. Often built to heights of 12 feet (3.7 meters) or more, these half-pipes allowed skaters to take vertical aerial maneuvers to new levels of

skill and complexity.

Following the nationwide recession of the mid-1980s, a new consumer-driven mentality took root in America, and young people across the country began to rediscover skateboarding. However, the boarding scene that emerged was quite different from the preceding one. For one thing, a widening of the skateboard allowed companies to print more elaborate graphics on the bottom of the deck, and they chose provocative, even demonic, graphics that were shocking to many suburban parents.



Tony Hawk (bottom) and other champion competitors contributed to the Generation X counterculture image of skateboarding and helped transform the sport into a mass-culture commercial phenomenon. (Matt Strohane/Getty Images)

Skating Subculture

During the mid-1980s, skateboarding solidified as more than a merely recreational activity. Spurred by manufacturers' exploitation of the emerging suburban youth market, boarding became a powerful adolescent subculture that often determined everything about skaters' personal identities—from the clothes they wore to the music they listened to and the attitudes they professed about the meaning and purpose of life.

During this time, skateboard culture existed in a kind of liminal space, somewhere between the rampant suburban consumerism of the Me Generation of the 1980s and an underground subversiveness that rejected the traditional family mores of academic success and career preparation. For many skaters, life was about living for the day and avoiding the alienation of school and work as long as possible. More politically conscious skaters even drew an explicit connection between skateboarding and the anarchist tradition of refusing labor.

As the 1980s progressed, street skaters—many from urban environments on the East Coast—continued to redefine the sport, using the “ollie” maneuver to jump over planters, slide down handrails, and even ride walls. In doing so, the street skaters of the mid-to late 1980s took skateboarding back to its origins and resumed the decolonization of urban space that their predecessors had begun a decade earlier.

A definite divide between “street skaters” and “vert skaters” became evident during the late 1980s and early 1990s. The latter were much more likely to retain links to the surf and punk cultures, while the former emerged as part of a newly insurgent urban culture that some considered part of the wider hip-hop movement. Many street skaters were young African Americans or Hispanics, and the budding rap music scene of the time became popular among street skaters of all ethnic and social backgrounds.

The rise in popularity of street skating was fueled in large measure by the release of several team videos by new, independent skateboard companies. The videos showed previously unknown amateur skaters performing skillful street maneuvers that many older, vert-skating pros could not even contemplate. With their gritty, underground feel, the videos fueled the new urban street-skating orientation of many young skaters.

Despite the economic recession of the early 1990s and the often bitter competition between newer, independent skateboard manufactures and older, vert-based firms, skateboarding has survived until the present day, even as the gap between the two distinct axes that have marked it since its inception has been exacerbated. The inclusion of skateboarding in the rising genre known as Xtreme sports during the 1990s—including in regular coverage of the annual X Games on the all-sports television network ESPN—has provided a broad media outlet and ensured that the sport itself has commercial viability and corporate sponsorship.

At the same time, a vibrant underground culture of street skaters has persisted in most major cities. Many of these skaters subscribe to the dropout philosophy of their predecessors, even as it is expressed in an increasingly urban and hip-hop-oriented idiom.

Michael F. Gretz

See also: [Me Decade: Venice, California.](#)

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Slang

One of the main ways in which a subculture distinguishes itself from the rest of society is by devising its own vocabulary, or slang. Slang is primarily made up of words and phrases that are not part of standard, formal language but are derived from a foreign language, dialect, or other special language for informal, colloquial use. Slang terms often refer to objects or activities considered inappropriate for polite conversation, and the terms themselves sometimes are considered vulgar, obscene, or otherwise offensive by mainstream society. Over time, however, many slang words become accepted as standard language, finding their way into dictionaries and formal usage.

Even generally accepted words can be used as slang if they are given meanings other than their formal ones. For example, the original, formal definition of the word *cool* refers to temperature, but the word also developed a slang usage in which it means “excellent.” *Bad* means “the opposite of good” in formal English, or even “evil”; in contemporary street slang, however, *bad* means “excellent,” making it a synonym for *cool*.

The members of any group may invent their own slang to communicate among themselves. Hence, slang serves as a kind of secret language that cannot be readily understood by the rest of society. Members of the group can identify themselves to one another merely by their use and understanding of slang words and phrases. Slang, therefore, is particularly important to American countercultures, whose members regard themselves as outsiders, alienated from society at large.

For example, one of the earliest known forms of slang is English “criminal cant,” which originated in the sixteenth century and was used as a secret language by criminals and beggars. In the present day, members of organized crime continue to have their own semiprivate vocabulary, using the term *whacked*, for example, as a synonym for *killed*.

Slang is especially common among racial and ethnic minority groups, who use it to distinguish themselves from mainstream culture and reinforce cultural identity. African Americans have contributed countless slang words to the English language throughout their history, and today the hip-hop culture has its own extensive slang vocabulary. For example, the term *dead presidents* refers to paper currency, which features images of deceased presidents George Washington, Abraham Lincoln, and others.

The 1960s Counterculture

Traditionally, teens and young adults have developed and used slang to have a vocabulary that adults do not understand. Slang was an important element of the American counterculture created by the generation that came of age following World War II. The Beat culture of the 1950s and early 1960s generated slang words such as *cats* and *Daddy-o* (for “cool” people) and *square* (for people who were not cool). Adjectives were turned into place names, such as *dullsville* and *weirdsville*.

The youth movement of the 1960s proved to be a rich source of slang. New phrases were devised to express the counterculture philosophy of the decade, such as *do your own thing* and *turn on*, and there were new terms for the people who practiced it, including *hippies* and *yippies*.

Likewise, the underground drug culture spawned an endless series of slang words to disguise their meaning from outsiders. Marijuana has been called “pot,” “weed,” and “Mary Jane,” among a myriad of other terms. The California surfer culture of the early 1960s contributed such words as *bummer* (for depressing) and *gnarly* (for good). Young people sent to fight in Vietnam also contributed: American soldiers were “grunts,” and the Vietcong were referred to as “Charlie.”

Going Mainstream

It is not just members of countercultures who create slang. Even groups considered part of the cultural mainstream devise their own vocabularies. Regional slang is used by people across the United States. An example is the infamous Valley Girl–speak of Southern California.

Members of virtually every profession invent their own slang as well. Doctors and nurses have an extensive slang vocabulary, including *stat* (meaning immediately). In show business, the trade publication *Variety* is famous for inventing slogans and slang terms, such as *sitcom* for situation-comedy series.

The rise of the Internet has brought a new, widely used form of slang, including such now-familiar terms as *surfing the Web* or *lurker* (someone who reads posts on a Web site without contributing). Internet slang terms are distinctive in that many of them are abbreviations, such as *LOL* (laughing out loud).

When slang words become accepted parts of the language, they cease being slang. Hence, the continual development of new slang words ultimately serves to enrich and revitalize the language. In 1888, the great poet and inventor of American vernacular Walt Whitman hailed the creation of slang as “the wholesome fermentation or eructation of those processes eternally active in language, by which froth and specks are thrown up, mostly to pass away; though occasionally to settle and permanently crystallize.”

A good example of the process Whitman described is the history of *cool*. Slang use of the word to mean “excellent” originated among African Americans and was first recorded in the early 1930s. In the 1940s, the general public became aware of how African American jazz musicians used the word. White hipsters thereupon adopted this version in the 1950s, and hippies readily embraced it in the 1960s. By the 2000s, if not before, the usage had become common throughout the English-speaking world. Indeed, while this use of *cool* is still informal, it is arguably no longer slang.

Cool is also a notable exception to the rule that the majority of terms introduced as slang are ephemeral and eventually fall from fashion. If a slang term is adopted by mainstream society, it usually loses its outsider cachet.

Moreover, as each new generation invents its own slang words to distinguish its members from their elders, slang becomes dated. However hip the slang of the 1950s sounded to the youth of that time, today, much of it seems quaint, if not ridiculous. Ultimately, slang—characterized by Whitman as “the start of fancy, imagination and humor, breathing into its nostrils the breath of life”—either is assimilated into the mainstream language over time or vanishes into obscurity.

Peter Sanderson

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Drug Culture](#): [Hippies](#): [Jazz](#).

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Slave Culture

Slave culture was a complex amalgamation of Central and West African traditions and practices tempered by the social, political, and economic exigencies of the British North American plantation system. Language, religion, family, and community were critical components of a largely oppositional culture that enabled slaves to endure extreme hardship, separation, and loss.

Slave culture was not monolithic, but important changes during the early national period helped forge an increasingly distinct African American slave experience. During the eighteenth century, slavery was a profitable but still relatively small institution in North America, and slave culture varied considerably by region. By the early nineteenth century, however, slavery became a distinctively Southern institution, with most slaves filling the labor needs on Southern plantations. Although three-quarters of Southerners did not own slaves, and most slaveholders owned fewer than five, three-quarters of slaves lived in groups of ten or more, and half of all slaves lived in groups of twenty or more.

Even after the constitutional ban on the African slave trade went into effect in 1808 and slavery became illegal in the North, the slave population continued to grow. Illegal imports combined with births resulted in a population of nearly 4 million slaves by 1860. Increased cotton production and the expansion of slavery into places such as Mississippi and Louisiana resulted in the growth of an internal slave trade that wreaked havoc in the lives of slaves in the Upper South, jeopardized the newly acquired freedom of many Northern blacks, and ultimately created a slave culture rooted in deep South plantation agriculture.

Language

Language played a critical role in the creation and maintenance of slave culture. The many languages of peoples from West and Central Africa often were so different that communication between Africans initially was difficult. Over time, numerous African languages and English mingled on the plantations of British North America, combining to form a language that made communication between Africans and whites possible. Slaves living in coastal South Carolina and Georgia, for example, spoke Gullah, a creole language that consisted primarily of English words but retained the pronunciation and grammar rules of various West African languages. The more time slaves lived among each other and their white masters, the more familiar they became with the English language and with the society of their captors.

African-born and American-born slaves who were able to communicate with one another, and with whites, benefited from increased knowledge of European ways and more sophisticated understanding of the slave system, which better equipped them to oppose white domination. Slaves who could communicate could form strong kinship and community networks; they could educate themselves; and, perhaps most importantly, they could sustain a distinct, oppositional slave culture rooted in their African past and traditions and their experience as slaves.

Language, like all elements of slave culture, became a complex means of resistance. Although the most readily identifiable forms of slave resistance usually involved direct confrontations or overt refusals to submit to the authority of owners or overseers, resistance also could be much more subtle. Language, as well as other forms of lyrical and nonverbal means of communication, enabled slaves to defy masters who sought to strip them of their culture and their identities.

Resistance often meant using language, song, and other gestures and postures to forge strong bonds with family, friends, and other fellow slaves, and ultimately pass on that knowledge and sense of loyalty and community to succeeding generations. Trickster tales, stories conveyed around a campfire or in the darkness of the slave quarters that pitted characters such as John the Slave or Brer (brother) Rabbit against Old Master or Brer Fox, often were used by slaves as a means of metaphorically defying or outwitting their masters and as a way of

transferring important life lessons to younger slaves.

Religion

Religion, like language, contributed to the foundation of slave culture. Often, special talents or abilities, such as storytelling or healing, helped some slaves gain respect and authority among their fellow slaves; slave conjurers and preachers who ministered to the spiritual needs of the community held a special place of privilege.

Most owners insisted that their slaves convert to Christianity, and most slaves did indeed profess a faith in Christianity by the mid-nineteenth century, but slaves did not simply adopt European religious beliefs. Those who did generally adapted their religious beliefs and practices to their own African cultural and spiritual traditions and used them for their own practical and spiritual purposes.

Slaves lived in a sacred world in which their lives and their natural environment were intimately connected to their ancestors and to powerful religious or spiritual figures that often had very human qualities. Although planters encouraged the acceptance of a form of Christianity that emphasized obedience, sin, and gentleness, slaves were drawn to stories in the Hebrew Bible such as those from Exodus that featured themes of escape from bondage and freedom from oppression. Owners hoped to use religion as a means of reinforcing their power over slaves by arguing that God commanded slaves to obey their masters and to be loyal, and used religion to justify holding slaves in bondage for life. Instead, slaves used Christianity, as well as older African traditions and beliefs, to form a powerful oppositional culture.

African Americans not only adapted Christian beliefs to their previous belief systems and present condition, but they also incorporated African styles of worship that included singing, dancing, storytelling, and the call-and-response style of communication into their Christian services. For instance, the ring shout, a ritual originally performed in Africa that remained an important part of New World slave culture, symbolized oneness with nature and with ancestors, and the solidarity of the community. Far less stolid and solemn than Europeans in their worship, Africans celebrated their religion.

Family and Community

Along with language and religion, the family proved essential to the maintenance of slave culture and community. Family life for slaves was always problematic, since they had no legal rights to protect their family or keep it intact. In slave marriages, husbands and wives survived on an equal footing: Neither had any property rights or legal standing. Slave masters had absolute authority to punish with impunity, to separate the family, and to reward a family member, theoretically making parental authority and marriage rights meaningless. Nevertheless, slaves devised their own rituals, customs, and social boundaries regarding marriage and family, and they worked hard to maintain kin networks.

Slaves performed their own marriage ceremonies, often consisting of older African traditions such as “jumping the broomstick,” in slave quarters, away from the master’s gaze. Slaves used African naming customs to honor relatives and denote familial lineage. They also followed certain prohibitions, such as not marrying one’s “blood kin,” or first cousin.

By the 1840s, three-quarters of slaves in Louisiana lived in what one historian has referred to as simple family households, consisting of a couple with or without children or a single parent, usually a mother, with children. The Louisiana slaves were not alone; most slaves lived in families. The fact that slave families existed and endured well after the tremendous upheaval caused by the Civil War and emancipation is testimony to the power of the oppositional culture formed by slaves, despite white society’s efforts to dehumanize them.

At the center of the oppositional slave culture lay the slave community. Two separate but intricately connected slave communities developed on plantations during the nineteenth century. One centered around the “big house,” where the master and his family exercised the greatest control over slaves and where slaves were most likely to

appear to acquiesce to the master's authority. This was where most white people gained their impressions of slavery and of Southern black people, as well as of the Southern slave owner as genteel and patriarchal.

There was a very different plantation community in the slave quarters, however, where white people held far less direct power and authority over their slaves. It was within the slave quarters that slaves could maintain a greater degree of dignity and control over their lives. Freed from the master's gaze, slaves developed and maintained a complex oppositional culture rooted in rituals, practices, traditions, songs, storytelling, and beliefs born in Africa and reconstituted in the New World.

Whether they were attending a clandestine religious service, participating in a wedding ceremony, or surreptitiously making plans to escape or engage in some other unlawful act, slaves acted within a complex cultural milieu that was formed in opposition to the larger white culture. Slave communities were not without conflict and confrontation, but the common bond of servitude often proved to be a powerful uniting force among slaves.

Michael A. Rembis

See also: [African Americans](#).

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Sloan, John (1871–1951)

John Sloan was a distinguished American artist whose sympathy for the common people put him on the side of those artists hoping for progressive change in turn-of-the-twentieth-century America. His subject matter, drawn from everyday life, on many occasions challenged mainstream artistic norms and made his art a potential tool for social justice. His naturalistic style gave new aesthetic insights into the modern urban landscape.

John French Sloan was born in Lock Haven, Pennsylvania, on August 2, 1871. His family moved to Philadelphia when he was still a boy, and it was there that he was raised and educated. While at the city's Central High School, he became friends with another aspiring artist, William Glackens.

Primarily self-taught, Sloan obtained work as an illustrator with the *Philadelphia Inquirer* in 1891; he moved to the

Philadelphia Press in 1895 and remained there until 1903. Increasingly, newspaper illustrations were being replaced by photography, a reality that helped persuade Sloan to become a full-time artist.

Sloan's formal art education had begun in the early 1890s at the Pennsylvania Academy of the Fine Arts, where he studied oil painting with the influential artist and teacher Robert Henri, and with Thomas Anshutz, an equally significant masculine realist. It was also during these studies that he became friends with some of the other young artists who would later become known as The Eight—the group of painters who participated in an exhibition at the Macbeth Gallery in New York City in February 1908 in response to the National Academy's rejection of their work for its 1907 spring exhibition.

In 1904, joining other artists such as Glackens, George Luks, and Everett Shinn, Sloan settled in New York City, where the bustle of daily life provided a new creative inspiration. Sloan's newspaper work had introduced him to everyday life from the bottom up, giving him an appreciation for both narrative and naturalism in art.

Sloan began to exhibit in 1906 and joined the other members of The Eight in the Macbeth Gallery exhibit. The show helped seal the group's identity as the Ashcan School, a name associated with their realistic and challenging take on urban life. The Ashcan School stuck its collective finger in the eye of academic convention, which meant defying the art critics of the day. As a group, they embraced the urban backdrop of American life and saw that unfashionable reality could be the legitimate subject of art. Through the use of thick and rapidly applied brushstrokes, they created a dark vision, in which common people were central and everyday events and lifestyles were legitimate materials for artistic expression.

Along with his artistic style, Sloan's politics made him something of a rebel. He moved in early socialist circles, although his independent streak would cause him to break with formal politics and pursue his own artistic style free from the dictated rigidities of socialist realism. In 1912, he joined the radical magazine *The Masses* as art director; the following year, his artwork was included in the critically important New York Armory Show. In addition, he began teaching at the Art Students League, where he taught a large number of America's next generation of artists.

During World War II, Sloan took up outdoor painting and, with his wife, Dolly, took part in the artists' colonies of Gloucester, Massachusetts, and Santa Fe, New Mexico. Sloan was elected to the National Academy in 1929, and he gained further accolades in 1931, when he became president of the Art Students League. During the Great Depression, he supported campaigns to improve artists' economic prospects but avoided association with the Communist Party USA, then exercising influence over certain artists.

After Dolly's death, in 1943, Sloan married a former student, Helen Farr, who had assisted him in assembling his thoughts and theories for his 1939 book, *The Gist of Art*. In recognition of his lifetime's contribution to American culture and his promotion of artistic independence, Sloan was awarded the Gold Medal by the American Academy of Arts and Letters in 1950.

At the time of his death on September 7, 1951, in Hanover, New Hampshire, a retrospective of Sloan's work was being planned at New York's Whitney Museum. His varied body of work remains popular and is still largely identified with urban realism. He is well represented in major national museums and collections, and the continued sale of his art has long been associated with the Kraushaar Gallery in New York.

Theodore W. Eversole

See also: [Ashcan School](#); [Communism](#).

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Slow Movement

The Slow movement consists of a number of separate and diverse efforts in the 1990s and 2000s by individuals and groups who share the central goal of resisting what they perceive as the accelerating pace of modern life and the destructive effects of commercialization and globalization. In addition to a general slowing down of the pace of life, the movement's goals include preserving distinctive local customs, de-emphasizing conspicuous consumption, strengthening familial and social structures, and preserving the local physical environment.

Proponents of the Slow movement often state their goals in opposition to what they regard as the tendencies of a technology-driven modern lifestyle with an overemphasis on efficiency and uniformity, and a concomitant tendency to discard what is unique or local in favor of that which can be mass-produced and mass-distributed. Some individuals and groups within the Slow movement see themselves as part of the worldwide anti-globalization movement and have organized around causes such as opposition to the opening of fast-food restaurants in European cities. Others have chosen to focus entirely on personal concerns, such as limiting the intrusion of workplace concerns into the home, or promoting leisure activities such as yoga or gardening, rather than watching television.

The beginnings of the Slow movement have been traced to the efforts of Carlo Petrini, an Italian who in 1986 organized a demonstration against building a McDonald's restaurant near the Piazza di Spagna in Rome. Protestors brandished bowls of penne, a traditional Italian pasta dish, as a symbol of their opposition to the standardized foods to be offered by the American, corporate, fast-food restaurant. Petrini became a spokesperson for the importance of meals as a social ritual and the preservation of local foods and customs.

Another well-known spokesperson is the French farmer José (Joseph) Bové, who became famous for his role in dismantling a McDonald's restaurant in Millau, France, in 1999. Bové is an anti-globalization activist and politician who was a candidate for the French presidency in 2007 and had previously been an antimilitary and antinuclear activist. Groups such as Slow Food USA and Local Harvest, who support the principles of Petrini and Bové, came to be known as the Slow Food movement.

From its birth in the Slow Food movement, the Slow movement in the United States has grown rapidly to embrace many facets of modern life. Slow Travel advocates vacations that avoid well-known tourist destinations and long-distance, short-duration travel in favor of leisurely travel within smaller, less heavily traveled areas. The Slow Schools movement believes that American schools have become overly competitive and standardized and should instead adopt a cooperative and child-centered approach to education.

Advocates of the Slow Living movement attempt to adapt the principles of the Slow Food movement to many aspects of daily life, emphasizing the quality and individuality of each person's life rather than the amount of work accomplished or prestige garnered. They advocate a greater emphasis on family, social, and recreational activities; reserving time each day during which one is unavailable through electronic technologies such as e-mail and pagers; and taking up leisurely hobbies such as gardening or knitting.

Part of the movement's growth has been due to the recognition of common concerns among preexisting elements within U.S. counterculture. The Voluntary Simplicity movement, begun in the 1980s, advocates decreased

consumption of material goods, increased simplification of daily life, and increased focus on personal growth and awareness. It is represented by organizations such as the Simple Living Network.

The Slow movement's concern with preserving the local environment has its roots in the ecology movement of the 1960s and 1970s. The New Urbanism movement, begun in the 1980s as an alternative to the automobile-based suburban model of community development prevalent in the United States, shares with the Slow movement concerns with the human scale of design and the local quality of life. These include building or preserving traditional neighborhoods that encourage social interaction and provide a safe environment for walking and bicycling.

Sarah Boslaugh

See also: [Anti-Globalization Movement](#).

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Smith, Joseph (1805–1844)

Joseph Smith was the founder of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (commonly known as the Mormon Church) and the publisher of its defining text, the *Book of Mormon*, in 1830, which he claimed to have translated from golden plates he found buried near Palmyra, New York. As a “seer, a Translator, a Prophet, and Apostle of Jesus Christ and Elder of the Church,” Smith later moved with the growing Mormon Church to Ohio, Missouri, and, finally, Illinois, facing persecution by non-Mormons in each locale. At the time of his death in 1844, there were more than 30,000 Mormons worldwide. By the early 2000s, there were more than 10 million, making it one of the most successful new religions of the past several centuries.

Smith was born on December 23, 1805, in Sharon, Vermont. His parents, struggling farmers, moved Joseph and his nine siblings all over the Northeast, landing near Palmyra, New York, by the time Joseph was a teenager. The sectarian infighting inspired by the religious revivals sweeping across upstate New York at the time confronted Joseph and his family with the question of which Christian sect to join. In his personal history, later canonized as part of the Mormon scriptural book the *Pearl of Great Price* (1851), Smith described how, at the age of fourteen, he had a vision in which God and Jesus told him that all of the sects were wrong.

Smith's divinely appointed rejection of Protestant sectarian culture characterized Mormonism's relationship to mainstream American Christianity through the rest of Smith's life. He presented Mormonism as the true Christianity in opposition to the babble of competing sects, a view many disgruntled sectarians found appealing. With divine assistance, Smith retranslated the King James Version of the Hebrew Bible and the New Testament because, he asserted, the version Protestants were reading was corrupt. In addition, Smith offered converts the *Book of Mormon*, a more-than-500-page narrative of the 1,000-year history of a family of Israelites who fled from Jerusalem to America in 600 B.C.E.

Smith asserted that the *Book of Mormon* was an ancient compendium of historical documents written by the kings and prophets of a lost people, the only descendants of whom were Native Americans. The volume's deft combination of Hebrew Bible and New Testament milieus attributed Christian knowledge to pre-Christian characters and enabled Mormon converts to read the newly restored, entire Bible (composed of the Hebrew Bible, the *Book of Mormon*, and the New Testament) as a single, continuous Christian narrative.

Detractors pointed to the similarities between the *Book of Mormon* and nineteenth-century Christian conceptions as evidence of Smith's own authorship, but the early Mormons cited the *Book's* agreement with mainstream Christianity as proof of its authenticity. Many interpreters, Mormon and non-Mormon alike, also have asserted that the book departs from nineteenth-century Christian understandings. Smith presented his miraculous reception and translation of the *Book* as proof of the Mormon tenet that God continues to communicate divine truth to man. In this way, the very physical presence of the *Book* was said to validate Smith's later revelations.

Smith's revelations during the fourteen years he led the Mormon Church were published in the scriptural book *Doctrine and Covenants* (1835), which developed Mormonism into a complex religion that agreed with some aspects of nineteenth-century Protestantism but sharply distinguished itself from the mainstream. The practice of plural marriage, which Smith justified as a divine revelation and surrounded with secrecy, fomented controversy and posed a moral challenge to the communities in which the Mormons first settled. But it was the political dimension of Smith's leadership that would contribute most to anti-Mormon sentiment and the Mormons' expulsions from Ohio (1838), Missouri (1839), and Illinois (1846).

Instead of isolating the Mormon Church from local politics, as had other nineteenth-century American separatist religious sects, Smith aggressively pursued political control. He encouraged Mormons to run for local office and instructed them on how to vote so that, as a bloc, they could influence state politics. In Missouri, the perception that the Mormons were too numerous and politically powerful led to persecution and violent conflict, as did hostility to the practice of men having multiple wives, which Mormons claimed was divinely ordained. A full-scale war would have followed if the Mormons had not retreated to Illinois.

In 1838, the Mormons settled the river town of Nauvoo, Illinois, and instituted a town charter that gave Smith unusual control. The Nauvoo Legion, which Smith commanded, was the largest local militia in the state of Illinois. While Smith often attributed divine sanction to U.S. laws and to the Constitution itself, the combination of his near-absolute political control and the doctrine of continuous revelation left the door open to the rejection of government authority. The perception that Nauvoo was a state-sanctioned theocracy with its own army troubled the Mormons' neighbors in Illinois. Smith's earnest run for president of the United States in 1844 further exacerbated negative sentiment toward the Mormons.

Not long after the Mormons arrived in Illinois, former Missouri Governor Lilburn Boggs was assassinated, and Smith was named as a suspected conspirator in the murder. Smith avoided extradition to Missouri, but when anti-Mormon pressure climaxed in 1844, he turned himself in to Illinois authorities. An angry mob stormed the jail where Smith and his brother Hyrum were being held and, with the compliance of the guards, killed the two men on June 27, 1844.

Joshua Goren

See also: [Mormonism](#).

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Smith, Patti (1946–)

Patti Smith is an American poet, rock singer, songwriter, and performance artist widely regarded as a forerunner of the New York punk movement. Various referred to as the “high priestess of punk” and “punk’s poet laureate,” she is perhaps best known for a series of 1970s recordings that blurred the line between rock and roll and performance poetry, including *Horses* (1975). Long a leading figure in New York City’s downtown art and music scene, Smith first gained prominence for her poetry readings and performances in such East Village venues as the Poetry Project at St. Mark’s Church and the club CBGB. Her work, which also includes visual art, theater, rock criticism, and several books of poetry, has had significant international influence, particularly in such genres as alternative rock, spoken word, and performance art. Smith is also known for her activism in support of various environmental, social justice, and human rights causes; some consider her a feminist icon.

Patricia Lee Smith was born in Chicago, Illinois, on December 30, 1946, the oldest of four children. Her father, Grant Smith, was a factory worker, and her mother, Beverly, was a waitress. Raised in Woodbury, New Jersey, near Philadelphia, in high school Smith was drawn to the work of Arthur Rimbaud, Bob Dylan, James Brown, and the Rolling Stones.

Dropping out of Glassboro State College (now Rowan University), she moved to New York City in 1967, where she worked as a clerk at the Strand bookstore, frequented the Hotel Chelsea and Max’s Kansas City nightclub, wrote rock criticism for publications such as *Creem*, and lived with the photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, who would go on to design the cover of her first album. During this period, she also lived with the playwright Sam Shepard, with whom she collaborated on the play *Cowboy Mouth* (1971). Shortly thereafter, she published her first volumes of poetry, *Seventh Heaven* (1972) and *Witt* (1973).

In 1971, backed by guitarist and rock critic Lenny Kaye, Smith opened for poet Gerald Malanga at the Poetry Project. The collaboration was a success, and Smith and Kaye continued playing throughout the city, eventually recruiting piano player Richard Sohl. The trio soon developed a potent mix of rock, jazz, and poetry, epitomized by their early track “Piss Factory” (1974) and fleshed out the following year in her debut album, *Horses*, produced by John Cale, former cellist for the Velvet Underground. Critics praised the album’s bold merger of garage rock abandon with Beat and symbolist sensibility, and it has since become a rock classic. Around the same time, Smith and her group began playing with the band Television at CBGB, ushering in the era of New York punk and New Wave.

Smith followed up the success of *Horses* with three more albums—*Radio Ethiopia* (1976), *Easter* (1978), and *Wave* (1979)—and the Patti Smith Group, as it was now called, toured extensively in the United States and Europe. In 1978, the song “Because the Night,” a collaboration with singer Bruce Springsteen, became Smith’s only Top 20 hit—a rare instance of a punk-identified artist crossing over into the pop charts.

Soon thereafter, Smith married Fred Smith, the former guitarist of the influential 1960s rock band MC5, and she withdrew from the spotlight. She released only one album in the 1980s, focusing instead on raising her two children.

In the mid-1990s, following the deaths of her husband and brother, Smith resumed recording and touring. By 2007, she had released four more albums and several compilations and had toured and collaborated with such artists as Bob Dylan, R.E.M., and Television. In 2005, France named Smith a *Commandeur dans l’Ordre des Arts*

et des Lettres, and in 2007 she was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame. Her 2007 autobiography *Just Kids*, about her early days in New York City and her friendship with the young art student and photographer Robert Mapplethorpe, was published to rave reviews.

Urayoán Noel

See also: [Punk Rock](#).

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Smoking, Tobacco

The use of tobacco has been tainted by controversy ever since the Native Americans who were encountered by Christopher Columbus gifted him and his fellow European adventurers with the plant. When tobacco use is in general favor, opponents tend to be overlooked as a sometimes vocal minority. Historically, however, tobacco has been unpopular with the majority of American society, and proponents of its use have had to fight to have their views heard or respected. Public opinion on the subject of tobacco use has often been hostage to clashes between big government and big businesses, and their struggles over profits, taxes, and the general health and welfare of the American population.

History and Countercultural Roots

The true nature of smoking was misunderstood by the European explorers who ventured to the Americas and were introduced to tobacco by Native Americans. Smoking tobacco had traditionally been part of a ceremonial ritual, but Europeans regarded it as a vice.

From colonial times, many European Americans considered smoking a filthy habit. Its value as an export to the Old World outweighed its vileness, however, and tobacco plantations flourished in America. Indeed, it became an economic mainstay, escalating the slave trade from Africa even before the infamous cotton plantations that proliferated across the South during the early years of nationhood.

Photographs of former slaves often show both men and women smoking, their pipes hand carved from corncobs. It is not inconceivable that many slaves smoked clandestinely, gaining a small consolation from partaking of the master's fortune and reducing, however infinitesimally, the profit of the plantation—and perhaps, thereby, creating an early counterculture of smoking.

In the early twentieth century, most smokers were men; smoking tobacco continued to be viewed as immoral and a sign of especially bad character among women. The 1920s, however, was a time of sweeping change for American women, who had just won the right to vote (under the Nineteenth Amendment, ratified in 1920) and were determined to show their independence in other ways as well. Tobacco companies encouraged them to

smoke, and “flappers,” the modern women of the Roaring Twenties, wore skimpy clothes, drank (prohibited) alcohol, and openly smoked cigarettes and cigars.

The encouragement to smoke was perhaps the impetus to engage in other independent behaviors as well. Women drank, wore what they wanted to, owned property, and were no longer content to stand on the pedestal of virtuous wife and mother. This, it is important to note, applied exclusively to well-to-do white women; poorer white women and women of color remained beneath the notice of the elite and powerful (white men). Nevertheless, disenfranchised women enjoyed a freedom in their powerlessness that rich white women tried to emulate. Photographs of poor rural women in the early twentieth century often showed them with corncob pipes between their lips.

Cigarette smoking emerged more visibly among the economically distressed people of the Great Depression as a way to escape their dire circumstances. Another popular escape was going to the movies, in which heroes and heroines indulged heavily in smoking. Theatergoers in those days would light up in sympathy with smoking protagonists. Vicariously through smoking, desperately poor men and women prevailed against evil, lived, loved, and even died with their celluloid counterparts, forgetting the hardships of the day and gaining a feeling of command over events beyond their control.

In films and in the theater of the era, the trappings and mannerisms of smoking—filling, tamping, and lighting a pipe, tamping down a cigarette and lighting it, or clipping the end of a cigar—were emphasized. These activities enabled the smoker to take control of situations, to punctuate words and silences with subtle meaning, and to underscore points and create emphasis where needed.

Mid-Twentieth Century to the Present

During World War II, soldiers fighting in the trenches, in ships, and in the air were issued free cigarettes from the maker of Lucky Strikes. Women working in factories during the war also were encouraged to smoke. Indeed, cigarette ads helped to popularize “Rosie the Riveter,” a cultural icon extolling the ability of women to keep the economy going at home while the men were away fighting for freedom. Smoking in this instance was seen as a symbol of competence.

When the men came back from fighting overseas, advertisements encouraged women to return to the home, while continuing to smoke. Smoking was promoted as a social activity, and advertisements reinforced this. The characters portrayed by tough-guy film star Humphrey Bogart, in *Casablanca* (1941) and other popular releases of that decade, lent a particular cachet and nightclub glamour to smoking cigarettes.

After World War II, free thinkers such as the Beat writers offered an alternative to the prevailing conservative lifestyle of the 1950s, and were often seen with cigarettes dangling from their mouths. The nonconformist, rebellious young man was further exemplified by the brief career and tragic death of movie actor James Dean, best known for his role in *Rebel Without a Cause* (1955) and often pictured with cigarette in hand. Tobacco advertising was quick to target smoking as *de rigueur* for young men who wanted to show off their own nonconformist, rebellious ways. The onslaught of ads focused on teenagers as consumers who would smoke to emulate popular antiheroes.

Smokers in the 1960s rebelled vicariously, emulating fictional superspy James Bond and other larger-than-life characters of the big screen. To smoke was to become a hero. Cigarette ads reflected this, and the branding of the Marlboro Man tapped into the American ideals of rugged individualism and the romance of life on the open range. Camel, a rival company, used the phrase “I’d Walk a Mile for a Camel” to signify determination in the face of obstacles, again appealing to men. With the rise of the feminist movement in the 1960s, Virginia Slims targeted liberated women with slogans such as “You’ve Come a Long Way, Baby!” All in all, smoking became a more accepted social activity, a means of bonding, through the shared enjoyment of smoking, and projecting a desired image in atmospheres as diverse as the workplace, the restaurant, and the bar.

Meanwhile, hippies preferred smoking marijuana to smoking tobacco, certain that marijuana, not being physically addictive, was less damaging physically than tobacco and its nicotine. Nor was tobacco deemed to fit their search for a natural, simple lifestyle. Many dreamed of a day when tobacco would be illegal and marijuana would be the smoke of respectability.

By the 1970s, the pendulum of smoking in America began to swing back to the status of unacceptable, for both men and women. Congress passed the Federal Cigarette Labeling and Advertising Act in 1965, followed by the requirement to print a warning from the Surgeon General on all cigarette packs, advising purchasers of the health risks associated with smoking.

Tobacco companies persisted in downplaying the health risks of smoking and the addictiveness of nicotine for the next several decades, but by the end of the century, class-action suits won large reparations from the industry. In 1998, forty-six states signed an agreement with America's five largest tobacco corporations, whereby the states would receive \$206 billion over twenty-five years to use at their discretion to educate the public about the risks of smoking and to discourage tobacco use.

As of 2008, New York, Boston, and Chicago were among the major U.S. cities that had banned smoking in indoor public places. At issue is the right of the individual to breathe clean air versus an individual's right to smoke in the pursuit of happiness. Belmont, a city near San Francisco, proposed an even stricter ban, effectively forbidding smoking any place other than on the property of a single-family, detached home.

Smokers have banded together in the face of widespread ostracism, as tobacco use has once again become the underdog rather than an accepted social activity. Groups such as FORCES (Fight Ordinances and Restrictions to Control and Eliminate Smoking), Cigar World, the United Smokers Association, American Smokers Alliance, and the National Smokers Alliance view antismoking measures as infringements on individual rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. Moreover, say such groups, the antismoking movement is commercially motivated, benefiting large corporations such as pharmaceutical companies that manufacture nicotine-replacement therapy products, such as patches and gum.

Other groups, including the MATCH (Mobilize Against Tobacco for Children's Health) Coalition, the Foundation for a Smokefree America, Action on Smoking and Health (ASH), Children Opposed to Smoking Tobacco (COST), and numerous others, claim that breathing clean air and living in a smoke-free environment, as well as other benefits from banning smoking, are the rights of every American. As such, they have pushed to make the general public aware of other issues related to smoking, such as secondhand smoke, to which children and young adults are especially susceptible.

Janis Lyman

See also: [Beat Generation](#); [Dean, James](#); [Feminism, Second-Wave](#); [Flappers and Flapper Culture](#); [Great Depression](#).

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Smothers Brothers

The folk singing comedy duo of Tom and Dick Smothers, known as the Smothers Brothers, stood up against network television censorship in the 1960s and were important in promoting the disaffected youth culture of the time. The Smothers Brothers first performed professionally as a music-and-comedy team at San Francisco's Purple Onion club in 1958, and made their national television debut on *The Jack Paar Show* in 1961. Tom, the older of the two (born on February 2, 1937), played guitar and portrayed himself as mentally slow; his catchphrase was "Mom always loved you best." Dick (born on November 20, 1938) played stand-up bass and was the straight man in their routines. They usually began with a song duet, which was interrupted by Tom or Dick and led to a comedy dialogue, and then a return to the song.

The brothers had made several successful albums and numerous television appearances before their own show, *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour*, debuted on the CBS television network on February 5, 1967. Some politically and culturally sensitive material was aired the first season, but it was mostly diffused by comedic counterpoints. The show proved to be a ratings success, especially with the youth demographic of sixteen-to twenty-four-year-olds, and was renewed for a second season.

Then, the tenor of the show changed dramatically. The second show of the new season, aired on September 1, 1967, featured folk singer and political activist Pete Seeger, who had been blacklisted from television for more than fifteen years for his political beliefs. Seeger was to sing "Waist Deep in the Big Muddy," a thinly disguised criticism of the war in Vietnam. CBS censored the song, but strong opposition from the public and the press prompted the network to backtrack and let Seeger perform the song on the February 16, 1968, show.

Throughout the season the Smothers Brothers continued to include material designed to denounce the war and mock mainstream American culture. The recurring routine "Share a Little Tea with Goldie" featured Leigh French portraying a pothead named Goldie O'Keefe. Ironically, most of these segments got past the censors, because they did not understand the code language being used, such as "tea" for marijuana.

The third season, premiering on September 19, 1968, marked a sharp escalation of the show's political radicalism and the network's attempts to silence its dissenting voice. The spring of that year had seen the assassinations of civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and Democratic presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy, and the Chicago police had publicly beaten demonstrators at the Democratic National Convention in August. As a sign that their own attitudes had also changed, Tom and Dick returned to the air with longer hair, moustaches, and unconventional clothing. On the season's opening show, Harry Belafonte's song "Don't Stop the Carnival" was censored, because he had changed the lyrics to refer to events in Chicago. CBS, meanwhile, also had refused to air any convention footage that showed police violence.

Throughout the season, the brothers pushed material that seemed to dare CBS to censor them. Their musical guests also were geared to the views of counterculture youth, with appearances by the Beatles, Jefferson Airplane, the Doors, Donovan, and Peter, Paul and Mary.

On March 9, 1969, CBS refused to show an entire episode in which singer Joan Baez spoke about her husband's imprisonment on draft-evasion charges. Finally, on April 3, 1969, the network canceled the show entirely. The Smothers Brothers sued for breach of contract and eventually won, but the radical programming so loved by the counterculture was gone.

The Smothers Brothers had short-lived series in later years on ABC and NBC, and they even returned to CBS for a twenty-year reunion show. But none of the revivals was particularly successful in terms of viewer ratings, nor important in terms of political or cultural commentary. They continue to perform live in the 2000s.

Jerry Shuttle

See also: [Baez, Joan](#); [Chicago Seven](#); [Seeger, Pete](#); [Television](#).

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Snoop Dogg (1971–)

Snoop Dogg, formerly known as Snoop Doggy Dogg, is a leading figure in West Coast rap culture as an artist, record producer, and actor. He personifies 1990s gangsta rap, a subgenre of hip-hop associated with urban gangs and characterized by violent and misogynistic lyrics. Terse, laid-back, hip-hop rhyming is a defining feature of this controversial artist, whose lyrics about violence and pimping seem to both reflect and foreshadow events that have marked his everyday life off stage. Many of his song lyrics have played out in his own life, and his appearances in feature films and video games placed him squarely in the mold of the underground, streetwise hustler and smooth-talking player.

Snoop Dogg was born Calvin Broadus in Long Beach, California, on October 20, 1971. He was given the name “Snoopy” by his mother after the dog in the comic strip *Peanuts*. He became a member of the Long Beach Rollin’ 20s Crips, one of several street gangs that sprang from the original Crips.

In his post-high school years, he was jailed for several offenses, including drug trafficking. Meanwhile, he was recording his own rap tapes and eventually worked with Dr. Dre, a hip-hop artist formerly of the band N.W.A. (Niggaz With Attitude), performing on Dre’s popular album *The Chronic* (1992).

Doggystyle (1993) was Snoop Dogg’s first solo album, released on the heels of his arrest in the shooting death of a member of a rival gang. It entered the charts at number one and set a trend in terms of graphic language, allusions to violence, and gangsta motifs. A video with fellow artist Tupac Shakur, *2 of Amerikaz Most Wanted* (1996), captured the anguish and bravado of the era, featuring the two artists posturing and enveloped in a chaotic world of hustling and gunplay. A concept video, *Murder Was the Case* (1994), dramatized Snoop Dogg’s death. That year, during a tour in England, tabloid newspapers and some members of Parliament requested that the government expel the rapper for his growing notoriety.



California hip-hop artist and producer Snoop Dogg (Calvin Broadus) was a leading figure in the rise of gangsta rap, the controversial subgenre known for violent, misogynistic, sexually explicit lyrics. (Greetsia Tent/WireImage/Getty Images)

Snoop Dogg was a participant in the gangsta rap feud between the East Coast's Bad Boy Records and the West Coast's Death Row Records, which turned violent in the mid-1990s. Snoop's stage persona and alter ego offstage were at the heart of the all-out contest for power, money, and notoriety. The rivalry culminated in the murder of West Coast rap icon Shakur in November 1996 and East Coast counterpart Notorious B.I.G. six months later. Snoop Dogg's second album, *The Doggfather* (1996), did not sell as well as his first, partly because the industry and fan base seemed tired of the East Coast–West Coast feud.

In the aftermath, Snoop Dogg began altering his image, appearing to move away from purely gangsta motifs, broadening his audience and influence. The effort included participation in the 1997 tour of Lollapalooza, the traveling music festival. But Snoop did not give up his radical posture and lifestyle. In fact, he only seemed to further embed his career in controversy. In 2000, he directed the near-pornographic film *Snoop Dogg's Doggystyle*, and, two years later, released the film *Snoop Dogg's Hustlaz: Diary of a Pimp*.

In 2003, he was embroiled in a highly publicized civil rape case, and in 2006, he and members of his entourage were arrested at London's Heathrow airport for unruly behavior and vandalizing a shop. Thereafter, he was variously charged with and arrested for possession of firearms and drugs and with disruptive behavior. In April

2007, he was found guilty of gun and drug charges, and sentenced to five years on probation.

In 2004, meanwhile, Snoop Dogg had left Death Row Records and signed with Geffen Records, releasing *R&G: Rhythm & Gangsta* with Geffen that year. Critics hailed the album—which featured the enormously popular song “Drop It Like It’s Hot”—as hardcore and commercially appealing, featuring jazz guitars and mainstream collaborations.

Snoop Dogg hosted a kind of peace summit for the hip-hop community in 2005, calling on West Coast rappers to “end all their beefs” and “protect the West.” The event also attracted some rival artists and led Snoop Dogg to end his rivalries with Death Row founder Suge Knight and rappers Jayo Felony and Kurupt. In 2009, he was hired by EMI to head its hip-hop label Priority Records and, late that year, released his own tenth studio album, *Malice n Wonderland*.

By 2009, Snoop Dogg’s albums had sold in excess of 20 million copies in the United States alone. Throughout his career, his public persona has exuded both the cool and the perverse, a paradox he brought to the rap stage and to hip-hop culture in general. In spite of his overtures to other genres and subgenres within hip-hop, his work is still widely known for espousing violence and misogyny.

Curwen Best

See also: [Gangsta Rap](#): [Hip-Hop](#): [Rap Music](#).

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Snyder, Gary (1930–)

Poet Gary Snyder is one of the most prominent figures to emerge from the San Francisco Renaissance of the 1950s. In 1975, he became the first poet of the American West to be awarded the Pulitzer Prize, for his collection *Turtle Island*. By merging his practice of Buddhism with an ecological perspective rooted in Native American understandings and an intimate knowledge of western U.S. topography, Snyder became a modern-day Henry David Thoreau whose writings and personal example helped shape American countercultural thought from the 1950s onward.

Gary Sherman Snyder was born on May 8, 1930, in San Francisco and raised in Lake City, Washington, and Portland, Oregon. As a youth, he became deeply interested in the wilderness of the surrounding mountain ranges and in Native American lifestyles and approaches to the land. He graduated from Reed College in 1951 with a double major in anthropology and literature, and spent the next few years taking graduate classes, writing poetry, and working as a lookout at various national forests.

Soon after taking part in the famous October 1955 Six Gallery reading in San Francisco at which Allen Ginsberg

first recited his poem *Howl*, Snyder boarded a freighter for Kyoto, Japan. He lived in Japan for most of the next twelve years, deepening his understanding of Buddhist practice under the tutelage of Zen master Oda Sesso Roshi and continuing to write the poems that would be published in *Riprap* (1959), *Myths and Texts* (1960), *Mountains and Rivers Without End* (1965), *A Range of Poems* (1966), and *The Back Country* (1967; first U.S. edition, 1968).

During these years, Snyder was able to maintain his relationships with the Beat writers he had helped launch in the mid-1950s. He often gave readings with Ginsberg, and he participated in such antiwar demonstrations as the Gathering of the Tribes in San Francisco's Golden Gate Park in 1967. During the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s, Snyder became increasingly outspoken about ecological concerns and collected his essays on Buddhism, poetry, and land use in such influential volumes as *Earth House Hold* (1969), *The Real Work* (1980), and *The Practice of the Wild* (1990). He also continued to collect his poetry in several more volumes.

In a 1977 interview published in *East-West Journal*, Snyder commented: "What it comes down to simply is this: If what the Hindus, the Buddhists, the Shoshone, the Hopi, [and] the Christians are suggesting is true, then all of industrial/technological civilization is really on the wrong track, because its drive and energy are purely mechanical and self-serving—real values are someplace else. The real values are within nature, family, mind, and into liberation."

Snyder's life, politics, and poetry consistently have been devoted to elucidating the "real" values that he discerns within the core of every truly holistic religion. The meditative calm, zest for life, and wise humor he brought to this task has made him one of the most admired and iconic figures of the late-twentieth-century American counterculture.

Michael Van Dyke

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Be-Ins](#): [Buddhism](#): [Ginsberg, Allen](#): [San Francisco, California](#): [Thoreau, Henry David](#).

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Social Gospel

The Social Gospel, arising in the second half of the nineteenth century, refers to the ideology of social service promoted by a broad, transatlantic movement of Protestants. (Roman Catholics maintained their own social Christian tradition at that time.) Advocates of the Social Gospel would proceed to challenge America to apply the ethical imperatives of Judeo-Christianity creatively to their economic, political, and international activities during the Progressive Era (1890–1919) and after. Pastors, theologians, and lay activists united in demanding a "beloved community" characterized by respect for workers, civil rights for minorities, and an end to war.

Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries

The Social Gospel crusade emerged after the American Civil War in response to problems arising from unregulated industrialization and urbanization. Episcopalians, Congregationalists, Methodists, and Baptists in the Northeast and Midwest, witnessing firsthand the hardships of new working and immigrant classes, were its earliest proponents. Through sermons and numerous books, Ohio pastor Washington Gladden championed “Applied Christianity” in opposition to unjust employers and corrupt urban politicians. Frances Willard, leader of the Woman’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), argued that the Christian middle classes should “do everything” to combat class inequalities. For them, the “fatherhood” of God and resulting “brotherhood” of humankind negated all exploitative relationships.

Gladden and Willard were soon joined by pioneering social scientists such as University of Wisconsin professor Richard T. Ely, who founded the American Economic Association (AEA) in 1885 on a Christian socialist foundation. Ely and other Social Gospel pioneers received significant inspiration from British and German social Christians, including journalist William T. Stead. Reprints of Stead’s 1893 address, “If Christ Came to Chicago,” described and condemned the horrible conditions under which millions in European and U.S. cities were living.

The Social Gospel also was spread at this time by popular fiction. Elizabeth Stuart Phelps Ward, a feminist author and the daughter of a prominent Massachusetts theologian, won instant celebrity for her 1868 novel, *The Gates Ajar*. She called upon middle-class churchgoers to become involved in labor movements, temperance, and other social reforms through novels such as *The Silent Partner* (1871) and *A Singular Life* (1894). The latter highlighted the New Testament command to follow Christ’s example of sacrificial service and suffering. In that regard, Ward’s work was superseded by that of Kansas pastor Charles Sheldon, whose collection of sermon-stories, *In His Steps* (1896), asked readers, “What would Jesus do?” Sheldon’s work eventually sold 30 million copies and remains the ninth best-selling book of all time.

The Social Gospel was institutionalized between 1900 and 1920, as leading Protestant denominations followed the Catholic Church in formulating public statements on Christian involvement in social justice efforts. The Federal Council of Churches (FCC), representing thirty-three denominations and roughly 20 million Protestants, issued its first “Social Creed of the Churches” in 1908. The Social Creed, borrowed from Northern Methodists, endorsed many of the aims of Progressive reformers, especially recognition of the rights of labor, minimum wage legislation, and federal social insurance programs.

FCC members could be found working to effect social justice in each of the major political parties (including many through the Progressive and Socialist parties), as well as through their own religious organizations, such as the WCTU. “Labor” and “socialist” churches also were established in several major cities to represent the concerns of working-class families before local and state officials. Pacifism became an integral component of the Social Gospel in light of the devastation of World War I, as the FCC campaigned hard for the success of the new League of Nations.

The countercultural aspects of the Social Gospel at this time were most clearly articulated in the writings of New York pastor and seminary professor Walter Rauschenbusch. In his landmark *Christianity and the Social Crisis* (1907), Rauschenbusch demonstrated how passion for social justice had been central to the Old Testament prophets and the Gospels. To Protestant churches long preoccupied with personal salvation from hell, he counseled greater concern for “Christianizing” economic and political life in the here and now. The Kingdom of God was not merely an object of prophecy but something to be made a lived reality in the world.

For Rauschenbusch and other adherents, the Social Gospel demanded the rewriting of old theologies, reconstruction of church practices, and the overcoming of class, racial, and ethnic barriers in religious fellowships. Social Christians, furthermore, prayed for America to replace its competitive and acquisitive society with one founded upon cooperation and social service. Whether through membership in the Socialist Party (Rauschenbusch), the preaching of socially relevant sermons (Gladden), or following the lead of Jesus (Sheldon), they hoped religion might make significant contributions to a better future throughout the world.

Post-World War I

The Social Gospel continued to grow in the tumultuous decades after World War I. The pacifists of the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) coordinated and defended social Christian thought nationwide during the 1920s. College-student Christian groups, led by the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), lent their support to various experiments in interracial cooperation and radical economic reform.

Given the worldwide collapse of capitalism during the 1930s, Protestant and Catholic leaders alike celebrated President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal program as either the embodiment of Judeo-Christian concern for the oppressed, or as a trend toward that concern. German American pastor and New York seminary professor Reinhold Niebuhr, in his controversial *Moral Man and Immoral Society* (1932), criticized utopian social Christian expectations even as he reiterated Rauschenbusch's main point that the Social Gospel was the only gospel there ever was. Niebuhr later led several church leaders in a break from pure pacifism when the need to resist Nazi aggression militarily presented itself. Nevertheless, millions of Americans supported the FCC's position of a "just and durable peace," developed during the war years, which set out postwar goals eventually fulfilled by the creation of the United Nations in 1945.

The Social Gospel movement split into competing camps under cold war pressures. Veteran social Christians opposed Soviet Communism yet refused to bless unprecedented militarization and national security measures. Rather, through the newly formed World Council of Churches (WCC) in 1948, they advocated a "Responsible Society" characterized by decentralized economic power, extensive welfare programs, and superpower coexistence. That Social Gospel tradition was challenged during the 1960s by South American liberation theologians, Black Power theologians, and younger Protestants involved in civil rights and anti-Vietnam War protests. The voices of young and old social Christians alike were quickly drowned out, however, by the flood of religiously and politically conservative Christians during the ascendancy of President Ronald Reagan in the 1980s.

Today, the Social Gospel movement has become so diverse and contradictory that one term can hardly be applied to it. All the same, the host of resilient social Christians bears witness to a desire voiced by their brothers and sisters more than a century ago that their faith has relevance beyond one's belief about the afterlife.

Mark Edwards

See also: [Socialism](#).

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Socialism

Advocates of socialism—a political philosophy with a long history in many countries—believe that society should not be divided into social classes and that social wealth should be shared equally by all. Many socialists today trace their roots to the philosophy of the German economist and revolutionary Karl Marx, but they distinguish themselves from communists, who also trace their heritage to Marx, in their belief that social transformation can be achieved through democratic politics.

In many countries, the Socialist Party is a major national political organization that regularly competes for and often wins national political office. This is not the case in the United States. Indeed, why there is no socialist party of national importance in the United States has been a source of fascination and discussion among comparative historians and sociologists for some time. Few academics disagree, however, that, with the exception of a brief period of relative national importance in the early twentieth century, socialism as a political ideology and way of life has been relegated to the sidelines of American history and culture.

Early History

As a counterculture on the margins of American politics and society, socialism—or at least its core principles—has a long history in the United States. It dates back to the colonial era, when those at the bottom of society rose up on several occasions to challenge the class-based societies that were taking shape in both the North and the South. As early as the late seventeenth century, frontier rebels in Virginia led by Nathaniel Bacon rose up against the colonial authorities to protest against high taxes, high prices for imported goods, and the monopolization of farmland by the coastal elites.

Although the immediate causes of Bacon's Rebellion were complex, many historians argue that it is a powerful symbol of the alternative lifestyle that developed among frontier people during the colonial era. This lifestyle emphasized freedom from state oppression and economic cooperation in a way that challenged the highly regulated class societies of the Atlantic Coast.

Although Bacon's Rebellion was ultimately defeated, similar episodes of organized protest from frontier people continued throughout the next three centuries of American history. These protests reflected the stark disconnect between the highly structured class relationships of the coasts and the more level communities of the frontiers. Often influenced by Native American ways of life, many frontier communities lived by a social ethic that reflected the cooperation and principles of equitable distribution championed by socialists.

Still, it was not until the early nineteenth century that socialism as a distinct social and political doctrine arrived in the United States from Europe. In the 1820s, the British social reformer Robert Owen—who was influenced by a brand of socialism that would later be called “utopian socialism”—arrived in the United States to set up a community that would live by a new set of moral standards radically different from the greed and competition that marked the newly emerging industrial capitalism of the day.

Having already set up a model communitarian factory town in Scotland, Owen purchased land in Indiana with the goal of establishing an ideal society there. He envisioned the settlement, called New Harmony, as a respite from the world where residents would work cooperatively and abide by a code of social ethics that excluded money and most commodities. Owen's experiment did not last long, but his example stood out for other utopian-and religious-inspired socialists, many of whom established ideal communities of their own on a smaller scale in subsequent decades.

In many ways, the utopian socialists of the nineteenth century were an extension of the frontier communities for the industrial age. They also prefigured the dropout culture that would develop in the twentieth century, whose proponents chose to isolate themselves from the outside world in what they viewed as their citadels of moral virtue.

Turn of the Century

In the later half of the nineteenth century, with industrial capitalism spreading across the country at a rapid pace, socialism entered the American lexicon for the first time in a specifically political and programmatic fashion. The development of an industrial working class gave the Marxist version of socialism, first articulated in Europe, a social base in America.

Initially, the new form of socialism would be marked by many specifically American features, in particular the heavily immigrant composition of the new working class. For much of the nineteenth century, socialism mostly was expressed in the form of small clubs of immigrant workers, many from Germany, who had become radicalized during the frequent revolutionary outbreaks in Europe during this period.

The new type of socialism, which emphasized class struggle from below in order to change the state and economy over self-imposed isolation, gained an increasingly loud echo among American workers as the nineteenth century progressed and the industrial working class congealed. In 1876, the first specifically socialist political party in the United States was founded in Newark, New Jersey. Originally called the Workingmen's Party of America (WPA), it was renamed the Socialist Labor Party (SLP) the following year. The SLP reflected the heavily immigrant character of American socialism at the time, as it was largely a federation of small groups of radical German workers.

In 1890, the SLP came under the leadership of Daniel De Leon, a lawyer who left the profession to devote himself full-time to socialist politics. De Leon's name still is heard frequently in socialist circles as the founder of "De Leonism." This is an interpretation of Marxism that rejects war and accommodation with capitalist political parties, but argues that the path to a socialist society lies in winning a majority in Congress and amending the U.S. Constitution to recognize the importance of industrial unions in organizing society.

The SLP remained a relatively small party in the last decades of the nineteenth century, but it did run candidates for various political offices, including president (with little success). In addition, its members worked inside trade unions in the effort to spread socialist ideas among the working class.

A new American socialist party founded toward the end of the nineteenth century, the Social Democratic Party (SDP), was modeled on the many European socialist parties that were rapidly growing and becoming more active in the political life of their nations. The SDP, however, was a small party compared to its European cousins. In 1901, elements from the SLP and the SPD united to form the Socialist Party of America (SPA).

Socialist Party of America

With industrial capitalism spreading rapidly and the American working class growing increasingly radicalized, the SPA quickly developed a significant level of importance in national political life during the first two decades of the twentieth century. One of the original members of the SDP, Eugene V. Debs, emerged as the party's main spokesman and strategist. Coming from a labor union background, Debs was a skillful orator who knew how to stoke a crowd. The SPA ran Debs as its candidate for president a total of four times during this period (1904–1912, 1920). Although he never came close to winning office, he received hundreds of thousands of votes on every occasion.

During this period, the SPA, and Debs in particular, presided over a growing counterculture movement that challenged the prevailing social norms of the time. Industrial capitalism, with its emphasis on material acquisition and personal gain, was at its height. Socialists preached a new social creed that emphasized the collective solidarity of humanity led by the working class.

Socialists, firmly rooted in the traditions of the labor movement, published numerous periodicals and pamphlets dedicated to the new gospel, including the *Appeal to Reason*, which reached a circulation of up to 600,000 copies. Debs and other leaders traveled the country, giving impassioned speeches to motivate support for the party's

political candidates, but also to inspire a sense of optimism among the exploited workers that the world could be a better place.

In areas where there was a high concentration of workers, Socialists often set up schools and meeting halls to serve as the infrastructure of the new culture. They also led retreats in order to give life to the idea of social solidarity. On occasion, it was difficult to determine the SPA's exact role in this, as much of the activity emanated from the local, grassroots level, with only guidance and support from the national political organization.

SPA candidates did win a number of local offices, including the mayoralty of such cities as Bridgeport, Connecticut, and Milwaukee, Wisconsin. Several SPA members even won election to Congress. All in all, however, the SPA did not play a central role in the national political culture, its influence generally limited to ethnic enclaves in working-class areas.

During this period, American Socialists developed a somewhat tense relationship with the labor movement. Most shunned the established American Federation of Labor (AFL), and both De Leon and Debs participated in the founding of the competing Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905. The IWW was set up as a different type of union, one that would regroup workers regardless of race, origin, sector, or nation. However, the emergence of the IWW sparked an intense debate and even a theoretical crisis in the workers' movement, about the relative importance of politics and political parties versus industrial action and the unions. Eventually, most socialist leaders would break with the IWW's philosophy of direct industrial action and argue for the continued importance of electoral politics for the attainment of socialism.

The outbreak of World War I was a watershed moment in the history of socialism. While most European socialist parties abandoned the principle of working-class internationalism and supported their own nation's war effort, most American Socialist leaders opposed the nation's involvement in the war. Debs was one of the most outspoken critics of the war and the capitalist system that had produced it.

In 1919, Debs was convicted of violating the 1917 Espionage Act for his speeches against the war, and he was sentenced to ten years in federal prison. This did not stop him from running for president from prison, and he received nearly 1 million votes in the 1920 election. Since the World War I era, antimilitarism has been a key component of American socialism; many socialists took a central role in the movement against the Vietnam War some fifty years later.

Nevertheless, the crisis that gripped the world socialist movement as a result of World War I also would affect the SPA. Radicals, inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1917, the new Communist regime, and the ideology of its new leader, Vladimir Lenin, split off from the Socialist Party and founded several American communist parties in the early 1920s. From that point on, communists and socialists would exist in a tenuous relationship on the extreme left of American politics.

The events of the war years, the leftist split, and Debs's death in 1926 took their toll on the American socialist movement. While the SPA and the SLP continued to exist, they would never duplicate the electoral influence achieved in previous decades. As the century progressed, American socialism slipped further and further into the counterculture, even as the ideology became more and more mainstream in Europe.

Socialists would play a part in both the 1948 presidential bid of Henry Wallace on the Progressive Party ticket and in the antiwar movement of the 1960s. For the most part, however, the torch of the left was passed to the communists, whose strict theories on party discipline helped ensure some level of organizational continuity in the face of the factional disputes and splits that would rock the left during the twentieth century.

Mid-Twentieth-Century Activism

In terms of social activism, the 1960s saw socialists play a key part in the opposition to the Vietnam War, as they had to World War I. However, socialist ideas tended to become subsumed to more strictly pacifist ones and there was no specifically socialist opposition to the war. This did not prevent individual socialists from playing key roles

in various organizations such as the War Resisters League (WRL), but there was no socialist party of any size or influence opposing the war.

The 1960s and 1970s did see a burgeoning of socialist intellectual life in the United States, primarily in the universities, with many leftist intellectuals attempting to merge socialist theory with other theories in vogue at the time. These ideas would come to play key roles in the emerging dropout counterculture of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

Such theories as “socialist feminism” (which argues that women’s oppression cannot be solved by mere legal and political reform, and that true women’s liberation requires the creation of a society based not on capitalist competition but on socialist solidarity) and “socialist humanism” (which argues that capitalist society is responsible for dehumanizing civilization and that only a socialist society would allow people to assume their full creative human potential) were popular among many on the left at the time.

Even today, adherents of these attempts to merge socialist ideas with other radical philosophies can be found on many university campuses. In the 2000s, one of the most popular of these hybrid philosophies merges socialist ideas with radical environmental theory in so-called eco-socialism. This version blames capitalism for the degradation of the biosphere and argues that only a socialist society, by controlling greed and profit, can protect and rehabilitate the environment.

Despite the theoretical advances of the 1960s and 1970s, the widening of the counterculture represented another watershed for socialism in the United States. While many innovative ideas were incorporated in the new dropout culture, members of the old line socialist parties tended to regard the young hippies with suspicion and kept their distance. For the most part, socialist culture in the United States split into three groups: members of the old line socialist parties, with tenuous links to the labor movement; socialist academics and intellectuals, largely confined to university campuses; and the dropout counterculture, which was not specifically socialist in all of its aspects, but instead hearkened back in some ways more to anarchist ideas of personal fulfillment than socialist ones of collective solidarity.

By the 1980s, the SPA changed its name to the Social Democrats USA and began to function more as a discussion circle than a political party. The SLP continues to function in the twenty-first century, with De Leonism still a point of reference for those who seek a less authoritarian alternative to Marxism.

Legacy

There is no longer much of a socialist counterculture in twenty-first-century America. The SLP continues to exist, and some communist groups call themselves socialist in order to avoid identification with the discredited Soviet Union. However, most socialist theorizing has been subsumed by the academic trend of “radical democracy,” which claims to continue socialism’s emphasis on the equitable distribution of power and resources without reference to the industrial working class.

While there are still individuals who practice a form of dropout culture influenced by socialist ideas, there is no singular socialist counterculture outside of the SLP and other small groups. Moreover, the absence of any real organizational discipline in these groups problematizes the identification of those individuals who adhere to socialist culture and others who “visit” temporarily as they sample different radical ideas.

Perhaps the most important remainder of socialist counterculture in the United States is the annual Socialist Scholars Conference (SSC) held at the Cooper Union school in New York City. Renamed in 2005 the Global Left Forum (GLF) following a split in the organizing committee, the GLF gathers a very eclectic group of academics, activists, and organizations, only some of whose commitments can properly be called socialist in the legacy of Robert Owens, Daniel De Leon, or Eugene V. Debs.

See also: [Communism: Debs, Eugene V.: Industrial Workers of the World](#); [Owen, Robert Dale: Social Gospel](#); [Temperance Movement](#); [Utopianism](#).

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South Park

Trey Parker and Matt Stone's animated cable television show, *South Park*, began as a video Christmas card for Fox Television executive Brian Graden in 1995, and two years later premiered as a half-hour animated sitcom on the cable television channel Comedy Central. The premier tells the story of the alien abduction of third grader Eric Cartman and the subsequent implantation of a massive satellite beacon into his anus. It illustrated why all of network television passed on the show and why *South Park* would soon become one of cable television's most controversial and objectionable shows. Focused on young Eric and fellow third graders Kyle, Stan, and Kenny, living in the seemingly wholesome rural nowhere of South Park, Colorado, the program became best known for its utter vulgarity and defiant disinterest in respecting social taboos.

South Park uses its crudely drawn animation to transgress social boundaries that its live-action brethren are forced to observe. Over its multiple-year run, it has broached all manner of scatological and risqué topics, including preteen breast implants, bestiality, child abuse in a scouting group, exploitation of the physically and mentally handicapped, child drug use, and anti-Semitism. More than just a collection of bathroom humor and shock value, though, most episodes mount a wry and intelligent satiric attack on multiple aspects of American life, particularly small-town conservative values and cultural delusions.

The show's deep-seated suspicion of authority and of American-Dream optimism shows itself most visibly in the town's parents, all of whom are too ineffective, ignorant, self-righteous, or morally bankrupt to serve as adequate role models. Eric's mother is a prostitute and porn actress, and the teacher, the mayor, the principal, the school counselor, and even Jesus Christ (starring in a local public-access-channel talk show) prove similarly ineffective. The only adult figure respected by the children is Chef, his "wisdom" taking the form of graphically explicit songs about his sexual escapades and fantasies.

Media savvy to the core, the show reserves much of its satire for contemporary media culture. Taking aim at televisual rules of political correctness, for instance, the lone black child in town is named simply Token, while the sitcom's impervious disregard for chronology is mocked by the weekly murder and uncommented-upon resurrections of Kenny. Other episodes examine moral panics surrounding violence in the media, irrational parental fears of the media, and media-inspired cultlike activity. Meanwhile, the show has savagely attacked

numerous celebrities, turning Sally Struthers into a grotesquely overweight glutton, for example, and Mel Gibson into a psychotically disturbed narcissist, obsessed with torture.

Despite widespread condemnation by church groups, parents, and cultural conservatives, and even occasional censorship from Comedy Central, the show's fame grew over time, spawning a feature film that grossed \$53 million domestically, and multiple T-shirts, toys, CDs, and other tie-in merchandise. Moreover, although primarily for adults, the program attracts a large following among children.

Arguably one of the first television shows truly to exploit the leeway allowed by cable television, *South Park* remains one of that medium's bolder experiments, as well as a loud and well-respected, if simultaneously filthy and crude, voice of dissension against accepted cultural and televisual norms of propriety, conduct, and thought.

Jonathan Gray

See also: [Television](#).

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Spiritualism

Spiritualism, the belief that it is possible to communicate with the spirits of the dead, has long been an element of folk religious practice. In the 1850s, however, spiritualism became a national obsession and part of the mainstream popular culture of the United States. Mediums, those who purport to communicate with the dead, toured the country performing for large and small audiences. Many others were exposed to spiritualism through articles and editorials in newspapers such as *The New York Times* and popular magazines such as *Harper's* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. Spiritualist themes also found their way into the work of such notable authors as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Ralph Waldo Emerson, and Henry James. During the 1850s, thousands of Americans were active believers in spiritualism; as many as 1 million explored the movement in some way. The belief in a contactable spirit realm and the perfectibility of humanity became part of a reformist counterculture movement during the nineteenth century.

Although ghost stories had long been a part of American culture, the emergence of the modern spiritualist movement is commonly dated to events at Hydesville, New York, on March 28, 1848. Young sisters Kate and Margaret Fox reported hearing loud raps on the walls and floorboards of their bedroom in the family farmhouse near town. Assuming that the noises were being made by spirits attempting to communicate, the girls asked questions out loud. The spirits, according to their account, rapped their answers in a code. Reports of these "manifestations" spread quickly, and the Fox sisters became famous. It was not long before they were appearing before large audiences in New York City and staying at the posh Barnum Hotel.

The Fox girls were only the first of a number of well-known mediums during that time. Other men and women soon claimed to be able to contact the world beyond the grave. Some performed elaborate physical manifestations

in front of large audiences, including automatic writing, the production of mysterious noises, the movement of furniture by unseen forces, the evocation of ghostly figures, and claims of clairvoyance or clairaudience (the ability to see and hear things happening at great distances).

Other spiritualists moved beyond demonstrations of spiritual contact, exploring the philosophical and social ramifications of spiritual manifestations. Among the most notable of these was Andrew Jackson Davis, who became famous in New York as the “Poughkeepsie Seer.” Even before the events in Hydesville, Davis had used mesmerism, an early form of hypnosis, to explore the world of the spirits. In 1847, he published *The Principles of Nature, Her Divine Revelation, and a Voice to Mankind*, a collection of communications he delivered while in a mesmerized state.

Seizing on the popularity generated by the performances of mediums such as the Foxes, Davis began to lay out his spiritual system, which he called Harmonialism. This philosophy, and the view of the spirit world he described, borrowed heavily from religious thinkers such as Emanuel Swedenborg, the Swedish visionary who had also described his encounters with spiritual beings. Davis saw his contacts with the spiritual realm as a way to better society, using the wisdom of the higher spirit realms to perfect and harmonize religion, medicine, and all of American society. Like many other spiritualists, Davis believed that the spirits condemned traditional systems of medicine, economics, and religion as barbaric and endorsed alternative medical systems such as homeopathy and social reforms such as the abolition of slavery.

The popularity of spiritualism derived partly from its flexibility. It was a religious movement with no dogma that adherents were forced to accept, no priests or authority figures, and no formal places of worship. Séances, intimate gatherings where people met to contact the spirit world, could take place at anyone's home, and people could either visit mediums or try to contact the spirit world on their own. Some Americans regarded the entire affair as a parlor game; others viewed it as a scientific form of religion and saw the séance room as a laboratory in which the existence of an afterlife could be proven. Still others made spiritual communication part of existing Christian practice, and a few organized communal spiritualist societies, for example in Mountain Cove, Virginia. Because of the considerable authority that spiritualism gave female mediums, thought to be better spirit channelers than men because of their more “passive” nature, spiritualism also became associated with the movement for women's rights.

For all its popularity, the spiritualist movement also caused a backlash. As adherents claimed spiritual authority for controversial social reforms, and as the physical demonstrations became more and more dramatic, skeptics and critics began to expose mediums as frauds. The claim that séances provided indisputable evidence of spirit communication invited scrutiny by skeptics. Several magazine and newspaper exposés during the 1850s showed how many of the most popular manifestations were performed. In later decades, even the Fox sisters would admit that they had faked the rappings that had started the movement—though Margaret Fox would later retract the confession.

The popularity of spiritualism declined after the American Civil War. Although it never again reached the pinnacle of popularity it had reached in the 1850s, the movement's notoriety rose and fell throughout the rest of the nineteenth century. Even when interest waned, small groups of spiritualists continued to meet.

The investigation of the spirit world continued in other forms, including the scientific exploration of paranormal phenomena by Harvard professor William James (brother of novelist Henry James) and the founding of the American Society for Psychical Research in 1885. Spiritualism remained an issue of debate and speculation, bringing together ardent devotees such as author Arthur Conan Doyle and equally dedicated debunkers such as the illusionist Harry Houdini.

In 1893, spiritualists, who had long debated the value of organizing themselves into a more coherent church, founded the National Spiritualist Association of Churches (NSAC). A number of churches still exist in this loose framework, and the NASC continues to offer minister education, provide organizational assistance, and publish a national magazine for children, *The Lyceum Spotlight*. Beyond formal spiritualist churches, mediums continue to

contact the spirits in communities dedicated to spiritualism such as Lily Dale, New York, and Cassadaga, Florida.

Stephen D. Andrews

See also: [Davis, Andrew Jackson](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Fox, Kate](#); [Leah Fox](#); and [Margaret Fox](#); [Hawthorne, Nathaniel](#).

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Spock, Benjamin (1903–1998)

Benjamin McLane Spock was an American pediatrician and the author of the best-selling book *The Common Sense Book of Baby and Child Care* (1946), a groundbreaking text said to mold the character of the entire baby boom generation in America. The first American practitioner to have completed training in both pediatrics and psychiatry, Spock applied theories of psychology to understanding the needs of children within the family and the dynamics between parents and children. The wildly popular book—which was retitled *Dr. Spock's Baby and Child Care* and which has sold more than 50 million copies throughout the world—calls for greater leniency and permissiveness on the part of parents and advocates a commonsense, pragmatic approach to child-rearing, in which parents are encouraged to trust themselves and treat their children as equals.

Spock was born on May 2, 1903, in New Haven, Connecticut, and studied medicine as an undergraduate at Yale University. In 1924, he and seven fellow Yale rowers competed at the Olympic Games in Paris and won the gold medal for the United States. Spock went on to attend medical school at New York's Columbia University, graduating at the top of his class in 1929. He had residency training in both pediatrics and psychiatry, and served as a psychiatrist for the U.S. Navy during World War II.

Although many young parents of the 1950s and 1960s regarded him as the ultimate authority on proper parenting, Spock's philosophy came under fire when his political views and public activities began running counter to the prevailing mood of the day. Spock was one of the founders of the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy, created in 1957 to protest the Dwight D. Eisenhower administration's nuclear weapons policy and to campaign for nuclear disarmament. He was also an active anti-Vietnam War protestor, writing letters to the White House and frequently attending antiwar demonstrations. In 1967, he was arrested in New York City for crossing a police line in an act of civil disobedience and protest against a military recruitment center.

Spock's conspicuous role in the antiwar movement eventually brought him into conflict with the federal government. In 1968, he and four other men were prosecuted by Attorney General Ramsey Clark for conspiracy to promote resistance to the draft and to aid young men who wished to avoid conscription. Spock had been one of

the signers of “A Call to Resist Illegitimate Authority,” an antiwar petition carrying the names of more than 20,000 individuals and printed in newspapers across the country the previous year. Signing the declaration was prosecuted as a criminal misdemeanor and used against him at trial. Despite the lack of hard evidence to support the charge of conspiracy, Spock and three of the others were convicted. He was sentenced to two years in prison, but he appealed, and a federal court overturned the conviction in 1969.

Spock remained active in the antiwar movement, even as top military, political, and social leaders blamed the outpouring of social and political discontent among American youth on the lenient, permissive style of parenting that Spock had advocated in *Baby and Child Care*. Conservative commentators such as Vice President Spiro T. Agnew and Christian author Norman Vincent Peale blamed Spock for the disobedient and rebellious attitudes of “Spock-marked” American teenagers and young adults in the late 1960s—and, by extension, for the excesses of counterculture. Spock claimed to have had only a mild influence on the changes in American attitudes toward child-rearing, but his opponents declared that the generation of children who had been brought up under his theories had learned that it was acceptable to defy authority and ignore traditional social values.

In 1972, Spock ran in the U.S. presidential election on the People's Party ticket, capturing barely 78,000 votes. In the years that followed, he continued to speak out against nuclear weapons and criticize American foreign policy, and he called for greater women's rights and the legalization of homosexuality, abortion, and marijuana. Spock died at his home in La Jolla, California, on March 15, 1998.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Baby Boomers](#); [Pacifism](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Sports

If sports are a microcosm of society, as is often observed, they will include reflections of the counterculture as well as the mainstream. Indeed, while spectator sports in America have come to represent big business as well as being a source of popular entertainment, issues of politics and social justice have made their way onto the ball field and gym floor for decades.

In the realm of professional sports, individual athletes frequently spark national debates when they use their celebrity to confront social conventions regarding issues such as race, gender, sexuality, or even public health. Examples of twentieth-century American sports figures who, intentionally or unintentionally, served as spokespersons or symbols of political and social causes are legion—from the black boxing champions Jack Johnson and Muhammad Ali to baseball's Jackie Robinson, who broke the game's so-called color line in 1947, to women's tennis player Billie Jean King and basketball stars Dennis Rodman and Magic Johnson.

Race and Politics

Among the most outspoken sports figures to openly address the issues of race, war, and religion in America is the gregarious boxer Cassius Clay, now Muhammad Ali. He was inspired by the daring Jack Johnson, the first African American heavyweight champion (1908), who brushed aside personal fears of white supremacist threats, brazenly flaunted his wealth and celebrity status, and openly dated white women (which landed him in a federal penitentiary in 1920).

In the 1960s and 1970s, Clay gained notoriety for joining the Nation of Islam (Black Muslims) and changing his name to Muhammad Ali, then refusing to serve in the U.S. Army after being drafted for the Vietnam War. Banned from professional boxing as a result, he continued to speak out against the war, the draft, and racial discrimination in America. He would refuse to fight in the war, he declared in 1966, because “no Vietcong ever called me nigger.” And, he added, “I am not going 10,000 miles to help murder, kill, and burn other people to simply help continue the domination of white slavemasters over dark people the world over.”

Following Ali’s example, two U.S. track-and-field stars at the 1968 Olympic Games in Mexico City, Tommie Smith and John Carlos, used the medal-awarding ceremony (they had won the gold and bronze medals, respectively, for the 200-meter dash) to spotlight the cause of Black Power. As the U.S. national anthem began playing, the two athletes bowed their heads and raised their black-gloved fists defiantly into the air.

Whereas Ali, Smith, and Carlos had boldly declared their political views and racial pride, earlier athletes inclined to challenge the forces of racism in America relied on their mere participation on the field of play to make their point. The Penobscot Indian Louis Sockalexis and Colombian native Louis Castro defied daily harassment and abuse from players, fans, and the media to succeed as the first Native American (in 1897) and Latino (in 1902) players in professional baseball. Likewise, when Jackie Robinson joined the Brooklyn Dodgers in 1947, he ushered in the official era of desegregation in professional baseball. “America’s pastime” had actively barred African Americans to that time.

Gender, Homosexuality, and HIV/AIDS

Athletes and activists also have used sports as a vehicle for exposing and challenging gender inequities. In 1973, tennis professional Billie Jean King championed the burgeoning women’s movement and scored a public victory in the so-called Battle of the Sexes, in which she took on and defeated former men’s champion Bobby Riggs before a national television audience. In 1972, federal legislation known as Title IX (authored by Japanese American Congresswoman Patsy Mink of Hawaii) mandated a balance between the educational resources spent on men and women (including for athletics) and set off a national debate about the roles of men and women in society, the scope of gender inequities, and the impact of sexism. One major result has been an exponential increase in the number and variety of women’s sports in American public schools and universities, as well as the growth of professional women’s sports, as with the Women’s National Basketball Association (formed in 1996).

Male-dominated sports traditionally have demanded hyper-masculinity from participants, but some male athletes have openly challenged the boundaries of “acceptable manhood.” In the 1960s, for example, quarterback Joe Namath of football’s New York Jets was a prototypically brash, hard-partying playboy who drew heavy criticism from some quarters—and ridicule behind locker-room doors—for his willingness to appear in a television commercial wearing a pair of women’s pantyhose.

Still, if Namath’s leg display bothered many viewers, countless more were repulsed in the 1980s and 1990s by the public rebellion against mainstream values of masculinity on the part of all-star basketball player Dennis Rodman. As a player for the San Antonio Spurs and the Chicago Bulls of the National Basketball Association, Rodman sported bold, elaborately-dyed hair, elaborate tattoos, and prominent body piercings. In 1997, when he promoted his first autobiography, *As Bad as I Wanna Be*, Rodman signed books while in full makeup, wearing a white wedding dress and bride’s veil.

Billie Jean King, after her triumph in the Battle of the Sexes, struck a second blow to mainstream values in 1981, when she publicly confirmed that she was a lesbian, bringing attention to antigay sentiment in the sports world and society at large. Like King, tennis star Martina Navratilova, who came out as bisexual in 1981, expressed the view that athletes “have a responsibility” to be activists and vocal spokespersons for important social and cultural issues. Houston Comets basketball all-star and former Olympic gold medalist Sheryl Swoopes came out as a lesbian in 2005, her status as a celebrity athlete making her a model of defying homophobia.

By contrast, no major American male sports figure has announced his homosexuality during his playing days (a number came out of the closet after retiring). Like athletes of earlier generations who faced overt racial and gender discrimination, gay male athletes remain reluctant to directly confront the aggressive homophobia in male sports.

Postretirement announcements of homosexuality by male athletes began in the early 1970s, when former professional football player David Kopay threw aside a potential coaching career by becoming one of the first male athletes to come out. Since then, public admissions have been made by former football players Roy Simmons (1992), who talked about feeling “tortured” during his playing years, and Esera Tuaolo (in 2006), who was hired by the National Football League to promote sensitivity training in the sport. However, as recently as 2007, former basketball player John Amaechi’s autobiography about his experiences as a gay player met with harsh criticism by other players, including one who stated publicly that he would not want a gay teammate and that he “hate[s] gays.”

Basketball legend Magic Johnson announced in 1991 that he had contracted HIV (human immunodeficiency virus), and became one of the most prominent athletes to address the health issues of the virus. Johnson used his immense celebrity to help dispel lingering beliefs that HIV was a “gay disease” that only affected homosexuals and to bring much-needed attention to the increasing rates of contraction among African Americans. Continuing a productive life as an athlete, coach, businessman, and public speaker, Johnson also has fostered greater awareness of the viability of living with HIV.

Natchee Blu Barnd

See also: [Ali, Muhammad](#).

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Squatters and Squatting

Squatting is the act of occupying property, either public or private, without authorization or payment. A squatter, therefore, is a person who occupies an uninhabited area, abandoned building, or other vacant space that he or she does not own, rent, or otherwise have permission to inhabit. Squatting is typically an urban phenomenon, closely linked to poverty, the lack of adequate, affordable housing, and other social and economic ills.

Squatters may occupy property individually or in communities; squatter settlements are often referred to as shantytowns or tent cities. Such properties typically are located at the margins of mainstream communities and, due to their unsanctioned and often illegal nature, are lacking in sanitation and utilities such as electricity, heat, and running water. Other critical social services are typically unavailable, such as schools and health care. Squatters generally fall into lower socioeconomic groups. Those who have jobs at all are typically employed in wage labor or informal employment, typically the social sectors deemed most at risk for homelessness.

Although squatting in America dates to the nineteenth-century practice of settling land on the Western frontier—which, under the Preemption Act of 1841, squatters became entitled to buy—the modern urban practice is a relatively recent phenomenon. As an ideological construct and counterculture, squatting in North America dates to the mid-1960s and the writings of Charles Abrams on housing reform and civil rights. The term generally carries the implication and stigma of violating social and cultural norms; that is, operating outside expected and acceptable behavior. As such, squatting also can be a political statement, in response to the cultural, social, political, and economic causes of homelessness and marginalization in urban areas. Abrams, for example, who referred to squatting as the necessary “conquest” of urban properties for shelter, advocated support and legal protection rather than hostility and resistance.

The new perspective was evident in the case of Tompkins Square Park in New York City during the late 1980s, when residents of the East Village neighborhood, displaced by gentrification, actively relocated to the park in a refusal to relinquish their neighborhood. Hundreds of squatters, with support from other groups and community members, resisted local officials’ attempts to remove them. This gave rise to the Tompkins Square Park riots in August 1988, which ended with dozens of injuries and the forcible displacement of hundreds of squatters.

This practice of “open squatting” is far less common than its covert counterpart. The most common practice is the “back window (or back door) squat,” in which the squatters attempt to conceal their residence. The “front door squat,” in which squatters are open about their occupation of a property, as in Tompkins Square Park and other settlements, is increasingly less common, as cities enact increasingly rigid laws against vagrancy. In a front door squat, squatters often consult with neighbors prior to taking up residence, creating an alternative approach to constructing a community.



The modern squatters' rights movement in America—in which unauthorized occupants of land or buildings, generally in cities, claim rightful possession—entails a political and social statement against gentrification, treatment of the homeless, and economic injustice. (Carolyn Schaefer/Getty Images)

A number of advocacy and awareness-raising initiatives have emerged from the increasing prevalence of squatting in urban areas. One example is Homes Not Jails, an activist group with chapters in Boston, San Francisco, and Washington, D.C., that has actively occupied abandoned properties with the intent of transforming them into housing for the homeless. At least two independent documentaries, *The Homeless Home Movie* (1996) and *Dark Days* (2000), have provided awareness-raising narratives about the lives of homeless individuals squatting in tunnels, parking lots, partially occupied buildings, and abandoned properties.

Cynthia J. Miller

See also: [Mole People](#).

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Stein, Gertrude (1874–1946)

Although she fashioned herself a literary genius and published a number of books and plays in her own right, Gertrude Stein generally is remembered as a patron of the arts and literature whose legendary home in Paris was a center for expatriate artists and writers between the two world wars. A celebrated personality, Stein befriended,

encouraged, helped, and influenced—through her patronage and her works—many literary and artistic figures.

Stein was born on February 3, 1874, in Allegheny, Pennsylvania (now part of Pittsburgh), the last of five children of a German Jewish family. Hers was a somewhat unsettled childhood. She was raised in Vienna and Paris. Her parents died in 1888 and 1891, and Stein was left with a modest income.

At the age of nineteen, she entered Radcliffe College in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and majored in psychology, studying under William James. After graduating in 1897, she went to Johns Hopkins Medical School in Baltimore, Maryland. Relinquishing her studies, she moved to London in 1902 and to Paris the following year.

In Paris, Stein became a permanent expatriate, establishing a literary salon in the city's bohemian Left Bank. Except for time spent in the French village of Culoz during World War II, Paris was her home for the rest of her life.

With America providing the subject matter and France the freedom to write, she eventually made herself into one of the most original figures of twentieth-century literature. Early on, Stein also became interested in the fledgling modern art movement. She and her brother, art critic Leo Stein, were among the first to appreciate and collect the works of such modernist painters as Pablo Picasso, Paul Cézanne, and Henri Matisse.

In addition to her involvement in the arts, Stein entertained writers such as Ernest Hemingway and F. Scott Fitzgerald, and authored experimental works that fit Mark Twain's definition of a classic, "a work that everyone admires and nobody reads." Her early works include the novel *The Making of Americans*, written between 1903 and 1911 and published in 1925. Her first published book, *Three Lives* (1909), describes the lives of three working-class women.

Her best-known work is *The Autobiography of Alice B. Toklas* (1933). Although the name in the title refers to Stein's secretary and lover, the book is by and about Stein herself. Alice B. Toklas's own autobiography, *What Is Remembered* (1963), was published seventeen years after Stein's death. Stein also wrote the librettos for two operas by Virgil Thomson, *Four Saints in Three Acts* (1934) and *The Mother of Us All* (1947). *Brewsie and Willie* (1946), her last book, is based on her memory of visits by American servicemen during the war.

Inspired by the stream-of-consciousness psychology of William James and the geometry of Cézanne and the cubist painters in Paris, Stein developed a "continuous present" style characterized by constant repetition and variation of simple phrases. Her work had great influence on other expatriate American writers such as Hemingway, Fitzgerald, and Sherwood Anderson. Stein died on July 27, 1946, in Paris from stomach cancer.

Yuwu Song

See also: [Fitzgerald, F. Scott](#); [Hemingway, Ernest](#); [Lost Generation](#).

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The straight edge movement, popularly known by the acronym sXe, emerged during the 1980s out of the East Coast hard-core punk scene. Straight edge rejected the hedonistic substance abuse associated with punk rock, proclaiming self-improvement and discipline as its central tenets. Most straight edgers share a rejection of alcohol, tobacco, drugs, and sexual promiscuity. While committed to individual self-discipline, members of the straight edge culture rely heavily on communities of mutual support to maintain their alternative lifestyle, utilizing peer pressure and positive cultural reinforcement within the straight edge hard-core scene. Over the years, straight edge has evolved in distinct ways, while retaining a common self-help morality based on sobriety and responsibility. Although it started as a secular movement, straight edge has incorporated elements of Eastern philosophy and has influenced Christian youth culture.

Straight edge culture originated in the Washington, D.C., hard-core music scene around 1980 in reaction to a policy of local club owners to mark the hands of minors with Xs to prevent them from purchasing alcohol. The X mark was co-opted as a rallying symbol for punks, both minors and legal adults, who rejected the substance abuse associated with punk. Ian MacKaye, lead singer of the band Minor Threat, popularized straight edge themes and symbols in his poignant lyrics and album art. The straight edge movement expanded north to Boston through bands such as DYS and to the West Coast through Uniform Choice and 7 Seconds.

In 1985, a new breeding ground for straight edge coalesced around the band Youth of Today and the New York hard-core scene. The membership of Youth of Today was in constant flux, but the band maintained consistent positive messages of straight edge and vegetarianism through the lyrics of Ray Cappo. Revelation Records, Cappo's label, became the main promoter of straight edge hard-core music, supporting influential bands such as Gorilla Biscuits, Bold, Chain of Strength, Shelter, Side by Side, and Judge.

During the 1990s, straight edge and hard-core music went through a profound transition. Diverging from its punk origins, hard-core music began borrowing stylistic elements from heavy metal, adding a more aggressive edge to its sound. Victory Records and the band Earth Crisis began promoting a militant style of hard core, blending together traditional straight edge values with activist themes of veganism, antiracism, and environmentalism. Some critics claimed that Earth Crisis had abandoned the "positive hard-core" vision of straight edge, inadvertently encouraging a subculture based on militancy and intolerance, which was called "hardline."

The most notorious hardline scene emerged in Salt Lake City during the 1990s, as Utah law enforcement officials claimed that straight edge "gangs" were physically assaulting smokers and drinkers in public. Another militant trend emerged out of Dayton, Ohio, with the formation of the Courage Crew, a group that was intended by its founders to be a defensive organization but instead became known for the violent behavior of some of its members. Most straight edgers express hostility or outright condemnation of these intolerant and aggressively masculine minorities in the movement.

Despite its controversial elements, straight edge continues to thrive as a distinct youth culture with adherents throughout the world in the 2000s. The movement's unique blend of youth rebellion, Eastern spiritualism, secular humanism, social consciousness, and positive lifestyles is likely to continue making it an attractive counterculture.

Joel A. Lewis

See also: [Punk Rock](#).

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Streaking

Streaking is the act of running nude—alone or en masse—from one point to another in public view. The term gained its modern cultural connotation in the early 1970s, as the streaking fad became a popular symbol of the sexual revolution. Unlike nudists (who typically shy away from public attention) or flashers (who often gain sexual gratification from randomly shocking members of the public), streakers of the 1970s often practiced the act in support of the era's loosening of repressed standards of sexuality.

The trend gained popularity in the early 1970s on many newly coed college campuses. In celebration of coed life, students of both genders often gathered to streak through campus libraries and dormitories, across school grounds, and through active class sessions. Beyond mere celebration, many early-1970s college students saw streaking as a fun and inventive way to meet members of the opposite sex.

The trend started on campuses in and around Los Angeles, including the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), and quickly spread to other regions of the country. Students at schools such as Florida State University and the University of Missouri engaged in mass streaks, with participants numbering in the hundreds or thousands. In 1974, University of Notre Dame students went so far as to establish a “streaking Olympic games” race.

The streaking fad gained a wealth of media coverage in the 1970s, appearing, for example, in a late-1973 issue of *Time* magazine. The trend became so popular that Maine enacted a law against streaking. In other areas, streakers often were arrested and simply charged with indecent exposure.

Popular novelty-music artist Ray Stevens recorded a song about the fad, “The Streak,” which reached number one on American pop music charts in 1974. Around the same time, Robert Opel streaked across the stage of the 1974 Academy Awards ceremony flashing a peace sign to the audience. Opel's act occurred so quickly that broadcasters were unable to censor the national telecast. Streaking also became a hallmark of early 1970s sporting events, and devoted sports fans still occasionally streak at contemporary games.

Although it is practiced far less frequently in the 2000s, the tradition of streaking remains an occasional student activity at schools such as Princeton University, Lewis and Clark College, Dartmouth College, and others. At the University of Michigan, for example, students gather every April to streak across campus in the “Naked Mile.” Contemporary groups of stalker students from rival universities often organize into teams and compete to see who can stage the largest and most public instances of streaking.

Although some schools (beginning with Lewis and Clark in 1999) have started to dissuade students from participating by ordering campus police to arrest streakers, many students simply view this as encouragement to run faster. At Lewis and Clark, students have taken to “streaking” in underwear to avoid the threat of campus police.

In the 2000s, the streaking fad has been memorialized as a quirky, lighthearted moment in the annals of 1970s popular culture, as in such television series as *That'70s Show* (1998–2006) and such films as *Old School* (2003). Despite its occasional, sudden reappearance, the trend is fondly recalled as one of the benign expressions of the American sexual revolution.

See also: [Sexual Revolution](#).

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Students for a Democratic Society

Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) was one of the largest and most influential American New Left organizations of the 1960s. The group took a prominent activist role, especially on college and university campuses, in protesting the U.S. role in the Vietnam War and the Selective Service draft of young men to fight in it. With more than 100,000 members, the SDS grew from an organization that sought to reform American society into a radical one that called for political and social revolution. From its first national convention in 1962, to its factional split in 1969, the SDS set the context and political agenda for the radical counterculture of that decade.

The origins of the organization date to 1960 and the annual congress of the National Student Association, at which University of Michigan student Alan Haber began mobilizing student activists. Haber had been a member of the youth auxiliary of the liberal, prolabor organization League for Industrial Democracy (LID). From its inception, the SDS took an important step distancing itself from older, anticommunist leftist groups, particularly the LID, which was damaged by 1950s government investigations. Within a year or two, Haber had recruited a core membership from various colleges and universities.

At the first national SDS convention, its members, both undergraduates and graduate students, produced the Port Huron Statement, a manifesto named after the Michigan town in which the convention was held. A core document of the American New Left, it began: "We are the people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit." The text went on to call for "participatory democracy," that is, the full voice of all members of society in decisions that affect them.

The SDS advocated nonviolent civil disobedience and was heavily critical of both U.S. foreign policy and the government's failure to address civil rights reform and poverty. In addition to Haber, early leaders included Tom Hayden (the drafter of the Port Huron Statement and SDS president, 1962–1963), Todd Gitlin, Rennie Davis, Bob Ross, Sharon Jeffrey, and Paul Potter.

In the early 1960s, the SDS drew inspiration from the civil rights movement and began to focus on urban community projects. Among these was the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP), which sought to

provide disenfranchised blacks and whites with jobs, education, and housing. By 1965, as President Lyndon B. Johnson escalated the war in Vietnam, SDS chapters across the country led localized demonstrations in protest, culminating in the first March on Washington that April, in which 25,000 people participated. Later that year, SDS members helped organize more than 100,000 protestors in the International Days of Protest (October 15–16) and a second March on Washington (November 27). By this time, many of the founding members were no longer students and a new generation of campus leadership had taken over, including Carl Oglesby, an Akron, Ohio, student.

The year 1966 marked a turning point, with a new influx of members from the Midwest and large state institutions, bringing with them new priorities for the organization. The new members also were more connected to the emerging counterculture of rock music and drugs, with a particular emphasis on personal freedom and challenging societal norms.

The SDS began to develop a broader social critique, linking multiple struggles. In this radical new perspective, all of American society and culture was regarded as flawed, corrupt, and immoral. In the face of the ever-escalating war in Southeast Asia, the membership in 1968 and 1969 began to see itself as part of a worldwide revolutionary struggle.

SDS rhetoric became more politically radical and explicitly Marxist. Its activities became more militant, moving from protest rallies to the occupation or burning of buildings. The occupation of administrative offices at Columbia University in the spring of 1968 epitomized the shift. SDS students led by Mark Rudd seized the buildings in response to the university's sponsorship of war-related research and a perceived disrespect for the nearby impoverished black area of Harlem.



Mark Rudd, strike organizer and head of the local chapter of Students for a Democratic Society, addresses campus radicals during the spring 1968 uprising at Columbia University. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

At the SDS national conference in 1969, the group split into two factions over the direction of the counterculture and the tactics of the movement. The Progressive Labor (PL) faction stressed traditional organizing of the working class and the building of a mass party. The other faction eventually emerged as the revolutionary guerrilla group the Weathermen, later renamed the Weather Underground; its most famous members included Rudd, Bill Ayers, and Bernardine Dohrn. PL was antagonistic to the counterculture. The Weathermen wanted to create a sense of a common cause between themselves and working-class youth. During the 1960s, they engaged in a campaign of radical, violent protest, including rioting and the bombings of government buildings.

While the factional split effectively ended the SDS as a national organization, individual chapters continued

working for several years. Even in its splintered state, the SDS formed the context against which the counterculture of the 1960s framed itself. Drawing on old members for guidance and a blessing, high school and college students in 2006 who opposed the U.S. military occupation of Iraq began efforts to reconstitute the SDS, declaring their intentions in a public statement on Martin Luther King, Jr., Day.

Andrew Hannon

See also: [Chicago Seven](#); [New Left](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#); [Weathermen](#).

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Studio 54

The epicenter of New York City nightlife during the late 1970s and early 1980s, Studio 54 was the most famous disco in the United States, with a worldwide reputation as a notorious den of decadence and celebrity excess. The nightclub was housed at 254 West 54th Street in a building that was originally built as the Gallo Opera House in 1927. The structure served as a theater under various names until the 1950s, when the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) purchased it and turned it into a radio and television studio. The company used the location for about twenty years before Steve Rubell and Ian Schrager purchased the building and made plans to open a nightclub. Rubell and Schrager were entrepreneurs who owned a chain of steak houses and nightspots in Boston and New York.

After an expensive renovation of the building, Studio 54 opened on April 26, 1977. It was an immediate success from the standpoint of being perceived as the place to be seen in New York City. The nightclub drew celebrities and New Yorkers who were screened by doormen, and sometimes by Rubell himself, outside the entrance.

Every night, crowds gathered in front of the club with many people literally begging to be allowed in the door. Inside, there was loud disco music, flashing lights, an expansive dance floor, semi-clad bartenders, and an ample supply of alcohol and drugs. A large, decorative “man in the moon” (complete with a cocaine spoon) hung over the dance floor, and men and women routinely had sex in the balcony. The outgoing Rubell, in particular, was in his element as he personally played host to pop-culture icons Liza Minnelli, Cher, Andy Warhol, Bianca Jagger, and other celebrities who frequented the club.

Mismanagement and Rubell’s uninhibited personality finally brought down Studio 54 as the 1970s drew to a close. After he suggested in an interview that the business had not paid its share of taxes to the Internal Revenue Service, dozens of federal agents raided the nightclub in December 1979. Among other things, they found

garbage bags full of unreported currency stashed in the ceiling and elsewhere. The Studio, as it had become known, shut down in February 1980, and Rubell and Schrager eventually served time in prison for tax evasion.

The club reopened in September 1981 under new ownership, but it failed to generate the unbridled excitement—or hedonism—that had made it famous originally. The disco craze itself began to fade, and Studio 54 closed its doors permanently in 1986. Since then, the building has hosted a variety of tenants. As for the owners, Rubell died in 1989 of complications from AIDS, and Schrager later found success in the hotel business. In 1998, Mike Myers starred as Rubell in the motion picture *54*, depicting Studio 54 at its peak of popularity.

Ben Wynne

See also: [Disco](#).

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Suffragists

The term *suffragist* generally refers to those, mostly women, who agitated on behalf of women's voting rights in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Sometimes referred to as "suffragettes" (especially for more radical activists in England), the suffragists constituted the first wave of American feminists.

Suffrage itself was initially part of a larger complex of issues aimed at reversing women's social, political, and economic liabilities. By the late nineteenth century, suffrage overshadowed other women's issues, in part because women had been granted some legal rights at midcentury and their educational opportunities had expanded, and in part because proponents held that suffrage would make the other pro-woman reforms possible.

Roots

Historians generally cite the 1848 Seneca Falls Convention in upstate New York, under the guidance of reformers Elizabeth Cady Stanton and Lucretia Mott, as the beginning of the campaign for woman suffrage. At the time, however, it was the most controversial issue on the woman's rights agenda.

In fact, woman suffrage was the only issue cited in the Seneca Falls Convention's Declaration of Sentiments that did not receive the unanimous approval of the assembly. Modeled after the Declaration of Independence, the new document declared "that all men and women were created equal." Nevertheless, in the days following the

convention, many attendees revoked their pledge for suffrage; the thought of women voting was simply too radical for the time.

A series of national conventions were held during the decade after Seneca Falls, with one occurring each year except from 1857 until 1860, near the start of the American Civil War. Many of the most prominent woman's rights advocates devoted themselves to the Union cause, in the belief that they would be awarded their full citizenship rights after the war. When the fighting was over, however, the radical Republicans who had been promoting the rights of former slaves claimed it was "the Negro's Hour" and that women would have to wait for the franchise.

This mindset split the emerging movement for woman suffrage: The American Woman Suffrage Association (AWSA), led by suffragists Lucy Stone, her husband, Henry Blackwell, and Julia Ward Howe, was formed in 1869 to champion the rights of former slaves and women. Feeling betrayed by the politicians, Stanton and reformer Susan B. Anthony created the National Woman Suffrage Association (NWSA), also in 1869, to promote woman's rights exclusively and to work for a woman suffrage amendment to the Constitution. The two organizations maintained separate memberships until 1890, when they merged as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA).

The two organizations also differed on other cultural and political matters. For example, the AWSA allowed men to assume leadership roles in the organization and focused on achieving suffrage on a state-by-state basis. In the NWSA, by contrast, males were not permitted to hold top offices in the organization, and its focus was on a federal approach to woman suffrage. Both organizations published a journal, petitioned the government, and held meetings; some women, such as Anthony, attempted to vote and were promptly arrested. Their appeals to lawmakers fell on deaf ears.

Beginning in the 1890s, suffrage began the long, slow process of state passage in the West, where the harsh conditions were felt equally by women and men. In the more culturally settled, urban East, the doctrine of separate spheres segregated the sexes and relegated women to the home. Sporadic victories and defeats at the state level continued for the next thirty years.

Twentieth-Century Victories

The new century claimed the lives of many of the founding mothers, who did not live long enough to realize their dreams of woman suffrage. With renewed energy and leadership, however, the movement was revived.

In the 1910s, Anna Howard Shaw and Carrie Chapman Catt expanded the membership base of NAWSA and began organizing at the state level. Alice Paul and Lucy Burns, two young, well-educated activists who had participated in the suffrage movement in England, in 1913 assumed control of the NAWSA's Congressional Union (CU), a committee created to press the U.S. Congress to pass a woman suffrage amendment.

The CU stole president-elect Woodrow Wilson's thunder by staging a parade in Washington, D.C., on the eve of his March 1913 inauguration. But the parade turned ugly: Men in the streets harassed and harangued the marchers, while the police stood idly by.



Suffragists in New Jersey lobby for the women's vote in 1915. The measure was defeated there, though the movement had achieved victories in other states. Final success came with ratification of the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, granting the right nationwide. (FPG/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

The methods of the CU, influenced by the often violent actions of the English movement, were too radical for the growing NAWSA. As the latter organization expanded, it brought in more conservative women, including many from the South and the larger Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). This change in composition came at the cost of including black women, who were forced into segregated clubs and organizations.

Before long, the CU broke with the mother organization over differences of opinion regarding membership and tactics. NAWSA President Catt urged respectability and continued organizing. CU suffragists eschewed mere public speaking for the publicity of the spectacle, including parades, pageants, and picketing. Aiming for a national amendment, the CU believed that only militant tactics could awaken the complacency of the NAWSA and uncommitted American women. A true counterculture was born.

When the United States entered World War I in 1917, many NAWSA women engaged in war work. Paul's CU crowd refused to abandon its commitment to suffrage, however, holding bonfires and pickets at the White House and silently displaying placards that described their plight: "Resistance to Tyranny Is Obedience to God"; "Mr. Wilson, How Long Must Women Wait for Liberty?"; and even an inflammatory reference to "Kaiser Wilson." The public was enraged. The protestors were harassed by passersby and their patriotism impugned. Eventually, the women were jailed for their activism, only to be replaced by fresh CU legions.

Local law enforcement officials enhanced the punishment for the protestors' public campaigning by ordering them to fulfill their sentences at the Occoquan Workhouse in Virginia. There, the women endured harsh conditions. Claiming they were political prisoners, Paul demanded like treatment and refused to eat her rancid daily rations, resulting in violent force-feedings. When news of the women's treatment became public, President Wilson intervened and the suffragists were released, having served hard time on the trumped-up charge of obstructing traffic. The brutality both radicalized the protestors and roused the public's sympathy.

After many years and many failed attempts, the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution—according to which the right to vote "shall not be denied by the United States or by any State on account of sex"—passed both the Senate and the House in 1919, and was sent to the states for ratification. Catt's organizing paid off, as advocates were in place to petition the statehouses. In 1920, with two-thirds of state legislatures voting for approval, the Nineteenth Amendment was officially ratified, and women joined the American electorate with the same rights and responsibilities as men.

The 1920 elections showed little difference in voting patterns between men and women, but the cultural contributions of the suffragist movement are undeniable. Women's activism inspired both Indian spiritual leader Mohandas Gandhi and civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and served as a living testament to the power of nonviolent civil disobedience. In addition, the suffrage movement exploded the myth that women were shrinking violets in need of protection, and it empowered many women to take charge of their own lives.

Once suffrage was achieved, many women were assimilated into mainstream political organizations. Others began to agitate for the Equal Rights Amendment, a hallmark of the second wave of American feminism. By the 1980s, a distinct gender gap in voting patterns began to emerge, promising the political potential of women as a voting bloc.

Janet Novak

See also: [Feminism, First-Wave.](#)

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Surfing and Surfer Culture

Surfing, the sport of standing on a flat board while gliding along the crest of a breaking wave, made its way from Polynesia to the Hawaiian Islands by approximately 400 C.E. At first a religious ritual of native nobles, surfing would thrive in Hawai'i, unseen by Western eyes, until the English explorer Captain James Cook arrived nearly 1,400 years later.

Early explorers and visitors to the islands were impressed by the skill and daring of the surfers, but native customs were repressed with the arrival of Christian missionaries and European and American settlers. Surfing was all but eliminated by the early nineteenth century, kept alive only by a few locals as a means of passive resistance to the moral values espoused by the Westerners. The sport languished until the turn of the century, when American businessmen began to replace missionaries as the controlling force on the Hawaiian Islands. Entrepreneurs called on the few Hawaiians who still possessed the ability to surf to revitalize the sport as a means of catalyzing the islands' tourism appeal.

One of these locals was young Duke Kahanamoku, the grandson of a native chief and an Olympic swimming champion. While hardly the only Hawaiian to take part in the revival of the pastime, Kahanamoku was surfing's most visible figure and effective popularizer. A superb surfer from childhood, he went on to establish the first surfing club in Waikiki and gave exhibitions around the world. His demonstrations in Southern California laid the foundations of the sport in the mainland United States.

Surfing took firm root in America in the late 1950s and early 1960s, as teenagers took to the waves at beach towns such as Santa Monica, Huntington Beach, and Malibu, California, and developed leisure-centered lifestyles that embraced surfing as both sport and catharsis. Shaggy-haired, suntanned surfers in Hawaiian shirts descended on the beach in Volkswagen vans. They developed their own jargon as well, including such terms of the art as *peak* and *offshores* and *mellow*.

Films such as *Gidget* (1959) and *Beach Party* (1963) glorified the carefreeness of surfer life, the camaraderie between surfers and beach girls, and the nights of bonfires and beach parties. Even documentaries on surfing became box-office successes. For example, Bruce Brown's masterpiece, *The Endless Summer* (1966), about two surfers going around the globe in search of the "perfect wave," was embraced by audiences across the United States.

Musical artists such as Dick Dale, the Chantays, the Ventures, and the Surfari's pioneered "surf rock," a genre noted for its rapidly oscillating guitar instrumentals and loud, fast beat. The surfing influence on pop music reached its zenith in the 1960s with the Beach Boys, who performed such family-friendly songs as "Surfin' U.S.A.," "Surfin' Safari," and "Surfer Girl."

The popular success of surfing, however, did not sit well among the core members of the subculture. With the establishment of a competitive professional circuit in 1976 came money, sponsorships, and throngs of aspiring surfers threatening to compromise the sport's ideals of a serene and private experience. "Soul surfers" began to distinguish themselves by shunning technological advances in the sport—primarily by refusing to wear a wet suit to stay warm or a leash to keep the board nearby after a wipeout.

Likewise, dramatic increases in the sheer numbers of surfers led to the social phenomenon of "localism." Outsiders to an area's usual crowd generally were unwelcome by the core fraternity and sometimes were driven off by violence in the water, or returning to broken car windows and slashed tires.

Into the 2000s, surfing remains a popular source of entertainment for much of America. Yet the sport's underlying cliquishness remains strong among hard core participants.

Chris Rutherford

See also: [Slang](#).

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Surrealists

A term coined by French writer Guillaume Apollinaire in 1917, *surrealism* refers to an avant-garde cultural movement in the early twentieth century most prominently manifested in the realms of literary and visual arts. The movement's arrival in the United States, through exhibitions such as the Newer Super Realism show (1931) in Hartford, Connecticut, coincided with the personal presence of European surrealists such as André Masson and Marcel Duchamp, who in their opposition to Fascism and Nazism sought exile in the United States and joined forces with the American art community. Highly publicized and celebrated artists such as Salvador Dali, as well as art and museum patrons such as Peggy Guggenheim (who was married to émigré German surrealist Max Ernst), helped to popularize surrealism, which became a vital force in American art during the Great Depression and the cold war.

From its arrival on U.S. shores, many critical voices attacked surrealism as a foreign and even mad decadence in danger of corrupting American ideals and national art. With Freudian psychoanalysis becoming increasingly fashionable, however, others, in search of creative freedom and techniques for gaining access to the unconscious mind, enthusiastically turned to surrealism's openness to formal experimentation and personal interpretation.

While typically associated with the arts, surrealism has never been restricted to them. Indeed, from the start, proponents have aimed at transcending the arts. Like the earlier Dada movement, from which it partly derived, surrealism took part in a modernist avant-garde aesthetics of forcefully disrupting traditional rationalist ways of thinking, seeing, and feeling. But whereas the Dadaists, shell-shocked by the disillusionment and mass destruction of World War I, produced anti-art defying reason, the surrealists believed strongly in the positive, mind-changing

force of artistic expression and assaulted public sensibility.

Drawing heavily on Freudian theory, as well as Marxist thinking and the Marquis de Sade's and Arthur Rimbaud's radically sexualized poetics, French poet André Breton, the major spokesperson of the surrealist movement and later a New York refugee himself, declared in "The Surrealist Manifesto" (1924) that surrealism is "psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express—verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner—the actual functioning of thought. Dictated by the thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern."

For Breton and the group of artists surrounding him (among them Louis Aragon, Philippe Soupault, Paul Éluard, Robert Desnos, Pierre Naville, Roger Vitrac, Gala Éluard, Man Ray, Hans Arp, Antonin Artaud, Raymond Queneau, Joan Miró, Jacques Prevert, and Yves Tanguy), the term *surreality* aimed at a revolutionary unification of conscious and unconscious realms of experience into one new and marvelous "absolute reality." A more precise translation of French *surréalisme*, therefore, would thus correspond more closely with the English *supernatural* or *super real*. As much as surrealism stems from artistic roots, Breton made it clear that surrealist activity can be performed in any circumstance of life—making practitioners thoroughgoing nonconformists.

From the movement's center in Paris, surrealism by the end of the 1920s began to spread around the globe, with North and South America getting their fair share of major surrealist artists. While surrealism as a historical avant-garde movement formally came to an end with Breton's death in 1966, its influence lasted long after.

One proof of this was the founding in the same year of the Chicago Surrealist Group by Franklin and Penelope Rosemont as an official offshoot of the Paris group. Initially coming from left-wing or anarchist backgrounds, the Chicago Group, which includes photographer Clarence John Laughlin, artist Gerome Kamrowski, and poet Philip Lamantia, became an agitating force in the arts sector and beyond. The Chicago Group has continually identified itself with the cause of black liberation, including its early participation in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, the struggle against white supremacists in Chicago's Marquette Park neighborhood and elsewhere in the 1970s, and efforts to free African American political prisoner Mumia Abu-Jamal in the early 2000s.

It also has been associated with the Chicago-based labor organization Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), especially with the publication of the periodical *Rebel Worker* in the 1960s; it was allied with the antiwar activist group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) in the 1960s, with an entire issue of the group's leading journal, *Radical America*, devoted to the Chicago surrealists; and it was directly linked to the women's movement, specifically with Penelope Rosemont's groundbreaking anthology *Surrealist Women* (1998), the first and largest collection ever to represent the many women who participated in surrealism from its origins.

Social Surrealism

Besides the California post-surrealists Lorser Feitelson, Helen Lundeborg, Philip Guston, Reuben Kadish, Harold Lehman, and Knud Merrild—who in the 1930s used such surrealist devices as scale contrasts and odd juxtapositions of objects, but rejected European surrealism's irrationality—the first distinct manifestation of a genuine American surrealist movement adopted a political agenda: American social surrealism.

In the 1930s, during the Great Depression, artists such as O. Louis Guglielmi, Walter Quirt, James Guy, Peter Blume, Francis Criss, and David Smith drew on the experience of everyday life as nightmare, employing the radical aesthetics of surrealism to intensify the power of their social-political critique. Lacking the sexual overtones of European surrealism, the American social surrealists concentrated on presenting familiar aspects of American life in new, frightening, and hallucinatory perspectives. Attacking national problems such as poverty, workers' rights, and, later, the threat of fascism, the social surrealists created easy-to-read art with clear messages.

The group thus followed an overall trend of aligning leftist politics with communism. It supported Leon Trotsky and his International Left Opposition (including communist artists like Mexican Frida Kahlo, whose paintings of physical pain and suffering combined personal experience with the depictions of indigenous culture from a decidedly

feminine and surrealist perspective). It also supported the negritude movement and anticolonial, revolutionary writers such as Aimé Césaire of Martinique, taking up surrealism as a method of cultural critique.

American social surrealism followed the veristic branch of surrealism by stressing representation and clarity over automatism and abstraction. At times merging with magic realism (notably Jared French, Henry Koerner, George Tooker, Charles Rain) in its reliance on mystery and the marvelous, and translating everyday experience into strangeness as well as celebrating a revival of Renaissance techniques like tempera painting, veristic surrealism has resurfaced since the 1960s. Key artists, such as Irving Norman, Paul Pratchenko, Lynn Randolph, Phyllis Davidson, and Vaclav Vaca, claim a century-long tradition of art as symbolic narration, disparate juxtapositions of representational imagery, concern for audience, personal content, and classical technique.

Post-Surrealists

During the 1940s, the other main strand of surrealism in its American variation developed the idea of psychic automatism into the New York School of abstract expressionism. Arshile Gorky, Jackson Pollock, Robert Motherwell, Adolph Gottlieb, Mark Rothko, Roberto Matta, and Barnett Newman, among others, celebrated the instantaneous human act (free play and improvisation) as the wellspring of creativity. Later developments of this strand, taking up the humorous aspects of surrealism, developed into 1950s pop art (as seen in the work of Andy Warhol). Robert Rauschenberg was a key transitional figure, making use of surrealism in his Combine Paintings (collages of found objects bridging the gap of life and art by including everyday objects).

Already Breton's assumption that surrealism "acts on the mind very much as drugs do... and can push man to frightful revolts," as well as his observation that a surrealist act is like "dashing down into the street, pistol in hand, and firing blindly, as fast as you can pull the trigger, into the crowd," account for the movement's appeal to post-World War II counterculture and antibourgeois generations. All aimed to revolutionize multiple aspects (personal, cultural, social, political, sexual, religious) of human experience. False rationality and restrictive customs were sworn enemies of the surrealists' successors.

Latter-day surrealists can be found in diverse artistic fields, as in the works of the Beat Generation writers (Ted Joans, Bob Kaufman, Gregory Corso, Allen Ginsberg, and William S. Burroughs); free jazz (Don Cherry, Sun Ra, and Cecil Taylor); popular and experimental music (Bob Dylan and Laurie Anderson); film and television (David Lynch's *Twin Peaks* television series, 1990–1991, and Gregg Araki's New Queer Cinema films, such as *The Doom Generation*, 1995); and the stage, ranging from Richard Foreman's Ontological-Hysteric Theater and the camp and transvestite aesthetics of the Ridiculous Theater (Kenneth Bernard, Ronald Tavel, Charles Ludlam) in the 1970s to dance theater (Merce Cunningham, Meredith Monk) and Robert Wilson's Theater of Images. French surrealist Louis Aragon praised Wilson as being "what we, from whom Surrealism was born, dreamed would come after us and go beyond us."

Surrealism from the start has been criticized as artistically avant-garde yet ultimately chauvinistic, misogynist, and male centered. Thus, whenever women have adopted surrealism as their chosen method, they have done so mostly with ironic and parodic intent. Feminist subversion of patriarchal hierarchies has been a driving force in surrealist works as different in time, form, and content as Gertrude Stein's landscape plays of the 1920s and 1930s (with their radical aesthetics all but veiling their inherent homosexual politics), Cindy Sherman's *Untitled Film Stills* series (1977–1980), and Kathy Acker's post-punk porn novels.

In turning stereotypical sexist attitudes toward women into ironic commentaries on society's misgivings, these post-surrealists take part in the overall surrealist notion of a counterculture movement—one that links radical aesthetics with revolutionary politics by emphasizing the links between freeing imagination and mind and liberation from repressive and archaic social structures.

Ralph J. Poole

See also: [Abstract Expressionism](#): [Beat Generation](#): [Great Depression](#): [Industrial Workers of the World](#).

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Survivalists

Survivalists are individuals or groups who aim to outlast an anticipated widespread catastrophe by stockpiling goods, learning self-sufficiency skills, and/or arranging to defend themselves from the government or those who did not prepare. Elements of survivalism are found among more radical groups on both the left (including Earth First! and homesteaders) and the right (including Aryan Nations, Michigan Militia) of the political spectrum, although white supremacist groups have received the vast majority of media and academic attention. Expected calamity can take a number of permutations, ranging from religious millennial events to nuclear holocaust, environmental destruction (such as that brought by Hurricane Katrina in 2005 to areas of the Gulf Coast), or societal collapse. The defining aspects of the movement, however, are the intended responses to the perceived threats. Survivalism most commonly entails such actions as the storage of extra water and food in case of an emergency, but it can escalate to engaging with other survivalists to prepare for catastrophic scenarios. At the most extreme end, this entails living “off the grid” of the normal power supply in a communal situation, such as a militia or cult. The survivalist movement is dominated by white males.

Modern examples of the survivalist movement began during the cold war over fears of an impending nuclear holocaust. Government agencies urged preparedness and the construction of fallout shelters in case of an attack within the United States. In the 1960s and 1970s, with the rise and peak of the counterculture movement, survivalists became increasingly focused on other forms of collapse such as environmental and economic ones.

In the 1980s, attention shifted back to nuclear weapons amid their proliferation in the final years of the cold war. During this time, survivalist conventions (often sponsored by, and advertised in, gun magazines) also proliferated. The 1990s saw an increasing dependence on information technology, giving rise to a growing sense of impending “technocalypse.” Survivalists started to focus more on surviving without the complexities of a technology-driven society around them. Earth First!, which had held regional training camps since the 1970s, began to shift attention toward sustainable lifestyles and wilderness skills.

The most recent popular manifestation of the survivalist movement came after the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, with a focus on preparing for widespread devastation at the hands of Islamic fundamentalists. In the early 2000s, “freegans” (people whose aim is to survive a prospective crisis of capitalism by scavenging food from

dumpsters and other free sources) received increased media attention.

In the United States, the federal government often has been involved in the popular survivalist movement, providing guides on surviving multiple forms of catastrophes. The advice of government agencies is almost always geared toward short-term survival, a period of several days at most, which is why more serious survivalists often disregard these suggestions. Emergency response workers, who work with the government to prepare for disasters and emphasize working with others to restore order, often disparage survivalists who foresee a longer-term collapse of civilization.

Although mainstream survivalists often focus on ways to respond to disasters at their homes, more extreme survivalists tend to focus on ways to escape urban areas and head for rural retreats where they can survive long-term societal collapse. To this end, many survivalists form semi-clandestine clubs with whom they plan to meet up during a catastrophe and escape to a less densely populated area. At the most extreme end of this spectrum are militias such as the Montana Freemen, millennial cults such as the Branch Davidians, and back-to-earthers who attempt to live outside U.S. society in preparation for the coming apocalypse.

Literature of the movement proliferates on both sides of the spectrum, with the radical right producing the likes of Andrew MacDonald's novel *The Turner Diaries* (1978) and *Soldier of Fortune* magazine, and the left producing books and zines on urban salvaging, wilderness survival, and cultural resistance.

The survivalist community is heavily represented on the World Wide Web, which disseminates information on products (often with a focus on firearms), strategies, and works of literature, and provides space for the interaction of different points of view among survivalists. Survivalist themes are occasionally presented in the American mass media, as in the case of Edward Abbey's novel *Good News* (1980), the hit movie *Red Dawn* (1984), and the television series *Lost* (2004–).

Matthew Branch

See also: [Branch Davidians](#): [Environmentalism](#): [Transcendentalism](#): [White Supremacists](#).

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Swedenborgianism

The writings and teachings of the eighteenth-century visionary Emanuel Swedenborg became the basis of a religious system called Swedenborgianism. Swedenborg's religious writings describe an accessible spiritual world populated by entities that interact with humans and offer guidance and wisdom. His encounters with this world inspired various countercultural thinkers and artists and influenced later movements that claimed contact with spiritual teachers and guides.

Swedenborg's Life

Swedenborg was born in Stockholm, Sweden, on January 29, 1688, to a wealthy and prominent Lutheran family. Since his father was a Lutheran bishop, he received an excellent education and grew up intensely aware of the conflicts between Catholics and Protestants and the many divisions among Protestant denominations that roiled the religious world of the late seventeenth century. Swedenborg showed promise as a student and graduated at an early age from the University of Uppsala. Following graduation, he traveled in Europe while studying astronomy, physics, mathematics, and physiology. Taking careful notes during his travels, he returned to Sweden and published books on chemistry, mathematics, and mineralogy.

In 1744, Swedenborg began a period of spiritual transformation that started with a series of increasingly powerful dreams. These nighttime visions expanded into his waking hours, where he encountered a divine being who explained that he was to receive the true meaning of the Bible. After these experiences, Swedenborg claimed, he was able to look into the spirit or heavenly realm and converse with the wide variety of beings he found there.

Over the next decade, Swedenborg wrote and published his eight-volume work *Arcana Coelestia* (1749–1756), which began to lay out his spiritual system. He wrote of his encounters and documented them as meticulously as his physical journeys and produced several works of mystical theology, producing nearly twenty works after his spiritual awakening. Among the most important was *Heaven and Its Wonders and Hell* (1758), which presented his vision of a spiritual realm divided into an organized hierarchy of seven spheres of ascending purity and divinity, with the mundane physical world at the center.

While producing this large body of written material, Swedenborg also worked in various scientific fields, edited a scientific magazine, served in the Swedish legislature, and held a government position as assessor to the Royal College of Mines. He later resigned the latter post to pursue his writing and lived an ascetic life on half-pension.

Although he published his spiritual works anonymously, the 1768 revelation of his identity as the author of the books and pamphlets that had become something of a sensation in Europe led Swedish Lutheran ministers to accuse him of heresy. Swedenborg, known and respected by many prominent political, religious, and scientific figures in Sweden, used his connections to escape punishment.

He continued to travel, write, and publish until 1771, when he suffered a stroke while visiting London. He died there the following year.

Swedenborgianism in the United States

Following Swedenborg's death, many of his followers organized a branch of Christianity modeled on his works that they called the Church of the New Jerusalem. Although it had some popularity in France and Central Europe, Swedenborgianism as an organized religious movement had its greatest successes in England and the United States. The Church of the New Jerusalem remained a small but viable denomination throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, but Swedenborgianism's greatest impact on countercultural groups occurred outside the boundaries of any organized church.

Swedenborg's writings became popular in the United States during the nineteenth century, and he became a notable influence on many who would become involved in such counterculture movements as transcendentalism and spiritualism. His vivid descriptions of a world both internal and spiritual led to his popularity among a wide variety of Americans who were pursuing an interest in mesmerism, communal settlements, and medical practices such as homeopathy.

Some of those who were active in disseminating Swedenborg's ideas in the United States during the 1840s, such as New York University professor of theology George Bush, became attracted to the emerging spiritualist movement, which centered on communications with the dead. Over the next decade, many spiritualists praised Swedenborg as a seer and medium, arguing that the angelic communications he described in his writings actually were the same types of contacts with the spirit world that they experienced. Andrew Jackson Davis, one of the

most prominent of the antebellum spiritualists, claimed that the spirit of Swedenborg appeared to him in the 1840s as a kind of spiritual guide.

Swedenborg's reputation as a serious scholar, his erudite theological works, and his systematic treatment of the spirit world made him a revered figure among many spiritualists. Some, like the Reverend Thomas Lake Harris, made Swedenborgianism a major part of their own spiritual systems. However, this popularity eventually created tensions. While spiritualists were happy to consider Swedenborg's experiences a harbinger of the manifestations of the mid-nineteenth century, more doctrinaire Swedenborgians objected to having him treated as simply another medium.

Swedenborg's influence also extended to transcendentalist thinkers such as Ralph Waldo Emerson, who was so impressed by the Swedish seer that he included an essay titled "Swedenborg, the Mystic" (alongside essays on Plato, Napoleon, and Shakespeare) in his 1859 book *Representative Men*. Long before the appearance of that essay, however, several well-known figures associated with transcendentalism, such as the writer Margaret Fuller and the New England teacher Amos Bronson Alcott, read and discussed Swedenborg's works and theological system. Another prominent New England intellectual, philosopher Henry James, Sr. (the father of Harvard professor of psychology William James and novelist Henry James), became one of the most well-known and ardent devotees of Swedenborg.

Beyond his obvious influence on familiar counterculture movements such as spiritualism and transcendentalism, Swedenborg's writings have inspired poets and artists in the United States and overseas for more than two centuries, including William Blake, William Butler Yeats, and Honoré de Balzac. Outside the arts, Swedenborg influenced the development of New Thought, the late-nineteenth-century religious movement that taught that spirit was the only reality and that individual thoughts exercised power over the physical world, and other alternative philosophical systems.

While the most important influence of Swedenborgianism, both on mainstream culture and on counterculture movements, was exercised by Swedenborg's writings, churches organized around his beliefs remain active to the present day. Since their founding, these churches have faced a number of schisms over whether Swedenborg's writings should be seen as a lens through which to understand the Christian Scriptures or should be considered infallible, divinely inspired documents.

By the twenty-first century, such divisions fractured the Church of the New Jerusalem into a number of smaller groups. Two of the largest are the General Church of the New Jerusalem, headquartered near Philadelphia, which claims about 5,000 members, and the Swedenborgian Church of North America, based near Boston, which has about 1,500 members. Swedenborgian-influenced denominations in Europe, Asia, and Africa brought the total number of members to about 30,000 as of 2008.

Stephen D. Andrews

See also: [Alcott, Amos Bronson](#); [Davis, Andrew Jackson](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Fuller, Margaret](#); [Harris, Thomas Lake](#); [Spiritualism](#); [Theosophy](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Talking Heads

The Talking Heads were seminal figures in the history of the New York punk music scene, pioneering the more commercially friendly New Wave genre. More than any other band in this musical milieu, the Talking Heads had an exceptionally enduring connection to the avant-garde of New York. Musically, the band members became early innovators in incorporating dance rhythms, both funk and African polyrhythms, into their sound.

Singer David Byrne, bassist Tina Weymouth, and drummer Chris Franz (who later married Weymouth), attended the Rhode Island School of Design in Providence, Rhode Island, where they formed the band in 1974. In 1976, they achieved early success, based on riveting live performances at Hilly Kristal's club on Bowery Street in New York City, CBGB, the epicenter of New York's burgeoning punk movement. Seymour Stein of Sire Records was so impressed that he immediately signed the group. The following year, guitarist Jerry Harrison, who had studied architecture at Harvard University, joined them, and that same year, the band released its first album, *Talking Heads '77*.

The Talking Heads' early minimalist, terse sound was based on Byrne's yelping vocals and Weymouth's deliberate bass lines. Harrison had played with Jonathan Richman and the Modern Lovers, and the Talking Heads were influenced by the Modern Lovers' preppy visual style and simple, pared-down music, which was often accompanied by surreal and naive lyrics. The Talking Heads, in contrast to most early New York City punk bands, did not embrace the rebellious, romantic rock aesthetic or pose as anti-intellectual, working-class toughs or dissipated junkies.

The Talking Heads' edgy pop music and surreal lyrics of alienation evolved from the tradition of New York City art rock that originated in the late 1960s with the Velvet Underground, and later the New York Dolls and Patti Smith—all of whom had strong connections with the art and literary worlds. Byrne was inspired by the creative strategies of the Dadaists and surrealists, and he used games and chance elements to create lyrics. From the band's inception, every album design was conceived and created by some or all of the band members. Later, pop artist Robert Rauschenberg was enlisted to design a limited-edition LP package for *Speaking in Tongues* (1983). *True Stories* (1986) was a full-length film conceived by, directed by, and starring Byrne.

In 1983, the band found mass popularity with the hit "Burning Down the House." The cable television network MTV (Music Television) had been launched just two years earlier, and the Talking Heads' popularity was enhanced by their visually arresting music videos.

Alternative-music producer Brian Eno had introduced the band to African music, which is reflected on the albums *Fear of Music* (1979) and *Remain in Light* (1980). Byrne and Eno further explored the use of sub-Saharan and northern African sounds in *My Life in the Bush of Ghosts* (1981) and a collaboration with dancer-choreographer Twyla Tharp titled *The Catherine Wheel* (1981). The three other members of the band all released side projects, and Weymouth and Franz were unexpectedly successful with their white rap project, the Tom Tom Club.

As the Talking Heads found commercial success, however, the members grew increasingly at odds with each other. Soon after producing a final album in 1988, *Naked*, the band broke up. Its legacy of musical boundary breaking has influenced the work of such later performers as Beck, Radiohead, Phish, and others.

Monica Berger

See also: [CBGB: Punk Rock](#).

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Taos, New Mexico

First in the 1920s and again in the 1960s, the remote mountain village of Taos, New Mexico, acquired an international reputation for artistic experimentation, while hosting such well-known counterculture residents as American patron of the arts Mabel Dodge Luhan and actor Dennis Hopper.

Pueblo Indians have inhabited Taos Pueblo, the multifamily, adobe structure on the edge of town, since the pueblo's construction in about 1400 C.E. Spanish settlers, priests, and soldiers arrived in the 1500s. The Taos Revolt in 1680 led to their expulsion, but the Spanish returned in 1690. Taos then became a fortified trade city, bustling with the activity of Spanish merchants from Chihuahua, French and American fur trappers, and Indian traders from tribes across the region. Kit Carson, the American scout who settled in town in the 1840s, was typical of many in Taos in having an interethnic marriage.

The flags displayed in town changed with Mexican independence in 1821, and again upon U.S. annexation in 1846, but little else changed until railroad construction connected Taos with other parts of the country in the 1880s. It was during this time that popular fascination with Western and Native American themes drove Taos's rebirth as an art colony. Artists Ernest Blumenschein and Bert Phillips settled there in 1889, and in 1915 they joined with recently arrived artists Joseph Henry Sharp, Bert Harwood, Nicholai Fechin, and Joseph A. Fleck in founding the Taos Society of Artists cooperative. The Atchinson, Topeka and Santa Fe railroad purchased much of their work to promote regional tourism.

The 1916 arrival of Mabel Dodge, a wealthy New York socialite, transformed Taos. Soon thereafter, Dodge married local Pueblo Indian Tony Lujan (Luhan), and over the next decade built a rambling complex in which she housed painters, writers, and photographers. Her financial independence allowed her to offer guests (who sometimes stayed years) a respite from the commercial art market, resulting in a vibrant center of avant-garde experimentation. During the 1920s and 1930s, Dodge hosted a cross-section of the most innovative minds of the era, among them Ansel Adams, Willa Cather, John Collier, Carl Jung, D.H. Lawrence, John Marin, Georgia O'Keeffe, Elsie Clews Parsons, Gertrude Stein, Alfred Stieglitz, and Paul Strand. She remained in Taos until her death in 1962.

In the 1960s, Taos again became a center of cultural experimentation. The population doubled as more than two dozen communes appeared on the outskirts of town, including Morningstar, Lama, and the Reality Construction Company. The communes varied widely in terms of philosophy and lifestyle, but all were perceived as being more accepting of experimentation with drugs and sex than was the broader Taos community. Iris Keltz's *Scrapbook of a Taos Hippie* (2000) is one of several memoirs on the Taos commune scene, where, the author recalls, young people hoped to change the direction of American culture by rejecting materialism and violence.

The New Buffalo Commune became the most famous of the Taos communities when it provided the backdrop for the 1969 film *Easy Rider*, which brought actors Dennis Hopper and Jack Nicholson to town. Hopper bought the

Dodge-Luhan ranch and used the “Mud Palace” as a studio for experimental filmmaking, while hosting Bob Dylan, Janis Joplin, Timothy Leary, Andy Warhol, and other icons of the era.

Despite the national attention, this was a tense time. Some of what communalists viewed as natural human behavior—including nudity, free love, and religious syncretism—the Pueblo Indians considered offensive to their indigenous traditions, and the town blamed newcomers for rising rates of drug use and delinquency. Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) investigations of the communes, tribal political groups, and Chicano activists, who sought to organize Hispanic residents of the town to resist discrimination, contributed to the tension.

By the 1970s, the commune era was in decline, but Taos retained its reputation as a center of creativity. Writer John Nichols (author of *The Milagro Beanfield War*, 1974) and Navajo artist R.C. Gorman acquired national reputations with their New Mexico-centered art. By the 1990s, many of the town’s communes had evolved into centers for sustainable agriculture, New Age spiritualism, and global education.

In the twenty-first century, these communities have continued to attract visitors interested in alternative lifestyles, while the many workshops run by these groups help spread the Taos ethic of cultural experimentation. The local art community remains active, and the town remains home to the Taos Pueblo Indians, as it has for centuries.

Janice Lee Jayes

See also: [Communes](#); [Hopper, Dennis](#); [Luhan, Mabel Dodge](#); [O'Brien, Fitz-James \(1828–862\)](#); [Keeffe, Georgia](#); [Stein, Gertrude](#).

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Television

Although television technology had been successfully demonstrated as early as 1927 and the first regular programming began in 1939, the medium did not become a popular source of entertainment and news in the United States until after World War II. In the years that followed, however, television’s popularity increased dramatically. As of 1948, an estimated 1 million U.S. households had television sets; by 1969, some 95 percent of homes contained a television, and Americans watched an average of six hours of television daily.

As a function of its universality and audiovisual format, television has been regarded as an extremely effective medium for the dissemination of information and maintaining mainstream values and ideologies. Nevertheless, in the history of the medium, countercultures have wrought significant changes in the structure and content of

television programming.

The 1960s, when television was still relatively young and counterculture groups were growing in popularity, was a particularly important period for such changes. News coverage of counterculture movements and entertainment content drawing on countercultural stereotypes represented commercial efforts to profit from the public interest. Ultimately, however, the countercultures of the period succeeded in changing television, especially by making it a medium more attuned to youth culture. As the civil rights, anti-Vietnam War, and hippie movements succeeded in bringing their goals and values into American living rooms via the small screen, television itself had a direct and dramatic impact on the strategies of the political counterculture and the course of events.

Television is alluring to anyone with a message to spread, because its extensive and intimate penetration into the daily lives of Americans makes it an effective way to share ideas on a large scale. At the same time, many of the practices that have come to be associated with television—including situation comedies that reinforce the nuclear family and heterosexuality, entertainment programming with racist depictions of minorities, the perceived bias of mainstream news, and the use of commercials to support the costs of most programming—represent values that countercultures have opposed.

Moreover, with large corporations owning the three major networks in the United States during the 1960s, counterculture groups had little direct access to the means of production or channels of distribution. Direct, objective representations of alternative political, social, and cultural points of view thus depended largely, and tenuously, on the objectivity of news organizations.

The youth-based movements of the period prompted the quest for programming that relied on rock music and other cultural artifacts to capture the interest of younger viewers. NBC launched *The Monkees* (1966–1968) in an attempt to capture some of the hysteria over the Beatles. The Monkees were purely a TV creation with recording spin-offs; the show consisted of band members portraying themselves in comical fashion. The series was devoid of any politically, socially, or morally objectionable content, but it strove to retain the style of the hip culture associated with rock music.

This tendency to repackage the culture of recreational drug use and brazen sexuality into a harmless, stylish entertainment product was dominant. Other popular programs that presented a sanitized version of the rock world included the Beatles' Saturday morning cartoon show (1965–1968), Dick Clark's *American Bandstand* (1952–1989), and *The Partridge Family* (1970–1974).

The Mod Squad (1968–1973) made clear that youth counterculture was changing traditional television. The show took a conventional format, the buddy cop show, and altered it by including a woman character and an African American character in addition to a white male. Though juvenile delinquents recruited to do police work to save themselves from jail, the three were hip and fashionable, and they mingled easily with the Southern California youth subculture to fight crime. The show's logline, or capsule summary, advertised its multicultural emphasis: "One black, one white, one blonde." *Mod Squad* was an instant hit, perhaps because it could not only draw interest from countercultural viewers, but also seem to give a mainstream viewer entrée into the youth subculture while maintaining the strong sense of morality that drove cop shows in its era.

Some television personalities earnestly sought to infuse their programs with countercultural messages, though generally with minimal success. The Smothers Brothers used the platform of their comedy variety show *The Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour* (1967–1969) to protest against the Vietnam War. As a result, the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) network president decided to censor the show, and the withdrawal of advertisers finally forced cancellation. Gene Roddenberry, creator of NBC's science fiction series *Star Trek* (1966–1969), was likewise prevented from writing shows that implied opposition to the Vietnam War.

Television programs also lampooned the counterculture for entertainment value. *The Many Loves of Dobie Gillis* (1959–1963) featured a recurring beatnik character named Maynard G. Krebs, a harmless free spirit who loved jazz and playing the bongos and had an aversion to work of any kind. *Rowan & Martin's Laugh-In* (1968–1973)

was a sketch comedy show that drew on hip imagery of the swinging 1960s for laughs. And many other series included single episodes in which the main characters encountered versions of beatniks, hippies, feminists, or Black Power activists, who would inevitably display markers of countercultural stereotypes without giving voice to the substance.

The televised media also effected change in mainstream political perceptions and was a factor in precipitating strategies adopted by the New Left. As the nightly television news brought the Vietnam War into the living rooms of the American people, the antiwar movement found ways to use media coverage to their own ends.

Organizers, especially, came to appreciate the value of visual spectacle in protest events, recognizing that outrageous or unusual stunts could lead to increased coverage by the televised media. Notable among the counterculture groups who recognized the power of televised spectacle were the yippies. In October 1967, the March on Washington to protest the Vietnam War attracted an estimated 100,000 activists. Still, the claim by yippie leader Abbie Hoffman that he would “levitate” the Pentagon, accompanied by poet Allen Ginsberg’s Tibetan chants and a musical “exorcism” by the band the Fugs, drew as much media attention as the march itself.

Another event—among many—that reflected the counterculture’s recognition of the power of television was the protest of track-and-field athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos at the 1968 Olympic Games. By lowering their heads and raising their fists on the medal stand during the playing of the national anthem, Smith and Carlos created a visual image of Black Power that was broadcast globally and became instant history.

Since the 1960s, television has continued to be a medium that caters to interests of youth culture and tends to represent threatening social movements in a politically neutered manner for its own financial profit. Advances such as color television and the advent of cable and satellite service have only made television a more profitable and ubiquitous source of information. Countercultures have most recently seen representation on cable networks, whose proliferation has meant an increasingly diverse representation of U.S. cultures on television. Notably, Home Box Office (HBO) brought viewers seemingly realistic depictions of mob life in *The Sopranos* (1999–2007) and polygamous countercultures in *Big Love* (2006). Showtime’s *Queer as Folk* (2000–2005) opened up a frank look at gay culture, and its *The L Word* (2004–2009) did the same for lesbian culture. Reality television also sometimes attempts to offer insight into the lives of marginalized groups previously unrepresented on television.

Despite the presence of independent public television stations, the ongoing trend has been toward consolidation of television network ownership by multinational corporations. And this trend is likely to continue making television an even narrower platform for direct resistance to mainstream culture.

Susanne E. Hall

See also: [Beatles](#), [The](#); [Mod Squad](#), [The](#); [New Left](#); [Rowan & Martin’s Laugh-In](#); [Science Fiction](#); [Smothers Brothers](#); [Trekkies](#).

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Temperance Movement

Emerging in the early decades of the nineteenth century, the U.S. temperance movement sought to limit consumption of alcohol, moving between an emphasis on voluntary individual behavior and coercive legislation. The movement focused on alcohol's negative impact on both society and individuals, especially the moral, economic, and medical effects of overindulgence. Gaining momentum in the latter part of the nineteenth century, the struggle culminated in ratification of the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which became law on January 16, 1920. National Prohibition lasted until the amendment was repealed, with ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment in 1933, but the ban on alcohol remained a local option and remained in effect in some locations.

Origins

After independence, American annual per capita consumption of absolute alcohol rose from 3 gallons (11 liters) in 1790 to 4 gallons (15 liters) in 1830. Although there had been efforts to restrict alcohol sales during the colonial period, the publication of Dr. Benjamin Rush's *An Inquiry Into the Effects of Ardent Spirits* (1784), which advocated total abstinence from distilled liquors, provided the intellectual basis for the temperance movement.

The Massachusetts Society for the Suppression of Intemperance, founded in 1813, advocated moderation, but the American Society for the Promotion of Temperance, founded in 1826, followed Rush in calling for complete abstinence from distilled spirits. Appealing to the masses through tracts, newspapers, and circulars, the latter organization gained 1.5 million members by 1835. It soon became clear that no legitimate distinction could be made between distilled and fermented beverages; by 1836, the American Temperance Union, as the national society renamed itself, was promoting teetotalism. The movement proved effective, with the nation's annual per capita consumption of alcohol dropping to 2 gallons (7.5 liters) by 1840.

The 1840s saw both the growth of temperance efforts and the broadening of their appeal. The Washingtonian Total Abstinence Society, or Washingtonians, an organization of reformed alcoholics, originated in Baltimore in 1840; by the following year, it was sending speakers to cities throughout the Northeast. Recounting their personal struggles with drink, the Washingtonians developed a support network for common people who sought help in overcoming alcohol dependence.

In Maine, industrialist Neal Dow worked through the Washingtonian movement to achieve both local and statewide restrictions on the sale of alcohol by 1846. In 1851, he obtained stronger state legislation that outlawed the manufacture of alcohol and limited its use to medicine and industry. Over the next four years, twelve additional states and territories adopted similar prohibition laws. This legislation prompted organized opposition, however, which succeeded in eliminating or weakening prohibitions in five of these states and territories prior to the American Civil War.

Between 1850 and 1900, American drinking habits stabilized, as annual per capita consumption of absolute alcohol dropped to about 1.5 gallons (5.7 liters). While the decline was accounted for in part by the increasing popularity of beer over whiskey with the influx of German immigration, this change also reflected the influence of

the temperance movement.

Tactics

With the stalling of early prohibition efforts, temperance forces moved in several directions. In the 1850s, Dr. Joseph E. Turner began describing habitual drunkenness as a disease and called for the establishment of specialized treatment facilities, the first of which was the New York State Inebriate Asylum, established in 1864. In the 1870s, lectures by Dr. Dio Lewis helped inspire the Women's Temperance Crusade, which organized mass marches that focused on closing down saloons and other liquor retailers. Appearing in thirty-one states and the District of Columbia, the crusade involved at least 56,000 women.

Meanwhile, prohibition advocates continued their efforts, organizing the Prohibition Party in 1869 and achieving prohibition in six states toward the end of the century. With the emergence of the Populist Party in the early 1890s and the failure of the Prohibition Party to form a coalition with it, the Prohibition Party was relegated to permanent minor-party status.

More significant was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), established in 1874. Under the leadership of educator and reformer Frances Willard, the WCTU approached alcohol as a social problem. The organization ran jail visitation programs, established departments to work with miners and timber laborers, encouraged children to take temperance pledges, and promoted "scientific temperance instruction" in the public schools. In addition, the WCTU circulated petitions for statewide prohibition as well as local option laws that allowed counties to prohibit the sale of alcohol. Its efforts helped push Kansas in 1880 and Iowa in 1881 to adopt prohibition. Although the WCTU was a largely white, upper middle-class organization, lower-class women were active on the state and local levels, and the organization's Departments of Colored Work took part in both national efforts and in several state unions. The temperance activities of the WCTU also brought it into contact with a variety of social problems that widened its concerns, leading the organization to seek such additional objectives as woman suffrage and an increase in the legal age for sexual consent.

Responding to lax enforcement of prohibition in Kansas, temperance agitator Carry Nation helped organize a local chapter of the WCTU in Medicine Lodge in 1900. Claiming to be inspired by visions, she launched a campaign of direct action in which she entered local saloons wielding an ax, destroying liquor bottles, kegs, and furnishings. She soon expanded her actions to other cities in Kansas and eventually to such places as San Francisco and New York City. Although she gained national notoriety, Nation was a controversial figure within the temperance movement itself, and she had little lasting influence.



Members of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union join in song as part of its dry California activities of 1914. From its founding in 1874, the WCTU played a leading role in the campaign for prohibition. (Peter Stackpole/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

In contrast to the WCTU, the Anti-Saloon League of America (1905) focused on the single issue of prohibition. It argued that the way to achieve this goal was through national policy rather than attempting to change personal behavior. Although it ultimately sought an end to all trafficking in liquor, it chose its goals pragmatically, seeking local option in some places and statewide prohibition in others. The league worked through local churches, both to solicit financial pledges and to identify church members willing to vote for “dry” political candidates. It organized voters at the precinct level, sought to influence the caucuses and conventions of both the Democratic and Republican parties, distributed circulars to industrial employees, and published a variety of papers in several languages. By 1915, it had helped pass prohibition legislation in several Southern and Western states. Meanwhile, in 1913, the league gained passage of a federal law that prohibited the interstate shipment of alcohol into dry counties.

This success led the Anti-Saloon League to begin lobbying for a constitutional amendment to establish national Prohibition—a goal achieved in December 1917, when Congress voted to submit the Eighteenth Amendment to the states. The ratification process was completed in January 1919, and the amendment went into effect one year later. Annual alcohol consumption in America fell from 1.7 gallons (6.43 liters) per capita in 1916 and 1917 to about 0.75 gallons (2.8 liters) in 1921 and 1922, rising again to 1.1 gallons (4.2 liters) in the years 1927 through 1930.

Resistance to Prohibition arose quickly. Opponents, known as “wets,” argued that the restriction was ineffective and impossible to enforce, as well as an unnecessary restriction on personal freedom. Bootlegging, rum-running, and speakeasies (illegal underground drinking establishments) all flourished, giving rise to unprecedented levels of organized crime.

By 1932, nine states had repealed their prohibition laws. The following year, thirty-seven states held referenda on an amendment that would repeal national Prohibition, and thirty-five states voted for repeal (the exceptions being North Carolina and South Carolina). The national experiment was over upon ratification of the Twenty-First Amendment, but the annual per capita consumption of alcohol changed little until after World War II, when it again leveled off at about 1.5 gallons (5.7 liters).

Although its efforts to establish permanent Prohibition were ultimately unsuccessful, the temperance movement had a major effect on American drinking behavior. By the mid-twentieth century, U.S. consumption of alcohol had dropped to approximately half of what it had been in the early days of the republic.

Gary Land

See also: [Prohibition: Social Gospel](#).

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Theater, Alternative

Alternative theater—variously referred to as experimental, avant-garde, or fringe theater—has provided a counterpoint to the commercialism, conventionality, and high ticket prices of mainstream American theater, including Broadway and off-Broadway, since at least the early twentieth century. Among the hallmarks of American alternative theater in its many forms and expressions are the use of the stage to dramatize a particular ideology or point of view, whether political, social, or artistic; innovative approaches to staging and production; and affordability for ordinary people. Early institutions of this type were founded in New York City, including the experimental Provincetown Playhouse (1917) and Cherry Lane Theatre (1924). From these, the alternative theater movement of the 1950s and 1960s would evolve and achieve more enduring success.

Committed to a democratic model, postwar alternative theater has tended to adhere to a policy of low-price or even free entry fees. At the same time, producers and others working in the business have explored new methods, materials, and dramatic devices, using a variety of physical spaces for performances, erasing boundaries between production crew and actors by making each participant perform a variety of roles, and otherwise resisting the commercialism of middle-class theater.

As a vital element of the postwar American counterculture, the alternative theater also has been a venue for addressing such political and social issues as race relations, U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, women's rights, and economic justice. Prominent examples include political street theater, epitomized in the 1960s in rural California by El Teatro Campesino, a bilingual farmworkers' theater that criticized the exploitation of farmworkers by grape growers; and the Diggers in San Francisco, an improvisational guerrilla theater group that opposed private property and provided free food, medical supplies, and transportation for the urban poor.

Early Twentieth Century

With antecedents in European traveling shows and other improvisational groups, experimental theater in America took root in New York's Greenwich Village in 1917 with the arrival of the Provincetown Players. The group had been organized two years earlier under the leadership of playwrights Susan Glaspell and George Cram Cook in Cape Cod, Massachusetts, with the shared goal of breaking away from contemporary commercial melodrama and supporting new voices and new directions in American drama. The Provincetown Players produced the early works of Eugene O'Neill, among others, and became closely associated with the little theater movement of the times, with its themes of left-wing politics, feminism, and the bohemian lifestyle. After closing for three years in the early 1920s, the Provincetown Players disbanded in 1929.

Meanwhile, in Greenwich Village, the bohemian poet and playwright Edna St. Vincent Millay, with other members of the Provincetown Players, opened another venue of experimental theater, the Cherry Lane Theatre, in a converted warehouse in March 1924. Now the oldest extant off-Broadway theater in New York, the Cherry Lane has showcased the works of countless aspiring playwrights who became leading innovators of American drama.

Nor was the movement confined to New York. Among the notable innovative theater groups to spring up around the country, some of which still operate, were the Little Theatre of Chicago (1912), the Vagabond Players in Baltimore (1916), the Arts and Crafts Theatre of Detroit (1916), the Des Moines (Iowa) Playhouse (1919), and many others.

Postwar Era

The period following World War II brought a kind of revival in alternative American theater, which continued to gain momentum in the 1950s, 1960s, and onward. Innovative new productions were being mounted by the Living Theatre, founded in 1947 by actress Judith Malina and her husband, painter Julian Beck. The Living Theatre was

among the first American companies to stage modernist European works by the likes of Bertolt Brecht and Antonin Artaud, and it remains the oldest experimental theater group still operating in the United States. Also noteworthy in the immediate postwar years was Theatre'47 in Dallas, Texas, founded in 1947 by the innovative stage director and regional-theater pioneer Margo Jones.

It was in the early 1960s, however, that American alternative theater began to recognize itself as an independent group and cohesive movement. Much of the alternative theater forged during the 1960s and 1970s remains very much alive in the twenty-first century, if in different forms.

The work of Judith Malina and colleagues at the Living Theatre was especially noteworthy for questioning the terms of conventional theatrical performance and subverting the psychological realism that had dominated mainstream stage drama in America. Plays such as Paul Goodman's *Faustina* (1952) and Jack Gelber's *The Connection* (1959) experimented with forms of "direct address," in which actors speak directly to the audience and make it part of the play, in some cases suggesting that the actors were not acting at all. Highly experimental in form, the Living Theatre often patterned its performances on readings and interpretations of modernist poetry and art, including the work of such writers as Gertrude Stein.

The New York City–based Open Theater, founded in 1963 by playwright Joseph Chaikin, director Peter Feldman, and a group of actors, pursued many of the same directions as the Living Theatre. A primary emphasis from the outset was on improvisational live performance, focusing on the actors rather than the characters; the cooperative method brought together the impulses and creative directions of individual actors in a kind of living collage. The Open Theater also was groundbreaking in its exploration of contemporary political, social, and cultural issues, exemplified by such productions as *Viet Rock* (1966) and *The Serpent* (1967).

The San Francisco Mime Troupe, founded in 1959 by R.G. Davis, extended the idea that theater can advance a political agenda through such works as the anti–Vietnam War drama *L'Amant militaire* and a critique of American racism in *The Minstrel Show, or Civil Rights in a Cracker Barrel*, both in 1965. Emphasizing physical action on stage, the troupe invokes the imagery and style of the circus, carnival, parades, and medieval European *commedia dell'arte* (which featured the use of masks and exaggerated movements). Emerging from Davis's original mime troupe, the guerrilla theater movement of the 1960s took a consistent and radical political position with the student-led New Left, opposing the Vietnam War, mocking the cultural establishment, and promoting Marxism. In addition to the Diggers, local guerrilla theater groups included the aptly named Haight-Ashbury Vietnam Committee and the San Francisco Red Theater.

Luis Valdez's El Teatro Campesino, or Farmworkers' Theater, developed out of his involvement in the San Francisco Mime Troupe. In 1965, his ideas to explore the subject of workers' rights led him first to join Davis's company and then to begin envisioning his own theater group, with a separate social agenda. As a playwright, Valdez began drafting *actos*, or brief scenarios in Spanish and English that were meant to support striking Latino farmworkers on the picket line. That year labor activist César Chávez organized a strike against grape growers in Delano, California, the same place where Valdez organized and created his theater in conjunction with union members. El Teatro Campesino later incorporated Aztec and Mayan traditions in dramatizing themes and events in Latino culture.

The Free Southern Theatre was established in 1963 as a cultural extension of the civil rights movement, advancing the causes of desegregation and freedom by staging works, starting that year, such as Martin Duberman's *In White America* and Beckett's *Waiting for Godot*. Founded by Gilbert Moses and John O'Neal, the company was established at Toogaloo University in Jackson, Mississippi, with the intention of bringing live theater to people who had never experienced it before. The company toured in predominantly rural, black areas of the South before moving to New Orleans in 1965.

Many African Americans took a more radical political position, promoting an African American theater movement completely organized and run by their own community. Seeing the potential to effect real political and social change through the theater, poet and playwright Amiri Baraka (LeRoi Jones) founded the Black Arts Repertory

Theater (1965) in Harlem and Spirit House (1967) in Newark, New Jersey. Baraka's best-known plays include *Dutchman* (1964), in which a middle-class African American man is murdered by a white woman, and *Slave Ship* (1967), about the suppression of a slave revolt on the Middle Passage.

Theater groups whose primary objective has been to promote change in the perception of gender and sexuality include such feminist companies as It's Alright to Be a Woman Theatre, the Spiderwoman Theatre Workshop, Lilith: A Woman's Theatre, Women's Experimental Theatre, and Split Britches; gay and lesbian companies such as the Gay Theatre Collective, the Cockettes, and the San Francisco Angels of Light; and transvestite and transsexual groups such as the Play-House of the Ridiculous and the Ridiculous Theatrical Company. The Women's Experimental Theatre is best known for a trilogy of plays, *The Daughters Cycle* (1977–1981)—*Daughters*, *Sister/Sister*, and *Electra Speaks*—which recast classical tragedy from a woman's perspective. Both the Play-House of the Ridiculous's *Indira Gandhi's Daring Device* (1966), about overpopulation and the malnourishment of India's Untouchables (lower caste), and the San Francisco Angels of Light's *Razzmatazz* (1974), an example of gay theater that includes the intentional misremembering of lines, push the boundaries of sexuality in live performance, with a strong dose of absurdity and humor.

Pacifist theater groups are tied together by the innovative use of physical space for staging performances, integrating their plays into such settings as peace marches, college campuses, and even laundromats. Another innovation is "invisible theater," in which the production is seamlessly integrated into its setting so that viewers do not know they are watching a performance. The group most associated with the Pacifist movement is the Bread & Puppet Theater, established in New York City (later relocated to Glover, Vermont) by artist Peter Schumann in 1962. While the majority of Pacifist theater groups developed out of the anti-Vietnam War protest movement, the Bread & Puppet Theater pursued a unique aesthetic vision and emphasized more basic human needs—reflected by its practice of distributing free fresh bread at its performances. New York's Pageant Players, on the other hand, levied more direct political criticisms in productions such as *The Paper Tiger Pageant* (1965), meant to be performed at peace rallies, and an anti-corporation play, *King Con* (1966).

The late 1970s brought a surge of formalist theater—that is, theater that is self-conscious about how it is represented and perceived—with a series of plays about human thought and perception. Robert Wilson, a painter, architect, and director whose work encouraged varying levels of attention and participation from the audience; Richard Foreman, who wrote plays about his thought process; Michael Kirby, a sculptor and theorist of structuralist drama; and the Wooster Group, established in Soho, New York City, in 1980, all played a role in re-conceptualizing the theater as formalist. Productions such as *Deafman Glance* (1970), which used no sound and whose central character was a deaf-mute, and *Photoanalysis* (1976), which employed multiple projectors and the repetition of lines by each character, forced audiences to consider and question their own perceptions of what was taking place on stage.

The formalist trend reflected a transition in American alternative theater from an emphasis on political and social themes in the 1960s and early 1970s to a greater focus on the individual in the late 1970s and 1980s. Actors and playwrights such as Spalding Gray of the Wooster Group made themselves the central focus of the performance; each of Gray's plays is based on an experience in his own life, so much so that he ultimately resisted ever playing a character other than himself.

By the 1990s, however, nonmainstream American theater returned to the more political-social impulse of the 1960s and 1970s. Thus, reflecting the trend toward globalization—and the counterculture movement against it—the San Francisco Mime Troupe's *Off Shore* (1993) addressed issues of foreign policy and free trade. Other alternative theatrical groups continue to explore themes and trends in public life, innovations in stage production and the theater (or non-theater) experience, and original, new themes and voices in the dramatic arts.

Christine M. Connell

See also: [Cherry Lane Theatre: Greenwich Village, New York City](#); [Guerrilla Theater](#); [Haight-](#)

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Theosophy

Theosophy—from the Greek *theos* ("God") and *sophos* ("wise"), and thus literally translated as "knowledge of the divine"—is a term used in reference to any number of religious or philosophical systems professing mystical knowledge of the nature of God and the universe. Religious mystics and philosophers Jacob Boehme and Emanuel Swedenborg, for example, are commonly referred to as Theosophists. Although true believers trace the origin of Theosophy to the writings of the ancient Greek philosopher Plato and the Roman Neoplatonic philosopher Plotinus, Theosophy gained its greatest notoriety in the nineteenth century with the founding of the Theosophical Society by Helena Petrovna Blavatsky in New York City in 1875.

Blavatsky's books *Isis Unveiled* (1877), based on her extensive travels in Asia, Europe, and the Middle East, and *The Secret Doctrine* (1888), based on esoteric Buddhism and Hinduism, became the fundamental texts of the nontheistic theosophical movement. Madame Blavatsky, who claimed numerous psychic powers, eventually settled in India, where she established the headquarters of the Theosophical Society. Directly or in spirit, the late-twentieth-century New Age movement, with its emphasis on meditation, reincarnation, the mystical properties of crystals, and psychic phenomena, is based significantly on the teachings of Madame Blavatsky.

A central principle of Theosophy is the belief that a boundless, unchanging reality and immutable truth—akin to what people have called God—is inherent in all life and transcends human understanding. Another central, and related, tenet is that nothing happens by chance; all events—past, present, and future—occur as a result of the universal laws of nature. Thirdly, Theosophists believe in the principle of reincarnation; that is, human development is guided by the law of karma and the attainment of spiritual growth through innumerable reincarnations of spirit. Good and evil are understood as the result of separation of the spirit and the body throughout the life cycle. The soul, or spirit, is a universal, unifying aspect of nature, joining all humanity in brotherhood.

With Blavatsky's death in 1891, several theosophical societies emerged, following a cycle of numerous schisms. English social reformer Annie Besant became leader of the society based in Adyar, India, while Irish-born mystic William Quan Judge directed the American Section of the Theosophical Society in New York, which later relocated to Pasadena, California, under a succession of leaders. At its peak in the 1920s, the parent Theosophical Society (or Theosophical Society Adyar) had approximately 7,000 members in the United States. The largest branch of the

Theosophical Society, the Indian section, at one time had more than 20,000 members; as of the early 2000s, the figure stood at just under 10,000. In India, Theosophy was closely associated with the Indian independence movement from the early days of both; indeed, the Indian National Congress was founded during a theosophical conference in 1885.

Membership in the Theosophical Society is open to all who support its Three Objects: a universal brotherhood regardless of race, creed, sex, caste, or color; the comparative study of religion, philosophy, and science; and investigation into the unexplained laws of nature. Members, who are not required to renounce the teachings and beliefs of their own faiths, either belong to a local lodge or study center or are members-at-large. Lodges are formally organized groups that consist of a minimum of seven members and meet regularly to study Theosophy and arrange theosophical programs for the public. Study centers are informal groups of at least three members who meet regularly and who may offer occasional public programs.

The study of Theosophy directly influenced the works of several well-known composers, artists, and authors, including Ruth Crawford-Seeger, Alexander Scriabin, Wassily Kandinsky, Piet Mondrian, Franz Kafka, and T.S. Eliot. References to Theosophy, often in satire or parody, have appeared in a number of literary, dramatic, and cinematic works, including E.M. Forster's novel *Howard's End* (1910), James Joyce's novel *Ulysses* (1922), Sean O'Casey's play *Juno and the Paycock* (1924), H.P. Lovecraft's short story "The Call of Cthulhu" (1928), Mohandas Gandhi's autobiography, *The Story of My Experiments with Truth* (1927–1929), John Crowley's novel *Little, Big* (1981), Mark Frost's novel *The List of 7* (1993), and the film *FairyTale: A True Story* (1997), directed by Charles Sturridge.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Blavatsky, Helena](#); [New Age](#); [New Thought](#).

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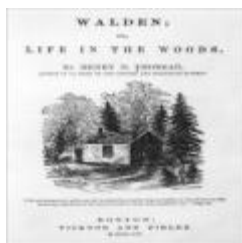
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Thoreau, Henry David (1817–1862)

Transcendentalist essayist and theorist Henry David Thoreau was a radical abolitionist and anti-imperialist who pioneered the practice of civil disobedience in America. He was perhaps best known for his 1854 book *Walden, or Life in the Woods*, an account of his two-year experiment in “simple living” in a cabin in the woods. A philosopher and practitioner of American individualism in a pure sense, an advocate of ethics over conformity and of nature over materialism, and a critic of the “busyness” of American life, he was a counterculture of one for his brief adult life.

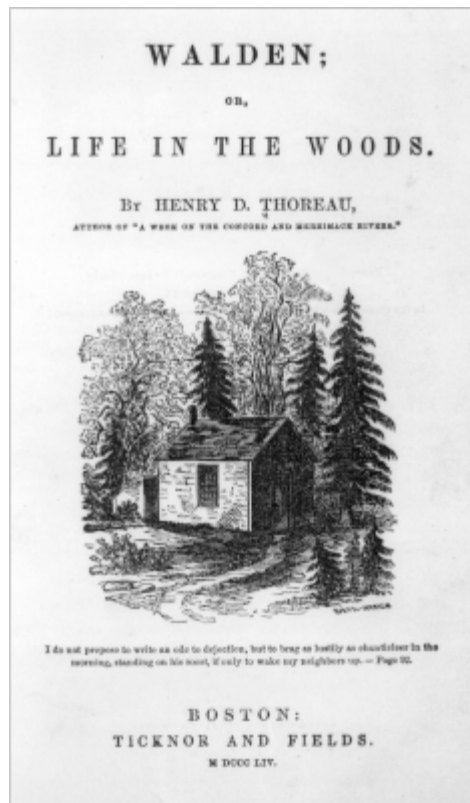
Born on July 12, 1817, in Concord, Massachusetts, Thoreau inhabited his home there perhaps more intensively than anyone before or since has ever inhabited a locale. He claimed he had “traveled a good deal in Concord” and applied his searching, critical mind to everything he encountered. He addressed his fellow townspeople throughout his life, asking them about their “condition or circumstances in this world, in this town, what it is, whether it is necessary that it be as bad as it is, whether it cannot be improved....”

Concord was the site of one of the first battles of the American Revolution in April 1775. During Thoreau’s life, the egalitarian ideals that had inspired the Revolution not only had been deeply undermined by the spread of slavery, but also faced a new challenge. Industrialization had produced new kinds of class inequality and poverty for workers in the rapidly growing cities of the Northeast. When Thoreau graduated from Harvard University in 1837, the United States had just entered an economic depression that left many out of work. Americans began to wonder whether the new capitalist social order could deliver on its promises of prosperity.

Thoreau addressed this question in his Harvard commencement essay, titled “The Commercial Spirit of Modern Times,” declaring “this world is a place of business. What an infinite bustle! I am awaked almost every night by the panting of the locomotive. It interrupts my dreams.... I think that there is nothing, not even crime, more opposed to poetry, to philosophy, ay, to life itself, than this incessant business.” Thoreau believed that in such a materialistic world, writers and artists had an especially important role to play: to keep in view transcendental truths that had been forgotten in a competitive scramble for profit and prestige.

For the first decade of his life as a writer, Thoreau thought of himself mainly as a poet working in the tradition of the English Romantic William Wordsworth. At first, Thoreau’s themes and style were closely modeled after the transcendental idealism of American essayist and Concord neighbor Ralph Waldo Emerson, but he soon began to develop his own voice and vision. At its best, his verse is firmly anchored in the physical specifics of New England, and its angular rhythms combine with striking vernacular to produce musical language that was innovative and powerful for its time.

Thoreau’s most widely read book, *Walden*, is a kind of long poem in prose. It records his two years, two months, and two days living in a one-room cabin on the shores of a small pond outside of Concord. Thoreau explains, “I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived.”



Henry David Thoreau's Walden, or Life in the Woods (1854), an account of his two years living alone at Walden Pond, Massachusetts, is a criticism of the "busyness" of American life and a reflection on the simple joys and transcendental laws of nature. (Library of Congress)

During his sojourn at the pond, Thoreau experimented with cultivating beans for personal consumption and for sale. If this smacked too much of competition and consumerism, he scaled back his farming during the second year, replacing it with walks in the woods to harvest wild huckleberries. He advocated vegetarianism, abstinence from sex, and stimulant beverages such as coffee, tea, and alcohol. Above all, his work at the pond was to write, and he completed many poems, several essays, the manuscript of *A Week on the Concord and Merrimac Rivers* (1849), and the first draft of *Walden*.

As a response to the bleak reality of life during the depression, *Walden* makes a sustained exploration of the religious philosophy of pantheism. According to this way of thinking, the physical world incarnates the transcendental laws of nature ordained by God. The poet or writer who walks or lives in the woods can become sensitively attuned to these higher laws. He (this was imagined as a gendered role) can then use them to understand and reform a society that has slid into avarice, greed, and hypocrisy.

One way that American society demonstrated its loss of contact with the divinity in nature, in Thoreau's eyes, was by its treatment of the land. *Walden* features meditations on the railroad's invasion of the woods and on the destructive profit seeking of ice packers. It is from Thoreau's essay "Walking" that the influential environmental organization, the Sierra Club, takes its motto, "In wildness is the preservation of the world."

In Thoreau's view, chattel slavery was the most outrageous example of the depths to which a materialistic society could slide. Following his belief that individual conscience overrides social law, he frequently acted as a conductor on the Underground Railroad, concealing escaped slaves in his home and accompanying them to the next safe haven northward. He also turned his talents to supporting the abolitionist cause, publishing fiery antislavery essays that began as lectures.

"Slavery in Massachusetts" (1854), for instance, delivers an unrelentingly harsh attack on Northern complicity with

the slavocracy, especially criticizing those who obeyed Fugitive Slave Laws that required Northerners to return escaped slaves. Thoreau concluded the essay by describing a white water lily as an “emblem of purity” growing from “the slime and muck of earth”—a symbol of the redemption he felt was possible should his audience break unjust laws and take direct action to abolish slavery.

During the last decade of his life, Thoreau dedicated himself to learning as intimately as possible the natural cycles of the woods around Concord. He took long daily walks and gathered voluminous notes for a “Kalendar,” or guidebook to the seasons, that he hoped would help his neighbors regain their communal intimacy with nature. He was unable to complete this ambitious project, nor did he live to see the end of the Civil War and the emancipation of the slaves.

On his deathbed in Concord in spring 1862, he was asked if he could see the other side. He replied, “One world at a time.” Henry David Thoreau died on May 6, 1862.

Lance Newman

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Transcendentalism](#).

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Tramps and Hoboes

The terms *tramp* and *hobo* refer to members of the American subculture of wanderers, in particular those whose movement from place to place is tied to the railroad system. The tramp and hobo also exist as cultural tropes, familiar figures in the mythology of the American West—on one hand valued for symbolizing freedom and the pioneer spirit; on the other vilified for resisting the conventions of the American work ethic and meritocracy.

The beginnings of tramp and hobo culture generally are traced to post–Civil War America, with their roots in the expansion of the railroad system, the Depression of 1873, the arrival of the Industrial Revolution, and the movement West to explore the frontier, seek adventure, and find jobs. The construction of a national rail network, along with general westward expansion, meant an abundance of work for men willing to travel significant distances from job to job, creating a culture of mobility and flexibility in wage earning. With the financial panic of 1873, that new culture of mobility was adapted by unemployed workers, who used the rail system to “hop rides” to whatever location promised the next month’s wages.

By 1890, train-hopping became an art and a culture unto itself, existing outside the boundaries of mainstream American culture, with its own norms, values, and codes. The hobo culture, with its distinctive “rules of the road” and techniques for survival, was passed from veteran to fledgling wanderer via stories, songs, and slang in “jungle

camps”—squatter campsites on the outskirts of towns, near the railway tracks, where hoboes could eat, sleep, and create a community in relative safety. All were welcome, so long as the rules of the “jungle” were obeyed.

A particularly significant aspect of hobo and tramp culture was the complex system of signs, which resembled hieroglyphs, used for communication. For the most part, hoboes and tramps did not use mainstream means of communication, such as mail, telegraph, and telephone; these signs were used to pass along insider information to other members of the subculture. Hobo signs communicated positive messages about safe and welcoming resting places and where food might be easily obtained, as well as warnings about thieves, vicious dogs, or police.

The terms *hobo* and *tramp* originally held little of the social stigma or exoticism they took on in the latter part of the twentieth century. They merely signified individuals, usually men, who “tramped” from town to town in search of work.

Within the subculture itself, however, distinctions were sometimes made. Hoboes were typically unskilled migrant laborers or seasonal workers who traveled by rail from one job to the next. Tramps wandered but, unlike the hobo, did not work. Tramps typically relied more on their wiles, as well as handouts and petty crime. The actual social boundaries between the two groups, however, were more fluid, depending upon the availability of work.

Small numbers of self-ascribed hoboes and tramps continue to maintain the subculture today, although they are socially and statistically subsumed in the wider homeless population.

Cynthia J. Miller

See also: [Drifters](#): [Great Depression](#): [Guthrie, Woody](#).

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Transcendental Meditation

Transcendental meditation (TM) is a relaxation technique that was introduced to the United States in 1958 by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi, an Indian Hindu monk, and popularized by the Beatles and other celebrities who visited the Maharishi’s ashram in the 1960s and 1970s. Transcendental meditation, a proprietary term in the United States, is said to promote relaxation through chanting a mantra, or secret Sanskrit word, assigned to the individual by a TM instructor. Meditators chant for twenty minutes twice a day in a relaxed, comfortable position of their choosing, with eyes closed.

According to its founder, TM is based on ancient Vedic traditions from India; daily practice leads to a higher level of consciousness and a state of “true bliss.” The Maharishi claims that TM allows practitioners to transcend their own consciousness, rising to a state of “restful alertness.” He describes seven states of consciousness, which

range from the commonly understood to those reached through the long-time practice of TM, after which one arrives at a state of true enlightenment.

Maharishi consistently has rejected any notion that TM is a form of religious mysticism, denying any connection to a particular belief or creed and insisting that TM requires no change in lifestyle. However, TM can only be learned from a qualified program teacher, who is the only authorized source for an individualized mantra. The costs of the initial program in the United States begin at \$2,500 (as of July 2007); optional lifetime follow-up programs are available to meditators at an additional charge.

Adherents of TM claim substantial positive results from the practice, including improved physical and mental health due to lowered blood pressure, increased heart function, and reduced stress. Additional claims include reduced cigarette and alcohol use, decreased insomnia and anxiety, and an increased sense of well-being and calmness. Much research has been done on the benefits of TM, including a 1999 study on its effects on heart disease funded by the National Institutes of Health. Although TM has been found to lower blood pressure, reduce stress, and promote good health, similar meditation techniques have been found to be equally effective.

Surrounded by controversy from its introduction in the United States, TM has been accused of such practices as overstating its benefits, including a type of levitation supposedly achieved by advanced practitioners called Yodic Flying. It also has been condemned outright as a cult, although research has shown that TM adherents do not demonstrate behaviors traditionally associated with cults.

In 1973, the Maharishi founded the Maharishi University of Management, located in Fairfield, Iowa, a "consciousness-based" educational institution relying heavily on the practice of TM. Through its adherence to and daily practice of TM, the university and adjacent secondary school, the Maharishi's School of the Age of Enlightenment, claim to have won academic and athletic recognition and awards. In the twenty-first century, the Maharishi has expanded the practice of Vedic tradition to include the incorporation of Maharishi Vedic City, Iowa, where transcendental meditation is used to promote peace and harmony.

Pat Tyrer

See also: [Beatles](#), [The](#), [Hippies](#), [Yoga](#).

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Transcendentalism

A prominent intellectual, literary, and cultural movement in New England during the 1830s and 1840s, American transcendentalism was an idealist reaction against British empiricism, or the idea that all knowledge comes from the senses, reason, and reflection on experience, as well as a turning against the dominant Protestant doctrine and secular intellectualism of the time. As America's first cultural revolution, transcendentalism emphasized the

innate, intuitive power of the human mind, a spiritual state that transcends the material plane, the immanence of the divine, and the moral insight and creative energy of the individual.

Challenging contemporary religious beliefs, literary norms, and even social practices, New England transcendentalists such as Amos Bronson Alcott, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Margaret Fuller, and Henry David Thoreau, changed the way Americans thought about culture and society, including religion, community, education, literature, and politics, and the individual. These men and women elevated the borrowing and melding of religions, philosophies, and literatures into a literary, intellectual, and educational renaissance. The impact of transcendental idealism on the national culture was widespread and enduring, producing a new voice and direction in American letters.

While the movement never had a written set of rules or became popular with the masses, transcendentalism was a powerful idea that confounds many people to the present day. The only certainty is the depth and variety of thought among proponents and the sharing of a few broad principles regarding the question “How do we see the world?” The root word, *transcendent*, is sometimes mistaken as suggesting its traditional religious association with a divine being above or apart from life on earth. For the transcendentalists, by contrast, the immanence of the divine, in living creatures and in objects considered inanimate, is a shared spiritual conviction, realized not by material sense perception but by a higher, innate intuition.

Among the underlying principles and influences were those of Eastern religions; the *Bhagavadgita*, the ancient Hindu spiritual text, was revered and referenced by several of the transcendentalists. Unitarianism was another powerful influence, with its belief in revealed religion based on history and the development of an active individual mind—a culture of the self, independent thinking, and creative expression that, in the mind of Emerson at least, called for a radical break from European tradition, the Bible, and any other handed-down constraints.

In addition to religion, morality was also a central concern, with transcendentalists espousing the individual’s responsibility for his or her own morality, the necessity of being true to one’s own divine nature, and distinguishing between doing good and being good (in other words, doing good deeds because religion or law demands it does not make an individual good).

Transcendentalists believed that nature was the ultimate source of knowledge and moral clarity, the only true place to discover God’s will, because God and nature are one. To immerse oneself in the natural world was good for the soul. As a result, utopian social experiments such as Walden and Brook Farm embodied this ideal oneness with nature and the divine.

Walden Woods and Brook Farm

Walden Woods outside Concord, Massachusetts, was the location of Thoreau’s experiment in transcendental living from 1845 to 1847. *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854) is his record of those two years, during which he lived in a one-room cabin on the shores of a small pond. In that account, Thoreau made his intention clear: to prove “the mass of men lead lives of quiet desperation” in the overcrowded cities. He set out to “live deliberately” in the woods by the strength of his back and will alone.

Indeed, as Americans were flooding to cities in search of work and wealth, Thoreau embodied the transcendental ideal by becoming one with nature and his own mind, referring to “wildness” as a “tonic.” He sought to experience only the necessities of life—food, shelter, clothing, and fuel—in a state of “voluntary poverty.” Emerson owned property around Walden Pond and also valued the area, walking there often. With the publication of *Walden*, reading Americans were exposed to Thoreau’s rebellious lifestyle and inward-directed mindset, causing some to question the value of urbanization and the health of their own minds and spirits.

Another attempt at social reform was Brook Farm, which operated from 1841 to 1847 in West Roxbury, Massachusetts. Unlike Thoreau’s solitary pursuit of moral self-improvement, Brook Farm sought to change society by combining the thinker and the worker, the intellectual and the laborer, into one person via communal effort.

Author Nathaniel Hawthorne was an original member and shareholder, staying six months before losing interest in the visionary, but ultimately impractical, community. (His 1852 novel, *The Blithedale Romance*, is based heavily on his experiences there.)

The early years at Brook Farm were characterized by the transcendentalist goal of self-culture and spiritual renewal. The farm, while providing a high quality of life and enjoyment for members, eventually shifted from transcendentalist ideals to the more rigid structure of Charles Fourier's socialist utopian doctrines, which blended with financial troubles to end farm operations by 1847. Later counterculture movements in the United States referred to the Brook Farm experiment for communal living ideas.

Antislavery

While transcendental idealism in physical form, such as Walden and Brook Farm, may have faltered under the weight of unrealistic expectations, the new way of thinking had an enormous and beneficial impact on the abolition movement, adding momentum and moral fortitude to the fight in the antebellum period.

Many Bostonians of the early 1800s had considered abolitionists to be extremists. The efforts on the part of the transcendentalists, however, contributed significantly to the spread of the movement and its mainstreaming in the Boston area. Their efforts took largely written and verbal form, the most explosive example being Thoreau's "Resistance to Civil Government" (1849). In this aggressive essay, Thoreau railed against unjust laws, government hypocrisy, and the right of men "to refuse allegiance to and to resist the government, when its tyranny or its inefficiency are great and unendurable."

Other influential antislavery writings by transcendental thinkers include William Ellery Channing's "Slavery" (1835), Thoreau's "A Plea for Captain John Brown" (1859), and Theodore Parker's "Letter to a Southern Slaveholder" (1848). In addition to their essays, speeches, and letters, the Emersons, Alcotts, Thoreaus, and other families in and around Concord covertly offered safe haven and passage for runaway slaves as part of the Underground Railroad.

Education Reform

In a time when rote repetition of facts and figures dominated American education, Alcott used the Socratic method of questioning to draw out his students' knowledge, rather than treating them as empty containers to be filled with dates and formulas. Alcott's Temple School, which he opened in Boston in 1834, went decidedly against the grain of 1800s American education.

Elizabeth Palmer Peabody recorded Alcott's organic teaching methods on such subjects as sexuality, religion, geography, writing, math, and languages in her book, *Record of a School: Exemplifying the General Principles of Spiritual Culture* (1836). Particularly disturbing to Alcott's traditional contemporaries were his discussions with students about the human body and his two-volume *Conversations with Children on the Gospels* (1836–1837).

Despite shock at Alcott's methods, the public clamored for educational reform beginning in the 1820s. Now, teacher training, curriculum, discipline, teacher salaries, and working conditions all seemed ripe for reform. In 1837, the Massachusetts Board of Education was created to address the demands for improvement. Alcott, Peabody, and other transcendental reformers believed in students' inherent moral goodness, but they felt that industrialization had weakened the ability of church and family to influence young people. Encouraging individual moral development as part of the school curriculum thus became a transcendentalist benchmark in education reform.

Literature

In addition to effecting fundamental changes in educational philosophy, the transcendentalists breathed new vitality into American literature, placing greater emphasis on private thoughts, the intuitive sense of spiritual immanence,

and, perhaps above all, an original, organic, native, *American* voice that eventually evolved into literary realism. A greater premium was placed on life and nature as they are experienced and observed firsthand, without the inhibitions and moral strictures of Old World religious, cultural, and literary traditions.

The new intellectual freedom was declared by Emerson in his groundbreaking address at Harvard University in 1837, "The American Scholar," which Oliver Wendell Holmes called "America's intellectual Declaration of Independence." The spiritual underpinnings of transcendentalism were articulated in Emerson's essay of the previous year, "Nature," which literary and intellectual historians widely regard as the closest thing to a fundamental text of the movement. Thoreau's writings explored another broad theme, the distinctions between wild nature and the humanized landscape.

Also notable was a journal called *The Dial* (1840–1844), a quarterly publication edited first by Fuller and Emerson. Notable transcendental thinkers whose writings appeared in its pages included James Freeman Clarke, Orestes Augustus Brownson, George Ripley, Jones Very, Frederic Henry Hedge, Peabody, Channing, Theodore Parker, as well as Fuller, Emerson, Thoreau, and Alcott.

In addition to writing for publication, the transcendentalists also valued conversation, a frequent theme throughout their works. Much of the published work was originally written for the pulpit and lyceum circuit, or public oratory and educational venues. The transcendentalists, to a person, sought to communicate in real, spoken language, valuing the democratic give-and-take quality of personal conversation.

In November 1839, Peabody and Fuller began hosting meetings for women at which participants could discuss a wide array of philosophical issues, such as "What are we born to do?" and "How shall we do it?" Alcott held meetings throughout his life for male participants to discuss topics such as planets, talents, temptations, and culture and tendencies.

Women's Rights

One institutionalized conversation that involved transcendental ideals with a positive and long-term result had to do with the women's rights movement. Arguably, the most influential transcendentalist woman was Fuller, a journalist, critic, and educator who had taught at Alcott's Temple School and edited *The Dial* for its first two years.

The primary intent of Fuller's parlor sessions with Peabody and others was nothing more or less than to promote women's right to think. Through conversation, she sought to influence the way men and women thought about women in America by focusing on the female identity; namely, that women had an identity beyond sex and gender definitions, based on an independent, individually discovered relationship with God. In consonance with the broader spiritual principles of the movement, women were recognized as intelligent, rational, independent beings with value outside of men's regard, worthy of an equal voice in politics, art, religion, and community.

Radical Ideology

Ultimately, American transcendentalism promoted a hard-line individualism, protesting traditional social, religious, and intellectual systems of the early nineteenth century. From social and education reform to literature and politics, transcendentalism introduced Americans to a new way of thinking. Relying on one's individual intuition, trusting oneself to discover truth and make the right decisions without the external influence of church and state, and recognizing God's immanent presence in nature remain radical ideas in many intellectual, religious, and social circles to the present day.

Amanda L. Morris

See also: [Alcott, Amos Bronson](#); [Beat Generation](#); [Brook Farm](#); [Dial, The](#); [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Fuller, Margaret](#); [Hawthorne, Nathaniel](#); [Hippies](#); [Survivalists](#); [Swedenborgianism](#); [Thoreau, Henry David](#).

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Transsexuals

Transsexuals are individuals who identify with a gender other than the physical one with which they were born and who alter their bodies to achieve the physical norms associated with the chosen gender. The emphasis on bodily transformation is essential to the definition. Generally, *transsexual* refers specifically to those people who, with the aid of surgery and hormone therapy, transform their bodies in order to more comfortably inhabit another gender. The term *transsexual* should not be conflated with *transgender*, which also refers to an identification with non-birth gender but does not imply surgical or hormonal transformation. *Transgender* thus has broader applicability than *transsexual*, with some people using it as an umbrella term for a wide array of gender variance, including people who identify as transsexual. According to a 1998 article in *The New York Times*, more than 50,000 Americans at that time were living in a gender other than their birth gender; approximately 28,000 Americans had undergone sex-change surgery.

Dr. David O. Cauldwell is credited with introducing the term *transsexual* in a 1949 journal article titled "Psychopathia Transexualis." Dr. Harry Benjamin popularized the term in the early 1950s and developed standards of medical care still in use in the twenty-first century. The medical community initially considered these standards radical because Benjamin's treatments accommodated his patients' desires to transition into another gender, rather than use electroshock therapy and medication to subdue the desires.

In the early 1970s, the American Psychological Association introduced into its *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual (DSM)* the condition "gender dysphoria," later changed to "gender identity disorder," as the standard diagnosis for a range of cross-gender identifications that might produce a desire to change physical sex. Like Benjamin's treatments, the introduction of this condition into the *DSM* was perceived as a departure from previous psychological perspectives, which insisted on the immutability of assigned biological gender (often defined according to reproductive capacity).

Since the 1980s, many self-identified transsexuals have protested the persistence of diagnoses such as gender identity disorder, as well as the strict medical processes through which one must proceed in order to have surgery. Many transsexuals argue against the classification of transsexuality as a disorder subject to medical intervention. They suggest instead that transsexuality should be understood as one of many commonplace variations of gender and sex that can be addressed with a range of therapeutic options. In the 1990s and 2000s,

organizations such as Transsexual Menace and the Gender Public Advocacy Coalition (GenderPAC), have provided education, support, and legal action to improve the quality of life, standards of care, and civil rights of transsexuals.

Transsexual Menace was founded in 1994 by Riki Wilchins in response to the failure to name the transgendered community as part of Stonewall 25, a festival celebrating the 1969 Stonewall riots in New York, which many consider the birth of the contemporary queer movement. Since its founding, Transsexual Menace has organized protests against trans exclusion, held vigils to remember transgendered people who have been victims of physical violence, including murder, and raised awareness by encouraging members to “out” (reveal) themselves as transgendered in their daily lives.

Wilchins founded GenderPAC, a public advocacy group based in Washington, D.C., that lobbies for the rights of transsexuals and the greater transgender community, in 1995. GenderPAC also maintains a youth education program to reach out to transgender youth, who may be isolated and lack support in their homes. Mainstream media coverage of transsexual people and the discrimination they face has increased in recent years, for example in popular depictions such as the film *Boys Don't Cry* (1999), which documents the life and murder of Brandon Teena.

Transsexual and transgendered groups frequently organize with gay and lesbian or queer groups, and transsexuals were centrally involved in the seminal gay and lesbian protests of the 1960s and 1970s. However, these communities remain distinct in many ways and, at times, even may be hostile. For example, the Michigan Womyn's Festival, a well-known lesbian music festival, continues to refuse entry to transsexual women, who protest the policy annually by setting up Camp Trans across the street from the festival.

Margaux Cowden

See also: [Fetish Culture](#): [Gay Liberation Movement](#): [Lesbian Culture](#): [Transvestites](#).

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Transvestites

The term *transvestite*, coined in 1910 by German sex researcher Magnus Hirschfeld, refers to a person who regularly wears clothing associated in his or her society with the opposite sex. It is equivalent to the English term *cross-dresser*, although *transvestite* is more often used in psychiatric, medical, legal, and academic contexts, while *cross-dresser* is more often the term of choice for those who engage in the practice. The slang term *tranny* is used to refer to all transvestites, transsexuals, and transgendered people. Although cross-dressing is often equated with homosexuality, many experts believe that more heterosexuals than homosexuals engage in cross-

dressing.

Cross-dressing is known in many societies and has been practiced throughout history. Thus, any attempt to assign a meaning to this behavior must consider carefully the historical and cultural context. Today, people engage in cross-dressing for many reasons: as a source of sexual satisfaction, a generalized protest against social norms, a refusal to accept the dichotomous division of gender or gender identity, an expression of identification with the opposite sex, or preparation for gender-reassignment surgery, among others.

Some people customarily dress in accordance with their biological gender and only occasionally engage in cross-dressing, while for others cross-dressing is the norm. Although both men and women engage in cross-dressing, it is more associated with men, in part because in modern Western countries it is socially acceptable for women to wear men's clothing while the reverse is less often the case.

Virginia Charles Prince is generally regarded as the founder of the transvestite movement in the United States. Born in Los Angeles to an upper-middle-class family in 1913, Prince, a biological male, began secretly cross-dressing at home in his late teens. In 1961, he founded Hose and Heels (also known as the Society for Personal Expression), the first support group for male cross-dressers. Heterosexuals, including Prince, formed the majority of members of Hose and Heels. In subsequent years, hundreds of social and support groups that cater to heterosexually identified male cross-dressers have emerged in the United States. Additionally, scores of conventions provide the opportunity for transvestites from all over the country to meet one another and cross-dress for extended periods of time.

The gay community has long had an equivocal relationship with cross-dressers, who were sometimes despised for their nonconformity and the unwanted attention they drew to the community. This has led to the ironic consequence that some gay cross-dressers keep the transvestite aspect of their identity concealed within the gay community, or only reveal it among selected peers known to be sympathetic. One might say that they are "out of the closet" as gay men but still "in the closet" as transvestites.

Heterosexual cross-dressers face even greater social disapproval. The overall lack of social acceptance encouraged transvestites to form their own networks, support groups, and communities, which in the 2000s include Web sites such as Trannyweb.com and organizations such as Tri-Ess, the Society for the Second Self and the Renaissance Transgender Association. Such organizations perform many functions, including counseling and support to cross-dressers, providing a social context and community, educating others about transvestite issues, and advocating for social and legal acceptance of cross-dressing.

At the start of the twenty-first century, one of the best-known transvestite organizations was the International Foundation for Gender Education (IFGE) in Waltham, Massachusetts. Transgender activist Merissa Sherrill Lynn founded IFGE in 1987 as a nonprofit advocacy organization to combat ignorance that encourages intolerance of transvestitism and transsexualism. IFGE has subsequently expanded to educate all people about restrictive gender viewpoints. IFGE publishes a quarterly journal, *Transgender Tapestry*.

Sarah Boslaugh and Caryn E. Neumann

See also: [Drag](#); [Fetish Culture](#); [Gay Liberation Movement](#); [Lesbian Culture](#); [Transsexuals](#).

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Trekkies

Trekkies is the familiar term for the large, enthusiastic (some might say obsessed or cultlike) fan base of the *Star Trek* science-fiction television shows and movie series. While the original show failed to find long-lasting network success, it attracted devoted fans who worked to keep the show and its progressive, multicultural view of the future on the air. The Trekkies' devotion to and participation in the *Star Trek* franchise demonstrates the deep cultural connection that can develop between a television show and its audience.

The *Star Trek* television series debuted on the NBC network in 1966, at a time when the concept of space exploration and science in general were permeating American popular culture. Audiences, reeling from the effects of the ongoing Vietnam conflict and civil unrest at home, connected with the vision of *Star Trek* in which humanity had overcome its social woes and embraced a philosophy of tolerance toward those—including aliens—outside the mainstream.

Science fiction itself also was in the process of evolving from a genre that extolled the virtue of technological utopias to one that focused on the cultural relevance of the societies portrayed in its stories. Americans who had been turned off by tech-heavy sci-fi literature were attracted to the social and cultural messages of *Star Trek*. At the surface, the show—pitched as a “wagon train to the stars,” according to creator Gene Roddenberry—was an action series geared toward the young; however, the provoking philosophical debates between thoughtful characters, dressed in edgy costumes and presented in campy and alien settings, prompted viewers of all ages to consider the shortcomings of modern-day culture.

Cancellation rumors plagued the show from its beginning, as studio executives failed to see its appeal. Fans, led by Los Angeles science-fiction aficionado Bjo (Betty Jo) Trimble, mounted a spirited write-in campaign to keep the show on the air. Estimates of the number of fan letters that arrived at the studio range from 114,000 to 500,000. The response from viewers countered the common industry belief that Nielsen ratings were the best measure of television audiences and demonstrated the connection between the show's audience and its creators. Before the show even aired, Roddenberry had courted the fanzine community, in which fans wrote their own stories, thereby building a devoted audience infrastructure. Upon cancellation of the show by NBC in June 1969—after three seasons and seventy-nine episodes—devotees of the series, led by the fanzine community, united in an effort to meet at conventions. The first was held in New York City in 1972, with organizers expecting about 300 attendees. Several thousand showed up, and the zeal of fans became evident to the creators and the press. The term *Trekkies* is believed to have been coined by a science-fiction editor, Art Saha, after he saw attendees at a science convention wearing pointy ears (in honor of the pointy-eared character Spock, half-human, half-Vulcan, played by Leonard Nimoy).

Trekkies saw in the series a call to change their lives for the better, to seek infinite possibilities, question them, and build a better future. Many credited the show with inspiring them to become activists for civil rights, peace, women's rights, or gay and lesbian rights; others were inspired to seek careers in the sciences.

Thanks to their efforts, the original *Star Trek* series grew into a popular media franchise that included four additional live-action television series, an animated series, ten feature films, books, comics, and conventions across the country where Trekkies (many of whom prefer to be called Trekkers) could meet the stars and purchase the latest *Star Trek* merchandise.

See also: [Science Fiction: Television](#).

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Turner, Nat (1800–1831)

Nat Turner was a leader in the slave community of eastern Virginia who issued a call for rebellion after witnessing a solar eclipse in 1831. His rebellion led to the deaths of nearly sixty white people and almost 300 black people, most of whom were unconnected to the uprising. Captured and sentenced to death, Turner comported himself with dignity and left a moving final statement, the publication of which made him a martyr and inspiration to antislavery forces.

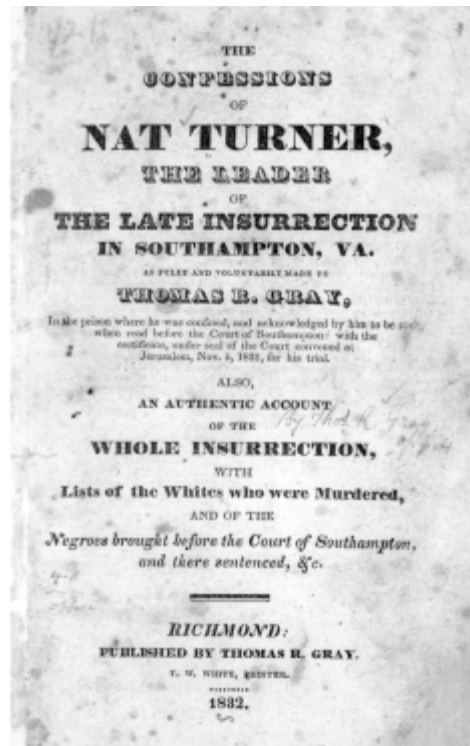
Turner was born on the plantation of Benjamin Turner in Southampton County, Virginia, on October 2, 1800. A skilled carpenter and exhorter, or lay preacher, he displayed a keen intellect and sense of conviction that made him a leader to fellow slaves, who referred to him as “The Prophet” or “General Nat.” In February 1831, Turner interpreted a solar eclipse as a sign from God that he was an instrument through whom his people could achieve violent retribution against slave owners and gain their freedom.

Launching the rebellion on August 22, 1831, Turner and six fellow slaves murdered the family that owned his plantation and moved through the area from farm to farm, gathering a force of about seventy slaves. Over the course of four days, the rebels killed approximately sixty white people—making theirs the deadliest slave uprising in U.S. history—before being routed by white militia.

Poorly armed and untrained, Turner’s men were unable to withstand the militia guarding the county seat of Jerusalem. Turner, who fled and was captured in mid-October, was executed on November 11. In the general hysteria that followed the revolt, hundreds of slaves were killed by white mobs or their own owners.

During his imprisonment, Turner made a lengthy statement that was published as *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1832). Spelling out the brutality and inhumanity of growing up and living as a slave, *Confessions* describes the

night of the rebellion and Turner's life before it in stark terms. It is, perhaps above all, the portrait of a man secure in his convictions and confident in the rightness of his actions. This work, and his reputation as the leader of America's most significant slave rebellion, made Turner a hero to slaves throughout the United States and to many who were working to end slavery.



The *Confessions of Nat Turner* (1832) is an account of the deadliest slave uprising in U.S. history. The book recounts Turner's life as a slave and the revolt of August 1831, as described to his lawyer during imprisonment. (Library of Congress)

There were more than 200 similar attempts to raise slave rebellions throughout the United States before the abolition of slavery in 1865. Other than Turner's, only a handful achieved even relative success. In 1739, an uprising in South Carolina led by a slave named Cato gathered about eighty followers at the Stono River (the incident came to be called the Stono Rebellion), resulting in the deaths of twenty whites and forty-four slaves. In 1800, Gabriel Prosser, a slave, planned to seize Richmond, Virginia, but he was captured before he was able to execute his strategy. A plan to capture Charleston, South Carolina, was devised in 1822 by freed slave Denmark Vesey, who was hanged with more than thirty followers when their plan was betrayed. In 1859, the white abolitionist John Brown led an assault on the federal arsenal at Harpers Ferry, Virginia (now West Virginia), hoping to arm a slave militia that would negotiate or shoot its way to freedom; finally surrounded and forced to surrender, Brown was sentenced to death and executed—gaining instant status as a martyr to the abolitionist cause.

Outright rebellion was the most visible form of slave resistance; murder, arson, and theft were everyday worries for slave owners throughout the United States, who understood that Turner's example was all too easy to replicate. Turner's rebellion and the reprisals that followed galvanized both slave owners and the abolition movement. Many slave owners believed that white abolitionists had incited the rebellion or aided Turner, and the U.S. Senate called for the arrest of abolitionist leader William Lloyd Garrison. State governments throughout the South passed harsh laws controlling the behavior of slaves and free blacks. Liberal leaders, who believed that Turner's rebellion was part of a larger movement toward liberty, used Turner as an example of the violence that would continue if the United States failed to end slavery. In this larger context, Turner's rebellion helped to solidify

the divide between the North and South that led to the American Civil War.

James L. Erwin

See also: [African Americans: Slave Culture.](#)

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Twain, Mark (1835–1910)

Mark Twain was the pen name of Samuel Langhorne Clemens, a self-taught humorist, novelist, and social observer who rose from lowly printer's apprentice in his native Missouri to internationally celebrated author of several works that continue to grace canon lists. In these writings, Twain spared no theme or subject, bringing an often jaundiced eye and stinging satiric perspective to mainstream social mores and controversial issues of the time. His fearlessness in exploring sometimes sensitive subjects and ideas in a winningly blunt, down-to-earth way was anathema to some contemporaries but helped make his works timeless and essential reading. Nevertheless, some of Twain's works have found their way onto lists of banned reading in some U.S. schools and libraries.

Twain was born on November 30, 1835, in Florida, Missouri. His family moved four years later to nearby Hannibal, a town on the banks of the Mississippi River that would appear prominently as a setting in his books. When his father died, in 1847, he quit school and joined his brother's printing business. He set type for local and national newspapers as well as literary and humor volumes.

The humor pieces published in these works sparked the boy's interest and figured prominently in his later writings. A commission to write comic travel letters for an Iowa weekly under the pen name Thomas Jefferson Snodgrass allowed him to develop his satirical style, in which he creatively used misspellings, grammar, and syntax. Twain also served as a local and traveling reporter for many weekly publications as he crossed the United States following his interests.

As Twain's writings turned from journalism to autobiographical sketches and fiction, the many sides of his personality began to shine through. Sensitive, humane, and conscientious, his writings also were known to shock readers with their irreverence toward traditional religious and cultural beliefs. Two of his most famous novels, *The Adventures of Tom Sawyer* (1876) and *The Adventures of Huckleberry Finn* (1884), for instance, promote youth mischief, deception, and manipulation of authority figures, openly satirize religious affiliation, and accentuate the racist leanings of many late-nineteenth-century Americans.

In 1873, Twain's playful social critiques turned toward social criticism. *The Gilded Age* (1873), written by Twain in collaboration with Charles Dudley Warner, attacked political corruption and the vices of wealth, even as its author was building a lavish home in Hartford, Connecticut. While some of his literary works—such as *Tom Sawyer*,

Huckleberry Finn, and *Life on the Mississippi* (1883)—brought to life fond memories and imaginings of his Missouri childhood, Twain's criticism of American society became acute. *Huck Finn*, perhaps his most famous and most controversial novel, is also a powerful satire of Southern slavery and racism, the failures of Reconstruction, and evangelical spiritualists, among other elements of post-Civil War life.

Following the deaths of two of his four children, Twain's writings took a dark turn. Human failings and inhumanity became the focus in place of the lighthearted sarcasm for which he had been known, as evident in works such as *What Is Man?* (1906). Antigovernment writings and speeches included his introduction of Winston Churchill at a reception committee meeting on December 13, 1900, during which he declared the United States a meddling sinner in global affairs. Such inflammatory remarks led some to call Twain a traitor. Others merely dismissed him, and several of his works were denied publication during his lifetime.

Twain's global travels opened his eyes to the exploitation of weaker nations by the Western world, a perspective highlighted in subsequent writings. In 1900, he declared himself an anti-imperialist. In 1901, he became vice president of the American Anti-Imperialist League (established in 1898 to fight the U.S. annexation of the Philippines and other territories); he held that position until his death on April 21, 1910, near Redding, Connecticut.

Beyond the characters he created, the times and places he evoked, and the cultural sensibilities he portrayed, Twain's greatest legacy, perhaps, lay precisely in bucking tradition, speaking down-home truth in the American vernacular, and giving birth to a unique, unfettered national literature. There is perhaps no better example of a countercultural writer whose works became mainstream.

Sueann M. Wells

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UFOs

UFOs are mysterious airborne objects whose nature and origin remain unknown even after close investigation. Their name is a military acronym that stands for “unidentified flying object.” While the vast majority of UFOs are explainable as misidentified aircraft or natural meteorological or astronomical phenomena (becoming “identified flying objects,” or IFOs), the more difficult-to-categorize UFOs are thought by believers and advocates—known as UFOlogists—to be extraterrestrial spacecraft.

Stories of UFO sightings date back to ancient times. UFOlogists have posited that an 8,000-year-old painting from the Sahara Desert depicts an extraterrestrial visitor. Tales of inexplicable objects have been widely documented throughout history, ranging from China in the twentieth century B.C.E. to Rome in the third century C.E., Japan in the twelfth, thirteenth, and eighteenth centuries, and North America in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

UFOs of the familiar “flying saucer” variety seem to be a phenomenon of the nuclear age. They achieved widespread publicity after pilot Kenneth Arnold spotted what he described as nine circular airborne objects on June 24, 1947, while flying near Washington State’s Mount Rainier. Arnold likened the motions of these mysterious flyers to those of saucers being skipped across water, and his account gave rise to the term *flying saucer*. Since Arnold’s encounter, thousands of sightings of saucer-shaped UFOs have been reported all over the world, as well as observations of flying objects resembling cigars, squares, triangles, and more irregular shapes.

On July 8, 1947, newspapers reported the recent crash of a flying saucer near New Mexico’s Roswell Army Air Field. Although the fallen craft was most likely part of a U.S. military surveillance program intended to spy on the Soviet Union, the shroud of cold war secrecy with which the government surrounded the crash gave rise to an all-but-inexhaustible wellspring of UFO legend and mythology. UFOlogists believe that the crashed object was an alien spacecraft and that the debris and bodies of the dead alien crew had been whisked away to a high-security government installation for study. No amount of scientific debunking (such as that of the fraudulent alien autopsy videos of the mid-1990s) has been sufficient to dissuade those who subscribe to this theory.



An officer at Roswell Army Air Field in New Mexico examines debris from a nearby crash in July 1947. The military identified the material as the remains of a radar surveillance system. To this day, UFOlogists insist it was the wreckage of an alien spacecraft. (AFP/Getty Images)

Over the years since the Roswell incident, countless science fiction films, pulp magazine stories, novels, television shows, and comic books have bolstered the popular image of UFOs and their alien occupants. Believers frequently posit that the aliens responsible for the UFOs in our skies are concerned about humankind’s propensity toward violence, as is Klaatu in Robert Wise’s 1951 film *The Day the Earth Stood Still*. Other alien visitors are reputed to have less altruistic motives for visiting us, such as the exploitation of Earth’s resources or even the plundering of the human genome.

Some aliens are portrayed as being preoccupied with briefly abducting humans, conducting invasive but impermanent medical procedures on them, then releasing their victims with convenient memory gaps that are later filled in via hypnosis. The case of Betty and Barney Hill, a New Hampshire couple who claimed to have been kidnapped for several hours in 1961 by aliens from the Zeta Reticuli star system, are perhaps the most famous of these so-called alien abductees. Although the physical descriptions of the aliens allegedly encountered vary, the

tall, slender, hairless humanoids seen by millions in films such as Steven Spielberg's *Close Encounters of the Third Kind* (1977) and television's *The X-Files* (1993–2002) appear frequently enough in the abduction literature to suggest a strong pattern of pop-cultural influence over the UFO phenomenon.

Like many other episodes of mass hysteria, UFO reports tend to occur in waves, such as the flying saucer heyday of the few years following the Roswell crash, or the “ancient astronaut” UFO renaissance of the early 1970s, which was fueled greatly by the success of the U.S. edition of Erich von Däniken's *Chariots of the Gods?* (1970), a best-selling book of speculations about alien visitations of Earth during ancient times.

Despite the complete absence of definitive proof of extraterrestrial visitation thus far, the sheer volume of UFO reports has received attention from many legitimate scholars and investigators over the years, including agencies of the federal government. In 1948, the U.S. Air Force launched Project Sign, a task force formed to evaluate UFO sightings. The government evidently placed enough credence in the UFO phenomenon to follow up its initial investigations with Project Grudge (1948) and Project Blue Book (1952–1970). After years of gathering and sifting through eyewitness reports, however, these investigative bodies found no conclusive answers to the UFO question. Other countries also have studied the phenomenon, though none have actually endorsed the idea of “aliens among us” as yet.

Several “contactee cults” have arisen since Roswell, beginning in the 1950s. These UFO-oriented spiritual sects usually have formed around a leader who claimed to have made either direct or telepathic contact with alien visitors. George Adamski, who in 1965 established a UFO-inspired foundation that still exists, built a cult around his alleged relationship with Orthon, a Venusian committed to preventing Earth's nuclear destruction. The Unarius Foundation and the Aetherius Society were formed in 1954 and 1956, respectively, around a similar message of altruistic aliens determined to save us from the dangers of nuclear proliferation. During recent years, UFO cults such as Heaven's Gate and the Raëlians have garnered sensational headlines, the former by committing mass suicide in 1997 with the expectation of deliverance by an alien mothership, and the latter by making yet-unproven claims in 2001 about creating human clones.

The existence of such cults suggests that the UFO phenomenon may be rooted in the human religious impulse rather than in the vastness of the cosmos. The aliens that UFO adherents report encountering simply may be the angels, devils, and gods of antiquity dressed up in the modern pseudoscientific raiment of popular culture. To those who believe in alien visitations, they may be as real and as emotionally affecting as any deeply religious experience inspired by belief in a Supreme Being.

Michael A. Martin

See also: [Heaven's Gate](#); [Science Fiction](#); [X-Files](#), [The](#)

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Theodore John Kaczynski, the notorious and elusive Unabomber of the 1990s, was responsible for developing and sending sixteen mail bombs that claimed the lives of three people and injured another twenty-three. The motivation for this self-proclaimed anarchist and former mathematics professor, as articulated in letters and a lengthy manifesto sent to government authorities and the press, was to attract attention to the dangers of high-tech industrial society. His targets therefore tended to be associated with universities, airlines, and computers. The Unabomber moniker was derived from the FBI code name UNABOMB (university and airline bomber) during the early years of the case.

He was born to Richard and Wanda Kaczynski in Chicago on May 22, 1942. When he was ten years old, the family moved from Chicago to suburban Evergreen Park. His childhood was generally uneventful, although he later attested to being maltreated by his family and having suffered permanent emotional harm.

Kaczynski was described as a bright child—he scored 167 on an intelligence quotient (IQ) test before entering high school—but not very sociable. Ironically, it was his superior aptitude that propelled him away from his peers at a young age, possibly exacerbating his antisocial predisposition. Kaczynski skipped the sixth and eleventh grades and was admitted to Harvard University when he was only sixteen.

College life was without significant incident, although there are records of his participation in a longitudinal (years-long) study on stress that may have affected him negatively. Otherwise, during his four years at Harvard, Kaczynski studied intensely, joined the swimming and wrestling teams, and played the trombone, while apparently avoiding social bonds. Later, most of his peers could not recall Kaczynski with any specificity. After graduating from Harvard in 1962, he attended graduate school at the University of Michigan, where he completed his Ph.D. in mathematics by the age of twenty-five.

In the fall of 1967, he accepted an assistant professorship at the University of California, Berkeley, where he taught math until 1969. He resigned as a result of apathy toward a profession he believed lacked “relevancy.”

In 1971, Kaczynski moved to Lincoln, Montana, after purchasing a piece of land with his brother, David. Kaczynski later said he was inspired by Henry David Thoreau, the nineteenth-century naturalist and writer whose two years alone in a cabin are recounted in *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (1854), to build a 10-by-12-foot (about 3.05-by-3.66-meter) cabin on the plot. The Lincoln community came to refer to him as “the hermit” because of his reclusive lifestyle.

Meanwhile, in his self-imposed isolation, Kaczynski was committing terrorist acts against individuals he believed were perpetuating the destruction of society. He rationalized the sometimes-fatal bombings as the only remedy to societal problems impelled by technology and those who sought to advance it. Kaczynski was a nihilist who objected to all forms of technological development that, in his view, had become an end rather than a means to greater social good. Society valued individuals only in accordance with the “social machine” of modern capitalism, he argued, and the prevailing institutions exacerbated the ills of the human condition while pretending to do the opposite. Consequently, he did not regard his victims as innocent, seeing them as leaders in the technology industry that was most responsible for the incremental destruction of mankind and nature.

The first bombing incident took place in May 1978 when Kaczynski mailed a bomb to Professor Buckley Crist of Northwestern University. Upon receiving the package, Crist was immediately suspicious of the contents and contacted campus police. Officer Terry Marker responded and suffered minor injuries when he opened the package and a bomb exploded. Over the next seventeen years, Kaczynski sent sixteen more bombs. The last one sent before his capture resulted in the death of Gilbert P. Murray, a timber-industry lobbyist from Sacramento, California, on April 25, 1995.

The Unabomb case entailed the longest and costliest search for a serial killer in U.S. history, including 3,600 volumes of information, 20,000 telephone tips, 200 suspects, 175 computer databases, 82 million records, 12,000

event documents, and 9,000 evidence photographs. Kaczynski was meticulous in engineering the explosives and employed several measures to elude detection. He removed identification numbers from all batteries used in bombing devices, used only wires that were no longer in production, and never licked stamps so that he could not be identified by DNA testing.

In the summer of 1995, Kaczynski threatened to bomb a plane during the Fourth of July weekend unless his essay *Industrial Society and Its Future* was published in *The New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. The U.S. Justice Department urged publication to avoid risking public safety, but the appearance of the 35,000-word manifesto was criticized in other circles for setting a precedent of appeasement for future terrorists.

As it turned out, publishing the essay proved to be the critical step in solving the case, because the Unabomber's brother David Kaczynski recognized the ideology and rhetoric. They resembled the ideas and language in writings by Theodore that had been discovered in their mother's attic. David's attorney contacted the FBI and provided them with information leading to his brother's arrest on April 3, 1996.

The FBI confiscated more than seven hundred pieces of incriminating evidence from the cabin, including a half-constructed and a fully assembled bomb, as well as the typewriter used to draft the manifesto. In return, David Kaczynski received the \$1 million reward, which he apportioned to the families of victims and his brother's defense counsel.

A court-appointed psychiatrist diagnosed Theodore Kaczynski as a paranoid schizophrenic prone to delusions and violence, but found him mentally competent to stand trial. A full trial was precluded, however, when Kaczynski pleaded guilty to thirteen federal bombing offenses. After insisting that his faculties were rational, he conceded to pleading insanity to circumvent the death penalty.

In May 1998, the Unabomber was sentenced to four consecutive life terms and remanded to a maximum-security facility in Florence, Colorado. He continued appealing the case to the United States Court of Appeals for the Ninth Circuit on various grounds, including the grounds that his Sixth Amendment rights—including the right to a speedy and public trial by an impartial jury—were violated.

Giuseppe M. Fazari

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Underground Railroad

The Underground Railroad was a vast, secret network of individuals and safe houses and other facilities that helped slaves escape from their owners in the American South to freedom in the North and Canada before and during the Civil War. A scattered system had begun to take shape in the late eighteenth century, but it was not referred to as the Underground Railroad until the early 1830s. In the decades that followed, the network helped tens of thousands of slaves reach freedom.

The early system consisted primarily of free blacks, escaped or freed slaves, and a few white abolitionists. With the spread of the abolitionist movement, more whites joined in the clandestine effort. The network was most active in Ohio, Pennsylvania, and Indiana, with efforts and facilities throughout the Northern states.

The Underground Railroad was neither underground nor a railroad, but adopted the nomenclature of the newly emerging rail system. Individuals who helped slaves begin their journey to freedom were termed "agents." Those moving fugitives between stations were called "conductors," and the places providing food and shelter were known as "stations." The "stationmasters" who ran them were themselves undertaking great risk by their involvement. Once escaping slaves made connection with the railroad or "obtained a ticket," they were referred to as "passengers" or "cargo." Others, not directly associated with the railroad itself, provided financial support and were referred to as "stockholders."

Although the connections to the North were well organized, utilizing regular routes, individuals were seldom aware of stations beyond their own immediate locations, which provided security for those working the railroad and for those escaping to freedom. Demand from the South for effective legislation to reduce escapes resulted in the Fugitive Slave Law of 1850 requiring runaways to be returned to their owners, thus increasing the danger for those trying to escape to the North as well as for those assisting them.

Fugitives generally would travel from 10 to 20 miles (16 to 32 kilometers) a day, mostly at night and by foot or wagon. Occasionally, transportation was arranged and paid for by Northern supporters, who would provide appropriate clothing for the fugitives to be transported by ship or rail. Routes often were indirect to avoid discovery, with information passed only by word of mouth; however, fugitives frequently followed routes parallel to common landmarks, such as the Appalachian Mountains or the Mississippi River.

The Underground Railroad spanned a number of states, including Kentucky and Virginia, Ohio and Indiana, and traversed north from Maryland, across Pennsylvania to New York and New England. Often, the journey was too arduous for women and children, whose numbers were far below those of men who successfully fled north. According to some estimates, between 80,000 and 100,000 slaves escaped to the North between 1800 and 1850. Once freed, many men worked to earn sufficient funds to purchase their families out of slavery.



Charles Webber's painting Fugitives Arriving at Levi Coffin's Indiana Farm (1850) dramatizes the ordeal of runaway slaves and the Underground Railroad operatives who led them to freedom. The secret network constituted America's first civil rights movement. (MPI/Stringer/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Religious supporters of the Underground Railroad belonged to several denominations including Congregationalists, Methodists, Presbyterians, Quakers, and Wesleyans. Additionally, Northern vigilance committees were established in many of the larger cities to raise money to support the railroad. Well-known figures associated with the Underground Railroad include Isaac Hopper, David Ruggles, William Still, Josiah Henson, John Fairfield, Levi Coffin, the legendary Harriet Tubman, and many others.

Hopper, a Quaker, began helping slaves escape north in the late 1890s. He was active in the antislavery movement in New York and Philadelphia and utilized nonviolent methods for hiding and protecting fugitives.

By the late 1830s, Hopper was joined in the antislavery movement by Ruggles, a New Yorker and America's first black bookseller, publisher of the antislavery magazine *Mirror of Liberty*, and author of several antislavery pamphlets, including *Extinguisher, Extinguished* (1834) and *Abrogation of the Seventh Commandment by the American Churches* (1835). Ruggles is credited with helping escaped slave Frederick Douglass upon his arrival in New York as well as with assisting over 1,000 slaves who traveled on the New York portion of the Underground Railroad.

Still, a slave until his family's escape to New Jersey, taught himself to read and eventually became the secretary of the Pennsylvania Abolition Society; his home became one of the busiest stations on the Underground Railroad. Known as the "father of the Underground Railroad," Still is credited with helping more than 600 slaves to freedom, the account of which he published in the most comprehensive contemporary book on the subject, *The Underground Railroad* (1872).

Henson, like Still, had been born a slave (in Maryland). He escaped to Canada. His life changed when he was introduced to Harriet Beecher Stowe and became the inspiration for Uncle Tom in Stowe's novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin* (1852). Henson traveled extensively throughout the remainder of his life, lecturing and writing about his experiences as Uncle Tom.

Douglass, born a slave and hired out by his master, learned to read under the tutelage of his master's wife. After many years of enslavement, Douglass eventually escaped to New York, where he became one of the nation's

most prominent abolitionists and spokesmen against slavery. Also one of the most sought-after runaway slaves, eventually he was forced to flee to England, where his freedom was purchased by other abolitionists. Upon his return to America, as a free man, Douglass began publishing the influential antislavery newspaper *The North Star*. His home in Rochester became a frequent station on the Underground Railroad.

Another Quaker and abolitionist well known for his work on the Underground Railroad was Coffin, often referred to as the “president of the Underground Railroad.” His home in Fountain City (then Newport), Indiana, became known as the “Grand Central Station” of the Underground Railroad. With his wife, Catharine, Levi Coffin assisted over 2,000 slaves to safety, most going north to Canada.

The best-known conductor on the railroad was undoubtedly Tubman, a former slave who became known as “Moses” for the nineteen trips she made into the South to escort hundreds of slaves, including her parents and other family members, to freedom. A resolute leader, Tubman carried a revolver, navigated by the North Star, told time by the positions of the sun and moon, and outwitted pursuing slave catchers. With the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law in 1850, Tubman was forced to escort fugitives farther north into Canada. During the Civil War, she worked as a Union spy, commanding a group of black soldiers who worked as spies and scouts. Sometimes referred to as “Old Chariot” because of the spirituals she sang to inform slaves of her presence, Tubman remained active after the war, working for the rights of blacks and women and establishing a home for the aged and indigent in Auburn, New York.

The Underground Railroad was perhaps the largest act of civil disobedience to take place in the United States in support of the rights of black Americans, and it constituted an unparalleled protest against slavery. At the conclusion of the Civil War, in 1865, with the Underground Railroad no longer needed, many of the conductors and other volunteers, like Tubman, turned their attention to working for the economic, social, and political equality of the newly freed Americans.

Pat Tyrer

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [African Americans](#); [Douglass, Frederick](#); [Oberlin College](#); [Quakers](#).

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Unitarianism

In the broadest and earliest sense, Unitarianism refers to a version of Christian belief that rejects the concept of

trinitarianism (the belief that God is a singular being who exists simultaneously as a holy trinity—Father, Son, and Holy Ghost), a dominant doctrine in Western Christianity since it was declared at the Council of Nicea in 325 C.E. More narrowly, however, Unitarianism describes a liberal Christian denomination that over the years has become a creedless religious community that attracts people from across the spectrum of belief. It emerged in the late eighteenth century and has, at various times, been an important part of the counterculture of the United States.

Rejection of Orthodoxy

American Unitarianism emerged primarily from a schism among the Calvinist Congregationalist churches of New England during the eighteenth century. One issue that set the stage for the development of Unitarianism was the emotional revivals of the Great Awakening that swept through the American colonies between about 1720 and 1750. In New England, these religious revivals stressed traditional aspects of Calvinist theology—the need for faith, the salvation offered to a select few through the death of Jesus Christ, and the damnation that awaited those not of the elect.

Many questioned this theology, and some ministers began to reject Calvinist orthodoxy. As these religious liberals gained ground in New England, they came into conflict with more conservative religious leaders. The antagonism erupted into open combat when a religious liberal, Henry Ware, was appointed to the prestigious Hollis Chair of Divinity at Harvard University in 1805. Many conservatives left the university in protest and formed their own institution, the Andover Theological Seminary, in 1808. In the years that followed, Harvard became the center of nineteenth-century American Unitarianism.

The antagonism between conservatives and Unitarians among New England Congregationalists continued for decades. One crucial moment came in 1819, when the prominent minister William Ellery Channing gave his sermon “Unitarian Christianity,” setting out the tenets of this brand of liberal faith. Then in 1825, the Unitarians broke away and formed the American Unitarian Association (AUA). By this time, Unitarianism had become very popular in New England, and the vast majority of Congregationalist churches in Massachusetts joined the new organization.

Although Unitarianism started as a liberal Christian denomination, adherents gradually rejected more concepts associated with Christian orthodoxy. In the decades following the organization of the AUA, they abandoned original sin, the virgin birth, the inerrancy of the Bible, the belief in Jesus Christ as a divine savior and belief in his miracles, the tenet of predestination, the anticipation of Judgment Day, and the existence of hell. In place of traditional doctrine, Unitarian ministers presented a rational form of Christianity that celebrated human nature and human reason and made no claims for exclusive possession of religious truth. Unitarians held that both religion and reason were essential to determining truth and believed that science, far from being a challenge to religious belief, offered another way to better understand God and nature.

In the nineteenth century, Unitarianism’s abandonment of many traditional Christian doctrines made it an attractive denomination for those with radical religious beliefs or reformist goals. Many of the most well-known counterculture movements of the period had extensive connections with Unitarianism. In the 1830s, many notable transcendentalists, including minister Theodore Parker and poet Ralph Waldo Emerson, were Harvard-trained Unitarian clergymen. Both movements were centered in New England, and Unitarianism’s views of God and nature drew strongly from transcendentalist writers and thinkers. During the antebellum years, the Unitarian rejection of tradition also made it a natural home for many like Adin Ballou, who worked for the abolition of slavery, and Susan B. Anthony, who campaigned for women’s rights and suffrage.

Modern Developments

Since the nineteenth century, Unitarians have held as one of their primary tenets that the church should not impede each individual’s freedom of conscience in spiritual matters. Because of this belief, the Unitarians abandoned expectations that members have any particular beliefs, including in the existence of God. Unitarianism, therefore, attracts many who believe in the importance of communal cooperation to reach individual spiritual or

social goals but reject the imposition of religious dogma.

In 1961, the American Unitarian Association united with the Universalist Church of America to form the Unitarian Universalist Association (UUA), bringing together two liberal denominations with a shared opposition to the imposition of doctrine. Since that time, Unitarian Universalists have described themselves in a variety of ways, most often claiming identities as humanist, agnostic, atheist, Buddhist, Pagan, and Christian. Given their varied identifications, Unitarians have been champions of religious pluralism and have sought to build bridges among various denominations and religious groups.

The wide variance of individual beliefs, however, has not prevented Unitarians from working together for social causes. In the twentieth century, the UUA was an active part of movements for peace, environmental protection, human rights, and social justice. During the 1960s, many Unitarian Universalist churches were outspoken in their opposition to the Vietnam War and joined the effort to freeze nuclear-weapons production. In 1967, the General Assembly of the UUA passed a resolution to urge the federal government to “broaden the concept of conscientious objection” and formally extended “support to those persons who in the exercise of their moral choice... refuse to register for Selective Service.”

Unitarians were also a vocal part of the campaign for civil and political rights for African Americans. James Reeb, a Unitarian minister serving in Washington, D.C., was beaten to death by segregationists during the march on Selma, Alabama, in 1965. His murder added to the national outrage over the violence that met the civil rights movement in the Deep South.

More recently, Unitarian ministers have played a leading role in performing wedding ceremonies for same-sex couples and in 2004 presided over the first legally sanctioned same-sex marriage, at the Arlington Street Church in Boston, Massachusetts.

Throughout the twentieth century, the membership of the UUA has varied greatly, expanding significantly after the merger in 1961 before declining in the following decade. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, there were more than 1,000 UUA congregations in the United States, with the estimated number of Unitarian Universalists ranging from 250,000 to 500,000.

Stephen D. Andrews

See also: [Emerson, Ralph Waldo](#); [Transcendentalism](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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United Farm Workers

The United Farm Workers Organizing Committee (UFWOC) emerged during the formational years of the Chicano Movement, the unprecedented mobilization of Chicanos across the United States on behalf of their civil rights in the 1960s and 1970s. Formed in August 1966, the UFWOC became the leading force for farmworkers' rights in the United States, especially the Southwest. Although some attempts at organizing farmworkers in California predated the UFWOC (which later changed its name to the United Farmworkers of America, or UFW), it was not until 1966 that these attempts merged under the union affiliation of the American Federation of Labor–Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO).

Origins

The struggles for worker rights in the California agricultural system during the 1960s were about more than labor. The larger target was the ideology of a dominant American culture that treated migrant workers as less than human, robbing them of fair wages, education, and basic living conditions.

In the early 1960s, two groups worked diligently to redress institutional discrimination against field workers, the majority of whom were Mexicans, Mexican Americans, and Filipinos, with small minorities of blacks and whites. One of the two groups, the Agricultural Workers Organizing Committee (AWOC), largely a Filipino organization, was having trouble standing up to California growers, especially grape growers in the Delano area. The other group, cofounded by César Chávez and Dolores Huerta in 1962, was called the National Farm Workers Association (NFWA). In 1965, the NFWA, a heavily Mexican American organization, voted to join the Filipinos in their strike against grape growers.

Together, the AWOC and the NFWA fought discrimination and stereotypes, while also pressing for the right to unionize. Chávez led the striking workers in nonviolent demonstrations as they tried to enlist the support of more workers. This was an uphill battle, as the growers had access to strikebreakers and injunctions against the picketing. However, the Chicano Movement as a larger cultural phenomenon was emerging at about the same time, with Chicanos from all walks of life becoming committed to the cause of economic and social freedom. One of the most significant alliances formed during this period was between the NFWA/AWOC and El Teatro Campesino (The Farmworkers' Theater), an activist theater group under the leadership of Luis Valdez, himself a native of Delano and son of migrant laborers.

El Teatro Campesino had members who traveled with the NFWA/AWOC into the fields and on marches, and it was central to the effort, recruiting workers as actors in its plays and then into the movement. The early productions were of short, one-act plays (called *actos*) designed to allow workers to express themselves and describe their conditions by taking on a variety of roles and improvising based on their experiences.

Other artistic alliances also were formed, as artists created posters and banners to be carried in the fields and displayed in the cities in support of the cause. Many plays and art pieces recalled Mexican and Aztec heritage, celebrating the Chicanos' "brown" racial ancestry. Thus, rather than being ashamed of their racial identity, Chicanos reminded themselves through art that they could be and would be proud of that heritage.

Also central to the UFW's formation was a march led by Chávez from Delano to Sacramento, California, in early 1966. The march took demonstrators across a stretch of the San Joaquin Valley, which was notoriously hostile to the workers' cause, and constituted a direct challenge to the segregation historically practiced and enforced there.

Moreover, the identity of the workers as Mexican Americans was evident in many aspects of this march and throughout the campaign. A banner of the Virgin of Guadalupe, the patroness of Mexicans and a figure central to their native heritage, was held high at the front of the procession. At the same time, however, the workers expressed their dual heritage as both Mexicans and Americans—while not fitting completely in either culture or social milieu.

From this contradiction emerged the Chicano voice and sensibility. Signs and flags representing Chicano identity, from the Aztec eagle to the Mexican and U.S. flags, along with such slogans as "*Peregrina, Penitencia, Revolución*" ("Pilgrimage, Penitence, Revolution"), called attention to the history and determination of the Mexican American people.

Here and elsewhere, Chávez and his followers also professed their Roman Catholic faith by attending mass regularly, sometimes daily. This often angered the growers, whose families attended the same churches as workers and who resented the strikers' use of religious imagery to suggest that God was on their side.



César Chávez, the founder and leader of the United Farm Workers, leads a union rally in California during the late 1970s. Chávez and the UFW won gains for migrant workers through strikes, boycotts, protests, and lobbying. (FPG/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Growth and Merger

After the NFWA and AWOOC officially merged under the UFW in mid-1966, its leaders and members had much work ahead with respect to the grape strikes. Their efforts for fair working conditions and an end to racism and oppression in labor ultimately brought national attention to the organization and much of national sentiment to their side. Young Chicano activists, including the influential Eliseo Medina, traveled east and eventually rallied a number of mayors and other civic leaders to the farmworkers' cause. The boycott of California non-union-label grapes even extended overseas. Finally, in 1970, the grape growers, who had held out for years, sat down to sign new contracts.

While the issue of racism against Mexican American workers was not fully resolved by the farmworkers' victory, it was significant that the UFW had managed to convince wholesalers and retailers, not just shoppers, to boycott nonunion grapes. This was a sign that mainstream American society was listening to a greater degree than ever before to what Chicanos were saying about the work they did and the treatment they received in the fields. The strikes and demonstrations became the foundation of the fledgling Chicano civil rights movement and labor organization across the United States.

Significantly, strides on behalf of civil rights continued to be made under Chávez's model of nonviolent organizing. Beyond the successes on behalf of Chicano workers in the 1960s and 1970s and its continued advocacy on behalf of all field workers, the legacy of the UFW is far-reaching. Where it continues to operate, the UFW lobbies for fair living and working conditions for field workers and their communities, along with serving outreaches such as La Campesina Radio Network (Farmworker radio). As one of the moving forces in the social, economic, and cultural history of the American Southwest, the UFW continues to pursue the vision of Chávez and Huerta, and to serve their legacy of hope for marginalized peoples.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [Chávez, César: Chicano Movement.](#)

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Universal Negro Improvement Association

The Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) was a black nationalist organization of the early twentieth century that advocated building commercial ties between African Americans and Africa, as well as the emigration of African Americans to Africa. The association was founded in Jamaica by the charismatic black separatist Marcus Garvey in 1914, and it moved its headquarters to New York City in 1916, eventually expanding internationally.

Beginnings

Garvey, a native of Jamaica, had just returned from four years of travel in Central America and Europe when he organized the association, originally intended as a benevolent organization devoted to social and economic reform. Garvey had witnessed the racism that pervaded the “new imperialism” of Europeans in Africa and the massive pressures that expanding capitalism and governments placed on rural blacks, whether from America, the West

Indies, or Africa. For workers who felt disenfranchised from society at large, the UNIA, like other nationalist and Pan-African organizations, provided a sense of belonging.

When Garvey relocated to New York in 1916, the UNIA was still a fledgling organization, not having yet amassed a substantial membership. This changed when Garvey settled in Harlem and brought the UNIA headquarters to New York. Starting with fewer than twenty members, its strong advocacy for black economic and political independence attracted many new members within the first year. New branches began to emerge across the country and would later take hold worldwide. To circulate the ideas of the organization, the UNIA began publishing *The Negro World*, a weekly newspaper, in 1918; circulation would eventually exceed 500,000. By 1920, membership had so expanded that there were nearly 1,000 branches in over forty countries throughout the Americas and Africa.

In 1920, the UNIA held its first international convention, at Madison Square Garden in New York City. At the convention, members promulgated the *Declaration of Rights of the Negro Peoples of the World*, seeking to uplift the black race by encouraging self-reliance and nationhood. The declaration listed a number of grievances and demanded their resolution. Demands were made for ending racially motivated practices such as lynching, standardizing the capitalization of the N in the word Negro, and teaching children black history in public schools. Among the declarations was the adoption of a red, black, and green flag as the official banner of the UNIA and a symbol of the entire African race.

Culture

In an attempt to unify the black community, the UNIA sought inclusive participation by creating a place for men, women, and children in the organization. Male members were able to join the Universal African Legion and the Black Eagle Flying Corps, both uniformed paramilitary groups.

Women, although subordinate to male members, were given a place of their own within the movement: membership in the Black Cross Nurses and the Universal African Motor Corps. The Black Cross Nurses, modeled on the Red Cross, were organized at the local level. The group performed benevolent work, providing public health-care services in black communities. The Universal African Motor Corps was a female auxiliary that was affiliated with the all-male African Legion. Members of the Motor Corps were trained in military discipline and automobile driving and repair.

Youth divisions were organized according to age and, after the age of seven, by gender. The youngest children, ages one through seven, were taught the Bible, the doctrine of the UNIA, and the history of Africa. Between the ages of eight and thirteen, all children received further education in black history and etiquette. After the age of thirteen, education for girls included lessons on hygiene and domestic service in preparation for participation in the Black Cross Nurses. Boys of this age received military training, preparing them for admission to the African League.

Garvey instituted several auxiliary business ventures within the UNIA. The Negro Factories Corporation, incorporated in 1919 with capitalization of \$1 million, generated income and provided jobs in its varied commercial enterprises—grocery stores, restaurants, laundries, tailor and dress-making shops, and a publishing house. The Black Star Steamship Line, a Delaware corporation financed by selling shares to UNIA members and public investors, was also incorporated in 1919. The Black Star Line did not have unanimous support, however, and opponents questioned Garvey's veracity, calling for an accounting of UNIA funds.

The Back to Africa Program, endorsed by the UNIA, had a multifaceted purpose. On one hand, the goal was to uplift and redeem Africa with American blacks taking the lead. From another perspective, the goal was to repatriate African Americans. Beginning in 1921, efforts were made to establish a site in Liberia for UNIA members who were interested in living in Africa. In 1921, an official delegation traveled to Liberia to survey a potential location for those desiring to immigrate.

Initial interaction between the UNIA and Liberian officials was positive. Later, however, Liberian president Charles D.B. King ordered all of the nation's ports closed to members of the UNIA. Some have suggested that King's reversal of attitude was the result of an agreement between Liberia and the Firestone Rubber Company granting Firestone the use of land originally intended for the UNIA. In any event, the lockout by the Liberian government dealt a harsh blow to the UNIA and virtually ended the African repatriation program.

While the UNIA was likely the largest unified black organization of its time, it was not without its problems. Garvey governed the association absolutely, intolerant of even the smallest challenges to his authority, a fact that caused dissension among some of its members. The U.S. government, meanwhile, suspected the UNIA of being subversive and allowed J. Edgar Hoover and the Bureau of Investigation (the forerunner of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, or FBI) to investigate the activities of the association, coordinating their efforts with other federal agencies. European governments distrusted Garvey and his organization because they threatened European colonization. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other organizations advocating integration spoke out against the UNIA because it favored black separatism rather than integration.

Perhaps the greatest blows to the association were Garvey's incarceration (1925–1927) for federal mail fraud in connection with the Black Star Line and his subsequent deportation. Upon his return to Jamaica, Garvey continued his involvement with the UNIA until his death in 1940.

As subsequent leaders directed the UNIA, Garvey's ideas continued to hold sway with the black masses in America. Roi Ottley, a Harlem journalist, explained this influence, noting that Garvey was responsible for instigating the race and color consciousness that continues to inspire black reform efforts.

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See also: [African Americans: Garvey, Marcus.](#)

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Up Against the Wall Motherfucker

Up Against the Wall Motherfucker (UAW/MF) was an artistically oriented, anarchist street gang that formed in New York City's Lower East Side in 1967. Colloquially referred to as the Motherfuckers, the group championed an aggressive "politics of confrontation" and was well known in the neighborhood until its demise in mid-1969.

Although the UAW/MF had no formal hierarchy, many regard Ben Morea as the group's de facto leader. Morea, who grew up on the streets of New York City, became friends in the early 1960s with Julian Beck and Judith Malina, cofounders of the Living Theatre, an experimental, politically radical stage group.

In 1966, Morea launched *Black Mask*, a short-lived, crudely mimeographed arts magazine. He also was peripherally involved with Angry Arts Week, a January 1967 festival that brought together hundreds of New York City artists in condemnation of the Vietnam War. The UAW/MF emerged out of *Black Mask*, Angry Arts Week, and the influence of the militant Black Power movement of the late 1960s, which inspired an outpouring of Afrocentric expression in the realms of art, literature, fashion, verbal expression, and other cultural arenas.

The Motherfuckers, which took its name from a poem by LeRoi Jones (later Amiri Baraka) titled "Black People," never had more than a few dozen full-time members. Their ranks included an Ivy League dropout, autodidacts, and barely literate street people, who together carved out a unique niche in the counterculture. While generally sympathetic to the hippies, they often chided the flower children for weakness. The Motherfuckers had a tenuous connection with the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the New Left's main political organization, but they recoiled from the group's sectarian political debates and regarded even the most militant students as cloistered and unreliable. Probably the countercultural group the UAW/MF most resembled was the Diggers, an artistically inclined, utopian-minded collective that championed an ethos of maximum personal freedom and set up various counterinstitutions around the Haight-Ashbury neighborhood of San Francisco.

For all their connections to other counterculture movements, the UAW/MF set itself apart with a dark and angry temperament. Some members owned guns and knives, and their broadsheets—frequently published in a militant underground newspaper, *The Rat*—trumpeted the most extreme formulations of the counterculture cosmology. Some of their actions included dumping garbage near the fountain at Lincoln Center for the Performing Arts in midtown Manhattan; cutting the fences and raiding the concession stands at the August 1969 Woodstock music festival in Bethel, New York; strong-arming promoter Bill Graham into letting East Village denizens have free use of his rock club, the Fillmore East; and building support for Valerie Solanas, the tormented feminist who tried to assassinate pop artist Andy Warhol in 1968. The group also set up crash pads for teenage runaways, and it briefly ran a "free store" and a radical coffee shop, the Common Ground.

In 1968, Morea was involved in a melee on Boston Common in which two men were stabbed; in January 1969, he was acquitted of assault and battery with a dangerous weapon. By early 1969, many Motherfuckers sensed that increasing crackdowns by New York City's Ninth Precinct's Tactical Police Force (TPF) and the influx of heroin and amphetamines into the Lower East Side meant that the neighborhood was no longer ideal as a base of operations. As a result, the group slowly disbanded.

A few former members affiliated with the Hog Farm, a famous commune in Northern California. Others spent time in Canjilón, New Mexico, among followers of the militant Indio-Hispanic activist Reies Tijerina (also known as "King Tiger"). Morea and his wife moved to the Sangre de Cristo Mountains in the American Southwest, where they lived, illegally and traveling mostly on horseback, for several years.

John McMillian

See also: [Anarchism](#): [Black Power Movement](#): [Living Theatre](#): [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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Utopianism

Utopianism is the pursuit of an ideal society or community in which the inhabitants live under seemingly perfect conditions. Hence *utopia* and *utopian* are words used to denote an ideal that is likely to be unrealistic and ultimately unattainable.

The word *utopia* first appeared as the title of Sir Thomas More's book-length essay, published in Latin in 1516, about an ideal island community called Utopia. More fashioned the name for his mythical island from an amalgamation of the Greek words *ou* (no) and *topos* (place), and thus "utopia" was "nowhere." However, the concept of utopia is considerably older than its name; Plato's *Republic*, written during the fourth century B.C.E., was perhaps the first comprehensive description of an ideal society. Plato's version of utopia served as the model for countless others, including Tomaso Campanella's *The City of the Sun* (1623), Sir Francis Bacon's *The New Atlantis* (1627), Samuel Butler's *Erewhon* (1872), Edward Bellamy's *Looking Backward: 2000–1887* (1888), William Morris's *News from Nowhere* (1891), and H.G. Wells's *A Modern Utopia* (1905).

Utopianism in the United States, whether based on religious tenets, secular idealism, or economic necessity, has been manifested most often in planned residential communities founded and run by individuals who desired to withdraw from society and to live together harmoniously in their quest for perfection. For nonconformists forced to flee Europe for reasons of religious and political persecution, pre-colonial America—with its vast and relatively inexpensive land and an ideology of tolerance espoused by William Penn in Pennsylvania, Lord Baltimore in Maryland, and Roger Williams in Rhode Island, among others—was an extremely attractive refuge.

The first documented utopian community in the United States was founded in 1663 on the Delaware shore, near the present-day town of Lewes. Dutch Mennonite Pieter Cornelisz Plockhoy van Zierikzee established the settlement, known as the Valley of the Swans or Horekill. At that site, Plockhoy attempted to realize his utopian vision, as outlined in his treatise of 1659, *The Way to the Peace and Settlement of These Nations*. The text included two petitions for peaceful utopian existence to England's lord protector, Oliver Cromwell. Although the community failed after one year, the Valley of the Swans is recognized as the first colony in North America to ban slavery.

Religious Utopias

Many religious utopian societies established in North America were millennial groups preparing for the Second Coming of Christ. Johann Conrad Beissel established the community of Ephrata in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, in 1732. The celibate brothers and sisters of Ephrata subscribed to an ideal of moral perfectionism that could be attained only through self-denial and strenuous labor. Noted for its printing facilities and accomplishments in calligraphy and choral music, the community declined after the American Revolution and was legally disbanded in 1814. However, smaller settlements in the Ephrata tradition flourished well into the nineteenth

century.

The most successful of the nineteenth-century American utopian communities was established by the Shakers, officially known by several names, including the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing and the Shaking Quakers. Led by Ann Lee, they were a radical offshoot of English Quakers who had adopted the French Camisards' ritual practices of shaking, shouting, dancing, whirling, and singing in tongues when the Spirit came upon them. Shakers attempted to create a utopian existence in which feminism, pacifism, and abolitionism were the ideals. The first Shaker community was established in 1776 at Niskayuna (later Watervliet), New York. At its zenith in the 1840s, between 4,000 and 6,000 members resided in twenty Shaker villages from Maine to Indiana and Kentucky. Known for the simple beauty and craftsmanship of their furniture, the Shakers flourished economically. Two communities, in Maine and New Hampshire, existed into the late 1970s. The practice of celibacy, along with the inability to attract new members, led to increasingly fewer numbers of Shaker followers.

Several other religious utopian communities prospered in the United States during the nineteenth century. The attempt to create "heaven on earth" while striving to attain spiritual and physical perfection were ideals common to such societies as Harmony, Zoar, Amana, and Oneida.

Johann Georg Rapp's Harmony Society, similar to the Shakers in core beliefs, was one of the most successful. It flourished in Harmony, Pennsylvania (1805–1814), New Harmony, Indiana (1815–1825), and Economy, Pennsylvania (1825–1906). In Economy (present-day Ambridge), Rapp and his followers, known as Rappites, purchased 3,000 acres (1,214 hectares) of land and established themselves as industrious leaders on an ideal trade route on the Ohio River near Pittsburgh. In 1906, a century after its founding, the Harmony Society was officially dissolved.

Joseph Bimeler's Society of Separatists of Zoar, established in 1817, was another economic success. The Zoarites purchased a 5,500-acre (2,200-hectare) tract of land along the Tuscarawas River in east central Ohio. Its magnificent community garden, which occupied an entire village square, symbolized their desire to create an Eden-like utopia. By 1852, the society's assets were valued at more than \$1 million. In 1898, the remaining members decided to dissolve the society.

The Community of True Inspiration, later known as the Amana Society, established at Ebenezer, New York in 1844, and reestablished in Iowa in 1854, differed from the other religious communal societies in at least one key respect. The group did not have one strong individual as leader; rather, its Grand Council made the operational decisions. For the Inspirationists, the economic activity was subordinate to their religious ideal of living a devout and pious life. Money, property, and goods were shared by all members, as in other utopian organizations. In 1932, however, the members voted to disband the communal society and adopted a capitalistic economy.

John Humphrey Noyes's Oneida Perfectionists, relocated from Putney, Vermont, to Oneida, New York, in 1848, also differed from the other religious utopian societies. Noyes believed that only by living in a perfect environment could one live a life without sin. The inhabitants at Oneida lived together with all things, including marriage partners, in common. Noyes' belief in so-called complex marriage was viewed by outsiders as adulterous and sexually immoral. In 1881, Oneida became a joint-stock company involved primarily in the production of flatware, which has continued to the present.

Secular Utopias

Generally more short-lived than their religious counterparts, secular utopias typically were connected with a political or economic revolution. Significant secular communities included New Harmony, established in 1825 in Posey County, Indiana, by Robert Owen, a Welsh industrialist, who purchased the 30,000-acre (12,150-hectare) community, buildings and all, from the Harmony Society for the sum of \$150,000 in an attempt to create a social utopia there; and Brook Farm, founded in 1841 at West Roxbury, Massachusetts, by George Ripley, a Unitarian minister and journalist who based his ideas on those of the French socialist Charles Fourier in an attempt to create a transcendentalist utopia.

Even though both New Harmony and Brook Farm became well established as self-sufficient communities with economic strength in agriculture and industry, these communities lasted less than a decade. However, these secular utopias were the ancestors of the anti-establishment communes prevalent in the United States during the twentieth century. These communes, most popular during the late 1960s, were largely created by antiestablishment protesters opposed to the Vietnam War, capitalism, and mainstream culture. Most of these communes, whose inhabitants were called hippies, dissolved within a few years. Several still flourish today.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Amana Society](#): [Brook Farm](#): [Communes](#): [Ephrata Cloister](#): [Harmony Society](#): [Lee, Ann](#): [Noyes](#): [John Humphrey](#): [Oneida Community](#): [Shakers](#).

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Vegetarianism

Vegetarianism—the practice of eating only foods from plants and avoiding all red meats, poultry, and even dairy products—dates back thousands of years. It has been variously adopted for religious, spiritual, ethical, and nutritional reasons. In the United States, the practice first gained a major following in the nineteenth century, out of concern for general health, wellness, and psychological well-being. It was not until the counterculture movement of the 1960s and 1970s, however, that vegetarianism became a widespread movement—albeit one still out of the mainstream.

The potential health benefits of vegetarianism began to be noted in eighteenth-century America, with Benjamin Franklin being an early advocate. General practice was limited, however, until various reform movements of the nineteenth century provided the catalysts for broader awareness.

Among the earliest of these was a dietary reform and temperance campaign initiated by a Presbyterian minister, Sylvester Graham, in the 1830s. Later called the “Father of Vegetarianism” in America, Graham preached on the dangers of alcohol and declared a link between the consumption of meat and the craving for alcohol. During the cholera epidemic of 1832, Graham began advocating a meatless diet to combat the general ill effects of meat on the human body. He went on to advocate a diet that banned not only meat but coffee, tea, spices, and white flour, as well as alcohol and tobacco. The coarse, whole wheat flour preferred by the Grahamites was made into a special bread, which eventually led to the development of the graham cracker.

Some advocates of other reform movements during the mid-nineteenth century, such as abolitionism and

feminism, also adopted vegetarianism, as did members of various utopian communities in the 1840s. One such settlement was the Fruitlands community in Harvard, Massachusetts, founded in 1843 by the educator and transcendentalist Bronson Alcott. Residents of the community followed a strict vegetarian diet and ate Graham bread with fruit and vegetables grown on site. Although Fruitlands lasted less than two years, many of the ideas put into practice at the community would carry over to other reform activities.

Alcott helped to establish the Physiological and Health Association, essentially a vegetarian society. The Vegetarian Society of the United Kingdom was founded in 1847, followed three years later by the American Vegetarian Society. These organizations highlighted the interest in vegetarianism from several quarters, including the Grahamites, followers of Bronson, and advocates of a growing number of other health reform trends, such as hydrotherapy, or water cure. Also significant during this period was the rise of such religious groups as the Seventh-Day Adventists, who adopted vegetarianism under the leadership of cofounder Ellen G. White.

Following the American Civil War, vegetarianism continued to be advocated in a wide range of organizations, publications, and communities, such as Joyful News in California. Individuals such as brothers Dr. John Harvey Kellogg and W.K. (Will Keith) Kellogg helped push vegetarianism to new levels of awareness and acceptance, primarily concerning health-related issues. At the Battle Creek Sanitarium, run by John Harvey Kellogg in Michigan, the brothers developed toasted wheat flakes and other health foods that became popular with vegetarians. In 1906, W.K. Kellogg founded the Battle Creek Toasted Corn Flake Company (later the Kellogg Company) to merchandise the products.

Other aspects of vegetarianism became the principal causes of other groups, including animal rights; Professor J. Howard Moore, in particular, was one of the leading activists in the ethical treatment of animals in the early twentieth century. During the Progressive Era, the issue of the treatment of animals became a focal point of muckrakers such as Upton Sinclair, whose novel *The Jungle* (1905) presented a graphic representation of animal slaughter in the meatpacking plants in Chicago. And the early twentieth century also saw a number of other individuals picking up the message of vegetarianism, including the Boston socialite Maude R.L. Sharpe (later Freshel). Sharpe hosted vegetarian dinners and showed films of slaughterhouses at her home, and was known in the community for organizing an annual vegetarian Thanksgiving dinner at Boston's Copley Plaza Hotel.

From the Great Depression to the early 1960s, vegetarianism faded in popularity in the United States. The economic decline of the Depression era certainly played a role, but the influence of the medical profession and promotional efforts by the meat industry also were important factors. Physicians argued for the health benefits of eating meat, and the meat industry used an aggressive advertising campaign to promote its products. Vegetarian societies and publications continued to attract interest in some quarters, and the American Vegetarian Party was founded in 1948, but popular interest in vegetarianism remained minimal overall.

The rise of the youth counterculture in the mid-1960s led to a revival in vegetarianism for several reasons. The nonviolent focus of the movement and the emphasis on pacifism went beyond an antiwar focus to include the treatment of animals and their consumption. Coincidental with this was a rediscovery of Eastern philosophies and belief systems that endorsed meatless diets.

There also was increased concern about the health aspects of eating meat, poultry, and fish, not just because of the nature of the foods but also because the use of chemicals in the raising of these animals and of preservatives in packaging and distribution was increasing. Colorful personalities, such as Gypsy Boots, emerged on the West Coast, advocating a meatless diet and organic foodstuffs. To the ethical, religious, and health factors previously connected to vegetarianism was added that of concern for the environment, another movement rising from the counterculture movement.

James J. Kopp

See also: [Fruitlands](#); [Graham](#); [Sylvester](#); [Health Foods](#).

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Venice, California

Venice, California, an incorporated part of the city of Los Angeles, is located 14 miles (22 kilometers) west of downtown on the Pacific Ocean, directly south of Santa Monica. A vibrant tourist destination whose Ocean Front Walk has attracted beachgoers, shops and restaurants, and a lively bohemian culture, Venice has been home to several distinctive countercultures, including the Beats of the 1950s and skate culture in the 1970s.



The Pacific beach community of Venice, California—a haven for bohemians, Beat writers, artists, musicians,

surfers, bodybuilders, and skateboarders through the twentieth century—continues to thrive on its counterculture image. (David McNew/Getty Images)

At the turn of the twentieth century, tobacco millionaire Abbot Kinney envisioned a “Venice of America” in the image of Italy’s famous city of canals. Kinney had canals dug to drain marshland near the beach on which to build the town, creating an instant tourist attraction. When it opened on the Fourth of July in 1905, Venice of America featured an amusement pier, as well as gondolas and an arcaded street in the Venetian style. While the beach was a significant attraction, the town continued to grow in popularity with the addition of more amusement park attractions in the years that followed.

Local political problems plagued Venice in the early years, and it was annexed by the city of Los Angeles in October 1925. Most of the canals were filled in by the city, and the popular Venice Amusement Pier was closed when its lease expired in 1946. Little money was invested to rebuild the infrastructure of Venice, and the resulting cheap rents began attracting both European immigrants and young artists and writers.

As a result, Venice emerged during the 1950s as Southern California’s most vibrant countercultural literary community. It is often linked with San Francisco’s North Beach and New York’s Greenwich Village as a center of Beat culture and art.

This movement centered on coffeehouse poetry readings, for which two notable venues in the area were the Gas House on Ocean Front Walk and the Venice West Café on Dudley Street. Lawrence Lipton, whose book *The Holy Barbarians* (1959) helped popularize the Beats, was a prominent figure in the Venice literary scene and an early proponent of poetry as an oral practice. Other writers associated with the scene included Charles Foster, “Mad Mike” Magdalani, Stuart Perkoff, and Alexander Trocchi.

The Los Angeles municipal government, meanwhile, came to regard the countercultural community as a threat and worked tirelessly to harass the young writers and artists in Venice. In 1961, the city adopted a new building code with the intent of tearing down 1,600 buildings in Venice. By 1965, one-third of the buildings had been razed.

During the 1970s, the area of Venice around the former Pacific Ocean Park, known as Dogtown, became home to a vibrant surf and skateboard community. The local Z-boys, a skateboarder team, are now credited with the creation of the skateboard counterculture, as well as with the practice of aerial skateboarding. Initially evincing the punk rock values of do-it-yourself culture, many of the Z-boys parlayed their passions for skating and surfing into lucrative careers as both sports skyrocketed in popularity during the 1980s and 1990s.

Venice also is well known as the home of Muscle Beach, the center of the postwar bodybuilding and fitness subculture. Originally based in Santa Monica and moving south in the 1950s, Muscle Beach Venice originally featured a small weight pen, which was replaced by a more modern facility in the 1990s. Despite rapid gentrification in recent years, Venice still remains home to many artists, surfers, skaters, and a variety of colorful personalities.

Susanne E. Hall

See also: [Beat Generation: Los Angeles, California: Skateboarders: Surfing and Surfer Culture.](#)

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Vietnam War Protests

In response to the U.S. military involvement in the Vietnam War—specifically President Lyndon B. Johnson's decision to escalate fighting, by increasing the number of American troops in Southeast Asia in 1964 and 1965, and the drafting of young men to fight the war—protests involving thousands of antiwar and peace organizations sprang up across the United States. The protestors included citizens of all ethnicities, of all ages, and from all socioeconomic backgrounds. And although the antiwar campaign represented only one element of the broader civil rights and counterculture movements of the era, its actions generated much greater visibility, changed perceptions of the war at home, and caused a significant rent in American political and social life.

In spring 1965, faculty and activists at the University of Michigan organized the first of many “teach-ins,” consisting of lectures and seminars aimed at educating the public about the Vietnam War and focusing attention on the issue of U.S. involvement. The practice soon spread to dozens of universities and colleges around the nation, attracting tens of thousands of participants who came to hear and see such well-known figures as radical journalist I.F. Stone, Dr. Benjamin Spock, novelist Norman Mailer, Senator Ernest Gruening (D-AK), well-known pacifist A.J. Muste, folk singers Phil Ochs and Joan Baez, and scores of other intellectuals, academics, and artists.

As the war escalated, it tended to consume the energies of activists involved in other groups and movements. Thus, established organizations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS), the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), the War Resisters League (WRL), the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), and others refocused their efforts on bringing about an end to the Vietnam War. These were just a few of the approximately 17,000 organizations that, by 1969, helped focus dissent and organize opposition to U.S. military efforts in Southeast Asia.

The proliferation of organizations reflected a highly decentralized, amorphous antiwar campaign. Decentralization, in fact, was perhaps the one constant and most outstanding feature of the movement. Anyone could belong to the movement, simply through his or her participation in an event. Thus, both large and small protests retained a local quality, while remaining part of large-scale national efforts such as the annual Spring Mobilizations, primarily nonviolent demonstrations involving people in cities across the nation.

Participation took a variety of forms. Protestors expressed their views by signing petitions, refusing to pay taxes, boycotting, marching, burning draft cards, attending teach-ins, refusing induction into the armed services, writing letters to political leaders, engaging in guerrilla street theater, and, on at least eight occasions, burning themselves to death in public. Such was the nature of the movement. No national-level organization could hope to set a specific agenda or control the activities of countless individuals around the nation, each of whom held an indeterminate level of personal commitment.

The portrayal of the movement by the national media helped to create a caricature of its participants that has persisted into the twenty-first century: Antiwar counterculture types wore bell-bottomed blue jeans, sported facial

hair and long manes, smoked marijuana and used other psychedelic drugs to excess, and generally were societal dropouts. In reality, participants in the antiwar movement came from all walks of American life. They were hippies, socialists, liberals, radicals, students, housewives, and working people. The anti-Vietnam War movement was one of the few social movements in American history in which anyone could find a place.

The movement continued to gain momentum and was increasingly a thorn in the side of the federal government, which was spending \$1 million per day on the war and downplaying the number of dead being returned home. The movement grew in legitimacy as well, as figures such as Senator Robert Kennedy (D-NY) and the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., publicly broke with the Johnson administration over its Vietnam policies in 1967.

Civil rights groups such as the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) also denounced the government, condemned the war, and demanded the immediate withdrawal of all U.S. forces. In 1967, returning GIs formed the Vietnam Veterans Against the War (VVAW), adding considerable clout to the movement. The Spring Mobilization of 1967 attracted 250,000 protestors to a demonstration in New York City, while other events around the country attracted tens of thousands of marchers each.



In October 1967, tens of thousands of Vietnam War protestors took part in an action called the March on the Pentagon. The declared intent was to physically levitate the building by exorcising the evil contained inside. Armed federal troops stood guard on the roof. (Dick Swanson/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

Despite such momentum, the war continued. Antiwar activists grew increasingly frustrated and impatient with a federal government that seemed indifferent to the demands of millions of people.

The peace movement and the government fought an increasingly divisive and bitter battle over the war in Vietnam from the late 1960s to the early 1970s. As part of its Counter Intelligence Program, COINTELPRO, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) conducted a fierce secret campaign against movement members and participants. Thousands of Americans were spied on, harassed, intimidated, and jailed.

As the movement began to splinter in the late 1960s, activists fought back. Some, such as the radical Weathermen, resorted to violence. Others continued to express their views through public demonstrations and marches. A relative few quit altogether. The movement against the Vietnam War continued to fracture, however, its various factions pursuing different agendas and employing different tactics. By 1971, the movement was in complete disarray.

The antiwar campaign essentially ended as a national political force before the end of the war in 1975, but its influence was certain, if an enduring matter of controversy among participants and historians alike. To many in the military community, proponents of the war, and critics of the counterculture, the Vietnam War protestors had undermined the military effort, cast shame on the soldiers who had served their country, and abetted the interests of the enemy. In the view of participants and sympathizers, however, the protest movement hastened the end of an ill-fated, politically mistaken, immoral war.

James M. Carter

See also: [Baez, Joan: *Conscientious Objectors, Draft Dodgers, and Deserters*](#); [King, Martin Luther, Jr.: *Pacifism*](#); [Spock, Benjamin: *Students for a Democratic Society*](#).

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Village Voice, The

The Village Voice is a weekly, tabloid-sized, free, alternative newspaper based in New York City. Taking an antiestablishment perspective from the outset, *The Voice* has maintained a gadfly stance toward politics, government, and culture despite evolving into a larger, more commercial publishing enterprise. The paper was acquired in 2005 by the publishing conglomerate New Times Media.

The Voice was founded in New York's Greenwich Village in October 1955 by novelist Norman Mailer, journalist Dan Wolf, and financier Ed Fancher. Although its original focus was the cultural, political, and social scene in the Village, the focus of its investigative reporting, cultural criticism, and social commentary expanded over the years to include New York City and the nation. Originally an independent newspaper, *The Voice* has been owned by several successive corporations, among them Rupert Murdoch's News Corporation from 1977 to 1985, and by businessman Leonard Stern from 1985 to 2005, when it was sold to the Southwest-based alternative newspaper chain New Times Media.

The Voice is sometimes confused with the underground newspapers of the late 1960s, such as *Yarrowstalks* and *The East Village Other*. While clearly and intentionally an alternative newspaper, *The Voice* has always maintained a highly professional approach to its political and arts coverage, winning numerous Pulitzer Prizes and other journalistic awards.

Its news writers and political commentators over the years have included such notables as Murray Kempton, Wayne Barrett, and Nat Hentoff; writers on the arts have included theater critic John Lahr, movie critic Andrew Sarris, dance writer Deborah Jowitz, gossip columnist Michael Musto, and press critic Alexander Cockburn. The paper ran a cartoon strip by Jules Feiffer for many years; cartoonists Lynda Barry and Robert Crumb have also

contributed. Prestigious contributors from the literary world have ranged from Ezra Pound, Henry Miller, and E.E. Cummings to James Baldwin, Allen Ginsberg, and Tom Stoppard.

The Obie Awards, which the paper has bestowed annually since 1956, honor the best of off-Broadway theater. Its Pazz & Jop music awards recognize alternatives to the mainstream music honored by the Grammy Awards.

When the 1960s counterculture began to supplant the Beat movement of the 1950s, *The Voice* was there to chronicle social protest in New York City. Theater critic John Lahr, for example, covered the Living Theatre and other alternatives to traditional Broadway fare; in film, Jonas Mekas covered experimental filmmakers such as Jordan Belson and Stan Brakhage; and, in general, the newspaper chronicled, sometimes with cynicism, the rise of celebrities associated with Andy Warhol's The Factory, such as Viva.

The Voice has always aligned itself with left-wing causes. Editorially, it supported the civil rights movement and opposed the war in Vietnam. Later, it supported the feminist movement and gay liberation, while covering and advocating for the city's diverse ethnic communities. Even its sports coverage was unpredictable, emphasizing the inequities caused by corporate ownership and featuring peculiar sports stars over conventional heroes.

Through its numerous editors, the paper has sometimes strayed toward strict political correctness, especially in the late 1970s. In recent years, it has strayed into conventionality, highlighted by competition from such papers as the *New York Press* and from the Internet.

D.K. Holm

See also: [Greenwich Village, New York City: Living Theatre: Theater, Alternative.](#)

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Volkswagen Beetle

The Volkswagen Beetle, affectionately known as the Bug, was a German import that became one of the most popular cars in America during the 1960s. Economic, efficient, and quirkily designed—shaped like a beetle, with a round frame—it appealed to the masses of counterculture youth coming of age in the late 1960s and 1970s.

In the mid-1930s, German dictator Adolf Hitler had requested the creation of an affordable automobile that could be mass-produced for the German population. A prototype of the compact, two-door Volkswagen “People’s Car,” developed in Germany by Dr. Ferdinand Porsche, was test-driven extensively (a total of 3 million miles, or 4.8 million kilometers). Construction of a factory model began in 1938, but production was halted due to World War II. Production resumed in 1945, but only about 10,000 cars were produced in that first year. Once full-fledged production began in the late 1940s, the Beetle was quickly embraced by the German public.

By 1951, Volkswagens were being exported to twenty-nine countries but had not yet reached the U.S. market. Imports continued to lag through mid-decade, with only about 1,000 of the cars making it to U.S. shores.

In the early 1960s, however, a clever and highly effective advertising campaign began highlighting the benefits of the Beetle and changing its image. Unlike large American cars, for which new models were introduced every year, the Beetle gained cachet for being small (economical) and unchanging (reliable). A print ad in 1963, for example, depicted the “Volkswagen Theory of Evolution” by showing the Beetle unchanged year after year. An ad in 1964 proclaimed, “It makes your house look bigger.”

By the early 1960s, the popularity of the VW was soaring, as many Americans rejected the hulking, gas-guzzling cars made in Detroit and embraced the Beetle with its small, air-cooled engine. The Beetle, which reached a top speed of 82 miles (131 kilometers) per hour, became especially popular with the baby boom generation as they came of driving age and attended college, for both its aesthetics and affordability. The 1969 Walt Disney film *The Love Bug*, starring a Beetle named Herbie with a mind of its own, helped cement the Beetle’s place in American counterculture.

By 1978, annual American sales of the Beetle had fallen to only 5 percent of what they had been during the peak year of 1968, when 400,000 had been sold in the United States. Japanese imports and the decline of the free-lifestyle hippie culture had taken a toll on sales. The last German model rolled off the assembly line in 1978, but the Beetle continued to be made in Mexico for many years thereafter.

In 1972, a modified model called the Cabriolet was introduced; a convertible, it was instantly popular with college students and beachgoers. Other related Volkswagen models have been the larger fastback and wagonback, and the VW minibus, itself a cultural icon of the 1960s and 1970s. In 1998 a more streamlined and somewhat larger, more powerful model—called the New Beetle (made in Mexico)—was introduced. Consumer reaction to the New Beetle, in part based on nostalgia for the original model, was favorable.

Richard Panchyk

See also: [Advertising](#); [Flower Children](#); [Hippies](#).

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Vonnegut, Kurt, Jr. (1922–2007)

Kurt Vonnegut, Jr., was an American novelist and essayist best known for blending science fiction archetypes with social observation and dark satire. Vonnegut is widely credited with helping to move the genre of science fiction away from escapism and adventure and into more political and humanistic themes. His idiosyncratic plots and writing style, as well as his antiwar politics, made him especially popular with counterculture youth.

Born on November 11, 1922, in Indianapolis, Indiana, Vonnegut began his writing career at Shortridge High School, where he worked on the first daily student newspaper in the United States. He later worked as an editor of the student newspaper at Cornell University and served with the U.S. Army during World War II. His wartime experiences, particularly after he was captured by the Nazis, would heavily influence his literary works.

Vonnegut served time as a prisoner of war at a meatpacking facility in Dresden, Germany, that was nicknamed Slaughterhouse Five. He was on hand during the massive Allied bombing of Dresden in 1945 and was one of the few prisoners of war to survive. The Nazis then put Vonnegut to work collecting and disposing of civilian bodies. This horrific experience led him to ruminate on the violence and futility of war, which became the major theme of the semiautobiographical novel *Slaughterhouse-Five* (1969), as well as the focus of several later works.

After returning from the war, Vonnegut attended the University of Chicago and worked as a reporter in that city. He turned to writing science fiction in his spare time, and his first short story was published in 1950. His first novel, *Player Piano* (1952), was a dystopian tale of human workers being replaced by machines. A similar theme was later the centerpiece for Vonnegut's best-selling, breakthrough novel, *Cat's Cradle* (1963), in which he explored ideas of technological hubris and its effects on human society.

Vonnegut further expanded the field of science fiction by adding absurd and surreal elements, one of which is the literary device of including himself as a character that interacts with his own alter ego, an unsuccessful science fiction writer named Kilgore Trout. These elements were introduced in the best-selling *Breakfast of Champions* (1973), with Trout and Vonnegut becoming recurring characters in subsequent works.

Vonnegut's novels and short stories are widely cited both inside and outside the science fiction community for their explorations of humanity and humanism, moral issues, and the influence of the state on the individual. His short story "Harrison Bergeron" (in the 1968 collection *Welcome to the Monkey House*) is a particularly influential look at the repression resulting from even the most egalitarian social structures, while the novel *Jailbird* (1979) is a thinly veiled commentary on the social effects of the Watergate scandal.

Vonnegut announced his retirement from writing upon publication of his 1997 novel *Timequake*. He then began contributing essays periodically to the left-wing political magazine *In These Times*. Many of these essays are sharply critical of the George W. Bush administration and the Iraq War; others address more whimsical matters, including the art of writing and everyday experiences.

Vonnegut's last book was an essay collection titled *A Man Without a Country* (2005). Before his death on April 11, 2007, he served as honorary president of the American Humanist Association.

Benjamin W. Cramer

See also: [Science Fiction](#).

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Voodoo, Hoodoo, and Conjure

In the United States, the terms *voodoo*, *hoodoo*, and *conjure* are used more or less synonymously for syncretistic folk religions or magic systems of communities of the African diaspora.

Voodoo, or vodou, is a West African belief system adopted in Haiti and elsewhere. When the term is used in the U.S. South, it refers to a system of magic highly syncretized with Christianity (especially Catholicism, because of its popularity in Louisiana). By any spelling, voodoo is an essentially practical system. That is, it focuses not on self-betterment, enlightenment, or moral guidance, but on changing the course of events in the world.

This is demonstrated by the popular image of the voodoo doll: The principle of sympathetic magic is a simple and evocative one, whereby the target can be controlled or influenced through some connection (such as the hair or blood) and by manipulating a look-alike doll. Other voodoo practices incorporate the Catholic notions of the novena, the intercession of saints, and the lighting of candles to aid in bringing about a desired effect.



A shop window in the French Quarter of New Orleans displays voodoo dolls and other ritual objects. An African folk religion that evolved in the West Indies, voodoo found its strongest U.S. following in and around New Orleans.

(David Seelig/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

This influence is key. Much of what a voodoo practitioner does is called “rootwork,” referring to the use of the roots of plants such as mandrake and High John the Conqueror (*Ipomoea jalapa*, taking its familiar name from an African prince who was sold into slavery). Such roots may be used medicinally, making the line between folk magic and folk medicine a thin one. In times when professional doctors called for the letting of blood, the shock of hot and cold baths, and the application of leeches, folk medicine’s use of natural remedies was no less “scientific” or effective. But what has kept voodoo popular—especially when it is called “conjure,” referring to the conjuration of or communion with spirits and other supernatural entities—is its claim to influence the lives of unwilling individuals.

Love charms always have been popular, but so have curses. Indeed, much of the language and lore of voodoo concerns charms and curses. The mojo bag (containing one or more magical items) of a rootworker or his or her client not only brings good luck, it provides protection from evil and curses. A cursed mojo bag can render a man sick, unlucky, or impotent (a popular curse upon men guilty of sexual transgressions).

New Orleans is famous for its voodoo, a reputation that is justified. For generations, Catholic clergy in the city have been scandalized, at least in the pulpit, by the popularity of voodoo among whites. Therein lies much of the durability of folk magic. It provided a source of power and influence to otherwise disenfranchised African Americans.

Two women named Marie Laveau were the most prominent voodoo practitioners in the city for most of the nineteenth century. The elder Laveau was born to a white man and a free Creole. Her date of birth is placed anywhere from the 1780s to the turn of the nineteenth century. She married Jacques Paris, also a free Creole, in Saint Louis Cathedral in 1819. It is widely speculated that the second Marie Laveau was her daughter, perhaps born out of wedlock. The existence of a daughter is not confirmed, however, although someone continued to use the name after the elder Laveau’s death in 1881, and two different New Orleans cemeteries have authentic gravestones bearing the name.

The elder Laveau was instrumental in emphasizing the syncretic Catholic/African/magical nature of voodoo, using rituals to invoke Catholic saints and claiming that benefiting from her work was not at odds with being a Catholic. While many rootworkers in the South catered mostly to the rural poor and working class, those desperate to buy affection or revenge, Laveau worked for the wealthy whites of the city, discovering their secrets by offering free or cheap services to their Creole servants and slaves. For at least two generations, she could be said to be the most well-informed person in the city when it came to the lives of the elite. And this was at a time when those lives were especially rich and secretive, with the traditions of Mardi Gras and krewes forming during the course of the century. Laveau was well respected and, whatever she did to keep her clients happy, it worked well enough to keep her and her successor in business from the beginning of Louisiana’s statehood (1812) through the Civil War, Reconstruction, and the early days of the Progressive Era.

In the twentieth century, the visibility of voodoo decreased significantly, even—or especially—in New Orleans, where it became muddled in the city’s tourist trade. Certainly one explanation for the decline was the dismantling, intentional and otherwise, of the church’s monopoly on moral authority in the first few decades of the century. As a countercultural magical practice, voodoo thrives in climates governed by strict authorities that it can subvert or bypass for its clients. But the enfranchisement of blacks also may have something to do with it. The black middle and upper classes have thrived in Louisiana, and there is less need for the sort of unofficial influence wielded by voodoo practitioners.

Those are local explanations. Nationally, the end of the nineteenth century and beginning of the twentieth saw the end of the Third Great Awakening—the cyclical, climactic shift in American religion that brought the renewal of old faiths and the creation of new ones. Though the obvious effects of this were the birth of fundamentalism, Reform Judaism, and other major religious denominations, the Awakening also brought with it a strong interest in

mysticism, the occult, and various European magical practices.

This interest was at first associated with secret societies and parlor games, such as the Ouija board, but, by the end of the twentieth century, every major bookstore had a New Age or mysticism section. Such groups and practices answered the same practical concerns that voodoo had, often without requiring an intermediary. Thus, while voodoo continues to be practiced in some quarters, it has become even more decentralized. Hundreds of books are available on the subject, some more dubious than others, for the would-be practitioner; anthropological studies have demystified much of it; and it must compete with more than just the mainstream church to attract newcomers.

Though associated by some with animal sacrifice, in the United States this is more often the province of Santería, a similar folk religion but one with a distinct history of its own. The animal sacrifices publicized and litigated in the last decades of the twentieth century—such as in *Church of the Lukumi Babalu Aye v. City of Hialeah* (Florida), decided by the U.S. Supreme Court in 1993—have involved Santería or Lukumi ritual, not voodoo.

Bill Kte'pi

See also: [Santería Abbey, Edward \(1927–1989\)](#).

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Vorse, Mary Heaton (1874–1966)

As a pioneer of labor journalism and a correspondent on international events from 1912 to the late 1940s, Mary Heaton Vorse appealed to readers' emotions by humanizing strikers, while making the news of labor unrest palatable to the general public. The publicity methods she developed during the Passaic, New Jersey, textile strike of 1926, the first major strike in the United States in which workers accepted Communist leadership, provided a prototype for successful labor protests of the next decade.

Born in New York City on October 9, 1874, to Hiram Heaton and Ellen Cordelia Blackman, she was raised in Amherst, Massachusetts, during the summer and in Europe during the winter. Schooled mostly at home, at age sixteen she studied art in Paris as a means to escape parental control. Moving to New York City, she immersed herself in the Art Students League, which was the heart of the bohemian movement in Greenwich Village. A charter member of the Liberal Club, Vorse was also active in the Heterodoxy Club, a proto-consciousness-raising gathering of New Women.

After marrying Albert White Vorse, a journalist and writer, in 1898, she began writing. Her talent eventually

surpassed her spouse's, and she became the sole support of the family. In 1905, she published work in *The Atlantic Monthly* that she later developed into a novel, *The Breaking of a Yachtsman's Wife* (1908).

Vorse and her husband helped establish the A Club, an experiment in communal living that drew liberal reformers and visitors such as novelists Mark Twain and Theodore Dreiser, labor leader Mother Jones, and Russian writer Maxim Gorky. In 1910, when her mother and her husband tragically died within a day of each other, Mary Heaton Vorse entered the ranks of single working mothers.

The magazines *Harper's*, *Scribner's*, and *The Atlantic Monthly* bought almost every short story Vorse wrote. For several decades, she was one of the most popular writers of women's fiction in America. Impassioned by the Lawrence, Massachusetts, textile strike of 1912, she turned her interest to labor journalism and placed articles on the subject in *The Nation*, *The New Republic*, and *The Masses*.

What distinguished Vorse from other labor journalists was that she befriended the workers and marched in the strikes, sometimes being arrested and assaulted in the process. Present at all the major strikes of the period, she organized shirtmakers in Pennsylvania in 1919 and served as publicist of the Great Steel Strike the same year. She also lent her writing and publicity skills at major strikes in Gastonia, North Carolina (1929), Harlan, Kentucky (1937), and Flint, Michigan (1939). Her pen also illuminated the forgotten victims of labor unrest: women and children. In her writings, Vorse emphasized the vital assistance of women in advancing the cause of labor unionism, a perspective not covered by male journalists.

Vorse played a key role in the founding of the Woman's Peace Party in 1915, in the cause of woman suffrage, and in the pacifist movement during World War II. In the arts, her summer home at Provincetown, Massachusetts, became a gathering spot for left-wing and bohemian writers; her wharf was transformed into the initial stage venue of the Provincetown Players, an experimental theater group that introduced the plays of Eugene O'Neill and others.

By the end of her career, Vorse had published sixteen books, two plays, 190 short stories, and numerous articles in national, international, and radical magazines and newspapers. Despite her notable involvement in groundbreaking movements in labor, pacifism, feminism, literature, and theater, she fell into relative obscurity upon her death on June 14, 1966.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also: [Communes](#); [Communism](#).

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Ward, Nancy (ca. 1738–1822)

As a tribal leader and revered figure of the Cherokee Nation, Nancy Ward—or Nanye'hi Ward—served as a

peacemaker between the Cherokee and white settlers in Tennessee during a tumultuous period of cultural shift at the end of the eighteenth century. She challenged Anglo-American assumptions about the roles of women in leadership and in the military.

She was born in Chota, Tennessee, in about 1738 to Tame Doe, a member of the Wolf Clan, and Francis Ward, a white man. Raised by her mother, Ward entered a society troubled by issues of encroaching settlers and forced assimilation into white culture. Her uncle, Little Carpenter, compromised with the whites by accepting missionaries into the village, but only on Cherokee terms. As a biracial child, Ward learned languages of the Cherokee and the English, which later facilitated her position in connecting both worlds.

When she was still a teenager, Ward married a warrior named Kingfisher, a member of the Deer Clan, with whom she had two children. At his side in battle, Ward maintained his firearms, chewing the lead bullets to render them more lethal to the enemy. During the Battle of Taliwa in 1755, in which the Cherokee fought the Creek, Kingfisher received a mortal wound. Grabbing his firearm, Ward assumed his place in combat and rallied the other Cherokee warriors. For her valor, she was bestowed the honorific *Ghihau* ("Beloved Woman") and became a member of the tribal council.

Entering each tribal decision or negotiation with a pacifist viewpoint, which was in part modeled after her uncle's, Ward sided with white settlers when her cousin, Dragging Canoe, fought with the British against the settlers in 1775. In July of the next year, Ward warned white settlers near the Holston River along Virginia's southwest border of a planned attack by the Cherokee. Ward's village was spared militia retaliation because she rescued a Mrs. Bean, who introduced Ward to the principles of dairy farming, which Ward then shared with the Cherokee. Again in 1780, Ward warned American soldiers of Cherokee plans to attack; she was taken as a prisoner of war and returned to Chota.

Ward's successful peace negotiations between the Cherokee and Americans brought military occupation of their villages to an end, while allowing the army to reallocate soldiers to the front lines of the American Revolution. In the 1785 Treaty of Hopewell, Ward promoted partnership between the Cherokee and settlers by advancing her idea that the Cherokee become farmers, which would make them more like the white settlers and allow them to cement their property rights with legal deeds.

Ward's second husband was her cousin, Bryant Ward, with whom she had two more children. After he deserted them, she opened an inn near Benton, Tennessee.

Ultimately, Ward believed that it was not in the Cherokee's best financial or social interests to sell land to settlers. In 1817, Ward, too ill to travel, sent a letter to the tribal council, urging them to enlarge their farms, never part with tribal land, and stay where they belonged rather than move to the west. She died in 1822.

Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

See also: [Native Americans](#).

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Warhol, Andy (1928–1987)

A pioneering avant-garde artist, filmmaker, magazine publisher, and celebrity, Andy Warhol revolutionized the American and international art world during the post–World War II era. He was a founder and leading creative force of the pop art movement, which supplanted abstract expressionism as the prevailing trend in the Western visual arts of the mid-twentieth century.

Controversial for his public persona and fascination with celebrity no less than for his creative vision, Warhol became known for his repetitive depictions of everyday commercial objects, colorful portraits of famous people, and prediction that “In the future everyone will be famous for fifteen minutes.” Fascinated with fame, Warhol became a celebrity of the 1960s counterculture.



Pop artist, experimental filmmaker, and exemplar of the celebrity culture on which he commented, Andy Warhol was a counterculture of one. His life was as controversial as his art; his techniques were as groundbreaking and unfettered as his creative vision. (Jill Kennington/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Born Andrew Warhola on August 6, 1928, in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to working-class parents of Eastern European descent, Warhol earned a bachelor of arts degree in pictorial design from the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon University) in 1949. Soon after graduation, he left Pittsburgh for New York, where he lived for the rest of his life. Changing his surname to Warhol, he established himself as a highly successful commercial artist in the early 1950s, designing advertisements, magazine illustrations, book jackets,

and covers for record albums. His work appeared in such upscale, high-profile magazines as *Vogue*, *Glamour*, and *Harper's Bazaar*.

Warhol's early work in the pop art genre mirrored postwar America's emphasis on consumerism, individualism, and celebrity. By the early 1960s, he gained notoriety by producing pieces that depicted commonplace items such as Campbell's soup cans and Coca-Cola bottles in a variety of formats. He also produced colorful images of celebrities such as Marilyn Monroe, Elizabeth Taylor, and Jacqueline Kennedy. The silk-screened, repetitious, nearly identical and often colorful images reflected the American value of mass production and elevated the mundane to high art. By mid-decade, Warhol, now a celebrity in his own right, produced sculptures based on Brillo soap pad and Kellogg's Corn Flakes boxes. He also created a series of death and disaster paintings that revealed the contemporary American preoccupation with violent death.

The Factory, Warhol's downtown studio, whose walls were covered in aluminum foil and silver paint, became the center of the artist's activity and the place where he often found creative inspiration. It also became famous for attracting celebrities and for its lavish, star-studded parties. Artists, musicians, and celebrities frequented the loft, where Warhol's assistants produced his work in assembly-line fashion. The spirit was captured by *The New Yorker* magazine: "Warhol became a hero to many young people in the sixties because he seemed to be the ultimate anti-parent. Anything you did was O.K. even if you killed yourself doing it." The Factory thus became an icon of the counterculture movement of the 1960s.

Buoyed by his newfound celebrity status in the mid-1960s, Warhol began to concentrate his creative energies on filmmaking. Producing more than sixty films between 1963 and 1974, he addressed a variety of subjects, from the routine to the controversial. His work was influential in the underground cinema, reflecting the values and aesthetic of the avant-garde counterculture.

Sleep (1963), for example, shows one of his male lovers sleeping for six hours; *Empire* (1964) records eight hours in the life of the Empire State Building. Other controversial films include *Blow Job* (1963), *Bike Boy* (1967–1968), and *Lonesome Cowboys* (1968), which highlight homosexuality, an unacceptable topic for film during the 1960s. Sexual themes were also explored in works such as *Blue Movie* (1969), a film that depicts Viva, one of Warhol's superstars and frequent guests at The Factory, engaging in an extended sexual encounter with a male partner. *Andy Warhol's Frankenstein* (1973), a horror-comedy, and *Andy Warhol's Dracula* (1974), a horror film, were directed by Paul Morrissey and enjoyed limited commercial success. Warhol's own most innovative film was *The Chelsea Girls* (1966), a production consisting of two different stories exhibited simultaneously on split screens.

Warhol also ventured into the world of magazine publishing, cofounding *Andy Warhol's Interview* (now *Interview*) in 1969. The large-format publication featured interviews with prominent celebrities and was on the cutting edge of popular culture. In 1966, Warhol became the manager of the Velvet Underground, a rock band that provided the music for his multimedia presentation titled *Exploding Plastic Inevitable*.

On June 5, 1968, Valerie Solanas, the founder of the radical feminist organization S.C.U.M. (Society for Cutting Up Men) and a Warhol acquaintance, shot the artist in the chest and abdomen while visiting The Factory. "He had too much control over my life" was all she offered by way of explanation. The assassination attempt required Warhol to remain in the hospital for two months, and he never completely recovered from the wounds.

The 1970s marked the low point of Warhol's career. In order to support his endeavors, he focused primarily on portraits commissioned by wealthy clients such as rock stars Mick Jagger and Michael Jackson. He also produced two photographic collections and pieces created by urinating on bronze, a technique that shocked many people. His photography appeared in two collections: *Andy Warhol's Exposures* (1979) and *Andy Warhol: Portraits of the '70s* (1979).

Warhol died on February 22, 1987, in New York of complications following routine gall bladder surgery. By the 1980s, his paintings, sculptures, and other works had been added to the collections of major museums throughout the world, and his philosophy of the mass production of art as a moneymaking enterprise was well established. In

The Philosophy of Andy Warhol (1975) he wrote, "Making money is art, and working is art and good business is the best art."

An inveterate shopper and collector, Warhol amassed an eclectic assemblage of objects such as artworks, jewelry, and cookie jars over the course of his life. Following his death, an auction of his possessions at Sotheby's netted more than \$25 million. The auction benefited the Andy Warhol Foundation for the Visual Arts, an organization dedicated to fostering innovative artistic expression. In 1994, the Andy Warhol Museum opened in Pittsburgh; it is the largest museum in the United States dedicated to a single artist.

Jeffrey S. Cole

See also: [Film, Cult: Film, Independent: Pop Art: Reed, Lou.](#)

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Waters, John (1946–)

Generally associated with the transgressive cinema of the 1970s, John Waters is a film producer, director, screenwriter, and actor whose works have carried him to iconic cult status in American cinema. Waters's work is widely recognized, celebrated, and vilified for its exploitation and mockery of social norms, taboos, and traditional middle-class sensibilities. His projects typically champion the marginalized and excluded, particularly those with low social status, who are cast as pioneers of bad taste.

He was born John Samuel Waters on April 22, 1946, in Baltimore, Maryland, to a working-class family. In his youth, Waters began his friendship with Harris Glenn Milstead, who would become his long-time collaborator and later gained infamy as the overweight drag queen Divine. Waters received his first 8mm film camera for his sixteenth birthday.

Waters attended New York University for "about five minutes," soon realizing that he was drawn to the fringe films he attended in the city, rather than the classics discussed in the classroom. He was expelled from the university in 1966 for smoking marijuana on school grounds.

At the time of his departure, Waters had already created his first film, the 8mm *Hag in a Black Leather Jacket* (1964), an ironic tale of an African American man who courts a Caucasian woman by carrying her around in a trash can and later weds her, in a ceremony conducted by a Ku Klux Klansman. This film, along with his other early black-and-white films, *Roman Candles* (1966) and *Eat Your Makeup* (1968), would chart Waters's course into transgressive cinema. Each of these films was set in Baltimore, a location he favored as the ideal low-culture backdrop for his ironic social commentary on classism, social pretension, and unabashed bad taste.

Waters's aesthetic arose from a period of cultural self-reflexiveness in American art. Artifice, exaggeration, and the parody of values and icons were mobilized as significant components of artistic theory and production in the 1960s, celebrating that which mainstream culture had cast off or rejected. Among the key influences on Waters's career are American exploitation directors Herschell Gordon Lewis, William Castle, George and Mike Kuchar, and Russ Meyer, all known for their visually shocking, low-budget productions. Also important are Kenneth Anger and Andy Warhol, icons of the underground art and social scene whose films and photography drew the everyday into sharp focus and dealt with controversial subject matter such as the occult, exclusion, and death, revolutionizing the relationship between art and society.

Widespread distribution of Waters's films began in 1969, with the feature-length *Mondo Trasho*, starring Divine. Waters's successive films with Divine in the 1970s, *Pink Flamingos* (1972) and *Female Trouble* (1974), which feature all manner of grotesque fetishism, sexual and religious perversion, and fringe criminality, soon earned the filmmaker a reputation for transgressing the boundaries of good taste.

The 1980s, however, marked a turn toward the mainstream for Waters. With films such as *Polyester* (1981) and *Hairspray* (1988)—the latter of which inspired the Tony Award-winning Broadway musical and 2007 feature-film remake of the same name—Waters's camp sensibility took aim at suburban America in more circumspect fashion, toning down his leanings toward the shocking and grotesque in favor of more ironic social commentary.

This moviemaking formula continued into the 1990s, with his musical homage to juvenile delinquency, *Cry-Baby* (1990), the dark celebrity-killer satire, *Serial Mom* (1994), and *Pecker* (1998), which exploits the eccentricities of a working-class family in ways that transform them into caricatures of low-life outsiders. In spite of Waters's move into more mainstream filmmaking, his films in the 2000s—such as *Cecil B. DeMented* (2000) and *A Dirty Shame* (2004)—retain his trademark focus on bad taste, sexuality, and his characters' descents into darkness.

Waters's controversial career in cinema has spanned more than three decades and has included seventeen films, numerous television shows, including a 1997 episode of *The Simpsons*, five publications of his writings, CD music collections, a one-man touring show, and commentary on a number of DVD releases. Harkening back to pop-art icon Andy Warhol's influence on his career, Waters turned his attention to visual media besides film in the 1990s, creating photography-based artwork and installations that have been exhibited nationally and internationally, including in a retrospective of his art at New York City's New Museum in 2004.

In 2007, Waters became the host (called "The Groom Reaper") of *Til Death Do Us Part*, a program on America's Court TV network featuring dramatizations of real-life marriages that ended in murder.

Cynthia J. Miller

See also: [Drag: Film, Cult: Film, Independent: Transvestites.](#)

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Watson, Thomas E. (1856–1922)

As a champion of the farm protest movement of the nineteenth century and an outspoken opponent of wealth and privilege, Thomas E. Watson rallied crowds to his side with an inveterate passion and gift for oratory. He attacked the complementary Southern institutions of the Democratic Party and segregation, but the failure of his efforts caused him to turn toward the very things he had attacked. Watson's career demonstrated both the great potential and the inherent difficulties of upsetting the established order during the Populist era of the 1890s.

Thomas Edward Watson was born in Thomson, Georgia, on September 5, 1856, to an upwardly mobile slaveholding family. His parents suffered financially along with many others in the South after the Civil War, but they managed to spare enough money to send him to Mercer University in October 1872. Even as a student, Watson displayed a passion for speaking to an audience.

After studying law and gaining admission to the Georgia bar in 1875, Watson joined the Democratic Party and won election to the state General Assembly in 1882. As a member of the legislature, he fought several losing battles against the exploitation of sharecroppers and convict laborers. Meanwhile, the Farmers' Alliance movement was spreading across the agrarian states, a trend regarded by the Democratic Party as harmless until farmers began forming cooperatives, organizing politically, and working together across racial lines. For years, the Democratic Party had controlled the South by exploiting white fears of "Negro domination" to prevent Southern farmers from uniting against it. Watson never joined the alliance himself, but he was involved in some of its activities, including an 1888 boycott of the jute-bag monopoly.

The spirit of farm protest during this period expressed itself politically as the Populist movement. Watson ran for U.S. Congress in 1890 on a Populist platform, embracing agrarianism, declaring war on the elites who ran the South, and promising an alliance with black farmers. His Congressional career mirrored his time as a state legislator, marked by doomed attempts to end special treatment for elites and to obtain protections for farmers and workers. As a Populist in Congress, Watson was at odds with both the Democratic and Republican parties; as a Southerner, his fight lay with the Democrats who ran the South as a feudal state.

Watson fought against several attempts to merge the Populists with the Democratic Party, realizing that this would mean the death of populism as an independent movement. He was defeated for reelection in 1894 after local Democrats employed mostly illegal campaign tactics. The Populists finally merged with the Democrats by endorsing their candidate, William Jennings Bryan, in the 1896 presidential election. Watson, who ran as the Populist vice-presidential nominee in that contest, was forced to preside over the disintegration of the movement he had fought so long to preserve.

Watson's career reflected the anger of American farmers, who had been pushed to the brink during the late nineteenth century. The lean decades of the 1880s and 1890s caused farmers and those who sympathized with them, such as Watson, to revolt against the Democratic Party, racism, and the elite. Their continued electoral defeats and their inability to overcome the race issue eventually returned many Populists to the Democratic Party. Watson reflected this as well, emerging by 1908 as a bitter racist who championed the Ku Klux Klan and ranted against blacks, Jews, and Catholics. The transformation was complete in 1920, when Watson rejoined the Democratic Party and won reelection to the U.S. Senate.

Less than two years into his term, Watson died, on September 26, 1922. His rise and fall reflected the fortunes of the protest movement that attempted to unite the laboring classes in the South during the Populist era.

Charles E. Delgadillo

See also: [Democratic Party: Farmers' Alliance.](#)

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Watts, Alan (1915–1973)

The American philosopher and theologian Alan Watts was instrumental in bringing awareness of Asian cultures to the West and in explaining and popularizing Eastern religious philosophies, particularly Taoism and Zen Buddhism. Watts's writings and lectures on Eastern religious philosophy found a receptive audience in the American youth culture of the 1950s and 1960s.

Born in Chislehurst, England, on January 6, 1915, Watts became interested in Eastern cultures and Buddhism during his early teenage years. After graduating from public school in 1932, he moved to London, where he immersed himself in the study of religion and psychology and began his lifelong attempt to synthesize Eastern and Western thought as a basis for psychological healing. Largely self-taught, he was active in the Buddhist Lodge and guided by the Buddhist scholars Christmas Humphreys and D.T. Suzuki. He published his first book, *The Spirit of Zen: A Way of Life, Work and Art in the Far East* (1936) at age twenty-one.

In 1938, he married Eleanor Everett, daughter of American Buddhist Ruth Fuller Everett, and moved to the United States the following year. He first lived in New York City and then moved to Illinois, where he attended Seabury-Western Theological Seminary in Evanston. After completion of his studies, he was ordained in the Episcopal Church and from 1944 to 1950 served as a chaplain at Northwestern University. He became disaffected with Christianity and left the church and divorced his wife in 1950. He moved temporarily to Millbrook, New York, with his new wife, Dorothy DeWitt, and then to San Francisco in 1951, where he taught comparative philosophy and psychology at the American Academy of Asian Studies (AAAS).

It was in the San Francisco Bay Area that Watts began to exert a significant influence on the emerging counterculture. He met poet and Zen Buddhist Gary Snyder, who introduced him to people who would form the nucleus of the Beat Generation. In addition to teaching, he lectured regularly throughout the Bay Area and became a popular speaker, noted for his clarity, wit, and entertaining style. In 1953, he began *Way Beyond the West*, a weekly radio show on KPFA in Berkeley that spread his influence even farther. *The Way of Zen*, published in 1957, became a best seller and gave him the financial freedom to leave the AAAS and devote his full attention to writing and lecturing.

In 1958, Watts began experimenting with the mind-altering drug LSD. He thought it useful as a tool for expanding consciousness, though he cautioned against its casual use. In 1959, he hosted *Eastern Wisdom and Modern Life*, a weekly program broadcast nationally on public television for two years. He divorced again in 1963 and married Mary Jane Yates.

Watts was a central figure in the cultural phenomenon known as the San Francisco Renaissance, which he characterized in his autobiography as “a huge tide of spiritual energy in the form of poetry, music, philosophy, painting, religion, communication techniques in radio, television, and cinema, dancing, theater, and general life-style [which] swept out of this city and its environs to affect America and the whole world.” His interpretations of Asian philosophies played a prominent role in the development of Beat counterculture philosophy and the hippie subculture of the 1960s, but his influence went far beyond those movements.

His twenty-five books, his radio and television shows, and his extensive public lectures were vital in bringing knowledge of Eastern philosophies to Western consciousness. Watts was at the height of his popularity when he died of heart failure on November 16, 1973, at age fifty-eight.

Jerry Shuttle

See also: [Beat Generation](#): [Buddhism](#): [Hippies](#): [LSD](#).

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Wavy Gravy (1936–)

Wavy Gravy is the founder of the Hog Farm Collective—identified as the longest-running hippie commune in the United States—and a hippie activist strongly identified with the Woodstock music festival of August 1969. His clown-like antics, irreverent attitude toward authority, and eccentric personality have made him a notable figure of the 1960s American counterculture.

Born Hugh Romney on May 15, 1936, in East Greenbush, New York, he grew up in and around New York City. The German-born physicist Albert Einstein was a family friend and took young Hugh on walks around the neighborhood. Romney was educated at William Hall High School in West Hartford, Connecticut, and by the time he finished his schooling he was already attracted to the Greenwich Village counterculture of Beat and jazz poetry.

In his early adult years, he befriended counterculture entertainment figures such as folk musician Bob Dylan, writer Ken Kesey, activist Paul Krassner, and comedian Lenny Bruce. He moved to San Francisco in 1963 as the hippie movement was just beginning to gain momentum.

In 1965, he founded the Hog Farm Collective on top of a mountain near Tujunga, California. As its name suggests, daily life in the commune included the job of breeding and raising pigs. As more people joined the commune, Wavy Gravy helped form a traveling show called “Hog Farm and Friends in Open Celebration.” He and the other members of the collective began to tour the country giving free performances, protesting the Vietnam War, and emphasizing the need to address poverty and social injustice in America.

Members of the collective acted as an unofficial security team at the 1969 Woodstock music festival in Bethel, New York. They were later dubbed the “Please Force,” referring to their habit of politely requesting that festivalgoers follow certain rules for safety and security. Wavy Gravy served as an unofficial master of ceremonies for Woodstock (and at the anniversary festivals that took place in subsequent years); his high-profile position at the event firmly established him as a well-known member of the hippie counterculture.

Wavy Gravy is also known as the founder of Camp Winnarainbow, a performing arts summer camp near Laytonville, California. The volunteer-run camp teaches a variety of performing arts, particularly circus arts such as juggling and tightrope walking, to children and adults in separate summer sessions. The camp offers scholarships

for financially disadvantaged children, and many of the volunteers who run the camp are former campers themselves.

People who are unaware of Wavy Gravy's status as a counterculture icon may recognize his name in another context: the Ben and Jerry's ice-cream flavor named after him. Wavy Gravy ice cream, first produced in 1991 and dedicated to the "Woodstock Generation's ultimate camp counselor," features a combination of caramel, cashews, almonds, and chocolate hazelnut fudge. Though the ice cream was later taken out of production, Wavy Gravy has remained one of the most popular Ben and Jerry's ice-cream flavors ever sold. It was so well liked that fans successfully petitioned Ben and Jerry's to bring it back and sell it by the scoop in local retail outlets. A portion of the proceeds from the sale of the ice cream goes to Camp Winnarainbow to fund camp programs and activities.

A documentary film about the hippie humorist, *Saint Misbehavin': The Wavy Gravy Movie*, was released in 2008.

Shannon Granville

See also: [Communes: Hippies](#).

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Weathermen

The Weathermen—officially Weatherman, later the Weather Underground Organization—was a radical, leftist organization of the late 1960s and early 1970s that was an offshoot of Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The group took its name from the Bob Dylan song "Subterranean Homesick Blues," which contained the lyrics "You don't need a weatherman to know which way the wind blows," reflecting its members' conviction that the necessity for world revolution was obvious.

The collective referred to itself as a "revolutionary organization of communist women and men" and dedicated itself to carrying out a series of militant actions, including bombings and armed robberies, in hopes of overthrowing the U.S. government. The Weathermen represented a broader turn toward violent resistance by late 1960s activists who were frustrated with the lack of progress achieved through peaceful protest.

Formed in 1960, SDS was initially a small group of primarily middle-class college students who adopted protest strategies from the civil rights movement. By the late 1960s, SDS had a membership of more than 100,000 and

was one of the most powerful opponents of the Vietnam War. At its annual meeting in 1969, the escalating violence in America's cities, as well as the escalating war in Vietnam, led the Weathermen, a group within SDS's Revolutionary Youth Movement, to demand more aggressive forms of antiwar action than the then-prevalent methodology of sit-ins and peaceful demonstrations of civil disobedience. This debate and others led to the fragmentation and effective collapse of SDS at the height of its power, and the members of the Weathermen seized the remains of the organization.

The leaders of the Weathermen were among the most charismatic figures of the New Left, which was in no small part a factor in their initial success. They were considered alluring because of their perceived combination of youth, physical attractiveness, and radical strength. Leader Bernardine Dohrn was a lawyer known for her aggressive statements to the press. Mark Rudd led demonstrations that closed down Columbia University in 1968. Other prominent members of the group include Kathy Boudin, a former community organizer for the Economic Research and Action Project (ERAP); Cathy Wilkerson, editor of the SDS newspaper *New Left Notes* and a founder of the SDS regional office in Washington, D.C.; Bill Ayers, a University of Michigan graduate; and Naomi Jaffe, Eleanor Raskin, David Gilbert, Bob Tomashevsky, and Laura Whitehorn.

In the summer of 1969, several hundred Weathermen moved into group homes in major U.S. cities in order to implement the group's agenda of executing large-scale violent demonstrations. The Weathermen hoped to organize and revolutionize U.S. working-class youth, but such efforts were largely unsuccessful. The first major event planned by the Weathermen was the October 1969 "Days of Rage" protest in Chicago, at which they claimed tens of thousands of young people would violently rise up and oppose the police. Only several hundred protesters showed up, but the small number of participants charged into Chicago's wealthy Gold Coast, breaking windows. The protesters were violently subdued by Chicago police, and six people were shot.



Members of the radical Weathermen group threatened violence against Chicago police during the so-called Days of Rage in October 1969. Organized in response to the Chicago Seven trial, the four-day event resulted in widespread property damage. (David Fenton/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

After the December 1969 murder of Black Panther Fred Hampton by a Cook County State Attorney's Office unit and the Chicago Police, the Weathermen adopted the name Weather Underground Organization (WUO) and made efforts at becoming a more covert group. This was in part because the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) now perceived the Weathermen as a credible threat, and began harassing them.

One of the covert actions being planned by a Weathermen unit was the bombing of a noncommissioned officers' dance at Fort Dix in New Jersey. On March 6, 1970, during the preparation of the bomb at a Greenwich Village townhouse, it exploded, killing members Terry Robbins, Ted Gold, and Diana Oughton. Members Wilkerson and Boudin survived the bombing and immediately disappeared underground.

After this event, membership in the Weather Underground declined significantly, and those who remained went fully underground, adopting fake identities and abandoning their families and friends in hopes of evading arrest. A secretive leadership group called the Weather Bureau coordinated information among various Underground

groups.

After the townhouse disaster, later bombings were scrupulously planned so as to damage property, but not to hurt or kill people. A bombing was planned to protest the shooting of prisoner George Jackson, a Black Panther, in 1971 at the Ferry Building offices of the state police in San Francisco. The bombing was executed successfully, and without injury.

Other WUO bombings included those of May 1970 at the National Guard Office to protest the student killings at Kent State; June 1970 at New York City Police headquarters to protest police brutality; July 1970 at the Presidio Army Base in San Francisco to mark the eleventh anniversary of the Cuban Revolution; October 1970 at the Harvard Center for International Affairs to protest the Vietnam War; and March 1971 at the U.S. Capitol to protest the invasion of Laos. Communiqués to the press usually accompanied these bombings, and none of them resulted in injury or death.

One of the group's most famous acts was to help LSD guru and counterculture icon Timothy Leary escape from a California prison in 1970, for which the WUO was given \$20,000 by the pro-drug group the Brotherhood of Eternal Love. The FBI eventually captured and re-imprisoned Leary.

The remaining members of the group continued to evade police and set off bombs at strategic locations in protest until 1975. With the withdrawal of troops from Vietnam, a key organizing principle of many New Left groups ceased to exist, and activism around identity-based groups began to flourish. The burden of living underground led the remaining members of the Underground to turn themselves in or attempt to reintegrate into society. Few WUO members were ever imprisoned, because the evidence gathered against them by the FBI had been collected using illegal methods.

Susanne E. Hall

See also: [Leary, Timothy](#); [New Left](#); [Students for a Democratic Society](#).

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White Supremacists

Proponents of the white supremacy movement subscribe to the racist ideology that whites are inherently superior to members of other races, and take organized action, including acts of violence, to advance their beliefs. While the movement is fragmented and acts of racial violence have been perpetrated by ad hoc organizations or mobs, the fundamental beliefs of white supremacy have remained constant throughout American history.

Origins

White supremacy as an organized movement in the United States dates to the beginning of Reconstruction and the birth of the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) in Pulaski, Tennessee, in 1865. While the political goal of the organization was to thwart newly enfranchised black Southerners from putting Republicans in power, Klan members routinely indulged in gratuitous and clandestine beatings, rapes, and lynchings of African American citizens.

In the twentieth century, the assumptions and justifications that underlay institutional racism began to crumble as black Americans and then other minorities gained political power and visibility. This provoked a series of violent backlashes, beginning with a resurgence of the Klan in the 1920s. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s likewise spawned a violent reaction from supremacist groups, such as the next generation of the Ku Klux Klan, the States Rights Party, and the American Nazi Party.

Despite local victories and defiant gestures, however, the white supremacist groups of the 1950s and 1960s failed to stop the collapse of institutionalized racism. The failures of the white supremacist movement and the continued shift in public opinion against its ideals and goals finally drove the Klu Klux Klan and other white supremacist groups underground.

Reemergence

The failure of organized white supremacist groups led to a vacuum on the far right, and it took several decades for the white supremacist movement with which Americans are now familiar to take shape. A strong early influence was the Posse Comitatus, a right-wing militia group founded in 1971. Posse Comitatus adherents believe that the federal government has illegally usurped powers belonging to American citizens, that there is no legitimate government in America above the county level, and that all actions undertaken by the federal government since the Civil War—including the abolition of slavery and the extension of civil rights to nonwhite Americans—are therefore void. Building on anger in rural areas, where the economic slowdown of the 1970s hit hard, Posse Comitatus spread rapidly.

The mid-1980s brought another major influence: the skinhead movement. The skinheads took their signature shaved-head look—along with a loose, gang-like organization, music, and brutal racism—from working-class British teens. The British skinhead movement had been galvanized by the music and lyrics of Skrewdriver, which mixed heavy metal with the cultural ideals of Nazism.

In the United States, Tom Metzger, a television repairman and former leader of the Knights of the Ku Klux Klan, reinvented himself as the organizer and spokesman of an American skinhead movement he called White Aryan Resistance. The group quickly expanded, with a magazine and a public access television program disseminating white supremacist views and helping to build a small California skinhead gang into a nationwide movement. Metzger and his son, John, were also instrumental in establishing an online presence through bulletin boards and text archives. The anonymity and ease of organization and communication over the Internet was a major spur to the white supremacy movement in general, enabling isolated adherents and groups to coordinate and communicate as never before possible. In the 2000s, the World Wide Web is home to a thriving white supremacist subculture.

The 1980s, meanwhile, also saw the rise of the Aryan Nations, an international neo-Nazi organization founded by Richard Girnt Butler. The Aryan Nations espoused the idea of Christian Identity, a belief that Anglo-Saxons are the lost tribe of Israel and that they, not the Jews, are God's Chosen People. While this belief was first laid out in the nineteenth century, it was not until Butler's Aryan Nations began to disseminate it that the ideology of Christian Identity gained wide acceptance.

The white supremacist movement of the 1980s and 1990s was thus a fusion of three separate cultural trends: the right-wing populist libertarianism of Posse Comitatus, the street muscle of the skinhead movement, and the Christian Identity movement. The combination of racism with a cult of individualism led to the development of

armed compounds and entire communities. The archetype was the Aryan Nations compound in Hayden Lake, Idaho. Although there were never more than a handful of these compounds, with a combined population in the hundreds, they seized the public imagination.

The drumbeat of attention played directly into the hands of Metzger, Butler, and other white supremacist leaders. The various white supremacist movements continued to gain supporters and media attention into the 1990s. The militia movement, which adopted the antigovernment views of Posse Comitatus and at its fringes spawned several small secessionist groups such as Montana's Justus Township, often shared views and members with white supremacist movements.

In 1995, militia sympathizers Timothy McVeigh and Terry Nichols were responsible for the massive truck bombing of the Alfred P. Murrah Federal Building in Oklahoma City, killing 168 and wounding more than 800 people. The militia movement virtually collapsed—or went farther underground—in the aftermath of that incident, as the federal government imprisoned some leaders, many members left, and public opinion turned even more strongly against them. The vision of armed resistance lost its appeal for many would-be white supremacists.

Clumsily handled government interventions at places such as northern Idaho's Ruby Ridge in 1992 and the Branch Davidian compound in Waco, Texas, in 1993, which had helped to recruit new members, suddenly became object lessons. The revelation that the two students who killed thirteen people at Columbine High School in Colorado in 1999 were fascinated with white supremacy was another major blow to the movement. In the wake of these events, the federal government stepped up efforts to infiltrate and monitor white supremacist and antigovernment groups.

In 2001, the Aryan Nations lost their property (in a lawsuit by an Idaho woman and her son who had been attacked by Aryan Nations guards) and declared bankruptcy. Also, the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, made talk of secession extremely unpopular. The organization splintered, went into decline, and essentially collapsed after Butler's death in 2004. Several of the few remaining militia groups disbanded, and those that survived were subject to intensified federal surveillance.

Despite these and other setbacks, a number of white supremacist groups continue to exist in the twenty-first century, albeit in more decentralized and secretive form. Large-scale demonstrations, terrorist attacks, and other highly visible acts have dropped significantly. A new generation of white supremacist leaders, much warier of government interference and publicity, presides over a movement that is smaller and much more fragmented than that of the previous decades.

James L. Erwin

See also: [Ku Klux Klan: White Supremacists.](#)

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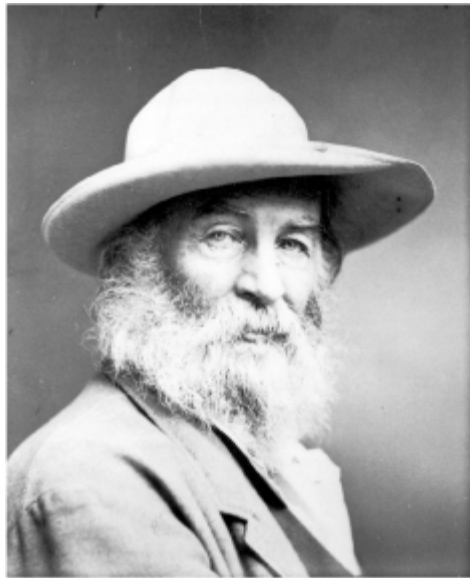
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Whitman, Walt (1819–1892)

Walt Whitman was the most famous, influential, and controversial American poet of the nineteenth century. Abandoning literary conventions and creating a distinctive American idiom, he captured in verse the pulse of a young nation with subject matter as free as the democratic principles he championed, rhythms and forms as unfettered as the masses of humanity, and a breaking of cultural barriers that was shocking to many contemporaries. His attention to everyday experience—labor, sexuality, and the joys of living—evoked images that some believed threatened American social values but ultimately others embraced, including aspiring writers and artists.



Abandoning literary and cultural convention, nineteenth-century poet Walt Whitman is credited with nothing less than the invention of a national idiom. His verse was an affirmation of the freedom and energy of the “American masses.” (Library of Congress)

The son of a Quaker carpenter, Whitman was born on May 31, 1819, on Long Island in New York. While growing up in Huntington and Brooklyn, New York, he wrote various works of fiction and was published in the magazines *American Review* and *Democratic Review*. Early in his life, he enjoyed a successful career as a newspaper journalist in and around New York City, editing and writing for a variety of publications, including the *Brooklyn Daily Eagle* (1846–1848).

As a contributor to the *New Orleans Crescent* in 1848, Whitman made an extended trip to the South, where he witnessed slavery firsthand, experienced the music and nightlife of the French Quarter, and was inspired by the majestic Mississippi River. Upon returning to New York in 1859, Whitman began to write and study an increasing

amount of poetry. He created his own style of writing, using more free verse than had ever been used before.

His first and most famous collection, *Leaves of Grass*, consisting of twelve poems, was published in 1855. Whitman continued to revise, extend, and republish the collection for the rest of his life; at least six editions were published over the course of the next three decades. Among the original twelve poems was one that would become his most famous, "Song of Myself" (untitled in the first edition).

Each new edition of *Leaves of Grass*, universally acclaimed as one of the seminal works of American literature, depicted the changing face of the American people, tested the limits of artistic expression in new ways, and forced readers to recognize new aspects of the emerging national counterculture. With each expanded edition, Whitman included more extensive portrayals of and allusions to sexuality, including homoerotic themes. Many credit Whitman with writing some of the first openly gay American literature.

During the American Civil War, Whitman served as a nurse for the Union Army in Washington, D.C. He wrote poems that focused on the war, many of which were included in his book *Drum-Taps* (1865, later incorporated in *Leaves of Grass*). His writings of this period focus mainly on battle experiences, especially the devastating effects on individual soldiers that became apparent after the smoke cleared from the battlefields. His now-classic poem of 1865, "O Captain, My Captain," pays homage to President Abraham Lincoln after his assassination in April of that year.

When the war was over, Whitman worked as a clerk in the office of the U.S. attorney general in Washington, D.C., where he was said to be involved in a romantic relationship with Peter Doyle, a former Confederate soldier, that would last a number of years. Whitman continued to write literary pieces about the state of the United States, celebrating the American workingman in the poem "Passage to India" and expressing his frustration with Reconstruction in "Democratic Vistas."

Moving to Camden, New Jersey, in 1873 after suffering a stroke, Whitman began to study photography; subsequent editions of *Leaves of Grass* included photographs of himself. By this time, Whitman was famous throughout the world, not least among homosexual activists in Great Britain and elsewhere. Among those who visited Whitman at his Camden home were homosexual activist Edward Carpenter and Irish writer Oscar Wilde.

The 1881–1882 edition of *Leaves of Grass* was arguably the most controversial. The book was banned in Boston because of its many sexual innuendos, but Whitman stood firm in not changing the controversial verses. His final edition—referred to as the "deathbed edition"—appeared in 1892. Whitman died on March 26 of that year in Camden.

Gavin J. Wilk

See also: [Pfaff's Cellar](#).

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Whole Earth Catalog

The *Whole Earth Catalog*, described by publisher Stewart Brand as “a survival manual for the citizens of planet earth,” appeared twice annually from 1968 to 1972 and intermittently thereafter, becoming a counterculture standard manual of the early environmental movement, and, according to Apple Computer founder Steve Jobs, an antecedent of the Internet search engine. Brand, a biologist by training, was disenchanted with the cold war political establishment and offered his catalog as a sourcebook of tools for “conducting one’s own education, finding one’s own inspiration, and shaping one’s own environment.”

Winner of a National Book Award in 1972, the *Whole Earth Catalog* appealed to former radicals who had lost faith in their ability to effect social change and were pursuing radical self-sufficiency. As a University of Chicago student explained in 1969, “the point is that it’s the culture that’s sick.... One way to change that is to live differently... just drop out and live in the way you think it ought to be.”

Some of these pioneers went “back to the land,” and the catalog became their guidebook. It advertised mail-order wood stoves, wind generators, well-digging and welding equipment, farm implements, maps, waterproof boots, Danish Earth shoes, amplifiers, and strobe lights. It featured articles on home construction, building hot water heaters (and guitars), organic gardening, glass blowing, natural childbirth, and meditation. Brand used five criteria for choosing the items he included in the catalog: usefulness as a tool, relevance to independent education, high quality, low cost, and easy accessibility by mail.

From the first issue in 1968, Brand offered such high-tech tools as hand calculators and radio telephones. Unlike many disillusioned hippies, who considered computers dehumanizing instruments of governmental and organizational control, Brand was optimistic that collaborative networking could link like-minded individuals and actually enhance personal liberation. The introduction of the Internet and the World Wide Web in the mid-1990s affirmed that faith. Brand was also confident that alternative technologies could deal with long-standing environmental issues, and indeed the energy crisis of the 1970s revived interest in wind power, solar energy, biofuels, and waste recycling as environmentalism found a place on the national agenda.

The *Whole Earth Catalog* essentially linked the technological legacy of cold war military and industrial engineering with the counterculture’s vision of personal liberation. The outcome was not entirely positive, however, since the resulting techno-revolution inspired a generation of young entrepreneurs whose commercial over-reaching led to the dot-com bust of the early 2000s.

In his 2005 commencement address at Stanford University, Steve Jobs cited the *Whole Earth Catalog* as one of the bibles of his generation. It was “like Google in paperback,” he said, “overflowing with neat tools and great notions” whose message was “Stay hungry. Stay foolish.”

Mary Stanton

See also: [Apple Computer](#); [Hippies](#); [Organic Farming](#).

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Wilkinson, Jemima (1752–1819)

Jemima Wilkinson was a charismatic eighteenth-century female evangelist who began the first communal society founded by a native-born American, in western New York State. Born into a Quaker family, Wilkinson had a visionary experience in her early twenties that led her to adopt the name “Publick Universal Friend” and to begin an itinerant preaching mission focused primarily in New England and eastern Pennsylvania. As the number of her followers grew, Wilkinson, aided by a few wealthy converts, bought land in western New York and established the community where she would spend the rest of her life. Although most of her religious messages were not particularly innovative or heretical—a mix of Quaker ideals, millennialism, and a belief in personal divine revelation—her appearance and lifestyle indeed created controversy. Some of the outlandish claims made about her parallel similar claims about leaders of other dissenting religious communities.

Wilkinson was born on November 29, 1752, the daughter of Jeremiah Wilkinson and Amey Whipple Wilkinson, and the eighth of twelve children. Growing up on a farm in Rhode Island likely contributed to many of the skills Wilkinson became known for as the Publick Universal Friend, including horseback riding and the use of herbs for medical purposes.

Wilkinson also had an outstanding memory. She read the Bible and books of Quaker theology in depth and was reputed to be able to quote at length from both. Her Quaker heritage clearly was a major influence on her later religious messages, particularly the notion that God could make the divine will known directly through the individual.

In the early 1770s, Wilkinson joined a group of New Light Baptists, religious enthusiasts known for emphasizing individual enlightenment through direct connections with God’s spirit. Wilkinson’s association with this group led to her removal from the Quaker Society in August 1776. Approximately two months after that, the illness that would lead her to become the Publick Universal Friend began. During that pivotal period of illness, which may have been typhus, Wilkinson claimed to see angels proclaiming messages of universal salvation for humanity. She emerged from the illness convinced she was the host of a spirit sent from God to spread that message.

Taking the name Publick Universal Friend, Wilkinson began holding meetings and traveling to nearby towns to spread her message, a remarkable feat for a young woman during the Revolutionary War. Riding sidesaddle, dressed in the black of a clergyman’s costume with a white kerchief around her neck, and accompanied by a small but intensely devoted group, Wilkinson preached repentance, advocated celibacy, practiced faith healing, and interpreted dreams and prophecies.

By 1789, her movement, known as the Universal Friends, had grown to a recognized religious group with about 200 members, mostly former Quakers. As her popularity grew, so did the scurrilous charges against her: that she believed she was the second coming of Jesus; that she cheated her followers out of their money; and that she failed to adhere to her own admonitions to be celibate.

In 1788, a small group of Wilkinson’s followers established a settlement on Lake Seneca in western New York; Wilkinson herself joined the settlement permanently two years later. In 1794, after a series of land disputes, the group moved 12 miles (19 kilometers) to the west, where the members founded a community known as Jerusalem on Keuka Lake. The Publick Universal Friend and her community thus played an important role in opening western New York to settlement by European Americans. Wilkinson died at her residence in Jerusalem on July 1, 1819.

See also: [Communes](#): [Quakers](#).

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Williams, Roger (ca. 1603–1683)

An early champion of religious freedom and the separation of church and state, Roger Williams was born in London in about 1603 and educated at Cambridge. He sailed with his wife Mary to the Massachusetts Bay Colony, arriving in early 1631.

In Boston, he refused to join the established Puritan congregation on the grounds that it was not fully separated from the Church of England, which he regarded as apostate. Shortly thereafter, he moved to Plymouth, where he ministered to a separatist congregation.

Acquaintance with indigenous leaders in the Plymouth area led Williams to support Native American rights to land more than did other colonial leaders. When the General Court of Massachusetts convicted him of the crime of “teaching dangerous opinions” and banished him from the Massachusetts Bay Colony in 1635, Williams fled to a Native American community. The following year, he settled at the head of Narragansett Bay, buying land from the Narragansett people and establishing a new colony he called Providence. The colony later became known as Rhode Island.

Williams’s Rhode Island was founded on a deep suspicion of any alliance between a particular church and the coercive authority of government. He was passionately concerned for the purity of religion. After a brief flirtation with the doctrine of the Baptists, which led him to found the first American Baptist congregation in 1639, Williams seems to have decided that no established congregation could be pure enough. For the rest of his life, he worshipped in his own household rather than as part of any congregation. A millenarian, Williams believed that true churches could be reestablished on earth only by God’s agents, as in the days of the apostles.

Williams’s generally good relations with Native Americans continued after the founding of Providence. He was the author of one of the first English books on native languages, *A Key to the Language of America* (1643). The work was published in London on the first of two journeys Williams made to get recognition of his new colony from the English government.

During the same trip, Williams also published a rebuttal of “A Letter of Mr. John Cottons” (1643), by the Massachusetts minister John Cotton. In Williams’s rebuttal, titled “Mr. Cotton’s Letter Lately Printed, Examined and Answered” (1644), he uses biblical language to portray himself as a witness of the truth in his struggles with corrupt Massachusetts ministers. He also published a book attacking persecution, *The Bloody Tenent of Persecution* (1644).

During Williams's second visit to England, from 1651 to 1653, he became friends with the English Puritan ruler Oliver Cromwell and published another book on persecution, *The Bloody Tenent yet more Bloody* (1652). On his second return to Rhode Island, Williams served as governor of the colony from 1654 to 1658.

He continued to champion religious freedom as the new sect of Quakers began to enter New England, although he was suspicious of what he regarded as the Quakers' rejection of the Bible in favor of the promptings of the Holy Spirit. Williams published his debates with the Quakers under the title "George Foxe Digg'd out of His Burrows" (1676), punning on the name of the Quaker leader George Fox.

Roger and Mary Williams had six children. She died in 1676, and he died sometime in 1683. Their descendents continued to thrive and help build what would become the state of Rhode Island.

William E. Burns

See also: [Native Americans](#): [Puritans](#): [Quakers](#).

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Witchcraft and Wicca

The term *witchcraft* is derived from the Old English verb *wiccian*, which referred to the art of bewitching, casting spells, or manipulating the forces of nature in any supernatural way. Until the fifteenth century, witchcraft could hardly be considered countercultural, as it was at first universally, and then widely, practiced in one form or another throughout the West. Thereafter, it was practiced largely in secret and in defiance of the dominant Christian culture, sometimes resulting in bloody persecution.

A more modern form of witchcraft, commonly referred to as Wicca, took root in Europe at the close of the nineteenth century, and flourished in Britain and the United States in the second half of the twentieth century. Estimates by the American Religious Identity Survey in the early twenty-first century set the number of Wiccan adherents in the United States at just over 130,000.

The Great European Witch Hunt

That form of witchcraft with which most in the West are familiar is that wherein beliefs and rituals are associated with Satan, or the devil. This definition, which took 1,500 years to construct, is referred to as the "cumulative

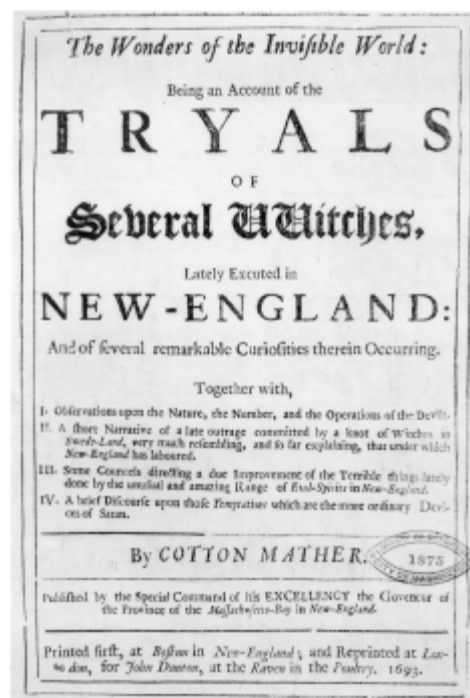
concept of witchcraft.” It came to dominate Western thought in the fifteenth century and gave rise to the Great European Witch Hunt, which lasted more than two centuries and crossed the Atlantic to the New World.

In the fifteenth century, witches were pictured as women who rose from their beds in the dark of the night to attend the Sabbat, a witches’ version of the Christian sabbath. Witches were believed to have renounced their Christian faith and signed a pact with the devil, who presided over them. In exchange for worshipping him, witches were granted supernatural powers, which they used to commit diabolical acts, raise havoc, seduce other Christians into their cult, and otherwise undermine Christianity—and with it the political, social, and cultural structures of Western civilization.

The Great European Witch Hunt, consisting of hundreds of separate incidents, each involving anywhere from one to thousands of suspects, began in the mid-fifteenth century. Many of the incidents were led by professional witch hunters, whose sole job it was to seek out and prosecute witches. The absence of complete records makes it difficult to establish the exact number of prosecutions during the Great European Witch Hunt. Estimates vary greatly for the 250-year period, with the most plausible figures ranging from 110,000 to 180,000 prosecutions and 60,000 to 100,000 executions. As many as 75 percent of witchcraft prosecutions occurred in Central Europe; conviction and execution rates were highest in this area as well. Over time, however, accusations and executions spread to other parts of Europe and the Western Hemisphere.

The largest outbreak of witch trials in British North America occurred in Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. A total of nineteen people were hanged, one man was pressed to death, and more than 150 others were jailed. Compared to witch hunts in Europe, it was a minor affair, or, as one historian put it, “a small incident in the history of a great superstition.” Nevertheless, the Salem witch hunts have never lost their place in the popular imagination, and the term is still frequently invoked as a metaphor for the extralegal persecution of societal outcasts—such as Communists in cold war America.

Certain elements of the population were disproportionately represented among those accused of witchcraft. Most came from the poorest, weakest, and most vulnerable elements of the population. Seventy-five to 80 percent of the accused were female. Witches commonly identified were women over fifty years of age, and either widowed or never married. They tended to have accumulated a record of what was considered antisocial behavior, including petty crime, and they were seen as sharp-tongued, bad tempered, and prone to quarrels with neighbors and be absent from church.



Cotton Mather's 1693 pamphlet The Wonders of the Invisible World offered an account and defense of the Salem witch trials. The term witch hunt still is invoked as a metaphor for the searching out and persecution of persons with unconventional views. (Library of Congress)

Some have argued that witchcraft is universally specific to women, but others have shown that such gender identification is more common in the patriarchal societies of the West. Still others point to Christianity's characterization of women as morally weaker than men and therefore more likely to succumb to the diabolical temptations of the devil.

The Salem episode signaled the end of witch hunting, at least as so identified and legally sanctioned in the United States. The people of Massachusetts, like most in the West, continued to believe in witches, but they abandoned any hope of prosecuting them in court. Moreover, as historian John Demos has argued, the very portrayal of witches changed.

Whereas until the seventeenth century witches were portrayed as powerful, formidable, and dangerous adversaries in league with the devil, by the nineteenth century they were identified as "hag-witches," characteristically old, ugly, and decrepit, and living as isolates with little or no human contact. Once a source of fear, they increasingly became a target for contempt, ridicule, and mockery.

Wicca in the Modern World

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, there was a renewed surge of interest, especially among literary and artistic figures, in witchcraft. This interest is sometimes referred to as an occult revival. In the 1920s and 1930s, the Briton Aleister Crowley, who styled himself "the Great Beast," concocted a mix of magic, sorcery, and hedonism often called Satanism, to which, in the 1940s, Margaret Murray added a fertility-cult phenomenon. The two strains were merged and promoted by the English occultist Gerald Gardner beginning in the 1950s.

Gardner gave Wicca its biggest boost with his books *Witchcraft Today* (1954) and *The Meaning of Witchcraft* (1959). He claimed that he had encountered a secret pagan group, into which he had been initiated, that was a remnant of the old witchcraft religion dating to pre-Christian Europe. Thus, Wicca is still commonly referred to as the "Old Religion." Such direct historical roots have been largely discounted, but Gardner's books nevertheless provided the basis upon which modern Wicca has been built.

Modern Wicca became popular in the United States largely due to the efforts of an expatriate Briton, Raymond Buckland, beginning in the early 1960s. The movement evolved eclectically and gained its greatest strength, however, as an outgrowth of the counterculture movements of the 1960s and 1970s. Commonly included in the category of New Age religions, it attracted adherents with its feminine principle and reverence for nature, as opposed to what followers regarded as a patriarchal and environmentally insensitive Christianity. Some found Wicca's rejection of absolute truths appealing.

Modern Wicca is neither a centralized organization nor a single belief system, but rather a wide range of beliefs and practices. In general, Wicca can be divided into two groups. Lineaged Wicca, sometimes called British Traditional Wicca, follows practices outlined by Gardner. Nonlineaged, or Eclectic Wicca, is now the larger of the two groups, especially in the United States. Most Wiccans are organized into largely autonomous covens led by priests and priestesses, many of which have been spun off—or "hived"—from other covens that have grown too large. The ideal size is held to be thirteen members.

In general, Wiccans believe in an ultimate life force called "The One" or "The All," out of which the male and female aspects of life emerged. Most Wiccans worship a goddess and a god, who are seen as complementary in that they represent a balance in nature, sometimes symbolized as the sun and moon. Some Wiccans, especially feminist Wiccans (Dianic Wiccans), reject the male counterpart altogether, preferring to see the goddess as

complete in her divinity.

Wiccans believe that the gods are able to manifest themselves in human form through the bodies of the priests or priestesses. In rituals such as drawing down the moon or sun, Wiccans believe that the priestess or priest is able to call down the deity into her or his body in a form of divine possession.

Wiccans practice initiation rites for priests, priestesses, and members, and follow an annual calendar of religious observances or festivals that includes eight Sabbats. Sabbats are Wicca's main religious holidays. Four of them, Samhain, Beltane, Imbolic, and Lammas, are seen as greater than the others; the remaining four are Litha (Summer Solstice), Yule (Winter Solstice), Ostara (Spring Equinox), and Mabon (Autumn Equinox). In addition, Wiccans mark each full moon with a ceremony called Esbats.

Wiccans recognize four elements in nature: earth, air, fire, and water; some add a fifth element, spirit. The five elements are symbolized by the five points on a pentagram, or pentacle, commonly used in Wiccan rituals, with spirit always located at the top. In the casting of the magic circle, the first step in most Wiccan rituals, the four elements are believed to derive their powers from their association with the four cardinal directions of the compass.

Typically, Wiccans fast for a day or ritually bathe before gathering inside the purified circle. Some worship in the nude, or "skyclad"; most wear robes or just street clothing. They pray to the deity or deities, who are welcome guardians of the north, south, east, and west. An altar is erected within the magic circle, on which are placed the tools of the ritual, commonly including a broom, cauldron, chalice, wand, Book of Shadows, altar cloth, athame (a knife use to channel energy), boline (a knife used for cutting), candles, crystals, a pentacle, and incense. The objects have no power in themselves, but each is dedicated to a particular purpose. When the ritual ends, thanks are given to the god and goddess and the circle is closed.

The Wiccan code of ethics is commonly explained as being based on the Wiccan Rede and the Law of Threefold Return, both of which suggest that adherents are free to act as they wish, as long as they take responsibility for their actions and do no harm, lest what they do return to them three times over. More specifically, they adhere to eight virtues—mirth, reverence, honor, humility, strength, beauty, power, and compassion—and 161 laws. Wiccans believe in reincarnation and flatly deny any association between them and practitioners of Black Magic or Satanism. As Wiccans point out repeatedly, they do not believe in the existence of the devil or any similar entity as recognized by Christians. Although misunderstood and viewed with suspicion in some quarters, adherents to this latter-day reincarnation of nature worship coexist relatively peacefully with their Christian neighbors.

Wiccans, despite sometimes inaccurate and negative perceptions and their countercultural status, have attained a certain level of acceptance in American society. In 1986, in the precedent-setting case *Dettmer v. Landon*, the United States Court of Appeals for the Fourth Circuit upheld a lower court decision that ruled that Wicca is a legally recognized religion and therefore to be afforded all the benefits accorded to other recognized religions by law. In 2007, the U.S. Department of Veterans Affairs adopted a policy allowing the pentacle, as an "emblem of belief," to be placed on grave markers in military cemeteries.

Bryan F. Le Beau

See also: [New Age](#).

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Woodhull, Victoria (1838–1927)

Between her birth into poverty and her death as the widow of a wealthy British banker, Victoria Claflin Woodhull was a woman who acted in ways that were years ahead of her time. She was a successful newspaper editor, the first American woman stockbroker, and the first woman to be nominated as a candidate for president of the United States. Although her forward-looking activities took their toll on Woodhull's reputation and financial health, she remained steadfast in her resolve to be an example of independence and self-actualization to all women.

Born on September 23, 1838, into a family of nine children in Homer, Ohio, she remained closest to her sister, Tennessee Claflin, throughout her life. Daughters of an alcoholic and abusive braggart, the two girls performed as spiritualists when Victoria was eleven years old in their father's attempt to cash in on that craze. By the age of fifteen, Victoria was married for the first time, to patent-medicine salesman Canning Woodhull, who similarly used the girl to sell his wares.

Eleven years later, she divorced Woodhull, married Colonel James Blood, and moved to New York City along with her sister. The wealthy financier Cornelius Vanderbilt soon provided funding for the sisters to embark on their own careers.

With Vanderbilt's \$7,000, the women opened Woodhull, Claflin and Company, a highly successful brokerage firm. Victoria became wealthy and channeled her funds into a candidacy for president under the auspices of the Equal Rights Party in 1872; the abolitionist Frederick Douglass was her running mate. The campaign was doomed because her main supporters—women—did not have the right to vote. Woodhull still spoke out energetically about her beliefs, including the need for woman suffrage, the value of free love, and the evils of racism and economic inequality.

As part of their brokerage venture, the sisters also published a radical newspaper, *Woodhull & Claflin's Weekly*, which advocated on behalf of such countercultural causes as socialism, universal suffrage, free love, birth control, and vegetarianism. In 1872, the newspaper published the first English translation of Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels's *Communist Manifesto*. Most Americans were aghast at the audacity of women engaging such unseemly topics; among those who decried the paper was the popular preacher Henry Ward Beecher.

When Beecher's attacks continued and increased in their ferocity, Woodhull struck back, exposing what would come to be known as the Scandal of the Century: a case of marital infidelity involving Beecher and the wife of his protégé, Theodore Tilton. Anthony Comstock, widely recognized as the nation's self-appointed guardian of

morality, took up Beecher's cause. Victoria, Tennessee, and the colonel were repeatedly arrested and charged with libel under the Comstock Act of 1873, a federal law that prohibited sending obscene material through the mail. Although legal fees led to the insolvency of the sisters' brokerage firm and newspaper, they were eventually acquitted of all charges. Interestingly, many who had originally opposed Woodhull came to her defense on the basis of protecting her First Amendment rights.

Despite the defamation and the financial difficulties that came with it, Woodhull never wavered in her belief that women deserved the full recognition and rights accorded to men, including the right to sexual and marital self-fulfillment. By her example and in direct advocacy, Victoria Woodhull was a forerunner of the feminist movements of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. She died on June 9, 1927, in Worcester, England.

Barbara Schwarz Wachal

See also: [Communism](#): [Douglass, Frederick](#): [Free Love](#): [Socialism](#): [Suffragists](#).

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Woodstock Music and Art Fair

The Woodstock Music and Art Fair, commonly known as the Woodstock festival or simply Woodstock, was held from August 15 to 18, 1969, on a 600-acre (240-hectare) dairy farm in Bethel, New York, owned by Max Yasgur. The concert lineup attracted some of the biggest names in rock music, including Jimi Hendrix, Jefferson Airplane, and the Grateful Dead, along with folk artists such as Joan Baez and Arlo Guthrie. More than 400,000 spectators listened to music in the largest open-air music festival of the 1960s. Much more than a musical concert, however, Woodstock represents the confluence of cultural and social movements concerned with the war in Vietnam, politics, and civil rights.

Four investors organized Woodstock Ventures in March 1969: concert producer Michael Lang, recording engineer Artie Kornfeld, and venture capitalists John Roberts and Joel Rosenman. The original idea was to build a recording studio in the small, upstate New York town of Woodstock, where several rock musicians had moved by the late 1960s. The four organizers proposed a concert, and then a two-day festival accommodating 50,000 to 100,000 fans, to fund the studio.

Due to objections from local residents, the town of Woodstock was discarded as a location for the event. A similar fate awaited Woodstock Ventures concerning the town of Wallkill, New York, and its zoning board, whose apprehensions were heightened by rumors of possible marijuana use. Searching for a suitable venue, Woodstock Ventures advertised in local newspapers and finally heard from Yasgur, who responded through a realtor, Morris Abraham. Yasgur's farm featured a natural amphitheater, removed from the urban setting of earlier music festivals, and a deal was struck with the event organizers.

The festival's slogan was "Three Days of Peace and Music... ?An Aquarian Exposition," and the venture group created posters that would draw attention to the event without naming all of the performers. After negotiations with

activist Abbie Hoffman and his Youth International Party (whose adherents were called “yippies”), Woodstock Ventures provided a concession for the distribution of leftist literature.

Woodstock took on a character different from previous rock music festivals, which were mostly regional events. With widespread marketing and advertising, Woodstock attracted the attention of the entire nation. By mid-July 1969, \$500,000 worth of tickets had been sold. Due to lack of advance preparation, however, it was not possible to collect tickets—the crowd was estimated at 400,000 people. The audience was predominantly white and middle class, with more males in attendance than females.

When the festival began, highway closures and rainy weather prevented some of the bands from appearing on time. The first performer was folk singer Richie Havens, who performed the antiwar songs “Handsome Johnny” and “Freedom.” With several groups continuing to experience difficulty arriving at the venue, Country Joe McDonald sang several solo songs, including the satirical and antiwar “I-Feel-Like-I’m-Fixin’-To-Die Rag.” McDonald and John Sebastian performed impromptu sets.

Without ticket booths, Woodstock became a free festival. This sparked rumors that musicians, who had been asked to perform longer sets than originally agreed upon, would not be paid. The Who and the Grateful Dead demanded cash, which was not on hand, although cashier’s checks were in a bank. These were retrieved and sent via helicopter to the festival.

The music featured at Woodstock also was influenced by the “back-to-the-land” movement, characterized by a migration from cities to rural locales. This was reflected by Alan Wilson’s song “Going Up the Country,” performed by Canned Heat. Others who reflected this philosophy were the ensemble Crosby, Stills, Nash and Young, and Joan Baez.

Counterculture values were deeply ingrained in many musicians who performed at Woodstock and wrote, spoke, and sang of social idealism and anticommmercialism; among these were Guthrie, Janis Joplin, Jefferson Airplane, and Joe Cocker. Hendrix’s solo performance of “The Star-Spangled Banner” carried a powerful antiwar message.

Due to inadequate food and sanitation, the audience adopted a communal approach to life at the festival, with sharing and cooperation. Area resorts helped to alleviate the food shortage with contributions. The eighty farmers of the Hog Farm Collective, an early cooperative commune of the counterculture era, assisted the concertgoers and provided a free kitchen to attendees. Hog Farmer Lisa Law instructed attendees in how to live off the land. Hog Farmer Hugh Romney (later known as activist Wavy Gravy) stood on the stage and announced, “What we have in mind is breakfast in bed for 400,000!” Tom Law taught yoga each morning.

Other Hog Farmers assisted with security. New York Police Department (NYPD) Commissioner Howard Leary had forbidden NYPD officers’ participation as off-duty security. In response, many joined the Woodstock Peace Officers using fictitious names.

Marijuana use was rampant at Woodstock among performers and concertgoers alike. LSD (lysergic acid diethylamide, or acid) also was plentiful. Hog Farmers assisted medical personnel treating those experiencing bad LSD trips in special “freak-out tents.” The Hog Farmers had previous experience with negative reactions to LSD.

Rain, mud, and poor sanitation were part of the Woodstock experience. Traffic jams blocked back roads and forced major highways to be closed. Nevertheless, those in attendance regarded the festival as an extension of the communal life that had permeated the early 1960s. Even if many festivalgoers had never taken part in communal living for longer than three days, Woodstock came to epitomize the free-love philosophy and hippie lifestyle. The event, incidentally, lost more than \$1 million.

In an effort to re-create some of the original Woodstock experience, organizers launched Woodstock’94, also called Woodstock II, at the 840-acre (340-hectare) Winston farm in Saugerties, New York, about 60 miles (96 kilometers) northeast of the original festival site. While featuring newer bands, a younger audience (about 250,000 attended), and greatly improved sound technology, Woodstock II, by many accounts, re-created much of the drug

use experienced at the original event. More commercial in terms of on-site vendors than the first event, this event also was overcrowded for the site and suffered from rain, deep mud, and sanitary issues.

The thirtieth-anniversary festival, Woodstock 1999, was held on the former site of Griffiss Air Force Base in Rome, New York. The three-day July event, carried on pay-per-view television, fell victim to logistical errors, from high ticket prices to inadequate facilities. Incidents of violence and arson finally forced the show to be shut down.

Ralph Hartsock

See also: [Baez, Joan](#): [Grateful Dead](#): [Hendrix, Jimi](#): [Hippies](#): [Hoffman, Abbie](#): [Jefferson Airplane](#): [Joplin, Janis](#): [LSD](#): [Marijuana](#): [Rock and Roll](#): [Yippies](#).

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Woolman, John (1720–1772)

Itinerant Quaker minister John Woolman was one of the first prominent American abolitionists, a leader of the antislavery movement of the eighteenth century, and an advocate of pacifism and radical Christianity both in his writings, including a popular autobiography, and in his life.

He was born in Northampton, New Jersey, on October 19, 1720. In his posthumously published *Journal* (1774), Woolman traced his opposition to slavery to misgivings he had had when an early employer asked him to draw up a bill of sale for a slave woman. He reluctantly acquiesced, but refused any further involvement in slavery and spoke out against it during his travels.

Woolman's concern for the deprived extended to other communities as well. A journey across the Atlantic Ocean led to reflections on the poverty and spiritual deprivation of sailors. In his account of a missionary journey among Native Americans, he viewed native society in a way differently than other white writers of the eighteenth century: not in terms of its differences from Anglo-European society, but emphasizing what the two cultures had in common. In his view, the "warrior spirit," said to have wrought damage to Native Americans, also deformed white society.

Woolman's analyses of the miserable state of slaves, of Native Americans oppressed by white authority, and of the poor all laid blame on the rich for their greed and love of luxury, although he tended to depict his adversaries not as wicked sinners, but as poor creatures in need of truth. His remedy for social evils was individual reformation, which extended to all aspects of life. For instance, he urged nonpayment of taxes if they were to be

spent on war.

His hatred of luxury and unnecessary consumption led him to condemn much that others might have seen as harmless diversion, such as colorful clothing. Concerned about the oppression of enslaved workers in the dye trades, Woolman wore only undyed cloth. His disapproval extended even to such “follies” as a magic show at a tavern.

But not all of Woolman’s *Journal* was devoted to social analysis. Like other Quaker writers, he recounted his dreams, visions, and spiritual experiences. He wrote very little about his private or family life.

Woolman’s first antislavery tract was *Some Considerations on the Keeping of Negroes Recommended to the Professors of Christianity of Every Denomination* (1754), in which he emphasized both the inhumanity of slavery and the insidious way it corrupted the morality of white slave owners. Mastery, he contended, contributed to pride and the love of domination, the vices Woolman most reviled. By being inextricably implicated in the cruelty of slavery, masters hardened their hearts; by living off the labor of slaves, moreover, they and their children became lazy. Slavery could never be justified, Woolman maintained, as black Africans possessed the same natural and god-given right of freedom as white English people.

As implied in his address to “Christians,” Woolman made extensive use of the Bible in demonstrating the evil and unlawfulness of slavery. He was a leader in convincing the Quakers’ Philadelphia Yearly Meeting to prohibit its members from buying and selling slaves, and, in 1762, he published *Considerations on Keeping Negroes; Recommended to the Professors of Christianity, of Every Denomination, Part Second*. Woolman died on October 7, 1772, in York, England, while on a missionary journey.

William E. Burns

See also: [Abolitionism](#): [Pacifism](#): [Quakers](#).

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Wright, Frances (1795–1852)

During the early to mid-1800s, Scottish-born Frances Wright was an active and respected advocate for a range of social reform movements in America, including feminism, the abolition of slavery, universal and equal education, and the rights of children. The freethinking social critic also was an outspoken opponent of organized religion, authoritarianism, and capitalism. Inspired by the utopian socialism of Robert Owen and his son Robert Dale Owen, Wright became an active proponent of cooperative living and social planning. In addition, she is credited with being the first woman to deliver a public lecture before a mixed audience, an Independence Day speech at the Owens’s utopian socialist community New Harmony in 1828.

Wright was born in Dundee, Scotland, on September 6, 1795. Orphaned at the age of three, she, along with her younger sister, went to live with their uncle James Mylne, a progressive professor of moral philosophy at the

University of Glasgow. In 1818, she visited the United States for the first time. Upon her return to England she published her observations of American cultural life in *Views of Society and Manners in America* (1821), an early and overlooked example of modern sociology. In part a celebration of attempts to define and practice democracy in the United States, the book was taken up by parliamentary reformers in England who sought to transform their own country's politics.

In 1824, Frances Wright and her sister joined the Marquis de Lafayette during his travels to the United States, taking American citizenship the following year. Of great significance was Frances's visit to the community of New Harmony in Indiana. New Harmony was a real-world example of Robert Owen's philosophy of socialism through cooperative labor and communal living.

In 1825, Wright helped found the Nashoba Commune, a 2,000-acre (800-hectare) woodland settlement in western Tennessee that she envisioned as an autonomous, self-sufficient, multiracial community made up of former slaves, free blacks, and whites. Controversially, Wright's undertaking involved the purchase of slaves from their owners, who would be paid from the production of slave labor in the fields of Nashoba. Wright believed that such a venture could be more profitable than slavery, given the greater efficiency of "free" labor over slave labor, and that demonstrating this could help render the slave labor system obsolete.

The experiment was, from the outset, beset by difficulties. Not the least of these was the suspicion with which urban free blacks and slaves viewed the project and its stated goals of recolonization. Slaves were skeptical regarding claims that the people who held their ownership papers, and indeed gained materially from their labor, were devoted to their liberation. Urban free blacks questioned the prospects for practicing sustainable agriculture on unsuitable lands. Slaves and free blacks alike expressed concern about being moved to an unfamiliar part of the country, where the language differed from the dialect they themselves spoke. By 1828, the experiment was largely abandoned; in 1839, Wright chartered a vessel, the *John Quincy Adams*, and accompanied the commune's thirty freed slaves to Haiti.

The general failure of Nashoba did not discourage Wright from remaining involved in social activism. She soon embarked on what would be credited as the first public-speaking tour by a woman in the United States. In her lectures, Wright explained her libertarian views on issues such as sexual equality, free love, marriage as domination, and birth control. She also spoke out against the growing tide of religious revivalism, asserting the need for rational debate and empirical observation against the unobservable authorities of faith and tradition.

Following the collapse of Nashoba, Wright moved to New Harmony, which was facing its own imminent demise. There, she joined Robert Dale Owen, who had remained at the commune despite his father's departure, as coeditor of the *New Harmony Gazette*. In 1829, Wright and Owen moved the newspaper to New York City, re-launching it under a new title, the *Free Enquirer*.

During this period, Wright, now in closer contact with the urban poor and working classes, developed her strongest advocacy of socialism and working-class organizations. She viewed cooperative labor and universal education as the dual mechanisms by which the abolition of slavery and the freedom of the working classes might be achieved. Owen and Wright founded the first labor-oriented U.S. political party, the Working Men's Party, in New York. Among the projects Wright developed was a day school for the children of workers and a dispensary for working-class families.

Wright also spoke out against capital punishment in society at large and corporal punishment within the home, linking social punishment with the development of authoritarianism in interpersonal relationships, especially involving the authority of the parent over the child. Wright became an advocate of equal education in free schools in which children would be able to enjoy a holistic education, receiving academic as well as technical training free from any religious doctrine. She envisioned this arrangement as one that freed parents from the economic burdens of raising children, while freeing children from their status as familial possessions. During the 1830s and 1840s, Wright became active in the Popular Health movement, a broad-based social movement that focused on educating individuals about their health and how to prevent disease. The movement aimed its education efforts at

women, as the caretakers of their families and communities, and promoted a healthy diet, exercise, dress reform to eliminate corsets, and the use of sexual abstinence in marriage to limit family size.

In 1831, Wright married a French doctor, Guillaume D'Arusmont, with whom she had a daughter; they were divorced in 1850. Following a short time living in Paris, during which time she dropped out of the public sphere, Wright returned to America in 1835 to resume her lecture tours. During the time she had spent abroad, her influence had diminished, however, and the lectures were disappointingly attended.

Wright died in relative obscurity on December 13, 1852. Her epitaph proclaimed her lifelong commitment to social justice: "I have wedded the cause of human improvement, staked on it my fortune, my reputation and my life."

Jeff Shantz

See also: [Abolitionism](#); [Feminism](#); [First-Wave](#); [Owen](#); [Robert Dale](#).

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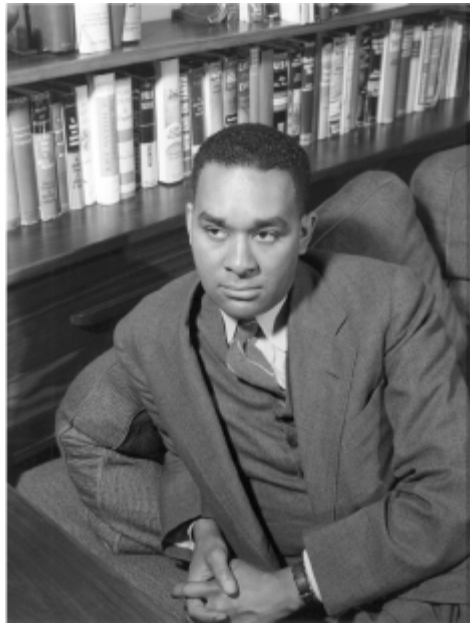
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Wright, Richard (1908–1960)

Richard Wright was an acclaimed and controversial African American novelist, short-story writer, essayist, and poet who portrayed and bluntly criticized the racial and social oppression of African Americans in urban societies, espoused Third World liberation, and found solace as an expatriate in France after World War II. Regarded as one of the leading lights of modern African American fiction, Wright is best known for his novel *Native Son* (1940), about the life of a young black man raised in Chicago who falls victim to white-dominated society, and *Black Boy* (1945), an autobiography of his unhappy youth in the Deep South.



A prominent voice of the modern African American experience, Richard Wright wrote powerful and controversial narratives of racial oppression and social isolation. His work directly influenced younger black novelists and poets. (Library of Congress)

Richard Nathaniel Wright was born on September 4, 1908, near Natchez, Mississippi, to Ella Wilson, a teacher, and Nathaniel Wright, a sharecropper. His father abandoned the household when the boy was five, and his mother worked as a maid to support the family. Ella Wilson became ill in 1914, and Wright was shuffled among his maternal relatives until he moved in with his maternal grandmother in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1920. Although his grandmother discouraged his interest in literature, Wright published his first story, "The Voodoo of Hell's Half-Acre" in the *Southern Register*, a local black newspaper, in 1924. After graduating from the ninth grade in 1925, he pursued his literary fascination by reading H.L. Mencken's critiques of racism and the naturalistic fiction then in vogue among American writers.

In 1927, Wright moved to Chicago, where he became involved in radical politics. Drawn to its philosophy of racial and social equality, he joined the Communist party in 1932 and published his proletarian poems in leftist-liberal magazines such as *Left Front* and *Partisan Review*. When, in 1937, a group of Chicago Communists accused him of betraying the party, Wright left for New York.

In New York, he became the editor of Harlem's *Daily Worker* newspaper. Shortly after his arrival, he received an award from the Works Progress Administration (WPA), the New Deal work-relief agency, for *Uncle Tom's Children* (1938), a collection of novellas based on his childhood. He also won a Guggenheim Fellowship in 1939 to finish *Native Son* (1940). In 1941, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) honored Wright with the Springarn Medal for *Native Son*, a stage version of which he coproduced on Broadway. Wright's literary accomplishments continued with *Twelve Million Voices* (1941), a folk history. About this time, his marriage to Rose Dhima Meadman, a white dancer, ended, and, in 1941, Wright married Ellen Poplar, a daughter of Polish Jewish immigrants and a fellow leftist.

Disappointed with the Communist Party's weakening position against segregation, Wright left the organization in 1944 and wrote "I Tried to Be a Communist" in the *Atlantic Monthly*. He later described his involvement with communism and his encounters with racial prejudice in the acclaimed *Black Boy* (1945).

In 1946, Wright moved to Paris, where he was greeted by existentialist writers Jean-Paul Sartre and Simone de Beauvoir. After returning briefly to the United States, he settled there permanently, becoming a French citizen, in 1947. In France, he supported the Pan-African organization *Présence Africaine* (African Presence) and backed the

anti-Stalin Rassemblement Démocratique Révolutionnaire (Revolutionary Democratic Group). He incorporated his political beliefs into his next two novels, *The Outsider* (1953), which denounces communism and fascism, and *Black Power* (1954), which criticizes British colonialism and espouses African independence. Later texts include *The Color Curtain* (1956), an account of the 1955 conference of nonaligned nations in Bandung, Indonesia; *White Man, Listen!* (1957), a collection of essays on race; and the novel *The Long Dream* (1958).

Despite suffering from amoebic dysentery, which he contracted on a trip to Africa in 1957, Wright organized a final work, the short-story collection *Eight Men*, published posthumously in 1961. He died of a heart attack in Paris on November 28, 1960. He was buried there with a copy of *Black Boy*.

Dorsia Smith

See also: [African Americans: Communism](#).

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X-Files, The

The X-Files was a popular science-fiction television series (1993–2002) created by writer-director-producer Chris Carter that helped solidify the burgeoning Fox Network's market share of evening network television. The 201 shows in the series follow the exploits of Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Special Agents Fox Mulder (played by David Duchovny) and Dana Scully (Gillian Anderson) as they attempt to unravel unsolved cases involving strange, unexplained, or paranormal events.

Set in the contemporary United States, the show featured stories that played to late-twentieth-century fascinations with conspiracy theories, the possibility of extraterrestrial life, and the occult. These phenomena reached a peak in American culture shortly after the premiere of *The X-Files*, which parlayed cold war paranoia into a winning blend of skepticism and conjecture. Building on such real-life events as the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy, civil rights leader Martin Luther King, Jr., and Senator Robert Kennedy in the 1960s, and the Watergate scandal of the 1970s, *The X-Files* painted a picture of a monolithic shadow government dictating domestic and international policy.

By the end of its first season, *The X-Files* had captured a substantial market share and had a loyal fan base. The Internet played a major role in the show's popularity, as hundreds of online fan sites and discussion groups sprang up, and fans lobbied their local Fox Network affiliate stations to carry the new series.

Over subsequent seasons, the appeal and popularity of *The X-Files* broadened even further, and the fan base became even more committed. Eventually acquiring the nickname X-Philes, fans of the show began to hold conventions, publish online newsletters, and speculate about the depth and breadth of the series' conspiratorial storylines. Further fan speculation was encouraged as *The X-Files* featured crossovers and references to other

Fox Network shows, such as *Millennium* and *Strange Luck*.

The X-Files reached the zenith of its popularity in 1998 with the release of a feature film that attempted to advance most of the show's important storylines simultaneously. The film, titled *The X-Files*, met with lukewarm reaction from fans and critics alike. Most fans of the TV show, in fact, mark the creative peak in the fifth season (1997–1998), immediately before the film's release. Along with the film came innumerable merchandising efforts, tie-in novels, toys, and games, diluting the program's original niche appeal and alienating many fans. A spin-off series, *The Lone Gunmen*, ran for thirteen episodes in 2001 and featured minor recurring characters from the original show.

The X-Files came to an end after the ninth season, in May 2002. In the final two seasons, according to fans and TV critics, major cast changes and a loss of overall tone and focus contributed to the series' decline. Today, X-Philes continue to hold conventions across the globe, and the Internet fan culture is still active. A second feature film based on the TV franchise, *The X-Files: I Want to Believe*, was released in 2008.

Jeffrey Sartain

See also: [Science Fiction: UFOs](#).

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Yippies

The yippies, members of the Youth International Party (YIP), were a loosely affiliated group of individuals who envisioned themselves as the politically radical answer to hippies—bohemian youth disillusioned with the nature of American life—and aimed to politicize the 1960s counterculture. Known for their use of guerrilla theater, pranks, and outright absurdity to gain the attention of the American public and media, the yippies were among the most imaginative of the 1960s-era activists.

Beginnings

The term *yippie* was coined in 1967 by radical journalist Paul Krassner, to distinguish himself and fellow activists who participated in the youth counterculture from the often apolitical hippies and the radical, student-oriented New Left. *Yippie* was intended as both a play on the word *hippie* and to express the joy members experienced in carrying out their inventive forms of protest.

The de facto leadership of the yippies included Krassner and activists Jerry Rubin, Abbie and Anita Hoffman, and

Stewart (Stew) Albert, among others, but there was no formal hierarchy or structure to the group. The yippies also had little unified purpose or philosophy, allowing each individual to determine for himself or herself what being a yippie meant.

Abbie Hoffman and Rubin were the most recognizable figures among the yippies, each spending considerable time writing and speaking, in addition to demonstrating. Though the two are often considered the brains behind the yippies' actions, each had his own opinion about the goals of the Youth International Party.

For Hoffman, the yippies represented a merging of the hippie and New Left philosophies, uniting the counterculture with political action. The intent was to make a statement through what Hoffman termed "revolutionary action-theater" and leave the interpretation of the statement up to the individual. Rubin's view was less structured. He insisted that *yippie* meant "an excuse to rebel" and that there was no specific aim to a yippie's actions. Although their visions of the group did not entirely coincide, both Hoffman and Rubin agreed that *yippie* could mean anything one wanted it to—that the interpretation was in the eye of the beholder.

Tactics

The use of guerrilla theater, which Hoffman learned from the Diggers (a late-1960s San Francisco-based radical community-action group of improvisational actors), was among the most popular of the yippies' tactics to draw attention to what they considered the absurdities of American life and culture in the Vietnam War era. Their actions during 1967 and 1968 ranged from participating in the March on Washington against the Vietnam War in October 1967—during which they promised to "levitate" the Pentagon, using psychic energy in order to exorcise its bad spirits—to nominating a pig ("Pigastus the Immortal") for president of the United States. ("Why vote for half a hog when you can have the whole thing?" they asked.)

Among their most notable actions was an August 1967 demonstration at the New York Stock Exchange in which they sent a shower of dollar bills onto the trading floor from the visitors' gallery. Stock traders stopped their work in shock and scrambled to catch the money falling from above. While it caused only a brief pause in the frantic pace of the stock exchange, the yippies regarded the event as a huge success—they had caused a sort of hiccup in the normal functioning of the American capitalist system. Aside from causing a disruption, however, the demonstration achieved another of their main goals: gaining attention from the news media and the public.

The yippies also relied on dramatic public discourse—exaggerations, provocations, and put-ons—to gain attention and publicity for their demonstrations. During the months leading up to the 1968 Democratic National Convention in Chicago, yippie handbills and speeches invited protesters to a Festival of Life during the convention and suggested that those demonstrating have sex in the streets and release LSD into the water supply, among other propositions. Most incitements were intentionally vague in order to gain more media attention and to allow for broader interpretation—thereby enabling each participant to feel a greater personal connection with the event.



Members of the Youth International Party (“yippies”) introduce their presidential candidate for 1968—Pigasus the Immortal—while in Chicago for the Democratic National Convention. (Julian Wasser/Time & Life Pictures/Getty Images)

The Festival of Life led to a significant altercation between protesters and police almost immediately. Mayor Richard Daley and the city of Chicago had refused to issue permits for any demonstration, and police began arresting protesters before any trouble began. Believing the yippie provocations, police acted to prevent any public danger, such as drugs in the water supply. The response proved extreme. Early confrontations devolved into what was later termed a “police riot,” with law enforcement officers attacking and beating hundreds of protesters, bystanders, and representatives of the news media. The events were captured on film, though not widely broadcast, and word of the police riot spread quickly. The nation was shocked by the brutality of the Chicago police force. Although the violence left many protesters injured, the publicity alone made the demonstration a success for the yippies.

The demonstrations in Chicago also resulted in the arrest and trial of Hoffman and Rubin, along with other demonstration organizers. This group later became known as the Chicago Seven. The demonstrators were charged with conspiracy and inciting a riot. Represented by radical attorney William Kunstler, the defendants became national celebrities for their courtroom antics, including open ridicule of Judge Julius Hoffman and the donning of judges’ robes in mockery of the American judicial system.

Legacy

The yippies gradually disbanded, as most members departed to pursue different goals. Following a major drug bust in 1973, Hoffman went underground for almost seven years, initially with the assistance of the Weathermen, a radical leftist organization that was composed of former members of the Students for a Democratic Society. He remained politically active until his suicide in 1989. Rubin, who later became a businessman, died in 1994 after being hit by a car while jaywalking. Others went on to become notable writers, scholars, politicians, and activists.

The yippies pointed to some success in their attempts to politicize the youth of the counterculture. Still, in later years, both Rubin and Hoffman expressed regrets about their yippie pasts. Rubin had altered his political views entirely, while Hoffman lamented how little change they had been able to effect. Regardless, the yippies were among the most noteworthy of the counterculture groups of the 1960s for their ability to convince others to join their fight and to have as much fun as possible in the process.

See also: [Chicago Seven](#); [Guerrilla Theater](#); [Hoffman, Abbie](#); [LSD](#); [New Left](#); [Rubin, Jerry](#); [Vietnam War Protests](#).

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Yoga

Yoga is the practice of physical and mental exercise to promote physical, psychological, and spiritual health. The word *yoga* is a Sanskrit term, and the practice has cultural and historic ties to Hinduism and other Indian belief systems dating back thousands of years. Although there are many varieties of yoga, emphasizing different types of exercise, the form generally practiced outside India in modern times is most closely associated with hatha yoga, emphasizing the practice of physical postures (*asanas*), slow breathing, relaxation, and meditation. While yoga in contemporary America is a mainstream activity for physical health and relaxation, it has historic roots in countercultural groups seeking to challenge mainstream religious and political beliefs.

The introduction of yoga to the Western world, and the United States in particular, occurred in the late 1800s, corresponding to the introduction of Hinduism. In 1893, Swami Vivekananda spoke in Chicago at the Parliament of World Religions, engaging an audience curious about Eastern practices. In 1894, he established the Vedanta Society of New York, a spiritual organization rooted in Hinduism, for the purpose of sharing spiritual knowledge. The Vedanta Society continues to thrive into the twenty-first century, with study centers located around the world.

Through the 1910s, however, yoga faced a precarious situation in American media and culture, largely due to nativist response to ongoing waves of immigration. Initially regarded as a curiosity, yoga was now demonized, charged with the corruption of youth, enslavement of white women, and other social problems. Interest increased as federal immigration restrictions loosened in the early 1920s, giving limited access to Indian yoga masters, but the practice was largely confined to small circles of adherents from mid-decade through the 1940s.

Yoga underwent a resurgence as a secular form of exercise during the 1950s and 1960s, with books such as *Sport and Yoga* (1953) by Selvarajan Yesudian and *Richard Hittleman's Yoga: 28 Day Exercise Plan* (1969) engaging a wider audience. Classes began to be held at community centers, at Young Men's Christian Associations (YMCAs), and on television. Early celebrity practitioners, including Marilyn Monroe and Gary Cooper, further fueled the public interest. In 1961, the *Los Angeles Times* ran a multipart series, "What's Yoga," which also expanded the audience. Hittleman's *Yoga for Health* began appearing as a daily television program in Los Angeles in 1961, then in New York in 1966. Hittleman's fame was furthered by time spent with countercultural celebrities such as Buddhist philosopher-writer Alan Watts and Beat novelist Jack Kerouac.

During the 1960s, segments of the counterculture movement began to recognize and embrace yoga, seeking not

only the physical benefits but also the spiritual uplift it offered. In early 1968, the Beatles became enthralled with meditation and yoga, and they traveled to India to study with the Maharishi Mahesh Yogi—reports of which spread interest in Eastern spiritualism throughout the youth counterculture. The popularity of yoga grew as publicity increased and as more celebrities, such as Mia Farrow, Mick Jagger, Marianne Faithful, and Donovan, helped make it chic. In August 1969, crowds at the Woodstock music festival in upstate New York were introduced to meditation and yoga by Swami Satchidananda, who opened the festival with guided meditation and introduced the sacred Hindu mantra “om” (or “aum”) into the counterculture lexicon.

During the 1970s and 1980s, yoga began falling out of favor in American culture, at least in relative terms, re-emerging on the cultural landscape in the early 1990s as the “new” physical fitness fad. Into the twenty-first century, yoga became increasingly commercialized with the establishment of exercise centers and classes throughout the United States, with magazines such as *Yoga*, *Yoga Journal*, and *Ascent*, with television shows such as *Inhale* and *The Morning Yoga Show*, and a steady stream of instructional home videos. A new round of celebrity practitioners—Madonna, Ricky Martin, and Meg Ryan among them—spoke publicly of their personal experiences with yoga.

From an esoteric practice in the nineteenth century and an expression of the counterculture in the 1950s and 1960s, yoga in America has emerged as a mainstream cultural phenomenon in the 2000s. According to one study, the number of practitioners climbed from an estimated 7 million in 1998 to 16 million in 2008, with 75 percent of the nation’s health clubs offering yoga classes. Practitioners of yoga come from diverse social and religious backgrounds, taking part for physical development and exercise, stress management, and spiritual growth.

Daniel Farr

See also: [Buddhism: Woodstock Music and Art Fair](#).

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Young, Brigham (1801–1877)

A central figure in the early Mormon movement—the successor to founder Joseph Smith and second president of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints—Brigham Young orchestrated the group’s migration to and settlement in Utah in 1847. As head of the church and the first territorial governor of Utah, he played a key role in defending the religion, its people, and its primary prophet against persecution by non-Mormon neighbors and the U.S. government. His leadership stabilized the movement and guided Mormon society in the pursuit of its modern convictions.

Young was born in Whitingham, Vermont, on June 1, 1801. In 1829, he settled in Mendon, New York, near where

founder “Prophet” Joseph Smith published *The Book of Mormon* the following year. A carpenter and blacksmith by trade, and a Methodist by faith, Young read *The Book of Mormon* shortly after it appeared and was immediately drawn to its precepts. He took his baptism in April 1832 and set out to Canada as a missionary.

In the succeeding years, Young led a number of successful missionary expeditions in the United States and Canada, extending the church’s following and helping dispossessed followers regain lost land. He later succeeded in converting and bringing to America approximately 40,000 English men and women.

Young’s organizational skills and devotion to the church and Smith led to his selection as one of the governing body called the Council of Twelve, or Twelve Apostles, in February 1835. When Smith was assassinated in 1844, Young emerged as the Mormons’ spiritual leader, directing the great migration of 1846 to 1847. Inspired by Young’s idea that building a kingdom of God required more than preaching and converting others to the religion, but also demanded the establishment of a permanent, formal home, the Mormons finally settled in Salt Lake City, Utah.

Young became the director of the Salt Lake City settlement and controlled much of the communal theocracy. The settlement grew at a rapid pace, and Young coordinated the development of codes to govern the actions and behaviors of its members. As president of the Mormon church, he also regularly held hundreds of so-called fireside chats with his followers, reflecting upon clothing, dining, and other cultural concerns.

After the establishment of the Utah Territory and its provisional government, Young also served as governor and superintendent of Indian affairs, extending his influence throughout the region. When fear and resentment of their alternative lifestyle and social philosophies threatened the Mormon community, Young defended Mormons against military and social persecution.

In 1857, Young led a convocation that declared the settlement’s independence from the United States. In the Utah War of 1857 to 1858 between the U.S. government and the Mormons—with each side seeking control of Mormon land—Young declared martial law after President James Buchanan appointed a non-Mormon, Alfred Cumming, governor of the Utah Territory. The Mormons, under the displaced Young, fought for their property, periodically attacking the encamped U.S. military.

In April 1858, Buchanan sent representatives to work out a settlement between the parties, and peace was restored. Young’s defense of Mormon interests brought praise from within the church and ultimately helped avoid a complete split between the Mormon’s Utah territory and the United States.

Mormon society retained a generally self-sustaining lifestyle, producing necessities and providing for each other through communal efforts. Although Young valued the adaptation of current technology for the benefit of Mormon society, the advent of a railroad line connecting the otherwise independent society to outside resources and competition prompted Young to promote local production and encourage education for his community members—efforts to insulate Mormon culture from outside scrutiny. Brigham Young University, founded in 1875 in Provo, remains a prominent and enduring symbol of these efforts.

Although the Mormon church formally ended the practice of plural marriage in 1890, Young had been one of its leading polygamists. He had married a total of twenty-seven women, sixteen of whom bore his fifty-six children. Young divorced some of his wives and some predeceased him. Upon his death on August 29, 1877, he was survived by seventeen wives and forty-seven children.

Sueann M. Wells

See also: [Mormonism](#).

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Zappa, Frank (1940–1993)

One of the most versatile and distinctive figures of rock music, Frank Zappa was known for his talents as a performer and composer, his skills as an audio engineer, and his scathing satire, which targeted both the establishment and the counterculture alike. His compositional style, which he characterized as “conceptual continuity,” drew from nearly every genre of music, combining satirical lyrics with pop melodies, jazz improvisation, doo-wop, and rhythm and blues.

Zappa also produced highly original collage, or “pastiche,” sequences that mixed sound effects, conversation, and music. And he was known for quoting (later called “sampling”) riffs from music that had influenced him, including the perennial favorite “Louie Louie.” Zappa sampled works as diverse as television-show themes, advertising jingles, classical masterpieces, and the band Devo’s song “Whip It.”

As the founder of the “freak band” Mothers of Invention in the 1960s and in his long solo career, Zappa brought a non-mainstream compositional style to popular music and an avant-garde style to performance. He recorded more than fifty albums.

Organized Sound

Frank Vincent Zappa was born in Baltimore, Maryland, on December 21, 1940, to scientist Francis Vincent Zappa and his wife, Rose Marie. Frank was raised in Florida and Maryland before moving to California with his family at age twelve.

His musical career began when he took up the drums in high school. The turning point came in 1954 when he discovered the work of avant-garde classical composer Edgar Varèse, whose music was known for its attempts to sublimate sound through new arrangements of rhythm and timbre. Writing prolifically while he was still in high school, Zappa sought to incorporate new forms of instrumentation and electronic sound into his compositions. He received his first guitar in 1957, and his first band, the Blackouts, played mostly country blues. After high school, Zappa spent a brief period in 1959 studying music theory at Chaffey College in Rancho Cucamonga, California.

His first recordings were scores for low-budget films in the early 1960s, which raised the funds necessary to buy a cheap recording studio in Rancho Cucamonga, called Studio Z. In 1964, he joined a local band called the Soul Giants, which eventually evolved into the Mothers and, after the intervention of nervous record executives, the Mothers of Invention. Their first album, *Freak Out!*, was released in 1966 and parodied the pop music of the day.

Freak Out! was groundbreaking in that it represented the first time Zappa had employed his experimental sound-collage technique in an attempt to capture the freak subculture of Los Angeles. The album was also important because it was one of the first based on a unifying theme, paving the way for such later works as the Who’s rock opera *Tommy* (1969) and Pink Floyd’s *The Wall* (1979). It also was only the second double LP of rock music ever released. (The first rock double album, and first studio double album, ever released generally is cited as Bob

Dylan's *Blonde on Blonde*, also released in 1966.) For all of these reasons, *Freak Out!* established Zappa early on as an inventive new force in rock.

Output

The year 1967 saw the release of three Zappa and Mothers of Invention albums, *Absolutely Free*, *Lumpy Gravy*, and *Cruisin' with Reuben and the Jets*. The first includes the single "Plastic People," which expresses Zappa's belief that phoniness is an inherent trait in all humans and human establishments. *Absolutely Free* served as a platform for Zappa's sermonizing to the American people; on it he argues that not only is American society inherently hypocritical, but the status quo in America is continually suppressing all alternatives and countercultures. *Lumpy Gravy* was Zappa's first experimentation with orchestral arrangements, while *Cruisin'* was a tribute to and parody of doo-wop music.

These early successes were followed in 1968 by *We're Only in It for the Money*. With a cover parodying that of the Beatles's *Sgt. Pepper's Lonely Hearts Club Band*, the album is regarded as Zappa and the Mothers' seminal work and one of the best rock albums of the 1960s. In addition to showcasing his prowess as an engineer, the album brutally satirizes the hippie movement of the day.

A self-described political and cultural subversive, Zappa was known for standing up against authority in both spheres. In 1985 he testified before a committee of the U.S. Senate that was considering the censorship of music. He was outspoken in his opposition to the Parents' Music Resource Center (PMRC), a group of concerned mothers (led by Tipper Gore, the wife of Democrat Al Gore, then a senator from Tennessee) that had convinced the major record companies to put parental advisory labels on music deemed objectionable. In his testimony before Congress, and throughout his life, Zappa was a prominent advocate of First Amendment protection for all forms of communication. He continued his attack on the PMRC by including audio cuts from the PMRC hearings in the song "Porn Wars" on the 1985 album *Frank Zappa Meets the Mothers of Prevention*.

Throughout his career, Zappa urged his listeners to maintain a healthy skepticism regarding the political and ideological machinations of the status quo. As a social commentator and critic, he constantly pushed against the socially erected barriers of so-called good taste. After his run-in with the PMRC, Zappa's interest in the workings of government increased. In an attempt to correct what he saw as a "fascist bias" in American government, he spent much of 1988 working to get young Americans to register to vote.

In 1990, at the request of Czech Republic President Václav Havel, a lifelong fan, Zappa served as special ambassador of that government on trade, culture, and tourism. Despite pressure from the George H.W. Bush administration, Havel kept Zappa on as cultural attaché until 1991, when he was diagnosed with prostate cancer. Zappa died on December 4, 1993.

Countercultural Legacy

The musicianship and ideology demonstrated on Zappa's steady stream of albums of the 1960s, 1970s, and 1980s, in addition to his onstage theatrics, cemented his reputation as an important underground musician. Zappa and the Mothers of Invention served as the inspiration for a plethora of underground artists who followed, including the Velvet Underground, Nico, and the Tubes. His combination of visual imagery and verbal pastiche established many of the stylistic conventions that would become MTV icons in the 1980s. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of his legacy is the deconstruction-fueled paranoia and caustic satire that has continued to serve as the lyrical base for a multiplicity of contemporary bands that wish to be seen as countercultural.

B. Keith Murphy

See also: [Rock and Roll](#).

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Zines

In a society notoriously influenced by homogenized mass media and said to be afflicted with impersonal isolation, zines represent a form of written communication that is more scathingly critical of current affairs but significantly less professionally produced or widely read than independent or alternative-media publications such as *The Nation* and *The Atlantic Monthly*. Often the work of one author and either free or nominally priced, zines offer an intensely personal, highly affordable, and often subversive method of independent grassroots communication.

Although many zines are connected to the 1970s hardcore-punk music scene, their roots can be traced to 1920s science fiction fanzines. These independently produced publications distinguished themselves from professionally manufactured magazines by adopting the label “fanzines,” a term that has since been shortened simply to “zines.” Despite this history, contemporary zine authors, or zinesters, locate themselves not in the sci-fi tradition but in the empowering do-it-yourself ethic of the hardcore-punk music scene.

Although an argument can be made that a zine is any independent publication, there is an obvious difference between Thomas Paine’s revolutionary pamphlet *Common Sense* (1776) or the International Socialist Organization’s weekly, *Socialist Worker*, and actual zines such as *Punk Planet*, *Suburban Voice*, *Slug & Lettuce*, or *Message from the Homeland*. There appears to be no limit to the creativity in format and size of zines. They have been published on everything from intricately folded vellum paper to standard-size newsprint. Despite the availability of affordable offset printing from the Florida-based Small Publisher’s Co-Op, which expressly caters to zines, many such publications continue to be illicitly reproduced on photocopy machines, with “donated” copies passed along by a sympathetic shop worker.

Just as zines feature a variety of formats, their content has proven to be nearly unlimited. In general, they feature some blend of personal reflection, social commentary, fringe culture, poetry, incessant babbling, and reviews of or interviews with independent rock bands. Ideologically driven zines such as *Retrogression* and *Impact!* are, or were, published somewhat regularly and combine publicity about the independent music scene with advocacy for gay rights, revolutionizing gender roles, combating racism, and making conscious (anticorporate) consumer choices. Other zines, such as *Thrift Score* and *Mystery Date*, espouse the joys of thrift-store shopping or republish ridiculous sections from 1950s etiquette books. In short, so long as zines are independently published and not profit driven, they can be radical, humorous, or frivolous and still be recognized as a legitimate voice within the zine reading community.

Although there is no centralized clearinghouse for these largely underground publications, *Factsheet Five* (1982–1991) attempted to list and comment on a large sample of zines during its tenure as the zine world’s equivalent of the Yellow Pages. Estimates have placed the number of zines in publication as high as 50,000. The accuracy of that figure, however, is made uncertain by the very nature of the publications. Often irregularly published, with press runs ranging from a few dozen to several thousand, many exist under the radar for all but the most dedicated zine aficionados.

See also: [Punk Rock](#): [Science Fiction](#).

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Zoarites

In 1817, a group of 300 religious separatists arrived in Philadelphia from Württemberg in southwest Germany, near Switzerland. Although they were befriended by Quakers, who provided basic necessities and assisted the refugees in locating employment and property, the leader of the new group, Joseph Michael Bäumeler (anglicized to Bimeler), desired a separate community for his followers. Trained as a weaver, Bimeler contracted to buy a 5,500-acre (2,225-hectare) tract of land along the Tuscarawas River in east-central Ohio, agreeing to pay the purchase price over a fifteen-year period. The town was named Zoar, meaning “sanctuary from evil,” after the biblical account of Lot, who escaped to Zoar from Sodom. The scarcity of food during the first winter prompted the group to establish a communal society, and on April 19, 1819, the Society of Separatists of Zoar was formed. Members donated all property and material goods to the community, in exchange for food, clothing, and shelter.

The Zoarites were pacifists and refused military service. They did not observe any holidays or traditional religious sacraments, such as baptism or marriage. A couple wishing to marry simply presented themselves before witnesses. One of the most interesting features of the community was the garden, which occupied the entire village square and was designed to represent the New Jerusalem as described in the Book of Revelation. A Norway spruce planted in the center symbolized eternal life; circling the spruce was an arbor representing heaven. Twelve juniper trees, one for each of the apostles, formed a third concentric ring. This area was enclosed by a circular path, with twelve radials signifying the twelve tribes of Israel.

In 1822, concerned that the population might increase too rapidly for its economy, the community adopted the practice of celibacy, which ultimately was abandoned in 1830. For many years, children between the ages of three and fourteen lived in separate nurseries from their families, allowing their mothers to continue to work in the community.

By the mid-1830s, Zoar was almost entirely self-sustaining and sold surplus from its farms to other towns. Its flour mills, two iron foundries, textile factory, and several stores manufactured and sold a variety of goods for general sale. Additional revenue was generated when the Zoarites contracted to build a 7-mile portion of the Ohio and Erie Canal that crossed their property. By 1852, the society's assets were valued at more than \$1 million.

Bimeler's death in 1853, combined with the changing social and economic environment, had a major impact on the community. The arrival of the railroad in the 1880s brought greater interaction with the outside world, and the rise of mass production rendered Zoar's small manufacturing businesses obsolete. In 1898, the remaining members decided to dissolve the society. Common property was divided, with each member receiving about 50

acres (20 hectares) and \$200.

In 1942, the Ohio Historical Society began acquiring and restoring some of the original town buildings. Today, a number of the Zoarite buildings are open to the public as an historic site.

Denise A. Seachrist

See also: [Pacifism: Quakers](#).

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Zoot-Suiters

Zoot-suiters were an amorphous youth counterculture that emerged in the United States during the late 1930s and early to mid-1940s. They are associated with a style of clothing and grooming popular during that time among African American, Mexican American, and other minority youths.

Zoot-suiters were young men, and some young women, who expressed their individuality, ethnic pride, and resistance to the norms of white society through shared cultural markers. The central component of zoot-suiter style and wardrobe was the flashy, custom-made “zoot suit,” designed to express the individuality of the wearer.

The jacket of the basic suit had exaggeratedly broad shoulders and long sleeves that extended over the fingers. It was purposefully baggy and elongated as compared to the business suit fashion of the time, often completely covering the thighs and flaring out from the waist. The pants were loose through the hips and tapered or cuffed at the ankles, to swing and move with the man as he danced or walked in style. A long chain hung from the waist, looping back up to the pocket and generally attached to a watch or knife.

The outfit might be topped with a stylish flat-topped hat and dress shoes. African Americans would slick their hair back to make it as smooth as possible; Mexican Americans often chose to comb their hair from the sides to meet in a line at the back of the head called a ducktail. The sum total of the wardrobe was intended to portray a cool, macho air of leisure and maturity.



The zoot suit—featuring a long, broad-shouldered jacket; loose, tapered pants; and a stylish, brimmed hat—exuded a cool, macho air of leisure and maturity. For minorities, it was a means of gaining visibility while defying assimilation. (Douglas Miller/Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Much more than a fad, the clothing and lifestyle of the zoot-suiters were linked to serious attempts by African American and Mexican American youths to gain visibility and validation in American society. Social mobility was still very limited for minority youth in America. While many were encouraged by their parents to follow the rules and abide by accepted practices, the zoot-suiters embraced an alternative lifestyle and subculture. Speech was as much a part of this as clothes and grooming, emphasizing street slang and the lingo of jazz and swing.

The popularity of the zoot-suiter counterculture went hand in hand with the rise of dance halls that featured jazz, boogie-woogie, swing, and the like—all music that had yet to receive wide cultural approval. Important performers and bandleaders wore versions of the zoot suit, including Duke Ellington and Count Basie, who rose to fame in the 1930s and 1940s. As African Americans, even such up-and-coming musicians felt the effects of racism, which restricted where they could play music, where they could eat, and where they could find lodging. At the same time, Mexican Americans suffered similarly discriminatory practices in education and the workplace, especially in California. Zoot-suiters looked up to and emulated the bandleaders and pachuco (Latino) gang leaders who had achieved success or cachet in their respective communities.

Mainstream reaction against the zoot-suiters was present from the beginning of the movement, as minority youth in general were painted as delinquents. The public flamboyance of the zoot-suiters, as well as the visibility of their outfits, made them easy targets for local thugs and police alike. This was compounded by the fact that some of the young zoot-suiters in urban areas also had turned to crime.

In 1942, as part of the national rationing of materials during World War II, the War Production Board placed restrictions on fabric used in clothing. All at once, the zoot suit, with its long jacket and flowing slacks, was against federal regulations. This contributed further to the negative view of zoot-suiters, who defiantly continued to wear the extravagant suits. Beginning in Los Angeles, where the City Council successfully petitioned the federal government to make the suit illegal, violent clashes broke out between law enforcement authorities (both the police and military) and zoot-suiters. The fighting spread to urban centers across the country during the next two years.

Over time, the trend spread nationally into “hip” youth culture in the United States. Zoot-suiter culture—or versions

of it—also emerged internationally. It was visible in such places as Quebec Province in Canada, Italy, and France during the 1940s, and Great Britain during the 1950s, especially in the Teddy Boys culture.

Indeed, remnants of zoot-suiter style have remained evident in certain entertainers' fashions into the twenty-first century. For most, the original countercultural statement has been subsumed by the mass market. For others, especially African American and Hispanic American entertainers, it remains a way to express personal style and cultural identity.

Jean Anne Lauer

See also: [African Americans: Fashion: Jazz](#).

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The Trial of Anne Hutchinson (1637)

Anne Hutchinson, a Puritan layperson, challenged the religious and political orthodoxy of the Massachusetts Bay Colony in the 1630s. In addition to holding informal group discussions that questioned ministerial teachings, Hutchinson openly professed views that were regarded as heretical. Under Governor John Winthrop, Hutchinson was brought to trial in November 1637 at General Court in Newton. She was convicted of sedition and contempt and banished from the colony. The following is an excerpt from her trial transcript.

Mr. [John] Winthrop, Governor: Mrs. Hutchinson, you are called here as one of those that have troubled the peace of the commonwealth and the churches here; you are known to be a woman that hath had a great share in the promoting and divulging of those opinions that are the cause of this trouble, and to be nearly joined not only in affinity and affection with some of those the court had taken notice of and passed censure upon, but you have spoken divers things, as we have been informed, very prejudicial to the honour of the churches and ministers thereof, and you have maintained a meeting and an assembly in your house that hath been condemned by the general assembly as a thing not tolerable nor comely in the sight of God nor fitting for your sex, and notwithstanding that was cried down you have continued the same. Therefore we have thought good to send for you to understand how things are, that if you be in an erroneous way we may reduce you that so you may become a profitable member here among us. Otherwise if you be obstinate in your course that then the court may take such course that you may trouble us no further. Therefore I would intreat you to express whether you do assent and hold in practice to those opinions and factions that have been handled in court already, that is to say, whether you do not justify Mr. Wheelwright's sermon and the petition.

Mrs. Hutchinson: I am called here to answer before you but I hear no things laid to my charge.

Gov.: I have told you some already and more I can tell you.

Mrs. H.: Name one, Sir.

Gov.: Have I not named some already?

Mrs. H.: What have I said or done?

Gov.: Why for your doings, this you did harbor and countenance those that are parties in this faction that you have heard of.

Mrs. H.: That's matter of conscience, Sir.

Gov.: Your conscience you must keep, or it must be kept for you.

Mrs. H.: Must not I then entertain the saints because I must keep my conscience.

Gov.: Say that one brother should commit felony or treason and come to his brother's house, if he knows him guilty and conceals him he is guilty of the same. It is his conscience to entertain him, but if his conscience comes into act in giving countenance and entertainment to him that hath broken the law he is guilty too. So if you do countenance those that are transgressors of the law you are in the same fact.

Mrs. H.: What law do they transgress?

Gov.: The law of God and of the state.

Mrs. H.: In what particular?

Gov.: Why in this among the rest, whereas the Lord doth say honour thy father and thy mother.

Mrs. H.: Ey Sir in the Lord.

Gov.: This honour you have broke in giving countenance to them.

Mrs. H.: In entertaining those did I entertain them against any act (for there is the thing) or what God has appointed?

Gov.: You knew that Mr. Wheelwright did preach this sermon and those that countenance him in this do break a law.

Mrs. H.: What law have I broken?

Gov.: Why the fifth commandment.

Mrs. H.: I deny that for he [Mr. Wheelwright] saith in the Lord.

Gov.: You have joined with them in the faction.

Mrs. H.: In what faction have I joined with them?

Gov.: In presenting the petition.

Mrs. H.: Suppose I had set my hand to the petition. What then?

Gov.: You saw that case tried before.

Mrs. H.: But I had not my hand to [not signed] the petition.

Gov.: You have counselled them.

Mrs. H.: Wherein?

Gov.: Why in entertaining them.

Mrs. H.: What breach of law is that, Sir?

Gov.: Why dishonouring the commonwealth.

Mrs. H.: But put the case, Sir, that I do fear the Lord and my parents. May not I entertain them that fear the Lord because my parents will not give me leave?

Gov.: If they be the fathers of the commonwealth, and they of another religion, if you entertain them then you dishonour your parents and are justly punishable.

Mrs. H.: If I entertain them, as they have dishonoured their parents I do.

Gov.: No but you by countenancing them above others put honor upon them.

Mrs. H.: I may put honor upon them as the children of God and as they do honor the Lord.

Gov.: We do not mean to discourse with those of your sex but only this: you so adhere unto them and do endeavor to set forward this faction and so you do dishonour us.

Mrs. H.: I do acknowledge no such thing. Neither do I think that I ever put any dishonour upon you.

Gov.: Why do you keep such a meeting at your house as you do every week upon a set day?

Mrs. H.: It is lawful for me to do so, as it is all your practices, and can you find a warrant for yourself and condemn me for the same thing? The ground of my taking it up was, when I first came to this land because I did not go to such meetings as those were, it was presently reported that I did not allow of such meetings but held them unlawful and therefore in that regard they said I was proud and did despise all ordinances. Upon that a friend came unto me and told me of it and I to prevent such aspersions took it up, but it was in practice before I came. Therefore I was not the first....

Mrs. H.: If you please to give me leave I shall give you the ground of what I know to be true. Being much troubled to see the falseness of the constitution of the Church of England, I had like to have turned Separatist. Whereupon I kept a day of solemn humiliation and pondering of the thing; this scripture was brought unto me—he that denies Jesus Christ to be come in the flesh is antichrist. This I considered of and in considering found that the papists did not deny him to be come in the flesh, nor we did not deny him—who then was antichrist? Was the Turk antichrist only? The Lord knows that I could not open scripture; he must by his prophetic office open it unto me. So after that being unsatisfied in the thing, the Lord was pleased to bring this scripture out of the Hebrews. He that denies the testament denies the testator, and in this did open unto me and give me to see that those which did not teach the new covenant had the spirit of antichrist, and upon this he did discover the ministry unto me; and ever since, I bless the Lord, he hath let me see which was the clear ministry and which the wrong. Since that time I confess I have been more choice and he hath left me to distinguish between the voice of my beloved and the voice of Moses, the voice of John the Baptist and the voice of antichrist, for all those voices are spoken of in scripture. Now if you do condemn me for speaking what in my conscience I know to be truth I must commit myself unto the Lord.

Mr. Nowel [assistant to the Court]: How do you know that was the spirit?

Mrs. H.: How did Abraham know that it was God that bid him offer his son, being a breach of the sixth commandment?

Dep. Gov. [Thomas Dudley]: By an immediate voice.

Mrs. H.: So to me by an immediate revelation.

Dep. Gov.: How! an immediate revelation.

Mrs. H.: By the voice of his own spirit to my soul. I will give you another scripture, Jer[emiah] 46: 27–28—out of which the Lord showed me what he would do for me and the rest of his servants. But after he was pleased to reveal himself to me I did presently, like Abraham, run to Hagar. And after that he did let me see the atheism of my own heart, for which I begged of the Lord that it might not remain in my heart, and being thus, he did show me this (a twelvemonth after) which I told you of before.... Therefore, I desire you to look to it, for you see this scripture fulfilled this day and therefore I desire you as you tender the Lord and the church and commonwealth to consider and look what you do. You have power over my body but the Lord Jesus hath power over my body and soul; and assure yourselves thus much, you do as much as in you lies to put the Lord Jesus Christ from you, and if you go on in this course you begin, you will bring a curse upon you and your posterity, and the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.

Dep. Gov.: What is the scripture she brings?

Mr. Stoughton [assistant to the Court]: Behold I turn away from you.

Mrs. H.: But now having seen him which is invisible I fear not what man can do unto me....

Gov.: I am persuaded that the revelation she brings forth is delusion.

[The trial text here reads:] All the court but some two or three ministers cry out, we all believe it—we all believe it. [Mrs. Hutchinson was found guilty.]

Gov.: The court hath already declared themselves satisfied concerning the things you hear, and concerning the troublesomeness of her spirit and the danger of her course amongst us, which is not to be suffered. Therefore if it be the mind of the court that Mrs. Hutchinson for these things that appear before us is unfit for our society, and if it be the mind of the court that she shall be banished out of our liberties and imprisoned till she be sent away, let them hold up their hands.

[All but three did so.]

Gov.: Mrs. Hutchinson, the sentence of the court you hear is that you are banished from out of our jurisdiction as being a woman not fit for our society, and are to be imprisoned till the court shall send you away.

Mrs. H.: I desire to know wherefore I am banished?

Gov.: Say no more. The court knows wherefore and is satisfied.

Source: , *Antinomianism in the Colony of Massachusetts Bay* (Boston: 1894).

John Woolman's *Journal* (1757)

John Woolman, a Quaker minister from New Jersey, was an early opponent of slavery and an outspoken pacifist. In the 1750s, during a series of missionary expeditions in the Southern, Middle Atlantic, and New England colonies, he witnessed the conditions endured by slaves and began advocating for emancipation with the slaveholders he met. He recounted his travels—as well as other life experiences and personal views—in his classic autobiography, Journal.

Feeling the exercise in relation to a visit to the Southern Provinces to increase upon me, I acquainted our Monthly Meeting therewith, and obtained their certificate. Expecting to go alone, one of my brothers who lived in Philadelphia, having some business in North Carolina, proposed going with me part of the way; but as he had a view of some outward affairs, to accept of him as a companion was some difficulty with me, whereupon I had conversation with him at sundry times. At length feeling easy in my mind, I had conversation with several elderly Friends of Philadelphia on the subject, and he obtaining a certificate suitable to the occasion, we set off in the Fifth Month, 1757. Coming to Nottingham week-day meeting, we lodged at John Churchman's, where I met with our friend, Benjamin Buffington, from New England, who was returning from a visit to the Southern Provinces.

Thence we crossed the river Susquehanna, and lodged at William Cox's in Maryland.

Soon after I entered this province, a deep and painful exercise came upon me, which I often had some feeling of since my mind was drawn toward these parts, and with which I had acquainted my brother before we agreed to join as companions. As the people in this and the Southern Provinces live much on the labour of slaves, many of whom are used hardly, my concern was that I might attend with singleness of heart to the voice of the true Shepherd, and be so supported as to remain unmoved at the faces of men.

Ninth of Fifth Month.—A Friend at whose house we breakfasted setting us a little on our way, I had conversation with him, in the fear of the Lord, concerning his slaves, in which my heart was tender; I used much plainness of speech with him, and he appeared to take it kindly. We pursued our journey without appointing meetings, being pressed in my mind to be at the Yearly Meeting in Virginia. In my travelling on the road, I often felt a cry rise from the centre of my mind, thus: "O Lord, I am a stranger on the earth, hide not thy face from me."

On the 11th, we crossed the rivers Patowmack and Rapahannock, and lodged at Port Royal. On the way we had the company of a colonel of the militia, who appeared to be a thoughtful man. I took occasion to remark on the difference in general betwixt a people used to labour moderately for their living, training up their children in frugality and business, and those who live on the labour of slaves; the former, in my view, being the most happy life. He concurred in the remark, and mentioned the trouble arising from the untoward, slothful disposition of the negroes, adding that one of our labourers would do as much in a day as two of their slaves. I replied that free men, whose minds were properly on their business, found a satisfaction in improving, cultivating, and providing for their families; but negroes, labouring to support others who claim them as their property, and expecting nothing but slavery during life, had not the like inducement to be industrious.

After some further conversation I said, that men having power too often misapplied it; that though we made slaves of the negroes, and the Turks made slaves of the Christians, I believed that liberty was the natural right of all men equally. This he did not deny, but said the lives of the negroes were so wretched in their own country that many of them lived better here than there. I replied, "There is great odds in regard to us on what principle we act"; and so the conversation on that subject ended. I may here add that another person, some time afterwards, mentioned the wretchedness of the negroes, occasioned by their intestine wars, as an argument in favour of our fetching them away for slaves. To which I replied, if compassion for the Africans, on account of their domestic troubles, was the real motive of our purchasing them, that spirit of tenderness being attended to, would incite us to use them kindly, that, as strangers brought out of affliction, their lives might be happy among us. And as they are human creatures, whose souls are as precious as ours, and who may receive the same help and comfort from the Holy Scriptures as we do, we could not omit suitable endeavours to instruct them therein; but that while we manifest by our conduct that our views in purchasing them are to advance ourselves, and while our buying captives taken in war animates those parties to push on the war and increase desolation amongst them, to say they live unhappily in Africa is far from being an argument in our favour.

I further said, the present circumstances of these provinces to me appear difficult; the slaves look like a burdensome stone to such as burden themselves with them; and that, if the white people retain a resolution to prefer their outward prospects of gain to all other considerations, and do not act conscientiously toward them as fellow-creatures, I believe that burden will grow heavier and heavier, until times change in a way disagreeable to us. The person appeared very serious, and owned that in considering their condition and the manner of their treatment in these provinces he had sometimes thought it might be just in the Almighty so to order it.

Having travelled through Maryland, we came amongst Friends at Cedar Creek in Virginia, on the 12th; and the next day rode, in company with several of them, a day's journey to Camp Creek. As I was riding along in the morning, my mind was deeply affected in a sense I had of the need of divine aid to support me in the various difficulties which attended me, and in uncommon distress of mind I cried in secret to the Most High, "O Lord, be merciful, I beseech Thee, to Thy poor afflicted creature!" After some time I felt inward relief, and soon after a Friend in company began to talk in support of the slave-trade, and said the negroes were understood to be the offspring of Cain, their blackness being the mark which God set upon him after he murdered Abel, his brother; that

it was the design of Providence they should be slaves, as a condition proper to the race of so wicked a man as Cain was. Then another spake in support of what had been said.

To all which I replied in substance as follows: that Noah and his family were all who survived the flood, according to Scripture; and as Noah was of Seth's race, the family of Cain was wholly destroyed. One of them said that after the flood Ham went to the land of Nod and took a wife; that Nod was a land far distant, inhabited by Cain's race, and that the flood did not reach it; and as Ham was sentenced to be a servant of servants to his brethren, these two families, being thus joined, were undoubtedly fit only for slaves. I replied, the flood was a judgment upon the world for their abominations, and it was granted that Cain's stock was the most wicked, and therefore unreasonable to suppose that they were spared. As to Ham's going to the land of Nod for a wife, no time being fixed, Nod might be inhabited by some of Noah's family before Ham married a second time; moreover the text saith "That all flesh died that moved upon the earth" (Gen. vii.21). I further reminded them how the prophets repeatedly declare "that the son shall not suffer for the iniquity of the father, but every one be answerable for his own sins."

I was troubled to perceive the darkness of their imaginations, and in some pressure of spirit said, "The love of ease and gain are the motives in general of keeping slaves, and men are wont to take hold of weak arguments to support a cause which is unreasonable. I have no interest on either side, save only the interest which I desire to have in the truth. I believe liberty is their right, and as I see they are not only deprived of it, but treated in other respects with inhumanity in many places, I believe He who is a refuge for the oppressed will, in His own time, plead their cause, and happy will it be for such as walk in uprightness before Him." And thus our conversation ended.

Source: John Woolman, The Journal and Other Writings of John Woolman (London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1910).

Message by Nancy Ward to the Cherokee Council (1817)

Tribal leader Nancy Ward, known for her efforts to establish peace between the Cherokee and white settlers during the 1780s, later attained the status of "Beloved Woman" and held a seat on the Cherokee Council of Chiefs. On May 2, 1817, Ward addressed the council and urged members of the tribe not to give up the land that had sustained them for generations.

Amovey [Tenn.] in Council 2nd May 1817

A True Copy The Cherokee ladys now being present at the meeting of the Chiefs and warriors in council have thought it their duties as mothers to address their beloved Chiefs and warriors now assembled.

Our beloved children and head men of the Cherokee nation we address you warriors in council we have raised all of you on the land which we now have, which God gave us to inhabit and raise provisions we know that our country has once been extensive but by repeated sales has become circumscribed to a small tract and never thought it our duty to interfere in the disposition of it till now, if a father or mother was to sell all their lands which they had to depend on which their children had to raise their living on which would be indeed bad and to be removed to another country we do not wish to go to an unknown country which we have understood some of our children wish to go over the Mississippi but this act of our children would be like destroying your mothers. You mothers your sisters ask and beg of you not to part with any more of our lands, we say ours you are descendants and take pity on our request, but keep it for our growing children for it was the good will of our creator to place here and you know our father the great president will not allow his white children to take our country away only keep your hands off of paper talks for it is our own country for if it was not they would not ask you to put your hands to paper for it would be impossible to remove us all for as soon as one child is raised we have others in our arms for such is our situation and will consider our circumstance.

Therefore children don't part with any more of our lands but continue on it and enlarge your farms and cultivate and raise corn and cotton and we your mothers and sisters will make clothing for you which our father the

president has recommended to us all we don't charge anybody for selling our lands, but we have heard such intentions of our children but your talks become true at last and it was our desire to forewarn you all not to part with our lands.

Nancy Ward to her children Warriors to take pity and listen to the talks of your sisters, although I am very old yet cannot but pity the situation in which you will hear of their minds. I have great many grand children which I wish they to do well on our land.

Nancy Ward

Attested

A McCoy Clk.

Thos. Wilson Secty

Jenny McIntosh

Widow Tarpin

Caty Harlan

Ally Critington

Elizabeth Walker

Cun, o, ah

Susanna Fox

Miss Asty Walker

Widow Gunrod

Mrs. M. Morgan

Widow Woman Holder

Mrs. Nancy Fields

Source: Andrew Jackson Presidential Papers, Library of Congress, Manuscripts Division, Washington, DC.

***The Confessions of Nat Turner* (1832)**

Believing he was the chosen servant of a vengeful god, thirty-year-old Nat Turner led an uprising of Virginia slaves in August 1831 that left hundreds of people dead and caused rampant fear among Southern whites. Tried and convicted that November, Turner recounted his life story—including his divine revelation—and the details of the rebellion to his lawyer, Thomas R. Gray, while awaiting execution. The published work, The Confessions of Nat Turner, appeared the following year.

SIR,—

YOU have asked me to give a history of the motives which induced me to undertake the late insurrection, as you call it—To do so I must go back to the days of my infancy, and even before I was born.

I was thirty-one years of age the 2nd of October last, and born the property of Benj. Turner, of this county. In my childhood a circumstance occurred which made an indelible impression on my mind, and laid the ground work of that enthusiasm, which has terminated so fatally to many, both white and black, and for which I am about to atone at the gallows. It is here necessary to relate this circumstance—trifling as it may seem, it was the commencement of that belief which has grown with time, and even now, sir, in this dungeon, helpless and forsaken as I am, I cannot divest myself of....

And about this time [1825 at age twenty-five] I had a vision—and I saw white spirits and black spirits engaged in battle, and the sun was darkened—the thunder rolled in the Heavens, and blood flowed in streams—and I heard a voice saying, "Such is your luck, such you are called to see, and let it come rough or smooth, you must surely bear it." I now withdrew myself as much as my situation would permit, from the intercourse of my fellow servants, for the avowed purpose of serving the Spirit more fully—and it appeared to me, and reminded me of the things it had already shown me, and that it would then reveal to me the knowledge of the elements, the revolution of the planets, the operation of tides, and changes of the seasons.

After this revelation in the year 1825, and the knowledge of the elements being made known to me, I sought more

than ever to obtain true holiness before the great day of judgment should appear, and then I began to receive the true knowledge of faith.

And from the first steps of righteousness until the last, was I made perfect; and the Holy Ghost was with me, and said, "Behold me as I stand in the Heavens"—and I looked and saw the forms of men in different attitudes—and there were lights in the sky to which the children of darkness gave other names than what they really were—for they were the lights of the Savior's hands, stretched forth from east to west, even as they were extended on the cross on Calvary for the redemption of sinners.

And I wondered greatly at these miracles, and prayed to be informed of a certainty of the meaning thereof—and shortly afterwards, while laboring in the field, I discovered drops of blood on the corn as though it were dew from heaven—and I communicated it to many, both white and black, in the neighborhood—and I then found on the leaves in the woods hieroglyphic characters, and numbers, with the forms of men in different attitudes, portrayed in blood, and representing the figures I had seen before in the heavens.

And now the Holy Ghost had revealed itself to me, and made plain the miracles it had shown me—For as the blood of Christ had been shed on this earth, and had ascended to heaven for the salvation of sinners, and was now returning to earth again in the form of dew—and as the leaves on the trees bore the impression of the figures I had seen in the heavens, it was plain to me that the Savior was about to lay down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and the great day of judgment was at hand....

And on the 12th of May, 1828, I heard a loud noise in the heavens, and the Spirit was loosened, and Christ had laid down the yoke he had borne for the sins of men, and that I should take it on and fight against the Serpent, for the time was fast approaching when the first should be last and the last should be first.

And by signs in the heavens that it would make known to me when I should commence the great work—and until the first sign appeared, I should conceal it from the knowledge of men—And on the appearance of the sign (the eclipse of the sun last February), I should arise and prepare myself, and slay my enemies with their own weapons.

And immediately on the sign appearing in the heavens, the seal was removed from my lips, and I communicated the great work laid out for me to do, to four in whom I had the greatest confidence, (Henry, Hark, Nelson, and Sam)—

It was intended by us to have begun the work of death on the 4th July last—Many were the plans formed and rejected by us, and it affected my mind to such a degree, that I fell sick, and the time passed without our coming to any determination how to commence— Still forming new schemes and rejecting them, when the sign appeared again, which determined me not to wait longer.

Source: Nat Turner, *The Confessions of Nat Turner* (Richmond, VA: T.R. Gray, 1832).

"Plan of the West Roxbury Community" or Brook Farm (1842), Elizabeth

Palmer Peabody

Educator and writer Elizabeth Palmer Peabody operated a bookstore in Boston that became a frequent meeting place and intellectual center for members of the transcendentalist movement. In January 1842, Peabody published an article in The Dial that articulated the underlying principles of Brook Farm, the transcendentalists' experiment in utopian communal living in West Roxbury, Massachusetts.

In the last number of *The Dial* were some remarks, under the perhaps ambitious title, of "A Glimpse of Christ's Idea of Society;" in a note to which, it was intimated, that in this number, would be given an account of an attempt to realize in some degree this great Ideal, by a little company in the midst of us, as yet without name or visible existence. The attempt is made on a very small scale. A few individuals, who, unknown to each other, under

different disciplines of life, reacting from different social evils, but aiming at the same object,—of being wholly true to their natures as men and women; have been made acquainted with one another, and have determined to become the Faculty of the Embryo University.

In order to live a religious and moral life worthy the name, they feel it is necessary to come out in some degree from the world, and to form themselves into a community of property, so far as to exclude competition and the ordinary rules of trade;—while they reserve sufficient private property, or the means of obtaining it, for all purposes of independence, and isolation at will. They have bought a farm, in order to make agriculture the basis of their life, it being the most direct and simple in relation to nature.

A true life, although it aims beyond the highest star, is redolent of the healthy earth. The perfume of clover lingers about it. The lowing of cattle is the natural bass to the melody of human voices.

On the other hand, what absurdity can be imagined greater than the institution of cities? They originated not in love, but in war. It was war that drove men together in multitudes, and compelled them to stand so close, and build walls around them. This crowded condition produces wants of an unnatural character, which resulted in occupations that regenerated the evil, by creating artificial wants....

The plan of the Community, as an Economy, is in brief this; for all who have property to take stock, and receive a fixed interest thereon; then to keep house or board in commons, as they shall severally desire, at the cost of provisions purchased at wholesale, or raised on the farm; and for all to labor in community, and be paid at a certain rate an hour, choosing their own number of hours, and their own kind of work. With the results of this labor, and their interest, they are to pay their board, and also purchase whatever else they require at cost, as the warehouses of the Community, which are to be filled by the Community as such. To perfect this economy, in the course of time they must have all trades, and all modes of business carried on among themselves, from the lowest mechanical trade, which contributes to the health and comfort of life, to the finest art which adorns it with food or drapery for the mind.

All labor, whether bodily or intellectual, is to be paid at the same rate of wages; on the principle, that as the labor becomes merely bodily, it is a greater sacrifice to the individual laborer, to give his time to it; because time is desirable for the cultivation of the intellect, in exact proportion to ignorance. Besides, intellectual labor involves in itself higher pleasures, and is more its own reward, than bodily labor.

Another reason, for setting the same pecuniary value on every kind of labor, is, to give outward expression to the great truth, that all labor is sacred, when done for a common interest. Saints and philosophers already know this, but the childish world does not; and very decided measures must be taken to equalize labors, in the eyes of the young of the community, who are not beyond the moral influences of the world without them. The community will have nothing done within its precincts, but what is done by its own members, who stand all in social equality;—that the children may not “learn to expect one kind of service from Love and Goodwill, and another from the obligation of others to render it,”—a grievance of the common society stated, by one of the associated mothers, as destructive of the soul’s simplicity. Consequently, as the Universal Education will involve all kinds of operation, necessary to the comforts and elegances of life, every associate, even if he be the digger of a ditch as his highest accomplishment, will be an instructor in that to the young members. Nor will this elevation of bodily labor be liable to lower the tone of manners and refinement in the community. The “children of light” are not altogether unwise in their generation. They have an invisible but all-powerful guard of principles. Minds incapable of refinement will not be attracted into this association. It is an Ideal community, and only to the ideally inclined will it be attractive; but these are to be found in every rank of life, under every shadow of circumstance. Even among the diggers in the ditch are to be found some, who through religious cultivation, can look down, in meek superiority, upon the outwardly refined, and the book-learned.

Besides, after becoming members of this community, none will be engaged merely in bodily labor. The hours of labor for the Association will be limited by a general law, and can be curtailed at the will of the individual still more; and means will be given to all for intellectual improvement and for social intercourse, calculated to refine

and expand. The hours redeemed from labor by community, will not be reapplied to the acquisition of wealth, but to the production of intellectual goods. This community aims to be rich, not in the metallic representative of wealth, but in the wealth itself, which money should represent; namely, LEISURE TO LIFE IN ALL THE FACULTIES OF THE SOUL. As a community, it will traffic with the world at large, in the products of Agricultural labor; and it will sell education to as many young persons as can be domesticated in the families, and enter into the common life with their own children. In the end, it hopes to be enabled to provide—not only all the necessaries, but all the elegances desirable for bodily and for spiritual health; books, apparatus, collections for science, works of art, means of beautiful amusement. These things are to be common to all; and thus that object, which alone gilds and refines the passion for individual accumulation, will no longer exist for desire, and whenever the Sordid passion appears, it will be seen in its naked selfishness. In its ultimate success, the community will realize all the ends which selfishness seeks, but involved in spiritual blessings, which only greatness of soul can aspire after.

And the requisitions on the individuals, it is believed, will make this the order forever. The spiritual good will always be the condition of the temporal. Every one must labor for the community in a reasonable degree, or not taste its benefits. The principles of the organization therefore, and not its probable results in future time, will determine its members. These principles are cooperation in social matters, instead of competition or balance of interests; and individual self-unfolding, in the faith that the whole soul of humanity is in each man and woman. The former is the application of the love of man; the latter of the love of God, to life. Whoever is satisfied with society, as it is; whose sense of justice is not wounded by its common action, institutions, spirit of commerce, has no business with this community; neither has any one who is willing to have other men (needing more time for intellectual cultivation than himself) give their best hours and strength to bodily labor, to secure himself immunity therefrom. And whoever does not measure what society owes to its members of cherishing and instruction, by the needs of the individuals that compose it, has no lot in this new society. Whoever is willing to receive from his fellow men that, for which he gives no equivalent, will stay away from its precincts forever.

But whoever shall surrender himself to it[s] principles, shall find that its yoke is easy and its burden light.... The principle, with regard to labor, lies at the root of moral and religious life; for it is not more true that “money is the root of all evil,” than that *labor is the germ of all good*....

A single farm, in the midst of Massachusetts, does not afford range enough for men to create out of the Earth a living, with no other means; as the wild Indians, or the United States Army in Florida may do. This plan, of letting all persons choose their own departments of action, will immediately place the Genius of Instruction on its throne. Communication is the life of spiritual life. Knowledge pours itself out upon ignorance by a native impulse. All the arts crave response. “Wisdom cries.” If every man and woman taught only what they loved, and so many hours as they could naturally communicate, instruction would cease to be a drudgery, and we may add, learning would be no longer a task. The known accomplishments of many of the members of this association have already secured it an interest in the public mind, as a school of literary advantages quite superior. Most of the associates have had long practical experience in the details of teaching, and have groaned under the necessity of taking their method and law from custom and caprice, when they would rather have found it in the nature of the thing taught, and the condition of the pupil to be instructed. Each instructor appoints his hours of study or recitation, and the scholars, or the parents of the children, or the educational committee, choose the studies for the time, and the pupils submit, as long as they pursue their studies with any teacher, to his regulations....

It seems impossible that the little organization can be looked on with any unkindness by the world without it. Those who have not the faith that the principles of Christ’s kingdom are applicable to real life in the world will smile at it as a visionary attempt. But even they must acknowledge it can do no harm, in any event. If it realizes the hope of its founders, it will immediately become a manifold blessing. Its moral *aura* must be salutary. As long as it lasts, it will be an example of the beauty of brotherly love.

Source: Elizabeth Palmer Peabody, “Plan of the West Roxbury Community,” *The Dial* (1842).

The Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Convention (1848)

The women's rights movement in America is said to have begun with the Seneca Falls Convention in upstate New York in July 1848. The 100 delegates—sixty-eight women and thirty-two men—signed a document called the Declaration of Sentiments demanding equal rights for women in society. Modeled after the American Declaration of Independence, the text was written by convention organizer Elizabeth Cady Stanton.

When, in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one portion of the family of man to assume among the people of the earth a position different from that which they have hitherto occupied, but one to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes that impel them to such a course.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men and women are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed. Whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of those who suffer from it to refuse allegiance to it, and to insist upon the institution of a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their duty to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security. Such has been the patient sufferance of the women under this government, and such is now the necessity which constrains them to demand the equal station to which they are entitled. The history of mankind is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations on the part of man toward woman, having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over her. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has never permitted her to exercise her inalienable right to the elective franchise.

He has compelled her to submit to laws, in the formation of which she had no voice.

He has withheld from her rights which are given to the most ignorant and degraded men—both natives and foreigners.

Having deprived her of this first right of a citizen, the elective franchise, thereby leaving her without representation in the halls of legislation, he has oppressed her on all sides.

He has made her, if married, in the eye of the law, civilly dead.

He has taken from her all right in property, even to the wages she earns.

He has made her, morally, an irresponsible being, as she can commit many crimes with impunity, provided they be done in the presence of her husband. In the covenant of marriage, she is compelled to promise obedience to her husband, he becoming, to all intents and purposes, her master—the law giving him power to deprive her of her liberty, and to administer chastisement.

He has so framed the laws of divorce, as to what shall be the proper causes, and in case of separation, to whom the guardianship of the children shall be given, as to be wholly regardless of the happiness of women—the law, in all cases, going upon a false supposition of the supremacy of man, and giving all power into his hands.

After depriving her of all rights as a married woman, if single, and the owner of property, he has taxed her to support a government which recognizes her only when her property can be made profitable to it.

He has monopolized nearly all the profitable employments, and from those she is permitted to follow, she receives but a scanty remuneration. He closes against her all the avenues to wealth and distinction which he considers most honorable to himself. As a teacher of theology, medicine, or law, she is not known.

He has denied her the facilities for obtaining a thorough education, all colleges being closed against her.

He allows her in church, as well as state, but a subordinate position, claiming apostolic authority for her exclusion from the ministry, and, with some exceptions, from any public participation in the affairs of the church.

He has created a false public sentiment by giving to the world a different code of morals for men and women, by which moral delinquencies which exclude women from society, are not only tolerated, but deemed of little account in man.

He has usurped the prerogative of Jehovah himself, claiming it as his right to assign for her a sphere of action, when that belongs to her conscience and to her God.

He has endeavored, in every way that he could, to destroy her confidence in her own powers, to lessen her self-respect, and to make her willing to lead a dependent and abject life.

Now, in view of this entire disfranchisement of one-half the people of this country, their social and religious degradation—in view of the unjust laws above mentioned, and because women do feel themselves aggrieved, oppressed, and fraudulently deprived of their most sacred rights, we insist that they have immediate admission to all the rights and privileges which belong to them as citizens of the United States.

Source: Elizabeth Cady Stanton, *A History of Woman Suffrage*, vol. 1 (Rochester, NY: Fowler and Wells, 1889).

“Where I Lived, and What I Lived For,” *Walden* (1854), Henry David Thoreau

In Henry David Thoreau's classic account of two years living in the woods, Walden, he offers an idyllic vision of his return to nature and “the essential facts of life.” In doing so, Thoreau criticizes the “busyness” of mid-nineteenth-century society and “the lives of quiet desperation” being led by many Americans. In Chapter Two of the book, he describes the setting of his cabin and the values he brought to his life there.

When first I took up my abode in the woods, that is, began to spend my nights as well as days there, which, by accident, was on Independence Day, or the Fourth of July, 1845, my house was not finished for winter, but was merely a defence against the rain, without plastering or chimney, the walls being of rough, weather-stained boards, with wide chinks, which made it cool at night. The upright white hewn studs and freshly planed door and window casings gave it a clean and airy look, especially in the morning, when its timbers were saturated with dew, so that I fancied that by noon some sweet gum would exude from them. To my imagination it retained throughout the day more or less of this auroral character, reminding me of a certain house on a mountain which I had visited a year before. This was an airy and unplastered cabin, fit to entertain a travelling god, and where a goddess might trail her garments. The winds which passed over my dwelling were such as sweep over the ridges of mountains, bearing the broken strains, or celestial parts only, of terrestrial music. The morning wind forever blows, the poem of creation is uninterrupted; but few are the ears that hear it. Olympus is but the outside of the earth everywhere.

The only house I had been the owner of before, if I except a boat, was a tent, which I used occasionally when making excursions in the summer, and this is still rolled up in my garret; but the boat, after passing from hand to hand, has gone down the stream of time. With this more substantial shelter about me, I had made some progress toward settling in the world. This frame, so slightly clad, was a sort of crystallization around me, and reacted on the builder. It was suggestive somewhat as a picture in outlines. I did not need to go outdoors to take the air, for the atmosphere within had lost none of its freshness. It was not so much within doors as behind a door where I sat, even in the rainiest weather. The Harivansa says, “An abode without birds is like a meat without seasoning.” Such was not my abode, for I found myself suddenly neighbor to the birds; not by having imprisoned one, but having caged myself near them. I was not only nearer to some of those which commonly frequent the garden and the orchard, but to those smaller and more thrilling songsters of the forest which never, or rarely, serenade a villager—the wood thrush, the veery, the scarlet tanager, the field sparrow, the whip-poor-will, and many others.

I was seated by the shore of a small pond, about a mile and a half south of the village of Concord and somewhat higher than it, in the midst of an extensive wood between that town and Lincoln, and about two miles south of that our only field known to fame, Concord Battle Ground; but I was so low in the woods that the opposite shore, half a mile off, like the rest, covered with wood, was my most distant horizon....

This small lake was of most value as a neighbor in the intervals of a gentle rain-storm in August, when, both air and water being perfectly still, but the sky overcast, mid-afternoon had all the serenity of evening, and the wood thrush sang around, and was heard from shore to shore. A lake like this is never smoother than at such a time; and the clear portion of the air above it being, shallow and darkened by clouds, the water, full of light and reflections, becomes a lower heaven itself so much the more important. From a hill-top near by, where the wood had been recently cut off, there was a pleasing vista southward across the pond, through a wide indentation in the hills which form the shore there, where their opposite sides sloping toward each other suggested a stream flowing out in that direction through a wooded valley, but stream there was none. That way I looked between and over the near green hills to some distant and higher ones in the horizon, tinged with blue.... When I looked across the pond from this peak toward the Sudbury meadows, which in time of flood I distinguished elevated perhaps by a mirage in their seething valley, like a coin in a basin, all the earth beyond the pond appeared like a thin crust insulated and floated even by this small sheet of intervening water, and I was reminded that this on which I dwelt was but *dry land*.

Though the view from my door was still more contracted, I did not feel crowded or confined in the least. There was pasture enough for my imagination. The low shrub oak plateau to which the opposite shore arose stretched away toward the prairies of the West and the steppes of Tartary, affording ample room for all the roving families of men. "There are none happy in the world but beings who enjoy freely a vast horizon," said Damodara, when his herds required new and larger pastures.

Both place and time were changed, and I dwelt nearer to those parts of the universe and to those eras in history which had most attracted me. Where I lived was as far off as many a region viewed nightly by astronomers. We are wont to imagine rare and delectable places in some remote and more celestial corner of the system, behind the constellation of Cassiopeia's Chair, far from noise and disturbance. I discovered that my house actually had its site in such a withdrawn, but forever new and unprofaned, part of the universe. If it were worth the while to settle in those parts near to the Pleiades or the Hyades, to Aldebaran or Altair, then I was really there, or at an equal remoteness from the life which I had left behind, dwindled and twinkling with as fine a ray to my nearest neighbor, and to be seen only in moonless nights by him....

Every morning was a cheerful invitation to make my life of equal simplicity, and I may say innocence, with Nature herself. I have been as sincere a worshipper of Aurora as the Greeks. I got up early and bathed in the pond; that was a religious exercise, and one of the best things which I did. They say that characters were engraven on the bathing tub of King Tching-thang to this effect: "Renew thyself completely each day; do it again, and again, and forever again." I can understand that. Morning brings back the heroic ages. I was as much affected by the faint burn of a mosquito making its invisible and unimaginable tour through my apartment at earliest dawn, when I was sailing with door and windows open, as I could be by any trumpet that ever sang of fame. It was Homer's requiem; itself an Iliad and Odyssey in the air, singing its own wrath and wanderings. There was something cosmical about it; a standing advertisement, till forbidden, of the everlasting vigor and fertility of the world. The morning, which is the most memorable season of the day, is the awakening hour. Then there is least somnolence in us; and for an hour, at least, some part of us awakes which slumbers all the rest of the day and night. Little is to be expected of that day, if it can be called a day, to which we are not awakened by our Genius, but by the mechanical nudgings of some servitor, are not awakened by our own newly acquired force and aspirations from within, accompanied by the undulations of celestial music, instead of factory bells, and a fragrance filling the air—to a higher life than we fell asleep from; and thus the darkness bear its fruit, and prove itself to be good, no less than the light. That man who does not believe that each day contains an earlier, more sacred, and auroral hour than he has yet profaned, has despaired of life, and is pursuing a descending and darkening way. After a partial cessation of his sensuous life, the soul of man, or its organs rather, are reinvigorated each day, and his Genius

tries again what noble life it can make. All memorable events, I should say, transpire in morning time and in a morning atmosphere.... To him whose elastic and vigorous thought keeps pace with the sun, the day is a perpetual morning. It matters not what the clocks say or the attitudes and labors of men. Morning is when I am awake and there is a dawn in me. Moral reform is the effort to throw off sleep. Why is it that men give so poor an account of their day if they have not been slumbering? They are not such poor calculators. If they had not been overcome with drowsiness, they would have performed something. The millions are awake enough for physical labor; but only one in a million is awake enough for effective intellectual exertion, only one in a hundred millions to a poetic or divine life. To be awake is to be alive. I have never yet met a man who was quite awake. How could I have looked him in the face?...

I went to the woods because I wished to live deliberately, to front only the essential facts of life, and see if I could not learn what it had to teach, and not, when I came to die, discover that I had not lived. I did not wish to live what was not life, living is so dear; nor did I wish to practice resignation, unless it was quite necessary. I wanted to live deep and suck out all the marrow of life, to live so sturdily and Spartan-like as to put to rout all that was not life, to cut a broad swath and shave close, to drive life into a corner, and reduce it to its lowest terms, and, if it proved to be mean, why then to get the whole and genuine meanness of it, and publish its meanness to the world; or if it were sublime, to know it by experience, and be able to give a true account of it in my next excursion. For most men, it appears to me, are in a strange uncertainty about it, whether it is of the devil or of God, and have somewhat hastily concluded that it is the chief end of man here to "glorify God and enjoy him forever."

Still we live meanly, like ants; though the fable tells us that we were long ago changed into men; like pygmies we fight with cranes; it is error upon error, and clout upon clout, and our best virtue has for its occasion a superfluous and evitable wretchedness. Our life is frittered away by detail. An honest man has hardly need to count more than his ten fingers, or in extreme cases he may add his ten toes, and lump the rest. Simplicity, simplicity, simplicity! I say, let your affairs be as two or three, and not a hundred or a thousand; instead of a million count half a dozen, and keep your accounts on your thumb-nail. In the midst of this chopping sea of civilized life, such are the clouds and storms and quicksands and thousand-and-one items to be allowed for, that a man has to live, if he would not founder and go to the bottom and not make his port at all, by dead reckoning, and he must be a great calculator indeed who succeeds. Simplify, simplify. Instead of three meals a day, if it be necessary eat but one; instead of a hundred dishes, five; and reduce other things in proportion.... The nation itself, with all its so-called internal improvements, which, by the way are all external and superficial, is just such an unwieldy and overgrown establishment, cluttered with furniture and tripped up by its own traps, ruined by luxury and heedless expense, by want of calculation and a worthy aim, as the million households in the land; and the only cure for it, as for them, is in a rigid economy, a stern and more than Spartan simplicity of life and elevation of purpose. It lives too fast. Men think that it is essential that the Nation have commerce, and export ice, and talk through a telegraph, and ride thirty miles an hour, without a doubt, whether they do or not; but whether we should live like baboons or like men, is a little uncertain. If we do not get out sleepers, and forge rails, and devote days and nights to the work, but go to tinkering upon our lives to improve them, who will build railroads? And if railroads are not built, how shall we get to heaven in season? But if we stay at home and mind our business, who will want railroads? We do not ride on the railroad; it rides upon us. Did you ever think what those sleepers are that underlie the railroad? Each one is a man, an Irishman, or a Yankee man. The rails are laid on them, and they are covered with sand, and the cars run smoothly over them. They are sound sleepers, I assure you. And every few years a new lot is laid down and run over; so that, if some have the pleasure of riding on a rail, others have the misfortune to be ridden upon. And when they run over a man that is walking in his sleep, a supernumerary sleeper in the wrong position, and wake him up, they suddenly stop the cars, and make a hue and cry about it, as if this were an exception. I am glad to know that it takes a gang of men for every five miles to keep the sleepers down and level in their beds as it is, for this is a sign that they may sometime get up again.

Why should we live with such hurry and waste of life? We are determined to be starved before we are hungry. Men say that a stitch in time saves nine, and so they take a thousand stitches today to save nine tomorrow.... Hardly a man takes a half-hour's nap after dinner, but when he wakes he holds up his head and asks, "What's the news?" as if the rest of mankind had stood his sentinels. Some give directions to be waked every half-hour,

doubtless for no other purpose; and then, to pay for it, they tell what they have dreamed. After a night's sleep the news is as indispensable as the breakfast....

For my part, I could easily do without the post-office. I think that there are very few important communications made through it. To speak critically, I never received more than one or two letters in my life—I wrote this some years ago—that were worth the postage. The penny-post is, commonly, an institution through which you seriously offer a man that penny for his thoughts which is so often safely offered in jest. And I am sure that I never read any memorable news in a newspaper. If we read of one man robbed, or murdered, or killed by accident, or one house burned, or one vessel wrecked, or one steamboat blown up, or one cow run over on the Western Railroad, or one mad dog killed, or one lot of grasshoppers in the winter—we never need read of another. One is enough. If you are acquainted with the principle, what do you care for a myriad instances and applications?...

Shams and delusions are esteemed for soundest truths, while reality is fabulous. If men would steadily observe realities only, and not allow themselves to be deluded, life, to compare it with such things as we know, would be like a fairy tale and the Arabian Nights' Entertainments. If we respected only what is inevitable and has a right to be, music and poetry would resound along the streets. When we are unhurried and wise, we perceive that only great and worthy things have any permanent and absolute existence, that petty fears and petty pleasures are but the shadow of the reality. This is always exhilarating and sublime. By closing the eyes and slumbering, and consenting to be deceived by shows, men establish and confirm their daily life of routine and habit everywhere, which still is built on purely illusory foundations. Children, who play life, discern its true law and relations more clearly than men, who fail to live it worthily, but who think that they are wiser by experience, that is, by failure.... I perceive that we inhabitants of New England live this mean life that we do because our vision does not penetrate the surface of things. We think that that is which appears to be....

Let us spend one day as deliberately as Nature, and not be thrown off the track by every nutshell and mosquito's wing that falls on the rails. Let us rise early and fast, or break fast, gently and without perturbation; let company come and let company go, let the bells ring and the children cry—determined to make a day of it. Why should we knock under and go with the stream? Let us not be upset and overwhelmed in that terrible rapid and whirlpool called a dinner, situated in the meridian shallows. Weather this danger and you are safe, for the rest of the way is down hill. With unrelaxed nerves, with morning vigor, sail by it, looking another way, tied to the mast like Ulysses. If the engine whistles, let it whistle till it is hoarse for its pains. If the bell rings, why should we run? We will consider what kind of music they are like. Let us settle ourselves, and work and wedge our feet downward through the mud and slush of opinion, and prejudice, and tradition, and delusion, and appearance, that alluvion which covers the globe, through Paris and London, through New York and Boston and Concord, through Church and State, through poetry and philosophy and religion, till we come to a hard bottom and rocks in place, which we can call reality, and say, This is, and no mistake.... If you stand right fronting and face-to-face to a fact, you will see the sun glimmer on both its surfaces, as if it were a cimeter, and feel its sweet edge dividing you through the heart and marrow, and so you will happily conclude your mortal career. Be it life or death, we crave only reality. If we are really dying, let us hear the rattle in our throats and feel cold in the extremities; if we are alive, let us go about our business.

Time is but the stream I go a-fishing in. I drink at it; but while I drink I see the sandy bottom and detect how shallow it is. Its thin current slides away, but eternity remains. I would drink deeper; fish in the sky, whose bottom is pebbly with stars. I cannot count one. I know not the first letter of the alphabet. I have always been regretting that I was not as wise as the day I was born. The intellect is a cleaver; it discerns and rifts its way into the secret of things. I do not wish to be any more busy with my hands than is necessary. My head is hands and feet. I feel all my best faculties concentrated in it. My instinct tells me that my head is an organ for burrowing, as some creatures use their snout and fore paws, and with it I would mine and burrow my way through these hills. I think that the richest vein is somewhere hereabouts; so by the divining-rod and thin rising vapors I judge; and here I will begin to mine.

Source: Henry David Thoreau, *Walden, or Life in the Woods* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1854).

Hand-Book of the Oneida Community (1867)

The Oneida Community in central New York State was a Christian utopian settlement established in 1848 by religious and social radical John Humphrey Noyes. Believing in the perfectibility of human life and society, members owned all possessions and property communally, shared the work and governance of the community, and practiced a form of complex (group) marriage. The guiding principles and doctrines were summarized in the Hand-Book of the Oneida Community, excerpts of which follow.

Means of Government

The measures relied upon for good government, in these Community families are, first, *daily evening meetings*, which all are expected to attend, and in which religious, social and business matters are freely discussed; and secondly, the system of mutual criticism. This system takes the place of backbiting in ordinary society, and is regarded as one of the greatest means of improvement and fellowship. All of the members are accustomed to voluntarily invite the benefit of criticism from time to time. Sometimes persons are criticized by the entire family; at other times by a committee of six, eight, twelve, or more, selected by themselves from among those best acquainted with them, and best able to do justice to their character. In these criticisms the most perfect sincerity is expected; and in practical experience it is found best for the subject to receive his criticism without replying. There is little danger that the general verdict in respect to his character will be unjust. This ordinance is far from agreeable to those whose egotism and vanity are stronger than their love of truth. It is an ordeal which reveals insincerity and selfishness; but it also often takes the form of commendation, and reveals hidden virtues as well as secret faults. It is always acceptable to those who wish to see themselves as others see them.

These two agencies, viz. daily evening meetings and criticism, are found quite adequate to the maintenance of good order and government in the Communities. Those who join the Communities understanding their principles, and afterward prove refractory and inharmonic, and also those who come into the Communities in childhood, and afterwards develop characters antagonistic to the general spirit, and refuse to yield to the governmental agencies mentioned, either voluntarily withdraw or are expelled. Only one case of expulsion has, however, been recorded....

The Social Organization

of the Oneida Community and its branches, and the intercourse of the sexes, are also easily explained and readily understood. In the first place, the Communities believe, contrary to the theory of the novelists and others, that the affections can be controlled and guided, and that they will produce far better results when rightly controlled and rightly guided than if left to take care of themselves without restraint. They entirely reject the idea that love is an inevitable and uncontrollable fatality, which must have its own course. They believe the whole matter of love and its expression should be subject to enlightened self-control, and should be managed for the greatest good. In the Communities it is under the special supervision of the fathers and mothers, or, in other words, of the wisest and best members, and is often under discussion in the evening meetings, and is also subordinate to the institution of criticism. The fathers and mothers are guided in their management by certain general principles which have been worked out, and are well understood in the Communities. One is termed the principle of the ascending fellowship. It is regarded as better for the young of both sexes to associate in love with persons older than themselves, and, if possible, with those who are spiritual and have been some time in the school of self-control, and who are thus able to make love safe and edifying. This is only another form of the popular principle of contrasts. It is well understood by physiologists, that it is undesirable for persons of similar characters and temperaments to mate together. Communists have discovered that it is not desirable for two inexperienced and unspiritual persons to rush into fellowship with each other; that it is far better for both to associate with persons of mature character and sound sense.

Another general principle well understood in the Communities, is, that it is not desirable for two persons, whatever may be their standing, to become exclusively attached to each other—to worship and idolize each other—however popular this experience may be with sentimental people generally. They regard exclusive, idolatrous attachment as unhealthy and pernicious wherever it may exist. The Communities insist that the heart should be kept free to

love all the true and worthy, and should never be contracted with exclusiveness or idolatry, or purely selfish love in any form....

The great aim is to teach every one self-control. This leads to the greatest happiness in love, and the greatest good to all....

Free Love

This terrible combination of two very good ideas—freedom and love—was first used by the writers of the Oneida Community about eighteen years ago, and probably originated with them. It was however soon taken up by a very different class of speculators scattered about the country, and has come to be the name of a form of socialism with which we have but little affinity. Still it is sometimes applied to our Communities; and as we are certainly responsible for starting it into circulation, it seems to be our duty to tell what meaning we attach to it, and in what sense we are willing to accept it as a designation of our social system.

The obvious and essential difference between marriage and licentious connections may be stated thus:

Marriage is permanent union. Whoredom is a temporary flirtation.

In marriage, communism of property goes with communism of persons. In whoredom, love is paid for by the job.

Marriage makes a man responsible for the *consequences* of his acts of love to a woman. In whoredom a man imposes on a woman the heavy burdens of maternity, ruining perhaps her reputation and her health, and then goes his way without responsibility.

Marriage provides for the maintenance and education of children. Whoredom ignores children as nuisances, and leaves them to chance.

Now in respect to every one of these points of difference between marriage and whoredom, *we stand with marriage*. Free love with us does *not* mean freedom to love to-day and leave to-morrow; nor freedom to take a woman's person and keep our property to ourselves; nor freedom to freight a woman with our offspring and send her down stream without care or help; nor freedom to beget children and leave them to the street and the poor-house. Our Communities are *families*, as distinctly bounded and separated from promiscuous society as ordinary households. The tie that binds us together is as permanent and sacred, to say the least, as that of marriage, for it is our religion. We receive no members (except by deception or mistake), who do not give heart and hand to the family interest for life and forever. Community of property extends just as far as freedom of love. Every man's care and every dollar of the common property is pledged for the maintenance and protection of the women, and the education of the children of the Community. Bastardy, in any disastrous sense of the word, is simply impossible in such a social state. Whoever will take the trouble to follow our track from the beginning, will find no forsaken women or children by the way. In this respect we claim to be a little ahead of marriage and common civilization.

We are not sure how far the class of socialists called "free lovers" would claim for themselves anything like the above defense from the charge of *reckless* and *cruel* freedom; but our impression is that their position, scattered as they are, without organization or definite separation from surrounding society, makes it impossible for them to follow and care for the consequences of their freedom, and thus exposes them to the just charge of licentiousness. At all events their platform is entirely different from ours, and they must answer for themselves. We are not "free lovers" in any sense that makes love less binding or responsible than it is in marriage.

Source: Hand-Book of the Oneida Community (1867).

Woman's Christian Temperance Union "Do Everything" Policy (1893)

In a speech to the Second Biennial Convention of the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) in October 1893, Frances Willard—president of the American WCTU—declared the necessity of the "Do Everything"

policy she had been advocating in the campaign for abstinence and public morals.

Beloved Comrades of the White Ribbon Army:

WHEN we began the delicate, difficult, and dangerous operation of dissecting out the alcohol nerve from the body politic, we did not realize the intricacy of the undertaking nor the distances that must be traversed by the scalpel of investigation and research. In about seventy days from now, twenty years will have elapsed since the call of battle sounded its bugle note among the homes and hearts of Hillsboro, Ohio. We have all been refreshing our knowledge of those days by reading the "Crusade Sketches" of its heroic leader, Mrs. Eliza J. Thompson, "the mother of us all," and we know that but one thought, sentiment and purpose animated those saintly "Praying Bands" whose name will never die out from human history. "Brothers, we beg you not to drink and not to sell!" This was the one wailing note of these moral Paganinis, playing on one string. It caught the universal ear and set the key of that mighty orchestra, organized with so much toil and hardship, in which the tender and exalted strain of the Crusade violin still soars aloft, but upborne now by the clanging cornets of science, the deep trombones of legislation, and the thunderous drums of politics and parties. The "Do Everything Policy" was not of our choosing, but is an evolution as inevitable as any traced by the naturalist or described by the historian. Woman's genius for details, and her patient steadfastness in following the enemies of those she loves "through every lane of life," have led her to antagonize the alcohol habit and the liquor traffic just where they are, wherever that may be. If she does this, since they are everywhere, her policy will be "Do Everything."

A one-sided movement makes one-sided advocates. Virtues, like hounds, hunt in packs. Total abstinence is not the crucial virtue in life that excuses financial crookedness, defamation of character, or habits of impurity. The fact that one's father was, and one's self is, a bright and shining light in the total abstinence galaxy, does not give one a vantage ground for high-handed behavior toward those who have not been trained to the special virtue that forms the central idea of the Temperance Movement. We have known persons who, because they had "never touched a drop of liquor," set themselves up as if they belonged to a royal line, but whose tongues were as biting as alcohol itself, and whose narrowness had no competitor save a straight line. An all-round movement can only be carried forward by all-round advocates; a scientific age requires the study of every subject in its correlations. It was once supposed that light, heat, and electricity were wholly separate entities; it is now believed and practically proved that they are but different modes of motion. Standing in the valley we look up and think we see an isolated mountain; climbing to its top we see that it is but one member of a range of mountains many of them of well-nigh equal altitude.

Some bright women who have opposed the "Do-Everything Policy" used as their favorite illustration a flowing river, and expatiated on the ruin that would follow if that river (which represents their do-one-thing policy) were diverted into many channels, but it should be remembered that the most useful of all rivers is the Nile, and that the agricultural economy of Egypt consists in the effort to spread its waters upon as many fields as possible. It is not for the river's sake that it flows through the country but for the sake of the fertility it can bring upon adjoining fields, and this is pre-eminently true of the Temperance Reform....

In the conflict with the liquor traffic, the policy of the W.C.T.U. is to attack not only the chief foe, but also its notorious and open allies. This is the course dictated not only by common sense, but by absolute necessity. If the home is to be protected, not only must the dram-shop be made an outlaw, but its allies, the gambling hells, the houses of unreportable infamy, the ignorance of the general population as to alcoholics and other narcotics, the timidity of trade, the venality of portions of the press, and especially the subserviency of political parties to the liquor traffic, must be assailed as confederates of the chief enemy of the home.... It is certain that the broad and progressive policy of the W.C.T.U. in the United States makes the whiskey rings and time-serving politicians greatly dread its influence. They honor the Union by frequent and bitter attacks. It is a recognized power in international affairs. If its policy were made narrow and non-partisan, its influence would immensely wane in practical matters of great importance.

The department of Scientific Temperance Instruction, conducted by the W.C.T.U., and led by Mrs. Mary H. Hunt, of Boston, has now made such instruction mandatory in thirty-six States of the Republic. This is a very large and

substantial triumph of the broad and progressive policy. Instead of the National W.C.T.U. having lost the confidence of the churches by its broad policy, I believe, after much travel and years of observation, that it never had more of that confidence than at the present hour. At a recent Congressional Hearing, in Washington, I heard a distinguished Presbyterian Professor of Theology, Rev. Dr. Herrick Johnson, of Chicago, call the W.C.T.U. the most powerful, the most beneficent, and the most successful organization ever formed by women. Similar testimony abounds in all the most enlightened circles of the land.

Let us not be disconcerted, but stand bravely by that blessed trinity of movements, Prohibition, Woman's Liberation and Labor's uplift.

Everything is not in the Temperance Reform, but the Temperance Reform should be in everything.

There is no better motto for the "Do-Everything-Policy," than this which we are saying by our deeds: "Make a chain, for the land is full of bloody crimes and the city of violence."

If we can remember this simple rule, it will do much to unravel the mystery of the much controverted "Do-Everything-Policy," viz: that every question of practical philanthropy or reform has its temperance aspect, and with that we are to deal....

Methods that were once the only ones available may become, with the passage of years, less useful because less available. In earlier times the manly art of hunting was most helpful to civilization, because before fields could be cleared and tilled, they had to be free from the danger of wild beasts, and no method of obtaining food was more important than the chase; but when the forests have been cleared away and the pastoral condition of life has supervened, nay, more, when the highest civilization peoples the hills and valleys, it certainly evinces a lack of imagination to present such a spectacle as do the hunters who in England today place a poor stag in a van, convey him on four wheels to a wood, let him out through a door, and set trained dogs upon him, while they follow with guns and halloos, and call it "sport"! The same absurdity has been illustrated by Baron Hirsch, who recently imported 6,000 caged partridges to his country place, let them loose in the groves, and set himself and friends peppering away at them. Surely such conduct is the reverse of manly, and must bring what was once a noble occupation into contempt. But, in a different way, we illustrate the same principle, when we forget that "New occasions teach new duties, Time makes ancient good uncouth."...

The Temperance cause started out well nigh alone, but mighty forces have joined us in the long march. We are now in the midst of the Waterloo battle, and in the providence of God the Temperance army will not have to fight that out all by itself. For Science has come up with its glittering contingent, political economy deploys its legions, the woman question brings an Amazonian army upon the field, and the stout ranks of labor stretch away far as the eye can reach. As in the old Waterloo against Napoleon, so now against the Napoleon of the liquor traffic, no force is adequate except the allied forces.

Source: Frances Willard, Address before the Second Biennial Convention of the World Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1893).

Speech at Founding Convention of the Industrial Workers of the World

(1905), Eugene V. Debs

Former railroad worker Eugene V. Debs, a leader of the fledgling labor movement and socialist politics in America, was a cofounder of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) in 1905. On June 29 of that year, Debs addressed the IWW's founding convention in Chicago, which was attended by some 200 socialists and radical trade unionists.

Fellow Delegates and Comrades:

As the preliminaries in organizing the convention have been disposed of, we will get down to the real work before this body. We are here to perform a task so great that it appeals to our best thought, our united energies, and will

enlist our most loyal support; a task in the presence of which weak men might falter and despair, but from which it is impossible to shrink without betraying the working class.

I am much impressed by this proletarian gathering. I realize that I stand in the presence of those who in the past have fought, are fighting, and will continue to fight the battles of the working class economically and politically, until the capitalist class is overthrown and the working class are emancipated from all of the degrading thralldom of the ages. In this great struggle the working class are often defeated, but never vanquished. Even the defeats, if we are wise enough to profit by them, but hasten the day of the final victory.

In taking a survey of the industrial field of today, we are at once impressed with the total inadequacy of working-class organization, with the lack of solidarity, with the widespread demoralization we see, and we are bound to conclude that the old form of pure and simple unionism has long since outgrown its usefulness; that it is now not only in the way of progress, but that it has become positively reactionary, a thing that is but an auxiliary to the capitalist class.

They charge us with being assembled here for the purpose of disrupting the union movement. It is already disrupted, and if it were not disrupted we would not behold the spectacle here in the very city of a white policeman guarding a black scab, and a black policeman guarding a white scab, while the trade unions stand by with their hands in their pockets wondering what is the matter with union labor in America. We are here today for the purpose of uniting the working class, for the purpose of eliminating that form of unionism which is responsible for the conditions as they exist today.

The trades-union movement is today under the control of the capitalist class. It is preaching capitalist economics. It is serving capitalist purposes. Proof of it, positive and overwhelming, appears on every hand. All of the important strikes during the textile workers at Fall River, that proved so disastrous to those who engaged in it; the strike of the subway employees in the city of New York, where under the present form of organization the local leaders repudiated the local leaders and were in alliance with the capitalist class to crush their own followers; the strike of the stockyard's employees here in Chicago; the strike of the teamsters now in progress—all, all of them bear testimony to the fact that the pure and simple form of unionism has fulfilled its mission, whatever that may have been, and that the time has come for it to go.

The American Federation of Labor has numbers, but the capitalist class do not fear the American Federation of Labor; quite the contrary. The capitalist papers here in this very city at this very time are championing the cause of pure and simple unionism. Since this convention met there has been nothing in these papers but a series of misrepresentations. If we had met instead in the interest of the American Federation of Labor these papers, these capitalist papers, would have had their columns filled with articles commending the work that is being done here. There is certainly something wrong with that form of unionism which has its chief support in the press that represents capitalism; something wrong in that form of unionism whose leaders are the lieutenants of capitalism; something wrong with that form of unionism that forms an alliance with such a capitalist combination as the Civic Federation, whose sole purpose it is to chloroform the working class while the capitalist class go through their pockets. There are those who believe that this form of unionism can be changed from within. They are very greatly mistaken. We might as well have remained in the Republican and Democratic parties and have expected to effect certain changes from within, instead of withdrawing from those parties and organizing a party that represented the exploiting working class. There is but one way to effect this great change, and that is for the workingman to sever his relations with the American Federation and join the union that proposes upon the economic field to represent his class, and we are here today for the purpose of organizing that union. I believe that we are capable of profiting by the experiences of the past. I believe it is possible for the delegates here assembled to form a great, sound, economic organization of the working class based upon the class struggle, that shall be broad enough to embrace every honest worker, yet narrow enough to exclude every fakir.

Now, let me say to those delegates who are here representing the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance that I have not in the past agreed with their tactics. I concede that their theory is right, that their principles are sound; I admit and cheerfully admit the honesty of their membership. But there must certainly be something wrong with their tactics or

their methods of propaganda if in these years they have not developed a larger membership than they have to their credit.

Let me say in this connection, I am not of those who scorn you because of your small numbers. I have been taught by experience that numbers do not represent strength. I will concede that the capitalist class does not fear the American Federation of Labor because of their numbers. Let me add that the capitalist class does not fear your Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. The one are too numerous and the other are not sufficiently numerous. The American Federation of Labor is not sound in its economics. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is sound in its economics, but in my judgment it does not appeal to the American working class in the right spirit. Upon my lips there has never been a sneer for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance on account of the smallness of its numbers. I have been quite capable of applauding the pluck, of admiring the courage of the members of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, for though few in numbers, they stay by their colors....

Now, I believe that there is a middle ground that can be occupied without the slightest concession of principle. I believe it is possible for such an organization as the Western Federation of Miners to be brought into harmonious relation with the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. I believe it is possible that that element of the organizations represented here have the conviction, born of experience, observation and study, that the time has come to organize a new union, and I believe it is possible for these elements to mingle, to combine here, and to at least begin the work of forming a great economic or revolutionary organization of the working class so sorely needed in the struggle for their emancipation. The supreme need of the hour, as the speaker who preceded me so clearly expressed it in his carefully and clearly thought address—the supreme need of the hour is a sound, revolutionary working-class organization. And while I am not foolish enough to imagine that we can complete this great work in a single convention of a few days' duration, I do believe it is possible for us to initiate this work, to begin it in a way for the greatest promise, with the assurance that its work will be completed in a way that will appeal with increasing force to the working class of the country.

I am satisfied that the great body of the working class in this country are prepared for just such an organization. I know, their leaders know, that if this convention is successful their doom is sealed. They can already see the hand-writing upon the wall, and so they are seeking by all of the power at their command to discredit this convention, and in alliance with the cohorts of capitalism they are doing what they can to defeat this convention. It may fail in its mission, for they may continue to misrepresent, deceive and betray the working class and keep them in the clutches of their capitalist masters and exploiters.

They are hoping that we will fail to get together. They are hoping, as they have already expressed it, that this convention will consist of a prolonged wrangle; that such is our feeling and relations toward each other that it will be impossible for us to agree upon any vital proposition; that we will fight each other upon every point, and that when we have concluded our labors we will leave things in a worse condition than they were before.

If we are true to ourselves we will undeceive those gentlemen. We will give them to understand that we are animated by motives too lofty for them in their baseness and sordidness to comprehend. We will give them to understand that the motive here is not to use unionism as a means of serving the capitalist class, but that the motive of the men and women assembled here is to serve the working class by so organizing that class as to make their organization the promise of the coming triumph upon the economic field and the political field and the ultimate emancipation of the working class....

I have not the slightest feeling against those who in the past have seen fit to call me a fakir. I can afford to wait. I have waited, and I now stand ready to take by the hand every man, every woman that comes here, totally regardless of past affiliations, whose purpose it is to organize the working class upon the economic field, to launch that economic organization that shall be the expression of the economic conditions as they exist today; that organization for which the working class are prepared; that organization which we shall at least begin before we have ended our labors, unless we shall prove false to the object for which we have assembled here.

Now, I am not going to take the time to undertake to outline the form of this organization. Nor should I undertake

to try your patience by attempting to elaborate the plan of organization. But let me suggest, in a few words, that to accomplish its purpose this organization must not only be based upon the class struggle, but must express the economic condition of this time. We must have one organization that embraces the workers in every department of industrial activity. It must express the class struggle. It must recognize the class lines. It must of course be class-conscious. It must be totally uncompromising. It must be an organization of the rank and file. It must be so organized and so guided as to appeal to the intelligence of the workers of the country everywhere. And if we succeed, as I believe we will, in forming such an organization, its success is a foregone conclusion.

I have already said the working class are ready for it. There are multiplied thousands in readiness to join it, waiting only to see if the organization is rightly grounded and properly formed; and this done there will be no trouble about its development, and its development will take proper form and expand to its true proportions. If this work is properly begun, it will mean in time, and not a long time at that, a single union upon the economic field. It will mean more than that; it will mean a single party upon the political field; the one the economic expression, the other the political expression of the working class; the two halves that represent the organic whole of the labor movement.

Now, let me say in closing, comrades—and I have tried to condense, not wishing to tax your patience or to take the time of others, for I believe that in such conventions as this it is more important that we shall perform than that we shall make speeches—let me say in closing that you and I and all of us who are here to enlist in the service of the working class need to have faith in each other, not the faith born of ignorance and stupidity, but the enlightened faith of self-interest. We are in precisely the same position; we depend absolutely upon each other. We must get close together and stand shoulder to shoulder. We know that without solidarity nothing is possible, that with it nothing is impossible.

And so we must dispel the petty prejudices that are born of the differences of the past, and I am of those who believe that, if we get together in the true working-class spirit, most of these differences will disappear, and if those of us who have differed in the past are willing to accord to each other that degree of conciliation that we ourselves feel that we are entitled to, that we will forget these differences, we will approach all of the problems that confront us with our intelligence combined, acting together in concert, all animated by the same high resolve to form that great union, so necessary to the working class, without which their condition remains as it is, and with which, when made practical and vitalized and renewed, the working class is permeated with the conquering spirit of the class struggle, and as if by magic the entire movement is vitalized, and side by side and shoulder to shoulder in a class-conscious phalanx we move forward to certain and complete victory.

Source: Industrial Workers of the World Founding Convention Minutes (1905).

***The Woman Rebel* (1914), Margaret Sanger**

In March 1914, reproductive rights crusader Margaret Sanger began publication of an eight-page monthly newspaper called The Woman Rebel. In its pages, where she coined the term birth control, Sanger sought to unite women around the issues of sexual and reproductive freedom, safe contraception, and the feminist movement in general. The following passages appeared in the newspaper's inaugural issue.

This paper will not be the champion of any "ism."

All rebel women are invited to contribute to its columns.

The majority of papers usually adjust themselves to the ideas of their readers but the WOMAN REBEL will obstinately refuse to be adjusted.

The aim of this paper will be to stimulate working women to think for themselves and to build up a conscious fighting character.

An early feature will be a series of articles written by the editor for girls from fourteen to eighteen years of age. In

this present chaos of sex atmosphere it is difficult for the girl of this uncertain age to know just what to do or really what constitutes clean living without prudishness. All this slushy talk about white slavery, the man painted and described as a hideous vulture pouncing down upon the young, pure and innocent girl, drugging her through the medium of grape juice and lemonade and then dragging her off to his foul den for other men equally as vicious to feed and fatten on her enforced slavery—surely this picture is enough to sicken and disgust every thinking woman and man, who has lived even a few years past the adolescent age. Could any more repulsive and foul conception of sex be given to adolescent girls as a preparation for life than this picture that is being perpetuated by the stupidly ignorant in the name of “sex education”!

If it were possible to get the truth from girls who work in prostitution to-day, I believe most of them would tell you that the first sex experience was with a sweetheart or through the desire for a sweetheart or something impelling within themselves, the nature of which they knew not, neither could they control. Society does not forgive this act when it is based upon the natural impulses and feelings of a young girl. It prefers the other story of the grape juice procurer which makes it easy to shift the blame from its own shoulders, to cast the stone and to evade the unpleasant facts that it alone is responsible for. It sheds sympathetic tears over white slavery, holds the often mythical procurer up as a target, while in reality it is supported by the misery it engenders.

If, as reported, there are approximately 35,000 women working as prostitutes in New York City alone, is it not sane to conclude that some force, some living, powerful, social force is at play to compel these women to work at a trade which involves police persecution, social ostracism and the constant danger of exposure to venereal diseases. From my own knowledge of adolescent girls and from sincere expressions of women working as prostitutes inspired by mutual understanding and confidence I claim that the first sexual act of these so-called wayward girls is partly given, partly desired yet reluctantly so because of the fear of the consequences together with the dread of lost respect of the man. These fears interfere with mutuality of expression—the man becomes conscious of the responsibility of the set and often refuses to see her again, sometimes leaving the town and usually denouncing her as having been with “other fellows.” His sole aim is to throw off responsibility. The same uncertainty in these emotions is experienced by girls in marriage in as great a proportion as in the unmarried. After the first experience the life of a girl varies. All these girls do not necessarily go into prostitution. They have had an experience which has not “ruined” them, but rather given them a larger vision of life, stronger feelings and a broader understanding of human nature. The adolescent girl does not understand herself. She is full of contradictions, whims, emotions. For her emotional nature longs for caresses, to touch, to kiss. She is often as well satisfied to hold hands or to go arm in arm with a girl as in the companionship of a boy.

It is these and kindred facts upon which the WOMAN REBEL will dwell from time to time and from which it is hoped the young girl will derive some knowledge of her nature, and conduct her life upon such knowledge.

It will also be the aim of the WOMAN REBEL to advocate the prevention of conception and to impart such knowledge in the columns of this paper....

The Prevention of Conception

Is there any reason why women should not receive clean, harmless, scientific knowledge on how to prevent conception? Everybody is aware that the old, stupid fallacy that such knowledge will cause a girl to enter into prostitution has long been shattered. Seldom does a prostitute become pregnant. Seldom does the girl practicing promiscuity become pregnant. The woman of the upper middle class has all available knowledge and implements to prevent conception. The woman of the lower middle class is struggling for this knowledge. She tries various methods of prevention, and after a few years of experience plus medical advice succeeds in discovering some method suitable to her individual self. The woman of the people is the only one left in ignorance of this information. Her neighbors, relatives and friends tell her stories of special devices and the success of them all. They tell her also of the blood-sucking men with M. D. after their names who perform operations for the price of so-and-so. But the working woman's purse is thin. Its far cheaper to have a baby, “though God knows what it will do after it gets here.” Then, too, all other classes of women live in places where there is at least a semblance of

privacy and sanitation. It is easier for them to care for themselves whereas the large majority of the women of the people have no bathing or sanitary conveniences. This accounts too for the fact that the higher the standard of living, the more care can be taken and fewer children result. No plagues, famine or wars could ever frighten the capitalist class so much as the universal practice of the prevention of conception. On the other hand no better method could be utilized for increasing the wages of the workers.

As is well known, a law exists forbidding the imparting of information on this subject, the penalty being several years' imprisonment. Is it now time to defy this law! And what fitter place could be found than in the pages of the WOMAN REBEL!

Source: Margaret Sanger, *The Woman Rebel* (March 1914).

"I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier (1915)"

With the outbreak of World War I in Europe, American pacifists, isolationists, socialists, and other antimilitarists came together in opposition to U.S. involvement. In 1915, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier" was a popular antiwar song.

Ten million soldiers to the war have gone,
Who may never return again.
Ten million mothers' hearts must break,
For the ones who died in vain.
Head bowed down in sorrow in her lonely years,
I heard a mother murmur thro' her tears:

Chorus:

I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier,
I brought him up to be my pride and joy,
Who dares to put a musket on his shoulder,
To shoot some other mother's darling boy?
Let nations arbitrate their future troubles,
It's time to lay the sword and gun away,
There'd be no war today,
If mothers all would say,
I didn't raise my boy to be a soldier.

(Chorus)

What victory can cheer a mother's heart,
When she looks at her blighted home?
What victory can bring her back,
All she cared to call her own?
Let each mother answer in the year to be,
Remember that my boy belongs to me!

(Chorus)

Source: Al Pianadosi and Alfred Bryan, "I Didn't Raise My Boy to Be a Soldier," recording (Edison Collection, Library of Congress).

"Anarchism: What It Really Stands For" (1917), Emma Goldman

With life partner and revolutionary comrade Alexander Berkman, Russian immigrant Emma Goldman was the leading voice and advocate of anarchism in Progressive Era America. Despite her disavowal of violence, Goldman's radical ideas and incendiary rhetoric were a source of fear to the general public and federal government. She expressed her views in countless speeches and published works, including the following exposition in Anarchism and Other Essays.

The history of human growth and development is at the same time the history of the terrible struggle of every new idea heralding the approach of a brighter dawn. In its tenacious hold on tradition, the Old has never hesitated to make use of the foulest and cruelest means to stay the advent of the New, in whatever form or period the latter may have asserted itself. Nor need we retrace our steps into the distant past to realize the enormity of opposition, difficulties, and hardships placed in the path of every progressive idea. The rack, the thumbscrew, and the knout are still with us; so are the convict's garb and the social wrath, all conspiring against the spirit that is serenely marching on.

Anarchism could not hope to escape the fate of all other ideas of innovation. Indeed, as the most revolutionary and uncompromising innovator, Anarchism must needs meet with the combined ignorance and venom of the world it aims to reconstruct.

To deal even remotely with all that is being said and done against Anarchism would necessitate the writing of a whole volume. I shall therefore meet only two of the principal objections. In so doing, I shall attempt to elucidate what Anarchism really stands for.

The strange phenomenon of the opposition to Anarchism is that it brings to light the relation between so-called intelligence and ignorance. And yet this is not so very strange when we consider the relativity of all things. The ignorant mass has in its favor that it makes no pretense of knowledge or tolerance. Acting, as it always does, by mere impulse, its reasons are like those of a child. "Why?" "Because." Yet the opposition of the uneducated to Anarchism deserves the same consideration as that of the intelligent man.

What, then, are the objections? First, Anarchism is impractical, though a beautiful ideal. Second, Anarchism stands for violence and destruction, hence it must be repudiated as vile and dangerous. Both the intelligent man and the ignorant mass judge not from a thorough knowledge of the subject, but either from hearsay or false interpretation.

A practical scheme, says Oscar Wilde, is either one already in existence, or a scheme that could be carried out under the existing conditions; but it is exactly the existing conditions that one objects to, and any scheme that could accept these conditions is wrong and foolish. The true criterion of the practical, therefore, is not whether the latter can keep intact the wrong or foolish; rather is it whether the scheme has vitality enough to leave the stagnant waters of the old, and build, as well as sustain, new life. In the light of this conception, Anarchism is indeed practical. More than any other idea, it is helping to do away with the wrong and foolish; more than any other idea, it is building and sustaining new life.

The emotions of the ignorant man are continuously kept at a pitch by the most blood-curdling stories about Anarchism. Not a thing too outrageous to be employed against this philosophy and its exponents. Therefore Anarchism represents to the unthinking what the proverbial bad man does to the child,—a black monster bent on swallowing everything; in short, destruction and violence.

Destruction and violence! How is the ordinary man to know that the most violent element in society is ignorance; that its power of destruction is the very thing Anarchism is combating? Nor is he aware that Anarchism, whose roots, as it were, are part of nature's forces, destroys, not healthful tissue, but parasitic growths that feed on the life's essence of society. It is merely clearing the soil from weeds and sagebrush, that it may eventually bear healthy fruit.

Someone has said that it requires less mental effort to condemn than to think. The widespread mental indolence, so prevalent in society, proves this to be only too true. Rather than to go to the bottom of any given idea, to examine into its origin and meaning, most people will either condemn it altogether, or rely on some superficial or prejudicial definition of non-essentials.

Anarchism urges man to think, to investigate, to analyze every proposition; but that the brain capacity of the average reader be not taxed too much, I also shall begin with a definition, and then elaborate on the latter.

ANARCHISM:—The philosophy of a new social order based on liberty unrestricted by man-made law; the theory that all forms of government rest on violence, and are therefore wrong and harmful, as well as unnecessary.

The new social order rests, of course, on the materialistic basis of life; but while all Anarchists agree that the main evil today is an economic one, they maintain that the solution of that evil can be brought about only through the consideration of *every phase* of life,—individual, as well as the collective; the internal, as well as the external phases....

Anarchism is the only philosophy which brings to man the consciousness of himself; which maintains that God, the State, and society are non-existent, that their promises are null and void, since they can be fulfilled only through man's subordination. Anarchism is therefore the teacher of the unity of life; not merely in nature, but in man. There is no conflict between the individual and the social instincts, any more than there is between the heart and the lungs: the one the receptacle of a precious life essence, the other the repository of the element that keeps the essence pure and strong. The individual is the heart of society, conserving the essence of social life; society is the lungs which are distributing the element to keep the life essence—that is, the individual—pure and strong.

Source: Emma Goldman, *Anarchism and Other Essays*, 3rd rev. ed. (New York: Mother Earth Publishing, 1917).

Harlem Renaissance Poetry (1922)

A cultural flowering in New York's African American community during the 1920s and 1930s, the Harlem Renaissance featured works of literature, music, and art that portrayed and celebrated the African American experience in new and vibrant ways. Among the prominent literary voices were those of Langston Hughes, Jean Toomer, and Claude McKay; a sampling of their poems—all published in 1922—appears below.

The Negro Speaks of Rivers

By Langston Hughes

I've known rivers:

I've known rivers ancient as the world and older than the flow of human blood in human veins.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

I bathed in the Euphrates when dawns were young.

I built my hut near the Congo and it lulled me to sleep.

I looked upon the Nile and raised the pyramids above it.

I heard the singing of the Mississippi when Abe Lincoln went down to New Orleans, and I've seen its muddy bosom turn all golden in the sunset.

I've known rivers:

Ancient, dusky rivers.

My soul has grown deep like the rivers.

Reapers

By Jean Toomer

Black reapers with the sound of steel on stones

Are sharpening scythes. I see them place the hones

In their hip-pockets as a thing that's done,

And start their silent swinging, one by one.

Black horses drive a mower through the weeds,

And there, a field rat, startled, squealing bleeds,

His belly close to ground. I see the blade,

Blood-stained, continue cutting weeds and shade.

America

By Claude McKay

Although she feeds me bread of bitterness,
And sinks into my throat her tiger's tooth,
Stealing my breath of life, I will confess
I love this cultured hell that tests my youth!
Her vigor flows like tides into my blood,
Giving me strength erect against her hate.
Her bigness sweeps my being like a flood.
Yet as a rebel fronts a king in state,
I stand within her walls with not a shred
Of terror, malice, not a word of jeer.
Darkly I gaze into the days ahead,
And see her might and granite wonders there,
Beneath the touch of Time's unerring hand,
Like priceless treasures sinking in the sand.

Source: *Poets' Corner*, <http://www.theotherpages.org/poems/chronidx.html#c1900>.

House Committee on Un-American Activities, Testimony of Screenwriter

Albert Maltz (1947)

The Hollywood Ten was a group of screenwriters and directors called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in October 1947 to testify about their own political views and about alleged Communist influence in the motion-picture industry. All ten defied the fervor of the McCarthy era by refusing to state whether or not they were Communists; all ten were held in contempt and served time in jail. What follows is part of the testimony of one of the Hollywood Ten, screenwriter Albert Maltz.

Chairman [Congressman J. Parnell Thomas]: Mr. Maltz, the committee is unanimous in permitting you to read the statement.

Mr. Maltz: Thank you.

I am an American and I believe there is no more proud word in the vocabulary of man. I am a novelist and screen writer and I have produced a certain body of work in the past 15 years. As with any other writer, what I have written has come from the total fabric of my life—my birth in this land, our schools and games, our atmosphere of freedom, our tradition of inquiry, criticism, discussion, tolerance. Whatever I am, America has made me. And I, in turn, possess no loyalty as great as the one I have to this land, to the economic and social welfare of its people, to the perpetuation and development of its democratic way of life.

Now at the age of 39, I am commanded to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. For a full week this committee has encouraged an assortment of well-rehearsed witnesses to testify that I and others are subversive and un-American.

It has refused us the opportunity that any pickpocket receives in a magistrate's court—the right to cross-examine these witnesses, to refute their testimony, to reveal their motives, their history, and who, exactly, they are. Furthermore it grants these witnesses congressional immunity so that we may not sue them for libel for their slanders.

I maintain that this is an evil and vicious procedure; that it is legally unjust and morally indecent—and that it places in danger every other American, since if the right of any one citizen can be invaded, then the constitutional guaranties of every other American have been subverted and no one is any longer protected from official tyranny.

What is it about me that this committee wishes to destroy? My writing? Very well, let us refer to them.

My novel, *The Cross and the Arrow*, was issued in a special edition of 140,000 copies by a wartime Government agency, the armed services edition, for American servicemen abroad.

My short stories have been reprinted in over 30 anthologies, by as many American publishers—all subversive, no doubt.

My film, *The Pride of the Marines*, was premiered in 28 cities at Guadalcanal Day banquets under the auspices of the United States Marine Corps.

Another film, *Destination Tokyo*, was premiered aboard a United States submarine and was adopted by the Navy as an official training film.

My short film, *The House I Live In*, was given a special award by the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences for its contribution to racial tolerance.

My short story, *The Happiest Man on Earth*, won the 1938 O. Henry Memorial Award for the best American short story.

This, then, is the body of work for which this committee urges I be blacklisted in the film industry—and tomorrow, if it has its way in the publishing and magazine fields also.

By cold censorship, if not legislation, I must not be allowed to write. Will this censorship stop with me? Or with the others now singled out for attack? If it requires acceptance of the ideas of this committee to remain immune from the brand of un-Americanism, then who is ultimately safe from this committee except members of the Ku Klux Klan?

Why else does this committee now seek to destroy me and others? Because of our ideas, unquestionably. In 1801, when he was President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson wrote: "Opinion, and the just maintenance of it, shall never be a crime in my view; nor bring injury to the individual."

But a few years ago, in the course of one of the hearings of this committee, Congressman J. Parnell Thomas said, and I quote from the official transcript: "I just want to say this now, that it seems that the New Deal is working along hand in glove with the Communist Party. The New Deal is either for the Communist Party or it is playing into the hands of the Communist Party."

Very well, then, here is the other reason why I and others have been commanded to appear before this committee—our ideas. In common with many Americans, I supported the New Deal. In common with many Americans I supported, against Mr. Thomas and Mr. Rankin, the anti-lynching bill.

I opposed them in my support of OPA controls and emergency veteran housing and a fair employment practices law. I signed petitions for these measures, joined organizations that advocated them, contributed money, sometimes spoke from public platforms, and I will continue to do so. I will take my philosophy from Thomas Payne, Thomas Jefferson, Abraham Lincoln, and I will not be dictated to or intimidated by men to whom the Ku Klux Klan, as a matter of committee record, is an acceptable American institution.

I state further that on many questions of public interest my opinions as a citizen have not always been in accord with the opinions of the majority. They are not now nor have my opinions ever been fixed and unchanging, nor are they now fixed and unchangeable; but, right or wrong, I claim and I insist upon my right to think freely and to speak freely; to join the Republican Party or the Communist Party, the Democratic or the Prohibition Party; to publish whatever I please; to fix my mind or change my mind, without dictation from anyone; to offer any criticism I think fitting of any public official or policy; to join whatever organizations I please, no matter what certain legislators may think of them. Above all, I challenge the right of this committee to inquire into my political or religious beliefs, in any manner or degree, and I assert that not the conduct of this committee but its very existence are a subversion of the Bill of Rights.

If I were a spokesman for General Franco, I would not be here today. I would rather be here. I would rather die than be a shabby American, groveling before men whose names are Thomas and Rankin, but who now carry out activities in America like those carried out in Germany by Goebbels and Himmler.

The American people are going to have to choose between the Bill of Rights and [this] committee. They cannot have both. One or the other must be abolished in the immediate future.

Chairman [pounding gavel]: Mr. Stripling. Mr. Stripling.

Mr. Stripling: Mr. Maltz, what is your occupation?

Mr. Maltz: I am a writer.

Mr. Stripling: Are you employed in the motion-picture industry?

Mr. Maltz: I work in various fields of writing and I have sometimes accepted employment in the motion-picture industry.

Mr. Stripling: Have you written the scripts for a number of pictures?

Mr. Maltz: It is a matter of public record that I have written scripts for certain motion pictures.

Mr. Stripling: Are you a member of the Screen Writers Guild?

Mr. Maltz: Next you are going to ask me what religious group I belong to.

Chairman: No, no; we are not.

Mr. Maltz: And any such question as that... is an obvious attempt to invade my rights under the Constitution.

Mr. Stripling: Do you object to answering whether or not you are a member of the Screen Writers Guild?

Mr. Maltz: I have not objected to answering that question. On the contrary, I point out that next you are going to ask me whether or not I am a member of a certain religious group and suggest that I be blacklisted from an industry because I am a member of a group you don't like.

[The chairman pounds gavel.]

Mr. Stripling: Mr. Maltz, do you decline to answer the question?

Mr. Maltz: I certainly do not decline to answer the question. I have answered the question.

Mr. Stripling: I repeat, Are you a member of the Screen Writers Guild?

Mr. Maltz: And I repeat my answer, sir, that any such question is an obvious attempt to invade my list of organizations as an American citizen and I would be a shabby American if I didn't answer as I have.

Mr. Stripling: Mr. Maltz, are you a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Maltz: Next you are going to ask what my religious beliefs are.

Mr. [John] McDowell: That is not answering the question.

Mr. Maltz: And you are going to insist before various members of the industry that since you do not like my religious beliefs I should not work in such industry. Any such question is quite irrelevant.

Mr. Stripling: I repeat the question. Are you now or have you ever been a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. Maltz: I have answered the question, Mr. Stripling. I am sorry. I want you to know—

Mr. Mcdowell: I object to that statement.

Chairman: Excuse the witness. No more questions. Typical Communist line....

Source: House Committee on Un-American Activities, *Hearings Regarding the Communist Infiltration of the Motion Picture Industry*, 80th Cong., 1st sess., 1947.

Port Huron Statement (1962)

The Port Huron Statement, named for the Michigan convention site where it was written in June 1962, was the founding document of the leftist protest group Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). The manifesto was written chiefly by University of Michigan student Tom Hayden, the first president of the SDS and later one of the Chicago Seven.

We are people of this generation, bred in at least modest comfort, housed now in universities, looking uncomfortably to the world we inherit.

When we were kids the United States was the wealthiest and strongest country in the world: the only one with the atom bomb, the least scarred by modern war, an initiator of the United Nations that we thought would distribute Western influence throughout the world. Freedom and equality for each individual, government of, by, and for the people—these American values we found good, principles by which we could live as men. Many of us began maturing in complacency.

As we grew, however, our comfort was penetrated by events too troubling to dismiss. First, the permeating and victimizing fact of human degradation, symbolized by the Southern struggle against racial bigotry, compelled most of us from silence to activism. Second, the enclosing fact of the Cold War, symbolized by the presence of the Bomb, brought awareness that we ourselves, and our friends, and millions of abstract “others” we knew more directly because of our common peril, might die at any time. We might deliberately ignore, or avoid, or fail to feel all other human problems, but not these two, for these were too immediate and crushing in their impact, too challenging in the demand that we as individuals take the responsibility for encounter and resolution.

While two-thirds of mankind suffers undernourishment, our own upper classes revel amidst superfluous abundance. Although world population is expected to double in forty years, the nations still tolerate anarchy as a major principle of international conduct and uncontrolled exploitation governs the sapping of the earth’s physical resources. Although mankind desperately needs revolutionary leadership, America rests in national stalemate, its goals ambiguous and tradition-bound instead of informed and clear, its democratic system apathetic and manipulated rather than “of, by, and for the people.”

In a participatory democracy, the political life would be based in several root principles:

- that decision-making of basic social consequence be carried on by public groupings;
- that politics be seen positively, as the art of collectively creating an acceptable pattern of social relations;
- that politics has the function of bringing people out of isolation and into community, thus being a necessary, though not sufficient, means of finding meaning in personal life;
- that the political order should serve to clarify problems in a way instrumental to their solution; it should provide outlets for the expression of personal grievance and aspiration; opposing views should be organized so as to illuminate choices and facilitate the attainment of goals....

The economic sphere would have as its basis the principles:

- that work should involve incentives worthier than money or survival. It should be educative, not stultifying; creative, not mechanical; self-directed, not manipulated, encouraging independence, a respect for others, a sense of dignity and a willingness to accept social responsibility, since it is this experience that has crucial influence on habits, perceptions and individual ethics;
- that the economic experience is so personally decisive that the individual must share in its full determination;
- that the economy itself is of such social importance that its major resources and means of production should be open to democratic participation and subject to democratic social regulation.

Like the political and economic ones, major social institutions—cultural, education, rehabilitative, and others—should be generally organized with the well-being and dignity of man as the essential measure of success.

In social change or interchange, we find violence to be abhorrent because it requires generally the transformation of the target, be it a human being or a community of people, into a depersonalized object of hate. It is imperative that the means of violence be abolished and the institutions—local, national, international—that encourage nonviolence as a condition of conflict be developed.

These are our central values, in skeletal form. It remains vital to understand their denial or attainment in the context of the modern world....

The bridge to political power will be built through genuine cooperation, locally, nationally, and internationally, between a new left of young people, and an awakening community of allies. In each community we must look within the university and act with confidence that we can be powerful, but we must look outwards to the less exotic but more lasting struggles for justice.

To turn these possibilities into realities will involve national efforts at university reform by an alliance of students and faculty. They must wrest control of the educational process from the administrative bureaucracy. They must make fraternal and functional contact with allies in labor, civil rights, and other liberal forces outside the campus. They must import major public issues into the curriculum—research and teaching on problems of war and peace is an outstanding example. They must make debate and controversy, not dull pedantic cant, the common style for educational life. They must consciously build a base for their assault upon the loci of power.

As students, for a democratic society, we are committed to stimulating this kind of social movement, this kind of vision and program in campus and community across the country. If we appear to seek the unattainable, as it has been said, then let it be known that we do so to avoid the unimaginable.

Source: Students for a Democratic Society, 112 East 19th Street, New York, NY.

"I Have a Dream" (1963), Martin Luther King, Jr.

The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. Galvanizing the crowd of 250,000, the address helped transform the struggle for civil rights into a national movement.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of captivity. But one hundred years later, we must face the tragic fact that the Negro is still not free.

One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languishing in the corners of American

society and finds himself an exile in his own land.

So we have come here today to dramatize an appalling condition. In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir....

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair. I say to you today, my friends, that in spite of the difficulties and frustrations of the moment, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveowners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a desert state, sweltering with the heat of injustice and oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character. I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day the state of Alabama, whose governor's lips are presently dripping with the words of interposition and nullification, will be transformed into a situation where little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls and walk together as sisters and brothers. I have a dream today. I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight, and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together. This is our hope. This is the faith with which I return to the South. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with a new meaning, "My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrim's pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true. So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire. Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York. Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania! Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado! Let freedom ring from the curvaceous peaks of California! But not only that; let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia! Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee! Let freedom ring from every hill and every molehill of Mississippi. From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

When we let freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, "Free at last! free at last! thank God Almighty, we are free at last!"

Source: Reprinted by arrangement with The Heirs to the Estate of Martin Luther King, Jr., c/o Writers House as agent for the proprietor, New York, NY. Copyright 1963 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.; copyright renewed 1991, Coretta Scott King.

"The Times They Are A-Changin'" (1964), Bob Dylan

Folk and rock musician Bob Dylan (born Robert Zimmerman) was acclaimed as a "spokesman" of his generation and "bard" of the 1960s counterculture—labels he rejected—for such controversial songs as "The Times They Are A-Changin'." Released on his 1964 album of the same name, the composition was said to reflect the spirit of upheaval and generational conflict that characterized the decade. Dylan refused to accept what many came to call the song: an anthem.

Come gather'round people
Wherever you roam
And admit that the waters
Around you have grown
And accept it that soon
You'll be drenched to the bone.
If your time to you
Is worth savin'
Then you better start swimmin'
Or you'll sink like a stone
For the times they are a-changin'.

Come writers and critics
Who prophesize with your pen
And keep your eyes wide
The chance won't come again
And don't speak too soon
For the wheel's still in spin
And there's no tellin' who
That it's namin'.
For the loser now
Will be later to win
For the times they are a-changin'.

Come senators, congressmen
Please heed the call
Don't stand in the doorway
Don't block up the hall
For he that gets hurt
Will be he who has stalled
There's a battle outside
And it is ragin'.
It'll soon shake your windows
And rattle your walls
For the times they are a-changin'.

Come mothers and fathers
Throughout the land
And don't criticize
What you can't understand
Your sons and your daughters
Are beyond your command
Your old road is
Rapidly agin'.
Please get out of the new one
If you can't lend your hand
For the times they are a-changin'.

The line it is drawn
The curse it is cast
The slow one now
Will later be fast
As the present now

Will later be past
The order is
Rapidly fading.
And the first one now
Will later be last
For the times they are a-changin'.

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"An End to History" (1964), Mario Savio

Mario Savio, then a philosophy student at the University of California, Berkeley, was a vocal leader of the Free Speech Movement and a member of its steering committee during the angry student protests that erupted on campus in the fall and winter of 1964. The following article, expressing his views on bureaucracy, democracy, and the fight for free speech, first appeared in a publication called Humanity in December 1964.

Last summer I went to Mississippi to join the struggle there for civil rights. This fall I am engaged in another phase of the same struggle, this time in Berkeley. The two battlefields may seem quite different to some observers, but this is not the case. The same rights are at stake in both places—the right to participate as citizens in democratic society and the right to due process of law. Further, it is a struggle against the same enemy. In Mississippi an autocratic and powerful minority rules, through organized violence, to suppress the vast, virtually powerless majority. In California, the privileged minority manipulates the university bureaucracy to suppress the students' political expression. That "respectable" bureaucracy masks the financial plutocrats; that impersonal bureaucracy is the efficient enemy in a "Brave New World."

In our free-speech fight at the University of California, we have come up against what may emerge as the greatest problem of our nation—depersonalized, unresponsive bureaucracy. We have encountered the organized status quo in Mississippi, but it is the same in Berkeley. Here we find it impossible usually to meet with anyone but secretaries. Beyond that, we find functionaries who cannot make policy but can only hide behind the rules. We have discovered total lack of response on the part of the policy makers. To grasp a situation which is truly Kafkaesque, it is necessary to understand the bureaucratic mentality. And we have learned quite a bit about it this fall, more outside the classroom than in.

As bureaucrat, an administrator believes that nothing new happens. He occupies an a-historical point of view. In September, to get the attention of this bureaucracy which had issued arbitrary edicts suppressing student political expression and refused to discuss its action, we held a sit-in on the campus. We sat around a police car and kept it immobilized for over thirty-two hours. At last, the administrative bureaucracy agreed to negotiate. But instead, on the following Monday, we discovered that a committee had been appointed, in accordance with usual regulations, to resolve the dispute. Our attempt to convince any of the administrators that an event had occurred, that something new had happened, failed. They saw this simply as something to be handled by normal university procedures.

The same is true of all bureaucracies. They begin as tools, means to certain legitimate goals, and they end up feeding their own existence. The conception that bureaucrats have is that history has in fact come to an end. No events can occur now that the Second World War is over which can change American society substantially. We proceed by standard procedures as we are.

The most crucial problems facing the United States today are the problem of automation and the problem of racial injustice. Most people who will be put out of jobs by machines will not accept an end to events, this historical plateau, as the point beyond which no change occurs. Negroes will not accept an end to history here. All of us must refuse to accept history's final judgment that in America there is no place in society for people whose skins are dark. On campus students are not about to accept it as fact that the university has ceased evolving and is in

its final state of perfection, that students and faculty are respectively raw material and employees, or that the university is to be autocratically run by unresponsive bureaucrats.

Here is the real contradiction: the bureaucrats hold history as ended. As a result significant parts of the population both on campus and off are dispossessed and these dispossessed are not about to accept this a-historical point of view. It is out of this that the conflict has occurred with the university bureaucracy and will continue to occur until that bureaucracy becomes responsive or until it is clear the university cannot function.

The things we are asking for in our civil-rights protests have a deceptively quaint ring. We are asking for the due process of law. We are asking for our actions to be judged by committees of our peers. We are asking that regulations ought to be considered as arrived at legitimately only from the consensus of the governed. These phrases are all pretty old, but they are not being taken seriously in America today, nor are they being taken seriously on the Berkeley campus.

I have just come from a meeting with the Dean of Students. She notified us that she was aware of certain violations of university regulations by certain organizations. University friends of Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee, which I represent, was one of these. We tried to draw from her some statement on these great principles, consent of the governed, jury of one's peers, due process. The best she could do was to evade or to present the administration party line. It is very hard to make any contact with the human being who is behind these organizations.

The university is the place where people begin seriously to question the conditions of their existence and raise the issue of whether they can be committed to the society they have been born into. After a long period of apathy during the fifties, students have begun not only to question but, having arrived at answers, to act on those answers. This is part of a growing understanding among many people in America that history has not ended, that a better society is possible, and that it is worth dying for.

This free-speech fight points up a fascinating aspect of contemporary campus life. Students are permitted to talk all they want so long as their speech has no consequences.

One conception of the university, suggested by a classical Christian formulation, is that it be in the world but not of the world. The conception of Clark Kerr by contrast is that the university is part and parcel of this particular stage in the history of American society; it stands to serve the need of American industry; it is a factory that turns out a certain product needed by industry or government. Because speech does often have consequences which might alter this perversion of higher education, the university must put itself in a position of censorship. It can permit two kinds of speech, speech which encourages continuation of the status quo, and speech which advocates changes in it so radical as to be irrelevant in the foreseeable future. Someone may advocate radical change in all aspects of American society, and this I am sure he can do with impunity. But if someone advocates sit-ins to bring about changes in discriminatory hiring practices, this cannot be permitted because it goes against the status quo of which the university is a part. And that is how the fight began here.

The administration of the Berkeley campus has admitted that external, extra-legal groups have pressured the university not to permit students on campus to organize picket lines, not to permit on campus any speech with consequences. And the bureaucracy went along. Speech with consequences, speech in the area of civil rights, speech which some might regard as illegal, must stop.

Many students here at the university, many people in society, are wandering aimlessly about. Strangers in their own lives there is no place for them. They are people who have not learned to compromise, who for example have come to the university to learn to question, to grow, to learn—all the standard things that sound like cliches because no one takes them seriously. And they find at one point or other that for them to become part of society, to become lawyers, ministers, businessmen, people in government, that very often they must compromise those principles which were most dear to them. They must suppress the most creative impulses that they have; this is a prior condition for being part of the system. The university is well structured, well tooled, to turn out people with all

the sharp edges worn off, the well-rounded person. The university is well equipped to produce that sort of person, and this means that the best among the people who enter must for four years wander aimlessly much of the time questioning why they are on campus at all, doubting whether there is any point in what they are doing, and looking toward a very bleak existence afterward in a game in which all of the rules have been made up, which one cannot really amend.

It is a bleak scene, but it is all a lot of us have to look forward to. Society provides no challenge. American society in the standard conception it has of itself is simply no longer exciting. The most exciting things going on in America today are movements to change America. America is becoming ever more the utopia of sterilized, automated contentment. The “futures” and “careers” for which American students now prepare are for the most part intellectual and moral wastelands. This chrome-plated consumers’ paradise would have us grow up to be well-behaved children. But an important minority of men and women coming to the front today have shown that they will die rather than be standardized, replaceable and irrelevant.

Source: Humanity, an arena of critique and commitment, no. 2 (December 1964). Reprinted with permission of Lynne Hollander. Copyright 1998 by Lynne Hollander.

***Unsafe at Any Speed* (1965), Ralph Nader**

Consumer and environmental advocate Ralph Nader began his campaign for product safety and consumer rights in the early 1960s. In his book Unsafe at Any Speed, Nader accused the giant automobile manufacturers of building and selling vehicles with deadly safety defects in the interest of greed. A work of modern muckraking, Unsafe at Any Speed was influential in the passage of federal legislation and helped launch the American consumer rights movement.

For over a half century the automobile has brought death, injury, and the most inestimable sorrow and deprivation to millions of people. With Medea-like intensity, this mass trauma began rising sharply four years ago, reflecting new and unexpected ravages by the motor vehicle. A 1959 Department of Commerce report projected that 51,000 persons would be killed by automobiles in 1975. That figure will probably be reached in 1965, a decade ahead of schedule....

Highway accidents were estimated to have cost this country in 1964, \$8.4 billion in property damage, medical expenses, lost wages, and insurance overhead expenses. Add an equivalent sum to comprise roughly the indirect costs and the total amounts to over two percent of the gross national product. But these are not the kind of costs which fall on the builders of motor vehicles (excepting a few successful law suits for negligent construction of the vehicle) and thus do not pinch the proper foot. Instead, the costs fall to users of vehicles, who are in no position to dictate safer automobile designs.

In fact, the gigantic costs of the highway carnage in this country support a service industry. A vast array of services—medical, police, administrative, legal, insurance, automotive repair, and funeral—stand equipped to handle the direct and indirect consequences of accident injuries. Traffic accidents create economic demands for these services running into billions of dollars. It is in the post-accident response that lawyers and physicians and other specialists labor. This is where the remuneration lies and this is where the talent and energies go. Working in the area of prevention of these casualties earns few fees. Consequently our society has an intricate organization to handle direct and indirect aftermaths of collisions. But the true mark of a humane society must be what it does about *prevention* of accident injuries, not the cleaning up of them afterward.

Unfortunately, there is little in the dynamics of the automobile accident industry that works for its reduction. Doctors, lawyers, engineers and other specialists have failed in their primary professional ethic: to dedicate themselves to the prevention of accident injuries. The roots of the unsafe vehicle problem are so entrenched that the situation can be improved only by the forging of new instruments of citizen action. When thirty practicing physicians picketed for safe auto design at the New York International Automobile Show on April 7, 1965, their unprecedented action was the measure of their desperation over the inaction of the men and institutions in

government and industry who have failed to provide the public with the vehicle safety to which it is entitled. The picketing surgeons, orthopedists, pediatricians and general practitioners marched in protest because the existing medical, legal and engineering organizations have defaulted.

A great problem of contemporary life is how to control the power of economic interests which ignore the harmful effects of their applied sciences and technology. The automobile tragedy is one of the most serious of these man-made assaults on the human body. The history of that tragedy reveals many obstacles which must be overcome in the taming of any mechanical or biological hazard which is a by-product of industry or commerce. Our society's obligation to protect the "body rights" of its citizens with vigorous resolve and ample resources requires the precise, authoritative articulation and front-rank support which is being devoted to civil rights.

This country has not been entirely laggard in defining values relevant to new contexts of a technology laden with risks. The postwar years have witnessed an historic broadening, at least in the courts, of the procedural and substantive rights of the injured and the duties of manufacturers to produce a safe product. Judicial decisions throughout the fifty states have given living meaning to Walt Whitman's dictum, "If anything is sacred, the human body is sacred." Mr. Justice Jackson in 1953 defined the duty of the manufacturers by saying, "Where experiment or research is necessary to determine the presence or the degree of danger, the product must not be tried out on the public, nor must the public be expected to possess the facilities or the technical knowledge to learn for itself of inherent but latent dangers. The claim that a hazard was not foreseen is not available to one who did not use foresight appropriate to his enterprise."

It is a lag of almost paralytic proportions that these values of safety concerning consumers and economic enterprises, reiterated many times by the judicial branch of government, have not found their way into legislative policy-making for safer automobiles. Decades ago legislation was passed changing the pattern of private business investments to accommodate more fully the safety value on railroads, in factories, and more recently on ships and aircraft. In transport, apart from the motor vehicle, considerable progress has been made in recognizing the physical integrity of the individual. There was the period when railroad workers were killed by the thousands and the editor of *Harper's* could say late in the last century: "So long as brakes cost more than trainmen, we may expect the present sacrificial method of car-coupling to be continued." But injured trainmen did cause the railroads some operating dislocations; highway victims cost the automobile companies next to nothing and the companies are not obligated to make use of developments in science-technology that have demonstrably opened up opportunities for far greater safety than any existing safety features lying unused on the automobile companies' shelves.

A principal reason why the automobile has remained the only transportation vehicle to escape being called to meaningful public account is that the public has never been supplied the information nor offered the quality of competition to enable it to make effective demands through the marketplace and through government for a safe, nonpolluting and efficient automobile that can be produced economically. The consumer's expectations regarding automotive innovations have been deliberately held low and mostly oriented to very gradual annual style changes. The specialists and researchers outside the industry who could have provided the leadership to stimulate this flow of information by and large chose to remain silent, as did government officials.

The persistence of the automobile's immunity over the years has nourished the continuance of that immunity, recalling Francis Bacon's insight. "He that will not apply new remedies must expect new evils, for time is the greatest innovator."

The accumulated power of decades of effort by the automobile industry to strengthen its control over car design is reflected today in the difficulty of even beginning to bring it to justice. The time has not come to discipline the automobile for safety; that time came over four decades ago. But that is not cause to delay any longer what should have been accomplished in the nineteen-twenties.

Source: Ralph Nader, *Unsafe at Any Speed* (New York: Grossman, 1965).

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Position Paper: On Vietnam

(1966)

In January 1966, with U.S. escalation of the Vietnam War under way for more than a year, the antiwar movement at home was beginning to mobilize and gain momentum. Among the earliest and most active protest groups was the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a civil rights organization founded in 1960. Under more radical leadership beginning in mid-decade, the SNCC adopted a radical Black Power philosophy and took a strong position against the war. It issued this statement on January 6, 1966.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee has a right and a responsibility to dissent with United States foreign policy on any issue when it sees fit. The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee now states its opposition to the United States' involvement in Vietnam on these grounds:

We believe the United States government has been deceptive in its claims of concern for the freedom of the Vietnamese people, just as the government has been deceptive in claiming concern for the freedom of colored people in other countries as the Dominican Republic, the Congo, South Africa, Rhodesia, and in the United States itself.

We, the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, have been involved in the black peoples' struggle for liberation and self-determination in this country for the past five years. Our work, particularly in the South, has taught us that the United States government has never guaranteed the freedom of oppressed citizens, and is not yet truly determined to end the rule of terror and oppression within its own borders.

We ourselves have often been victims of violence and confinement executed by United States governmental officials. We recall the numerous persons who have been murdered in the South because of their efforts to secure their civil and human rights, and whose murderers have been allowed to escape penalty for their crimes.

The murder of Samuel Young in Tuskegee, Alabama, is no different than the murder of peasants in Vietnam, for both Young and the Vietnamese sought, and are seeking, to secure the rights guaranteed them by law. In each case, the United States government bears a great part of the responsibility for these deaths.

Samuel Young was murdered because United States law is not being enforced. Vietnamese are murdered because the United States is pursuing an aggressive policy in violation of international law. The United States is no respecter of persons or law when such persons or laws run counter to its needs or desires.

We recall the indifference, suspicion and outright hostility with which our reports of violence have been met in the past by government officials.

We know that for the most part, elections in this country, in the North as well as the South, are not free. We have seen that the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1966 Civil Rights Act have not yet been implemented with full federal power and sincerity.

We question, then, the ability and even the desire of the United States government to guarantee free elections abroad. We maintain that our country's cry of "preserve freedom in the world" is a hypocritical mask, behind which it squashes liberation movements which are not bound, and refuse to be bound, by the expediencies of United States cold war policies.

We are in sympathy with, and support, the men in this country who are unwilling to respond to a military draft which would compel them to contribute their lives to United States aggression in Vietnam in the name of the "freedom" we find so false in this country.

We recoil with horror at the inconsistency of a supposedly "free" society where responsibility to freedom is equated with the responsibility to lend oneself to military aggression. We take note of the fact that 16 percent of the draftees from this country are Negroes called on to stifle the liberation of Vietnam, to preserve a "democracy"

which does not exist for them at home.

We ask, where is the draft for the freedom fight in the United States?

We therefore encourage those Americans who prefer to use their energy in building democratic forms within this country. We believe that work in the civil rights movement and with other human relations organizations is a valid alternative to the draft. We urge all Americans to seek this alternative, knowing full well that it may cost them their lives—as painfully as in Vietnam.

Source: "SNCC: On Vietnam." The Sixties Project. Available at http://www3.iath.virginia.edu/sixties/HTML_docs/Sixties.html.

Black Panther Party Platform and Program (1966)

The transition from the civil rights movement of the 1950s and the early 1960s—an essentially peaceful campaign for integration and equal rights—to the militant Black Power movement of the late 1960s was epitomized by the founding of the Black Panther Party for Self-Defense in October 1966. The Oakland-based organization, which called upon the African American community to take up arms in the struggle against white oppression, issued a statement of founding principles.

What We Want

What We Believe

1. *We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our Black Community.*

We believe that black people will not be free until we are able to determine our destiny.

2. *We want full employment for our people.*

We believe that the federal government is responsible and obligated to give every man employment or a guaranteed income. We believe that if the white American businessmen will not give full employment, then the means of production should be taken from the businessmen and placed in the community so that the people of the community can organize and employ all of its people and give a high standard of living.

3. *We want an end to the robbery by the white man of our Black Community.*

We believe that this racist government has robbed us and now we are demanding the overdue debt of forty acres and two mules. Forty acres and two mules was promised 100 years ago as restitution for slave labor and mass murder of black people. We will accept the payment as currency which will be distributed to our many communities. The Germans are now aiding the Jews in Israel for the genocide of the Jewish people. The Germans murdered six million Jews. The American racist has taken part in the slaughter of over twenty million black people; therefore, we feel that this is a modest demand that we make.

4. *We want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings.*

We believe that if the white landlords will not give decent housing to our black community, then the housing and the land should be made into cooperatives so that our community, with government aid, can build and make decent housing for its people.

5. *We want education for our people that exposes the true nature of this decadent American society. We want education that teaches us our true history and our role in the present-day society.*

We believe in an educational system that will give to our people a knowledge of self. If a man does not have knowledge of himself and his position in society and the world, then he has little chance to relate to anything

else.

6. *We want all black men to be exempt from military service.*

We believe that Black people should not be forced to fight in the military service to defend a racist government that does not protect us. We will not fight and kill other people of color in the world who, like black people, are being victimized by the white racist government of America. We will protect ourselves from the force and violence of the racist police and the racist military, by whatever means necessary.

7. *We want an immediate end to **police brutality and murder** of black people.*

We believe we can end police brutality in our black community by organizing black self-defense groups that are dedicated to defending our black community from racist police oppression and brutality. The Second Amendment to the Constitution of the United States gives a right to bear arms. We therefore believe that all black people should arm themselves for self defense.

8. *We want freedom for all black men held in federal, state, county and city prisons and jails.*

We believe that all black people should be released from the many jails and prisons because they have not received a fair and impartial trial.

9. *We want all black people when brought to trial to be tried in court by a jury of their peer group or people from their black communities, as defined by the Constitution of the United States.*

We believe that the courts should follow the United States Constitution so that black people will receive fair trials. The 14th Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives a man a right to be tried by his peer group. A peer is a person from a similar economic, social, religious, geographical, environmental, historical and racial background. To do this the court will be forced to select a jury from the black community from which the black defendant came. We have been, and are being tried by all-white juries that have no understanding of the "average reasoning man" of the black community.

10. *We want land, bread, housing, education, clothing, justice and peace. And as our major political objective, a United Nations-supervised plebiscite to be held throughout the black colony in which only black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate for the purpose of determining the will of black people as to their national destiny.*

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume, among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that, whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute a new government, laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But, when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.

National Organization for Women, Statement of Purpose (1966)

A pivotal year in the decade's political and social counterculture, 1966 also saw the establishment of the National Organization for Women (NOW) in Washington, D.C. A formal statement of purpose, written by NOW president Betty Friedan, was adopted at the organization's first national conference on October 29.

We, men and women who hereby constitute ourselves as the National Organization for Women, believe that the time has come for a new movement toward true equality for all women in America, and toward a fully equal partnership of the sexes, as part of the world-wide revolution of human rights....

The purpose of NOW is to take action to bring women into full participation in the mainstream of American society... exercising all the privileges and responsibilities thereof in truly equal partnership with men.

We believe the time has come to move beyond the abstract argument, discussion and symposia over the status and special nature of women which has raged in America...; the time has come to confront, with concrete action, the conditions that now prevent women from enjoying the equality of opportunity and freedom of choice which is their right, as individual Americans, and as human beings....

NOW is dedicated to the proposition that women, first and foremost, are human beings, who, like all other people in our society, must have the chance to develop their fullest human potential. We believe that women can achieve such equality only by accepting to the full the challenges and responsibilities they share with all other people in our society, as part of the decision-making mainstream of American political, economic and social life.

We organize to initiate or support action, nationally, or in any part of this nation, by individuals or organizations, to break through the silken curtain of prejudice and discrimination against women in government, industry, the professions, the churches, the political parties, the judiciary, the labor unions, in education, science, medicine, law, religion and every other field of importance in American society....

Despite all the talk about the status of American women in recent years, the actual position of women in the United States has declined... to an alarming degree throughout the 1950's and 60's....

Official pronouncements of the advance in the status of women hide not only the reality of this dangerous decline, but the fact that nothing is being done to stop it.... Discrimination in employment on the basis of sex is now prohibited by federal law, in Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. But although nearly one-third of the cases brought before the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission during the first year dealt with sex discrimination and the proportion is increasing dramatically, the Commission has not made clear its intention to enforce the law with the same seriousness on behalf of women as of other victims of discrimination.... The National Organization for Women must therefore begin to speak.

WE BELIEVE that the power of American law, and the protection guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution to the civil rights of all individuals, must be effectively applied and enforced to isolate and remove patterns of sex discrimination, to ensure equality of opportunity in employment and education, and equality of civil and political rights and responsibilities on behalf of women, as well as for Negroes and other deprived groups....

WE DO NOT ACCEPT the token appointment of a few women to high-level positions in government and industry as a substitute for serious continuing effort to recruit and advance women according to their individual abilities. To this end, we urge American government and industry to mobilize the same resources of ingenuity and command with which they have solved problems of far greater difficulty than those now impeding the progress of women.

WE BELIEVE that this nation has a capacity... to innovate new social institutions which will enable women to enjoy the true equality of opportunity and responsibility in society, without conflict with their responsibilities as mothers and homemakers....

WE BELIEVE that it is as essential for every girl to be educated to her full potential of human ability as it is for every boy—with the knowledge that such education is the key to effective participation in today's economy and that, for a girl as for a boy, education can only be serious where there is expectation that it will be used in society....

WE REJECT the current assumptions that a man must carry the sole burden of supporting himself, his wife, and family, and that a woman is automatically entitled to lifelong support by a man upon her marriage, or that marriage, home and family are primarily woman's world and responsibility.... We believe that proper recognition should be given to the economic and social value of homemaking and child-care. To these ends, we will seek to open a reexamination of laws and mores governing marriage and divorce, for we believe that the current state of "half-equity" between the sexes discriminates against both men and women....

WE BELIEVE that women must now exercise their political rights and responsibilities as American citizens....

IN THE INTERESTS OF THE HUMAN DIGNITY OF WOMEN, we will protest, and endeavor to change, the false image of women now prevalent in the mass media, and in the texts, ceremonies, laws, and practices of our major social institutions. Such images perpetuate contempt for women by society and by women for themselves....

NOW WILL HOLD ITSELF INDEPENDENT OF ANY POLITICAL PARTY in order to mobilize the political power of all women and men intent on our goals. We will strive to ensure that no party, candidate, president, senator, governor, congressman, or any public official who betrays or ignores the principle of full equality between the sexes is elected or appointed to office.

WE BELIEVE THAT women will do most to create a new image of women by acting now, and by speaking out in behalf of their own equality, freedom, and human dignity... in an active, self-respecting partnership with men. By so doing, women will develop confidence in their own ability to determine actively, in partnership with men, the conditions of their life, their choices, their future and their society.

Source: National Organization for Women, Washington, DC, 1966. Available at <http://www.now.org/history/purpos66.html>.

"A Walk on the Wild Side of Stonewall" (1969), Robert Amsel

The gay rights/gay pride movement in America often is said to have begun with the Stonewall riots in New York's Greenwich Village in 1969. In the early morning of June 28, municipal police raided the Stonewall Inn, the city's largest gay bar, and began arresting patrons. The gay clientele, frustrated by ongoing harassment, responded by pelting police with debris. The result was several days of protest and violence. To "set the record straight" on the incident, participant and gay rights activist Robert Amsel wrote a detailed account for the September 15, 1987 edition of The Advocate.

The legend of the Stonewall was born as another legend died. On Sunday, June 22, 1969, Judy Garland was found dead from a pill overdose in her London home. An older generation of homosexuals had idolized Judy, as much for her suffering as her talent. Her unsuccessful marriages, her dependence on pills and liquor, and her resilience—the ability to rise when she was down—gave them hope that whatever their oppression, they too could find the strength to carry on. But now Judy was down and would stay down, and the old gay way of endurance seemed to pass with her.

But while the flags hung at half-mast on Fire Island, new flags were about to be raised on the streets of Greenwich Village. Friday afternoon, June 27, Judy was buried. Saturday morning, June 28, the raid on the Stonewall Inn began. "We will endure" became "We shall overcome."

The Stonewall Inn was located at 53 Christopher Street, off Sheridan Square. It was an after-hours "private club" for members only. Anyone who could scrounge up three bucks could become a member for the evening. The place was reputed to be Mafia-owned (as were most of the gay bars in those days) and liquor was sold on the

premises without benefit of a liquor license. This made it a perfect target for the authorities.

There were many gay people at the time who supported the raid on the Stonewall. They wanted gay bars to be gay-owned and operated. They wanted the Mafia out of the business. They failed to appreciate one thing: the reason the Mafia was in the gay bar business to begin with. The Mafia's traditional sphere of influence centered around any illegal activity. Without the Mafia's money, there might not have been any gay bars to legitimize.

This hardly excuses the Stonewall or its condition. The former owners had been burned out and the bar had remained vacant for a year. Its new owners slapped black paint on the already smoke-blackened walls, and with minimum overhauling were ready for business. It was still a firetrap. It was also a dope drop and the suspected source of a minor hepatitis epidemic six months prior to the raid. Its two large rooms—one a dance area, the other a bar—were generally sardine-packed with young men, including drag queens, hippies, street people, and uptown boys slumming. Many customers were under 18, the legal drinking age. Some were runaways, some had nowhere else to go.

For whatever strange reason, the police that summer decided to launch an all-out attack on illegal clubs throughout the city. They did not limit themselves to gay clubs—straight black and Hispanic clubs were also raided. They did, however, seem to specialize in places frequented by members of minorities. Prior to the Stonewall, there had been raids on other gay after-hours clubs, the Sewer and the Snake Pit, both aptly named. The Tele-Star and the Checkerboard had closed down not long before. By the time the cops hit the Stonewall, the customers were angry, frustrated, and, more important, running out of places to go.

Deputy Inspector Seymour Pine led eight plainclothes officers (including two women) into the Stonewall at 3 a.m. It was a hot night and a full moon was shining over Sheridan Square. The employees were arrested for selling liquor without a license. The customers were allowed to leave, one at a time. They waited outside for their friends. Many had been in such raids before, some in the past few weeks.

One straight observer referred to the gathering as “festive,” with those exiting the club striking poses, swishing and camping. Then he noted a sudden mood change when the paddywagon arrived and the bartender, doorman, three drag queens and a struggling lesbian were shoved inside. There were catcalls and cries to topple the paddy wagon. Pine hurriedly told the wagon to take off, drop the prisoners off at the Sixth Precinct and rush back. The crowd threw coins at the police and shouted “Pigs!” Coins progressed to bottles. The crowd was closing in. Pine and his detectives moved quickly back into the Stonewall and locked themselves in....

Police reinforcements had arrived en masse.... [*Village Voice* reporter] Howard Smith went outside and took notes. He returned inside to discover that the police had vented their anger by smashing all the mirrors, juke boxes, phones, toilets, and cigarette machines. No one but the police had been inside, but the courts would later find them innocent of vandalism.

[Saturday night riot]

Stonewall management found it difficult to keep their customers inside Saturday night, since all the action was outside. Shouts of “Gay Power!” and “Liberate Christopher Street!” echoed along Sixth and Seventh avenues, and Greenwich Avenue (where incarcerated lesbians in the House of Detention shouted support from their barred windows). The battle cry raged the length of Christopher Street.

There was a strong feeling of gay community and a strong fighting spirit, an intoxicating sense of release. It was “us against them, and by God, we’re winning.” Crowds were growing, as if from the pavement. There was kissing, hugging, fondling. Tanned bodies merged together like some orgy scene in a Cecil B. DeMille epic. Craig Rodwell, owner of a gay bookstore in the Village, reported that some gay men were barricading the streets and not allowing heterosexual drivers to pass. A car of newlyweds was half lifted before the openmouthed bride and groom were allowed to drive on.

New York's Tactical Police Force (TPF) arrived on the scene. They were helmeted and carried clubs. They had

rescued Pine and his men the morning before, but were unprepared for the guerrilla warfare that awaited them.

These streets were gay territory. Gay people knew every doorway, alley and side street and where they would lead. They knew how to split up the TPF and run them in circles. Men on roofs or in rooms overlooking Christopher Street hurled bottles at the cops. When the cops looked up, no one could be seen.

Two TPF men chased a gay guy down a side street. Gay bystanders started running with their brother. Before long a large group was running. A man at the head of the group suddenly held out his arms and yelled, "Stop!" The group stopped. "There are two pigs and how many of us?" A moment of meaningful silence. The two cops had also stopped, were looking at one another and then at the crowd. The group leader grinned. "Get the bastards!" About face. The cops were now running at full gallop, a lynch mob on their heels. "Catch'em! Fuck'em!"

The crowd dispersed by 3 a.m.

Sunday night was quiet. Monday and Tuesday nights crowds started to gather again, but outbreaks were few.... The next night, Wednesday, July 2, events took a brutal turn. The TPF men used their nightsticks indiscriminately. "At one point," [Dick] Leitsch [of the *Mattachine Newsletter*] wrote, "7th Avenue from Christopher to West 10th looked like a battlefield in Vietnam. Young people, many of them queens, were lying on the sidewalk, bleeding from the head, face, mouth, and even the eyes. Others were nursing bruised and often bleeding arms, legs, backs and necks."...

After Wednesday the riots petered out and the politicizing began. [The] Gay Liberation Front (GLF) was a new group of young male and female homosexuals, which formed in late July... [The] GLF had a leftist ideology and an anarchic structure. They were sort of a gay SDS, and opted for revolution and whatever means were necessary to achieve it. They aligned themselves with and supported all other radical groups of the period.... Many smaller groups sprang up as well. All the groups suffered from infighting, out-fighting and egos in conflict. But age-old barriers were breaking down. Gay people in other parts of the country were starting to emerge from their closets. California's heavily gay cities of San Francisco and Los Angeles had their own gay renaissance. New organizations spread throughout the land. A year later, diverse gay groups and independent gays marched in brotherhood and sisterhood. Annual gay pride days would follow....

A decade after Stonewall, in this carefree, extra-fertile soil, a deadly virus was imported. It quietly, swiftly spread before anyone was the wiser.

AIDS produced a backlash stronger and more lethal than anything we knew in our cozy closets. Homophobes always feared that gayness might rub off. Now they fear that death might rub off along with it.... And that is why the Stonewall should be remembered today. It doesn't matter that it was a firetrap, that the police may have been doing us a favor. It doesn't matter that the gutsier fighters were drags and street kids.... What matters is the communal gay spirit born during that time.... Unless we recapture that spirit and do battle, we'll be ripe for a time when "camp" is something that follows "concentration."

Source: Robert Amsel, "A Walk on the Wild Side of Stonewall," *The Advocate* (September 15, 1987).

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Filmography

The feature films, documentaries, and experimental works contained in this filmography correspond to the broadest possible definition of what this work identifies as countercultural. In addition to providing information on each of the films included in the encyclopedia's main text, the list includes movies relevant to entries that do not explicitly mention motion pictures. Selections include mainstream feature films, television documentaries, experimental short films, art films, international co-productions (most of which treat American themes or were made in part with American funding), agitprop documentaries, historically censored works, and a number of cult classics. Many of the works depict or comment on movements, people, ideas, or historical references relevant to multiple entries in *American Countercultures*.

Across the Universe. Directed by Julie Taymor. 2007. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2008. An

original film musical based on songs by The Beatles, with the 1960s counterculture providing the milieu for a romance between a boy from Liverpool and a girl from the New York suburbs; cameo performance by Joe Cocker, Bono, and others.

Adventures of Priscilla, Queen of the Desert, The. Directed by Stephan Elliot. 1994. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. A dramatized road movie about two drag queens and a transsexual encountering an unprepared world.

Alice's Restaurant. Directed by Arthur Penn. 1969. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2001. A cinematic adaptation of Arlo Guthrie's satiric, antiwar song-story of 1967.

All the President's Men. Directed by Alan J. Paluka. 1976. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2006. The dramatization of Carl Bernstein and Bob Woodward's investigative work that led to the breaking of the Watergate scandal and the impeachment and resignation of President Richard M. Nixon.

Almost Famous. Directed by Cameron Crowe. 2000. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2001. This semiautobiographical feature film explores the experiences of a young rock and roll journalist in the early 1970s.

Altered States. Directed by Ken Russell. 1980. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 1998. A cult film about a scientist's experiments with primal consciousness.

American Roots Music. Directed by Jim Brown. 2001. Available on DVD from Palm Pictures, 2001. A documentary about emerging musical styles in the twentieth century.

American Splendor. Directed by Shari Springer Berman and Robert Pulcini. 2003. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. This stylized biopic of comic book personality Harvey Pekar combines documentary footage and fictional dramatization.

Amistad. Directed by Steven Spielberg. 1997. Available on DVD from Dreamworks/Universal Home Entertainment, 1999. A historical feature film about an 1839 uprising aboard a Spanish slave ship and the aftermath.

An Inconvenient Truth. Directed by Davis Guggenheim. 2006. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2006. An Academy Award-winning documentary, written by and starring Al Gore, about global warming that urges environmental activism.

Apocalypse Now. Directed by Francis Ford Coppola. 1979. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2006. This lyrical film about the Vietnam War doubles as a re-imagination of Joseph Conrad's 1902 novel *Heart of Darkness*.

Assault on Gay America: The Life and Death of Billy Jack. Directed by Claudia Pryor Malis. 2000. Available on DVD from PBS Home Video, 2006. A television documentary about the roots of homophobia in the United States.

Atomic Café, The. Directed by Kevin Rafferty. 1982. Available on DVD from Docurama, 2002. An experimental antinuclear documentary comprising footage from 1940s and 1950s U.S. government-issued propaganda films.

Autobiography of Miss Jane Pittman, The. Directed by John Korty. 1974. Available on DVD from Classic Media, 2005. This celebrated television drama explores an African American woman's memories, often of struggle, from the Civil War through the civil rights era.

Basket Case. Directed by Frank Henenlotter. 1982. Available on DVD from Something Weird Video, 2001. A cult horror film about a vengeful set of former conjoined twins.

Beat Generation, The: An American Dream. Directed by Janet Forman. 1987. Available on VHS from Fox Lorber Home Video, 1998. A documentary about the lives and views of major players in the Beat movement, including Allen Ginsberg, Neal Cassady, and Jack Kerouac.

Beat Street. Directed by Stan Lathan. 1984. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2003. A dramatic youth film about the street-level cultural scene—including hip-hop, break dancing, and graffiti—in 1980s New York City.

Before Stonewall: The Making of a Gay and Lesbian Community. Directed by John Scagliotti, et al. 1984. Available on DVD from First Run Features, 2004. A documentary concerned with the practice and reception of homosexuality in America up to 1969.

Beloved. Directed by Jonathan Demme. 1998. Available on DVD from Touchstone Home Video, 1998. This feature film adaptation of the Pulitzer Prize–winning Toni Morrison novel of the same title examines the costs of slavery through the story of an escaped slave and the persistent reexamination of her past.

Berkeley in the Sixties. Directed by Mark Kitchell. 1990. Available on DVD from First Run Features, 2002. A political documentary that examines the campus and community activist movements of the University of California, Berkeley, in the 1960s.

Big Lebowski, The. Directed by Ethan Coen and Joel Coen. 1998. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2005. An offbeat comedy about a mystical loser know as “The Dude.”

Billy Jack. Directed by Tom Laughlin. 1971. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. A feature film about a half-Indian Vietnam veteran and loner who protects an endangered school.

Birth of a Nation, The. Directed by D.W. Griffith. 1915. Available on DVD from Kino Video, 2002. This groundbreaking narrative feature film contrasts the effects of the American Civil War on two families and is notorious for its portrayal of the Ku Klux Klan.

Bitch Slap. Directed by Rick Jacobson. 2009. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2010. A throwback to the Blaxploitation movies of the 1970s, an action film about three bad girls who make their way to a desert hideaway to extort a fortune in diamonds from an underworld kingpin.

Black Gold. Directed by Marc Francis and Nick Francis. 2006. Available on DVD from California Newsreel, 2006. A documentary about the cultural history and economic legacy of coffee.

Black Mountain Revisited. Directed by Joe Cardarelli. 1990. Available on VHS from Maisonneuve Press and Viridian Video Productions, 1996. A retrospective documentary chronicling the glory years of North Carolina’s famous Black Mountain College.

Black Press, The: Soldiers Without Swords. Directed by Stanley Nelson. 1999. Available on DVD from Half Nelson Productions/California Newsreel, 1999. A documentary history of black newspapers.

Blackboard Jungle. Directed by Richard Brooks. 1955. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2005. A dramatic literary adaptation about a dedicated teacher working at a troubled urban school.

Blowup. Directed by Michelangelo Antonioni. 1966. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. Set amid the verve of swinging London, this trendsetting art film is about a hip photographer’s unraveling of what seems to be a murder mystery.

Blue Collar and Buddha: A Documentary. Directed by Taggart Siegel. 1987. Available on VHS from NAATA Distribution, 1996. A documentary concerning Laotian immigrants and the cultural clashes that occur with their resettlement in the American Midwest.

Bluegrass Journey. Directed by Ruth Oxenberg. 2003. Available on DVD from Blue Stores Films, 2004. A documentary about the contemporary bluegrass scene told through interviews and performances.

Bob & Carol & Ted & Alice. Directed by Paul Mazursky. 1969. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home

Video, 2004. An offbeat 1960s feature film about repression and liberation through sexual coupling.

Bonnie and Clyde. Directed by Arthur Penn. 1967. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 1999. Youth, exuberance, and graphic violence color this romanticized retelling of the story of outlaws Bonnie Parker and Clyde Barrow in this celebrated revival of the gangster genre.

Boogie Nights. Directed by Paul Thomas Anderson. 1997. Available on DVD from New Line Home Video, 1998. Critically acclaimed drama about the pornography industry and the rise to stardom of a nightclub dishwasher.

Borat: Cultural Learnings of America for Make Benefit Glorious Nation of Kazakhstan. Directed by Larry Charles. 2006. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2007. A “mockumentary” starring British comic Sasha Baron Cohen as a Kazakh journalist traveling across America.

Bound for Glory. Directed by Hal Ashby. 1976. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. This film about the life of folksinger Woody Guthrie was adapted from his autobiography.

Bowling for Columbine. Directed by Michael Moore. 2002. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2003. Documentary on America’s gun culture in the aftermath of the 1999 Columbine (Colorado) High School massacre.

Boys Don’t Cry. Directed by Kimberly Peirce. 1999. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000. A dramatized feature film about a transgendered youth’s life and struggles with sexual identity.

Brokeback Mountain. Directed by Ang Lee. 2005. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2006. Groundbreaking drama about the romantic relationship between two cowboys.

Bukowski: Born into This. Directed by John Dullaghan. 2003. Available on DVD from Magnolia Home Entertainment, 2006. A documentary biography of controversial Los Angeles street poet Charles Bukowski.

Burning Man Festival. Directed by Joe Winston. 1997. Available on DVD from Ow Myeye Productions, 2001. A documentary about Nevada’s Burning Man Festival, a celebration of collective consciousness, artistic and musical expression, and unfettered creativity.

Burning Man: Beyond Black Rock. Directed by Damon Brown. Available on DVD from Lightyear. 2006. A behind-the-scenes documentary about the Nevada desert festival, its organization, philosophy, and social experience.

Cabinet of Dr. Caligari, The. Directed by Robert Weine. 1920. Special Collector’s Edition available on DVD from Image Entertainment, 1997. A classic silent film in the horror genre.

Capitalism: A Love Story. Directed by Michael Moore. 2009. Available on DVD from Starz/Anchor Bay, 2010. Documentary on the U.S. financial system and economic order during the credit crisis and recession of 2007–2009.

Carter Family, The: Will the Circle Be Unbroken?. Directed by Kathy Conkwright. 2005. Available on DVD from PBS Home Video, 2005. A television documentary about the life and times of country music’s Carter family.

Cat’s Cradle. In *By Brakhage: An Anthology*. Directed by Stan Brakhage. 1959. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2003. An avant-garde experimental short featuring a couple, a cat, and the inside of a house.

Cecil B. DeMented. Directed by John Waters. 2000. Available on DVD from Artisan Entertainment, 2001. A cult film about an insane independent motion picture director and his renegade group of teenage filmmakers who kidnap an A-list Hollywood actress and force her to star in their underground film.

Celebration at Big Sur. Directed by Johanna Demetrakas. 1971. This documentary about the 1969 Big Sur Folk Festival in California features such performing artists as Joan Baez, Joni Mitchell, and Graham Nash.

Chappaqua. Directed by Conrad Rooks. 1966. Available on DVD from Fox Lorber Home Video, 1997. A psychedelic 1960s feature film about expanded consciousness through the use of alcohol and drugs and metaphysical experimentation.

Che. Directed by Steven Soderbergh. 2010. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2008. Two-part, 268-minute biopic about the Latin American revolutionary, starring Benicio del Toro.

Cheech & Chong's Still Smokin. Directed by Tommy Chong. 1983. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2000. Following the success of *Up in Smoke*, this film includes more marijuana-fueled pratfalls from the comedy duo Cheech & Chong.

Cheech & Chong's Up in Smoke. Directed by Lou Adler and Tommy Chong. 1978. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2000. The comedy duo Cheech Marin and Tommy Chong embark on a series of drug-induced hijinks in this feature film.

Chelsea Girls. Directed by Paul Morrissey and Andy Warhol. 1966. Available on DVD from Raro Video, 2003. A banal, experimental epic (over four hours in length) that serves as a time capsule for participants in Warhol's studio, The Factory, and examines their lives at the famous Hotel Chelsea.

Chicago 10. Directed by Brett Morgen. 2007. Available on DVD from Participant Productions, 2007. A hybrid film that uses animation, dramatized voice acting, archival footage, and music to explore the antiwar protests at the 1968 Democratic National Convention, the arrest and trial of several leaders of the protests, including Abbie Hoffman, Jerry Rubin, David Dellinger, and Tom Hayden, and the legacy of those events.

Chicano! History of the Mexican-American Civil Rights Movement. Various directors. 1996. Available on VHS from NLCC Educational Media, 1996. This polyvocal documentary about the struggle for Mexican American rights during the 1960s and 1970s focuses on the legacy of César Chávez and the need for labor solidarity.

City Kids Meet Ashcan Art. Directed by Robert W. Snyder. 1998. Available on VHS from Carousel Film & Video, 1998. A documentary about students from the Bronx in New York City viewing and reacting to artwork created by the Ashcan school of American painters.

Clerks. Directed by Kevin Smith. 1994. Available on DVD from Miramax Home Entertainment, 2004. A quirky independent comedy about a day in the life of retail workers in suburban New Jersey.

Confessions of a Nazi Spy. Directed by Anatole Litvak. 1939. A somewhat propagandistic dramatic feature about the discovery of a Nazi spy ring in the United States.

Conspiracy Theory. Directed by Richard Donner. 1997. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 1998. A thriller about an offbeat New York City taxi driver/conspiracy theorist who finds himself caught up in a real-life conspiracy.

Convention City. Directed by Archie Mayo. 1933. Released before the Hays Code on moral standards was in effect, this feature was noted for its salacious subject matter.

Cradle Will Rock. Directed by Tim Robbins. 1999. Available on DVD from Touchstone Home Video, 2000. A broad dramatization of changing mores, cultural production, and the pervasiveness of New Deal programs in 1930s New York City.

Cruising. Directed by William Friedkin. 1980. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2007. A controversial police drama about a murder investigation in the sadomasochist haunts of New York's 1980s gay subculture.

Crumb. Directed by Terry Zwigoff. 1994. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2006. A documentary portrayal of the life, loves, and obsessions of iconoclastic cartoonist R. Crumb.

Cry-Baby. Directed by John Waters. 1990. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2005. This cult

classic about a group of juvenile delinquents parodies teen musicals and 1950s Elvis Presley movies.

Desistfilm. In *By Brakhage: An Anthology*. Directed by Stan Brakhage. 1954. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2003. A short, surrealistic film in the horror genre, focusing on a group of young adults isolated in a house in the woods.

Dirty Pictures. Directed by Frank Pierson. 2000. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. A dramatization of the 1990 trial of controversial photographer Robert Mapplethorpe.

Dirty Shame, A. In *Very Crudely Yours: John Waters Collection*. Directed by John Waters. 2004. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2005. A repressed middle-aged Baltimore woman turns into a sex addict and becomes part of the city's underground subculture.

Do the Right Thing. Directed by Spike Lee. 1989. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2001. An explosive drama about a day of mounting racial tension in Brooklyn, New York.

Donnie Darko. Directed by Richard Kelly. 2001. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2005. A modern sci-fi cult classic about a bipolar teen, his visions of Doomsday, time travel, and God.

Don't Look Back. Directed by D.A. Pennebaker. 1967. Available on DVD from New Video Group, 2007. A groundbreaking rock documentary about Bob Dylan's 1965 tour of England.

Dr. Strangelove or: How I Learned to Stop Worrying and Love the Bomb. Directed by Stanley Kubrick. 1964. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2001. A suspense comedy in which an insane general initiates a process leading to nuclear holocaust that a room full of politicians and generals frantically try to stop.

Drugstore Cowboy. Directed by Gus Van Sant. 1989. Available on DVD from Lions Gate Home Entertainment, 1999. A gritty road movie about a group of drug addicts and their descent into crime.

Easy Rider. Directed by Dennis Hopper. 1969. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 2004. A road movie of the 1960s about two free spirits on a cross-country quest for an "authentic" American experience, famously doused in sex, drugs, and rock and roll.

Eat a Bowl of Tea. Directed by Wayne Wong. 1989. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 2003. A dramatic saga of Chinese American assimilation in the 1940s.

Edward Scissorhands. Directed by Tim Burton. 1990. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000. A modern fairy tale that tells the story of Edward, a man created by an inventor who dies before finishing Edward and leaves him with scissors in place of hands.

El Mariachi. Directed by Robert Rodriguez. 1992. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2003. A seminal low-budget action film that is part of the celebrated independent film movement of the 1990s.

El Topo. In *The Films of Alejandro Jodorowsky*. Directed by Alejandro Jodorowsky. 1970. Available on DVD from ABKCO Films/Anchor Bay Entertainment, 2007. A quintessential cult film—part European art film and part revisionist Western—about a transcendental hero who undertakes a mythopoetic vision quest.

Elephant Man, The. Directed by David Lynch. 1980. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 2001. An American auteur's take on the story of a physically deformed man rescued from a life as a freak show attraction.

Eraserhead. Directed by David Lynch. 1977. Available on DVD from Absurda/Subversive Cinema, 2005. A stylistically obscure midnight movie about an odd man's domestic hell.

Eternal Sunshine of the Spotless Mind. Directed by Michel Gondry. 2004. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2004. A wacky drama about a couple that undergoes a procedure to erase each other from their

memories when their relationship turns sour.

Even Cowgirls Get the Blues. Directed by Gus Van Sant. 1993. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2004. The film adaptation of a Tom Robbins novel about a hitchhiker with a comically enlarged thumb who ends up participating in a feminist rebellion.

Ever Since the World Ended. Directed by Calum Grant and Joshua Atesh Lee. 2001. Available on DVD from BFS Entertainment and Multimedia, 2007. A pseudo-documentary about establishing a commune in postapocalyptic San Francisco.

Exorcist, The. Directed by William Friedkin. 1973. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2000. This feature horror film, based on William Peter Blatty's 1971 novel of the same name, fictionalizes the allegedly true story of a young girl who is possessed by the devil.

Eyes on the Prize. Directed by Henry Hampton. 1986, 1990. Available on DVD from PBS Home Video, 2006. A multipart documentary that chronicles the civil rights movement.

Faces. In *John Cassavetes: Five Films*. Directed by John Cassavetes. 1968. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2004. This seminal independent feature film explores the passion of a marriage gone awry.

Fahrenheit 9/11. Directed by Michael Moore. 2004. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 2004. This polemical documentary about President George W. Bush's conflicted allegiances and problematic foreign ties is set in the immediate post-9/11 period.

Far From Heaven. Directed by Todd Haynes. 2002. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2003. A dramatic feature film about a racially mixed relationship in the 1950s.

Fear and Loathing in Las Vegas. Directed by Terry Gilliam. 1998. Available on DVD from Universal Home Video, 1998. Based on the counterculture classic by Hunter S. Thompson, an oddball journalist and his psychopathic lawyer travel to Las Vegas for a series of psychedelic escapades.

Female Trouble. In *Very Crudely Yours: John Waters Collection*. Directed by John Waters. 1974. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2005. A cult classic about a spoiled schoolgirl who runs away from home, gets pregnant, and ends up as a fashion model for a pair of beauticians who like to photograph women committing crimes.

Festival Express. Directed by Bob Smeaton. 1970, 2004. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2004. This documentary about a concert tour of Canada by San Francisco–scene bands traveling by train features Janis Joplin, the Grateful Dead, The Band, and others.

54. Directed by Mark Christopher. 1998. Available on DVD from Miramax Home Entertainment, 1999. A fictional account of New York's famous Studio 54 discotheque.

Fight Club. Directed by David Fincher. 1999. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2000. A cult literary adaptation about a man's dissatisfaction with his mainstream lifestyle and foray into a semisecret underground movement.

Fight in the Fields, The: Cesar Chavez and the Farmworkers' Struggle. Directed by Rick Tejada-Flores and Ray Telles. 1996. Available on DVD from Cinema Guild, 2003. A documentary chronicling the legacy of César Chávez and the fight for Chicano self-determination.

Film About a Woman Who... ? Directed by Yvonne Rainer. 1974. Available on VHS from Zeitgeist Films, 1990. An experimental film concerned with attempts to construct a feminist form of subjectivity.

Filth and the Fury, The. Directed by Julien Temple. 2000. Available on DVD from New Line Films/Sunset Home Visual Entertainment, 2005. Documentary about the Sex Pistols from the point of view of band members.

Fireworks. In *The Films of Kenneth Anger, Volume 1*. Directed by Kenneth Anger. 1947. Available on DVD from Fantoma Films, 2007. A classic experimental film infamous for its exploration of the intersections between homosexuality and sadomasochism.

Flaming Creatures. Directed by Jack Smith. 1964. Available on VHS from Facets Video, 1997. This mid-length experimental film is known for its lyrical and polymorphous screen sexuality.

Forrest Gump. Directed by Robert Zemeckis. 1994. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2001. A well-meaning man, limited in IQ, finds himself unwittingly part of counterculture events and meets key figures from the 1950s through the 1970s.

Freaks. Directed by Tod Browning. 1932. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. A shocking cult movie about real circus sideshow performers who take revenge on a "normal" couple after suffering sustained degradation.

Friendly Persuasion. Directed by William Wyler. 1956. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2000. Based on a 1945 novel of the same title by Jessamyn West, this acclaimed film stars Gary Cooper as the patriarch of a family of pacifist Quakers living in Indiana during the American Civil War.

Fritz the Cat. Directed by Ralph Bakshi. 1972. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2001. An animated feature film about an amorously bold and anthropomorphized cat in early 1970s New York.

Gang War: Bangin' in Little Rock. Directed by Marc Levin. 1971. Available on DVD from HBO Home Video, 2006. A documentary about the encroachment of gang activity in Little Rock, Arkansas.

Getting Straight. Directed by Richard Rush. 1970. Drama of a frustrated, liberal teacher in the era of campus violence.

Gimme Shelter. Directed by Albert Maysles and David Maysles. 1970. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2003. A rock music documentary about the 1969 Rolling Stones tour, including the tragic events that took place at the Altamont Speedway concert in Northern California.

Glorifying the American Girl. Directed by John Harkrider and Millard Webb. 1929. Available on VHS from Alpha Video Distributors, 1997. A narrative feature film about a department store salesgirl's rise to fame.

Glory. Directed by Edward Zwick. 1989. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2006. A dramatized account of the 54th Massachusetts Infantry, the first all-black regiment in the American Civil War.

Godfather, The. Directed by Francis Ford Coppola. 1972. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2001. The Academy Award-winning drama of the Corleones, a fictional New York Mafia family, based on Mario Puzo's novel of the same name.

Graduate, The. Directed by Mike Nichols. 1967. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2007. This feature film stars Dustin Hoffman in the critically acclaimed role of Benjamin Braddock, a confused college graduate who has an affair with a much older woman.

Grapes of Wrath, The. Directed by John Ford. 1940. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. An acclaimed film adaptation of John Steinbeck's novel of the same name about Dust Bowl migrants during the Great Depression of the 1930s.

Grateful Dead Movie, The. Directed by Jerry Garcia and Leon Gast. 1977. Available on DVD from Monterey Video, 2004. The laboriously edited concert documentary of the Grateful Dead's first round of farewell concerts in October 1974.

Great Day in Harlem, A. Directed by Jean Bach. 1994. Available on DVD from Image Home Entertainment, 2005.

A documentary that examines the personalities and social circumstances responsible for the most famous jazz photograph in history: a group photograph of the top jazz musicians in New York City in 1958, which was taken for a piece in *Esquire* magazine.

Grindhouse. Directed by Robert Rodriguez and Quentin Tarantino. 2007. Available on DVD from Weinstein Company, 2007. A two-part exploitation feature film, consisting of *Planet Terror* (Rodriguez) and *Death Proof* (Tarantino).

Groove. Directed by Greg Harrison. 2000. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 2000. A dramatic feature about one crazy night in the throes of San Francisco's burgeoning rave scene.

Hackers. Directed by Iain Softley. 1995. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 1998. A technologically overloaded action film about computer hackers who find themselves embroiled in a sinister plot involving big business and the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Hag in a Black Leather Jacket. Directed by John Waters. 1964. A dark farce about an African American man who courts a Caucasian woman by carrying her around in a trash can and later marries her in a ceremony conducted by a Ku Klux Klansman.

Hairspray. In *Very Crudely Yours: John Waters Collection*. Directed by John Waters. 1989. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2005. A campy film that addresses racial segregation with the director's signature humor.

Happiness. Directed by Todd Solondz. 1998. Available on DVD from Lions Gate Home Entertainment, 2003. An edgy independent feature film about the dissatisfactions and sexual transgressions of three middle-class New Jersey sisters.

Harder They Come, The. Directed by Perry Henzell. 1972. Available on DVD from Xenon, 2006. This midnight movie, following the precipitous rise of an upstart con man in Jamaica, features music by Jimmy Cliff.

Harlan County, U.S.A. Directed by Barbara Kopple. 1976. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2006. A documentary about a group of miners who are pitted against an exploitive corporation.

Harold and Maude. Directed by Hal Ashby. 1971. Available on DVD from PBS Home Video, 2000. Cult classic about a death-obsessed teenager and his relationship with a free-spirited septuagenarian.

Hearts and Minds. Directed by Peter Davis. 1974. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2002. A controversial documentary about the failures and immediate legacy of the war in Vietnam.

Heavy Traffic. Directed by Ralph Bakshi. 1973. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. An experimental animated feature chronicling a randy teenager's hopes of leaving home and living on his own terms.

Henry & June. Directed by Philip Kaufman. 1990. Available on DVD from Universal Home Video, 1999. A dramatized re-creation of the relationship between writers Henry Miller and Anaïs Nin.

Hester Street. Directed by Joan Micklin Silver. 1975. Available on DVD from Home Vision Entertainment, 2004. The tale of a young Jewish woman coming to terms with 1890s American culture.

High Noon. Directed by Fred Zinnemann. 1952. Available on DVD from Republic Pictures, 1998. An iconic Western starring Gary Cooper as a frontier lawman and the newlywed husband of a pacifist Quaker (Grace Kelly) who finds himself standing alone against a revenge-seeking enemy.

Hitchhiker's Guide to the Galaxy. Directed by Garth Jennings. 2005. Available on DVD from Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2005. A feature film based on the sci-fi comedy book series by Douglas Adams, which follows the adventures of hapless Englishman Arthur Dent, who escapes the demolition of Earth by a bureaucratic alien race called the Vogons.

Hollywood Aliens and Monsters. Directed by Kevin Burns. 1997. Available on VHS from A&E Home Video, 1997. A history of science fiction moviemaking, with an emphasis on the relationship between political and social paranoia and the subject matter of the films.

Holy Mountain, The. In *The Films of Alejandro Jodorowsky*. Directed by Alejandro Jodorowsky. 1973. Available on DVD from ABKCO Films/Anchor Bay Entertainment, 2007. A cult film about the trials and destiny of a messianic figure (portrayed by the director).

Homeless in Paradise. Directed by Chuck Braverman and Marilyn Braverman. 2006. Available on DVD from New Day Films, 2006. A documentary portrayal of four homeless people in the Santa Monica, California, area.

Hooked: Illegal Drugs and How They Got That Way. Directed by Thom Yaroschuk. 2000. Available on DVD from A&E/New Video, 2002. This multipart television documentary examines the rise of drug use in America.

Hunger, The. Directed by Tony Scott. 1983. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. A horror movie, largely praised by the goth subculture, about a female vampire.

Hunting of the President, The. Directed by Nickolas Perry and Harry Thomason. 2004. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. An investigative documentary about the widespread effort to attack, discredit, and impeach President Bill Clinton.

I Am Chicano. Directed by Jesús Salvador Treviño. 1972. An early documentary about the Chicano Movement of the 1960s and early 1970s.

I Am Joaquin. Directed by Luis Valdez. 1969. Available on VHS from CFI Video, 1995. The adaptation of a seminal Chicano poem about the exploitation of Mexican labor in the United States.

I Shot Andy Warhol. Directed by Mary Harron. 1995. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2001. Biopic about Valerie Solanas, a militant feminist who shot and wounded Andy Warhol.

I'm Not There. Directed by Todd Haynes. 2007. Available on DVD from the Weinstein Company, 2008. Six aspects of Dylan's public and private lives as depicted by six different actors.

In the Grip of Evil. Directed by Charles Vanderpool. 1997. Available on DVD from WinStar Home Entertainment, 1998. An investigative documentary about exorcism and the historical motivation for William Peter Blatty's 1971 horror novel *The Exorcist* and 1973 film of the same name.

In the Heat of the Night. Directed by Norman Jewison. 1967. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2001. A police drama about a murder investigation in the Deep South that prompts an uneasy racial alliance.

In the Valley of Elah. Directed by Paul Haggis. 2007. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video. 2008. A former military investigator searches for his son, who has disappeared after returning from a tour of duty in the Iraq War.

Incident at Oglala: The Leonard Peltier Story. Directed by Michael Apted. 1992. Available on DVD from Artisan Home Entertainment, 2004. A documentary that re-creates the controversy surrounding the 1975 police invasion of Pine Ridge Indian Reservation in South Dakota.

Inside Islam. Directed by Mark Hufnail. 2002. Available on DVD from New Video Group, 2002. A documentary about the history, rise, and reception of Islam.

Inside Life Outside. Directed by Sachiko Hamada and Scott Sinkler. 1988. Available on VHS from New Day Films, 1988. A documentary about the daily struggles of a group of homeless people in New York.

Introspection. In *Viva la Dance: The Beginnings of Ciné-Dance*. Directed by Sara Kathryn Arledge. 1941 and 1946. Available on DVD from Image Entertainment, 2005. A poetic dance film that is considered a benchmark in

the genre.

Invasion of the Body Snatchers. Directed by Don Siegel. 1956. Available on DVD from Republic Entertainment, 2002. This science fiction film about the surreptitious invasion of a small American town by aliens is noted for its typification of cold war paranoia and the apocalyptic beliefs of the Red Scare.

Iron Jawed Angels. Directed by Katja von Garnier. 2004. Available on DVD from HBO Home Video, 2004. A dramatization of historical events and key figures in the struggle for woman suffrage.

Jailhouse Rock. Directed by Richard Thorpe. 1957. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2007. An iconic early rock and roll film starring Elvis Presley as a musician with a rags-to-riches story.

Jaws. Directed by Steven Spielberg. 1975. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2005. The super thriller and box office hit adapted from Peter Benchley's best-selling 1974 novel of the same title.

Jesus Camp. Directed by Heidi Ewing and Rachel Grady. 2006. Available on DVD from Magnolia Home Entertainment, 2006. A documentary that chronicles the attitudes found at evangelical Christian summer camps through the lives of the children as they study and play.

Kids. Directed by Larry Clark. 1995. Available on DVD from Trimark Home Entertainment/Lions Gate Home Entertainment, 2000. A seminal, candid 1990s independent film about the lives of nihilistic adolescents.

Kill Bill: Vol. 1 and *Kill Bill: Vol. 2*. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. 2003, 2004. Available on DVD from Miramax Home Entertainment/Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2004. This two-part feature film is positioned as a send-up of kung fu revenge narratives.

Land of Look Behind. Directed by Alan Greenberg. 1982. Available on DVD from Subversive Cinema, 2006. A documentary film about the life and times of reggae artist Bob Marley.

Laramie Project, The. Directed by Moisés Kaufman. 2002. Available on DVD from HBO Home Video, 2002. The dramatization of a small town's direct confrontation with its own intolerance in the wake of the homophobic murder of Matthew Shepard.

Last Waltz, The. Directed by Martin Scorsese. 1978. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2004. A rock concert documentary detailing the star-studded, final hurrah of The Band.

Life and Times of Allen Ginsberg, The. Directed by Jerry Aronson. 1994. Available on DVD from New Yorker Video, 2006. This documentary investigates the life, work, and legacy of Beat poet Allen Ginsberg.

Lions for Lambs. Directed by Robert Redford. 2007. Available on DVD from United Artists, 2008. Film drama about injuries sustained by U.S. Army rangers in Afghanistan and the involvement of a congressman, journalist, and professor.

Lone Star. Directed by John Sayles. 1996. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 1999. A dramatic feature film about a murder investigation in a Texas border town.

Malcolm X. Directed by Spike Lee. 1992. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2000. This epic biopic dramatizes the life of Malcolm X, a leader in the Nation of Islam whose ideas helped inspire the Black Power movement.

Manhatta. In *Avant-Garde: Experimental Cinema of the 1920s and '30s*. Directed by Charles Sheeler and Paul Strand. 1921. Available on DVD from Kino Video, 2005. An early avant-garde short film that explores the aesthetic potential for representing the New York cityscape.

Manufacturing Consent: Noam Chomsky and the Media. Directed by Mark Achbar and Peter Wintonick. 1992. Available on DVD from Zeitgeist Video, 2002. A biographical documentary about Noam Chomsky's work in

assessing the hidden ideological manipulations employed by Western democracies.

*M*A*S*H*. Directed by Robert Altman. 1970. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. A dark comedy about staff members of a Korean War field hospital who use humor and hijinks to keep their sanity amid the horror of war.

Matewan. Directed by John Sayles. 1987. Available on DVD from Artisan Home Entertainment, 2001. This historical feature film dramatizes the hostilities toward organized labor in West Virginia's coal-mining country in 1920.

Matrix, The. Directed by Andy Wachowski and Larry Wachowski. 1999. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2001. A cyberpunk science fiction film about the enslavement of humanity by its own computer creations that is, by turns, technophobic and technophilic.

Mazes and Monsters. Directed by Steven Hilliard Stern. 1982. Available on DVD from Trinity/905 Entertainment, 2005. This dramatic youth film about the pleasures and pains of role-playing games was made during the height of concern over the game *Dungeons & Dragons*.

Medium Cool. Directed by Haskell Wexler. 1969. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2001. A highly political dramatic feature film about a cameraman's engagement with the events of the 1968 Democratic National Convention.

Men with Guns. Directed by John Sayles. 1997. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Entertainment, 2003. This dramatic feature film underscores the difficulties of effecting change in poor, agricultural communities.

Meshes of the Afternoon. In *Maya Deren: Experimental Films*. Directed by Maya Deren. 1943. Available on DVD from Mystic Fire Video, 2002. A revelatory avant-garde short film by one of America's leading female filmmakers.

Midnight Cowboy. Directed by John Schlesinger. 1969. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2006. A dramatic feature film about a would-be male prostitute thrust into an unlikely friendship with a streetwise hustler.

Mighty Wind, A. Directed by Christopher Guest. 2003. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2003. A largely improvised pseudo-documentary about the staging of a folk music tribute concert.

Miles of Smiles, Years of Struggle. Directed by Paul Wagner and Jack Santino. 1983. Available on VHS from California Newsreel, 1983. A documentary about the unionization of African American porters and their impact on the civil rights movement.

Milk. Directed by Gus Van Sant. 2008. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2009. Sean Penn's acclaimed portrayal of gay rights activist and politician Harvey Milk, who served as a city supervisor of San Francisco and was assassinated in 1978.

Mod Squad, The. Directed by Scott Silver. 1999. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 1999. This feature-film remake of the popular 1960s television show follows three young undercover agents infiltrating the Los Angeles underworld.

Mondo Trasho. Directed by John Waters. 1969. A day in the lives of a hit-and-run driver and her victim, featuring an array of bizarre events.

Monterey Pop. Directed by D.A. Pennebaker. 1967. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2002. A documentary film about hijinks—onstage and off—at the famous 1968 rock, pop, blues, and jazz festival.

Mormons, The. Directed by Helen Whitney. 2007. Available on DVD from PBS Home Video, 2007. A television documentary about the history and contemporary practice of Mormonism.

Mothlight. In *By Brakhage: An Anthology*. Directed by Stan Brakhage. 1963. Available on DVD from Criterion

Collection, 2003. An experimental short film featuring so-called found bits of insects, leaves, and other detritus sandwiched between two strips of perforated tape.

Motorcycle Diaries, The. Directed by Walter Salles. 2004. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2005. The dramatization of a motorcycle road trip that Cuban revolutionary Che Guevara took with a friend in his youth, which revealed his life's calling.

MTV Uncensored. Directed by David P. Levin. 1999. This documentary features stories about MTV, as told by the people who were a part of the cable television network, including producers, video jockeys, and stars such as Cindy Crawford, Janeane Garafalo, and Jon Stewart.

National Lampoon's Animal House. Directed by John Landis. 1978. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2003. A feature-film comedy known for its riffs on the tropes of American fraternity and sorority life.

Neal Cassady. Directed by Noah Buschel. 2007. Biopic about the Beat Generation hero and friend of Jack Kerouac, Ken Kesey, and the Merry Pranksters.

Night of the Living Dead. Directed by George A. Romero. 1968. Available on DVD from Elite Entertainment, 2002. This cult horror feature about the mysterious animation of dead bodies has been praised for its allegorization of racism, the Vietnam War, and the political climate of late-1960s America.

Not a Love Story: A Motion Picture About Pornography. Directed by Bonnie Sherr Klein. 1981. Available on VHS from National Film Board of Canada Video, 1991. A strongly feminist documentary about the harmful effects of pornography on American cultural discourse.

On the Waterfront. Directed by Elia Kazan. 1954. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 2001. A feature-film drama about labor and organized crime in postwar urban America.

One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest. Directed by Milos Forman. 1975. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2002. The acclaimed film adaptation of Ken Kesey's cult novel, grounded in a man's challenges to the oppressive governance of a mental institution.

Oneida Family of John Humphrey Noyes, The. Directed by Milton H. Jannone. 1975. Available on VHS from M.H. Jannone Video, 1991. A documentary about the history of the Oneida utopian community in upstate New York and its founder.

Outlaw, The. Directed by Howard Hughes and Howard Hawks. 1943. Available on VHS from Front Row Entertainment, 1993. A scandalous Western noted for its circumvention of Hays Code moral strictures.

Panic in Needle Park, The. Directed by Jerry Schatzberg. 1971. Available on DVD from on 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2007. An unglamorized portrayal of life among a group of heroin addicts who frequent New York City's "Needle Park."

Parallax View, The. Directed by Alan J. Pakula. 1974. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 1999. A dramatic thriller centered around the witnessing of the assassination of a political candidate.

Parting Glances. Directed by Bill Sherwood. 1986. Available on DVD from First Run Features, 1999. This dramatic feature film tells a gay love story set amid the ravages of the AIDS virus.

Party Monster. Directed by Fenton Baily and Randy Barbato. 2003. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. A dramatic feature film about the New York club scene of the 1980s and 1990s.

Pecker. In *Very Crudely Yours: John Waters Collection*. Directed by John Waters. 1998. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2005. A comedy about a Baltimore sandwich shop employee who becomes an overnight sensation when his family photographs become the latest rage in the art world.

Philadelphia. Directed by John Demme. 1993. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 1997. A man with AIDS, fired by a conservative law firm, hires a homophobic small-time lawyer for a wrongful dismissal suit.

Pink Flamingos. Directed by John Waters. 1972. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2004. A transvestite vies for the title of "filthiest person alive" in this cult classic glorified for its transcendence of so-called good taste.

Planet of the Apes. Directed by Franklin J. Schaffner. 1968. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2006. Astronauts crash land on a planet in the distant future, where intelligent talking apes are the dominant species and humans are the oppressed and enslaved.

Plow that Broke the Plains, The. Directed by Pare Lorentz. 1936. Available on DVD from Naxos, 2007. A New Deal-era documentary about the plight of America's agricultural West due to abuse of the land.

Poison. Directed by Todd Haynes. 1991. Available on DVD from Fox Lorber Home Video, 1999. This obscure, poetic feature film tells three intercut stories of murder, transgressive sexuality, and alienation.

Polyester. In *Very Crudely Yours: John Waters Collection*. Directed by John Waters. 1981. Available on DVD from New Line Home Entertainment, 2005. A cult classic about a suburban housewife's breakdown when her husband admits he's been unfaithful.

President's Analyst, The. Directed by Theodore J. Flicker. 1967. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 2004. A cold war comedy about attempts to wrestle national secrets out of the U.S. president's former psychotherapist.

Psych-Out. Directed by Richard Rush. 1968. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2003. A hippie exploitation feature chronicling a runaway girl's introduction to the communal philosophies of the free love generation as she searches for her long-lost brother.

Pull My Daisy. Directed by Robert Frank. 1959. Available on VHS from Kultur Video, 1998. A short film created by and starring members of the Beat movement, including Allen Ginsberg, Larry Rivers, and Jack Kerouac.

Pulp Fiction. Directed by Quentin Tarantino. 1994. Available on DVD from Miramax Home Entertainment, 2002. A seminal film of the 1990s independent movement showcasing several interwoven tales of life, death, drugs, and sex.

Pump Up the Volume. Directed by Allan Moyle. 1990. Available on DVD from New Line Home Video, 1999. A dramatic feature about a teenager's liberation through his persona on pirate radio.

Pumping Iron. Directed by George Butler and Robert Fiore. 1977. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2003. A documentary about bodybuilding, which is famous for helping to launch Arnold Schwarzenegger's celebrity career.

Punishment Park. Directed by Peter Watkins. 1971. Available on DVD from New Yorker Video, 2005. An incendiary pseudo-documentary about the U.S. government's interrogation and abuse of those it identifies as politically undesirable.

Putney Swope. Directed by Robert Downey, Sr. 1969. Available on DVD from Image Entertainment, 2006. A satirical feature film in which a group of black militants takes over a Madison Avenue advertising firm and stages an ideological assault on white America.

Quadrophenia. Directed by Franc Roddam. 1979. Available on DVD from Rhino/WEA, 2001. The story of a working-class London mod, set against the soundtrack of the Who's 1973 concept album *Quadrophenia*.

Queen of Sheba Meets the Atom Man, The. Directed by Ron Rice. 1963. Available on VHS from Arthouse, 1996. This experimental feature film criticizes mainstream representational modes and subjects.

Rainbow Bridge. Directed by Chuck Wein. 1972. Available on DVD from Rhino Home Video, 2000. This fictional feature film—built around documentary concert footage—tells a story about a center for alternative consciousness that extends its message by hosting a Jimi Hendrix concert near a volcano.

Rebel Without a Cause. Directed by Nicolas Ray. 1955. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2005. This dramatic James Dean vehicle details a rebellious teenager's desire to fit in with his peers, to the dismay of his family.

Rebels With a Cause. Directed by Helen Garvy. 2000. Available on DVD from Zeitgeist Films, 2003. A documentary history of Students for a Democratic Society.

Reds. Directed by Warren Beatty. 1981. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Video, 2006. A dramatic love story that portrays the relationship between radical American journalist John Reed and activist-feminist Louise Bryant, set in the epic milieu of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution.

Reefer Madness. Directed by Louis J. Gasnier. 1936. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. Ostensibly about the dangers of marijuana use, this midnight movie is beloved by audiences for its camp, kitsch, and ineptly didactic style.

Rendition. Directed by Gavin Hood. 2007. Available on DVD from New Line Home Video, 2008. Based on a true story of “extraordinary rendition,” the CIA practice of secretly transferring a suspected terrorist from one country to another for the purpose of extrajudicial interrogation and torture—in this case based on a mistaken identity.

Repo Man. Directed by Alex Cox. 1984. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2006. A thoroughly punk science fiction feature about a man who repossesses cars and his brushes with a conspiracy by an extraterrestrial government.

River, The. Directed by Pare Lorentz. 1938. Available on DVD from Naxos, 2007. A New Deal–era documentary about the role of the Mississippi River in American life.

Rock'n' Roll High School. Directed by Allan Arkush. 1979. Available on DVD from Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 2005. A comedic tale of youthful rebelliousness, starring the iconoclastic rock group the Ramones.

Rocky Horror Picture Show, The. Directed by Jim Sharman. 1975. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2002. The quintessential cult musical, noted for the persistence of its theatrical screenings and for its audience-participation element.

Roger and Me. Directed by Michael Moore. 1989. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2003. Documentary on the local economic effects of the decision by General Motors Chairman Roger Smith to close several automotive plants in Flint, Michigan.

'Round Midnight. Directed by Bertrand Tavernier. 1986. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2001. A feature film about a fictional American jazz musician's life and music in 1950s Paris.

Sacco and Vanzetti. Directed by Peter Miller. 2005. Available on DVD from First Run Features/Icarus Films, 2006. A documentary film about two of America's most well-known anarchists, Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti.

Saint Misbehavin': The Wavy Gravy Movie. Directed by Michelle Esrick. 2008. Documentary about the hippie cult personality and unofficial “host” of the Woodstock Music Festival.

Saturday Night Fever. Directed by John Badham. 1977. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 2002. This dramatic feature film is largely responsible for bringing disco music and culture into the mainstream.

Scorpio Rising. In *Kenneth Anger, Volume II*. Directed by Kenneth Anger. 1964. Available on VHS from BFI Video, 2000. A keystone work of the American avante-garde, largely responsible for the profusion of the combination of

“high” (formal playfulness, stylistic excess) and “low” (popular music, comic books, the icon of James Dean) culture in film.

Scratch. Directed by Doug Pray. 2000. Available on DVD from Palm Pictures, 2002. This concert documentary, featuring world-renowned disk jockeys in competition, doubles as a history of the turntablist in popular music.

Serial Mom. Directed by John Waters. 1994. Available on DVD from HBO Home Video, 1999. A dark comedy about a suburban housewife who murders her neighbors and creates a media sensation as the town’s serial killer mom.

Seven Days in May. Directed by John Frankenheimer. 1964. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2000. A dramatic feature film in which a bold general contemplates a coup d’état during a crucial moment in the cold war.

sex, lies, and videotape. Directed by Steven Soderbergh. 1989. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 1998. This dramatic feature, widely recognized as the catalyst and prototype for the American independent film movement of the 1990s, tells a frank story of sexual intimacy and dissolving relationships.

Shadows. In *John Cassavetes: Five Films*. Directed by John Cassavetes. 1959. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2004. An artistic feature film about an interracial relationship at the height of the Beat era.

Shaft. Directed by Gordon Parks. 1971. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2000. This iconic blaxploitation film follows the adventures of Detective John Shaft.

Shakers, The: Hands to Work, Hearts to God. Directed by Amy Stechler Burns and Ken Burns. 1984. Available on DVD from PBS Home Video, 2004. An historical documentary about the religious beliefs, cultural practices, and national legacy of the Shakers.

Shaolin Ulysses: Kungfu Monks in America. Directed by Martha Burr and Mei-Juin Chen. 2002. Available on DVD from Docurama/New Video Group, 2004. A documentary about a group of Buddhist monks who are engaged in spreading their religion and the practice of kung fu across America.

She’s Gotta Have It. Directed by Spike Lee. 1986. Available on VHS from Polygram Pictures, 1995. A dramatic feature film about an African American woman’s confused relationships.

Shock of the New, The. Directed by David Richardson. 1980. Available on DVD from Ambrose Video, 2001. A documentary television series on the history of modernism in the arts.

Shine a Light. Directed by Martin Scorsese. 2008. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 2008. A documentary featuring the Rolling Stones in live performance at New York City’s Beacon Theater during their 2006 A Bigger Bank Tour.

Sicko. Directed by Michael Moore. 2007. Available on DVD from the Weinstein Company, 2007. Documentary on the U.S. health care system and pharmaceutical industry.

Simpsons Movie, The. Directed by David Silverman. 2007. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2007. The hit animated TV series comes to the big screen. Homer pollutes the water supply of Springfield.

Single Beds and Double Standards. Directed by Kevin Brownlow and David Gill. 1980. Available on VHS from HBO Home Video, 1980. A documentary about Hollywood’s move to self-censorship through the institution of the Motion Picture Production Code (also known as the Hays Code) of 1930.

Sir! No Sir! Directed by David Zeiger. 2005. Available on DVD from Docurama/New Video Group, 2006. A documentary about attempts by GIs to oppose the Vietnam War through subversion, peaceful demonstration, and other methods.

Sit Down and Fight: Walter Reuther and the Rise of the Auto Workers Union. Directed by Charlotte Zwerin. 1992. Available on VHS from PBS Home Video, 1992. A documentary recollecting Reuther's struggle for workers' rights amidst resistant management in the automobile industry.

Slacker. Directed by Richard Linklater. 1991. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2004. An experimental, independent feature that seamlessly follows the lives of a cornucopia of peripheral characters in Austin, Texas.

SLC Punk! Directed by James Merendino. 1999. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 1999. A gritty film that details the daily routine and social tribulations of two Salt Lake City punk rockers.

Smoke Signals. Directed by Chris Eyre. 1998. Available on DVD from Miramax Home Entertainment/Buena Vista Home Entertainment, 1999. A feature comedy about a trip by two Native Americans to collect the remains of one's recently deceased father.

Smothered: The Censorship Struggles of the Smothers Brothers Comedy Hour. Directed by Maureen Muldaur. 2002. Available on DVD from New Video Group, 2003. A documentary profiling the censorship issues surrounding the CBS comedy/variety program.

Star Wars. In *Star Wars Trilogy.* Directed by George Lucas. 1977. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2004. The original film in the blockbuster saga set in outer space.

Stop Making Sense. Directed by Jonathan Demme. 1984. Available on DVD from Palm Pictures, 1999. A concert documentary of the rock group Talking Heads.

Story of Jazz, The. Directed by Matthew Seig. 1991. Available on VHS from BMG Video, 1993. This documentary details the historical and cultural origins of jazz music in America.

Storytelling. Directed by Todd Solondz. 2001. Available on DVD from New Line Home Video/Warner Home Video, 2002. An independent film consisting of two unrelated stories of youths working through sexual, social, and familial alienation.

Stranger Than Paradise. Directed by Jim Jarmusch. 1984. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. An early independent film about a hip New Yorker's relationship with his visiting Hungarian cousin.

Strawberry Statement, The. Directed by Stuart Hagmann. 1970. Available on VHS from MGM Home Entertainment, 1993. A feature film about a young man's road to involvement in radical politics during the Columbia University protests of the late 1960s.

Struggles in Steel: A Story of African-American Steelworkers. Directed by Tony Buba. 1996. Available on VHS from California Newsreel Video, 1996. A labor documentary that examines personal remembrances of the struggle for racial equality in the steel industry.

Style Wars. Directed by Tony Silver and Henry Chalfant. 1983. Available on DVD from Plexifilm/Passion River, 2005. A documentary on the graffiti subculture emerging in New York City in the 1980s.

Suburbia. Directed by Penelope Spheeris. 1984. Available on DVD from New Horizons Home Video, 2000. A family of homeless teens unite in a throwaway society.

Superfly. Directed by Gordon Parks, Jr. 1972. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. A blaxploitation feature about a drug dealer desperate to make one last major sale before abandoning the lifestyle.

Sweet Sweetback's Baadasssss Song. Directed by Melvin Van Peebles. 1971. Available on DVD from Xenon Pictures, 2002. A highly political action film that is widely considered to have instigated the blaxploitation cycle in movies.

Taking Woodstock. Directed by Ang Lee. 2009. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2009. A

coming-of-age story about a young man working at his parents' upstate New York motel who helps bring about the historic counterculture music festival in the summer of 1969.

Terminator, The. Directed by James Cameron. 1984. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2001. A science fiction thriller in which a computer takes over the future world and its cyborg terminators threaten the existence of humanity.

Thelonious Monk: Straight No Chaser. Directed by Charlotte Zwerin. 1988. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2001. This documentary about jazz musician Thelonious Monk mixes contextual footage, personal testimony, and concert segments.

Thin Blue Line, The. Directed by Errol Morris. 1988. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2005. This investigative documentary is concerned with obtaining justice for a man wrongfully convicted in a 1976 murder.

This Divided State. Directed by Steven Greenstreet. 2005. Available on DVD from Disinformation, 2005. A documentary about the controversy surrounding a speaking engagement in Utah for filmmaker Michael Moore.

This Film Is Not Yet Rated. Directed by Kirby Dick. 2006. Available on DVD from Genius Entertainment, 2007. A documentary that traces the practices and follies of the Motion Picture Association of America's process of rating movies.

This Is Spinal Tap. Directed by Rob Reiner. 1984. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2000. A mock documentary about the waning prowess of a fictional hard rock band.

Thousand Pieces of Gold. Directed by Nancy Kelly. 1990. Available on VHS from Hemdale Video, 1992. This dramatized feature film is based on the true story of a young Chinese woman's encounter with oppressive sexual politics in late-nineteenth-century America.

To Kill a Mockingbird. Directed by Robert Mulligan. 1962. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2005. The Hollywood adaptation of Harper Lee's novel of the same name, in which a black man is put on trial for the rape of a white woman in the Deep South.

Trekkies. Directed by Roger Nygard. 1997. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 1999. A comedic documentary about the internal debates and outward images of Star Trek fan culture.

Trip, The. Directed by Roger Corman. 1967. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2003. A far-out exploitation feature about a stressed-out television director's first encounters with LSD.

Tupac: Resurrection. Directed by Lauren Lazin. 2003. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 2004. A documentary about the life of rapper Tupac Shakur.

Velvet Goldmine. Directed by Todd Haynes. 1998. Available on DVD from Miramax Home Entertainment, 1998. This dramatic feature is about an investigative journalist's search for signs of life from a faded glam rocker.

Walk the Line. Directed by James Mangold. 2005. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2006. A fictionalized biopic of iconic musician Johnny Cash.

Walker. Directed by Alex Cox. 1987. Available on VHS from MCA/Universal Home Video, 1988. A highly subversive fictionalized account of a coup d'etat in Nicaragua staged by nineteenth-century American William Walker in the name of U.S. corporate interests. The film deliberately uses anachronisms to link the atrocities of the past to the contemporary moment.

War at Home, The. Directed by Glenn Silber and Barry Alexander Brown. 1979. Available on DVD from First Run Features, 2003. This documentary features interviews with people involved with and leading resistance to the Vietnam War in the Madison, Wisconsin area.

Wattstax. Directed by Mel Stuart. 1973. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2004. This documentary, chronicling the famous 1972 Wattstax festival and concert, also tells the story of cultural attitudes in Los Angeles's Watts neighborhood in the wake of the 1965 riots.

Weather Underground, The. Directed by Sam Green. 2003. Available on DVD from New Video Group, 2004. A documentary of members of the radical Weatherman group that examines their rise, fall, and legacy.

Wedlock House: An Intercourse. In *By Brakhage: An Anthology*. Directed by Stan Brakhage. 1959. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2003. An experimental short film showcasing an abstract look at the personal and sexual life of a young couple (played by Brakhage and his wife).

Where the Day Takes You. Directed by Mark Rocco. 1992. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 2003. A dramatization of abject poverty and its ill effects on a group of wayward youth.

Who Killed the Electric Car? Directed by Chris Paine. 2006. Available on DVD from Sony Home Entertainment, 2006. A political documentary exploring the unrealized potential of the electric car through examination of the governmental and corporate interests opposed to its very existence.

Who's Afraid of Virginia Woolf? Directed by Mike Nichols. 1966. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2006. Known for its psychological realism and sometimes vulgar language, this feature film adaptation of Edward Albee's play exposes the problems of a troubled bourgeois couple.

Wild in the Streets. Directed by Barry Shear. 1968. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 2004. A topical youth exploitation film about the institution of a rock star as president of the United States and his subsequent punishment of citizens over the age of thirty.

Wild One, The. Directed by Laszlo Benedek. 1953. Available on DVD from Columbia Tristar Home Video, 1998. A dramatic feature film about a rebellious biker gang that comes into conflict with a rival gang and the residents of a small California town.

Wild Style. Directed by Charlie Ahearn. 1983. Available on DVD from Rhino Home Video, 2002. A feature-length drama that showcases the emerging street culture of graffiti, break dancing, and rap music.

Window Water Baby Moving. In *By Brakhage: An Anthology*. Directed by Stan Brakhage. 1962. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2003. An experimental documentary in which Brakhage films the birth of his child.

Winter Soldier. Directed by Winterfilm Collective. 1972. Available on DVD from Milliarium Zero, 2006. This collectively authored film presents the testimony of angry Vietnam veterans and reveals blunders of the U.S. government and transgressions committed against innocent Vietnamese citizens.

With Babies and Banners: Story of the Women's Emergency Brigade. Directed by Lorriane Gray. 1978. Available on VHS from New Day Films, 1990. This documentary about the role women played in the General Motors sit-down strike of 1936 and 1937 mixes archival footage and personal testimony.

Wobblies, The. Directed by Stewart Bird and Deborah Shaffer. 1979. Available on DVD from Docudrama/New Video Group, 2006. A documentary on the history of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the concessions they helped win for workers in the United States.

Woman Under the Influence, A. In *John Cassavetes: Five Films*. Directed by John Cassavetes. 1974. Available on DVD from Criterion Collection, 2004. This independent drama explores a woman's mental illness and the challenges it brings to her family's life.

Woodstock. Directed by Michael Wadleigh. 1970. Remastered fortieth anniversary edition available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2009. A concert documentary presenting a kaleidoscopic view of the Woodstock music festival held in Bethel, New York, in August 1969.

X-Files. Directed by Rob Bowman. 1998. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2002. In this feature film based on the science-fiction television series of the same name, FBI Special Agents Fox Mulder and Dana Scully oppose the U.S. government in a conspiracy and discover the truth about an alien colonization of Earth.

X-Files: I Want to Believe. Directed by Chris Carter. 2008. Available on DVD from 20th Century Fox Home Entertainment, 2008. Agents Mulder and Scully return to the aid of the FBI to help find a missing agent.

Year of the Communes. Directed by Chris Munger. 1970. A documentary study of urban and rural communes in Northern California and Southern Oregon, the film deals with religious, social, and economic forces in these experimental societies.

Yellow Submarine. Directed by George Dunning. 1968. Available on DVD from MGM Home Entertainment, 1999. The Beatles star in and provide the soundtrack for this animated feature, in which the rock group is spirited away in a yellow submarine to save Pepperland from the dreaded Blue Meanies and bring music back to the land.

Zabriskie Point. Directed by Michelangelo Antonioni. 1970. Available on DVD from Warner Home Video, 2005. A 1960s counterculture classic about a boy and girl romping through Death Valley, with a soundtrack by Pink Floyd and Jerry Garcia.

Zoolander. Directed by Ben Stiller. 2001. Available on DVD from Paramount Home Entertainment, 2002. A comedic feature film about the cutthroat worlds of fashion and male modeling in America.

Zoot Suit. Directed by Luis Valdez. 1981. Available on DVD from Universal Home Entertainment, 2003. The adaptation of a play (also by Valdez) about the zoot suit riots in Los Angeles in the 1940s.

Kevin M. Flanagan and Gina Misiroglu