AMERICAN STUDIES

JOURNAL

American Youth Culture

AMERICAN STUDIES

JOURNAL

American Youth Culture

Editor's Note

Lutherstadt Wittenberg, July 2001

Dear Readers,

I would like to apologize for the lateness of the current issue. Yvonne Walter left the Center for U.S. Studies after Issue #46 for a position at the Zeitgeschichtliches Forum in Leipzig, Germany and, since then, we have been without an editorial assistant. I am currently working with the Board of Directors of the Stiftung Leucorea to find a replacement for Ms. Walter. Hopefully, the Board will permit a search to find a new editorial assistant by September. Ms. Walter graciously consented to return to help with the current issue.

The *American Studies Journal*, founded in 1983 as the *American Studies Newsletter* and published by the Deutsche Gesellschaft für Amerikicanische Studien, is currently published under the editorship of the Center for U.S. Studies at the Stiftung Leucorea, Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg. The *American Studies Journal* seeks to promote an understanding of the breadth of American history and culture through cross-disciplinary articles, informative essays, book reviews and pedagogical articles.

The journal actively solicits submissions of articles reaching across the academic spectrum. Submissions and inquiries should be directed to the Editor. Submissions are not restricted in length, though twenty pages is the norm, but should follow the general guidelines of typed, double-spaced, in 12 point courier font and Chicago style endnotes. Please include a copy of the submission on disk as well as a hard copy. Submissions may also be simply e-mailed to the editor.

The journal also seeks reviewers of books in the fields of history, literature, political science, American studies and teaching methodology. Again, book review length is not restricted, though five hundred words is standard. Please visit the *American Studies Journal*'s web site for a list of books currently awaiting review.

The current issue is on American Youth Culture. Issue #48, coming out in the winter of 2001, will be on the American Civil War. Articles for this issue are reserved for papers from the conference "Civil War Scholarship in the 21st Century," held at the Center for US Studies from March 29 – 31, 2001.

The themes of other future issues are as follows:

- The United States and the Environment (no. 49) (Summer 2002), deadline—15 Jan 2002
- The University; Anniversary Issue for the University of Wittenberg (no. 50)(Winter 2002), deadline—1 Sep 2002. This issue seeks to examine higher education generally. Articles examining the differences between European and American colleges and universities are especially welcome.
- Non-Profit Organizations (no. 50), deadline: 15 January 2003

J. Kelly Robison
Editor, *American Studies Journal*
Center for U.S. Studies / Stiftung Leucorea
Lutherstadt Wittenberg

ZUSAS

Bildnachweise:

American Youth Culture

Resources

Book Reviews

The American Adolescent—A Historical Overview

Donna Jean Zane

Many scholars from various disciplines, such as anthropology, history, and sociology, have studied adolescence as a Western social phenomenon. This brief paper attempts to discuss the connections between adolescence and youth as an "actual" stage of life in human development and its social and cultural meanings in modern, specifically American, society.

Adolescence—"Old" Social Fact vs. "Modern" Idea

On the side of adolescence as a pre-modern, pre-nineteenth century social fact, S.N. Eisenstadt states in *From Generation to Generation* (1956) that a period of youth between childhood and adulthood exists to some extent in all known societies and historical periods. Variation between societies and time periods reflects the degree to which age criteria are the deciding factors in role assignment. Eisenstadt says that one of the main tasks facing every society is to "provide for the perpetuation of its own structure, norms, and values from generation to generation" (25). Thus, the individual's passage through different ages and roles is a public and societal, as well as private concern.

Natalie Z. Davis (1971) and Steven R. Smith (1973) also argue that an awareness of childhood and adolescence existed before the nineteenth century. In Davis' example, the youth-abbeys of sixteenth century France gave youth 'rituals' to "control their sexual instincts and allowed them some sphere of autonomy before marriage" (55). Smith, in his article on seventeenth century London apprentices, asserts that the time of apprenticeship usually entailed a seven-year period and commonly terminated between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-four. According to Smith, these seven years may be considered a transitional training period, i.e. adolescence, for induction into adult occupations and status.

However, while Smith sees the change in status from apprentice to professional craftsman as a kind of rite of passage from adolescence and youth to adulthood, he does not address how crucial a variable the length of time spent in apprenticeship is.

Ross Beales' "In Search of the Historical Child" (1975) argues that 'youth' in colonial New England correlates to the modern idea of adolescence in the twentieth century as a transitional period preceding adult status. Beales' study of New England Puritans examines the distinctions made for adult status, that of marriage, economic independence, and political rights. Beales proposes that elements of a separate 'youth culture' existed prior to the revivals of the Great Awakening. He cites Puritan accounts of youthful (vs. adult or restrained) behavior, "nightwalking, frolicking, company-keeping, carousing" and opposition to parental control as defining factors in the creation of a youth culture and thus the basis for the existence of the concept of adolescence as it is used today (Beales, 396). Beales disputes the assumption that modernization and industrialization are necessary conditions for the idea of adolescence and a corresponding youth culture to exist.

Beales' article deals with religious conversions and some period of transition apart from childhood and full adult status. Beales suggests there was a continuum from a pre-Great Awakening youth culture, to a renunciation of a youthful freedom and religious conversion, to the "dilution of religious zeal....declension" (397) in the early nineteenth century, and thus the (re) discovery of adolescence that Joseph Kett describes in "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth-Century America" (1971).

In this article, Kett claims that (1) there was a body of medical and philosophical literature (vs.

popular) before the "new" nineteenth century concern with childhood and youth that speculated about and discussed puberty and adolescence and (2) this concern was linked most closely not with modernization, but rural and village Calvinism and the revivals of the Second Great Awakening. The frequency of teenage conversions in the Second Great Awakening, Kett says, "was a reflection of increasing pressures on young people for choice and commitment" (289). Hence, the paradox of nineteenth century thought about youth, according to Kett, is that the postponement of choice and purpose (in religious matters) was considered contradictory to protecting young people from worldliness, while in the twentieth century, we view the prolongation of adolescence as a result of protectiveness.

In *Rites of Passage* (1977), Kett makes clear the distinction between (1) the growth of adolescence as an idea, a label, that was needed in the nineteenth century to explain and cope with rapid social change and discontinuity and (2) adolescence as a reality, a period of transition between childhood and adulthood present in some form in all societies and at all times. Kett briefly traces the changing usage of the word 'youth,' first used to lump together children, young people, and young men by seventeenth century New England Puritans and after 1800, specifically signifying an intermediate stage of development in which the innocence of childhood (sentimentalized in nineteenth century biographies and autobiographies) was to be preserved. According to Kett, the 'discovery' of adolescence, if placed in modern times, simply reflects "public official concern" (285) with adolescence as a time of social segregation of young people from adults. This distinctive position served, according to the modernists, as a protective device for youth from the onslaught of confusing biological and sexual urges (which needed to be sublimated) and the rapid industrial changes affecting the whole society.

G. Stanley Hall, in *Adolescence* (1904), most scholars generally agree was the first to clearly define adolescence in modern terms. He defined it as the beginning with puberty at thirteen and fourteen years of age and extending into the twenties until sexual and social maturity was reached. Hall's analysis of adolescence centered on the unique characteristics of that stage of life that included rapid and uneven biological growth and a psychological period of "storm and stress." Hall believed there was a close relationship between sexual and religious feelings and that the proper 'outcome' was the sublimation of sexual feelings into the higher, religious ones. He was also disturbed by what he saw as the degeneration of modern life and looked back to an idealized version of a simpler and purer youth. Utilizing Darwinist ideas of biology, Hall believed that adolescence was the peak of human development, a golden stage, i.e. as the adolescent 'properly' evolved, so the human race would progress in the same manner, toward a 'higher' civilization. The importance of Hall's work today lies not in his scientific postulates, but in its effects for inspiring continued work in the field.

Erik Erikson's trailblazing psychological study of the human life cycle in *Childhood and Society* (1950) places adolescence as a life stage in which the young struggle to overcome a crisis of ego identity and diffusion. Erikson postulated that here were eight psychosocial stages of human development in which the individual adapts to particular social, cultural, and environmental factors. According to Erikson, the adolescent's rapid physiological changes of physical growth and sexual maturity have a psychological correspondence in one's anxiety about how one is perceived by others—often resulting in "overidentification" with peer group cliques. He calls this therapeutic model of psychoanalysis a Western and modern contribution to man's need for systematic introspection (424).

John and Virginia Demos in "Adolescence in Historical Perspective" (1969) propose that the idea of adolescence as we have come to know it "did not exist before the last two decades of the nineteenth century" and further, "adolescence was on the whole an American discovery" (632). The Demoses suggest that the concept of adolescence is tied up with the history of the family and the social and industrial changes of the time. Their study utilizes child rearing literature intended for parents and a large body of moral tracts and pamphlets aimed at the young people of the period 1800-1875. The Demoses

concisely summarize Hall's work and observe in their own work that adults perceived youth as threatening. Past childhood into 'youth,' there was a concern with the vulnerability, the criticalness of this stage of life, for there were internal dangers (sexual tensions) and as well as external ones (life in the complex urban environment).

The Demoses' article concludes with a short discussion of the rural family as providing a continuum of values between generations vs. post-nineteenth century society and its lack of clear-cut rites of passage. The family, thus, loses its educating function in response to social change and adolescence as an idea emerges out of a need "to understand the problems of, and the problems created by young people" (638). The Demoses assert that the discontinuity of values, morals, etc. is problematic and the burden of coping and maturing under these conditions fall, of course, on the young people. The young 'create,' cause problems (from the adults' point of view) by bonding together in a youth culture, the motivation for which lies in the real problems they face of establishing one's identity in a rapidly changing world. Consequently, herein lies the growth and need for the concept of adolescence.

Kenneth Keniston, in "Youth: A 'New' Stage of Life" (1970), also views adolescence/youth as a reflection of the changes in American life from rural agrarian society to an urban industrial one. Keniston's 'youth' are the "new dangerous classes," those young men and women of college and graduate school age who do not see themselves as "adult" and in fact, "often challenge the social status quo" (633). Keniston sees youth (he takes adolescence as a life event or concept for granted) as a stage of life inherent in most, if not all industrialized countries. Keniston's main concern is with the tensions created in the self/ society relationship. He discusses moral, intellectual, and cognitive development and the difficulties in simultaneous achievement in each of these levels in real life. "Youth" is not an end in itself, but a "preface for future transformations that may or may not occur in later life" (648). Youth is a psychological stage and an "optional" (vs. universal) one.

Keniston has an optimistic and radical view of the "new" youth. While there is discontinuity between generations (as the Demoses describe) it is not necessarily threatening or dangerous because it causes young people to question and not passively accept (although there is little to accept as definitive in a world of flux) the conventional moral viewpoints of their elders. Consequently, the possibility of new forms of social organization, built of self-conscious social cohesion, not mundane conformity, may be realized.

The Adolescent and the Family

Philippe Aries' *Centuries of Childhood* (1962) contends that urbanization and industrialization did not herald the demise of the family, but on the contrary, enhanced its status in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The family group protected and served as a socializing agent for its young in response to an indifferent, even hostile modern world. Aries claims that external agencies such as the school modified, but did not co-opt or destroy, the role of the family in modern society.

Aries again links urbanization with the fate of the family in "The Family and the City" (1977). He investigates how the family has, in fact, become overburdened with trying to meet all of the emotional and social needs of its members. In the same way, Aries says, that the nineteenth century café served as a social and cultural meeting place, but later disappeared when people fled to the suburbs to escape, so were people also fleeing psychologically en masse to the family as a refuge from the pressures of industrial society. Consequently, Aries says it is urban society that needs restructuring, not the family.

John Demos' "Images of the American Family, Then and Now" (1979) parallels Aries' observation that the family has become overloaded with emotional burdens. In the Demos' last stage or image of the family as "encounter group," individual family members seek to grasp what is missing in their public life. The family, therefore, plays solely a compensatory role.

Howard Gadlin's essay (1976) on "intimate relations" connects changing values in sexuality to more general changes in the function of the

family in response to a capitalistic society. Gadlin, like Demos, sees social and economic change as affecting the family in a negative manner. As the family "decreased in social importance, it then increased in psychological significance" (304). Gadlin also discusses the differentiation of sex roles and labor in the nineteenth century that he says partly explains the "passionlessness" of Victorian women and the equating of material consumerism and personal fulfillment. Sex, in modern times, has become a skill to be learned and people themselves, moreover, become commodities to be consumed. Gadlin advocates a total restructuring of society since the root of the emotional needs that overburden intimate relationships lie in the inequities of the sexual and economic social structure.

In "Family Time and Historical Time" (1977), Tamara Hareven believes as Aries does that the family as an institution did not break down in the face of industrialization but instead provided a positive socializing function. Hareven, in fact, sees greater uniformity in modern times in family behavior with the onset of compulsory school attendance, child labor laws and mandatory retirement because the timing of important family events—home-leaving, marriage, etc. have become regulated by law. Hareven, like Aries, Demos, and Gadlin, agrees that the family had been overburdened by unrealistic individual demands as a refuge from the outside world, but she is optimistic that the family as an institution can adapt, as it has in the past, to new social conditions. However, Hareven seems unaware that 'regulation' of family time might actually be bureaucratization of intimate relations thinly disguised. Also, if the psychological and social needs of the individual are societal survivalist concerns (as Eisenstadt observes) the unmet needs of the individual are a social, not merely family problem and Aries is right about the urban city's or industrial society's responsibility for the "family in crisis" (Aries, 1977, 223).

A colleague of Hareven, Glen Elder, Jr. (1975), examines change in the family "as bearing directly on the origin of the adolescent in American society" (9). The decreased importance of the family as a socializing group and the emergence of a peer group and youth culture that assumes greater responsibility for 'rearing' its adolescent members widens the discontinuity between family experience and the requirements of adult life in the society. The Demoses (1969) and Keniston (1970) also discuss discontinuity of values between generations in a similar manner.

Elder's method of study views adolescents and young people as members of a life span continuum. Elder suggests that the terms adolescence and youth be used interchangeably, signifying a period of time from about the seventh grade to independence from the family of origin (4). His life course perspective involves three types of 'time:' (1) Biological, psychological age; (2) Social time—age segregated, patterned events and roles throughout life, home leaving, marriage, etc. that are governed by society's norms, roles, and institutions; (3) Historical time—encompassing birth year, year of marriage, etc. as an index of historical location.

Elder points out that educational development since the 1920s (Kett's study in *Rites of Passage* leaves off around 1920) are central to the extended use of 'adolescence' to mean older youth and college age students. Demographically (although numerically greater), American youth comprised a smaller proportion of the population in 1950 than 1900. This meant, Elder notes, that there were more adults per youth in 1900 to serve as socializers. This trend was reversed in the 1960s with a greater proportion of older, student youth in college. This is the 'youth' Keniston (1970, 1971) studies.

Elder refers to David Riesman's *The Lonely Crowd*, James Coleman's *The Adolescent Society*, and Urie Bronfenbrenner's *Two Worlds of Childhood*, which all discuss the importance of the peer group or youth culture as surrogate parent or replacement for adult guidance. Riesman says that parents have "abdicated their responsibilities to the peer group (whose existence Coleman takes for granted, given his belief in the different and separate natures of adult and adolescent cultures) while Brofenbrenner says youth culture is a morally corrupting, rather than "civilizing" agent.

Kenneth Keniston in *Youth and Dissent* (1977) states that America has an "unusual willingness

to control, limit, or guide the directions of industrial and social change" (64). Hence, the past and the future grow more and more distant from the present. Adolescents, brought up by parents who grew up in a previous and different version of society, must undoubtedly cope with the anxiety of social rootlessness. The "absence of paternal exemplars" and feelings of powerlessness left young people in between two worlds—that of the adult world and that of their own youth culture (68). Youth culture is a consequence of the "humanization of childhood by a dehumanization of adulthood" (36).

However, all youth cultures are not alike. Kett (1977) calls attention to the difference he sees between nineteenth century youth subculture and twentieth century adolescent subculture. The earlier youth subcultures were class cultures that directed their antagonism towards other young people with different ethnic or class backgrounds. The more modern adolescent subculture expresses its anger at adults, while simultaneously striving to attain adult status.

The question of pathology is an interesting one. Joseph Kett, in Rites of Passage, observes that prior to the nineteenth century puberty was associated with rising power and energy rather than the awkwardness and vulnerability of adolescence as we think of it today (17). Likewise, John Demos, in *A Little Commonwealth* (1970), finds little evidence of a 'difficult' adolescence in the seventeenth century and notes "all centuries before our own had no real word for the periods of life between puberty and full manhood." These semantic details, "point to a very substantial area of contrast in the developmental process as experienced then and now"(145).

Consequently, in the same way childbirth and old age became institutionalized 'traumatic' events, once considered natural and normal, adolescence became not a time of 'protection' from the modern world, but a separate and problematic stage of life. However, it is important to remember that adolescence, as a life stage existed long before modern ideology discovered it.

Notes

1. Books

Aries, Phillipe. *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life.* New York: Random House, 1962.

Demos, John. *A Little Commonwealth: Family Life in Plymouth Colony.* New York: Oxford University Press, 1970.

Dragastin, Sigmund E. and Glen H. Elder, Jr., eds. *Adolescence in the Life Cycle.* New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975.

Eisenstadt, S.N. *From Generation to Generation.* Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1956.

Erikson, Erik. *Childhood and Society.* New York: W.W. Norton and Company, Inc., 1950.

Hall, G. Stanley. *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion, and Education.* 2 vols. New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1904.

Kett, Joseph. *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present.* New York: Basic Books, 1977.

Riesman, David, with Nathan Glazer and Reuel Denney. *The Lonely Crowd: A Study of the Changing American Character.* New Haven: Yale University Press, 1961.

2. Articles

Aries, Phillipe. "The Family and the City." *Daedalus* 106 (1977): 227-235.

Beales, Ross. "In Search of the Historical Child: Miniature Adulthood and Youth in Colonial New England." *American Quarterly* 27 (1975): 381-398.

Davis, Natalie Z. "The Reasons of Misrule: Youth Groups and Charivaris in Sixteenth Century France." *Past and Present* 50 (1971): 41-75.

Demos, John. "Images of the American Family, Then and Now." In *Changing Images of the Family*, edited by Virginia Tufts and Barbara Meyerhoff, 43-60. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Demos, John and Virginia Demos. "Adolescence in Historical Perspective." *Journal of Marriage and the Family* 31 (1969): 632-638.

Gadlin, Howard. "Private Lives and Public Order: A Critical View of the History of Intimate Relations in the U.S." *The Massachusetts Review* 17 (1976): 304-330.

Hareven, Tamara. "Family Time and Historical Time." *Daedalus* 106 (1977): 57-70.

Keniston, Kenneth. "Youth: A 'New' Stage of Life." *American Scholar* 39 (1970): 631-654.

Kett, Joseph. "Adolescence and Youth in Nineteenth Century America." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 2 (1971): 283-298.

Smith, Steven R. "The London Apprentice as Seventeenth-Century Adolescent." *Past and Present* 61 (1973): 149-161.

8

Taming Little Savages: Adolescent Crime and the Woodcraft Indian Movement

Kent Baxter

If the young hooligans who vandalized the property of Ernest Thompson Seton in the spring of 1901 had only known that their behavior would inspire the largest youth movement in American history, they probably would have lobbied for some honorary mention, but to this day they remain largely unknown. Although the fact is not included in any of the official histories, the true impetus of Seton's Woodcraft Indians, who would later become the Boy Scouts of America, was largely a desire to keep the neighborhood bullies busy and thus out of trouble. As Seton tells the story in his 1928 piece, "The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians," his dream of partitioning off a small tract of woodland outside of New York City, to use for experiments in conservation and restocking, was consistently frustrated by a gang of neighborhood boys who saw fit to destroy his fence, shoot his animals, and paint "wicked pictures" on his gate— pictures, mind you, "not even a Sunday paper would have dared to print." Frustrated, Seton sought advice from a learned friend who informed him there was simply no other option but to arrest the whole ugly lot and pray that the worst of them would get sent to jail. But "knowing something of boys," indeed, being "much a boy [himself]," Seton resisted the temptation for lockdown and, instead, proceeded to buck conventional wisdom by inviting the young lads to spend a weekend camping, "Indian-style," on the very patch of land they had so sorely abused. After two days of hollering, skinny-dipping, gorging, and participating in the establishment of a basic constitution and governing structure, come Monday morning, "instead of forty-two little reprobates, doing all the mischief they could to me and mine, [Seton] had forty-two staunch friends" who all turned out to be "high-class citizens" in the end.[1]

News of Seton's miracle treatment for the characteristically troubled years of adolescence spread quickly. In 1902, a series of seven articles in *The Ladies' Home Journal*, entitled "Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys," described his success.[2] Within a year there were fifty other "tribes," consisting of fifty members each, spread throughout the country.[3] In 1906, Seton's official manual of the Woodcraft Indians, *The Birch-bark Roll*, was co-opted by British war hero Lord Robert Baden-Powell and turned into *Scouting for Boys*, the book that launched the Boy Scout youth movement. Seton's ability to subdue the seemingly unruly and irresponsible adolescent appealed to a society that was becoming increasingly concerned with this new and frightening segment of the population. His talent for instilling a sense of adventure into the youth organization—or "picturesqueness," as he was fond of saying—appealed to a nation of "modern" youth who, in Seton's opinion, were being ruined by city life, and just plain needed to get outside.

Theorists such as H. Allen Anderson and Jay Mechling have demonstrated the relevance of Seton's youth movement to an understanding of American cultural values at the turn of the century. I would like to add to this work by examining the Woodcraft Indians in relation to the sudden and pronounced appearance of the developmental stage of adolescence in early twentieth-century American society. Seton's solution became a way of keeping this new and seemingly unruly segment of the population busy and out of trouble, but, also, his movement became a solution to the broader anxieties over urbanization and industrialization that were projected on to this new segment of the population. On the one hand, the Woodcraft Indian, as constructed by Seton, glorified a return to nature that cultivated those qualities of self-reliance and virility that many believed were concomitant with American greatness, qualities that had seemingly been lost as America moved into the "modern age." On the other hand, the Woodcraft Indian exhibited a devotion to the tribe that would counteract the

selfishness that characterized capitalist society. The texts surrounding the Woodcraft Indians were so popular and read by so many boys and their parents because they both articulated these anxieties and appeared to provide a solution to them. Years later, as the Woodcraft Indian is eclipsed by the much more popular figure of the Boy Scout, and Seton's early writings are co-opted and reconfigured by Baden-Powell and others, this unique cultural moment comes to an end; American society becomes much more concerned with hooligans abroad than at home, and, like England, begins to prepare its youth for war.[4]

The Lure and the Lash

The problem that Ernest Thompson Seton was having with his local gang of hoodlums was not an unusual one in American society at the turn of the century. Documents from this time period indicate that juvenile delinquency appeared to many to be a growing epidemic in American cities. For example, a January 14, 1904 *New York Times* article on the release of the first annual report for the newly established Juvenile Court in New York City shockingly reveals that 4,360 boys and 430 girls were convicted of crimes in 1903:

> Total arrests between [one and seven years old] number 432; between seven and twelve, 949; between twelve and fourteen, 1,437, and between fourteen and sixteen, 1,952.[5]

Concern over this disturbing increase in juvenile crime colors the many lengthy articles on delinquency-related issues published by the *Times* during this period. For example, a piece describing the recently renovated New York Juvenile Asylum, printed on Sunday, December 17, 1905, begins with the observation that "[t]he child of the street, homeless, lawless, original, is just as much in evidence to-day as he was in the days of Gavroche and Oliver Twist."[6] Similarly, an April 8, 1906 article on a debate between a local Juvenile Court judge and the Board of Education as to the reasons behind the plague of juvenile crime in New York City begins with the words,

> Ignorance, depravity, indifference, and supineness of parents and deplorable home

conditions are cited as the chief causes of the incorrigible child problem as it exists in New York.[7]

This "incorrigible child problem" was not unique to New York City alone. A series of articles in the national magazine *The Outlook* during the first decade of the century, for example, examine various aspects of the problem, including the attempt to rehabilitate juvenile delinquents by their local pastors ("Getting at the Boys"), how homelife and lack of social training lead to crime ("The Causes of Juvenile Crime"), the effect of new laws in Massachusetts on delinquency ("Delinquent and Wayward Children"), and the large number of inmates in penal institutions who came from unhappy homes ("The Defective Home and Juvenile Delinquency").[8] Similarly, during this time period, *The Ladies' Home Journal* published articles by experts in juvenile delinquency on how impulsiveness can lead to a life of crime ("Why Boys Go Wrong"), and how a young boy's primitive instincts and spirit of adventure need to be curbed or they will get out of hand ("The Bad Boy of the Street").[9] All of these articles emphasize the common fear that juvenile crime had reached new and alarming proportions; for example, the above *Outlook* article on "Delinquent and Wayward Children" begins with the observation that "[t]he police know that the tide of lawlessness is rising in Boston, and that almost daily there is a new high-water mark."[10] Perhaps even more foreboding, the author of "The Causes of Juvenile Crime" opens his piece with these words:

> The delinquent child has always been a problem. The parent in the home and the teacher in the school have often tried in vain to fathom the causes of the child's offenses and the courts and officers of the law have frequently acknowledged that their methods were wholly inadequate to deal with the steady growth of juvenile delinquency.[11]

Whether there was, in fact, an increase in juvenile delinquency at the turn of the century or not, the popular literature of the time reveals a distinct anxiety about "wayward" and "incorrigible" youth. But why the sudden and pronounced fear at the turn-of-the-century and

10

how was this fear soothed by Seton's youth movement?[12] As theorists such as J. O. Springhall, John Neubauer, and Philippe Ariès have argued, adolescence is largely a· twentieth-century invention; various changes in American culture in the second half of the nineteenth century opened a more prominent and defined space between childhood and adulthood.[13] Educational historian Joseph Kett, for example, has persuasively argued that curricular and pedagogical changes in American education in the second half of the nineteenth century had the effect of creating a more distinct teen population. Enrollment in high schools doubled in the 1890s, and, in that same ten-year period, there was a 38.4 percent increase in college enrollment.[14] But more importantly, according to Kett, a prevailing "bureaucratic preference for order and efficiency" that segregated students by age, and a monopolization of students' social lives through the inclusion of extracurricular activities in the total educational experience, for all intents and purposes, created a new segment of the American population.[15] Arguably, the attempt to monopolize and systematize the social activities of teens was the impetus behind the growing interest in youth organizations at the turn of the century. Seton's youth movement can be seen as not only a solution to a rise in juvenile delinquency, but, more importantly, a solution to the widespread anxiety over what this new and characteristically unruly segment of the population would do if left to their own devices.

Seton's problem was part of a broader "incorrigible child problem" plaguing the nation, itself, but what made it different for him, of course, was that he had an answer, and a seemingly workable answer at that. As exemplified in his popular *Ladies' Home Journal* series, and many of the other articles he wrote about the Woodcraft Indians movement, according to Seton, there were two qualities that characterized the adolescent boy: a reversion to the state of primitive man, and an innate desire for the gang. In "The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians," Seton bluntly states,

> The boy is a caveman till he is sixteen or seventeen. At this time, he is in the clan period. Loyalty to his clan or gang is his

religion, far overpowering any loyalty he may feel to church or state.[16]

Seton's many references to the adolescent as "primitive," "wild," and "animalistic" throughout his work imply a phylogenetic conception of adolescence that posits that individual development recapitulates the development of the human species. In this case, the adolescent is experiencing a "primitive" stage of human development where he has no sense of morality, no sense that a person's right to property is to be respected. He simply takes or destroys. Along the same lines, composite with the adolescent's "caveman" instinct is his desire for the "clan." Simply put, if left to his own devices, the adolescent will "naturally" gravitate towards the gang because this is what characterized the human species during the "primitive" stage of development.

This phylogenetic conception of adolescence was a popular way of conceptualizing the developmental stage at the turn of the century and a common explanation for juvenile delinquency. For example, in the article from *The Ladies' Home Journal* cited earlier, on "The Bad Boy of the Street," the author notes that "[i]n the life of each boy there comes a time when primitive instincts urge him to action, when he is himself frightened by their undefined power."[17] Along the same lines, in "Why Boys Go Wrong," the author describes a case of theft that resulted from a boy who had "simply yielded to a sudden wild and unaccountable impulse."[18] Echoing and enforcing these phylogenetic treatments of adolescence as wild and unruly is the earliest full-length treatment of the developmental stage: G. Stanley Hall's seminal 1904-work *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education.* According to Hall, what ultimately characterizes the developmental stage of adolescence is a tension between the primitive qualities inherited from the ancestors and the possibility of attaining new, "higher" human traits; thus, Hall explains to his readers,

> [t]he child comes from and harks back to a remoter past; the adolescent is neo-atavistic, and in him the later acquisitions of the race

slowly become prepotent. Development is less gradual and more saltatory, suggestive of some ancient period of storm and stress when old moorings were broken and a higher level attained.[19]

Following this phylogenetic logic, Hall devotes an entire chapter to juvenile crime, which begins with an observation that must have rang true to his early twentieth-century American reading audience:

In all civilized lands, criminal statistics show two sad and significant facts: First, that there is a marked increase of crime at the age of twelve to fourteen....The second fact is that the proportion of juvenile delinquents seems to be everywhere increasing and crime is more and more precocious.[20]

Thus, according to the prevailing characterization of adolescence, as "caveman" impulses take charge, the adolescent reverts back to a state of incivility, and it is no surprise that "wicked pictures" result. However, all is not lost. What is needed is a stabilizing force that will correctly funnel these savage impulses into a morally productive arena. Clearly, according to Ernest Thompson Seton, the modern city was not accomplishing this task. In a 1910 article in *Success Magazine*, entitled "Organized Boyhood," Seton begins by pondering the reasons why America was able to win the Revolution. Was it because "we were not drilled soldiers, but self-reliant men"? Indeed, it was. And, according to Seton, one of the problems with our "modern society" is that

[s]ince the Revolution, some great and regrettable but inevitable changes have come about. The decay of small farming, the growth of large cities, the enormous increase of the manufacturing classes, have tended to the elimination of the self-reliant boy with his adaptable knowledge of handicraft.[21]

According to Seton, life in the city, and work in the factory, has compounded the problem of the wayward adolescent because it precludes any

possibility of being an individual, of being "self-reliant." What is needed then is simply a return to nature. Seton opens the official manual of the Woodcraft Indians, *The Birch-bark Roll*, with these prophetic words:

This is a time when the whole nation is turning toward the outdoor life, seeking in it the physical regeneration so needful for continued national existence—is waking to the fact long known to thoughtful men, that those live longest who live nearest the ground, that is, who live the simple life of primitive times.[22]

Seton is correct in his observation that Americans took a particular interest in outdoor life at the turn of the century. This interest is evidenced by various events such as the founding of the Sierra Club in 1892, the establishing of the Federal Forest Reserves in 1897, and, of course, Teddy Roosevelt's famous White House Conference on Conservation in 1908. But, as many critics have observed, concomitant with a turning toward the outdoor life was also an anxiety about the rise in urbanization and a fear of the disappearance of the American frontier. As Roderick Nash has persuasively argued, a significant change in the American attitude towards the "wilderness" took place at the end of the nineteenth century:

The census of 1890 only gave statistical confirmation of what most Americans knew firsthand: the frontier was moribund, wilderness no longer dominant. From the perspective of the city streets and comfortable homes, wild country inspired quite different attitudes than it had when observed from a frontiersman's clearing.... The average citizen could approach wilderness with the viewpoint of vacationer rather than conqueror.[23]

According to Nash, this new attitude toward the wilderness resulted in two very significant changes in American culture: first, a negative stance towards the effects of city life became common, and second, a belief was fostered that a return to nature was a way of returning to the strength and independence that made the country

what it once was. As a result of these shifts in attitude and perception, getting out of the city and back to nature meant recapturing an idealized past, a "pioneer past that was believed responsible for many unique and desirable national char-acteristics," and reclaiming traits of "virility, toughness, and savagery—qualities that defined fitness in Darwinian terms."[24] Seton's movement was popular not only because it seemingly solved the expanding problem of juvenile delinquency, but also because it soothed growing fears of a loss in national virility resulting from urban expansion and industrialization. Getting back to nature in Seton's mind means being "self-reliant" and self-reliance is what made America great—"those live longest who live nearest the ground."[25]

The adolescent's primitive desires and need for the gang finds a "natural" solution in the form of the Woodcraft Indian, who both lives in a primitive state and bands together into tribes. However, Seton makes clear in his *Ladies' Home Journal* series that although he has chosen the Woodcraft Indian as the model for his youth movement, this Indian should be clearly distinguished from the "savages" that roamed the Americas in the past. In the June 1902 installment of "Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys," he observes:

> I suppose that every boy in America loves to 'play Injun.' It was one of my greatest pleasures and I often wished for someone who could teach me more about it. That does not mean that I wanted to be a cruel savage, but rather that I wanted to know how to live in the woods as he does, and enjoy and understand the plants and living creatures that are found there.[26]

Indeed, in the opening pages of *The Birch-bark Roll*, Seton indicates that the model for his movement may not have existed at all: "The ideal Indian," he explains to his readers,

> whether he ever existed or not, stands for the highest type of primitive life, and he was a master of Woodcraft, which is our principal study.[27]

But if the "ideal" Woodcraft Indian never existed then what is he, exactly, and what did this image have to do with the developmental stage of adolescence?

Seton wrote a great deal about Native American culture—or what he referred to as the "Redman"—most specifically in his 1936 work *The Gospel of the Redman.* As his wife, Julia Seton, explains in her Introduction, this work was spawn by a meeting Seton had with a Mahatma from India who informed him that he was the Red Indian Chief, reincarnated to give the message of the Redman to the white race. Seton took this prophecy to heart and makes it clear in the opening pages of the work that "the Redman is the apostle of outdoor life, his example and precept are what the world needs today above any other ethical teaching."[28] Interestingly, however, most of The Gospel of the Redman is devoted to emphasizing the similarities between the rules of the Redman and the fundamental precepts of western Judaeo-Christian religion. In the Foreword, for example, Julia Seton describes how the text is endorsed by a Jewish rabbi and two Presbyterian ministers who have acknowledged that it consists of the same principles taught in their own respective religions. Along these lines, the "Indian Creed" outlined in Chapter 1 prescribes that there is one Great Spirit, that the soul of man is immortal, and lists twelve commandments that are markedly similar to those in the bible—in particular, the worship of the single Great Spirit, the honoring of the father and the mother, and the prohibition of idolatry, false testimony, murder, adultery, and coveting property.[29]

On the other hand, Seton is quick to point out the various characteristics of Indian life that are lacking in "modern" American society. One important thing we can learn from the Redman, for example, is his respect for nature; according to "The Ancient Way," no man owns the land and he only has a right to as much of the wood, water, and soil that he can gather in his own hands.[30] In addition to a healthy relationship to nature, Seton also asserts that the key to the happiness and productivity of the Redman was that he was a successful socialist. "Sociability as a fundamental of human nature," Seton explains, "is fully recognized in all Indian Tribes—even the nomads —and is the inevitable solution of many of the

troubles that are harassing the White race in America."[31] In contrast to modern American society, the socialistic society of the Redman provides for the sick and the aged and does not inspire any avarice amongst its citizens.

Placing *The Gospel of the Redman* beside Seton's writings on the Woodcraft Indians, one can easily see why he chose the Redman as the symbol of his youth movement, and the way in which his writings inform and reflect one another. Pieced together from published accounts of trappers, traders, and missionaries, with a little of Seton's own personal testimony thrown in, the Indian configured in *The Gospel of the Redman* represents some idealized past—literally, a "native" America—and a set of hypothetical characteristics that not only once made this country great, but will assure its survivability as it moves into the "modern" age. What America needs, according to Seton, is not only a return to nature to counteract the negative effects of urbanization and industrialization, but also a renewed socialist devotion to the tribe to combat the selfishness inspired by capitalist culture. The various qualities that Seton associates with the Redman are the basis of the laws that govern his Woodcraft Indians, and, later, will comprise the laws of the Boy Scouts of America. The fundamental qualities of cleanliness, bravery, cheerfulness, honesty, kindness, and love for country that characterize the Indian in *The Gospel of the Redman*[32] are the essence of the ten laws of the Woodcraft Indians as stated in *The Birch-bark Roll*: Don't rebel; Don't kindle a wild fire; Protect the song-birds; Don't make a dirty camp; Don't bring firearms of any kind into the camps of those under fourteen; Keep the game laws; No smoking (for those under eighteen); No firewater in camp; Play fair; Word of honor is sacred.[33] These ten laws will ultimately become the nine points of "The Scout Law" as introduced by Seton—with a bit of help from Lord Robert Baden-Powell—in his 1910 *Boy Scouts of America: A Handbook of Woodcraft, Scouting, and Life-Craft*: A scout's honor is to be trusted; a scout is loyal to the President; a scout's duty is to be useful and to help others; a scout is a friend to all; a scout is courteous; a scout is a friend to animals; a scout obeys orders; a scout smiles and looks pleasant; a scout is thrifty.[34]

As Philip Deloria has made clear in his book *Playing Indian*, the Redman constructed in the texts surrounding Seton's youth movement is part of a long tradition of portrayals of "Indianness" that have served to define American identity since the days of the American Revolution. In his chapter devoted to Seton's Woodcraft Indians and Daniel Beard's youth organization, the Sons of Daniel Boone, Deloria correctly asserts that early twentieth-century American youth movements such as Seton's

> set out to reimagine the frontier experience through scouting, wilderness, and nature study. Even if one could no longer pursue rugged individualist destiny on the frontier, a rustic week of Indian camping in a national park or a scouting expedition in the country might prove a reasonable substitute.[35]

I would add to this that the "primitive" nature of this substitute was particularly well suited to the adolescent out of control and served to ease anxieties about juvenile delinquency in American society at this time. Part Fenimore Cooper, part Longfellow, and part a figment of his own imagination, the Woodcraft Indian, as he is constructed in Seton's writings, is an idealized figure that appeals to the boy's sense of adventure, and also enables Seton to negotiate the many contradictions at the heart of his youth movement. The idealized Indian has a savage need to run wild in the forest, but, also, a respect for property not his own. He is markedly self-reliant, but he has an undying devotion to the tribe. Ultimately, Seton is aware of these contradictions and argues that they are irrelevant in light of the true intent of the movement, which is, of course, to keep these young hooligans out of trouble. Towards the end of "The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians," Seton concludes by observing that

> [t]here was sanity in every part of the scheme, because it had picturesqueness; it made the boys govern themselves, and it gave them definite things to do; but, above all, it never failed to play on the master power of the savages, the love of glory—that was always kept in mind. It was used as the lure, the lash and the motive power to get these boys into different ways of life and thought.[36]

Given the immense popularity of the movement, it is apparent that the lure and the lash was not only an effective way to sway young hoodlums away from an innate propensity for painting "wicked pictures" on the fences of their un-suspecting neighbors, but, also, became a vehicle for both expressing and soothing anxieties about this new and seemingly destructive element of society.

Peace and War, Indians and Scouts

Although Ernest Thompson Seton would have liked to take credit for founding the largest youth movement in American history, most official histories of the origin of the Boy Scouts of America award this honor to William D. Boyce, a millionaire publisher from Chicago. As the story is told by Robert Peterson in *The Boy Scouts: An American Adventure*, the official 75th anniversary history of the Scouts,

> Boyce was in London on business in August 1909 en route to British East Africa for a photography and shooting expedition. One afternoon the city was enshrouded in a pea-soup fog. Boyce lost his bearings in the murk and was approached by a boy of about 12 carrying a lantern who offered to guide him to the address he was seeking. When Boyce proffered a shilling up, the boy replied: 'No, sir, I am a Scout. Scouts do not accept tips for courtesies or Good Turns.' The Amer-ican publisher was intrigued, and after he had completed his business, the lad led him to the new British Scout office nearby.[37]

Inspired by the "Unknown Scout," Boyce spoke with a number of scouting officials while in London, and upon returning to the United States called together a wide variety of educators and leaders of American youth movements in order to begin an official scouting organization in the United States. In 1911, the first "official" guide, *Boy Scouts of America: The Official Handbook for Boys*, was published. By 1915 the total membership of the Boy Scouts of America was 182,303; by 1920, the total membership was 490,911; and by 1930, it was 847,051.[38]

As Betty Keller explains in her biography of Seton, three years before Boyce's legendary trip,

Seton, himself, had visited England. During his visit, he was introduced to some pamphlets on the training of military scouts, written by Lord Robert Baden-Powell, a popular hero in British society for his defense of the small city of Mafeking during the Boer War. Entitled "Re-connaissance and Scouting" (1885) and "Aids to Scouting" (1899), these pamphlets had only a slight influence on military thought, but, much to their author's surprise, they were immensely popular with British youth. Upon learning of their popularity, Baden-Powell began researching the possibility of forming a youth organization based upon the tenets he had outlined in his pamphlets. While in England, Seton contacted Baden-Powell and sent him a copy of his *Birch-bark Roll*. The two met on October 30, 1906 and agreed that Baden-Powell would contribute to the scouting portion of the *Birch-bark Roll*, but he would not help with Seton's "scheme" because he had plans for one of his own. When Baden-Powell came out with the first official guide to the Boy Scout youth movement in 1908, *Scouting for Boys: A Hand-book For Instruction In Good Citizenship*, Seton was astonished to discover the uncanny sim-ilarities between this manual and the one he had sent to Baden-Powell years earlier. As Keller describes it:

> When Baden-Powell brought out his Scou-ting for Boys in 1908, Seton 'was astounded to find all [his] ideas taken, all [his] games appropriated, disguised with new names, the essentials of [his] plan utilized and not a word of acknowledgment . . . and not a word of explanation about why [he] should be left out of the movement [he] began.' Seton could find nothing in Baden-Powell's book that he had not already published in *Two Little Savages, The Birch-bark Roll* or his woodcraft and scouting articles, and so far as he could see, the only changes Baden-Powell had made were to rename things and assume their authorship.[39]

Thus ensued a series of angry letters between Seton and Baden-Powell in which Seton expressed his concern over Baden-Powell's refusal to acknowledge his contribution to his Handbook.

But Seton's problems did not end there. On June 15, 1910, after William D. Boyce's trip to

London, representatives from a wide variety of American youth agencies met for the first time in New York City with the intent of establishing a Boy Scout movement in the United States. Although Seton was included in the negotiations, he was given the position of Chief Scout, which, he soon realized, entailed largely symbolic duties. A lawyer, and personal friend of Theodore Roosevelt, James E. West was named the Executive Secretary of the Boy Scouts of America, and clearly wielded most of the power over the early direction of the movement. Borrowing from his own *Birch-bark Roll* and sections of Baden-Powell's *Scouting for Boys*, Seton composed the first *Boy Scouts of America Handbook for Boys* in 1910, but the National Council quickly revised it and published the "official" Handbook for Boys in 1911. This was one of many conflicts between Seton and West that resulted in Seton's ultimate resignation as Chief Scout in 1915.

As can be seen, the process of establishing the Boy Scouts of America was characterized by a fight for power on par with some of the great corporation mergers of the twentieth century. But, more importantly, the founding of the movement, and the way it constructed adolescence, reflects a broader shift in American cultural values as the twentieth century progressed. Central to this shift is the change from Woodcraft Indians to Boy Scouts. Seton, himself, had commented upon the significance of this change in "Organized Boyhood." Speaking of how Baden-Powell had "incorporated" the principles of the Woodcraft Indians into his own more effective movement, Seton observed that

> [l]argely through the superior attraction of the name, [the Boy Scout movement] has been more successful than my 'Woodcraft Indians' . . . Indeed, I find now that many were repelled by the name 'Indian.' They imagined we were teaching boys to imitate Indians.[40]

Seton's assertion that the popularity of the Boy Scouts was due to its name is most certainly a jab at Baden-Powell, who, Seton believed, contributed nothing original to his "incorporation" except the new name. On the other hand, Seton

clearly realized the popular appeal of the scout, and acknowledges the problems inherent in his choice of the Indian to serve as the figurehead of his movement. As mentioned earlier, Seton had always expressed concern over the public's

Photograph of President Truman in the Oval Office receiving a report on the accomplishments of the Boy Scouts from a delegation of Eagle Scouts, who are giving him the Boy Scout salute.   Source: National Archives

misinterpretation of the Woodcraft Indian. He was not espousing that boys become "cruel savages," but, rather, that they learn how to live in the woods and glean a knowledge of its plants and animals. The image of the Woodcraft Indian appeals to the savage, primitive part of adolescent nature, and lets the adolescent act out, but the governing structure of the movement and its various rituals makes certain that this savage impulse is tamed by Christian morality—the lure and the lash. Seton feared that this configuration was too subtle for the public to comprehend, and the popularity of the Boy Scouts suggest that he may have been right.

However, as Betty Keller has pointed out in her biography of Seton, while these changes were taking place, and while the conflict between Seton and James West was reaching its zenith, war was breaking out in Europe. Although the United States was not involved in the conflict, there must have been a certain anxiety in the culture at large as to how well our young men would fare if called to battle. This anxiety was expressed by Roosevelt, himself, who wrote a letter to James West questioning the ultimate intent of the Boy Scouts of America. On the issue of militarism in the movement, Roosevelt emphatically states,

16

A Boy Scout who is not trained actively and affirmatively that it is his duty to bear arms for the country in time of need is at least negatively trained to be a sissy, and there cannot be anything worse for this country than to have an organization of boys brought up to the mushy milk-and-water which is the stock and trade of the apostles of pacifism.[41]

Keller quotes this letter in full in her biography and correctly identifies the "apostle of pacifism" here as being none other than Ernest Thompson Seton.

This movement from a peaceful Indian to a war-ready Scout is evidenced by the contrasting sections of the early manuals of the Boy Scouts written by Seton and Baden-Powell. Seton was clearly attempting to continue his focus on a return to nature and a socialist devotion to the tribe, or in this case, troop. He opens his 1910 *Boy Scouts of America: A Handbook of Woodcraft, Scouting, and Life-Craft* with these words:

Every American boy, a hundred years ago, lived either on a farm or in such close touch with farm life that he reaped its benefits. He had all the practical knowledge that comes from country surroundings; that is, he could ride, shoot, skate, run, swim; he was handy with tools; he knew the woods; he was physically strong, self-reliant, resourceful, well-developed in body and brain. In addition to which he had good moral training at home. He was respectful to his superiors, obedient to his parents, and altogether the best material of which a nation could be made.

We have lived to see an unfortunate change. Partly through the growth of immense cities, with the consequent specialization of industry, so that each individual has been required to do one small specialty and shut his eyes to everything else, with the resultant perpetual narrowing of mental horizon.[42]

The "unfortunate change" is, of course, the urban expansion and industrialization that severs the healthy tie between adolescent and nature,

and a capitalist morality that forces the boy to "shut his eyes" to anything but his own self-serving ends.

Whereas Seton was continuing with a philosophy towards adolescence he had developed many years earlier, Baden-Powell was clearly focusing on something else. According to Baden-Powell, the Boy Scouts were developed in response to a national crisis: namely, the weakening of youth. In a section of *Scouting For Boys* that compares his contemporary England to Rome on the brink of collapse, Baden-Powell emphatically makes his case:

The main causes of the downfall of Rome is similar to that which resulted in the downfall of other great empires, such as the Babylonian, Egyptian, Greek, Spanish, and Dutch, and that cause may be summed up in each case as the decline of good citizenship and the want of energetic patriotism. Each nation, after climbing laboriously to the zenith of its power, seemed then to become exhausted by its effort, and sit down in a state of repose, relapsing into idleness, studiously blind to the fact that other nations were gradually pushing up to destroy it...

...[M]y heart sickens at the reverse of the medal—thousands of boys and young men, pale, narrow chested, hunched up, miserable specimens, smoking endless cigarettes, numbers of them betting, all of them learning to be hysterical as they groan or cheer in panic unison with their neighbors [at football matches]—the worst sound of all being the hysterical scream of laughter that greets any little trip or fall of a player. One wonders whether this can be the same nation which had gained for itself the reputation of being a stolid, pipe-sucking manhood, unmoved by panic or excitement, and reliable in the tightest of places.

Get the lads away from this—teach them to be manly, to play the game, whatever it may be, and not be merely onlookers and loafers.[43]

As exemplified in this markedly caustic condemnation of British youth, according to

Baden-Powell, the problem with England is a problem with citizenship. In this case, the "pale, narrow chested, hunched up, miserable specimens" of British youth make poor citizens and thus add up to a weak nation. This "reverse of the medal" has resulted from the evil influences of "modern" culture, with its general lack of hygiene and unhealthy social habits, and the boy's lack of desire to "play the game." According to Baden-Powell, the boys don't participate; they sit on the sidelines as "onlookers and loafers" because they lack patriotism, have no knowledge that they are part of a thing bigger than themselves, and thus feel no responsibility for the whole. Thus what is needed is a type of paradoxical solution: the individual boys must be taught to take care of themselves in order to take care of the nation of which they are a part. Individual work on the self ultimately means collective work for the nation. This mission is particularly crucial because of the specter of war on the horizon, and the possibility that "other nations were gradually pushing up to destroy" England and take her place as the foremost international power.[44]

One belief that Seton and Baden-Powell did share, however, was an emphatic belief in the need for society to return to nature. As with Seton, returning to nature in Baden-Powell's eyes meant returning to qualities of virility and self-reliance that he believed had been lost in the "modern" age. But this belief in returning to nature took on some unique characteristics in light of Baden-Powell's emphasis on preparing youth for war. As Robert H. MacDonald has persuasively argued, "the frontier, and its stereotypical hero, the war scout, provided British society at the beginning of this century with an alternative ethic, answering this general fear about the condition of the nation's virility. Though in hindsight we might think that the period of imperial expansion was over by the turn of the century, the idea of the frontier was still potent and romantic to many Edwardians, and it came to symbolize an attractive solution to a set of increasingly complex problems at home. War was on the horizon; to make sure future combatants were virile and strong seemed the only way to keep the peace."[45] According to Mac-Donald, the image of the frontier and the war scout became ways to elide a fear of loss of national virility and to reinvigorate people's

confidence in England as an imperial country, spreading its message of God and freedom to the unenlightened, subduing and taming the primitive and unruly. MacDonald continues:

> In the period that produced Scouting, the narratives of adventure matched nicely with the 'plot' of imperialism: the frontier was the unknown land, the hero was the frontiersman, the conquest of territory or native the heroic deed. The Empire itself was the scene of adventure, and its proof.[46]

Much like getting back to nature in American society meant recapturing an idealized past, getting back to nature in British society reflects a broader desire to get back to a time where England was the moral and cultural center of the world. In both cases, the return to nature becomes a strategic psychological mechanism for eliding fears of the loss of individual and national virility in the face of a new century, but in the Boy Scout literature written by Baden-Powell this fear is more directly associated with the seeming inevitability of war, and his lack of confidence "miserable specimens" who may be called upon to defend British interests at home and abroad.

Once Seton is forced to resign, and the National Council revises his manual, there are few differences between the American and British movements and the texts that surround them. The Boy Scout motto in both cases is the infamous "Be Prepared." The scout oath in the British manual is: "I give my word of honor that I will do my best: 1. To do my duty to God and the King; 2. To help others at all times; 3. To obey the Scout Law." In the American version, "the King" is simply changed to "my country." Baden-Powell's original Scout Law covers nine points, including the virtues of trustworthiness, loyalty, helpfulness, friendliness, courtesy, kindness, obedience, cheerfulness, and thrift. The council added three points to the American version of the Scout Law: "be brave, clean, and reverent." This reference to "reverence" is perhaps the most significant difference between the British and American movements; although the texts of the American and British movements are similar in their use of religious thought, the Boy Scout movement in America has been sponsored more adamantly by

religions organizations. But, ultimately, the similarities in the handbooks of the British and American movements speak to a similar concern in the respective cultures.

As theorists such as Gail Bederman and E. Anthony Rotundo have made clear, England was not alone in its imperialistic mission at the turn of the century. In a discussion of the popularity of Theodore Roosevelt and his auspiciously "virile political persona," Bederman has persuasively argued that

> Roosevelt drew on 'civilization' to help formulate his larger politics as an advocate of both nationalism and imperialism. As he saw it, the United States was engaged in a millennial drama of manly racial advancement, in which American men enacted their superior manhood by asserting imperialistic control over races of inferior manhood. To prove their virility, as a race and a nation, American men needed to take up the 'strenuous life' and strive to advance civilization—through imperialistic warfare and racial violence if necessary.[47]

Commenting on a related shift in how masculinity was conceived in American culture at the turn of the century, Rotundo has made the argument that

> [b]y the dawn of the twentieth century . . . old prescriptions for manhood were being replaced. Since the colonial era, ideas of manliness had expressed concern with the government of passions; since the revolution, manhood and independence had been closely linked. Now, male impulse was nurtured, manly reason was redefined, and bonds of dominance and submission between men became respectable.[48]

As part of this change, Rotundo cites a new interest in the "military ideal," which emphasized competition and "fighting virtues."[49]

Whether American culture was exhibiting a popular interest in imperial expansion, as exemplified in the popularity of Roosevelt, or involved in a shift in how manhood was valued and conceived, or both, clearly the image of the

Woodcraft Indian did not hold the popular appeal of the war scout. The specter of war on the horizon gave rise to a concern over national virility and a fear that the nation's adolescents would not be able to hold their own if they were called to the mat. By 1911, the year that the "official" Boy Scouts of America manual was published, the shift from Indians to Scouts is complete. This, of course, is not to say that "Indianness" would not continue to signify in a wide variety of contexts, but, rather, that in regards to this particular appearance of "adolescence," the danger shifted away from the threat of juvenile delinquency at home to the threat of national security abroad.

In focusing on this shift, however, we may miss the broader picture. In the texts surrounding both the Woodcraft Indians and Boy Scouts of America youth movements in the early decades of the twentieth century, there is a distinct anxiety evident over this new and characteristically disruptive segment of the population called "adolescence." As evidenced by these cultural artifacts, adolescence was much more than just a developmental stage, just as adolescents were much more than a group of hooligans painting wicked pictures on the fences of respectable citizens. Adolescence became a blank symbol upon which were projected the values and fears of American society. As a construct, this new and seemingly unstable stage of development posed a significant threat, but as a Woodcraft Indian, or Boy Scout for that matter, adolescence was always ready to do a good turn.

Notes

1. Ernest Thompson Seton, "The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians," in *Ernest Thompson Seton's America: Selections from the Writings of the Artist-Naturalist*, ed. Farida A. Wiley (New York: The Devin-Adair Company, 1954), 345-346, 354.

2. Ernest Thompson Seton, "Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys," *The Ladies' Home Journal*, May 1902, 15, 41; June 1902, 15; July 1902, 16; Aug. 1902, 16; Sept. 1902, 15; Oct. 1902, 14; Nov. 1902, 15.

3. Betty Keller, Blackwolf, *The Life of Ernest Thompson Seton* (Vancouver: Douglas & McIntyre, 1984), 165.

4. For a historical treatment of Ernest Thompson Seton and the founding of the Woodcraft Indians/Boy Scouts movement see Betty Keller's Blackwolf, *The Life of Ernest Thompson Seton* (Vancouver: Douglas &

McIntyre, 1984), H. Allen Anderson's *The Chief: Ernest Thompson Seton and the Changing West* (College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 1986), and John Henry Wadland's *Ernest Thompson Seton: Man in Nature and the Progressive Era, 1880-1915* (New York: Arno Press, 1978). Also of interest in this regard is Brian Morris' 1970 article, "Ernest Thompson Seton and the Origins of the Woodcraft Movement" (*Journal of Contemporary History* 5: 194).

For a discussion of the Woodcraft Indian youth movement and its relation to American cultural values see H. Allen Anderson's 1985 article "Ernest Thompson Seton and the Woodcraft Indians" (*Journal of American Culture* 8, no. 1: 43-50). Jay Mechling has written a number of articles on youth movements, including Seton's, and their relationships with various aspects of American culture, including "Heroism and the Problem of Impulsiveness for Early Twentieth-Century American Youth," which appears in *Generations of Youth: Youth Cultures and History in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: New York University Press, 1998), "The Collecting Self and American Youth Movements," which appears in *Consuming Visions: Accumulation, Display, and Goods in America, 1880-1920* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1989), "The Manliness Paradox in Ernest Thompson Seton's Ideology of Play and Games," which appears in *Meaningful Play, Playful Meaning* (Champaign: Human Kinetics Press, 1987), and "Playing Indian and the Search for Authenticity in Modern White America," which appears in *Prospects* 5 (New York: G. K./ Hall, 1980). Philip Deloria devotes a chapter of his 1998 book *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998) to Seton's Woodcraft Indians and Daniel Beard's youth organization, the Sons of Daniel Boone.

In regards to the Boy Scouts of America youth movement, Mark Seltzer devotes a chapter of *Bodies and Machines* (New York: Routledge, 1992) to the Boy Scouts of America. Also of interest is Jeffrey P. Hantover's 1978 article, "The Boy Scouts and the Validation of Masculinity" (*Journal of Social Issues* 34, no. 1: 184-195). For a historical account of early twentieth-century American youth movements, see David I. Macleod's *Building Character in the American Boy: The Boy Scouts, YMCA, and their Forerunners, 1870-1920* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983).

For a discussion of the British Boy Scouts movement and its relation to Edwardian culture see Michael Rosenthal's *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984) and Robert H. MacDonald's *Sons of the Empire: The Frontier and the Boy Scout Movement* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993). For a humorous meditation on the latest edition of *The Official Boy Scout Handbook* see the opening chapter to Paul Fussell's *The Boy Scout Handbook and Other Observations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982).

5. "Work In Children's Court: First Annual Report Shows That Frequent Use of the Parole System Was Successful," *New York Times*, 14 Jan. 1904, sec. 5, p. 1.

6. "Founding A New Arcadia For New York's Street Arabs," *New York Times*, 17 Dec. 1905, sec. 3, p. 1+.

7. "Judge Olmsted of Children's Court Criticizes the Board of Education," *New York Times*, 8 April 1906, sec. 4, p. 8.

8. "Getting at the Boys," *The Outlook*, 2 Dec. 1905, 822-826. "The Causes of Juvenile Crime," *The Outlook*, 4 Aug. 1906, 796-801. "Delinquent and Wayward Children," *The Outlook*, 22 Sept. 1906, 151-153. "The Defective Home and Juvenile Delinquency," *The Outlook*, 28 Aug. 1909, 965-966.

9. "Why Boys Go Wrong," The Ladies' Home Journal, November 1906, 14. "The Bad Boy of the Street," The Ladies' Home Journal, October 1909, 17, 76.

10. "Delinquent and Wayward Children," 151.

11. "The Causes of Juvenile Crime," 796.

12. Although this fear of juvenile crime out of control makes a sudden and pronounced appearance at the turn of the century, it has, of course, continued to this day, and is, according to theorists such as Mike Males, largely unfounded. On this topic see Males' *The Scapegoat Generation: America's War on Adolescents* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1996).

13. See J. O. Springhall's *Coming of Age: Adolescence in Britain 1860-1960* (Dublin: Gill, 1986), John Neubauer's *The Fin-de-Siècle Culture of Adolescence* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), and Philippe Ariès' *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Vintage Books, 1962). Besides the work done by these theorists, and Joseph Kett, whom I cite in my analysis, surprisingly little has been written on adolescence as a culturally constructed category. But my analysis is greatly informed by theorists who have analyzed similar age categories; in particular, James R. Kincaid and his work on the child in *Child Loving: the Erotic Child and Victorian Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1992) and *Erotic Innocence: The Culture of Child Molesting* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), Kathleen Woodward and her work on the elderly in *Aging and Its Discontents: Freud and Other Fictions* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991) and *Figuring Age: Women, Bodies, Generations* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), and Mike A. Males and his work on contemporary misconceptions about adolescents in *The Scapegoat Generation: America's War on Adolescents* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1996) and *Framing Youth: Ten Myths About the Next Generation* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage Press, 1999).

14. Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolescence in America, 1790 to the Present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), 158, 178.

15. Ibid., 127.

16. Seton, "The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians," 346.

17. "The Bad Boys of the Street," 17.

18. "Why Boys Go Wrong," 14.

19. G. Stanley Hall, *Adolescence: Its Psychology and Its Relations to Physiology, Anthropology, Sociology, Sex, Crime, Religion and Education* (New York: Appleton, 1904), 1:xiii.

20. Ibid., 1:325. Other theorists have made the connection between Hall's phylogenetic theory of adolescence and Seton's youth movement. For example, in "The Collecting Self and American Youth Movements," Jay Mechling suggests that Hall's "instinct psychology" informed Seton's belief in the instinct for play and collecting in the child ("The Collecting Self," 262, 277), and in her article "From the Turn of the Century to the New Age: Playing Indian, Past and Present," which appears in *As We Are Now: Mixblood Essays on Race and Identity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), Shari Huhndorf argues that Seton's use of the Indian was inspired by Hall's assertion that boys were naturally attracted to the habits of feral men. To my knowledge, there is no direct evidence that Seton read G. Stanley Hall; although, there are indeed indirect references to his theories of adolescence in both Seton's 1910 *Boy Scouts of America* and Baden-Powell's 1908 *Scouting For Boys*. In both manuals, William Byron Forbush's popular 1901 work *The Boy Problem: A Study in Social Pedagogy* (Chicago: The Pilgrim Press, 1901) is listed in the "Books To Read." Forbush was a disciple of Hall, and Hall wrote the Introduction to *The Boy Problem*, in which he states: "The author, who is both a clergyman and a Doctor of Philosophy, has been among boys and done work with them that I consider hardly less than epoch-making in significance. Dr. Forbush understands the natural boy and how to approach and handle him, and has also put himself abreast of the new psycho-genetic and pedagogical literature." Forbush and Hall most likely served as a theoretical justification for something that Seton already knew, which was that adolescence was a time of reversion to the primitive state of development and the savage needed to be tamed.

21. Ernest Thompson Seton, "Organized Boyhood: The Boy Scout Movement, Its Purposes and Laws," *Success Magazine*, 13 Dec. 1910, 804.

22. Ernest Thompson Seton, *The Birch-bark Roll of the Woodcraft Indians* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1907), 1.

23. Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967), 143.

24. Ibid., 145.

25. Of course, this mythology of returning to nature and seeing nature as an originary source of meaning is not entirely specific to this cultural moment. Indeed, this mythology can be seen in texts throughout the western literary and cultural tradition and is most explicitly expressed in the works of writers such as Emerson and Thoreau. But what is unique is the use of the mythology of returning to nature as a way of staving off an intense fear of the loss of virility of the nation, and the aligning of this mythology with the newly discovered site of adolescence. For more on the early twentieth-century American interest in nature see Mark Seltzer's *Bodies and Machines* (New York: Routledge, 1992).

26. Seton, "Ernest Thompson Seton's Boys," 15.

27. Seton, *The Birch-bark Roll*, 3.

28. Ernest Thompson Seton and Julia M. Seton, *The Gospel of the Redman: A Way of Life* (Santa Fe: Seton Village Press, 1966), xvi.

29. Ibid., 9-14.

30. Ibid., 29.

31. Ibid., 26.

32. Ibid., 50-66.

33. Seton, *The Birch-bark Roll*, 12-13.

34. Ernest Thompson Seton, *Boy Scouts of America: A Handbook of Woodcraft, Scouting and Life-Craft* (New York: Doubleday, Page & Company, 1910), 32-33.

35. Philip J. Deloria, *Playing Indian* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998), 101.

36. Seton, "The Rise of the Woodcraft Indians," 354.

37. Robert W. Peterson, *The Boy Scouts: An American Adventure* (New York: American Heritage Publishing Company, Inc., 1984), 32.

38. Ibid., 250.

39. Keller, *Blackwolf*, 166.

40. Seton, "Organized Boyhood," 805.

41. Keller, Blackwolf, 176.

42. Seton, *Boy Scouts of America*, xi.

43. Robert Baden-Powell, *Scouting For Boys: A Handbook For Instruction In Good Citizenship* (London: C. A. Pearson, 1908), 261-263.

44. Baden-Powell made it clear by titling his movement the "Boy Scouts" that he had only boys in mind, but much to his surprise by 1909 there were already six thousand girls registered in the movement [Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 11]. This inspired Baden-Powell's wife Agnes to institute an entirely separate organization for girls. Titled the "Girl Guides," the female version of the Boy Scouts came out with its own manual, *Handbook for Girl Guides*, in 1912. As would be expected, the motto, oath, and laws in the *Handbook for Girl Guides* are almost identical to those in *Scouting for Boys*. And indeed, the reasoning behind the movement echoes that of the Boy Scouts. The Girl Guides movement is structured upon the same tension between a return to nature and a commitment to playing the game. As summed up in the opening pages of the manual: "To be a Guide out there means you are one who can be relied upon for pluck, for being able to endure difficulty and danger, for being able cheerfully to take up any job that may be required, and for readiness to sacrifice yourself for others. Girls can be just as good as men in these points if they like" [Agnes Baden-Powell, *The*

Handbook For Girl Guides (London: Thomas Nelson and Sons, 1912), 17]. On the other hand, while the basic laws of the movements and their rationales seem to transcend sexual difference, the basic rituals that enforce these laws and goals are highly gender specific. Whereas *Scouting for Boys* is divided into sections on "Tracking," "Woodcraft," "Camp Life," and "Campaigning," the Handbook for Girl Guides is divided into sections on "Finding the Injured," "Tending the Injured," "Frontier Life," and "Home Life." Whereas, in general, the Boy Scouts are learning how to track men and animals, how to fell trees, and how to predict the weather, the Girl Guides are learning how to nurse invalids, how to cook, and how to care for children. Thus traditional gender roles are ultimately strictly enforced.

For a more detailed discussion of Girl Scouting and American culture, see Sherrie Inness' "Girl Scouts, Camp Fire Girls, and Woodcraft Girls: The Ideology of Girls' Scouting Novels, 1910-1935" in Nancy Drew and Company, *Culture, Gender, and Girls' Series* (Bowling Green: Popular, 1997), and Laureen Tedesco's "Making a Girl into a Scout: Americanizing Scouting for Girls" in *Delinquents and Debutantes: Twentieth-Century American Girls' Cultures* (New York: New York University Press, 1998).

45. MacDonald, *Sons of the Empire*, 5.

46. Ibid., 119.

47. Gail Bederman, *Manliness & Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 171.

48. Anthony E. Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), 238.

49. According to Shari Huhndorf, this virile masculinity found a natural ideal in the Indian, because "While 'civilized' white men were becoming soft and effeminate as a result of the ease of modern life... Indians, the stereotype seemed to demonstrate, had always managed to maintain their virility through constant warfare" ("From the Turn of the Century to the New Age," 188). For more on this shift in how masculinity was conceived, see Michael Kimmel's book *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York: The Free Press, 1996).

Kent Baxter is an Assistant Professor of English at Stephen F. Austin State University, where he specializes in nineteenth- and twentieth-century American literature, cultural studies, and age studies. His most recent article is "Desire and the Literary Machine: Capitalism, Male Sexuality, and Stratemeyer Series Books for Boys" (*Men and Masculinities*, Vol. 3 No. 2, October 2000, 168-186).

Buffy Incorporated: Buffy the Vampire Slayer, Authenticity and the American Teen

Rosemary White

On 10th March 1997 a new series was aired on American television. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* began its career as a twelve-episode mid-season replacement, very much the poor relation of the schedules, after being rejected by most of the major networks. According to its own mythology, that unpromising start has been changed utterly by critical approval and the influence of its determined fans. The series became a hot topic in chat rooms and has a growing and dedicated fan base which appears to come from much the same stable as that of other fantasy series, such as *Star Trek* and *The X-Files* (Cornell; Golder and O'Brien). Above all, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is a product eminently suited to contemporary television. The 1992 film of the same name—also written by Joss Whedon—was not a critical or commercial success in Hollywood terms, and received more attention through video distribution. When Whedon went on to produce the television series, it became clear that the film had barely scratched the surface of its plot potential. If nothing else, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* explores the possibilities of what an ongoing fantasy narrative can achieve, with arching storylines, complex plot twists and a playful understanding of television as a medium.

The comfortable fit between the series and the medium indicates not only the savoir faire of its production team and the televisual literacy of its audiences, but also the intimate relationship between television and its teenage subjects. Television understood the potential and importance of the teenage audience long before Hollywood acknowledged that such consumers constituted its primary market (Doherty, 60). In effect, television, both as a visual medium and as a consumer object, parallelled the growth of "teen" culture in America. When the teenager was identified after World War Two as a site of disposable income hungry for disposable consumer goods, the producers of such items were quick to grasp the possibilities:

The cosmetics, grooming, and fashion industries reaped ever-increasing fortunes from sales of special teen-targeted products. Manufacturers of expensive consumer items (typewriters, radios, phonographs, and televisions) also scrambled to produce and promote items that would cash in on the seemingly bottomless new market. In 1955, Chevrolet paid what may have been the greatest tribute to the American teenager's purchasing power when it marketed a V-8 "to create the image of a 'hot car' to attract the young market." Naturally, the special treatment from Big Business was crucial in establishing and reinforcing the subcultural identity of '50s teenagers. (Doherty, 53)

From its inception, the American teenager has been wedded to consumer culture in an interdependent relationship that deals in goods, hard cash and, most importantly, images. The teenager, itself an object of desire within consumer culture, is serviced by consumer industries, constructed through the clothes s/he wears, the audio and visual equipment s/he owns, the car s/he drives. The teenager, in this sense, does not unproblematically represent "youth," as the teenage consumer, from the 1950s to the present, is necessarily a consumer with disposable wealth. Poverty, or low income status, would exclude certain young adults from that desirable consumer category. Moreover, youth as a subculture has an awkward relation to dominant consumer culture in that, while it is often regarded as counter-cultural (punk being the most obvious example), it is reliant on the parent culture for economic and cultural status.[i]

Nor does the dominant image of the teenager include all varieties of young adults, as in popular media the teenager is predominantly represented as white, middle class and heterosexual. The teenager is gendered in so far as representations

of the experience of being a teenager are differentiated by gender stereotypes within a heterosexual economy. Consequently representations of the teenager tend to focus on a very specific social and cultural group, albeit one which is internally regulated along gender lines. This imaginary group takes up an inordinately large space in terms of representation. The Überteen provides an imaginary "norm" for all youth, even if that norm itself becomes something to rebel against.

Even this abstraction of teenage experience does not unproblematically represent youth. "Big business," after all "establishes and reinforces" this identity. In effect, the teenager is a simulation of the consumer industries" desirable market. The teenager, as a representation of "youth" is inevitably inflected by the adult producers of that simulation. As Henry Giroux states in his essay "Teenage sexuality: body politics and the pedagogy of display:"

> Youth as a complex, shifting and contradictory category is rarely narrated in the dominant public sphere through the diverse voices of the young. Prohibited from speaking as moral and political agents, youth becomes an empty category inhabited by the desires, fantasies and interests of the adult world. (Epstein, 24)

Representations of youth cannot be separated, in the public sphere, from adult fantasies and fears regarding what teenagers should or should not be. Moreover, within contemporary consumer culture, youth itself is an ever more desirable category, containing as it does the most powerful current signifiers of sexual and professional success; an ageless, fleshless and flawless appearance. Representations of youth in popular film and television have played this fantasy over and over again, veering from the youth-as-problem scenarios of exploitation teenpics, to the youth-as-ideal scenarios of countless high-school dramas —the latter ranging from the John Hughes teen movies of the eighties to their nineties television variants in *Beverley Hills 90210* and *Dawson's Creek*.

Buffy the Vampire Slayer offers an interesting example of such fantasies, as this is a series which does not take its high-school "straight," transforming the all-American Sunnydale High into a loose cover for the Hellmouth. Joss Whedon's account of the development of the series highlights its parodic approach:

> The movie had been a play on high school movies, and I felt that the series should be a play on high schools. The whole series is grounded in the idea that high school is the most horrifying experience a human being can go through. So we just tried to extend our metaphors of popularity, puberty, humiliation and isolation and turn them into monster stories. (Jamieson, 30)

The series' allegorical potential—what J. Lawton Winslade calls the "B[ring] Y[our] O[wn] Subtext principle"(Winslade, 8)—is one of its widely acknowledged strengths but, if anything, this serves to highlight the manner in which such representations of teen culture come to be marketed far beyond the age group which they depict. Whedon, again, acknowledges this in his account of negotiations with Warner Brothers during pre-production:

> The first thing that the studio talked to me about was a Power Rangers half-hour afternoon show for kids, and it evolved from that. Yet, the more I got into it, the more adult-oriented the show became. The studio understood what we wanted to do and that it should appeal to grown-ups. They never once said,"Kids won't get it."(Jamieson, 30)

Whedon, as the auteur behind both Buffy and its spin-off series *Angel*, is eminently equipped to produce television series with such broad-based appeal. His father and grandfather wrote for the networks and, while Whedon has had major success in writing for the big screen, his first scriptwriting job was on *Roseanne* (Golden and Holder, 240). While *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* is clearly imbricated in the structures of contemporary American network production there is a constant emphasis on the programme's "authenticity." David Greenwalt, the show's co-producer and sometime writer, jokes that "If Joss Whedon had had one happy day in high school,

none of us would be here" (Golden and Holder, 240) and Whedon has become as much of a star as the series' principal actors, taking an active role in interviews and accounts of the process of production. In official and unofficial accounts of the series Whedon is cited as the creative genius behind its success, even though the show is, like most American network productions, a group project, with different teams of writers and directors working on each episode. In part, this emphasis on Whedon as the auteur behind *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* endorses its cinematic aspects, thereby raising its status in terms of American quality television. The other, most obvious, effect of emphasizing Whedon as the source for Buffy's high-school setting is to propose that the series is authentically inspired by "real" experience. The fact that Whedon was thirty-two when the series was first aired does not appear to be a problem for this notion of authenticity. Indeed, the idea that the impetus for Buffy comes from a nostalgic recreation of high school as it should have been is proposed as consistent with such authenticity. In interviews Whedon endorses Buffy's autobiographical basis and claims to encourage such authenticity from the other writers as well:

> We structure the show around what the kids are going through emotionally. The ideas have to come from our own personal lives and experience, not monster movies. People come to me with ideas for a long-lost-son plot or revenge-of-the-evil-twin story and I say, "And how did you feel when that happened to you?" And they say "Er, well it didn't…" (Chrisafis)

That such "authentic" reproduction of teenage emotion is being reconstructed through adults' experience is not questioned; there is a tacit acceptance that plots and scenarios are constructed around an emotional realism which is always already compromised, being reproduced, at best, through memory and nostalgia. This is not to criticize *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* as a less authentic version of teen culture, but rather to applaud its c/overt artificiality. Unlike *Beverley Hills 90210*, or Buffy's more direct contemporary, *Dawson's Creek*, the series has no truck with straight realism. It is, after all, an aggregate of television genres such as soap, sitcom and fantasy, where the successful school swim team becomes sea monsters ("Go Fish," Season Two) and the new biology teacher turns out to be a giant preying mantis ("Teacher's Pet," Season One). This only makes it all the more surprising that Whedon, and other commentators, insist on the series' emotional authenticity. Joyce Millman of Salon.com claims that

> *Dawson's Creek* is about supposedly "realistic" kids, but it's completely unbelievable, whereas *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, its lead-in on Tuesdays, is about teens who fight vampires and monsters and stuff, but, emotionally, everything about it rings absolutely true. What such eulogies endorse is a particularly postmodern notion of authenticity.

Whereas cultural studies of youth in the sixties and seventies endorsed particular activities as forms of "resistance," *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* offers a representation of youth which is thoroughly embedded in corporate consumerism. Following social scientists' assessment in the fifties of the emergent teenager as a term virtually indistinguishable from "juvenile delinquent," work emerging from the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at Birmingham University, England, produced an alternative perspective. Works such as *Resistance Through Rituals and Subculture: The Meaning of Style* depicted youth subcultures as challenging the dominant adult hegemony and even resisting it in some way. While such studies did not herald youth culture as radical politics—Dick Hebdige, Stuart Hall et al were fully aware of the hegemonic constraints on their subjects—this work fed into popular mythologies in later decades of the twentieth century regarding youth and subcultural movements in the sixties and seventies. These mythologies tend to regard the sixties, in particular, as a more "innocent" moment for youth; a moment when youth culture was by and for youth itself; a moment when corporate capital was, if only temporarily, kept at bay. John Storey's essay on West Coast counterculture is a useful example. In "Rockin' Hegemony: West Coast Rock and Amerika's War in Vietnam," Storey presents the counterculture movement of the late

sixties as a pre-eminent moment of authentic resistance, when a range of left-leaning groups came together around a single issue and produced a widespread, politicized youth movement. In his essay Storey charts the demise of West Coast counterculture as corporate industry moved in on the music, rapidly absorbing its style and language while excising the political force of its message. Economically, as well as culturally and politically, West Coast counterculture fell under the spell of consumer capitalism and was "incorporated," to be revived only as a shadow of its former self through the work of artists such as Bruce Springsteen. While I do not challenge the veracity of Storey's account, I would argue that it is shaped by, and contributes to, cultural nostalgia around the sixties as a moment of modern, authentic youth culture, which is inevitably set against post-modern, inauthentic contemporary youth culture. This dynamic may be read as symptomatic of the manner in which the teenager and public understandings of youth culture are constructed and understood through adult discourse (Doherty, 46). The authentic past of modern youth culture —whether it be West Coast counterculture or British punk—is thus set against its inauthentic present where, confounded at every turn by all-consuming global incorporation, postmodern youth culture can signal rebellion but can never fully represent it. Hence Baudrillard's account of graffiti artists in New York applauds their subversive potential, but only on the basis that "graffiti has no content and no message: this emptiness gives it its strength" (Baudrillard, 504). It is within this context that I wish to examine *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*.

As described above, Buffy is clearly at the centre of consumer culture, as a televisual representation of life at Sunnydale High, with its claim to authenticity already compromised by its economic and cultural location. In contrast to the pre- and post-lapsarian dynamic outlined above, however, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* addresses the complexities of its own (in)-authenticity as a representation of teen culture. Firstly, Buffy offers a "knowing" account of its inauthentic teenagers and, secondly, a version of that mythic, more "authentic" teenage rebellion emerges in the series as a repressed modernity within a postmodern frame.

Bruce McLelland, in a disturbing account of the legitimation of violence in Buffy, identifies the titular character as a pre-eminently postmodern figure:

> ... in the movie more than in the TV show, she is the archetype of the postmodern, the perfect embodiment of the slick demo-cratizing values which would be undercut by any admission of what had been displaced to make way for post-capitalism. She is first discovered by Merrick [her Watcher in the film version] in a shopping mall elevator and again later in a high-school gymnasium after cheerleading practice(8)

Buffy the character, like Buffy the series, is entirely at home within the commodity culture of turn-of-the-twenty-first-century America. As Susan A. Owen also notes, however:

> Buffy's body is a site of considerable struggle in the narrative. She is recognizably coded as slim, youthful, fit and stylish; her body is a billboard for American commodity culture....But there can be little doubt that Buffy's agency drives the narrative and saves the world. Moreover, she talks back, she looks back, and she can take a blow as well as she can land one. (25)

The extra-curricular activities of the actress who plays Buffy endorse Owen's statement. Sarah Michelle Gellar has a modelling contract with Maybelline cosmetics, as well as a burgeoning career in Hollywood. While this representation of young womanhood is, as Owen convincingly argues, postmodern and postfeminist, it is also not as "young" as it should be. In literal terms the cast of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* play younger characters than themselves—Sarah Michelle Gellar was 19 when she began playing Buffy as a high-school student—as is usual in film and television dramas. More importantly, however, Buffy and friends do not conform to counter-cultural notions of the teenager; they only represent the "good" or "ideal" teen. In an odd reflection on the Hollywoodization of youth, Buffy's career as Slayer seems uncannily close to Sarah Michelle Gellar's career as a young actor.

Gellar herself has commented on this:

> I think there's a very interesting relationship between Buffy and myself in that Buffy didn't know whether to go fight vampires or go to the prom. Well, my prom was the same night as the Emmys. I had those same dilemmas on a different scale. (Blackmore,52)

Buffy is serious, responsible, organized and morally concerned—much like the public persona of Gellar herself. While her position as Slayer has not been adopted through choice but rather by destiny, and the first two seasons dealt with the conflict between schoolgirl and slayer, by the third season Buffy appeared largely at home as the Chosen One.

This superhuman young woman rarely does impulsive or stupid things and, when she does, she is always forced to deal with the consequences. In "Beer Bad" (Season Four) Buffy takes to drowning her sorrows after a fellow freshman sleeps with her and dumps her. Buffy and her new drinking buddies are unaware that their preferred beverage, "Black Frost" beer, has been doctored by the bar owner and it reduces them to Neanderthal creatures who eventually wreck and burn down the bar. The episode explicitly pushes an anti-alcohol message, thus confirming the "clean teen" image of the Scooby Gang, none of whom drink, smoke or have irresponsible sex. This cleancut depiction of teen culture is undercut in two ways; initially by the "knowing" quality of this representation of "youth."

The artificial "teen-speak" which the group employs overstates their difference from the adults around them. Rupert Giles, Buffy's Watcher, and Joyce Summers, Buffy's mother, are the most regular adult characters in the series and both speak in an almost too stilted version of Received Pronunciation. Giles' Englishness is exaggerated to produce a bookish, adult language and while he is in control of the arcane languages of the texts he keeps, he cannot be seperated from the library itself, becoming an embodiment of historical language and correct "adult" pronunciation. Buffy and the rest of the Slayerettes speak in a codified version of Valley-girl slang and pop

culture references (Wilson, 24). Clearly informed by cinematic versions of teen slang in films such as *Clueless* (Amy Heckerling, 1995), the teen speak in Buffy is a simulation of subcultural language. Such verbal patterns are part of contemporary youth-marketed television series, such as *Friends* or *Dawson's Creek*, where fast-moving repartee is central to the style of the show. Particular formulations of language on Buffy are employed to imply a subcultural language, but it is a language that millions of viewers have access to. This is an overtly scripted replication of "authentic" teen language.

Similarly, in visual terms the Scooby Gang offer an ideal vision of the teenager. White, slim and immaculately presented, these fictive teenagers possess bottomless closets of funky outfits. Buffy is rarely seen in the same garment twice and each outfit is carefully accessorized, again linking her to idealized images of young women in glossy consumer magazines.

While their eloquence and appearance offers these teenagers as aspirational models, the juxtaposition of Sunnydale High and the Hellmouth brings the American dream face to face with an American nightmare. The generic confrontation of postmodern teenagers and premodern vampires produces satirical commentaries from the central characters, and the series refuses to take itself too seriously. More particularly, the moral universe of Buffy et al is opposed by the immoral universe of the Hellmouth and its denizens. These two worlds are not mutually exclusive, however, and there are significant episodes which cross those boundaries, and significant characters who do the same.

In the broadest sense, going back to Winslade's BYO allegory thesis, one could argue that the darker side of Sunnydale represents the darker aspects of American youth culture, with all the rich connotations of vampirism in relation to substance abuse and sexuality. More specifically, however, primary characters within the series cross boundaries between "good" and "bad" youth, and remain central to the narrative as they do so. While there are many faceless adversaries —demon or vampire—for Buffy to annihilate in a puff of dust there are also two significant figures who oscillate between friend and foe.

The first to appear in the series was Spike who, together with his partner Drusilla, initially represented the "bad" teen. Spike's punkish image—he looks like a cross between Sid Vicious and Billy Idol and is shown at one point singing along to the Sex Pistols' "My Way"("Lover's Walk", Season Three)—is complemented by Drusilla's gothic spookiness. While Drusilla left Sunnydale for good at the end of Season Two, Spike returned in Season Three to haunt Buffy. His "rehabilitation" by the Initiative in Season Four (they place a chip in his brain which prevents him attacking humans) is comparable to Alex's treatment in *A Clockwork Orange* and emphasizes the sinister aspect of the paramilitary organization. Spike without teeth, so to speak, seems to spoil the fun, and the storylines which bring Spike and Buffy together as a couple ("Something Blue," Season Four) would appear to tame him even further. But Spike refuses to be entirely integrated into the Scooby Gang and continues to be a derogatory commentator on the group, taunting them as "losers" who tag along after Buffy only because she lets them. The position of Spike in relation to Buffy and friends disturbs the clean teen aspect of the series.

Spike is the first character to smoke in the series ("School Hard," Season Two) and frequently has a beer in his hand but Willow, like Buffy, cannot have a drink without it becoming a problem ("Something Blue," Season Four). Spike, while decidedly nasty, is never two-dimensional. Like Xander, the most marginal figure of the Scooby Gang, Spike gets good lines and his affection for Dru immediately presented him as a vicious but vulnerable opponent. Bringing him into the domain of the Scooby Gang further muddies the waters, making a simple moral allegory less available and potentially drawing comparisons between Spike's illegal violence and Buffy's legitimate force. The storyline around the Initiative in Season Four pushed this debate further, but the good/bad teen debate has largely been addressed through the figure of Faith.

As a renegade Slayer, Faith, from her first appearance in Season Three, has been "dressed" as Buffy's opposite number. While an earlier Slayer, Kendra, was even more virtuous than Buffy and was shocked by Buffy's idiosyncratic approach, Faith takes ideosyncracy beyond the moral line. Her visual appearance, again referencing a more rebellious teen culture in the "rock chick" styling of her leather trousers and vampish makeup, underlined Faith's difference from the excessively feminized Buffy. If Buffy is WASP-white, Faith is white trash. Her chequered past (she lies about her watcher being dead) and overt sexuality mark her out as bad to the bone and there are inevitable confrontations between the two slayers in "Graduation Day (Part One)"(Season Three) and "This Year's Girl" (Season Four).

Faith's departure from Sunnydale in "Who Are You?" (Season Four) follows an interesting exchange of personas. Faith has received a package from her former mentor, the Mayor, which contains a device that allows Buffy and Faith to switch bodies during a fight. Both actors effectively reproduce each other's mannerisms and, while Faith seems to learn some compassion through her brief period in Buffy's skin, the behaviour of Buffy-as-bad-girl disturbs any smooth moral narrative. Buffy (as Faith) is visibly distressed by her situation and has to escape from a special team sent by the Watcher's Council to deal with Faith, but Faith (as Buffy) has a whale of a time trying out and enjoying her new persona. The episode contains a non-diegetic sequence in which Faith (as Buffy) experiments with expressions in the bathroom mirror, including various ways of saying "You can't do that—it's wrong," thus satirizing the high moral tone of Buffy's character.

The more "authentic," modern rebellious Faith thus reflects upon the saccharin postmodernity of Buffy, underlining her artificiality but also problematizing any concrete sense of identity as fixed and immutable. The series has a clear capacity for switching the identities of its central characters—most notably in Season Three, where the good vampire with a soul, Angel, became his bad alter ego Angelus. Consequently, within *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* there is a playful account of "authentic" representations of American youth culture; indeed, it is even capable of commenting on the sixties counterculture.

In "Band Candy" (Season Three), the adults in Sunnydale revert to their teenage personae as a

result of cursed chocolate bars, a ploy designed by the Mayor and Mr. Trick to incapacitate the town. Rupert Giles, the tweedy English librarian, emerges as "Ripper," a drinking and smoking cockney rebel in white T-shirt and jeans. Joyce Summers is attracted to Ripper and they parade along Main Street as a "teenage" couple, with Giles/"Ripper" breaking a shop window to steal a "cool" coat for Joyce. Buffy's disgust at their behaviour is played for laughs, but these out of control adult/teenagers refer not to a more authentic, modern youth, but to earlier cinematic representations of teen culture. There is even a scene where two drivers line up on a darkened street to race against each other, recalling similar scenes in *American Graffiti* (George Lucas, 1973) and *Grease* (Randal Kleiser, 1978)—which are themselves nostalgic recreations of an earlier period.

These adults parody clichés of fifties and sixties teenage rebellion, with "Ripper" combing his hair into a quiff and Joyce chewing bubblegum. Willow's and Buffy's dialogue in the Bronze, after discovering that the town's adults have invaded their club, highlights the cliché, but also underlines the distinction between the Scooby Gang and darker aspects of teen subcultures:

Willow:	What's happening?
Buffy:	I don't know, but it's happened to a whole lot of grown-ups.
Willow:	They're acting like a bunch of ...
Buffy:	They're acting like a bunch of us.
Willow:	I don't act like this.

In this manner, both the moral postmodern teenager and the amoral modern teenager are parodied within *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*. There is no authentic youth here—only simulation, replication and play.

Whereas earlier forms of representation, such as the teen movies of the fifties and even John Hughes' eighties "bratpack" movies claimed, at some level, to authentically represent teenagers, or a particular moment in youth culture, teen movies of the nineties such as *Clueless, Scream* (Wes Craven, 1996), and *Cruel Intentions* (Roger Kumble, 1999) claim only to represent the always-already represented clichés of teen culture. It is

as if the characters in these films are speaking in quotation marks at all times and, indeed, the scripts of youth-marketed pro-grammes like Buffy are eminently quotable. Instead of referencing a modern notion of "authentic" youth culture, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* offers a postmodern account of inauthentic teens, always already mediated by the re-presentations that precede it, as well as by its very self-conscious position within contemporary popular culture.

This is not to say that Buffy offers an account of American teen culture which disappears up its own irony; rather this is an account of the American teenager which rearticulates the youth it represents through what Jim Collins calls "double referentiality:"

> The self-referentiality that is symptomatic of communication in techno-sophisticated cultures, is a recognition of the highly discursive, thoroughly institutionalized dimension of all signs. At this point these signs become doubly referential, referring to a "really real" world, but also to the reality of the [multimedia] array, which forms the fabric of day-to-day experience in these very cultures. It is the individual negotiations of the array that form the delicate process of not just maintaining but constantly rearticulating cultural memories. (Collins, 255)

The always-already mediated quality of *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* does not evacuate all possible authenticity; authenticity here is differently articulated. The knowingness of the scripts, with their many references to popular television and film, together with the slippery plot devices which undermine modern notions of identity by accessing different realities and depicting radical changes in characterisation, do not undermine the cultural charge of Buffy's scripts and plots. This is not *fin de siecle* cultural exhaustion, but rather a critical awareness of the nostalgia inherent in such accounts of contemporary culture. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer*, in its own postmodern way, questions the authentic referent of the modern teenager, but evokes that figure—through Spike, or Faith, or "Band Candy"—with a fond inauthenticity; as Collins writes of hybrid popular

genre narratives, this teen is not "an exhausted piece of debris ready to be camped up"(Collins, 256). In figures such as Spike, *Buffy the Vampire Slayer* offers an ironic account of authentic teen cultures like British punk, and employs them to reflect upon the heavily mediated Buffy herself.

Notes

Baudrillard, Jean. "Symbolic Exchange and Death" in *Literary Theory: An Anthology*. ed. Julie Rivkin and Michael Ryan. 488-508, Malden, MA: Blackwell, 1998

Blackmore, Eric. "Life Blood!," interview with Sarah Michelle Gellar, SFX. November 1999: 50-53

Burgess, Anthony. *A Clockwork Orange*. London: Penguin, 1962

Chrisafis, Angelique. "Work in Progress," interview with Joss Whedon, *Guardian Unlimited Archive*. April 27, 2000 http://www.guardianunlimited.co.uk/Archive/Article/0,4273,4012146,00.html

Collins, Jim. "Genericity in the Nineties: Eclectic Irony and the New Sincerity," in *Film Theory Goes to the Movies*. ed. Jim Collins, Hilary Radner and Ava Preacher Collins. 242-263, London: Routledge, 1993

Cornell, Paul. "20th Century Fox Hunting." SFX. February 2000: 28

Doherty, Thomas. *Teenagers and Teenpics: The Juvenilization of American Movies in the 1950s*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1988

Epstein, Jonathon S. (ed). *Youth Culture: Identity in a Postmodern World*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1998

Golden, Christopher and Nancy Holder. *Buffy the Vampire Slayer: The Watcher's Guide*. New York: Pocket Books, 1998

Golder, Dave and Steve O'Brien. "Talking Head." SFX. October 1999: 66-74

Hall, Stuart and Tony Jefferson (eds). *Resistance Through Rituals: Youth Subcultures in Post-War Britain*. London: Routledge, 1993 (First published in 1975 as Working Papers in Cultural Studies 7/8)

Hebdige, Dick. *Subculture: The Meaning of Style*. London: Methuen, 1979

Jamieson, Stewart. "California Screaming." SFX. February 1998: 28-34

McLelland, Bruce. "By Whose Authority? The Magical Tradition, Violence and the Legitimation of the Vampire Slayer." *Slayage*. 1: 1-10 http://www.middleenglish.org/slayage/essays/slayage1/bmclelland.htm

Millman, Joyce. "Dawson's Crock." *Salon*. March 16 1998 http://www.salon.com/ent/tv/mill/1998/06/08mill.html

Owen, Susan A. "Buffy the Vampire Slayer: Vampires, Postmodernity and Postfeminism." *Journal of Popular Film and Television*. 27, no.2 (Summer 1999): 24-31

Storey, John. "'Rockin' Hegemony: West Coast Rock and America's War in Vietnam" in *Cultural Theory and Popular Culture: A Reader*. ed. John Storey. 230-240, Hemel Hempstead:Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994

Wilcox, Rhonda V. "'There Will Never Be a Very Special Buffy: Buffy and the Monsters of Teen Life." *Journal of Popular Film and Television*. 27, no. 2 (Summer 1999):16-23

Winslade, J. Lawton. "Teen Witches, Wiccans and Wanna-Blessed-Be's: Pop-Culture Magic in Buffy the Vampire Slayer." *Slayage*. 1: 1-12 http://www.middleenglish.org/slayage/essays/slayage1/winslade.htm

[i.] See, for example, Mary Celeste Kearney's account of Riot Grrrls and their relation to dominant cultural and economic norms in her essay " 'Don't Need You': Rethinking Identity Politics and Separatism from a Grrrl Perspective" (Epstein, 148-188).

After completing an MA and PhD in contemporary literature at Lancaster University, Rosie White lectured at University of Southampton New College for three years before moving to the University of Northumbria in 1998. Current teaching includes material on film and television, cultural studies and cultural theory, while her research is presently focused on the representation of violent women in popular media.

Sounds of Freedom, Sounds of Decay:
Perceptions of American Music and Associated Youth Lifestyles in Romania of the Twentieth Century

Bogdan Barbu

At present, there are lively public debates going on in Romania and in other former Soviet Bloc countries on the impact of foreign, and especially American, popular culture on the respective societies after 1989. Many of those intellectuals who perceive themselves as defenders of national values are constantly ringing the alarm bell, pointing out the dangers to which Romanian culture is exposed as a result of the invasion of American movies and music. Very concerned with analyzing the present, many of them tend to minimize the historical dimension of the phenomenon. By taking into account the temporal dimension of the issue, which implies choosing a larger time interval as an object of research, this study is aiming to prove that the consumption of American music, as well as its perception as a challenge to national culture are not new social phenomena in Romania. Indeed, we could speak about a history of American music in Romania covering almost the whole 20th century.

The consumption of American music in Europe of the 20th century is usually associated with the concept "Americanization." British journalist William Stead, who published his famous book *The Americanization of the World* in 1901, was the one who coined the term and, since then, European and American intellectuals have constantly tried to evaluate the growing presence of the United States in Europe. The term was widely used especially after World War Two, in order to signify the increasing American presence in Western Europe. During the Cold War, it was also frequently used as part of the binary opposition Americanisation-Sovietisation defining the cultural/ideological division of Europe.

Instead of simply stating that Eastern Europe was culturally Sovietised during the Cold War, the present case study is also implicitly arguing for a more careful analysis of the multiple ways in which east European societies have been exposed to American cultural influences during the Cold War, as well as before and after. The advantage of a historical perspective is that it takes into consideration factors of continuity and pays equal importance to acknowledging the impact of American culture before and after 1945. It is often forgotten that at the beginning of the Cold War, eastern Europeans were already familiar with American culture, as American movies, music, cars, radios, advertisements had been part of the daily life of Prague, Budapest or Bucharest city dwellers throughout the interwar period. In terms of recepting American culture, this study does not perceive the Cold War as a historical fracture, but rather as a slowing down of a process that had begun several decades earlier.

Turning back to American music in Romania, the following pages will try to provide evidence in support of two main ideas. The first one is that, far from being a recent phenomenon, the consumption of American music in Romania is part of a process of cultural reception that encompasses almost the whole twentieth century. The second idea is that consumption of American music, and the importation and re-creation in Romania of the associated youth subcultures, has traditionally included a component of criticism leveled against local values, thus generating heated debates and sometimes even social unrest. While the ones who enthusiastically consumed it, particularly the young, perceived it as liberating and used it as an identity building tool, others, including political authorities, often perceived it as a vicious cultural influence, a threat for the country's "healthy traditions."

It is possible that phonograph records with American music had reached Romania even before the First World War. Yet, the 1920s are the period when the accounts about jazz and blues in Romanian cities became numerous. The twenties were for Romanian cities, like everywhere in

urban Europe, a "crazy époque of jazz and cocktail, when women wore bobbed hair "a la garconne" and short skirts"[1] At the beginning of the 1920s, jazz music was still perceived as a novelty and the older generation is bewildered. This attitude is well depicted in the literature of the time. "This youth irritates me... because they lack mystery and style," says one character of Cezar Petrescu, a famous writer of the time. Talking about women's feelings, another character says: "In my times, their heart was a melancholic sanatorium. Now, it is nothing but a noisy piece of jazz."[2] Yet, the youth was contaminated with the jazz fever and with the new American dances such as the Charleston and the black bottom, performed at "those unending parties where you would dance up to exhaustion three quarters of a night."[3] The author talks about a party taking place "around 1924," and the text suggests that at that time they already had a tradition in Bucharest.

At the middle of the decade, local bands were already able to reproduce skillfully the most famous jazz tunes of the day. Such an orchestra was called a "jazz," even if sometimes it would play traditional Romanian songs. There were also dancing clubs, specialized in foxtrot and charleston, and magazines such as *Saison* which would advertise them, signaling a developing entertainment industry.[4]

Sometimes the newspapers would publish articles describing Charleston as a "black dance" characterized as "debauched," a dance which American laws would forbid."[5] Yet, we do not have accounts about violent clashes between the supporters of American music and the associated dances and its critics for this period.

In the 1930s, the popularity of American music is increasing due to the talkies-movies with sound including jazz soundtracks, which led to an increase in sales of phonograph records offering the tunes made famous by movies. American record companies such as Columbia and movie studios such as Metro-Goldwin opened headquarters in Romania, offering plenty of American popular culture to Romanian city dwellers. In the 1930s, American music was no longer perceived as a curiosity and in the second part of the

decade, Romanians were offered both original products, on phonograph records, or versions by the local bands. Sometimes, clubs such as Colorado, Melody and Corso in Bucharest included American artists in their shows as well.[6]

Jazz music was the only product of American culture that managed to survive the war years, when the United Stated was, for a long time, the country's enemy, although the times were hard for jazz musicians too. Music was probably considered less ideologically dangerous and that is why phonograph records and scores continued to be sold in music shops such as "Columbia," "Philips" and "Blaupunkt." Johnny Raducanu, one of the all time greatest jazz musicians in Romania and a survivor of the period, remembers that the American hits of the moment arrived in Romania a few month after their American release, even during the war years.[7]

Although it may sound strange it is not unreasonable to talk about a jazz fever in Romanian cities, and especially in Bucharest, during the first years of the war. Jazz music

Oakland, California. Hot Jazz Recreation. Benny Goodman concert at the Oakland dance hall.
Source: National Archives

associated with a non-conformist lifestyle led to the emergence of an urban sub-culture, mala-gambistii, (or the Malagambists—an English equivalent of the term). The members were listening to jazz and wearing unusual clothes,

inspired by bebopper costumes depicted in American movies. They took their name from Sergiu Malagamba, a famous jazz drummer who became the idol of Bucharest's youth. Their dressing style included thigh length coats, shirts with high collars, trousers above the ankle, white striped socks, shoes with high soles and large hats. Besides copying an American fad, Malagambistii also expressed cultural rebellion for a generation that did not want to die in a war they did not understand. Such a social phenomenon was by no means original to Romania. Similar sub-cultures existed during the war in many European countries, including France ("Les Petits Swings" or "Zouzous," who were smuggling forbidden American records in Paris) and even Germany where the "swing jugend," dressed in a similar way with Malagambistii, had nicknames such as Texas Jack and Alaska Bill and danced to American music at private parties.[8]

The Malagamba phenomenon became a subject of heated debates in the Romanian press at the beginning of 1942. On the one hand, one could read interviews with Sergiu Malagamba (from one of them we learn that he was also playing for the National Radio Station during the show called "Soldier's Hour") and sympathetic descriptions of his followers. On the other hand, there were critical comments against the movement considered to be a threat for the country's "healthy traditions."

General Antonescu, the leader of the country, felt threatened by such a movement perceived as anarchist and he decided to crush it. On March 3, 1942 after a hot concert at "Savoy" hall in Bucharest, Sergiu Malagamba and "his close followers" were arrested and imprisoned in Târgu Jiu concentration camp. Here is a part of the communicate delivered by the Ministry of Propaganda:

> When our soldiers die in the war and the country proudly wears the coat of sufferance, a group of people who have lost their minds walk on the streets in circus-like costumes, trying through un-serious actions and musical exhibitions to convince others to follow them and be part in a ridiculous display.[9]

Malagamba's imprisonment was triggered by a defamation campaign in large circulation newspapers such as *Curentul*, whose editorialist was Pamfil Seicaru, a personality of Romanian culture and a supporter of Antonescu, and *Porunca Vremii*, sponsored by the government. The Ministry of Propaganda also issued brochures in which the movement was strongly criticized. Here is one example: "Slowly, the city was filled from the centre [sic] to the periphery with strange animals of all sizes, wearing a sort of clothes which offended the common sense. The Malagambism was born."[10]

Although Malagamba was arrested and the movement attacked, jazz music continued to be played and listened to and Malagambistii did not disappear. Johnny Raducanu, he himself a Malagambist at that time, remembers that the fans had repeatedly marched on the center of Bucharest calling for their idol's liberation.[11] Jazz music was not prohibited, but the official discourse tried sometimes to deny its quality as an American contribution to the world's modern culture. Here is what a music editor wrote in 1942:

> Even if it is surprising, the origins of jazz are to be found in the XVIIth century, in Monteverdi's and Handel's works. Consequently, jazz is not a pure American invention but instead a product of our old continent.[12]

In the same magazine, we can read an article about "genuine jazz" in Romania where the editor explains that there was a distinction between jazz for listening played by orchestras like the ones conducted by Dinu Serbanescu and Bibi Alexandrescu and jazz for dancing played by all the other bands."[13]

Jazz was played in Romanian cities (Johnny Raducanu remembers that Timisoara, Iasi and Bucharest were the cities were jazz was the most popular) even during the hard war years. It was the only field where America was still symbolically present among Romanians. While the political discourse tented to be anti-American, and American movies were prohibited, jazz was still very present in Romanian cities of those times.

The short period of openness, which followed the insurrection that brought the country on the same side with the Allies, also brought back to Romanians the products of American popular culture. They were received with great enthusiasm by those who perceived them as a sign of the return to the "golden era" of the inter-war period.[14] Starting in the fall of 1944, newspapers and magazines often included advertisements for jazz concerts like the following ones: "The 1944 Jazz Parade featuring Jean Ionescu and Sergiu Malagamba, on September 24, at 4 PM, at Palladium Circus[15]." The following week, the circus hosted another show, "The Jazz Cavalcade" featuring Colea Rautu.[16] On October 15, Dalles hall hosted "a great jazz concert in the new boogie-woogie rhythm, including 30 new jazz pieces by Glenn Miller."[17]

On the same day and at the same hour, a competing show was advertised. "The most grandiose music-hall show at Palladium. Jazz swing with Jean Ionescu and Sergiu Malagamba."[18] A few days after, a new show was announced: "Swing Melody at Cinema theatre Scala."[19] This was just the beginning and the new jazz fever continued until late 1947. Johnny Raducanu remembers that not only in Bucharest but also in other cities such as Timisoara and Cluj there was a similar enthusiasm for jazz.

"Music Inspires"—a poster created by James Axelrod.
Source: National Archives

In Bucharest, the jazz boom was triggered by some particular factors. One of them was the presence of the American mission hosted at Boulevard hotel.[20] The other reason were Malagambistii which became obvious on the city's streets again after the fall of the Antonescu regime. Sergiu Malagamba, a victim of the old regime, was rehabilitated and his image as a symbol of freedom and non-conformism reached mythical dimensions among his fans. Malagamba and his followers appeared now as sorts of dissidents who opposed Antonescu's dictatorship. They were presented as heroes "considered as dangerous by the previous regime and consequently imprisoned."[21] But the times had changed and for a short time Malagambistii were again free to listen to their favourite jazz music and wear the clothes they wanted. Some of the advertisements for jazz concerts included direct references to them: "Here is a message for Malagambists in the Capital and surroundings"[22] who were invited at the October 15 Concert at Palladium Circus.

The jazz concerts hosted in large halls such as the hall of the largest circus in the country were a proof that American music was popular among the masses. Besides these concerts, there were lots of places in Bucharest were jazz could be listened to. Some of the most famous were Colorado, Arizona, Mon Jardin, Melody, Continental, Monte Cristo, China-Town, and Boulevard. Numerous advertisements in the local press indicate that there were lots of such places in all Romanian cities. Besides Sergiu Malagamba, the jazz scene of the 1940s benefited from the talent of many other musicians and orchestra conductors including Jean Ionescu, Bibi Alexandrescu, George Corologs, and Dinu Serbanescu.

In March 1945, the first Romanian school of American music was opened. The school offered classes of composition, orchestration, vocal music as well as drums, guitar, piano and trumpet lessons.[23]

Jazz music was played also in theatre halls during movie breaks. The most famous such theatres in Bucharest were Aro, Scala and Marna. Jazz was also listened to on records which could be bought (from one of the several music shops available in cities like Timisoara, Cluj, Iasi,

Constanta and Bucharest) or borrowed. In March 1945 the first record borrowing house "Discoteca" opened in Bucharest.[24] At the end of 1944, Romanians could see the first Romanian movie dedicated to the fury of the modern music and to Malagambists."[25] The movie included a lot of jazz music played by both Romanian and foreign musicians.

During this period, jazz music was, no doubt about it, one of the components of the new shiny image of America. The popularity of jazz meant implicitly the celebration of an ideal American lifestyle associated with it. Together with Hollywood movies, jazz brought to Romanians the image of America as a land of leisure and good life, the return of the pre-war, glamorous image of the US.

Jazz music and Hollywood movies had a significant role in constructing an ideal image of America after August 23, 1944. For many people, they represented a guarantee that Romania was going in the right direction. They also offered glimpses of the so much desired American way of life. At the same time, for others, American popular culture appeared as a threat. That is why communists, following the Soviet model, started to present it as dangerous and decadent, a culture which did not qualify as a model to follow. Instead, they proposed a different cultural model, the Soviet one. Unlike the American "consumption and leisure" model, the Soviet cultural model was centred on the cult of the worker (proletcultism) and it was imposed by force, by banning Western, and especially American, cultural products.

Since Hollywood movies had been banned, as well as most American literature, jazz was probably the only American cultural form that managed to survive the 1950s. This was due to the existence of numerous groups of talented musicians, trained in the lively clubs of the interwar period. Sergiu Malagamba, for example, after spending some years in a communist prison, was playing again, at the beginning of the 1950s. Some other great players such as Dinu Serbanescu and Johnny Raducanu were also active in this period. According to Johnny Raducanu, the only musician from the period who is still active, jazz was tolerated mainly because it could be played

instrumentally. The songs that included text had to be eliminated from bands' play lists, as the English language was simply prohibited during the 1950s in Romania.

Many of the old jazz clubs had to close their doors, yet, some managed to survive, benefiting from favourable circumstances. One example would be "Mon Jardin" garden in Bucharest, whose owner happened to be a friend of the Party leader, Georghiu-Dej. While Dej was in prison in the 1940s, the owner took care of his family and, as a reward, he was allowed to remain in charge of the club, as a director, even after nationalisation.

It is fascinating to understand how the communist institutions in charge of censoring culture perceived American music, and the reports of the Romanian Union of Composers are illustrative in this respect. They were analysing issues such as "the influence and position of the bourgeoisie in regards of music" and "the spread of the bourgeoisie poison through dance music," acknowledging that in the previous regime "they would rarely play Romanian music in the dance saloons." The reports would also give examples of what the communist composers understood by "good songs and bad songs."[26]

In the meetings of the Union, composers and conductors such as Dinu Serbanescu world be criticized for promoting jazz, criticism to which the musician would answer courageously:

> Comrade Elly Roman, when saying that Dinu Serbanescu still plays as if he were on Broadway, is forgetting that in fact, he was a sort of a professor to me, he was my orchestra conductor and in this quality, he took me to Broadway.[27]

During the 1950s, communist composers tried to create revolutionary music, eliminating the American influences totally; yet, their effort does not seem to have been very successful. For example, in one of composers' meetings one of the comrades points out that "a Romanian theme, on a foxtrot rhythm gives the impression of a Romanian-American alliance," which was not acceptable and therefore could be a reason for

banning the song. Yet, this would lead to "a persistence of foreign music at balls, dance saloons and parties" which was even worse, so he recommended that "for the moment, these dance rhythms should be continued."[28] Comrade Cosma, commenting on some compositions belonging to the head of the Union says that "although I liked them, I haven't found anything revolutionary there. I liked them but they were still foxtrots."[29]

The predictable conclusion of such meetings was that the Soviet example had to be followed. Comrade Hilda Sera explained:

> While being in Moscow I saw that in the hotel they had an orchestra and people were dancing. I have seen people dancing waltz, polka, but also some tango and foxtrot; yet, there was no rumba, conga or bugi-hugi (boogie-woogie). Those dances are the expression of an ideology hostile to us. They are formulas that have reached the peaks of decadence.[30]

At the end of the 1950s, the situation started to change. On the one hand the whole international climate became more relaxed. The Soviet-American contacts, exchanges and meetings at the top level brought about an atmosphere of openness in East-West relations. On the other hand, the increasing tensions between Bucharest and Moscow, led to initiatives aimed at cultural de-Sovietization and opening towards the West.

The 1960s are a period when top class American stars visited the country. Duke Ellington, Louis Armstrong, Dave Bruebeck, Dizzie Gillespie, the Golden Gate Quartet, all performed in Romania and in other East European countries, under cultural exchange programs organized by the United States International Agency. Local jazz also flourished, becoming more and more part of the musical mainstream.

During this period, the authorities ceased to perceive jazz as dangerous, that place being reserved now to rock and roll. The acceptance of the new craze coming from the United States

was indeed problematical during the 1960s, and the word itself was banned. The local bands imitating Elvis Presley or John Lee Hooker had to call themselves vocal-instrumental groups. But even without a name, rock and roll was very much present in Romania of the 1960s. It was recepted through direct channels such as movies like "Girl Happy" or "Viva Las Vegas" featuring Elvis, and records brought into the country by those who had the chance to travel abroad or to receive parcels from relatives in Western Europe. There was also an indirect reception, through West European music, including artists such as Cliff Richard, Johnny Holiday and Adriano Celentano.

In the sixties, the distinction American/West European in terms perceiving rock and roll became less visible, the genre being generally labeled as "Western," both by the fans and the authorities. During the decade, an increasing attraction for rock among the youth led to the developing of networks of people interested in listening to and playing rock and roll, and developing identities that were different from those praised by the official ideology.

The 1970 concert of the American band "Blood, Sweat and Tears' in Bucharest, a major rock event in the region and a great live example of American music for local musicians, was followed by incidents between the fans and the police and ended up with arrests. The event convinced the authorities that the young undertook a dangerous path and since then they became more vigilant. As a result the militia started taking the long-haired from the streets directly to the barber, while those who were found carrying LPs with Western music could end up in a police station.

Yet, the youth groups that were trying to adapt the hippy lifestyle in Romania managed to survive for several reasons. First, the ideological pressure was no longer as strong as in the 1950s. Second, there was a tendency of adapting the hippy identity to Romanian traditions, by associating it with the cult of the long-haired forefathers, which was, to a certain extent, in line with party's effort to promote a new image of communism, less related to Moscow and more rooted in national values. Third, the authorities perceived the hippy movement as anti-capitalist, although the

36

Romanian hippies saw it rather as being directed against the establishment in general. Fourth, many children of the *nomenklatura* were part of it, which made it difficult for the militia, when it was about conducting arrests, to distinguish between the "good" and the "bad" ones in a group of hippies. In any case, the campaign of negative articles about the hippies conducted in the press at the end of the sixties and the beginning of the 1970s had as an effect an increasing adversity among the population, resulting in street clashes between "defenders of socialism" and "exponents of capitalist decadence."[31]

In 1971, the general secretary of the Romanian communist party Nicolae Ceausescu visited China and Korea, and was deeply impressed by those countries' policies in regards to culture. Inspired by what he saw, he initiated a programme aimed at creating a sound cultural legitimacy for the communist regime by placing a strong accent on "national values." The programme involved measures aimed at supporting Romanian cultural production at the expense of the foreign one. At the official level, and under the guidance of Ceausescu, Romania of the 1970s and 1980s increasingly broke its channels of reception of foreign culture, becoming more and more isolated. Yet, during this period, unofficial, underground networks of distribution gradually replaced the official channels. These networks would link individuals with common tastes and interested in exchanging cultural products coming from Western Europe and the United States. It is the way through which American music continued to be listened to, circulating from hand to hand, in the original form or in copied versions. During this period, music broadcasted by foreign radio stations, and products coming from other socialist countries were compensating the poor offer in shops and in the mass media.

The 1980s witnessed an increased divers-ification of youth groups interested in Western/American music, and also a tendency towards specialization, a situation mirroring to a certain extent what was happening in the West. In the 1980s, Romanian teenagers tended to link themselves to a particular artist or group, becoming fans of Madonna, Michael Jackson, or Metallica, wearing visible signs of that affiliation, like jackets, t-shirts, earrings and so on, which were occasionally the target of the militia's anger. During this period, technology led the under-ground exchange networks to the video stage, as video recorders and satellite dishes become more and more familiar to Romanians.

The hide and seek game with the authorities continued. In the 1980s, the Directorate of Domestic Information, part of the Romanian secret police, the Securitate, became increasingly worried about the growing influence of the American or American-funded radio stations, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe among the youth. As a reaction, the Directorate initiated a program aimed at identifying the people who were sending letters and messages to the musical shows at those stations. The letters were always signed with pseudonyms, which made them difficult to trace. On 5 September 1983, for example the Bucharest branch of the Directorate identified a group of teenagers from the Philology High School No. 1 who were "listening to musical shows of Western radio stations and sending letters to Radio Free Europe, requesting fashion-able music." Taking into account "the dangerous nature of their preoccupations," the group had to be dissolved and its members kept under a close surveillance.[32] On May 7, 1987, colonel Ghoer-ghe Ratiu, the Head of the Directorate himself, observes that

> We are noting an increase in the number of youth who, usually under a pseudonym, are trying to send letters to foreign radio stations in which besides requests for music and favorable remarks regarding the respective shows, are making tendentious references about the political and social situation in our country.

Although the authorities perceived listening to American, and generally Western, music as a political act that could threaten the existent social order, they were unable to stop it. Indeed, at the end of the 1980s, in Romania and all over Eastern Europe, the faith in the future of communism was rapidly fading, and the ability of the party to control the people was vanishing.

After the fall of the Iron Curtain, the tendency towards atomisation of fan groups has increased

exponentially, spurred by the establishment of a popular music market, in which American products account for the largest share. Although the United States became a model almost overnight, being officially constructed as the centre of the Euro-Atlantic community, the world Romania was trying to enter, American music, or at least some of its products, continue to be controversial, being at the heart of public debates. The main target of the criticism became rap and hip-hop, epitomised by BUG Mafia, the most famous local band that had successfully adapted gangsta rap to Romanian post-Cold War urban realities. In 1998, the members of the band were arrested in Turnu Severin being charged with consuming and selling marijuana. The press was talking about the "BUG Mafia generation, born in the streets" and being an unfortunate product of communism.[33] Besides countless attacks in the press, an "anti-neighborhood"(Anti Cartier) site appeared on the Internet. The site is leveling a violent critique against the main idea promoted by hip-hop bands, the "neighborhood identity," characterized by social violence and "being tough." It hosts opinions of people enraged by the popularity of hip-hop in Romania of the 1990s. One of the comments sees hip-hop as:

A "musical" genre invented by a part of the black population in the USA, and promoted as skillful as the Hollywoodian nullities, which, like any cheap and bad product became extremely popular among certain social categories (unfortunately in Romania as well). A music that may fit the blacks, but not the whites, and absolutely not the Romanians.[34]

Yet, the statistics offer a completely different story. With over two hundred thousand albums sold, BUG Mafia is among the best selling groups in Romania of the 1990s and its levels of popularity continue to remain high.[35] At present, the supremacy of American and Western music, or its local versions, is challenged not so much by the opinions of the anti-neighborhood movements, but rather by local musical productions carrying strong Roma/gypsy, Balkan and Mid-Eastern influences, which boomed during the last three years.

By offering a chronological outline of the story of American music in Romania, this essay was intended as a starting point for further research. Its main conclusion is that American music significantly influenced Romanian youth throughout the whole twentieth century, and that this influence seriously worried both the ones in power, and parts of the population less enthusiastic about foreign cultural imports. More questions obviously arise from here, one of them being: Why did American culture play such a role? Americanists agree in general that the products of US popular culture have been consumed all over the world during this century as "signifiers of modernity," being associated with an idealized America, usually imagined as a place of freedom and good life. Foreign audiences have used them in different circumstances than American ones, often associating new meanings to them. Therefore, contextualizing various "moments" of this history of cultural transfer is inevitable for a better understanding of the impact of American music in certain periods such as the 1940s or the Cold War. In-depth micro-histories employing tools of sociology and cultural studies could reveal a wealth of information on the ways in which the lifestyles associated with American music have been "re-contextualized and re-semanticised,"[36] being adapted to Romanian realities. Besides the political component of consuming American music, the social component, involving the "conflict of generations" idea, should be carefully analyzed. The consumption of such products was also an act directed against "old" visions of life, largely grounded in national values.

Local discourses on the reception of American music have to be looked at as part of a more general cultural debate having at its core the relations established between a given culture and foreign products and values. Here it is worth mentioning the disputes between "autohtonists" and "Westernizers," as well as those between the partisans of high culture and those of popular culture, and the generalisation of the dispute into an inevitably hierarchical comparison between Europe and the United States.

Another layer of further analysis on the reception of American music should employ

comparative studies among countries in the region, including the former USSR, as the degree of permeability of their cultural borders may have differed along time, due to political, cultural and geographic reasons. For example, countries such as Poland and Czechoslovakia, also geographically closer to Western Europe, tended to be quicker in opening themselves to American and generally Western cultural influences at the end of the 1950s.

A study of the process of transmission of American music could also reveal interesting information on the efforts undertaken by the US government, especially during the Cold War, to export popular culture over the Iron Curtain, as well as in Western Europe as part of the East-West cultural contest. Although "jazz, rock and roll and Hollywood, did not need US cultural propaganda as desperately as US propaganda needed jazz, blues and rock and roll," [37] as one author put it, many jazz singers benefitted from United States International Agency contracts for European tours. The role of the radio stations, the Voice of America and Radio Free Europe, sponsored by the US government has also been significant in disseminating American music.

A study of American cultural presence in Romania and the former Eastern Bloc should also use instruments offered by disciplines like psychology and the history of mentalities. Such instruments would be especially welcome when analysing issues such as "the reversed reaction" cases. For example, closing of those countries" cultural borders, and the fierce anti-American propaganda of the 1950s had for many people a reversed effect, leading to the developing of a whole mythology centred on the image of the United States as an ideal country. On the other hand, the invasion of American products following the fall of the Iron Curtain is increasingly being perceived in negative terms, as a form of cultural colonisation. Finally, it would be useful to integrate the findings of a historical approach with those of sociology and cultural studies in an effort to understand the complex popular mental constructs of "America" and "the West," produced in Eastern Europe at the intersection between Cold War mythologies and post-communist realities.

Notes

1. Mircea Eliade, *Nunta in Cer* (Wedding in the Skies), (Bucharest, Minerva, 1986), 276.
2. Cezar Petrescu, *Calea Victoriei*, (Bucharest, Editura pentru literatura, 1967), 177.
3. Mircea Eliade, ibid., 277.
4. *Saison*, Bucharest, 1926-1927.
5. "Dobrogea Artistica si Sportiva," *Constanta*, No. 22, November 1926.
6. *Corso*, Bucharest, April 1937, 5.
7. Johnny Raducanu, interviewed by author, 18 April, 1998.
8. Ralph Willet, *The Americanization of Germany* (London: Routledge, 1989), 89.
9. *Universul*, Bucharest, 4 May, 1942, 1.
10. An undated propaganda brochure which entered the Library of Romanian Academy in 1943.
11. Johnny Raducanu, interviewed by author, 18 April, 1998.
12. *Arta Noua*, Bucharest 19 May, 1942, 6.
13. Ibid.
14. Johnny Raducanu, interviewed by author, 18 April 1998.
15. *Ultima Ora*, Bucharest, September 29, 1944, 2.
16. Ibid., September 23, 1944, 2.
17. Ibid., September 29, 1944, 2.
18. Ibid., October 12, 1944, 2.
19. Ibid., October 17, 1944, .2.
20. Johnny Raducanu, interviewed by author, 18 April 1998.
21. *Ultima Ora*, October 14, 1944, 3.
22. Ibid., October 13, 2.
23. *Semnalul*, Bucharest, March 1945, 6.
24. Ibid., 4.
25. *Arta Libera*, Bucharest, 1944-1945, 7.
26. The Union of Romanian Composers Archives, file No. 448/1951, 107.
27. Ibid., 110.
28. Ibid., 128.
29. Ibid., 129.
30. Ibid., 138.
31. Nelu Stratone, rock critic, interviewed by author, February 2001.
32. Mihai Pelin, *Operatiunile Melita si Eterul. Istoria Europei Libere prin Documente de Securitate* (Operations "Melita" and "Eterul": The History of Radio Free Europe Through Securitate Documents"), (Bucharest, Albatros, 1999), 168.
33. <http//arhiva.monitorulcluj.ro/01.10.1000/tematic.html, 2>
34. <http://anticartier.tripod.com/body/vizitatori.html, 17. 09. 2000>
35. <http://www.millenium.ro/clienti/mafia/art2.htm, 2>
36. Rob Kroes, "American Empire and Cultural Imperialism: A View From the Receiving End," *Diplomatic History*, Vol.23, No. 3 (Summer 1999), 463.

37. Reinhold Wagnleitner, "The Empire of Fun, or Talking Soviet Blues: The Sound of Freedom and US Hegemony in Europe." *Diplomatic History*, Vol 23, No. 3, (Summer 1999), 480.

Bogdan Barbu graduated from the University of Bucharest, Department of History and holds MA degrees in American Studies and History, from the University of Bucharest and Central European University, Budapest, Hungary. Currently, he is working on his PhD at the University of Birmingham, UK. Mr. Barbu's PhD project analyses the interconnections between politics and culture during the Cold War period, focusing on the reception of American cultural products in communist Romania.

First Wave American Youth Culture in the Season of 1954-55: Youth and the Mass Media

James M. Salem

I

This essay represents a preliminary attempt to trace how media changes facilitated the development of what I call full-blown "First Wave American Youth Culture" as it came to maturity in the Season of 1954-55, a one-year period from July to July. This was a watershed year in America, especially for youth, because it not only changed the way Americans came of age; it changed the way American youth changed. Postwar American youth represent the first generation of American adolescents in a position to reject the culture it inherited (a Community of Place) and to have the opportunity to choose culture from the variety of offerings beginning to emerge from the traditional cultural power center of New York, the new cultural power center of Los Angeles, and the exciting secondary market recording locations in the Midwest, South, and Southwest. Since the choices youth made in the Season of 1954-55 were completely volitional, the national, commercialized, adolescent peer culture that developed in this period can best be described as a Community of Age.[1] First Wave American Youth Culture homogenized American youth to an unprecedented degree, making it less important where teens grew up than when they grew up.

Teenagers in the Season of 1954-55 perceived themselves to be different in substantial ways from their parents' generation—or came to perceive themselves to be different from the national, commercial culture they consumed. In considering the factors that shaped their lives, it is important to remember how much of the physical world they lived in was old-fashioned and run-down, built before the Depression or by WPA programs. Their elders were certainly God fearing (95% of all Americans believed in God in 1948, 90% prayed, and in 1954 the phrase "Under God" was added to the Pledge of Allegiance and "In God We Trust" mandatory on all coinage),[2] but they

were so permanently impaired by their Depression experience that they carried on their psyches an "Invisible Scar."[3]

Other realities proved crucial to the lives of mid-fifties teens. For example, as they looked at their world they saw that essentially all of the power in the United States was held by white males and that the white majority was generally hostile toward labor, Jews, and people of color. Though isolationism in foreign policy was over, conservative politics prevailed, and the fear of Communism and communists saturated the culture. Because of national hysteria over politics, it is understandable why young Americans born before World War II would be wary of personal, political involvement.

In terms of social behavior, teens clearly observed this: people stayed and shopped in their own towns (there were few 4-lane roads and no malls). Air travel was unusual and expensive, as was long distance telephoning. People did not power walk, jog, or work out. They wore natural fiber clothing that required pressing but faded quickly at schools and workplaces, neither of which were air conditioned. Young people could look forward to pursuing "men's jobs" or "women's jobs" (advertised separately in the newspaper) or they could marry young, have babies early, and attend college at the same time like World War II veterans. William L. O'Neill points out that "women knew their place was in the home. Racial minorities knew their place too, for the most part."[4]

Teenagers in the Season of 1954-55—the particular generation or demographic cohort that pioneered First Wave American Youth Culture—were born during The Birth Dearth, years of the Great Depression and World War II that constitute a relatively small demographic group moving through American society. Particularly, I have in

mind American youth born between 1936 and 1941, when live births in America averaged less than 2.5 million annually.[5] Though there were few of them (the Baby Boomers that follow made them seem even fewer) these teenagers had the advantage of living in a time of great affluence. Postwar American teens had their own money and cars, or access to money and cars. As a group, they had more economic clout than any teenagers who ever passed through society. By 1956, the average teenager had disposable income of $8.96 weekly, an increase of 372% over allowances and earnings in 1944. The 13 million junior and senior high school students (age 12-18) had $7 billion to spend for the year—a staggering $85 million weekly.[6] The explosion of First Wave American Youth Culture in the Season of 1954-55 was driven by this new purchasing power of teens.

Without rent or insurance to pay, family groceries to buy, or refrigerator payments to make, American teens spent most of their $85 million a week consuming culture: on movie admissions and recordings of the music they heard on radio—forms of cultural expression formerly marketed to adults and controlled by adult behavior. By the mid-1950s the astonishing success of broadcast television on the lives of American adults displaced movies, records, and radio as adult fare, turning these powerful media over to a predominantly teenage audience and facilitating the spread of a national American Youth Culture. The effect of this new teenage market had enormous consequences for the nation and for the world, since First Wave American Youth Culture was so widely disseminated and appreciated by teenagers in Europe and elsewhere. It is not American, for example, to write in the snow of one's boarding school in Dorset, England at midnight on March 16, 1955: "ROCK 'N' ROLL IS HERE TO BLOODY WELL STAY."[7]

I have written previously about the diffusion and transformation of African American culture during the postwar era and about the transition from Rhythm & Blues to rock 'n' roll in the Season of 1954-55.[8] Here, I wish to tell three stories: The first centers on the music business (primarily song writing, publishing, and records)

and the internal changes that by the early 1950s benefited a teenage audience. The second focuses on movies and the recognition in the 1950s that teenagers constituted a distinct and separate market. Finally, I attempt to track changes in the broadcasting industry—radio and television—and developments by the mid-1950s that essentially turned evening radio into a teenage juke box. To tell these stories properly, it is necessary to backtrack approximately seventy-five years.

II

At the turn of the twentieth century, technological development broadened the boundaries of commercialized popular culture: mass-produced sheet music, sound recordings, and silent movies. The first million-selling hit song (sheet music) was Charles K. Harris's "After the Ball" (1892).[9] However, Columbia Records was established in 1887, the Victor Talking Machine Company in 1901, and the phenomenal success of Enrico Caruso's Italian arias a few years later propelled the popularity of phonograph records. Records thus almost ruined the sheet music business (the price, forty cents in 1902, dropped to just ten cents by 1916) and the piano business itself.[10] Another measure of popularity was the number of phonographs (hardware) and records (software) manufactured. From 1914 to 1919 phonograph production rose 443% (over 2,226,000 machines), and records rose 393% (almost 107,000,000 disks). Phonograph players were invariably expensive pieces of furniture, made of maple, oak, and walnut, (later blonde). Almost all of the machines (95%), the *New York Times* reported, were installment purchases.[11]

The story of the movies also starts in the 1890s. The initial popularity of the movies hurt the live performance business; theaters and vaudeville houses began to lose segments of their audience to the thousands of silent movie venues called nickelodeons. The music business actually profited, however, since movies furnished an additional mode of entertainment to exploit. Tin Pan Alley quickly saw the movies as a potential partner. Song "pluggers" marketed tunes by providing live entertainment at nickelodeons (sometimes bribing the piano player to use their

songs as background music), and songwriters wrote theme music for movies and then began to write songs about the movies themselves. Eventually, the power in music publishing moved west to Los Angeles, the home of the movie business.[12]

The 1920s is often described as a period in which Youth Culture flourished, but it is more accurate to see it in terms of Young Adult Culture. The "flaming youth" of the Jazz Age were not adolescents but college-age Americans flaunting their freedom and mobility. Young women, it was observed, were bobbing their hair, smoking in public, dressing and dancing provocatively, and petting in the rumble seats of jalopies, while their male counterparts drank bathtub gin, wore coonskin coats, and sat atop flagpoles swallowing goldfish. Gilman Ostrander called it filiarchy, "the reversal of the order of authority from age to youth."[13] Besides the automobile, the causes of wickedness might well have been films, dime novels, radio, pulp magazines, the sleazy tabloids, or jazz music. Ann Douglas calls the 1920s "the first age of the media, of book clubs, best-sellers, and record charts, of radios and talking pictures; by the end of the decade, one of every three Americans owned a radio and a record player, three out of four went to the movies at least once a week, and virtually no one was out of reach of advertising's voice."[14]

Of all the media she lists, radio did most to upset the balance of commercial interests represented by the existing popular culture of the time (with exception made for the movies). Even after radio, film was the "dominant, pervasive, nearly exclusive form of popular dramatic entertainment," Russel Nye says.[15] But while radio did not cut into the movies, it put the music business through some severe changes. Many radio stations, particularly those in the South, featured live music the day they went on the air.

The phonograph record industry suffered most from radio. The sound of live music transmitted electrically over the air was far superior to primitive acoustic recording methods and the scratchy sound produced by the available playback machines and disks of the time. Annual record sales fell from over a hundred million disks in the late 1920s to a meager six million in 1932 (a dramatic market loss of 94%), with some record companies dropping prices from seventy-five cents to thirty-five. "With so much music being dispensed free into the American home every day," David Ewen says, "the record business seemed doomed."[16]

The drop in record sales did, however, encourage activity in the smaller "specialty" markets, called Race and Hillbilly, which became important in America after World War II. Race music (black music in black styles by black performers for a black audience) first emerged in the record business in 1920; Hillbilly (Southern white working class music in Southern styles by white Southern performers) dates from 1923. These expanded fields proved fortuitous to some labels. The extraordinary sales of blues recordings by Bessie Smith in the mid-1920s, when not much else was selling for Columbia Records, are said to have saved the company from bankruptcy.[17]

As an industry, radio grew so large and so fast that the U.S. government missed out on early opportunities to regulate it. Beginning with five stations in 1920, by 1922 there were 500 stations in America (an increase of 10,000%!), and by the mid-'20s there were over one thousand. It was not until 1927 that the Federal Radio Commission (the early version of the FCC) reduced the number of stations and oversaw transmission standards. By that time, paid advertising (commercials) and network affiliations were standard practices. Annual sales of radio receivers, $60 million in 1922, grew to $800 million by 1929 (an increase of more than 13,000%), at which time there was a radio in every third home in America.[18] One phonograph trade magazine called radio not an industry but "an hysteria."[19] While phonographs outsold radios by a ratio of more than two to one in 1923, radios outsold phonographs almost four to one in 1925 and more than seventy-eight to one by 1931.[20]

The success of radio, partly due to its music programming, represented a clear and present danger to elements of the traditional music business. Songwriters and music publishers, for example, earned most of their money through

REA, "Little Girl by the radio."
Source: National Archives

mechanical rights fees, royalties attached to the sale of sheet music and records, but radio essentially gave music away free, and as such became the enemy. ASCAP, the American Society of Composers, Authors and Publishers, controlled roughly 90% of American popular music, collecting royalties for public performances of music its members had written or published ("performance rights" income). ASCAP had successfully sued hotels, restaurants, and other venues featuring live music in the previous decade, and in 1922 it billed individual radio stations for application licenses to perform ASCAP songs. An annual fee of $250 to $5,000 was determined by the transmitting power of the station, its location and audience size, and its profitability.[21] When stations refused to pay, ASCAP sued.

At first the radio industry denied it performed music at all ("a broadcast was the emission of radio waves"), but the federal courts ruled that all radio stations required a license from ASCAP to use its music.[22] By 1926, 322 commercial broadcast licenses contributed 25% of ASCAP's annual million-dollar income; the movies (this was another successful suit) contributed 50%, the lion's share.[23]

By the end of the 1920s elements of radio technology (electrical recording) were commonly employed in the phonograph record business, dramatically improving the quality of sound and making it possible for such light-voiced singers as Rudy Vallee and Bing Crosby to become both radio and recording stars. But in 1929, when RCA acquired Victor Records, it appeared to some that radio was such a formidable industry that it was now consuming its competition.[24] Radio penetrated virtually all homes, including low income ones; by 1933 even 36% of families with incomes under $1,000 annually owned one.[25] As the fourth largest industry in the nation in the 1930s, it was also responsible for the transmission of much of the country's commercial music: popular song, big band swing, and hillbilly barn dance, all performed live.[26] Playing records on the radio, as Al Jarvis began to do on his "World's Largest Make-Believe Ballroom" show on KWJB in Los Angeles in 1932 and Martin Block did on his "Make Believe Ballroom" show on WNEW in New York in 1935, however, eventually produced an alliance of recording artists and record companies against this new radio development on the grounds that it reduced record sales.

In 1938, bandleader Paul Whiteman successfully sued New York station WNEW in federal court in an attempt to control his own mechanically produced music. Whiteman's label, RCA Victor, joined the lawsuit and afterwards set licensing fees of $100 to $300 per month per station for the privilege of playing RCA records on the air. Columbia and Decca immediately followed suit. "Many people believed," Russell Sanjeck says, "that the record companies were really more interested in terminating all radio-station use of records than in collecting fees." Finally, at the end of 1940, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the term "for home use only" which appeared as a warning on all records did not protect them from radio airplay, making a future "golden age of the disk jockey" possible.[27]

By the end of the 1940s, ASCAP had enjoyed such a long standing monopoly on the performance rights of American songs that it overreached its power and made a strategic error by attempting to double its license fees from the radio industry. Radio executives considered the ASCAP demand outrageous and refused to discuss an agreement. As protection against such an

eventuality, six hundred radio stations had already founded their own competing licensing society, Broadcast Music Incorporated (BMI), and after December 31, 1940 these stations refused to play any ASCAP licensed tune. With the exception of some race and hillbilly tunes recorded and copyrighted as "unpublished songs" plus a handful of songs never heard before or copyrighted in the first place, virtually no popular song written after 1884 was played on the radio in 1941. There were no current tunes, no hits, no Broadway or movie songs. Instead, radio stations played only newly licensed BMI songs along with public domain material like Stephen Foster compositions. Older Americans still speak of radio music in 1941 as the year of "I Dream of Jeannie with the Light Brown Hair."

After the Justice Department charged ASCAP (along with BMI and the NBC and CBS radio networks) with anti-trust violations—frightening all parties—and after losing almost $300,000 a month in radio revenue from the lockout, ASCAP "surrendered in the great ASCAP-radio war."[28] By that time, BMI had its own stable of several hundred writers and publishers, the product of an open membership policy not restricted to New York or Hollywood writers that encouraged membership from professionals engaged in Race and Hillbilly music. Unlike ASCAP, whose formula for payments favored a small group of established songwriters (the Irving Berlins and Cole Porters), BMI proposed to pay fees to all writers and publishers strictly on the basis of logged performances.

Over the next fifteen years BMI's openness and fairness proved crucial. While ASCAP continued its exclusive possession of Broadway and Hollywood writers and publishers, BMI courted an emerging new audience that would some day demand the next generation of Race and Hillbilly music. At the time, however, World War II rationing and recycling policies disrupted business as usual. Radio and phonograph manufacturing for personal use ended in March 1942, and in April the annual production of records was fixed at 1940 rates with prices frozen at December 1941 levels. In addition, the government required consumers to trade in an old record in order to buy a new one so that the shellac could be recycled.

To complicate matters, the American Federation of Musicians saw an opportunity to draw the line against all parties employing technology that replaced live musicians. Led by the legendary union leader James Caesar Petrillo, the AFM had fought against recorded programming for many years. By unanimous vote in 1942, the union banned all recording sessions. Disk jockeys, it was alleged, had helped five hundred radio stations get along without hiring musicians; also guilty were movies and juke boxes.[29] One casualty of wartime scarcity on top of the AFM strike was Race music—dropped by major record companies since the small percentage of the market was insignificant in relation to mainstream popular music.

III

When *The Jazz Singer* (1927), a silent film with synchronized background music grossed an unprecedented three million dollars, and *Lights of New York* (1928), an all-talking but no music film grossed two million dollars, it was clear that the future of motion pictures lay in sound. Broadway Melody, the first "all talking, all singing, all dancing" movie musical, was released in 1929, with songs written exclusively for the movie. In 1929-1930, every Hollywood studio produced screen musicals, more than one hundred in all.[30] The power of Tin Pan Alley took a big hit with radio and then a giant one with talking pictures, as publishers and songwriters left New York for Hollywood, which soon took control over ASCAP. When radio went to war with ASCAP, Ian Whitcomb points out, "it was really defying Hollywood."[31]

The two main competitors for Americans' entertainment dollar between World War I and World War II were the movies and radio. Network radio by the middle of the 1930s scheduled eleven major types of programming, primarily drama (most of them serial), comedy (star vehicle and situation), crime-detective-mystery, adventure, musical, audience-participation, and variety shows.[32] Programs on NBC and CBS were broadcast live, (no recorded elements except sound effects) and performed twice—once for Eastern and Central time zones and three hours later for Rocky Mountain and

Pacific—many before studio audiences. MBS, the Mutual Broadcasting System, used recordings of speech in the production of its shows and was "considered second-rate because of this."[33] ABC did not exist until 1943, when it acquired NBC's second ("blue"), and inferior, network.[34]

Radio was such a part of daily American life that when a 1945 survey asked people if they had to choose between listening to the radio or going to the movies, 84% said they'd give up the movies. "Radio was to movies what automobiles were to streetcars," Robert Sklar explains.

> Not only that, but research revealed that regular radio listeners (heavy users) were more active with other media as well, that they also attended more movies and read more newspapers and magazines.[35]

Before television destroyed network radio by acquiring its programming concepts (including the thirty minute and one hour format), its stars, its advertisers, and even its specific shows, radio in the 1930s and '40s looked very much like network television today: talk shows in the morning, soap operas in the afternoon, and entertainment programs at night.

"The [radio] industry was fat and lazy," Nye says,

> giving the public exactly what ten years of success showed it wanted. Radio presented 22,000 different programs a day, seven-and-a-half million yearly, over almost one thousand stations, most of them making money.[36]

Most of the programming was old, however, accounting for the "granite permanence of much programming." In 1950, 108 programs were in their tenth or eleventh year, and twelve of them had been on for twenty years, "almost as old as network broadcasting."[37] After 1948, audience ratings dropped, advertising shrunk, and radio stars and programs were taken off the network radio feed and shifted to television. It all happened quite suddenly. During radio's fastest growing years its audiences increased by two million a year, but by the early 1950s television's

audience was increasing by five million annually. What propelled the new medium was the effectiveness of television commercials. An NBC study showed that TV advertising could, in a few weeks, increase the sales of a product from 48% to 200%.[38]

Television changed radio, but it was devastating to the movie business, once considered resistant to cultural or economic change. Nye argues that the movies brought American audiences to

> a level of sophistication in manners, speech, dress, morals, and social and ethical attitudes utterly unknown—and utterly undreamed of—by the preceding generation. The movies did not gradually become a mirror of life; rather, life became a mirror of the movies.[39]

Essentially, television did to the movies what radio had done to the record business twenty-five years earlier. "Television's inroads on movie audiences amounted to a catastrophe," Nye says, and instead of five to eight hundred pictures a year Hollywood by the mid-'50s only needed to make two hundred.[40] Even in cities with only one television station, movie attendance dropped 20% to 40%,[41] despite such innovations as Cinerama, 3-Dimension, CinemaScope, Todd-A-O, Vista Vision, and SuperScope—all attempts to hold on to a shrinking audience. Though people were attending fewer movies in the early 1950s, and total attendance took a considerable blow, a small number of popular films drew large crowds, and higher admission prices brought bigger profits for specific movies. "What was needed," Sklar says, "was a recognition of separate audiences and films catering to various levels of taste and intelligence."[42]

A major survey of the movie audience and its preferences conducted in 1957 revealed that youth under age nineteen, though only 38% of the population, represented 52% of total movie admissions. In addition, it was discovered that people who went to the movies most often (15% of the population) constituted 62% of the total admissions.[43] It is not surprising that one of the "separate audiences" identified by Hollywood film makers involved marketing movies with a

teenager's mind in mind: juvenile delinquency movies. There were sixty delinquency movies in the 1950s—depicting a cultural concern serious enough to provoke in 1955 a Senate Subcommitee investigation and approximately two hundred bills in Congress relating to the problem.[44]

This would now be the basis for First Wave American Youth Culture: teenagers were targeted as a market, and the success of that marketing determined future cultural products. Successful movies directed at teens yielded more movies directed at teens. After all, Peter Biskind says,

> In the fifties, [movies] told us how to dress for a rumble or a board meeting, how far to go on the first date, what to think about Martians or, closer to home, Jews, blacks, and homosexuals. They taught girls whether they should have husbands or careers, boys whether to pursue work or pleasure. They told us what was right and what was wrong, what was good and what was bad; they defined our problems and suggested solutions.[45]

IV

As television penetrated further and faster into American households (by 1954 there were 34,500,000 sets) network radio began to dry up. Successful radio entertainment programs simply moved from NBC or CBS radio to NBC or CBS television. With a diminished network feed, affiliate stations began to do what independent stations had been doing since 1947: hiring disk jockeys to play records. By 1954, an estimated two thousand deejays were on the air, spinning records for local segmented audiences and studying trade papers like Variety, Broadcasting, and especially Billboard to see what other deejays were playing for similar audiences.[46]

Most American teens had their own record players by then. Five years earlier, RCA Victor introduced the 7-inch 45 rpm record and a six-pound plastic turntable/changer that sold for under $35—"the first integrated program of record and player planning and design in the history of the industry."[47] Though other record labels initially balked at producing records in this

format, its promise could not be denied. By the mid-'50s, the 45 rpm record player, often a Christmas present and generally residing in an adolescent's bedroom, was the hardware of choice among teenage record buyers.

Billboard covered the new records the most extensively, including popularity charts for Pop music (most of the music business), Race (called Rhythm & Blues after 1949), and Hillbilly (called Country & Western after 1949) as well as the respected "Honor Roll of Hits." Sections of the country were broken down by "territories" and separate charts maintained for record sales, radio airplay, and juke box performances. The action worked like this: One or two deejays could make a song a hit in Cleveland, for example, giving it enough attention to be played in Chicago or Detroit. Midwest popularity could get the record played in the East or the West, finally moving it into national popularity. When the momentum faltered, a new record took its place. The recording business and radio, enemies for more than a quarter-century, established an alliance.

One of the segmented audiences loyal to both radio and the record business was made up of white teenagers who loved black Rhythm & Blues. Though this "Negro music" made up a mere 5.7% of total American record sales,[48] by April 1954 it had "blossomed into one of the fastest growing areas of the entire record business," Billboard reported. More than seven hundred disk jockeys played R&B exclusively, more than seventy-five labels released one thousand R&B records a year, and teens "spearheaded the current swing."[49] In an editorial, Billboard noted that the "rhythm and blues field has caught the ear of the nation. It is no longer the stepchild of the record business."[50]

In the Fall of 1954, teenage passion for this R&B beat, sound, and/or musical arrangement was reflected in almost 20% of all records made by pop artists—an astounding figure driven by demand. "The kids," R&B columnist Bob Rolontz explained, "have indicated that they want the music with a beat."[51] The "kids" were also turning out to be increasingly important to the recording industry because they bought so many records. Record companies learned that they could not rely on adult customers. According to

a 1954 survey made for Columbia, only half of U.S. families owned a phonograph, and only one-eighth bought even one record a year.[52]

In addition, high school students ("generally conceded to be the biggest segment of pop record buyers") had their own preferences in deejays. "The rhythm and blues craze undoubtedly is responsible for Alan Freed's popularity with the teen age set," Billboard speculated, since Freed was the number two deejay among youth but not even in the top sixteen in terms of the general audience.[53] A national poll conducted by the Teen-Age Survey Service determined that teenagers were the radio disk jockey's "best friend." Almost 100 percent of teenagers owned a radio, it was discovered, and 83 percent favored "deejay and pop music programs" over any other type. A Starch survey commissioned by NBC revealed that while almost half of all youth over ten years old in America listened to the radio at night, two-thirds watched no television at all.[54]

Certainly, television changed what Americans did after dinner. For adults, the new behavior led to watching network television in the privacy of their homes. For teens it led to listening to the radio, where some of them for the first time in their lives heard Rhythm & Blues, a kind of music that was, all at once, as Richard Pielke remembers as a teenager in Baltimore, "raw, sexy exciting, gutsy, angry, scary and unquestionably dangerous." The experience of listening to Lloyd Price's "Lawdy Miss Clawdy," the Chords' "Sh-Boom," and the Dominoes' "Sixty Minute Man" may have created "a gap of understanding" between his generation and his parent's, but "for the first time in my life, I felt a [camaraderie] with my peers that I had never believed possible."[55]

For adults, the TV shows may have been familiar in form and style, but the new radio was refreshing and exciting for teens. As early as 1949 (or as late as 1955), Todd Storz invented a radio format called Top 40 when he "ditched" network programming for music at KOWH Omaha and duplicated the success at WTIX in New Orleans. Storz's tight play lists of his listener's favorite records (with heavy rotation of the top records), short deejay introductions, jingles, high-energy musical station identifications, sound effects, and

never-ending listener contests made radio exciting.[56] The most influential deejay of the early 1950s, however, was Alan Freed, who played Rhythm & Blues for white teens at WJW Cleveland in 1951 and at WINS New York in 1954 on his show called "The Rock 'n' Roll Party." It did not hurt that the term rock 'n' roll was a euphemism in black music for sex.[57]

V

In the Season of 1954-55, Rhythm & Blues/ rock 'n' roll exploded; Elvis Presley entered the Sun Records studio in Memphis, Chuck Berry recorded "Maybellene" for Chess in Chicago, Little Richard made his first Specialty record in New Orleans, and Decca's Bill Haley and the Comets had a Top Ten hit with "Shake, Rattle, and Roll" and a Number One with the first international rock 'n' roll song, "Rock Around the Clock." Major (white) record labels tried to copy (cover) R&B songs that year, but finally white teens insisted on the specific performances of the real thing.[58] In the movies, "Rock Around the Clock" surfaced behind the credits for *Blackboard Jungle* (starring Sidney Poitier), forever linking rock 'n' roll with adolescent rebellion. Other youth-marketed films like *Wild One* (starring Marlon Brando) and *Rebel Without A Cause* (starring James Dean) exploited this theme as well, adding to it a vision of the world in which youth are morally superior to adult society. In *Rebel*, the entire movie is shot through the consciousness of a confused high school student trying to teach his father how to be a man.

First Wave American Youth Culture emerged suddenly in the Season of 1954-55, surprising all adults, including professional broadcasters and record company executives. Although it did not last long, it is appropriate here to pay tribute to the special generation of white Americans who pushed the cultural envelope, who demanded, and got, what their parents, grandparents, teachers, judges, police officers, ministers, and government officials not only did not want them to have but did not want them to want: African American culture. This victory proved to be significant over the next fifteen years of the Civil Rights Movement, especially in the Deep South, where the generational transmission of traditional

attitudes toward race was permanently interrupted. A perfect metaphor for this change is a story Michael Bertrand tells in *Race, Rock, and Elvis*. On July 4, 1956, Segregationist Senator James Eastland of Mississippi drew an audience of 3,500 white adults at the Overton Park Shell in Memphis "to hear Eastland rail against the Supreme Court, school integration, and . . . racial amalgamation." At the same time, two miles west at Russwood Park, Elvis Presley was performing before 14,000 "screaming teenagers, both black and white."[59]

By 1958, however, with Elvis in the Army, Chuck Berry in legal trouble, Little Richard in Bible School, and Bill Haley passé, professional businessmen and conservative interests regained control over the youth media and modified the marketing to an even younger target audience—the Baby Boom brothers and sisters of the group that had caused them the most difficulty and astonishment. Rock 'n' roll then turned into "Rock and Roll,"[60] featuring nice looking boys like Fabian, Bobby Rydell, and Frankie Avalon singing high school songs to pre-pubescent seventh graders on Dick Clark's American Bandstand. James Dean was dead, of course, but beach blanket movies with hit song titles were in. First Wave American Youth Culture was clearly over, but John Lennon, Paul McCartney, George Harrison, and Ringo Starr participated in it fully.[61] Together, they would get credit for launching the Second Wave.

Notes

1. I take the descriptors from James Gilbert, *A Cycle of Outrage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). He uses "a new commercialized adolescent peer culture"(5) and later in the book "national, commercialized peer culture" (79). I prefer the term with all four adjectives: national, commercialized, adolescent, and peer. Together, they describe First Wave American Youth Culture.

2. William L. O'Neill, *American High* (New York: Free Press, 1986), 212.

3. See Caroline Bird, *The Invisible Scar* (New York: David McKay, 1966).

4. O'Neill, 3.

5. U.S. Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970, Bicentennial Edition, Part 1 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975), 49.

6. "Average Teen-Ager Gets $8.96 a Week," *Science Digest*, December 1956, 42.

7. The British passion belongs to Ian Whitcomb, *Rock Odyssey* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday Dolphin, 1983), 12.

8. See James M. Salem, "Johnny Ace: A Case Study in the Diffusion and Transformation of Minority Culture," *Prospects: An Annual of American Cultural Studies*, 17 (1992): 211-241 and *The Late Great Johnny Ace and the Transition from R&B to Rock 'n' Roll* (Chicago & Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

9. Ian Whitcomb, *After the Ball: Pop Music from Rag to Rock* (New York: Penguin Books, 1972), 4.

10. Russel Nye, *The Unembarrassed Muse* (New York: Dial Press, 1970), 322.

11. Jana Lyn Hyde, "Adversaries to Allies: The Radio-Recording Industry Relationship, 1920-1950," (Ph.D. diss., University of Alabama, 1994), 40, citing "Phonograph Rivals Motor Car's Vogue," New York Times, 22 January 1922, sec. II, 13.

12. David Ewen, *All the Years of American Popular Music* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1977), 275.

13. Gilman Ostrander, *American Civilization in the First Machine Age: 1890-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1970), 239.

14. Ann Douglas, *Terrible Honesty* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1995), 20.

15. Nye, 373.

16. Ewen, 283.

17. Ibid., 257.

18. Ibid., 281.

19. Hyde, 60, citing "The Latest Radio Events," *Phonograph and Talking Machine Weekly*, 26 April 1922, 5.

20. Ibid., 63.

21. Russell Sanjek, *American Popular Music and Its Business*, Vol. 3, From 1900 to 1984 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 79.

22. Ewen, 302.

23. Sanjeck, 85.

24. Whitcomb, *After the Ball*, 100.

25. Hyde, 53.

26. Ewen, 286.

27. Sanjek,143-46.

28. Russell Sanjek, *From Print to Plastic: Publishing and Promoting America's Popular Music (1900-1980)* (Brooklyn, NY: Institute for Studies in American Music, 1983), I.S.A.M. Monographs no. 20, 26.

29. Eric Barnouw, *The Golden Web: A History of Broadcasting from 1933 to 1953* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 218.

30. Ewen, 382-84.

31. Whitcomb, *After the Ball*, 119.

32. Nye, 399-400.

33. Barnouw, 109.

34. Ibid., 190.

35. Robert Sklar, *Movie-Made America* (New York: Random House, 1975), 269-70.

36. Nye, 398.

37. Barnouw, 284-85.

38. Ibid., 404-408.

39. Ibid., 373.

40. Ibid., 385.

41. David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1993), 185.

42. Sklar, 286-93.

43. See Garth Jowett, *Film: The Democratic Art* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1976), Appendices 8 and 11, 476-78.

44. Gilbert, 64.

45. Peter Biskind, *Seeing Is Believing* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), 2.

46. Hyde, 249.

47. James W. Murray, "Standardization and RCA," *Saturday Review of Literature*, 29 Jan 1949, 49. Also see "Victor Unveils Small Disc, New Turntable and Changer," *Musical America*, 15 Jan 1949, 34.

48. Charlie Gillett, *The Sound of the City: The Rise of Rock and Roll*, Revised and expanded ed. (New York: Pantheon, 1983), 14.

49. Bob Rolontz and Joel Friedman, "Teen-Agers Demand Music With a Beat, Spur Rhythm-Blues," *Billboard*, 24 April 1954, 1, 18, 24.

50. "Bursting Old Barriers, *Billboard*, 24 April 1954, 13.

51. Bob Rolontz, "Rhythm and Blues Notes," *Billboard*, 23 October 1954, 18.

52. "50% of U.S. Homes Own Phonos; 1/8 Buy Disks," *Billboard*, 23 October 1954, 13.

53. June Bundy, "DJ Surveys Show Top Jocks May Not Be Best Pluggers," *Billboard*, 5 February 1955, 14.

54. "Kids Prefer Radios's DJ for Entertainment," *Billboard*, 5 February 1955, 15, 18.

55. Robert G. Pielke, *You Say You Want A Revolution: Rock Music in American Culture* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1986), 64-65.

56. The exact year and sequence of events is unclear. See Sanjek, *Business*, 442; Ben Fong Torres, *The Hits Just Keep On Coming* (San Francisco: Miller Freeman Books, 1998) 38-40; and Torres's "Like a Rolling Stone Richard Fatherly Knows Best," www.reelradio.com <http://www.americantop40.com/storz/index.html>

57. See John A. Jackson, *Big Beat Heat: Alan Freed and the Early Years of Rock & Roll* (New York: Macmillan, 1991).

58. See James M. Salem, "Johnny Ace and the Third Revolution in American Popular Music," asi: American Studies Interlink Ce de Estudios Norteamericanos, Univ. Alcala, Numero cinco, <http://www2.alcala.es/asi/, September 1999>

59. Michael T. Bertrand, *Race, Rock, and Elvis* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2000), 242.

60. The names for rock 'n' roll styles are from Gillett, 3. (For him, the music turned to "Rock" after the British Invasion of 1964.)

61. In my lecture on the Beatles and the British Invasion in AMS 150, the introductory course to American Studies at the University of Alabama, I characterize Liverpool in the late 1950s as a hotbed of

First Wave American Youth Culture. The individual Beatles have seen James Dean in *Rebel Without a Cause* and Sidney Poitier in *Blackboard Jungle*. In my own version of "aural history," I play the following songs: Elvis Presley's "That's All Right, Mama" (1954) and the cover version by the Beatles; Little Richard's "Long Tall Sally" (1956) and the cover version by the Beatles; and Buddy Holly and the Crickets' "That'll Be the Day" (1957) along with the Beatles' cover. These live Beatles' recordings, taken from performances in Hamburg clubs or at the Cavern in Liverpool, feature the identical arrangements, harmonies, and guitar solos of the originals.

Dr. James M. Salem is professor and chair of the Department of American Studies at the University of Alabama. One of the courses he regularly teaches is a junior-level class titled "American Youth Culture." His main focus of research is on the 1950s and his most prestigious publication is a volume in the Music in American Life series: *The Late Great Johnny Ace and the Transition from R&B to Rock and Roll* (Chicago & Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999)

Campground and Kinship Cultures:
White Protestant and African American Youth Programs, 1930-1990

Jon Pahl

The fault of "youth" lies, then, not in youth at all but with those to whom it has been asked to look: to its elders, the leaders, the professors who, when they are honest, acknowledge that they really know next to nothing at all.
　　—William Carlos Williams

Despite ample sources and potential paradigms, historians have not yet studied the role of age in religious history.[1] Nearly every other contingency—race, gender, class, and culture—has been promoted as a vital, even determinative, interpretive focus. But historians of religion have not yet assessed the way biological age determines spiritual paths, nor the way age is socially constructed and understood by believers in and across different periods and contexts. Even more curious is the lack of attention by historians to the development and significance of age-specific religious institutions and cultures. My focus in this paper will be on the category of adolescence or youth, which, at least since the founding of the Y.M.C.A. in 1852 and the Y.W.C.A. in 1872, has been the target of specialized attention by churches across the globe, and especially in the U.S.[2] I will draw brief portraits of developments in two contextualized settings of youth ministry—one white Protestant and one African American—to suggest commonalities and differences over the past sixty years, and to move toward a history of what might be called the "religion of youth" in American culture.[3]

From Walther League to Holden Village: A "Stehekin" of the Church

The category of adolescence or "youth" was developed by white Protestants in the United States, as described by Joseph Kett in his classic study Rites of Passage: Adolesence in America, 1790 to the present. Americans, Kett has argued, created a "separate sphere for youth in the same way that Victorian moralism sanctioned a separate

sphere for women."[4] Kett quotes approvingly from a 1939 study of youth in "Elmtown"—a small midwestern city—to make his case:

> By segregating young people into special institutions such as the school, Sunday school, and later into youth organizations such as Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts for a few hours each week, adults apparently hope that the adolescent will be spared the shock of learning the contradictions of the culture. At the same time, they believe that these institutions are building a mysterious something variously called "citizenship," "leadership," or "character," which will keep the boy or girl from being "tempted" by the "pleasures" of adult life. Thus the youth-training institutions provided by the culture are essentially negative in their objectives, for they segregate adolescents from the real world that adults know and function in. By trying to keep the maturing child ignorant of this world of conflict and contradictions, adults think they are keeping them pure.[5]

Societies such as the nondenominational Christian Endeavor, the Methodist Epworth League, and the Lutheran Walther League were, in part, typical of the institutional effort by Protestants to isolate and protect their young.[6] By the time Jim Rayburn founded "Young Life" in 1942 and Billy Graham began to lead "Youth for Christ" a year later, this institutional configuration—what might be called the "League" or "Society" model for youth work—predominated across white Protestant denominational and nondenominational youth work in the United States.[7]

Since the 1960s, however, this pattern for youth ministry has, in many settings, broken down.[8] The history of Lutherans—an odd group of Protestants who bridge in many ways both

mainline and evangelical streams—is illustrative in this regard. All of the Lutheran denominations had youth programs organized around the league model up to 1960.[9] In the sixties, all of these organizations underwent reorganization, declined, or faded into oblivion.[10] For instance, between 1968 and 1975 the Lutheran Church Missouri-Synod reduced its budget for youth ministry from $330,000 to $185,000, and its youth organization—the Walther League—folded.[11] Out of the reorganization, however, came not only new (and largely ineffective) attempts to re-create the segregationist programs of the early twentieth-century, but also novel experiments in inter-generational ministry with and for youth. One example is the development of Holden Village, near Chelan, Washington.

The site for Holden Village—an old mining camp nestled amid the Cascade Glacial Wilderness—was acquired as a gift to a group of Lutheran laity and clergy in 1962. Among the early leaders were the directors of the youth leagues in the major Lutheran denominations in the U.S. These leaders stated that Holden should be "a Lutheran center where youth and adults interested in youth may find spiritual, intellectual, and physical renewal for Kingdom service."[12] Holden thus began as a typical "separate spheres" camp to train youth and youth leaders.

Holden changed gradually from a segregated youth program into an inter-generational village. The change was determined in part by the reorganization of the Lutheran youth agencies, but was also an intended development. Vern Rieke, the first chair of the Holden Board of Directors, recalls that

> the family orientation for Holden was ...promoted by young adults themselves. Whether serving as volunteer staff or participating in the "stehekin" program, the young adults strongly argued for a trans-generational village.[13]

The "stehekin" program to which Rieke refers was the first study program instituted by the leaders of the Lutheran youth leagues, and took its name from an Indian word for "the way through."

The function of Holden as a "stehekin" for youth has been clear enough. Mark Lundholm, for example, remembers that as a villager in his late teens during the early Vietnam years, "Holden gave some of us permission to question whether our government was doing the right things."[14] Ann Hafften, a volunteer during the seventies and now on Holden's Board, remembers that:

> I was 21 when I went [to Holden for the first time], and had just finished college at a non-Lutheran school. Holden was a way of recovering my identity in the Lutheran family.

And Dave Michel, a volunteer in the early eighties, adds that "Holden helped me to discover that spoon-fed Christianity would never cut it for me. It gave me a deepened understanding of my commitment to the gospel." In short, summarizes one villager:

> experiences at Holden have helped many volunteers to find their occupations—cooks, carpenters, science people, even fire-fighters, as well as clergy and others in the humanities.[15]

Holden continues to function as a "way through" for youth, then, but it also is a place for anyone undertaking a passage. Over four hundred "villagers" of all ages come to Washington during the peak summer months to participate in common meals, morning and afternoon studies and discussions, hikes, fishing, and evening vespers. The "Holden Prayer," as it is commonly called, aptly describes the function of the camp for any seeker:

> O Lord God, who has called us, your servants,
> to ventures of which we cannot see the ending,
> by paths as yet untrodden, through perils unknown,
> Give us faith to go out with good courage, not knowing
> where we go, but only that your hand is leading us,
> and your love supporting us.
> Through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.[16]

The current official statement of purpose for Holden Village is thereby couched in terms that specifically avoid ageist assumptions, while still holding to the function of Holden as a place of passage. Holden Village will, it reads:

> provide a community for healing, renewal, and refreshment of people through worship, intercession, study, humor, work, recreation, and conversation in a climate of mutual acceptance under the Lordship of Jesus Christ. The purpose of this community is to participate in the renewal of the church and the world by proclaiming the gospel of God's unconditional love in Jesus Christ; rehabilitating and equiping people for ministry in the world; lifting up a vision of God's kingdom of peace, justice, and wholeness; and celebrating the unity and the diversity of the church, all humanity, and all creation.[17]

Out of the demise of the league model for youth in Lutheranism in the sixties, in short, has come an inter-generational ministry involving youth, in which people gather together to undertake passages.

### From Bored Resentment to Finding the Future Now: Grace Church

For obvious reasons, the segregation of African American Christian youth in the twentieth-century has differed in both motive and function from that of whites, and has been both deeper and more durable.[18] Nevertheless, prior to the sixties the youth programs of historically black churches often followed the league model established by white churches.[19] Grant Schockley observes that:

> those [youth] programs that did exist [in black churches] were conventional, imitative of white models, poorly attended, and were, for the most part, socially marginal. Historically, black and white youth programs had developed separately, but most black youth programs were still [in 1960] indistinguishable from their white counterparts

in educational philosophy, goals, strategy, program, and leadership style.[20]

For instance, separate black Y.M.C.A.s and Y.W.C.A.s existed in most major urban centers, the AME Church had its own "Allen Christian Endeavor Society," and many black National Baptists allied their societies with the Baptist Young People's Union of the Southern Baptist Convention.[21]

The sixties were also, however, a turning point in African American youth ministry. The growth of
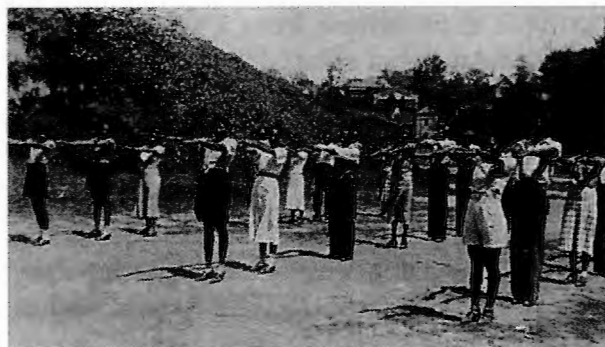
Class in physical education at Vicksburg Negro High School, 1936. Source: National Archives

the Nation of Islam and youth-led organizations such as the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee forever altered all varieties of imitative and thereby segregationist models for church work with youth.[22] On the local level, especially, since the sixties African Americans have deepened the traditional kinship network of the church in order to emphasize an inter-generational ministry with and by youth.[23]

For example, William R. Myers has carefully described the setting of youth ministry at "Grace Church," a middle-class, urban, African American congregation in a midwestern city with about 5,000 members. The church takes as its motto: "Unashamedly black, unapologetically Christian." The pastor of Grace Church contrasts the "kinship model" of youth ministry favored in his church with that of the "corporate model" favored in many denominations:

> [Corporate] models fragment the church. When a church hires a professional youth minister to 'do' youth ministry, that youth minister has been hired to run a second church, a 'youth only church,' alongside the

intergenerational church....Youth in this model start relating to just the youth minister; they don't relate to the ministries and the ministers of the church. Such youth ministry tends to promote a kind of 'us' versus 'them' mentality, never the 'we' of the church; never the belongingness.[24]

Consequently, Grace's

kinship model for youth ministry centers on inter-generational, communal worship, and the empowerment of adolescents who can critique their culture from a theological, African-American stance."[25]

Along with traditional programs such as youth groups, choirs, and young ushers, Grace Church intentionally involves young adults in the worship of the church. The pastor routinely reads the report cards of young congregants from the pulpit, young people regularly read the lessons, and at least once a month, during "Youth Sunday," youth preach. One youth reflects: "[When] I actually preached, and everybody supported me in doing that....It seems like I have five thousand parents, all watching me, because it seems like I know everybody.[26] Here, the character of Grace Church as a "kinship network" for youth could not be clearer.

"Youth Sunday" involves young people in the entire process of the liturgy—opening prayers, choir ("The Young Warriors"), solos, readings, sermon, and benediction. Throughout, young people are formed in a many-layered reality of both spiritual and political power. For instance, a High School senior named "Roberta" preached one "Youth Sunday" on King Ahab's need for political advice (I Kings 21):

Here we have four hundred prophets, all worried about keeping their jobs, holding those influence-producing long lunches, staying on the King's good side, and getting promoted; they had their own agenda....We should beware of people who have their own agendas....Some of today's educators comprise a myopic minority, a group who have internalized a completely Euro-centric world view and who look on anything

African with suspicion and disgust. . . . [and therefore] . . . mutilate our mentality and pervert our personality. Either they don't care, don't want to make waves, or are so brainwashed that they believe the racist lies they perpetuate upon our youth. Whatever the reason, they steal our education from us and turn us out of schools ready to serve the needs of the military-industrial system. Beware, Grace Church, of folk like these teachers—a myopic minority—who have their own agendas."[27] "Having their own agendas" is, in short, a description of the segregationist educational and formational patterns of many past and present programs and institutions for youth.

To be sure, Grace Church continues many of the outward trappings of the former pattern of youth ministry. Two of the church's fourteen professional staff, for instance, are designated to specialize in "youth."[28] But what one observer of the black church called "the trinity that had bored into resentment and departure so many... Youth Choir, Junior Usher Board, and...Young People's Union," has clearly been superseded.[29] As another youth member of Grace Church remarked: "[This] Church gives us the future, now. If you're told you're the future, but you just sit in the pew, then...who cares?"[30] The intentional deepening since the sixties of this inter-generational, kinship pattern of youth ministry at Grace Church reflects, in short, the intentions of this church to be both "unashamedly black" and "unapologetically Christian."

Campground and Kinship Cultures

These two developments are not, of course, the only directions in which youth ministry has gone since the sixties, and they may not be representative. They are, I hope, illustrative of some commonalities, differences, and trends. Both white and African American youth programs underwent dramatic changes in the crucible of the nineteen sixties, abandoning in many ways the "league model" and its separate spheres mentality that isolates youth into a discrete cohort.[31] Many white and African American churches now seek to provide inter-generational educational and formational experiences for young people—

liturgical involvement, discussion forums, or practical work—that form in them a Christian identity not by taking them away from the conflicts of American culture, but by taking them directly into those conflicts.[32]

For instance, both white and African American churches now frequently involve young people in "community service" projects of some form.[33] Southern Baptists, for instance, describe strengths and weaknesses of more than two dozen such service projects in two volumes, interestingly entitled Successes in Southern Baptist Youth Ministry and More Successes. The range of possibilities is vast: "Foreign Student Exchange;" "Collecting Canned Goods;" "Providing Recreation for Handicapped Children;" "On-going Ministry to the Homeless;" and so on.[34] Other churches have developed corresponding, and more ambitious, "servant-events" in conjunction with Habitat for Humanity, Bread for the World, and other international and urban relief organizations.[35] Yet others have developed institutional programs to ground these events, including volunteer corps, job training, shelters, food pantries, and others.[36] These programs are intended to form in young people a Christian identity which includes participation in America's extensive (and often church-related) voluntary agencies.[37] Far from segregating young people from the conflicts of American society, these programs take youth (even if briefly) into those conflicts in a way that encourages them to become part of their solution.[38]

Another commonality across the two settings is a tendency to respect the autonomy of youth as agents. Young people have to choose on their own to come to Holden Village; there is no specific program for them apart from the ordinary operation of the village. Similarly, the youth of Grace Church choose to participate as readers or preachers in Youth Sunday, and their active involvement in other leadership capacities is encouraged and supported.[39] One observer notes that "the contemporary emphasis in youth ministry assumes that youth are genuine members of the religious body. A congregation implementing this point of view will think in terms of ministry with and by youth as well as for youth."[40] This transformation of youth ministry

from what might be called programmatic unity to what might be called a pragmatic diversity reflects a wider change in the understanding of youth across American culture.[41]

It would be a mistake, however, to underestimate the durability and continuity of the league model and its segregationist intent and function. The professionalization of youth ministry has grown rather than diminished since the sixties, and separate youth ministries and youth groups continue to flourish across the United States.[42] Among Southern Baptists, for instance, the first full-time youth director was appointed in 1937 at Third Baptist Church, St. Louis. According to Dean Borgman, this was "among the first of that profession" which now numbers in the tens of thousands.[43] Even African American congregations continue to sponsor as their primary outreach to adolescents "youth group activities" such as choir, scouts, and clubs.[44] This professionalization of discrete youth ministry programs may in many ways be market-driven, mirroring the way young consumers are targeted by advertisers.[45]

Similarly, many of the thousands of Christian campgrounds across the country retain explicitly the segregationist and purity program described and critiqued by Kett. Randall Balmer, for instance, has described both his experiences as a youth at Bible camp, and the contemporary manifestation of this mentality at "Word of Life" camp in upstate New York. As Balmer writes: at these camps

> the way of salvation seemed to lay in subscribing to a set of doctrines and then hewing to strict standards of morality, usually expressed in negative terms: Don't dance, drink, smoke, swear, or attend movies.[46]

Here, conformity to the moralism of American popular culture seems to be the preferred identity held up for Christian youth.[47]

The same conformity holds true for a predecessor and variant on the camp-in-nature experience. This is the convention, rally, or specialized "gathering" for youth, first developed

by para-church and denominational youth organizations such as Christian Endeavor and the Walther League, and refined by Youth for Christ, Young Life, and others. Originally, these gatherings were patterned after political or denominational conventions, and included along with "business" sessions standard "worship" of various stripes—liturgical to revivalist. As such, they served as effective tools to educate immigrants into both the democratic processes of American culture and denominational heritages.[48] Contemporary youth rallies and gatherings, by way of contrast, often leave theology, politics and business behind and use entertainment to entice Christian commitment.[49] These spectacle-driven gatherings thus can reflect what sociologist Tony Compolo has called "the suburban captivity of youth work," in a fine reflection of Kett's twenty-five year old critique.[50]

Most generally, then, among white Protestants, spatial relations continue to dominate the education and formation of young people into Christianity. White Protestants educate and form their youth by engaging them with places; a "campground" is perhaps the most fitting metaphor for the subculture envisioned. And here Kett's critique still bears much truth: youth have to be removed from mainstream culture in order to be educated into, experience, or understand Christian maturity. Christian maturity is attained via a passage, a retreat, or a pilgrimage from one place to another. Consequently, moving young people around helps prepare them to attain (or preserve) a preferred identity.

By way of contrast, African Americans have favored temporal relations—the most notable of which is the link between people across time through common ethnicity—in their educational programs for youth. African American Protestants thus educate and form their youth most effectively by involving them with times; kinship is the most fitting metaphor for the subculture envisioned. Here, Kett's critique is ironically reversed: youth already removed from mainstream culture are sustained in a community that links them to a past, present and future. Christian maturity is attained via participation in the rites of an existent and enduring community. Consequently, not moving young people around, but

uniting them with a community of resistance and survival helps prepare them to attain (or preserve) a preferred identity.[51] Maturity is not so much a matter of passing through one place to another as it is belonging to a community of kin.[52]

The causes and consequences of these developments in the history of youth ministry are complex, for the youth ministry programs of America's churches have both emerged from and transformed the broader popular culture. These programs have ranged from culturally accommodating, to selectively accepting, to resistant, but the simple fact that institutions have developed within the church to focus upon youth lent legitimacy to the category and made it a convention.[53] The historical effects of this attention to youth are largely uncharted, but symbolic traditions such as biblical narrative, music, iconography, and doctrine have increasingly attenuated as youth find themselves, amidst the perpetual passages and transitory attachments of their long liminality, the unwitting and unprepared arbiters of truth, goodness, and beauty in America.[54]

Notes

1. Anthropologists have done considerable work on rites of passage, notably Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* Tr. by Monika B. Vizedom and Gabrielle L. Caffee (London: Routledge, 1909) and the many works of Victor Turner, notably *The Ritual Process: Structure and Anti-Structure* (Chicago: Aldine, 1969). Psychologists have studied the "typical" stages of individual development, notably James W. Fowler, *Stages of Faith: The Psychology of Human Development and the Quest for Meaning* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1981) and Sharon Parks, *The Critical Years: The Young Adult Search for a Faith to Live By* (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1986). The social-historical study of age in history fits well with an emerging new paradigm that focuses on the growth of pluralism, structural adaptation, and personal empowerment as characteristic features of religion in the situation of official religious disestablishment in the United States. See R. Stephen Warner, "Work in Progress toward a New Paradigm for the Sociological Study of Religion in the United States," in *American Journal of Sociology*, 98 (March, 1993): 1044-93. Historians have a wealth of primary sources available to them in denominational sources (most major youth leagues published their own journals), along with the autobiographies and diaries of individual leaders and members.

2. C. Howard Hopkins, *History of the Y.M.C.A. in North America* (New York, 1951); Elizabeth Wilson,

Fifty Years of Work Among Young Women, 1866-1916 (New York, 1916); M.S. Sims, *The Y.W.C.A.: An Unfolding Purpose* (New York, 1950). The category of youth is also significant on an individual, as well as an institutional, level. Wade Clark Roof notes how "research shows that Americans of all ages, when asked about important events, recall as especially important memories of events and changes that refer back largely to a time when they were in their teens or early twenties," in *A Generation of Seekers: The Spiritual Journeys of the Baby Boom Generation* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993), p. 3.

3. For the purpose of clarity, I take the period of youth to mean roughly the age of puberty—12 or 13—to the age of (first) marriage and parenthood—roughly mid-to-late twenties. The category of "youth" has been highly malleable over the course of the twentieth century, but generally has moved steadily younger (in part under the influence of increasing public and higher education, in part due to increasing sexual precocity). See John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975* (Berkeley: University of California, 1989), and Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

4. Joseph F. Kett, *Rites of Passage: Adolesence in America, 1790 to the present* (New York: Basic Books, 1977), p. 271.

5. August de B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth: The Impact of Social Class on Adolescents* (New York, 1949), pp. 272, 298, as cited by Kett, *Rites of Passage*, p. 253.

6. No history of the Epworth League exists, to my knowledge. A popular history of Epworth Forest—the central "camp" of the League—was published in the early '70s. See W. B. Freeland and Orrin Manifold, *Epworth Forest: The First Fifty Years* (Winona Lake, IN: Light and Life Press, 1974). On the "purity" motif in youth work, see Kenneth S. Latourette, *World Service: A History of the Foreign Work and World Service of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States and Canada* (New York, 1957), for another side of the story.

7. The best survey of these movements is Bruce Shelley, "The Rise of Evangelical Youth Movements, in *Fides et Historia*, 18(1986): 47-63. See also Emile Cailliet, *Young Life* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963) and Jim Rayburn, *Dance Children, Dance* (Wheaton, IL: Tyndale, 1984).

8. For instance, probably the best known youth movement in the history of Christianity, the Student Volunteer Movement (led by John R. Mott in the late nineteenth-century under the motto the "evangelization of the world in this generation" was unceremoniously disbanded in 1969. See *Christianity Today*, 13(March 28, 1969): 611. The demise of these agencies during what Charles Reich dubbed "the greening of America" and just as *Time* magazine named youth under 25 "Man

of the Year" for 1966 is ironic, at the least. See Charles Reich, *The Greening of America* (New York: Random House, 1970), and *Time* (January 6, 1967).

9. Clarence E. Peters, "Developments of the Youth Programs of the Lutheran Churches in America," (Th.D. Dissertation, Concordia Seminary, St. Louis, 1951).

10. Jon Pahl, *Hopes and Dreams of All: The International Walther League and Lutheran Youth in American Culture, 1893-1993* (Chicago: Wheat Ridge Ministries, 1993).

11. Ibid., p. 291.

12. Charles P. Lutz, *Surprising Gift: The Story of Holden Village, Church Renewal Center* (Chelan, WA: Holden Village Press, 1987), p. 41.

13. Ibid., p. 58.

14. Ibid., pp. 85-86.

15. Ibid., pp. 86-7.

16. Lutz, p. 11.

17. Ibid., p. 16.

18. See Bart Landry, *The New Black Middle Class* (Berkeley: University of California, 1987), who documents the durability of segregationist patterns despite upward social mobility. More pointedly, Lawrence Mamiya identifies the de jure segregation of young African American males in America's prisons. See C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 323.

19. Carter G. Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church*, 3rd. ed. (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1972); *The Rural Negro* (New York: Russell and Russell, [1930] repr., 1969).

20. Charles R. Foster and Grant S. Shockley, eds. *Working with Black Youth: Opportunities for Christian Ministry* (Nashville: Abingdon, 1989), p. 23.

21. Schockley, p. 12.

22. See among others Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), and Emily Stoper, *The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee: The Growth of Radicalism in a Civil Rights Organization* (New York: Carlson, 1989).

23. See Carol B. Stack, *All Our Kin: Strategies for Survival in a Black Community* (New York: Harper, 1974).

24. William R. Myers, Black and White Styles of Youth Ministry: Two Congregations in America (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1991), p. 109.

25. Ibid.

26. Ibid., p. 126.

27. Ibid., pp. 98-99.

28. [Grace] Church Voluntary Organization Roster (Spring, 1993).

29. Samuel Freedman, *Upon This Rock: The Miracles of A Black Church* (New York: HarperCollins, 1993).

30. Myers, p. 145.

31. See Anthony Esler, ed., *The Youth Revolution: The conflict of Generations in Modern History* (Lexington, MS: D. C. Heath, 1974).

32. Much of the work in this area has focused upon the rite of confirmation. See for instance William O. Roberts, Jr., *Initiation to Adulthood: An Ancient Rite in Contemporary Form* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1983), and Richard Robert Osmer, "Restructuring Confirmation," in *Theology Today* (April, 1992): 46-67.

33. On the frequency of these programs in African American congregations, see C. Eric Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, "The Black Church and Young People," in *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1990), p. 326.

34. Richard Ross, compiler, *More Successes in Southern Baptist Youth Ministry* (Nashville, TN: Convention Press, 1992), pp. 90-106.

35. See *Hopes and Dreams of All*, pp. 254-256 for the development of these programs among Lutherans.

36. The one I know best is Lutheran Volunteer Corps, founded in 1980 in Washington, D.C., but there are many others. See *Esprit de Corps* [LVC Newsletter] (Winter, 1990).

37. Lacking, usually, from this sort of program is any direct engagement with the national institutions that shape these conflicts, namely, the market and politics. Consequently, these projects may still fall under the segregationist model, insofar as they involve youth only in "voluntary" service. They thus fall under what Robert Wuthnow describes as the "third sector," leaving the first two sectors of government and the market largely unexplored in the educational and formative experiences of youth. See Robert Wuthnow, *The Struggle for America's Soul: Evangelicals, Liberals, and Secularism* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), p. 5.

Consequently, Virgil Elizondo can argue that "conversion experiences followed by a life of Christian discipleship is taking place more commonly [for young people] through non-church situations. See his "Transmission of Faith in the USA," in *Concilium: Religion in the Eighties* (New York: Seabury, 1984), p. 101.

38. Mamiya correctly points out, in a discussion of the specific problem of unemployment, that voluntary programs or "self-help" will not by itself create change in a "de jure segregated society." "Significant economic transformation required both a widespread internalization of the self-help tradition and the removal of external barriers along with the provision of reasonably equal opportunities in employment....The self-help tradition and job training are futile without the creation of new and meaningful employment possibilities for black youth," pp. 335-6.

39. The range of activities offered for youth at Grace Church allow ample self-selection: along with music ministry, youth can involve themselves in tutoring, youth ushering, volunteering to participate in youth church, dance ministry, Boy Scouts, Athletes for Christ, martial arts, "Project Jeremiah"(retired men dealing with young males), and others. *[Grace Church] Voluntary Organization Roster*, April, 1993.

40. L. Keefauver, "Youth Ministry," in *Harper's Encyclopedia of Religious Education*, ed. by Iris V. Cully and Kendig Brubaker Cully (San Francisco: Harper and Row, 1990), p. 712.

41. See especially in this regard John Modell, who notes how "striking in this account are the subcultural and institutional structures erected by young people themselves," in *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States, 1920-1975* (Berkeley: University of Califorina Press, 1989), p. 26.

42. Tony Campolo, *The Church and the American Teenager: What Works and What Doesn't in Youth Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989), pp. 193-200 notes in Weberian terms the gradual "rationalization" of the leadership of evangelical organizations such as Young Life in the 1970s, a process which had advanced markedly by the fifties in many mainline denominations. See also "The Organization of Hopes and Dreams, 1950-1959," Chap. 8 in *Hopes and Dreams of All*, pp. 215-245.

43. Dean Borgman, "A History of American Youth Ministry," in *The Complete Book of Youth Ministry*, ed. by Warren S. Benson and Mark H. Senter III (Chicago: Moody Press, 1987), p. 72.

44. Mamiya, p. 326.

45. See for background and analogous situations, Alexander Moore, "Walt Disney World: Bounded Ritual Space and the Playful Pilgrimage Center," *Anthropological Quarterly* 53 (December, 1980): 207-218; R. Laurence Moore, *Selling God: American Religion in the Marketplace of Culture* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); Thomas C. O'Guinn and Russell W. Belk, "Heaven on Earth: Consumption at Heritage Village, USA," *Journal of Consumer Research* 16 (September, 1989): 227-238; and Ira G. Zepp., Jr., *The New Religious Image of Urban America: The Shopping Mall as Ceremonial Center* (Westminster, Md: Christian Classics, 1986).

46. Randall Balmer, *Mine Eyes Have Seen the Glory* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), p. 106.

47. Dean R. Hoge and his team at Catholic University conducted a survey of six denominations in the late '70s and concluded that "moral education is the most-desired part of religious education" among American believers. See *Religious Education Ministry with Youth*, Ed. by D. Campbell Wyckoff and Don Richter (Birmingham: Religious Education Press, 1982), pp. 132-148.

48. I develop this thesis in *Hopes and Dreams of All*.

49. See for instance the report on the 1988 gathering of 21,000 Lutheran youth in San Antonio. Paul R. Messner, "Electronic Verba at San Antonio '88," in *Lutheran Forum* 23 (Pentecost, 1989): 7, 34.

50. Tony Campolo, *The Church and the American Teenager: What Works and What Doesn't in Youth Ministry* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1989), p. 41.

51. Consequently, Kett's critique of the segregationist intent of "youth groups" is simply wrong in this context. As Milbrey W. McLaughlin, Merita A. Irby, and Julie Langman argue in *Urban Sanctuaries: Neighborhood Organizations in the Lives and Futures of Inner-City Youth*: "What the young hopefuls [youth who seemed likely to escape unemployment and poverty] whom we met had in common was involvement in some kind of neighborhood organization—a youth group, sports team, arts program, or other activity." (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1994), p. xiv. The same holds for churches, as Mamiya argues: "black teenagers and young adults from the underclass who continue their churchgoing behavior probably have a better chance of escaping from the ghetto" than non-churchgoing youth, in "The Black Church and Young People," p. 334.

52. Walter Arthur McCray puts it well: "The maturation process of emergent Black Christian young adulthood is to be measured 'in the context of the Black American experience.' If Black Christian young adults are not developed in such a way that their lives will be useful for strengthening the quality of life for Black people in America, then Black Christian education has failed." [emph. in original] *Black Young Adults: How to Reach Them, What to Teach Them* (Chicago: Black Light Fellowship, 1992).

53. The flip-side of all of this institutional attention to youth is the outcry over teen violence. Alarmist jeremiads abound. See for instance David Elkind, *All Grown Up and No Place to Go* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1984). Similarly, churches hardly stand alone in their efforts to direct attention to this age-group. See the otherwise fine but religiously blind *Turning Points: Preparing American Youth for the 21st Century* (New York: Carnegie Council on Adolescent Development, 1989).

54. See my recent, *Youth Ministry in Modern America: 1930-the present* (Peabody, MA: Hendrickson Publishers, 2000) for a more developed look at some of these issues. It would take another, very different, essay to outline the contours of this religion of youth in America, but the explosive growth of the sporting, entertainment, and educational industries (which both feature and exploit the expendable income and energy of youth) correlates with the rise and demise of the league model for youth ministry. Furthermore, the pervasive myths, images and practices promoting nature, health, and home in American culture have similar connections with the interests and projects of the once-dominant youth leagues. In short, voluntary youth organizations have indelibly shaped popular religiosity in America, if they have not in fact created a new religion of youth in the United States. See for background on these developments, Catherine L. Albanese, *Nature Religion in America: From the Algonkian Indians to the New Age* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1990); E. Brooks Holifield, *A History of Pastoral Care in America: From Salvation to Self-Realization* (Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1983); and Peter W. Williams, *Popular Religion in America: Symbolic Change and the Modernization Process in Historical Perspective* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1980).

Dr. Jon Pahl received his Ph.D. from the University of Chicago Divinity School, and currently serves as Associate Professor of American Religious History at the Lutheran Theological Seminary at Philadelphia. His publications include *Paradox Lost: Free Will and Political Liberty in American Culture, 1630-1760.*

Further Readings On Youth Culture

Dancing in the Dark: Youth, Popular Culture, and the Electronic Media by Roy M. Anker, James D. Bratt, Lambert Zuidervaart (November 1990) Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Co.; ISBN: 0802805302

Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America by Bradford W. Wright (April 2001) Johns Hopkins Univ Pr; ISBN: 080186514X

The Third Culture Kid Experience: Growing Up Among Worlds by David C. Pollock, Ruth E. Van Reken (June 1999) Intercultural Press; ISBN: 1877864722

Generation Ecstasy: Into the World of Techno and Rave Culture by Simon Reynolds (July 22, 1998) Little Brown & Company; ISBN: 0316741116 ;

Growing Up Digital: The Rise of the Net Generation by Don Tapscott (June 9, 1999) McGraw-Hill Professional Publishing; ISBN: 0071347984

Youth Culture: Identity in a Postmodern World by Jonathan S. Epstein (Editor) (July 1998) Blackwell Pub; ISBN: 1557868514

Street Trends: How Today's Alternative Youth Cultures Are Creating Tomorrow's Mainstream Markets by Janine Lopiano-Misdom, Joanne De Luca (September 1998) Harperbusiness; ISBN: 0887309291 ;

Stealing Innocence: Youth, Corporate Power and the Politics of Culture by Henry A. Giroux (March 2000) St Martins Pr (Trade); ISBN: 0312224400

Channel Surfing: Racism, the Media, and the Destruction of Today's Youth by Henry A. Giroux (October 1998) Griffin Trade Paperback; ISBN: 0312214448

Feminism and Youth Culture: Second Edition by Angela McRobbie (March 2000) Routledge; ISBN: 0415927552

Microphone Fiends: Youth Music & Youth Culture by Andrew Ross (Editor), Tricia Rose (Editor), Andrew Rose (April 1994) Routledge; ISBN: 0415909082

Prom Night: Youth, Schools and Popular Culture by Amy L. Best (June 2000) Routledge; ISBN: 0415924286

Generation X Field Guide & Lexicon by Vann Wesson, Erik Aukerman (Illustrator), Chris Kendall (Illustrator) (January 1997) Orion Media; ISBN: 1887754059

Twentieth-Century Teen Culture by the Decades: A Reference Guide by Lucy Rollin (December 1999) Greenwood Publishing Group; ISBN: 0313302235

Construction Sites: Excavating Race, Class, and Gender Among Urban Youth (Teaching for Social Justice, 4) by Lois Weis (Editor), Michelle Fine (Editor) (November 2000) Teachers College Pr; ISBN: 0807739782

Cool Places: Geographies of Youth Cultures by Tracey Skelton (Editor), Gill Valentine (Editor) (December 1997) Routledge; ISBN: 0415149215

Groove Tube: Sixies Television and the Youth Rebellion (Console-Ing Passions) by Aniko Bodroghkozy (March 2001) Duke Univ Pr. ISBN: 0822326450

Sunshine and Knowledge to the less Fortunate through the National Youth Association.
Source: National Archives

Internet Resources

Youth Culture Internet Sites

The number of Internet sites devoted to the examination of youth is large, yet not as large as the number of sites catering to youth. Indeed, fifteen percent or more of web sites target youth as their primary audience. Among the sites catering to youth are the youth culture online magazines.

http://www.cooltrend.com/
Cooltrends
This online magazine bills itself as the place (on the internet) to go to keep up with the latest in fashion, music, sports, and "cool trends." It's language, including the use of "dudes" and "chicks" is geared towards teenagers and young adults.

http://www.spankmag.com/
Spank
Although the suggestive title conjures up specific images, Spank Magazine takes a serious look at the issues youth face in their lives, including sexuality. The language is on the harder side and not for tender ears (or eyes). Spank claims to bring youth culture to its readers as "defined by youth."

http://www.aypf.org/
American Youth Policy Forum
The AYPF is not geared towards youth, but towards those who initiate and activate policy that is geared towards youth. The non-partisan AYPF sponsors workshops, field trips and publications designed to teach policymakers at all levels—local, state and national.

http://www.youthculture.com/
Trendscan
Trendscan is an organization that collects data on youth for marketing. The questions asked seek to "capture the teen Zeitgeist." These include questions on loyalty, celebrities, disposable income, and "what's cool." Although the data is collected for companies wishing to market their products to youth, it would be interesting to see what sociologists would make of the data.

http://www.aiysep.org/
American International Youth Student Exchange Program.
AIYSEP is one of the most recognized student exchange programs in the world.

http://www.ed.gov/pubs/YouthIndicators/index.html
Youth Indicators 1993—Trends in the Well-Being of American Youth.
Although slightly out of date, this government publication is a good resource for statistics on American youth. It breaks down information into several different categories, including health, education, and family life.

Classroom Clips

Another Approach to Teaching Short Stories

Short stories come in all shapes and sizes and their purpose can range from informing to entertaining the reader. Although their content may vary, the structure of the majority of short stories (as well as long novels) is the same. Below is a basic outline which can be put on an overhead to either introduce a story or to examine a story. It could serve as a skeleton which students could use to write their own story.

_____ there was a _____ who _____ in a
(historical period)   (protagonist)   (action)

_____. One day she/he _____ a _____ who
(physical setting)   (action)   (antagonist)

had been _____. So, he/she _____.
         (source of conflict)   (resolution of conflict)

The End

Book Reviews

Books on Early American History and Culture, 1991 – 1995: An Annotaded Bibliography, ed. Raymond D. Irwin (Westport, Connecticut/London: Greenwood Press, 2000), 301 p. £ 59.95, ISBN 0-313-31312-1.

by Andrea Mehrländer

Published as volume 44 of Bibliographies and Indexes in American History, Irwin's annotated bibliography of books on early American history and culture is a valuable addition to the bookshelf of both the general reader as well as the scholar. Including English-language monographs, reference works, exhibition catalogues, and essay collections published between 1991 and 1995 and reviewed in at least one of thirty-one historical journals (see "Abbreviations" for a complete list of journals consulted), Irwin lists a total of 999 works.

Each of these entries gives the title of the book, its author(s) or editor(s), publisher, date of publication, ISBN and/or OCLC number(s), and—very important to the researcher—the Library of Congress call number. Following each detailed citation is a brief summary of the book and a list of journals in which the book has been reviewed.

Since Irwin, who serves as the Director of the Center for Communications at JUST Institute, decided to compose his bibliography of thirty-two subject categories, and since only few books fit neatly and completely into a single category, he provides highly useful subject, author, and title indexes at the end of his book. One might argue about Irwin's choice of chapter headings, but the only one I truly find missing is "slavery." Other than that, Irwin clearly fulfills his aim of providing a "starting point for further investigation."

Dr. Andrea Mehrländer is the managing director of the Checkpoint Charlie Foundation, Berlin, Germany.

AN HEROIC SACRIFICE.