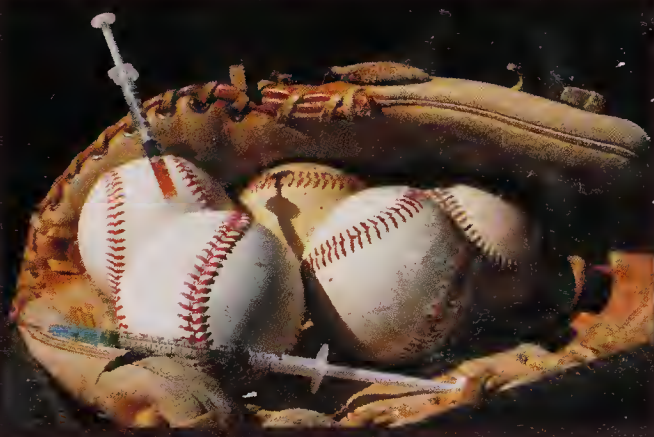


Great Events from History

Modern Scandals



1904 - 2008

Great Events from History

Modern Scandals

1904-2008

Volume 1

1904-1972

Editor

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CONTENTS

Publisher's Note	xi
Contributors	xv
Keyword List of Contents.	xix

1900's

1904, Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds	1
January 23, 1904, Senator Joseph R. Burton Is Convicted of Bribery	4
December, 1904, Boston Alderman Is Reelected While in Jail for Fraud	6
1906-1909, Emperor William II's Homosexual "Circle" Scandalizes Germany	9
March 2, 1906, Psychoanalyst Ernest Jones Is Accused of Molesting Mentally Disabled Children	12
June 25, 1906, Millionaire Heir Murders Architect Stanford White	16
July 12, 1906, French Court Declares Alfred Dreyfus Innocent of Treason	19
December 8, 1906, Former U.S. Senator Arthur Brown Is Murdered by Lover	22
1907, Elinor Glyn's Novel <i>Three Weeks</i> Shocks Readers	25
June 13, 1907, San Francisco Mayor Schmitz Is Found Guilty of Extortion	28
November 15, 1908, Belgium Confiscates Congo Free State from King Leopold II	31
1909-1916, Dancer Isadora Duncan Begins Affair with Millionaire Heir.	34

1910's

1910, Nobelist Marie Curie Has Affair with Physicist Paul Langevin	37
March 25, 1911, Nearly 150 Workers Die in Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire	40
January, 1913, British Prime Minister's Staff Is Investigated for Insider Trading	43
January 13, 1913, Federal Judge Is Impeached for Profiting from His Office	46
February 17-March 15, 1913, Armory Modern Art Show Scandalizes the Public	49
May 13, 1913, Boxer Jack Johnson Is Imprisoned for Abetting Prostitution	52
April 2, 1915, Players Fix Liverpool-Manchester United Soccer Match	55
May, 1915, British Government Falls Because of Munitions Shortages and Military Setbacks	58
July 27, 1917, Millionaire Socialite Dies Under Suspicious Circumstances	60
1919-1920, Ponzi Schemes Are Revealed as Investment Frauds	63
September 21, 1919, White Sox Players Conspire to Lose World Series in "Black Sox" Scandal	66

1920's

July 19, 1921, U.S. Senate Rebukes Navy in Homosexuality Investigation	70
February 1, 1922, Director Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's Acting Career	73

MODERN SCANDALS

March 26, 1922, Hindemith's Opera <i>Sancta Susanna</i> Depicts a Nun's Sexual Desires	76
April 12, 1922, Film Star Fatty Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter	79
June 22, 1922, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George Is Accused of Selling Honors	83
January 18, 1923, Actor Wallace Reid's Death in Drug Rehab Shakes Film Industry	86
March 2, 1923, U.S. Senate Investigates Veterans Bureau Chief for Fraud.	89
May 30, 1923, U.S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty's Aide Commits Suicide	92
October 22, 1923, U.S. Senate Begins Hearings on Teapot Dome Oil Leases	95
January 1, 1924, Film Star Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. Dines	100
May 12, 1924, Kentucky Congressman John W. Langley Is Convicted of Violating the Volstead Act.	103
October 25, 1924, Forged Communist Letter Brings Down British Government	105
November 19, 1924, Film Producer Thomas H. Ince Dies After Weekend on Hearst's Yacht	108
July, 1925, <i>Nosferatu</i> Is Found to Have Violated <i>Dracula</i> Copyright	111
May-June, 1926, Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson Claims She Was Kidnapped	115
December 26, 1926, Ty Cobb and Tris Speaker Are Accused of Fixing Baseball Games.	118
1927, Mae West's Play About Gays Is Banned on Broadway	122
1927, President Warren G. Harding's Lover Publishes Tell-All Memoir	124
Early 1928, Joseph P. Kennedy Begins an Affair with Gloria Swanson.	127
1928-1929, Actor Is Suspected of Falsely Claiming to Be an American Indian.	130
March 21, 1928, Alberta Government Sterilizes Thousands Deemed Genetically and Mentally Unfit	133
June 6, 1929, Luis Buñuel's <i>Un Chien Andalou</i> Shocks Parisian Audience.	136
November, 1929, Banque Oustric et Cie Failure Prompts French Inquiry.	139

1930's

1930, Liberia Is Accused of Selling Its Own Citizens into Slavery	142
May, 1930, Postmaster's Division of Airmail Routes Creates a Scandal	144
December 3, 1930, Surrealist Film <i>L'Âge d'or</i> Provokes French Rioting	147
March 30, 1931, "Scottsboro Boys" Are Railroaded Through Rape Trials	150
1932, Insull Utilities Trusts Collapse Prompts New Federal Regulation	154
July 28, 1932, U.S. Troops Drive World War I Veterans from Washington.	156
September 4, 1932, Film Star Jean Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent Suicide	160
January 20, 1933, Hedy Lamarr Appears Nude in the Czech Film <i>Exstase</i>	163
March 31, 1933, <i>New York Times</i> Reporter Denies Reports of a Soviet Famine	167
January 8, 1934-January 17, 1936, Stavisky's Fraudulent Schemes Rock French Government.	170
May 16, 1934, General Douglas MacArthur Sues Newspaper Columnist for Libel.	173
July 10, 1934, Sex Scandal Forces Resignation of Alberta Premier Brownlee	176
December 16, 1935, Film Star Thelma Todd's Death Cannot Be Explained	178
May 20, 1936, British Cabinet Member Resigns After Budget Information Leak.	181
Summer, 1936, Film Star Mary Astor's Diary Becomes a Public Sensation	184
December 10, 1936, King Edward VIII Abdicates to Marry an American Divorcée	187
March 17, 1937, Atherton Report Exposes San Francisco Police Corruption	191

CONTENTS

September-October, 1937, Prescription Elixir Causes More than One Hundred Deaths	193
October 11-22, 1937, Duke and Duchess of Windsor Visit Nazi Germany	196
May 22, 1939, Kansas City's Boss Pendergast Pleads Guilty to Income Tax Evasion	199

1940's

February 6, 1942, Film Star Errol Flynn Is Acquitted of Rape	202
February 19, 1942, President Roosevelt Orders Internment of Japanese Americans	205
April 22, 1942, French Prime Minister Pierre Laval Wants Germany to Win World War II	209
December 5, 1942, Industrialist Charles Bedaux Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration	212
January 14, 1943, Film Star Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized	214
February 23, 1943, Irish Orphan School Fire Kills Thirty-five Girls	217
June 4, 1943, Actor Charles Chaplin Is Sued for Paternity	220
June 5, 1944, Australian Poets Claim Responsibility for a Literary Hoax	223
May 9, 1945, Norwegian Politician Quisling Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration	226
May 26, 1945, Norwegian Writer Knut Hamsun Is Arrested for Treason	229
August 14, 1945, French War Hero Pétain Is Convicted of Nazi Collaboration.	232
December 14, 1945, Poet Ezra Pound Is Charged with Treason and Institutionalized	236
November 23, 1946, Tennis Star Bill Tilden Is Arrested for Lewd Behavior with a Minor.	239
Spring, 1947, Baseball Manager Leo Durocher Is Suspended for Gambling Ties.	242
July 5, 1948, Actor Carole Landis Commits Suicide During Affair with Rex Harrison.	245
August 4, 1948, Columnist Drew Pearson Exposes Congressman's Corruption	248
August 31, 1948, Film Star Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession	251
May 27, 1949, Actor Rita Hayworth Marries Aly Khan After Adulterous Affair	254
August 26, 1949, Viet Minh Broadcasts French General's Damaging Report.	257

1950's

January 21, 1950, Alger Hiss Is Convicted of Perjury	259
February 7, 1950, Swedish Film Star Ingrid Bergman Has a Child Out of Wedlock	263
February 9, 1950, U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy Launches Communist Witch Hunt	266
May 3, 1950, U.S. Senate Committee Begins Investigating Organized Crime	270
January 17, 1951, College Basketball Players Begin Shaving Points for Money	274
July 16, 1951, Belgium's Disgraced King Leopold III Abdicates	276
November 16, 1951, Federal Tax Official Resigns After Accepting Bribes.	279
September 19, 1952, Actor Charles Chaplin Cannot Reenter the United States.	283
September 23, 1952, Richard Nixon Denies Taking Illegal Campaign Contributions.	286
December 1, 1952, George Jorgensen Becomes Christine Jorgensen	289
November 21, 1953, Piltdown Man Is Revealed to Be a Hoax	292
May, 1955, Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past.	295
Late 1955, British Atrocities in Kenya's Mau Mau Rebellion Are Revealed	298
1956-1962, Prescription Thalidomide Causes Widespread Birth Disorders	301
March 9, 1956, British Conductor-Composer Is Arrested for Possessing Pornography	304

MODERN SCANDALS

June, 1956, George F. Kennan Proves Russian Sisson Documents Are Fakes	307
June 25, 1956, President Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of Tax Conspiracy	310
December 12, 1957, Rock Star Jerry Lee Lewis Marries Thirteen-Year-Old Cousin	313
April 4, 1958, Actor Lana Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover.	317
September 22, 1958, President Eisenhower's Chief of Staff Resigns for Influence Selling.	320
May, 1959, Teamsters Leader Dave Beck Is Convicted of Tax Fraud.	323
November 2, 1959, Charles Van Doren Admits to Being Fed Answers on Television Quiz Show	326

1960's

February 7, 1960, President Kennedy's Romantic Affair Links Him to Organized Crime	329
February 8, 1960, U.S. Congress Investigates Payola in Pop Music Industry	332
March 14, 1960, FCC Chairman John C. Doerfer Resigns for Accepting Gifts from Networks	335
July, 1961, Psychologist Stanley Milgram Begins Obedience-to-Authority Experiments.	338
March 29, 1962, Billie Sol Estes Is Arrested for Corporate Fraud.	341
May 19, 1962, Marilyn Monroe Sings "Happy Birthday, Mr. President"	344
September 12, 1962, British Civil Servant Is Arrested for Spying.	347
October 26, 1962, West German Police Raid <i>Der Spiegel</i> Magazine Offices	349
February 23, 1963, Play Accuses Pope Pius XII of Complicity in the Holocaust	353
March 2-September 25, 1963, John Profumo Affair Rocks British Government	355
July 2, 1963, Muslim Leader Elijah Muhammad Is Sued for Paternity	359
August 14, 1963, Madame Nhu Derides Self-Immolation of Vietnamese Buddhists	362
October 7, 1963, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson Aide Resigns over Crime Connections.	365
March 13, 1964, Kitty Genovese Dies as Her Cries for Help Are Ignored	369
October 7, 1964, President Lyndon Johnson's Aide Is Arrested in Gay-Sex Sting	371
October 29, 1965, Moroccan Politician Mehdi Ben Barka Disappears in Paris	374
March 4, 1966, Munsinger Sex and Spy Scandal Rocks Canada	377
March 1, 1967, Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Is Excluded from Congress.	380
June 23, 1967, Senator Thomas J. Dodd Is Censured for Misappropriating Funds	384
September 5, 1967, Socialite Nancy Wakeman Shoots Her Politician-Husband	386
November 28, 1967, Investor Louis Wolfson Is Convicted of Selling Stock Illegally	389
May 9, 1969, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas Is Accused of Bribery	391
July 18, 1969, Senator Edward Kennedy's Driving Accident Kills Mary Jo Kopechne.	394
Fall, 1969-Winter, 1971, Japanese Baseball Players Are Implicated in Game Fixing.	398
November 13, 1969, American Massacre of Vietnamese Civilians at My Lai Is Revealed	401
December 30, 1969, United Mine Workers Leader Joseph Yablonski Is Murdered.	404

1970's

1970, Study of Anonymous Gay Sex Leads to Ethics Scandal	407
May 4, 1970, National Guardsmen Kill Protesting Kent State Students.	410
May 28, 1970, Irish Politicians Are Tried for Conspiring to Import Weapons	413

CONTENTS

June 13, 1971, <i>New York Times</i> Publishes the Pentagon Papers	416
August 20, 1971, Abusive Role-Playing Ends Stanford Prison Experiment	420
January 28, 1972, Clifford Irving Admits Faking Howard Hughes Memoirs	422
June 17, 1972-August 9, 1974, Watergate Break-in Leads to President Nixon's Resignation	425
June 22, 1972, Police Arrest Architect John Poulson for Bribery and Fraud	431
July 8-22, 1972, Jane Fonda's Visit to North Vietnam Outrages Many Americans	434

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

An entirely new reference set, *Great Events from History: Modern Scandals* treats subject matter that has never been covered as broadly and thoroughly in any other reference publication. The 388 articles in this three-volume set describe and analyze some of the most important scandals of the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries. Each essay focuses on a single event, or series of closely related events, that has been deemed scandalous by media and society. While seeking to reconstruct the chronology and key figures of these events, the essays discuss both what happened to make the event scandalous and how scandals have influenced modern history.

Modern Scandals is the eleventh installment in Salem Press's ongoing *Great Events from History* series, which was launched in 2004 with the two volumes of *Great Events from History: The Ancient World, Prehistory-476*. That set was followed by *The Middle Ages, 477-1453* (2 vols., 2005), *The Renaissance & Early Modern Era, 1454-1600* (2 vols., 2005), *The Seventeenth Century, 1601-1700* (2 vols., 2006), *The Eighteenth Century, 1701-1800* (2 vols., 2006), *The Nineteenth Century, 1801-1900* (4 vols., 2007), *The Twentieth Century, 1901-1940* (6 vols., 2007), *The Twentieth Century, 1941-1970* (6 vols., 2008), and *The Twentieth Century, 1971-2000* (6 vols., 2008). In 2007, Salem added to the series the first set focusing on a single subject area: *Gay, Lesbian, Bisexual, Transgender Events: 1848-2006* (2 vols., 2007). *Modern Scandals* is thus the second set in the series built around one theme. The series contains more than 5,400 essays covering significant events in world history, from ancient times through the year 2008.

"SCANDALS"

The concept of scandals is more elusive than one might at first appreciate. As the term is used in this set, it typically applies to events that garner considerable media attention and public discussion but nevertheless often remain poorly understood. A "scandal" is generally understood to be some form of misbehavior or a wrongful act. However, acts

considered to be scandalous are not necessarily illegal, and illegal acts are not necessarily scandalous. The essence of scandal is the damage to reputation brought on by violations of codes of morality, propriety, or ethics to which the transgressors are normally expected to adhere. It therefore follows that a given act committed by one person may be considered scandalous, while the same act committed by another person may not be.

When persons murder, their acts are generally regarded as heinous crimes but not as "scandalous." By contrast, when respected religious or community leaders publicly admit to having committed such acts as adultery, their behavior is apt to be considered scandalous but not necessarily criminal. The essential difference is that criminals are expected to commit crimes, while religious and community leaders are expected to conduct their lives within the bounds of their communities' moral and ethical standards. *Modern Scandals* contains more than 40 articles concerning murders; in virtually all these selected cases, the murders are considered scandalous more because of *who* is involved than because of the nature of the crimes themselves. Likewise, the set contains many articles on public figures whose sexual misconduct has been considered scandalous because of the figures' public positions or reputations.

Another dimension of the concept of "scandal" is reputation. Scandals are scandalous because they tend to be very public affairs. For misbehavior to become a public scandal, those involved generally have public reputations that can be shamed or damaged. Moreover, given the growing proclivity of the modern news media to exploit scandals involving public figures, minor incidents can quickly grow into major scandals, as intense media attention uncovers broader patterns of misbehavior.

The selection of events in *Modern Scandals* encompasses virtually all types of scandals, involving politics and government, business and finance, education, religion, science, sports, entertainment, literature, and the arts. Many essays cover high-profile

events that are already familiar to the general public. Examples include the turn-of-the-twentieth-century espionage case of the French army officer Alfred Dreyfus, the Teapot Dome oil lease scandal that plagued U.S. president Warren G. Harding's administration during the early 1920's, Alger Hiss's 1950 perjury trial, the sensational murder trial of former football star O. J. Simpson during the mid-1990's, the corporate fraud of Enron in 2001, and the plagiarism of journalist Jayson Blair that severely damaged the credibility of *The New York Times* in 2003.

Other events covered in this set may be less well known but nevertheless deserve closer study. These events include the deaths of thirty-five Irish girls in an orphanage fire in 1943; the plagiarism cases of historians Stephen Ambrose and Doris Kearns Goodwin; and the falsified scientific research of Stephen Breuning, Jan Hendrik Schön, Ranjit Kumar Chandra, and others. Regardless of the level of public notoriety of any individual topic, every subject covered in this set is significant for studies of history, society, and culture.

SCOPE OF COVERAGE

Modern Scandals comprises 388 essays that were commissioned to meet the needs of this set. None has appeared in any other publication. Every effort has been made to ensure that the geographical, chronological, and thematic coverage of *Modern Scandals* is broad enough to meet the needs of students at the high school and undergraduate levels.

As the *Geographical Index* in volume 3 demonstrates, most of the set's articles pertain to North American topics, but the scope of the set is worldwide. Of the approximately 60 percent of articles on North America, the bulk concern the United States. Outside North America, Europe is the best-represented region, followed by Asia, the Middle East, Canada, Latin America, Australia and the Pacific, and Africa. Each of these world regions is represented by at least 9 essays.

Following the example of other *Great Events* sets, *Modern Scandals* organizes its essays chronologically. The first article is about corruption charges made against U.S. president Theodore

Roosevelt in 1904. The final article covers the collapse of financial markets in the United States that began in earnest in September, 2008. Scandal is as old as history, but it is fair to say that media and public attention to scandals has grown greatly in modern times and particularly in very recent times. Indeed, there now is scarcely a moment when a broad range of scandals is *not* in the news. It should thus not be surprising that the chronological distribution of topics in *Modern Scandals* is heavily weighted toward the present: Two-thirds of the topics cover events that happened since 1970; more than one-quarter explore events occurring since 2001. However, despite this emphasis on recent decades, every decade of the twentieth century is represented in no fewer than 12 essays, and all but three decades are represented in at least 20 essays.

A clear benefit of this emphasis on recent times is that *Modern Scandals* is up to date. Indeed, the set contains 4 articles on events in the year 2008 alone. In addition to the essay on the collapse of American financial markets, the 2008 topics include New York governor Eliot Spitzer's resignation because of a prostitution scandal, a rap singer's acquittal on child pornography charges, and a professional-basketball referee's being sentenced to prison for betting on games. New scandals developed as this reference set was going to press. In one particular case, Rod Blagojevich, the governor of Illinois, was arrested in early December, 2008, for allegedly attempting to sell his appointment of a successor to President Barack Obama in the U.S. Senate. He denied the allegations, refused calls for his resignation, and was impeached January 8, 2009.

The subjects of the 4 essays on 2008 events are an accurate reflection of the overall mix of subject matter within *Modern Scandals* as a whole. Nearly 40 percent of the articles concern events affecting politics and government, more than 20 percent concern sex and sex crimes, more than 15 percent concern business and finance, and nearly 20 percent concern events in the entertainment and sports worlds. The Category Index in volume 3 lists all the essay topics under more than 50 subject headings. Every topic is listed under an average of 4 to 5 headings.

FORMAT

With a few exceptions, all essays in *Modern Scandals* are of a uniform length of about 1,600 words, or 3-4 pages. The exceptions are the essays on the Teapot Dome scandal, Watergate, the Iran-Contra affair, the Roman Catholic priests sex-abuse scandal, and the collapse of the American financial markets. Because of their importance and complexity, each of these topics is treated in an essay of 2,500 to 3,000 words.

All essays, regardless of length, are identically formatted. As in other *Great Events* sets, each article offers the kind of ready-reference top matter components that students welcome:

- the most precise *date*, or date range, of the event
- a *descriptive title*
- a *summary paragraph* that further identifies the event and its historical significance
- an *also-known-as* name for the event, as appropriate
- the main *locale* where the event occurred
- the principal *subject categories* to which the event belongs
- a list of *key figures*—the persons most significantly involved in the scandal, with their birth and death dates, brief descriptors, and regnal dates or terms of office, as applicable

The main text of every essay is divided into the following subheaded sections:

- *Summary of Event*, which provides a detailed chronological description of the facts of the event
- *Impact*, an assessment of the event's historical, social, or cultural significance
- *Further Reading*, an annotated list of sources for further study
- *See also*, cross-references to other related essays within *Modern Scandals*

OTHER SPECIAL FEATURES

Accompanying selected essays are an additional 76 sidebars, which include extracts from primary source documents that help illuminate the event. Also included are more than 250 photographs, including portraits and images of the places where the events occurred.

Every essay is followed by a section titled *Further Reading* that contains an up-to-date and annotated listing of books and articles that are both appropriate to the needs of students and reasonably accessible. The appendix section in volume 3 also contains a *Bibliography* that lists more general sources on scandals.

In addition to arranging the essay topics chronologically and providing cross-references to articles on related topics, *Modern Scandals* offers several additional finding aids. At the beginning of each volume is a *Keyword List of Contents* that lists all essays in the entire set alphabetically under the keywords in each essay title. For example, the article for March 17, 2005, "Former Baseball Star Mark McGwire Evades Congressional Questions on Steroid Use" is listed under "Baseball," "McGwire," and "Steroid Use."

Volume 3 contains these additional appendixes and indexes:

- The *Chronological List of Entries* organizes the contents chronologically in one place for ease of reference.
- The *Geographical Index* lists essays by world regions and individual countries.
- The *Category Index* lists essays under more than 50 subject headings.
- The *Personages Index* lists all Key Figure names and other important persons discussed in the essays.
- The *Subject Index* includes persons, concepts, terms, works of literature, organizations, and many other topics of discussion.

USAGE NOTES

The worldwide scope of *Great Events from History* often results in the inclusion of names that must be transliterated from languages that do not use the Roman alphabet. Most transliterated words in this set follow American Library Association and Library of Congress (ALA-LC) transliteration forms. Pinyin transliterations are used for Chinese names.

In the listing of Key Figures and in parenthetical material within the text, "r." stands for "reigned," "b." for "born," "d." for "died," and "fl." for flourished. Wherever date ranges, such as "1920-1997,"

appear appended to names with none of these designators, readers may assume that they signify birth and death dates or, where the contexts indicate, terms of political office.

THE CONTRIBUTORS

Salem Press would like to extend its appreciation to the more than 190 scholars who have written for *Modern Scandals*. Special thanks go to Professor Carl L. Bankston III of Tulane University, who de-

veloped the list of topics and wrote the coverage notes that helped contributors to make their articles as relevant as possible to high school and undergraduate curricula. The essays have been written by historians, political scientists, regional studies specialists, and other experts. Without their contributions, a project of this nature would not be possible. A full list of their names and affiliations immediately follows this note.

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MODERN SCANDALS

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SUNY, College at Cortland

Shawncey Webb
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Marcia J. Weiss
Point Park University

Scott Wright
University of St. Thomas

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University of Utah

Tung Yin
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KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Abdicates, Belgium's Disgraced King Leopold III (July 16, 1951)	276	Agusta-Dassault Corruption Scandal, Prominent Belgians Are Sentenced in (Dec. 23, 1998)	889
Abdicates to Marry an American Divorcée, King Edward VIII (Dec. 10, 1936)	187	Air Force Academy Sexual Assaults, E-mail Message Prompts Inquiry into (Jan. 2, 2003)	991
Abu Ghraib, CBS Broadcasts Photos of Abused and Tortured Prisoners at (Apr. 28, 2004)	1034	Air Force Investigates Religious Intolerance at Its Academy, U.S. (June 22, 2005)	1062
Acting Career, Director Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's (Feb. 1, 1922)	73	Air Force Prosecution of Female Officer for Adultery Reveals Double Standard (May 20, 1997)	855
Actor Carole Landis Commits Suicide During Affair with Rex Harrison (July 5, 1948)	245	Airbus Scandal, Former Canadian Premier Brian Mulroney Is Exposed in (Nov. 18, 1995)	830
Actor Charles Chaplin Cannot Reenter the United States (Sept. 19, 1952)	283	Airmail Routes Creates a Scandal, Postmaster's Division of (May, 1930)	144
Actor Charles Chaplin Is Sued for Paternity (June 4, 1943)	220	Albanian Government to Fall, Pyramid Investment Schemes Cause (Jan., 1997)	846
Actor Claudine Longet Kills Ski Champion Vladimir Sabich (Mar. 21, 1976)	485	Albert Is Tried for Sexual Assault, Sportscaster Marv (Sept. 22, 1997)	865
Actor Errol Flynn Was a Nazi Spy, Biographer Claims (1980)	559	Allen Has Affair with Lover Mia Farrow's Adopted Daughter, Woody (Jan. 13, 1992)	773
Actor Is Suspected of Falsely Claiming to Be an American Indian (1928-1929)	130	Almonte Is Found to Be Overage, Little League Baseball Star Danny (Aug. 27, 2001)	942
Actor Joan Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir, <i>Mommie Dearest</i> (1978)	517	Amazon, American Scientists Are Accused of Starting a Measles Epidemic in the (Sept., 2000)	910
Actor Lana Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover (Apr. 4, 1958)	317	Ambrose Is Accused of Plagiarism, Historian Stephen E. (Jan. 4, 2002)	951
Actor Lee Marvin Is Ordered to Pay Palimony to Former Lover (Apr. 18, 1979)	540	Andrews and Blake Edwards Deny Being Gay, Julie (Dec., 1982)	612
Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making Anti- Semitic Remarks (July 28, 2006)	1106	Annan Dismissed Sexual Harassment Charges, U.N. Report Reveals That Secretary-General Kofi (June 2, 2004)	1039
Actor Rita Hayworth Marries Aly Khan After Adulterous Affair (May 27, 1949)	254	Anti-Semitic Remarks, Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making (July 28, 2006)	1106
Actor Rob Lowe Videotapes His Sexual Encounter with a Minor (July 18, 1988)	717	Anti-Semitic Writings Are Revealed, Yale Scholar's Wartime (Dec. 1, 1987)	705
Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past, Scandal Magazine Reveals (May, 1955)	295	Aquino Is Assassinated on Return Home, Filipino Opposition Leader (Aug. 21, 1983)	628
Actor Wallace Reid's Death in Drug Rehab Shakes Film Industry (Jan. 18, 1923)	86	Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter, Film Star Fatty (Apr. 12, 1922)	79
Adelphia Communications to Declare Bankruptcy, Internal Corruption Forces (June 25, 2002)	971	Archaeologist's "Discoveries" Are Proven Fakes, Japanese Amateur (Nov. 5, 2000)	919
Âge d'or Provokes French Rioting, Surrealist Film <i>L'</i> (Dec. 3, 1930)	147		
Agnew Resigns Vice Presidency in Disgrace, Spiro T. (Oct. 10, 1973)	447		

MODERN SCANDALS

Archer Wins Libel Trial Against the <i>Daily Star</i> , Novelist-Politician Jeffrey (July 25, 1987) . . .	696	Baseball Star Steve Garvey's Marital Problems, Magazine Reveals (July 28, 1980)	574
Armory Modern Art Show Scandalizes the Public (Feb. 17-Mar. 15, 1913)	49	Basketball Coach Jim Harrick, Sr., Resigns over Fraud Allegations, Georgia (Mar. 27, 2002)	968
Armstrong Excommunicates His Own Son, Evangelist Herbert W. (June 27, 1978).	525	Basketball Players, Mobster's Arrest Reveals Point Shaving by Boston College (Apr. 27, 1980)	568
Art Show Scandalizes the Public, Armory Modern (Feb. 17-Mar. 15, 1913)	49	Basketball Players Begin Shaving Points for Money, College (Jan. 17, 1951)	274
Assassinated on Return Home, Filipino Opposition Leader Aquino Is (Aug. 21, 1983)	628	Basketball Star Kobe Bryant Is Accused of Rape (July 1, 2003)	1008
Astor's Diary Becomes a Public Sensation, Film Star Mary (Summer, 1936)	184	Bauman Is Arrested for Liaison with Teenage Boy, Congressman (Sept. 3, 1980)	577
Atherton Report Exposes San Francisco Police Corruption (Mar. 17, 1937).	191	Beck Is Convicted of Tax Fraud, Teamsters Leader Dave (May, 1959)	323
Bakker Resigns as Head of PTL Television Network, Jim (Mar. 19, 1987)	690	Bedaux Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration, Industrialist Charles (Dec. 5, 1942)	212
"Bananagate" Bribery Scandal Leads to Executive's Suicide, Honduras's (Feb. 3, 1975)	471	Begelman Is Found to Have Forged Checks, Film Producer David (Feb. 25, 1977)	509
Banco Ambrosiano Collapses Amid Criminal Accusations (Aug. 6, 1982).	606	Bellesiles Resigns After Academic Fraud Accusations, Historian Michael A. (Oct. 25, 2002)	985
Banks Admit to Holding Accounts of Holocaust Victims, Swiss (June 25, 1997).	858	Ben Barka Disappears in Paris, Moroccan Politician Mehdi (Oct. 29, 1965)	374
Banque Oustric et Cie Failure Prompts French Inquiry (Nov., 1929)	139	Bendix Executive Resigns Amid Rumors of an Affair (Oct. 9, 1980)	580
Barry Is Arrested for Drug Use, Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion (Jan. 18, 1990)	748	Bergman Has a Child Out of Wedlock, Swedish Film Star Ingrid (Feb. 7, 1950)	263
Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth Suspends Players for Cocaine Use (Feb. 28, 1986)	666	Biden's Presidential Campaign, Plagiarism Charges End Joe (Sept. 23, 1987)	698
Baseball Commissioner Suspends Mickey Mantle and Willie Mays for Casino Ties (Nov. 29, 1979, and Jan. 31, 1983).	556	"Black Sox" Scandal, White Sox Players Conspire to Lose World Series in (Sept. 21, 1919)	66
Baseball for Betting on Games, Pete Rose Is Banned from (Aug. 24, 1989)	735	Blair Is Exposed as a Fraud, <i>New York Times</i> Reporter Jayson (Apr. 29, 2003)	998
Baseball Games, Ty Cobb and Tris Speaker Are Accused of Fixing (Dec. 26, 1926).	118	Bobbitt Severs Her Husband's Penis, Lorena (June 23, 1993)	795
Baseball Manager Leo Durocher Is Suspended for Gambling Ties (Spring, 1947)	242	<i>Boston Globe</i> Reports on Child Sexual Abuse by Roman Catholic Priests (Jan. 6, 2002) . . .	954
Baseball Players Are Implicated in Game Fixing, Japanese (Fall, 1969-Winter, 1971)	398	Bowles Is Taped, Prince Charles's Intimate Phone Conversation with Camilla Parker (Dec. 18, 1989)	745
Baseball Star Danny Almonte Is Found to Be Overage, Little League (Aug. 27, 2001)	942	Boxer Jack Johnson Is Imprisoned for Abetting Prostitution (May 13, 1913)	52
Baseball Star Mark McGwire Evades Congressional Questions on Steroid Use, Former (Mar. 17, 2005)	1058	Breuning Pleads Guilty to Medical Research Fraud, Stephen (Sept. 19, 1988)	720
		Bribe, French President Giscard d'Estaing Is Accused of Taking a (Oct. 10, 1979).	550

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Bribery, Senator Joseph R. Burton Is Convicted of (Jan. 23, 1904)	4	Carter, Registers as a Paid Agent for Libya, President's Brother, Billy (Late July, 1980) . .	571
Bribery, Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas Is Accused of (May 9, 1969)	391	Carter Admits Committing Adultery in His Heart, Jimmy (Sept., 1976)	497
Bribery and Fraud, Police Arrest Architect John Poulson for (June 22, 1972)	431	Carter Cabinet Member Resigns over Ethics Violations (Sept. 21, 1977)	511
Bribery Scandal Leads to Executive's Suicide, Honduras's "Bananagate" (Feb. 3, 1975). . . .	471	Cartoons Stir Violent Protests, Danish Newspaper's Prophet Muhammad (Sept. 30, 2005)	1075
Bribes, Federal Tax Official Resigns After Accepting (Nov. 16, 1951)	279	Casey's Romantic Affair Leads to His Resignation, Irish Bishop Eamonn (May 6, 1992)	779
Bribing Foreign Officials, Lockheed Is Implicated in (Feb. 4, 1976)	482	Catholic Priests, <i>Boston Globe</i> Reports on Child Sexual Abuse by Roman (Jan. 6, 2002)	954
Bridgestone Firestone over Slave Labor, Liberian Workers Sue (Nov. 17, 2005)	1078	Chaplin Cannot Reenter the United States, Actor Charles (Sept. 19, 1952)	283
British Cabinet Member Resigns After Fathering a Child Out of Wedlock (Jan. 5, 1994)	798	Chaplin Is Sued for Paternity, Actor Charles (June 4, 1943).	220
<i>Brown Bunny</i> Premieres at Cannes Film Festival, Sexually Provocative Film <i>The</i> (May 21, 2003)	1004	Charles's Intimate Phone Conversation with Camilla Parker Bowles Is Taped, Prince (Dec. 18, 1989)	745
Brown Is Murdered by Lover, Former U.S. Senator Arthur (Dec. 8, 1906)	22	Chavis, Sex Scandal Forces Dismissal of NAACP Chief Benjamin (Aug. 21, 1994)	821
Brownlee, Sex Scandal Forces Resignation of Alberta Premier (July 10, 1934)	176	Cheating, U.S. Naval Academy Expels Midshipmen for (Apr. 28, 1994)	800
Bryant Campaigns Against Lesbian and Gay Rights, Singer Anita (Jan., 1977).	506	Cheating on Exams, West Point Cadets Are Caught (Apr. 4, 1976)	488
Bryant Is Accused of Rape, Basketball Star Kobe (July 1, 2003)	1008	Cheating Scandal Shocks Soap Box Derby (Aug. 19, 1973).	444
Buddhist Teacher Orders His Students to Remove Their Clothes (Oct. 31, 1975).	474	<i>Chicago Sun-Times</i> Reports That Cardinal Cody Diverted Church Funds (Sept. 10, 1981)	597
Buddhists, Madame Nhu Derides Self-Immolation of (Aug. 14, 1963)	362	<i>Chien Andalou</i> Shocks Parisian Audience, Luis Buñuel's <i>Un</i> (June 6, 1929)	136
Buñuel's <i>Un Chien Andalou</i> Shocks Parisian Audience, Luis (June 6, 1929)	136	Child-Abuse Case, McMartin Preschool Is Embroided in (Aug. 12, 1983-July 27, 1990)	624
Burton Is Convicted of Bribery, Senator Joseph R. (Jan. 23, 1904).	4	Child Molestation, Pop Star Michael Jackson Is Charged with (Dec. 18, 2003)	1025
Bush Is Investigated for Insider Trading, George W. (Apr. 5, 1991)	762	Child Sexual Abuse by Roman Catholic Priests, <i>Boston Globe</i> Reports on (Jan. 6, 2002)	954
Bush's Evasion of Wartime Duty, <i>60 Minutes II</i> Reports on George W. (Sept. 8, 2004)	1044	Children, Psychoanalyst Ernest Jones Is Accused of Molesting Mentally Disabled (Mar. 2, 1906)	12
Butcher Pleads Guilty to Fraud, Banker Jake (May 7, 1985).	648	Children in France Leads to the Outreau Affair, Sexual Abuse of (Dec., 2000)	922
Buttafuoco, Amy Fisher Shoots Mary Jo (May 19, 1992)	781		
Butz Resigns After Making Obscene Joke, Agriculture Secretary Earl (Oct. 4, 1976) . . .	500		
Calhoun's Criminal Past, Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory (May, 1955).	295		

MODERN SCANDALS

Chilean Politicians Use Community Funds for Personal Campaigns (Oct. 22, 2006)	1121	Crime Connection, Italian Justice Minister Resigns Because of (May 23, 1981)	591
Chrétien, Ethics Counselor Exonerates Canadian Prime Minister Jean (May 7, 1999-Mar. 2, 2001)	898	Crime Connections, Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson Aide Resigns over (Oct. 7, 1963) . . .	365
CIA Operative Valerie Plame, Columnist Robert Novak Leaks the Name of (July 14, 2003)	1010	Curie Has Affair with Physicist Paul Langevin, Nobel Prize Marie (1910)	37
Cisneros Is Indicted for Lying to Federal Agents, HUD Secretary Henry (Dec. 11, 1997).	872	Dalkon Shield Contraceptive Is Removed from the Market (Summer, 1974)	459
Clearstream Financial Clearinghouse Is Accused of Fraud and Money Laundering (2001)	925	Daniélou Dies in a Prostitute's House, French Cardinal (May 20, 1974)	456
Clinton Denies Sexual Affair with a White House Intern, President Bill (Jan. 17, 1998).	874	Daugherty's Aide Commits Suicide, U.S. Attorney General Harry M. (May 30, 1923). . .	92
Cobb and Tris Speaker Are Accused of Fixing Baseball Games, Ty (Dec. 26, 1926)	118	Defects to East Germany, West German Counterintelligence Chief (Aug. 19, 1985). . .	657
Cocaine Use, Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth Suspends Players for (Feb. 28, 1986)	666	De Lorean Is Arrested in a Drug Sting, Car Manufacturer John (Oct. 19, 1982).	609
Cody Diverted Church Funds, <i>Chicago Sun-Times</i> Reports That Cardinal (Sept. 10, 1981)	597	Diana Dies in a Car Crash, Princess (Aug. 31, 1997)	861
"Cold Fusion" Claims Cannot Be Verified, Scientists' (Mar. 23, 1989)	723	Diana's Phone Conversation with Her Lover Is Made Public, Princess (Aug. 23, 1992)	789
College Basketball Players, Mobster's Arrest Reveals Point Shaving by Boston (Apr. 27, 1980)	568	"Diary of a Mad Congresswife" Scandalizes Washington, Rita Jenrette's (Dec. 7, 1980)	582
College Basketball Players Begin Shaving Points for Money (Jan. 17, 1951)	274	Dines, Film Star Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. (Jan. 1, 1924)	100
Communist Letter Brings Down British Government, Forged (Oct. 25, 1924).	105	Dodd Is Censured for Misappropriating Funds, Senator Thomas J. (June 23, 1967).	384
Communist Witch Hunt, U.S. Senator Joseph McCarthy Launches (Feb. 9, 1950)	266	Doerfer Resigns for Accepting Gifts from Networks, FCC Chairman John C. (Mar. 14, 1960)	335
Congo Free State from King Leopold II, Belgium Confiscates (Nov. 15, 1908)	31	Dogfighting Ring, Football Star Michael Vick Pleads Guilty to Financing a (Aug. 20, 2007).	1158
Cooke Admits Fabricating Her Pulitzer Prize- Winning Feature, Janet (Apr. 15, 1981)	585	Donaghy Is Sentenced to Prison for Betting on Games, NBA Referee Tim (July 29, 2008).	1172
Corruption Charges, Former Louisiana Governor Edwin Edwards Is Convicted on (May 9, 2000)	907	Doping Scandal, Tour de France Is Hit with a (July 26, 2006).	1103
Corruption in Turkey, Car Crash Reveals Depth of Government (Nov. 3, 1996)	843	<i>Dracula</i> Copyright, <i>Nosferatu</i> Is Found to Have Violated (July, 1925)	111
Corruption Scandal, Prominent Belgians Are Sentenced in Agusta-Dassault (Dec. 23, 1998)	889	Dreyfus Innocent of Treason, French Court Declares Alfred (July 12, 1906)	19
Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir, <i>Mommie Dearest</i> , Actor Joan (1978).	517	Drug Possession, Film Star Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for (Aug. 31, 1948)	251
Crematory, Rotting Human Bodies Are Found at Georgia (Feb. 17, 2002)	964	Drug Sting, Car Manufacturer John De Lorean Is Arrested in a (Oct. 19, 1982)	609

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Drug Use, Washington, D.C., Mayor Marion Barry Is Arrested for (Jan. 18, 1990)	748	Faking His Research on Creating Stem Cells, Scientist Is Indicted for (May 12, 2006)	1094
Drugs, Gymnast Andreea Răducan Loses Her Olympic Gold Medal Because of (Sept. 26, 2000).	916	Faking Howard Hughes Memoirs, Clifford Irving Admits (Jan. 28, 1972)	422
Duke and Duchess of Windsor Visit Nazi Germany (Oct. 11-22, 1937)	196	Falsifying Research, Immunologist Resigns After Being Accused of (Aug., 2002)	977
Duke Lacrosse Players Are Accused of Gang Rape (Mar. 14, 2006)	1086	Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized, Film Star Frances (Jan. 14, 1943)	214
Duncan Begins Affair with Millionaire Heir, Dancer Isadora (1909-1916)	34	Farrow's Adopted Daughter, Woody Allen Has Affair with Lover Mia (Jan. 13, 1992)	773
Duplessis Orphans, Quebec Offers Support for Abused (Mar. 4, 1999)	892	FBI Sting Implicating Dozens of Lawmakers, Media Uncover (Feb. 2, 1980)	561
Durocher Is Suspended for Gambling Ties, Baseball Manager Leo (Spring, 1947)	242	Figure Skaters in Winter Olympics, French Judge Admits Favoring Russian (Feb. 11, 2002)	962
E. F. Hutton Executives Plead Guilty to Fraud (May 2, 1984).	636	Film Producer Thomas H. Ince Dies After Weekend on Hearst's Yacht (Nov. 19, 1924)	108
Eagleton Withdraws from Vice Presidential Race, Thomas F. (July 31, 1972)	440	Film Star Errol Flynn Is Acquitted of Rape (Feb. 6, 1942).	202
Edward VIII Abdicates to Marry an American Divorcée, King (Dec. 10, 1936)	187	Film Star Fatty Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter (Apr. 12, 1922)	79
Edwards Deny Being Gay, Julie Andrews and Blake (Dec., 1982)	612	Film Star Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized (Jan. 14, 1943)	214
Edwards Is Convicted on Corruption Charges, Former Louisiana Governor Edwin (May 9, 2000)	907	Film Star Hugh Grant Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct (June 27, 1995)	827
Eisenhower's Chief of Staff Resigns for Influence Selling, President (Sept. 22, 1958)	320	Film Star Ingrid Bergman Has a Child Out of Wedlock, Swedish (Feb. 7, 1950)	263
Ellis Is Accused of Lying, Award-Winning Historian Joseph J. (June 18, 2001)	936	Film Star Jean Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent Suicide (Sept. 4, 1932)	160
Embezzlement, Former United Way Charity Chief Pleads Guilty to (Mar. 4, 2004).	1028	Film Star Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. Dines (Jan. 1, 1924)	100
Enron Bankruptcy Reveals Massive Financial Fraud (Dec. 2, 2001)	945	Film Star Mary Astor's Diary Becomes a Public Sensation (Summer, 1936)	184
Environmental Protection Agency Chief for Contempt, Congress Cites (Dec. 16, 1982).	615	Film Star Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession (Aug. 31, 1948).	251
Estes Is Arrested for Corporate Fraud, Billie Sol (Mar. 29, 1962).	341	Film Star Thelma Todd's Death Cannot Be Explained (Dec. 16, 1935)	178
<i>Exstase</i> , Hedy Lamarr Appears Nude in the Czech Film (Jan. 20, 1933).	163	Film <i>The Brown Bunny</i> Premieres at Cannes Film Festival, Sexually Provocative (May 21, 2003)	1004
Extortion, San Francisco Mayor Schmitz Is Found Guilty of (June 13, 1907).	28	Financial Institutions and Markets Begin to Collapse (Sept. 7, 2008).	1175
Faked Hitler Diaries, German Magazine Publishes (Apr. 25, 1983)	618	Financier Michael Milken Is Indicted for Racketeering and Fraud (Mar. 29, 1989).	726
Fakes, Japanese Amateur Archaeologist's "Discoveries" Are Proven (Nov. 5, 2000)	919	Fire, Nearly 150 Workers Die in Triangle Shirtwaist Factory (Mar. 25, 1911)	40

MODERN SCANDALS

Fire Kills Thirty-five Girls, Irish Orphan School (Feb. 23, 1943)	217	Fraud, Faith Healer Peter Popoff Is Exposed as a (Apr. 22, 1986)	673
Firestone Recalls Millions of Defective Car Tires (Oct. 20, 1978)	534	Fraud, Financier Michael Milken Is Indicted for Racketeering and (Mar. 29, 1989)	726
Fisher Shoots Mary Jo Buttafuoco, Amy (May 19, 1992)	781	Fraud, Guinness Four Are Found Guilty of Share-Trading (Aug. 27, 1990)	753
Florida Politician Is Arrested for Soliciting an Undercover Male Police Officer (July 11, 2007).	1153	Fraud, Guru Bhagwan Shree Rajneesh Is Indicted for Immigration (Oct. 23, 1985)	662
Flynn Is Acquitted of Rape, Film Star Errol (Feb. 6, 1942).	202	Fraud, Insurance Brokerage Marsh & McLennan Is Charged with (Oct. 14, 2004).	1050
Flynn Was a Nazi Spy, Biographer Claims Actor Errol (1980).	559	Fraud, Journalist Stephen Glass Is Exposed as a (May 11, 1998)	887
Foley Resigns in Sex Scandal Involving a Teenage Page, Congressman Mark (Sept. 29, 2006)	1118	Fraud, <i>New York Times</i> Reporter Jayson Blair Is Exposed as a (Apr. 29, 2003).	998
Fonda's Visit to North Vietnam Outrages Many Americans, Jane (July 8-22, 1972)	434	Fraud, Police Arrest Architect John Poulson for Bribery and (June 22, 1972)	431
Football, NCAA Imposes "Death Penalty" on Southern Methodist University (Feb. 25, 1987)	687	Fraud, Prize-Winning Aborigine Novelist Revealed as a (Mar. 12, 1997)	852
Football Coach in Sex Scandal, University of Alabama Fires New (May 3, 2003)	1002	Fraud, Stephen Breuning Pleads Guilty to Medical Research (Sept. 19, 1988).	720
Football Coach Resigns for Falsifying His Résumé, Notre Dame (Dec. 14, 2001)	948	Fraud, U.S. Senate Investigates Veterans Bureau Chief for (Mar. 2, 1923)	89
Football Star Michael Vick Pleads Guilty to Financing a Dogfighting Ring (Aug. 20, 2007).	1158	Fraud Accusations, Historian Michael A. Bellesiles Resigns After Academic (Oct. 25, 2002)	985
Football Team Is Fined for Spying on Other Teams, New England Patriots (Sept. 13, 2007).	1161	Fraud Allegations, Georgia Basketball Coach Jim Harrick, Sr., Resigns over (Mar. 27, 2002)	968
Ford Ignored Pinto's Safety Problems, Court Finds That (May 29, 1981)	594	Fraud and Money Laundering, Clearstream Financial Clearinghouse Is Accused of (2001).	925
Forged Checks, Film Producer David Begelman Is Found to Have (Feb. 25, 1977)	509	Fraud Charges, ZZZZ Best Founder Is Indicted on Federal (Jan. 15, 1988)	708
Forged Communist Letter Brings Down British Government (Oct. 25, 1924)	105	Fraud Upsets Belmont Park Raceway, Horse- Swapping (Sept. 23, 1977)	514
Fortas Is Accused of Bribery, Supreme Court Justice Abe (May 9, 1969)	391	Frauds, Ponzi Schemes Are Revealed as Investment (1919-1920)	63
Fraud, Banker Jake Butcher Pleads Guilty to (May 7, 1985).	648	Fraudulent Article, Physicist Publishes a Deliberately (Spring, 1996).	837
Fraud, Billie Sol Estes Is Arrested for Corporate (Mar. 29, 1962).	341	Fraudulent Purchase of Ice Hockey Team, John Spano Is Sentenced for (Jan. 28, 2000).	901
Fraud, Boston Alderman Is Reelected While in Jail for (Dec., 1904)	6	Fraudulent Schemes Rock French Government, Stavisky's (Jan. 8, 1934-Jan. 17, 1936)	170
Fraud, E. F. Hutton Executives Plead Guilty to (May 2, 1984).	636	Garvey's Marital Problems, Magazine Reveals Baseball Star Steve (July 28, 1980)	574
Fraud, Enron Bankruptcy Reveals Massive Financial (Dec. 2, 2001)	945	Gay, Julie Andrews and Blake Edwards Deny Being (Dec., 1982)	612

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Gay Bar, Ex-gay Leader John Paulk Is Photographed Leaving a (Sept. 19, 2000)	913	Greenpeace Ship <i>Rainbow Warrior</i> , French Secret Service Sinks the (July 10, 1985)	651
Gay Congressman Edward Schrock, Blog "Outs" Anti- (Aug. 19, 2004)	1041	Guinness Four Are Found Guilty of Share- Trading Fraud (Aug. 27, 1990)	753
Gay Rights, Singer Anita Bryant Campaigns Against Lesbian and (Jan., 1977)	506	Haggard, Male Escort Reveals Sexual Liaisons with Evangelist Ted (Nov. 2, 2006)	1126
Gay Sex Leads to Ethics Scandal, Study of Anonymous (1970)	407	Haley Is Sued for Plagiarism, <i>Roots</i> Author Alex (1978)	520
Gay-Sex Orgy, British Politician Resigns After (Jan. 21, 2006)	1084	Hamsun Is Arrested for Treason, Norwegian Writer Knut (May 26, 1945)	229
Gay-Sex Scandal, Evangelist Billy James Hargis Resigns College Presidency During (Oct. 25, 1974)	465	Hanssen Is Arrested for Spying for the Russians, CIA Agent Robert (Feb. 18, 2001)	931
Gay-Sex Scandal, Spokane, Washington, Mayor Recalled in (Dec. 6, 2005)	1081	Harding Is Banned from Skating After Attack on Rival, Tonya (June 30, 1994)	812
Gay-Sex Sting, President Lyndon Johnson's Aide Is Arrested in (Oct. 7, 1964)	371	Harding's Lover Publishes Tell-All Memoir, President Warren G. (1927)	124
Gays Is Banned on Broadway, Mae West's Play About (1927)	122	Hargis Resigns College Presidency During Gay- Sex Scandal, Evangelist Billy James (Oct. 25, 1974)	465
Geisha, Japanese Prime Minister Sosuke Resigns After Affair with a (Aug. 10, 1989)	733	Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent Suicide, Film Star Jean (Sept. 4, 1932)	160
Genetically Modified Corn Seeds in New Zealand, Journalist Alleges Release of (July, 2002)	974	Harrick, Sr., Resigns over Fraud Allegations, Georgia Basketball Coach Jim (Mar. 27, 2002)	968
Genovese Dies as Her Cries for Help Are Ignored, Kitty (Mar. 13, 1964)	369	Harrison Loses Plagiarism Lawsuit, Former Beatle George (Sept. 1, 1976)	494
Georgia Crematory, Rotting Human Bodies Are Found at (Feb. 17, 2002)	964	Hays's Affair, <i>Washington Post</i> Exposes Congressman Wayne L. (May 23, 1976)	491
Gibson Is Caught Making Anti-Semitic Remarks, Actor Mel (July 28, 2006)	1106	Hayworth Marries Aly Khan After Adulterous Affair, Actor Rita (May 27, 1949)	254
Giscard d'Estaing Is Accused of Taking a Bribe, French President (Oct. 10, 1979)	550	Hearst Helps Rob a Bank, Kidnapped Heir Patty (Apr. 15, 1974)	450
Giuliani's Extramarital Affair Is Revealed, New York Mayor Rudy (May 2, 2000)	904	Hearst's Yacht, Film Producer Thomas H. Ince Dies After Weekend on (Nov. 19, 1924)	108
Glass Is Exposed as a Fraud, Journalist Stephen (May 11, 1998)	887	Helmsley Enters Prison for Tax Evasion, Hotel Tycoon Leona (Apr. 15, 1992)	776
Glyn's Novel <i>Three Weeks</i> Shocks Readers, Elinor (1907)	25	Herman Is Arrested for Public Indecency, Comedian Pee-wee (July 26, 1991)	765
Goetz Shoots Four Black Youths, Subway Vigilante Bernhard (Dec. 22, 1984)	641	Hewlett-Packard Spied on Its Own Board, <i>Newsweek</i> Reveals That (Sept. 18, 2006)	1114
Goodwin Is Accused of Plagiarism, Historian Doris Kearns (Jan. 18, 2002)	959	Hilton Sex-Tape Appears on the Web, Paris (Early Nov., 2003)	1019
Grading Scandal at Auburn University, <i>New York Times</i> Exposes (July 14, 2006)	1101	Hindemith's Opera <i>Sancta Susanna</i> Depicts a Nun's Sexual Desires (Mar. 26, 1922)	76
Grant Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct, Film Star Hugh (June 27, 1995)	827	Hiss Is Convicted of Perjury, Alger (Jan. 21, 1950)	259
Grass Admits to Youthful Nazi Ties, Novelist Günter (Aug. 12, 2006)	1109	Hitler Diaries, German Magazine Publishes Faked (Apr. 25, 1983)	618

MODERN SCANDALS

Hoax, Piltdown Man Is Revealed to Be a (Nov. 21, 1953)	292	Irving Admits Faking Howard Hughes Memoirs, Clifford (Jan. 28, 1972)	422
Holocaust, Play Accuses Pope Pius XII of Complicity in the (Feb. 23, 1963)	353	Italian Justice Minister Resigns Because of Crime Connection (May 23, 1981)	591
Holocaust Victims, Swiss Banks Admit to Holding Accounts of (June 25, 1997)	858	Jackson Calls New York City "Hymietown," Jesse (Jan. 25, 1984)	633
Homosexual "Circle" Scandalizes Germany, Emperor William II's (1906-1909)	9	Jackson Fathers a Child Out of Wedlock, Civil Rights Leader Jesse (May, 1999)	895
Homosexuality Investigation, U.S. Senate Rebukes Navy in (July 19, 1921)	70	Jackson Is Charged with Child Molestation, Pop Star Michael (Dec. 18, 2003)	1025
Horse-Swapping Fraud Upsets Belmont Park Raceway (Sept. 23, 1977)	514	Japanese Americans, President Roosevelt Orders Internment of (Feb. 19, 1942)	205
House Post Office Scandal, Congressman Dan Rostenkowski Is Indicted in (June 1, 1994) . .	803	Japanese Politician Charged with Corruption Hangs Himself (May 28, 2007)	1145
Hovind Is Convicted of Federal Tax Violations, Evangelist Kent (Nov. 2, 2006)	1123	Jefferson Is Indicted for Corruption, Congressman William J. (June 4, 2007) . . .	1147
Hughes Memoirs, Clifford Irving Admits Faking Howard (Jan. 28, 1972)	422	Jenrette's "Diary of a Mad Congresswife" Scandalizes Washington, Rita (Dec. 7, 1980)	582
Hurricane Katrina Relief Efforts, Government Incompetence Mars (Beginning August 29, 2005)	1068	Johnson Aide Resigns over Crime Connections, Vice President Lyndon B. (Oct. 7, 1963) . . .	365
Husband Is "Outed" as Gay, New Zealand Prime Minister's (Sept. 17, 2006)	1112	Johnson Is Imprisoned for Abetting Prostitution, Boxer Jack (May 13, 1913)	52
"Hymietown," Jesse Jackson Calls New York City (Jan. 25, 1984)	633	Johnson's Aide Is Arrested in Gay-Sex Sting, President Lyndon (Oct. 7, 1964)	371
Ice Hockey Team, John Spano Is Sentenced for Fraudulent Purchase of (Jan. 28, 2000)	901	Jones Admits Steroid Use, Olympic Champion Marion (Oct. 5, 2007)	1164
Imus Loses His Radio Show over Sexist and Racist Remarks, Shock Jock Don (Apr. 11, 2007)	1142	Jones Is Accused of Molesting Mentally Disabled Children, Psychoanalyst Ernest (Mar. 2, 1906)	12
Ince Dies After Weekend on Hearst's Yacht, Film Producer Thomas H. (Nov. 19, 1924)	108	Jorgensen Becomes Christine Jorgensen, George (Dec. 1, 1952)	289
Insider Trading, British Prime Minister's Staff Is Investigated for (Jan., 1913)	43	Jung Myung Seok Is Charged with Rape, Korean Religious Teacher (June 30, 2001)	939
Insider Trading, George W. Bush Is Investigated for (Apr. 5, 1991)	762	Katrina Relief Efforts, Government Incompetence Mars Hurricane (Beginning August 29, 2005)	1068
Insider-Trading Scandal, Martha Stewart Is Convicted in (Mar. 5, 2004)	1031	Kelly Is Acquitted on Child Pornography Charges, Singer R. (June 13, 2008)	1170
Insider-Trading Scandal Rocks Japanese Government (June, 1988-June, 1989)	714	Kennan Proves Russian Sisson Documents Are Fakes, George F. (June, 1956)	307
Insull Utilities Trusts Collapse Prompts New Federal Regulation (1932)	154	Kennedy Begins an Affair with Gloria Swanson, Joseph P. (Early 1928)	127
Internment of Japanese Americans, President Roosevelt Orders (Feb. 19, 1942)	205	Kennedy's Driving Accident Kills Mary Jo Kopechne, Senator Edward (July 18, 1969)	394
Iran-Contra Weapons Scandal Taints Reagan's Administration (Nov. 13, 1986-May 4, 1989)	676		

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Kennedy's Romantic Affair Links Him to Organized Crime, President (Feb. 7, 1960)	329	Literary Hoax, Australian Poets Claim Responsibility for a (June 5, 1944).	223
Kent State Students, National Guardsmen Kill Protesting (May 4, 1970)	410	Liverpool Children's Hospital Collects Body Parts Without Authorization (Jan. 30, 2001)	927
Kidnapped Heir Patty Hearst Helps Rob a Bank (Apr. 15, 1974)	450	Lloyd George Is Accused of Selling Honors, British Prime Minister David (June 22, 1922)	83
King Is Sued for Palimony, Tennis Star Billie Jean (Apr. 28, 1981)	588	Lockheed Is Implicated in Bribing Foreign Officials (Feb. 4, 1976)	482
King, Jr.'s, Doctoral-Thesis Plagiarism Is Revealed, Martin Luther (Dec. 3, 1989)	739	Longet Kills Ski Champion Vladimir Sabich, Actor Claudine (Mar. 21, 1976)	485
Kopechne, Senator Edward Kennedy's Driving Accident Kills Mary Jo (July 18, 1969)	394	Lott Praises Strom Thurmond's 1948 Presidential Campaign, Senator Trent (Dec. 5, 2002).	988
Koreagate Scandal, U.S. Congress Members Are Implicated in (1976-1977)	479	Love Canal Residents Sue Chemical Company (Sept. 26, 1979).	546
Lacrosse Players Are Accused of Gang Rape, Duke (Mar. 14, 2006)	1086	Lowe Videotapes His Sexual Encounter with a Minor, Actor Rob (July 18, 1988)	717
Lamarr Appears Nude in the Czech Film <i>Exstase</i> , Hedy (Jan. 20, 1933)	163	Lying, Award-Winning Historian Joseph J. Ellis Is Accused of (June 18, 2001)	936
Landis Commits Suicide During Affair with Rex Harrison, Actor Carole (July 5, 1948)	245	Lying to Federal Agents, HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros Is Indicted for (Dec. 11, 1997)	872
Langevin, Nobelist Marie Curie Has Affair with Physicist Paul (1910)	37	MacArthur Sues Newspaper Columnist for Libel, General Douglas (May 16, 1934)	173
Langley Is Convicted of Violating the Volstead Act, Kentucky Congressman John W. (May 12, 1924)	103	McCarthy Launches Communist Witch Hunt, U.S. Senator Joseph (Feb. 9, 1950).	266
Laval Wants Germany to Win World War II, French Prime Minister Pierre (Apr. 22, 1942)	209	McGwire Evades Congressional Questions on Steroid Use, Former Baseball Star Mark (Mar. 17, 2005)	1058
Leak, British Cabinet Member Resigns After Budget Information (May 20, 1936)	181	McMartin Preschool Is Embroiled in Child- Abuse Case (Aug. 12, 1983-July 27, 1990)	624
Leopold II, Belgium Confiscates Congo Free State from King (Nov. 15, 1908)	31	McPherson Claims She Was Kidnapped, Evangelist Aimee Semple (May-June, 1926)	115
Leopold III Abdicates, Belgium's Disgraced King (July 16, 1951)	276	Major, British Politician Reveals Her Affair with Prime Minister John (Sept. 28, 2002).	983
Lesbian and Gay Rights, Singer Anita Bryant Campaigns Against (Jan., 1977)	506	Mantle and Willie Mays for Casino Ties, Baseball Commissioner Suspends Mickey (Nov. 29, 1979, and Jan. 31, 1983).	556
Letourneau Is Arrested for Statutory Rape, Teacher Mary Kay (Feb. 26, 1997).	849	Maradona Is Expelled from World Cup, Soccer Star Diego (July 1, 1994).	815
Levy Disappears, Washington Intern Chandra (Apr. 30, 2001)	933	Marcos Forces the Entire Supreme Court to Resign, Philippine President (May 11, 1982)	600
Lewis Marries Thirteen-Year-Old Cousin, Rock Star Jerry Lee (Dec. 12, 1957)	313	Marsh & McLennan Is Charged with Fraud, Insurance Brokerage (Oct. 14, 2004)	1050
Libel, General Douglas MacArthur Sues Newspaper Columnist for (May 16, 1934)	173		
Libel Trial Against the <i>Daily Star</i> , Novelist- Politician Jeffrey Archer Wins (July 25, 1987)	696		

MODERN SCANDALS

Marvin Is Ordered to Pay Palimony to Former Lover, Actor Lee (Apr. 18, 1979)	540	Muhammad Cartoons Stir Violent Protests, Danish Newspaper's Prophet (Sept. 30, 2005)	1075
Mau Mau Rebellion Are Revealed, British Atrocities in Kenya's (Late 1955)	298	Muhammad Is Sued for Paternity, Muslim Leader Elijah (July 2, 1963)	359
Mayflower Madam Pleads Guilty to Promoting Prostitution (July 19, 1985).	654	Muldergate Scandal, South African President B. J. Vorster Resigns in (June 4, 1979).	543
Mays for Casino Ties, Baseball Commissioner Suspends Mickey Mantle and Willie (Nov. 29, 1979, and Jan. 31, 1983).	556	Mulroney Is Exposed in Airbus Scandal, Former Canadian Premier Brian (Nov. 18, 1995)	830
Measles Epidemic in the Amazon, American Scientists Are Accused of Starting a (Sept., 2000)	910	Munsinger Sex and Spy Scandal Rocks Canada (Mar. 4, 1966)	377
Media Allege Canadian Officials Allowed Sale of Rancid Tuna (Sept. 17, 1985)	660	Murder, British Politician Jeremy Thorpe Is Charged with Attempted (Aug. 4, 1978)	531
Mellor Resigns over Romantic Affair, British Cabinet Member David (Sept. 24, 1992).	792	Murder, Former Mexican President Carlos Salinas's Brother Is Arrested for (Feb. 28, 1995)	824
Menendez Brothers Are Arrested for Murdering Their Parents (Mar., 1990)	750	Murder Case, Belgian Media Reveal How Police Bungled Serial (Aug. 16, 1996)	840
Michael Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct, Pop Singer George (Apr. 7, 1998).	881	Murder Leads to Sensational O. J. Simpson Trial, Double (June 12, 1994).	806
Michael Milken Is Indicted for Racketeering and Fraud, Financier (Mar. 29, 1989)	726	Murder of Volunteer in Tonga, Peace Corps Conceals (1976)	476
Milgram Begins Obedience-to-Authority Experiments, Psychologist Stanley (July, 1961)	338	Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's Acting Career, Director Taylor's (Feb. 1, 1922).	73
Military Setbacks, British Government Falls Because of Munitions Shortages and (May, 1915)	58	Murdered, United Mine Workers Leader Joseph Yablonski Is (Dec. 30, 1969).	404
Milken Is Indicted for Racketeering and Fraud, Financier Michael (Mar. 29, 1989).	726	Murdered by His Grandson, Utah Millionaire Is (July 23, 1978)	528
Milli Vanilli Lose Grammy Award, Lip-Synching Duo (Nov. 19, 1990)	756	Murdered by Lover, Former U.S. Senator Arthur Brown Is (Dec. 8, 1906)	22
Mills's Stripper Affair Leads to His Downfall, Congressman Wilbur D. (Oct. 7, 1974)	462	Murdering Their Parents, Menendez Brothers Are Arrested for (Mar., 1990)	750
Miss America to Resign, Vanessa Williams Is the First (July 23, 1984)	638	Murders Architect Stanford White, Millionaire Heir (June 25, 1906)	16
Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession, Film Star Robert (Aug. 31, 1948)	251	Music Industry, U.S. Congress Investigates Payola in Pop (Feb. 8, 1960)	332
<i>Mommie Dearest</i> , Actor Joan Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir (1978).	517	Mutual Fund Companies Are Implicated in Shady Trading Practices (Sept. 3, 2003)	1013
Money Laundering, Clearstream Financial Clearinghouse Is Accused of Fraud and (2001).	925	My Lai Is Revealed, American Massacre of Vietnamese Civilians at (Nov. 13, 1969).	401
Money Laundering, Senate Denounces Herman E. Talmadge for (Oct. 11, 1979)	553	Myerson Resigns as New York Commissioner of Cultural Affairs, Bess (Apr. 9, 1987).	693
Monroe Sings "Happy Birthday, Mr. President," Marilyn (May 19, 1962)	344	NAACP Chief Benjamin Chavis, Sex Scandal Forces Dismissal of (Aug. 21, 1994).	821
		Naval Academy Expels Midshipmen for Cheating, U.S. (Apr. 28, 1994).	800
		Navy in Homosexuality Investigation, U.S. Senate Rebukes (July 19, 1921)	70

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Nazi Collaboration, French War Hero Pétain Is Convicted of (Aug. 14, 1945)	232	Olympic Gold Medal Because of Drugs, Gymnast Andreea Răducan Loses Her (Sept. 26, 2000)	916
Nazi Collaboration, Industrialist Charles Bedaux Is Arrested for (Dec. 5, 1942)	212	Olympics, French Judge Admits Favoring Russian Figure Skaters in Winter (Feb. 11, 2002).	962
Nazi Collaboration, Norwegian Politician Quisling Is Arrested for (May 9, 1945)	226	O'Reilly, Television Producer Files Sex Harassment Suit Against Bill (Oct. 13, 2004)	1047
Nazi Germany, Duke and Duchess of Windsor Visit (Oct. 11-22, 1937)	196	Organized Crime, President Kennedy's Romantic Affair Links Him to (Feb. 7, 1960).	329
Nazi Past Is Revealed, Former U.N. Secretary- General Kurt Waldheim's (Mar. 3, 1986)	669	Organized Crime, U.S. Senate Committee Begins Investigating (May 3, 1950)	270
Nazi Pilot, German Generals Must Retire for Supporting a Neo- (Nov. 9, 1976)	503	Outreau Affair, Sexual Abuse of Children in France Leads to the (Dec., 2000).	922
Nazi Spy, Biographer Claims Actor Errol Flynn Was a (1980)	559	Palimony, Tennis Star Billie Jean King Is Sued for (Apr. 28, 1981)	588
Nazi Ties, Novelist Günter Grass Admits to Youthful (Aug. 12, 2006)	1109	Palimony to Former Lover, Actor Lee Marvin Is Ordered to Pay (Apr. 18, 1979).	540
NBA Referee Tim Donaghy Is Sentenced to Prison for Betting on Games (July 29, 2008).	1172	Parkinson Resigns After His Secretary Becomes Pregnant, British Cabinet Secretary (Oct. 14, 1983)	631
<i>New York Times</i> Exposes Grading Scandal at Auburn University (July 14, 2006)	1101	Paternity, Actor Charles Chaplin Is Sued for (June 4, 1943).	220
<i>New York Times</i> Publishes the Pentagon Papers (June 13, 1971)	416	Paternity, Muslim Leader Elijah Is Sued for (July 2, 1963)	359
<i>New York Times</i> Reporter Denies Reports of a Soviet Famine (Mar. 31, 1933).	167	Paulk Is Photographed Leaving a Gay Bar, Ex-gay Leader John (Sept. 19, 2000).	913
<i>New York Times</i> Reporter Jayson Blair Is Exposed as a Fraud (Apr. 29, 2003)	998	Payola in Pop Music Industry, U.S. Congress Investigates (Feb. 8, 1960)	332
Nhu Derides Self-Immolation of Vietnamese Buddhists, Madame (Aug. 14, 1963).	362	Peace Corps Conceals Murder of Volunteer in Tonga (1976)	476
Nixon Denies Taking Illegal Campaign Contributions, Richard (Sept. 23, 1952)	286	Pearson Exposes Congressman's Corruption, Columnist Drew (Aug. 4, 1948)	248
Nixons Received Jewelry Gifts, <i>Washington Post</i> Reveals That the (May 14, 1974).	453	Pee-wee Herman Is Arrested for Public Indecency, Comedian (July 26, 1991)	765
Nixon's Resignation, Watergate Break-in Leads to President (June 17, 1972-Aug. 9, 1974)	425	Pendergast Pleads Guilty to Income Tax Evasion, Kansas City's Boss (May 22, 1939)	199
Normand's Acting Career, Director Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel (Feb. 1, 1922)	73	Pentagon Papers, <i>New York Times</i> Publishes the (June 13, 1971)	416
Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. Dines, Film Star Mabel (Jan. 1, 1924)	100	Perjury, Alger Hiss Is Convicted of (Jan. 21, 1950)	259
<i>Nosferatu</i> Is Found to Have Violated <i>Dracula</i> Copyright (July, 1925)	111	Pet Food That Killed Thousands of American Pets, Manufacturer Recalls (Summer, 2006- Mar. 16, 2007).	1097
Novak Leaks the Name of CIA Operative Valerie Plame, Columnist Robert (July 14, 2003).	1010	Pétain Is Convicted of Nazi Collaboration, French War Hero (Aug. 14, 1945)	232
Oil-for-Food Scandal, Iqbal Riza Resigns from the United Nations in (Jan. 15, 2005)	1053	Physicist Publishes a Deliberately Fraudulent Article (Spring, 1996)	837
Olympic Champion Marion Jones Admits Steroid Use (Oct. 5, 2007).	1164		

MODERN SCANDALS

Piltown Man Is Revealed to Be a Hoax (Nov. 21, 1953)	292	Pound Is Charged with Treason and Institutionalized, Poet Ezra (Dec. 14, 1945)	236
Pinto's Safety Problems, Court Finds That Ford Ignored (May 29, 1981)	594	Powell, Jr., Is Excluded from Congress, Adam Clayton (Mar. 1, 1967)	380
Pius XII of Complicity in the Holocaust, Play Accuses Pope (Feb. 23, 1963)	353	Prescription Elixir Causes More than One Hundred Deaths (Sept.-Oct., 1937).	193
Plagiarism, Historian Doris Kearns Goodwin Is Accused of (Jan. 18, 2002)	959	Profumo Affair Rocks British Government, John (Mar. 2-Sept. 25, 1963).	355
Plagiarism, Historian Stephen E. Ambrose Is Accused of (Jan. 4, 2002).	951	Prostitute's House, French Cardinal Daniélou Dies in a (May 20, 1974)	456
Plagiarism, <i>Roots</i> Author Alex Haley Is Sued for (1978).	520	Prostitution, Boxer Jack Johnson Is Imprisoned for Abetting (May 13, 1913).	52
Plagiarism, Scottish Historian Is Charged with (Apr., 1998).	879	Prostitution, Mayflower Madam Pleads Guilty to Promoting (July 19, 1985)	654
Plagiarism Charges End Joe Biden's Presidential Campaign (Sept. 23, 1987)	698	Prostitution Scandal, New York Governor Eliot Spitzer Resigns in (Mar. 12, 2008)	1167
Plagiarism Is Revealed, Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, Doctoral-Thesis (Dec. 3, 1989).	739	PTL Television Network, Jim Bakker Resigns as Head of (Mar. 19, 1987)	690
Plagiarism Lawsuit, Former Beatle George Harrison Loses (Sept. 1, 1976)	494	Pulitzer Prize-Winning Feature, Janet Cooke Admits Fabricating Her (Apr. 15, 1981)	585
Plame, Columnist Robert Novak Leaks the Name of CIA Operative Valerie (July 14, 2003). . .	1010	Pyramid Investment Schemes Cause Albanian Government to Fall (Jan., 1997)	846
Poisoning, Former Russian Security Service Officer Dies from Radiation (Nov. 23, 2006).	1132	Quisling Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration, Norwegian Politician (May 9, 1945)	226
Polanski Flees the United States to Avoid Rape Trial, Roman (Feb. 1, 1978)	522	Quiz Show, Charles Van Doren Admits to Being Fed Answers on Television (Nov. 2, 1959)	326
Police Bungled Serial Murder Case, Belgian Media Reveal How (Aug. 16, 1996)	840	Racketeering and Fraud, Financier Michael Milken Is Indicted for (Mar. 29, 1989).	726
Police Corruption, Atherton Report Exposes San Francisco (Mar. 17, 1937)	191	Radiation Poisoning, Former Russian Security Service Officer Dies from (Nov. 23, 2006) . .	1132
Police Corruption, Media Reports Spark Investigation of Australian (Jan. 12 and May 11, 1987)	681	Răducan Loses Her Olympic Gold Medal Because of Drugs, Gymnast Andreea (Sept. 26, 2000).	916
Police Corruption Is Revealed in Los Angeles's Rampart Division (May, 1998).	884	<i>Rainbow Warrior</i> , French Secret Service Sinks the Greenpeace Ship (July 10, 1985).	651
Ponzi Schemes Are Revealed as Investment Frauds (1919-1920)	63	Rajneesh Is Indicted for Immigration Fraud, Guru Bhagwan Shree (Oct. 23, 1985)	662
Popoff Is Exposed as a Fraud, Faith Healer Peter (Apr. 22, 1986)	673	Randall Cunningham's Home, Federal Agents Raid Congressman (July 1, 2005).	1064
Pornography, British Conductor-Composer Is Arrested for Possessing (Mar. 9, 1956).	304	Rape, Basketball Star Kobe Bryant Is Accused of (July 1, 2003).	1008
Pornography Charges, Singer R. Kelly Is Acquitted on Child (June 13, 2008).	1170	Rape, Duke Lacrosse Players Are Accused of Gang (Mar. 14, 2006)	1086
Postmaster's Division of Airmail Routes Creates a Scandal (May, 1930)	144	Rape, Film Star Errol Flynn Is Acquitted of (Feb. 6, 1942).	202
Poulson for Bribery and Fraud, Police Arrest Architect John (June 22, 1972).	431		

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Rape, Korean Religious Teacher Jung Myung Seok Is Charged with (June 30, 2001)	939	Sex and Spy Scandal Rocks Canada, Munsinger (Mar. 4, 1966)	377
Rape, Teacher Mary Kay Letourneau Is Arrested for Statutory (Feb. 26, 1997)	849	Sex Harassment Suit Against Bill O'Reilly, Television Producer Files (Oct. 13, 2004) . . .	1047
Rape, William Kennedy Smith Is Accused of (Mar. 30, 1991)	759	Sex Scandal, Congress Members Censured in House-Page (July 20, 1983)	621
Rape Trials, "Scottsboro Boys" Are Railroaded Through (Mar. 30, 1931)	150	Sex Scandal, University of Alabama Fires New Football Coach in (May 3, 2003)	1002
Raped by Police Officers, Black Teenager Claims to Have Been Gang- (Nov. 28, 1987)	702	Sex Scandal Forces Dismissal of NAACP Chief Benjamin Chavis (Aug. 21, 1994)	821
Reagan's Administration, Iran-Contra Weapons Scandal Taints (Nov. 13, 1986-May 4, 1989)	676	Sex Scandal Forces Resignation of Alberta Premier Brownlee (July 10, 1934)	176
Reid's Death in Drug Rehab Shakes Film Industry, Actor Wallace (Jan. 18, 1923)	86	Sex Scandal Involving a Teenage Page, Congressman Mark Foley Resigns in (Sept. 29, 2006)	1118
Riza Resigns from the United Nations in Oil-for- Food Scandal, Iqbal (Jan. 15, 2005)	1053	Sex-Tape Appears on the Web, Paris Hilton (Early Nov., 2003)	1019
Rockefeller Dies Mysteriously, Former Vice President Nelson (Jan. 26, 1979)	537	Sexual Abuse by Roman Catholic Priests, <i>Boston Globe</i> Reports on Child (Jan. 6, 2002)	954
Romanian Revolution, Harassment of a Christian Minister Sparks the (Dec. 15-25, 1989)	742	Sexual Abuse of Children in France Leads to the Outreau Affair (Dec., 2000)	922
Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds, Theodore (1904)	1	Sexual Affair with a White House Intern, President Bill Clinton Denies (Jan. 17, 1998)	874
Roosevelt Orders Internment of Japanese Americans, President (Feb. 19, 1942)	205	Sexual Assault, Sportscaster Marv Albert Is Tried for (Sept. 22, 1997)	865
Rose Is Banned from Baseball for Betting on Games, Pete (Aug. 24, 1989)	735	Sexual Assaults, E-mail Message Prompts Inquiry into Air Force Academy (Jan. 2, 2003)	991
Rostenkowski Is Indicted in House Post Office Scandal, Congressman Dan (June 1, 1994) . . .	803	Sexual Encounter with a Minor, Actor Rob Lowe Videotapes His (July 18, 1988)	717
Sabich, Actor Claudine Longet Kills Ski Champion Vladimir (Mar. 21, 1976)	485	Sexual Liaisons with Evangelist Ted Haggard, Male Escort Reveals (Nov. 2, 2006)	1126
Salinas's Brother Is Arrested for Murder, Former Mexican President Carlos (Feb. 28, 1995) . . .	824	Simpson Photo, <i>Time</i> Magazine Cover Uses Altered O. J. (June 24, 1994)	810
<i>Sancta Susanna</i> Depicts a Nun's Sexual Desires, Hindemith's Opera (Mar. 26, 1922)	76	Simpson Trial, Double Murder Leads to Sensational O. J. (June 12, 1994)	806
Scarsdale Diet Doctor Is Killed by His Lover (Mar. 10, 1980)	565	Simpson's Book, News Corp Abandons Plan to Publish O. J. (Nov. 20, 2006)	1129
Schmitz Is Found Guilty of Extortion, San Francisco Mayor (June 13, 1907)	28	Sisson Documents Are Fakes, George F. Kennan Proves Russian (June, 1956)	307
Schmitz Is Found to Have Children Out of Wedlock, Conservative Politician John G. (July 20, 1982)	603	Skating After Attack on Rival, Tonya Harding Is Banned from (June 30, 1994)	812
Schön Faked His Research, Inquiry Reveals That Physicist Jan Hendrik (Sept. 25, 2002)	980	Slave Labor, Liberian Workers Sue Bridgestone Firestone over (Nov. 17, 2005)	1078
Schwarzenegger Groped Women, Newspaper Claims That Arnold (Oct. 2, 2003)	1016	Slavery, Liberia Is Accused of Selling Its Own Citizens into (1930)	142
"Scottsboro Boys" Are Railroaded Through Rape Trials (Mar. 30, 1931)	150	Smith Is Accused of Rape, William Kennedy (Mar. 30, 1991)	759

MODERN SCANDALS

1	Soap Box Derby, Cheating Scandal Shocks (Aug. 19, 1973)	444
1	Soccer, Media Uncover Match-Fixing in Italian (May 4, 2006)	1092
1	Soccer Match, Players Fix Liverpool-Manchester United (Apr. 2, 1915)	55
1	Soccer Referee Admits to Fixing Games for Money, German (Jan. 27, 2005)	1055
1	Soccer Star Diego Maradona Is Expelled from World Cup (July 1, 1994)	815
1	Sosuke Resigns After Affair with a Geisha, Japanese Prime Minister (Aug. 10, 1989)	733
1	Soviet Famine, <i>New York Times</i> Reporter Denies Reports of a (Mar. 31, 1933)	167
1	Spano Is Sentenced for Fraudulent Purchase of Ice Hockey Team, John (Jan. 28, 2000)	901
1	Speaker Are Accused of Fixing Baseball Games, Ty Cobb and Tris (Dec. 26, 1926)	118
1	<i>Spiegel</i> Magazine Offices, West German Police Raid <i>Der</i> (Oct. 26, 1962)	349
1	Spitzer Resigns in Prostitution Scandal, New York Governor Eliot (Mar. 12, 2008)	1167
1	Spy, Biographer Claims Actor Errol Flynn Was a Nazi (1980)	559
1	Spy Scandal Rocks Canada, Munsinger Sex and (Mar. 4, 1966)	377
1	Spying, British Civil Servant Is Arrested for (Sept. 12, 1962)	347
1	Spying for the Russians, CIA Agent Robert Hanssen Is Arrested for (Feb. 18, 2001)	931
1	Spying on Other Teams, New England Patriots Football Team Is Fined for (Sept. 13, 2007)	1161
1	Stanford Prison Experiment, Abusive Role- Playing Ends (Aug. 20, 1971)	420
1	Starr Is Appointed to the Whitewater Investigation, Kenneth (Aug. 5, 1994)	818
1	Stavisky's Fraudulent Schemes Rock French Government (Jan. 8, 1934-Jan. 17, 1936)	170
1	Stem Cells, Scientist Is Indicted for Faking His Research on Creating (May 12, 2006)	1094
1	Sterilizes Thousands Deemed Genetically and Mentally Unfit, Alberta Government (Mar. 21, 1928)	133
1	Steroid Use, Former Baseball Star Mark McGwire Evades Congressional Questions on (Mar. 17, 2005)	1058
1	Steroid Use, Olympic Champion Marion Jones Admits (Oct. 5, 2007)	1164

1	Stewart Is Convicted in Insider-Trading Scandal, Martha (Mar. 5, 2004)	1
1	Stonehouse Fakes His Suicide, British Politician John (Nov. 20, 1974)	4
1	Subprime Mortgage Industry Begins to Collapse (Early 2007)	1
1	Suicide, British Politician John Stonehouse Fakes His (Nov. 20, 1974)	4
1	Suicide, Film Star Jean Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent (Sept. 4, 1932)	1
1	Suicide, U.S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty's Aide Commits (May 30, 1923)	1
1	Suicide During Affair with Rex Harrison, Actor Carole Landis Commits (July 5, 1948)	2
1	Swaggart Tearfully Confesses His Adultery, Evangelist Jimmy (Feb. 21, 1988)	1
1	Swanson, Joseph P. Kennedy Begins an Affair with Gloria (Early 1928)	1
1	Syphilis Study, Newspaper Breaks Story of Abuses in Tuskegee (July 25, 1972)	4
1	Tailhook Sexual Assault Scandal, U.S. Navy Secretary Resigns in the Wake of (June 26, 1992)	1
1	Tainted Blood, Canadian Health Commissioner Releases Report on (Nov. 26, 1997)	8
1	Talmadge for Money Laundering, Senate Denounces Herman E. (Oct. 11, 1979)	1
1	Tax Conspiracy, President Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of (June 25, 1956)	1
1	Tax Evasion, Hotel Tycoon Leona Helmsley Enters Prison for (Apr. 15, 1992)	1
1	Tax Evasion, Kansas City's Boss Pendergast Pleads Guilty to Income (May 22, 1939)	1
1	Tax Fraud, Teamsters Leader Dave Beck Is Convicted of (May, 1959)	1
1	Tax Official Resigns After Accepting Bribes, Federal (Nov. 16, 1951)	2
1	Tax Violations, Evangelist Kent Hovind Is Convicted of Federal (Nov. 2, 2006)	1
1	Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's Acting Career, Director (Feb. 1, 1922)	1
1	Teamsters Leader Dave Beck Is Convicted of Tax Fraud (May, 1959)	1
1	Teapot Dome Oil Leases, U.S. Senate Begins Hearings on (Oct. 22, 1923)	1

KEYWORD LIST OF CONTENTS

Television Quiz Show, Charles Van Doren Admits to Being Fed Answers on (Nov. 2, 1959) . . .	326	Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover, Actor Lana (Apr. 4, 1958)	317
Tennis Star Bill Tilden Is Arrested for Lewd Behavior with a Minor (Nov. 23, 1946)	239	Tuskegee Syphilis Study, Newspaper Breaks Story of Abuses in (July 25, 1972)	437
Tennis Star Billie Jean King Is Sued for Palimony (Apr. 28, 1981)	588	Ueberroth Suspends Players for Cocaine Use, Baseball Commissioner Peter (Feb. 28, 1986)	666
Thalidomide Causes Widespread Birth Disorders, Prescription (1956-1962)	301	U.N. Officials, U.S. National Security Agency Is Found to Have Spied on (Mar. 2, 2003)	995
Thatcher's Government, Westland Affair Shakes Prime Minister (1985-1986)	645	U.N. Report Reveals That Secretary-General Kofi Annan Dismissed Sexual Harassment Charges (June 2, 2004)	1039
Thomas's Confirmation Hearings Create a Scandal, Justice Clarence (Oct. 11-13, 1991)	768	United Way Charity Chief Pleads Guilty to Embezzlement, Former (Mar. 4, 2004)	1028
Thorpe Is Charged with Attempted Murder, British Politician Jeremy (Aug. 4, 1978)	531	U.S. National Security Agency Is Found to Have Spied on U.N. Officials (Mar. 2, 2003).	995
<i>Three Weeks</i> Shocks Readers, Elinor Glyn's Novel (1907)	25		
Thurmond's Biracial Daughter Is Revealed, Senator Strom (Dec. 17, 2003)	1022	Van Doren Admits to Being Fed Answers on Television Quiz Show, Charles (Nov. 2, 1959)	326
Thurmond's 1948 Presidential Campaign, Senator Trent Lott Praises Strom (Dec. 5, 2002)	988	Vick Pleads Guilty to Financing a Dogfighting Ring, Football Star Michael (Aug. 20, 2007).	1158
Tilden Is Arrested for Lewd Behavior with a Minor, Tennis Star Bill (Nov. 23, 1946)	239	Viet Minh Broadcasts French General's Damaging Report (Aug. 26, 1949)	257
<i>Time</i> Magazine Cover Uses Altered O. J. Simpson Photo (June 24, 1994)	810	Vietnamese Buddhists, Madame Nhu Derides Self-Immolation of (Aug. 14, 1963)	362
Tires, Firestone Recalls Millions of Defective Car (Oct. 20, 1978)	534	Vigilante Bernhard Goetz Shoots Four Black Youths, Subway (Dec. 22, 1984).	641
Tobacco Industry Corruption, Whistle-Blower Reveals (Feb. 4, 1996)	833	Vitter's Name Is Found in D.C. Madam's Address Book, Senator David (July 9, 2007).	1150
Todd's Death Cannot Be Explained, Film Star Thelma (Dec. 16, 1935)	178	Volstead Act, Kentucky Congressman John W. Langley Is Convicted of Violating the (May 12, 1924)	103
Tour de France Is Hit with a Doping Scandal (July 26, 2006).	1103	Vorster Resigns in Muldergate Scandal, South African President B. J. (June 4, 1979)	543
Trading Practices, Mutual Fund Companies Are Implicated in Shady (Sept. 3, 2003).	1013		
Treason, French Court Declares Alfred Dreyfus Innocent of (July 12, 1906)	19	Wakeman Shoots Her Politician-Husband, Socialite Nancy (Sept. 5, 1967)	386
Treason, Norwegian Writer Knut Hamsun Is Arrested for (May 26, 1945)	229	Waldheim's Nazi Past Is Revealed, Former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt (Mar. 3, 1986).	669
Treason and Institutionalized, Poet Ezra Pound Is Charged with (Dec. 14, 1945)	236	Walter Reed Army Hospital, <i>Washington Post</i> Exposes Decline of (Feb. 18, 2007).	1138
Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire, Nearly 150 Workers Die in (Mar. 25, 1911)	40	<i>Washington Post</i> Exposes Congressman Wayne L. Hays's Affair (May 23, 1976)	491
Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of Tax Conspiracy, President (June 25, 1956)	310	<i>Washington Post</i> Reveals That the Nixons Received Jewelry Gifts (May 14, 1974)	453
Tuna, Media Allege Canadian Officials Allowed Sale of Rancid (Sept. 17, 1985)	660		
Turkey, Car Crash Reveals Depth of Government Corruption in (Nov. 3, 1996)	843		

MODERN SCANDALS

Watergate Break-in Leads to President Nixon's Resignation (June 17, 1972-Aug. 9, 1974) . . .	425	Whitewater Investigation, Kenneth Starr Is Appointed to the (Aug. 5, 1994)	818
Weapons, Irish Politicians Are Tried for Conspiring to Import (May 28, 1970)	413	William II's Homosexual "Circle" Scandalizes Germany, Emperor (1906-1909)	9
Wedlock, British Cabinet Member Resigns After Fathering a Child Out of (Jan. 5, 1994)	798	Williams Is the First Miss America to Resign, Vanessa (July 23, 1984)	638
Wedlock, Civil Rights Leader Jesse Jackson Fathers a Child Out of (May, 1999)	895	Windsor Visit Nazi Germany, Duke and Duchess of (Oct. 11-22, 1937)	196
Wedlock, Conservative Politician John G. Schmitz Is Found to Have Children Out of (July 20, 1982)	603	Wolfson Is Convicted of Selling Stock Illegally, Investor Louis (Nov. 28, 1967).	389
Wedlock, Swedish Film Star Ingrid Bergman Has a Child Out of (Feb. 7, 1950).	263	World Series in "Black Sox" Scandal, White Sox Players Conspire to Lose (Sept. 21, 1919).	66
West Point Cadets Are Caught Cheating on Exams (Apr. 4, 1976).	488	World War I Veterans from Washington, U.S. Troops Drive (July 28, 1932).	156
Westar Energy Executives Are Found Guilty of Looting Their Company (Sept. 12, 2005).	1072	World War II, French Prime Minister Pierre Laval Wants Germany to Win (Apr. 22, 1942)	209
West's Play About Gays Is Banned on Broadway, Mae (1927)	122	Wright Resigns in Ethics Scandal, Speaker of the House Jim (May 31, 1989)	730
Westland Affair Shakes Prime Minister Thatcher's Government (1985-1986).	645	Yablonski Is Murdered, United Mine Workers Leader Joseph (Dec. 30, 1969)	404
Whistle-Blower Reveals Tobacco Industry Corruption (Feb. 4, 1996)	833	ZZZZ Best Founder Is Indicted on Federal Fraud Charges (Jan. 15, 1988).	708
White, Millionaire Heir Murders Architect Stanford (June 25, 1906).	16		
White Sox Players Conspire to Lose World Series in "Black Sox" Scandal (Sept. 21, 1919)	66		

Great Events from History

Modern Scandals

1904-2008

1904

THEODORE ROOSEVELT IS ACCUSED OF ACCEPTING CORPORATE FUNDS

1900's

Theodore Roosevelt was known as an opponent of corruption and corporate excess. During the 1904 presidential election campaign, his opponent, Democrat Alton B. Parker, called the president's reputation into question when he asserted that Roosevelt had received campaign donations from large corporations in return for promised favors. Several businesses admitted giving money to the president, leading Roosevelt to call for campaign finance reform after his election.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; politics; banking and finance; government

KEY FIGURES

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), president of the United States, 1901-1909

Alton B. Parker (1852-1926), Democratic candidate for U.S. president in 1904

George B. Cortelyou (1862-1940), U.S. secretary of commerce and labor, 1903-1904, and chairman of the Republican National Committee, 1904-1907

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Theodore Roosevelt was sworn in as president of the United States in September, 1901, following the assassination of President William McKinley. Roosevelt began to vigorously enforce antitrust laws, which McKinley had largely ignored, and established the U.S. Department of Commerce and Labor, with authority to collect information on the activities of large corporations. By 1904, when he was nominated by the Republican Party to run for another term, Roosevelt had gained a reputation as a trust-buster and had given the leaders of big business cause to hesitate before they decided that it was in their best interest to support him over his Democratic opponent, Alton B. Parker.

In September, 1904, Roosevelt handed over con-

trol of his presidential campaign to the Republican National Committee, which was chaired by his former secretary of commerce and labor, George B. Cortelyou. When reports surfaced that the campaign was receiving large contributions from corporations—a practice that was legal and was part of McKinley's two campaigns for the presidency in 1896 and 1900—the stage was set for the defining controversy of the 1904 campaign, a controversy over the influence of big business on politics.

Parker was a New York judge from the conservative wing of the Democratic Party who disassociated himself from the issue of silver backing for currency, an issue that had been the centerpiece of Democrat William Jennings Bryan's campaigns in 1896 and 1900. This left the Democrats in search of a new issue, and for a time they tried to win over voters by criticizing Republican policies concerning the Philippines. The campaign proceeded rather uneventfully until October 1, when newspaper publisher Joseph Pulitzer, an ardent backer of Parker, printed an open letter to Roosevelt, asserting that the president had relaxed his crackdown on monopolies and in return was receiving contributions from corporate treasuries. Pulitzer had been apprised of these contributions by former secretary of war, Daniel Lamont, who three weeks later repeated his allegations to Parker. Lamont, a friend of Parker, added that the insurance industry was so certain that Roosevelt would win the election that his victory had already been underwritten. Appalled by this news, Parker, in an October 24 speech, attacked the Republicans for scandalously accepting corporate contributions. He argued that the contributions amounted to outright bribery and would give corporations four more years to harm the public through monopolies and high prices.

Press reaction to Parker's charges was at first tepid, but then a reporter wrote of seeing a check for \$100,000 from Standard Oil to the Roosevelt campaign. Roosevelt was particularly sensitive to the



Theodore Roosevelt. (Library of Congress)

association this could create between himself and the Rockefeller-owned oil company, so he immediately directed Cortelyou to return the check, if it existed. Sensing that he had found an issue worth pursuing, Parker gave a series of speeches in late October and early November that made increasingly shrill attacks on the Republicans for accepting corporate money and attacks on Roosevelt for not admitting or ending the practice. Parker also put the alleged scandal in a more conspiratorial framework, implying that some of the money donated to the Republicans had been funneled to the Socialist and Populist parties to draw away Democratic voters and, thus, help the Republican cause. Parker also suggested that a deliberate plan was behind the appointment of Cortelyou to head the Department of Commerce and Labor in 1903: to shift him from head of this department to the Roosevelt campaign as head in 1904, which would provide the campaign more leverage in getting money from corporations.

Roosevelt harbored fears that he might somehow lose the election. He decided to strike back at Parker close to election day to prevent Parker from having time to offer a rebuttal. On November 4, Roosevelt issued a statement categorically denying any impropriety in accepting perfectly legal contributions from corporations. He then characterized Parker's charges as slanderous, unsupported assertion. Roosevelt also defended Cortelyou for his integrity; Cortelyou also had been reluctantly spared from the cabinet only after other equally qualified persons had turned down the position of party chair. Roosevelt vowed that he would go into his second term unhampered by promises or obligations beyond serving the best interests of the United States. On November 8, the voters went to the polls and gave Roosevelt one of the most decisive presidential victories in decades: Roosevelt beat Parker by more than 2.5 million votes.

Neither Roosevelt nor Parker, however, escaped from the 1904 election with an unblemished record on corporate contributions. Roosevelt received almost \$2.2 million in campaign contributions, 70 percent of which came from corporations. While this amount did not approach the scale of the corporate funding McKinley received in his presidential races, stories persisted for years of an alleged secret meeting at the White House in October, 1904, in which Roosevelt was said to have begged a group of business tycoons for contributions, promising to leave their respective businesses alone during his second term. Roosevelt denied these allegations, but in testimony in 1912 before a U.S. Senate subcommittee, he did concede that in 1904 he had asked railroad magnate E. H. Harriman to raise \$250,000 to help ensure a Republican victory in the New York gubernatorial election, an outcome related to Roosevelt's own prospects in carrying the state.

Parker told the same Senate subcommittee that he did not know who contributed to his 1904 campaign nor did he know the breakdown of those contributions; the funds he received were substantial, however. Parker was apparently unaware that tobacco and transportation magnate Thomas Fortune Ryan had been reviled by William Jennings Bryan

as the epitome of Wall Street influence on the Democratic Party and was a generous contributor to the 1904 Parker campaign.

IMPACT

Roosevelt was destined to win the 1904 presidential election, regardless of Parker's allegations. Indeed, this election, and its scandalous allegations of colluding with big business, would have received little more than a footnote in U.S. political history if it had not inspired campaign finance reform. After the issue became public knowledge, neither candidate would dare dismiss its significance. Parker took a hand in promoting reform in New York, and although it took until 1907, New York lawmakers passed an act that placed their state in the forefront of states that prohibited corporations from making political contributions. Roosevelt made a call for federal campaign finance reform in his annual messages to the U.S. Congress in 1905 and 1906, and in 1907 his administration achieved success when the Tillman Act (named for its primary sponsor, Senator Benjamin Tillman of South Carolina) became law. The act prohibited political contributions by any bank or corporation organized under the laws of Congress, and it began a long process of federal reform that eventually produced such milestone legislation as the Federal Corrupt Practices Act of 1910 (amended 1911, 1925) and the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971.

—Larry Haapanen

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SEE ALSO: Jan. 23, 1904: Senator Joseph R. Burton Is Convicted of Bribery; Dec., 1904: Boston Alderman Is Reelected While in Jail for Fraud; 1932: Insull Utilities Trusts Collapse Prompts New Federal Regulation; May 20, 1936: British Cabinet Member Resigns After Budget Information Leak; Sept. 23, 1952: Richard Nixon Denies Taking Illegal Campaign Contributions; June 25, 1956: President Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of Tax Conspiracy; June 17, 1972-Aug. 9, 1974: Watergate Break-in Leads to President Nixon's Resignation.

January 23, 1904

SENATOR JOSEPH R. BURTON IS CONVICTED OF BRIBERY

U.S. senator Joseph R. Burton was indicted for illegally accepting fees from the Rialto Grain and Securities Company and then was convicted of bribery, the first time a senator was convicted of a crime. Burton, acting as an attorney for Rialto while in office, attempted to influence pending federal legal action against the company. The political scandal led to a federal law that prohibits members of the U.S. Congress from serving as attorneys for businesses having interests with the federal government.

LOCALES: Washington, D.C.; St. Louis, Missouri

CATEGORIES: Corruption; business; government; politics; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Joseph R. Burton (1852-1923), U.S. senator from Kansas, 1901-1906

Theodore Roosevelt (1858-1919), president of the United States, 1901-1909

Elmer Bragg Adams (1842-1916), U.S. District Court judge

SUMMARY OF EVENT

U.S. senator Joseph R. Burton of Kansas was caught up in a swirl of controversy that included an extended trial and his dismissal from the Senate. Burton's case is notable because he was the first U.S. senator to be convicted of a crime. As a consequence, federal law now mandates that senators and members of the House of Representatives—as well as federal department heads and other high-level officials—cannot legally represent any business with whom the U.S. government has an interest. Burton was charged with illegally accepting fees from a company that had a vested business interest with the U.S. government.

A colorful character, Burton was born in Mitchell, Indiana, in 1851. He practiced law in Indianapolis the year that he was accepted to the Indiana bar—1875. Three years later, he moved with his wife to the new territory of Abilene, Kansas, during the

state's struggle for identity as either a free state or a slave state. He set up legal practice there, and, as in Indiana, became involved in state politics as a Republican. He was elected to the Kansas legislature in 1882, reelected for two additional terms, and appointed a member of the World's Fair Columbian Commission at Chicago in 1893, representing Kansas. In 1901, he was elected to represent Kansas in the U.S. Senate. Before Burton resigned in 1906, he served as chairman of the Committee on Forest Reservations and Game Protection.

Burton and U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt had a long-standing rivalry, and Burton was known to harbor deep-seated animosity toward Roosevelt. One of Roosevelt's major presidential efforts was to cultivate economic relations with Cuba on several levels. On one level, Cuba could fill America's ever-growing addiction to sugar. However, the United States had its own sugar-producing regions—of which Kansas was a part. Kansas and neighboring states were part of the sugar-beet industry. Burton considered Roosevelt's promotion of relations with Cuba as a direct attack on the economic strength of the state he represented. Additionally, Burton had sought appointment for some of his friends to the Roosevelt administration. Roosevelt not only refused but also reprimanded Burton publicly. In no time, Burton became one of Roosevelt's most vocal opponents.

It was in this tense political climate that Burton was exposed for his relation to a certain private company in 1904. He was found to have accepted nine checks from the Rialto Grain and Securities Company, a St. Louis-based brokerage firm. Rialto had been under investigation for several months for internal monetary problems. Investors had concerns about the company's solvency, and investigators scoured the company for possible corruption. It was soon realized that Burton had a hand in this tangle.

Rialto earlier had hired Burton as its attorney, a sort of side job for the senator. Between November 22, 1902, and March 26, 1903, Burton accepted

several five-hundred-dollar checks issued by the company's president, Hugh C. Dennis, and company officer W. B. Mahaney. Rialto had been investigated for financial troubles earlier, and Dennis and Mahaney were indicted in both state and federal courts and convicted on several counts.

Dennis's and Mahaney's testimony implicated Burton, who was then indicted by a federal grand jury in St. Louis on January 23, 1904. The case against him in the U.S. District Court of St. Louis ended on March 25. The court convicted him of illegally accepting fees. During the trial Burton contended that he had "lost heavily in a financial panic" and needed the monthly fee of five hundred dollars. Apparently, he had assured company officials that his job as a senator had no bearing on his job as a company attorney.

Testimony by Dennis and Mahaney, however, revealed that they had sought someone in government who could intercede with the postmaster general, the chief postal inspector, and other upper-level post office officials to prevent the issuance of a fraud order against the company, which would have restricted the company's use of the postal system. In other words, they were looking to hire someone with connections to Washington, D.C., and to the political process. Burton was the one they hired.

Burton testified before Judge Elmer Bragg Adams of the District Court that he had inserted specific language in his contractual agreement with Rialto, which stated he would not represent the company before any U.S. government body. However, letters written by Burton were presented in court, showing that the senator was using his influence in Washington to prevent the issuance of the fraud order against Rialto. Rialto employees testified that they were ordered to destroy Burton's letters to avoid a paper trail. Ultimately, however, enough incriminating letters were preserved, leading to much testimony against Burton.

Burton stood in his own defense and maintained that he had asked the chief postal inspector, W. E. Cochran, in Washington to notify him if his actions as a Rialto general counsel and senator conflicted. Cochran testified in court that Burton had not approached him with such a request—in fact, quite the

opposite happened. Cochran said Burton had interfered in post office operations and sought favorable treatment for Rialto.

Burton ultimately fought the case and demanded a speedy trial. During sentencing, Judge Adams criticized Burton for using his trusted name and elected position for personal gain. It became clear that Burton lied about his motives, was self-serving, and sought personal wealth behind the guise of legitimate political office. He also was exposed as a vindictive politician who sought favors for himself and political allies. He was punished for his failure to uphold the obligations that he had agreed to undertake as a senator.

Burton was fined and sentenced to six months in the state penitentiary in Ironton, Missouri. He then appealed the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reversed the district court's decision. A second trial followed, in which he again was found guilty. A second appeal to the Court sustained the lower court's decision, and Burton's conviction was secured. He resigned as senator on June 4, 1906, and then returned to his home. In late March of 1907, he spoke to a packed theater, where he castigated President Roosevelt on a number of counts. Burton took up legal practice and also the newspaper business in Abilene. He died in 1923.

IMPACT

Burton's indictment and conviction affected American political history on a number of levels. Even though Burton was immune to arrest while the Senate was in session, he still faced indictment later and became the first U.S. senator convicted of a crime. Second, Burton's case prompted a federal law that forbids members of Congress, heads of federal government departments, and all other government officers from serving as attorneys or legal counselors in cases involving the U.S. government.

—Alison Harper Stankrauff

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SEE ALSO: 1904: Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds; Dec., 1904: Boston Alderman Is Reelected While in Jail for Fraud; June 13, 1907: San Francisco Mayor Schmitz Is Found Guilty of Extortion; May 12, 1924: Kentucky Congressman John W. Langley Is Convicted of Violating the Volstead Act; May 22, 1939: Kansas City's Boss Pendergast Pleads Guilty to Income Tax Evasion; Mar. 1, 1967: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Is Excluded from Congress; Oct. 11, 1979: Senate Denounces Herman E. Talmadge for Money Laundering; Feb. 2, 1980: Media Uncover FBI Sting Implicating Dozens of Lawmakers; June 1, 1994: Congressman Dan Rostenkowski Is Indicted in House Post Office Scandal; June 4, 2007: Congressman William J. Jefferson Is Indicted for Corruption.

December, 1904

BOSTON ALDERMAN IS REELECTED WHILE IN JAIL FOR FRAUD

Boston politician James Michael Curley won reelection to a city board of aldermen while serving his jail sentence for fraud. His reelection not only revealed the fractious nature of American politics at the turn of the century but also brought to light the epic conflict between Irish Americans and Boston Brahmins over civil service and other Progressive reform.

LOCALE: Boston, Massachusetts

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; politics; social issues and reform

KEY FIGURES

James Michael Curley (1874-1958), governor of Massachusetts, 1935-1937, four-term mayor of Boston, and U.S. representative, 1911-1914, 1943-1947

Thomas Curley (1873-1943), Massachusetts politician and coconspirator with James Michael Curley

Francis Cabot Lowell (1855-1911), Boston legislator and federal district court judge

SUMMARY OF EVENT

James Michael Curley, the Democratic political boss of Ward 17 in Roxbury, Massachusetts, near Boston, took a civil-service examination under a false identity; Curley's coconspirator was Tammany Club cohort and state politician Thomas Curley (the two were not related). The politicians sat for the exam as immigrant campaign workers Bartholomew Fahey and James Hughes on December 4, 1902. Fearing they would fail the exam because they were barely literate, Fahey and Hughes had called upon members of the Tammany Club to help. Curley and

Curley offered to take the exam as Fahey and Hughes, respectively.

In November, 1901, federal law had directed that employment for the post office required examination, a prerequisite detrimental to many immigrants, who had limited abilities in English speaking and writing. On the scheduled test day in December, James Curley and Thomas Curley sat for the examination in place of Fahey and Hughes. Curley and Curley, ever brazen in their efforts, not only completed the exam successfully but also made the mistake of duplicating each other's incorrect responses on twelve different items, a point the judge later emphasized in his verdict in the criminal case against them.

Believing they had succeeded in the ruse, Curley and Curley confidently returned to the rough-and-tumble of politics, but their tactics were detected by lieutenants of a rival Democratic bloc headed by former ally Timothy McCarthy. Ripe for revenge against James Curley, who had earlier defected from the McCarthy camp to form the rival Tammany Club, McCarthy staff publicized their discovery. By February 11, 1903, the Tammany Club's activity became the focus of a major news story in the *Boston Herald*, the facts of which nearly ended James Curley's promising political career.

Born in 1874 to immigrant parents residing in the south end of Roxbury, Curley experienced the sting and degradation of poverty. After his father died unexpectedly from an accident when young James was only ten years old, the boy left school to work tirelessly to support his family. Even at this young age he observed the local politicians—their parades, fund-raisers, and public appearances—and became intrigued. By carefully aligning himself with local ward bosses, Curley eventually utilized this tutelage to his personal advantage. He vowed to amass great power and fortune and to use his influence to further the cause of social justice for the immigrant poor. The Brahmins had a brand of reform that was institutional rather than personal, which angered Curley because he believed himself pure of spirit and able to rival the Boston Brahmin in style, grace, and influence.

On September 23, 1904, the criminal trial began.



James Michael Curley. (Library of Congress)

It lasted one day and pitted the Irish Americans against one of the Boston elite: federal district judge Francis Cabot Lowell. Lowell, of distinguished lineage, convicted the two of fraud and ordered them to serve two months in the Suffolk County Prison (also known as the Charles Street Jail). Lowell set bail at twenty-five hundred dollars and released the defendants after they petitioned the verdict (on the advice of their lawyer). The case was sent to the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals. The Tammany Club stood by its proud sons and raised the money needed for their additional defense. Always defending his actions, James Curley had assumed after extensive research that his penalty would merely restrict him from sitting for future civil service examinations. He had not expected to receive a jail sentence.

Judge Lowell was disturbed by the unrepentant attitude of both Curleys. Lowell would later chastise their supporters for being ignorant of the law

and electing the two to major office within months of their convictions. *The New York Times* had reported one month earlier that several allies of James Curley actually applauded the two schemers as they exited the courtroom.

Turning a nearly devastating defeat into an opportunity, James Curley successfully used the conviction to mass a campaign against civil service, deriding it as a ploy to discriminate against immigrants who would be well suited to perform various state jobs if not for the examination requirement. Curley contended without remorse that Irish immigrants need not suffer at the hands of Yankee Progressive reformers, whose only goal was to bar newcomers from the best jobs. Hence, Curley's brief prison term became not a source of shame but a vehicle to illustrate his selflessness and commitment to the plight of the poor. His victory that year (a reelection to the thirteen-member board of aldermen) would validate his questionable methods. Thomas Curley would win reelection to the U.S. House of Representatives soon after his own conviction as well.

IMPACT

Although James Curley would lead a successful political career that spanned more than four decades, serving terms as mayor, governor, and state legislator, he would forever be excluded from the inner circles of Brahmin politics. In an age of the growing professionalization of government, Curley was looked upon by the elite and well-bred Progressive politicians as a crude anachronism. Curley's only recourse, therefore, was to mock them and their professional institutions. Eventually, his obsession with money and power would lead to his downfall.

In response to Curley's excesses, a group of Massachusetts reformers founded the Good Government Association (GGA), seeking to eradicate "machine" politics. In 1909 the GGA successfully adopted a new city charter that eliminated the common council and board of aldermen and replaced these bodies with a city council. Ironically, Curley served the new council after five years on the board of aldermen, and he remained an undisputed political boss, successfully sidestepping a concerted ef-

fort by his political foes to unseat him as mayor in a recall election.

Curley's brief prison term won for him a reputation as a champion of working people, especially immigrants. However, his method of governing eventually led to an unhealthy reliance on old-fashioned personal politics. Actively utilizing the spoils system, he continued to cultivate his immigrant following, but as the population gradually adopted New Deal reform during the 1930's, his methods became costly and out of step with the changing times.

After a time in the U.S. Congress as representative of the eleventh district, Curley captured another term as mayor in 1945. Then, in a near-repeat performance, Curley again was under scrutiny by a federal grand jury for mail fraud. However, as a respectful gesture to the politics of yesteryear, U.S. president Harry S. Truman pardoned Curley. The Curley political era was unquestionably at its end.

—Debra A. Mulligan

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1906-1909

EMPEROR WILLIAM II'S HOMOSEXUAL "CIRCLE" SCANDALIZES GERMANY

Journalist Maximilian Harden alleged that German emperor William II had close homosexual associates and confidants, a "circle" led by Philipp, Prince of Eulenburg-Hertefeld. The scandal, which in its lurid detail captivated the public for years, created international discussions of homosexuality and possibly precipitated the emperor's military aggression that culminated in World War I.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Eulenburg affair; Harden-Eulenburg affair; Liebenberg circle

LOCALE: Germany

CATEGORIES: Royalty; sex; publishing and journalism; politics; military

KEY FIGURES

William II (1859-1941), emperor of Germany and king of Prussia, r. 1888-1918

Philipp, Prince of Eulenburg-Hertefeld (1847-1921), German diplomat, writer, and composer

Maximilian Harden (1861-1927), German journalist and editor

Kuno von Moltke (1847-1923), military commandant of Berlin

particular, Harden targeted military leader Kuno von Moltke and diplomat Philipp Eulenburg. In one of his first articles, published in the weekly *Die Zukunft* (the future) and pompously titled "Dies Irae" (day of wrath), Harden thinly veiled those he accused as the Harpist (Eulenburg), Sweetie (Moltke), and Darling (William II). Many journalists had an inkling that a major scandal was in the making, and so the witch hunt began.

In 1886, Eulenburg had met Crown Prince William, soon to be Emperor William II, and became part of a close-knit group of homoerotically inclined generals, civilians, diplomats, and politicians known as the Liebenberg circle (named for Eulenburg's retreat, which translates as "mountain of love"). Eulenburg's meteoric rise included appointments as envoy to Bavaria and ambassador to Austria-Hungary, and he was elevated to the title of prince in 1900. Eulenburg had eight children with a Swedish countess but reportedly never cared for his wife.

In 1902, prompted by blackmail, Eulenburg retired from politics. In the same year, revelations surfaced that Friedrich Alfred Krupp, Germany's largest industrial magnate, had been consorting with boys on the island of Capri. (Krupp was found dead shortly thereafter, apparently from suicide.) Furthermore, a staggering number of gay-related suicides, resignations, and courts-martial had been hushed up in the military. Worse, at a cross-dressing evening at

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1906, newspaper editor Maximilian Harden published accusations of "abnormal" sexuality among close friends of German emperor William II. In par-

court, a high-ranking soldier, performing as a ballerina, dropped dead from a heart attack. Finally, in a climate of xenophobia, a French spy who had abused Eulenburg's confidence caused more political fallout. The scandal could no longer be contained.

The final straw for Harden, a liberal concerning issues of sex and sexuality, was the 1906 Algeciras conference, in which Germany suffered a diplomatic defeat by having to cede control over Morocco to France. The conference confirmed an Anglo-French alliance and led to Germany's increasing isolation. Although the scandal involved homosexuality (and to many people nothing was more scandalous), Harden really had a political motive.

After Harden's allegations, which legally entailed a violation of Paragraph 175 (the German law that made homosexual activity a criminal offense), Eulenburg turned himself in to a "friendly" district attorney, insisted he was innocent, and was cleared after a lukewarm investigation. (Moltke's wife,

during the late 1890's, had sued for divorce on grounds of his "deviant" sexuality.) Moltke challenged Harden to a duel, which Harden refused. Moltke then sued him for libel in civil court. Harden was acquitted, but—on highest orders—the verdict was overturned. In the second trial, now in criminal court, Harden was found guilty. Once again, the case was retried. With the possibility of appeal, the sensational scandal could drag on indefinitely, and it became clear that there was little judicial impartiality in the case.

Harden eventually agreed to an out-of-court settlement (the government secretly paid for his expenses and declared that Harden had acted out of patriotism), but not without dropping a bombshell in a trial he had staged earlier in Munich. (Bavaria was out of reach for the Prussian judiciary.) A milkman and a fisherman—two men not of Eulenburg's social class—admitted having had sex with Eulenburg. As a result, Eulenburg was arrested for perjury in the Moltke-Harden trials and in a related trial, in which Adolf Brand, an advocate of homosexual emancipation, had alleged that Chancellor Bernhard von Bülow had engaged in sexual intercourse with his male secretary, or "better half." For reasons of poor health, Eulenburg was never convicted. Friends had counseled him to do the "honorable" thing and commit suicide.

The newspapers could hardly get enough of the scandal because there was no dearth of salacious detail. For example, Moltke's wife testified that her husband had placed a pan of cold water between them to discourage intercourse, all the while cherishing one of Eulenburg's handkerchiefs. Also, Moltke had been seen wearing makeup in court, heightening his effeminacy, and Eulenburg was so feeble that he had to be carried into the courtroom in a litter. Moreover, the milkman and fisherman had rendered their services in exchange for extravagant trips to places such as the pyramids in Egypt. Finally, the chancellor allegedly had bestowed a passionate kiss on another man at an all-male gathering.

More detail surfaced during the trials: The



Emperor William II. (Library of Congress)

THE DECLINE OF AN IDEAL HOMOSEXUALITY

Philipp Eulenburg wrote a letter to Kuno von Moltke soon after the Emperor William-Eulenburg-Moltke scandal became public in 1906. In the letter, excerpted here, Eulenburg laments the declining significance of homosexuality as an ideal form of friendship among men because of a "modern" outlook on life and living.

In the moment when the freshest example of the modern age, a Harden, criticized our nature, stripped our ideal friendship, laid bare the form of our thinking and feeling which we had justifiably regarded all our lives as something obvious and natural, in that moment, the modern age, laughing cold-bloodedly, broke our necks. . . . The new concepts of sensuality and love stamp our nature as weak, even unhealthily weak.

Source: Isabel V. Hull, *The Entourage of Kaiser Wilhelm II, 1888-1918* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

cuirassier's uniform was considered alluring to soliciting homosexuals, who had invited soldiers to outrageous champagne parties and group orgies. This evidence was provided by witnesses peeping through keyholes. Even a "key" to the trials was published in 1907: J. L. Caspar's *Das Treiben der Homosexuellen: Volle Aufklärung zum Verständnis der Andeutungen und "Halben Worte" im Moltke-Harden Prozeß*, translated as "what homosexuals are up to: full disclosure for the understanding of the insinuations and 'half words' in the Moltke-Harden trial."

Cartoons about the scandal proliferated as well. There were four topics that recurred: the threat to national honor and security, the infiltration of the military and its Prussian prowess, the decline of traditional morality, and the subversion of gender roles as codified by the state and the church.

IMPACT

Politically, the scandal proved disastrous. William, after suffering a nervous breakdown, completely distanced himself from a group of men that often mitigated his fierce outbursts, constant mood swings, and hawkish politics. Some maintain in hindsight that Eulenburg and his friends could have steered William's militant militarism in a different direction; they also might have averted World War I.

The emperor himself (whom most historians would describe as bisexual, although William would never have admitted that, not even to himself) was no longer above suspicion. The epistolary correspondence between Moltke and Eulenburg revealed a titillating term for William: *Liebchen* (a diminutive of darling); similarly, former chancellor Otto von Bismarck had dismissed William and Eulenburg as *cinaedi* (faggots).

The scandal also revealed what many already knew: The military included homosexual men. Abroad, this perception proved disastrous, for Germany's army

was seen as perverse and effeminate and hence weak. Furthermore, Harden came under attack because he was Jewish, renewing fears of a Semitic conspiracy that played into the hands of the Nazis during the Weimar Republic. Indeed, after the Night of the Long Knives on June 30, 1934, when Ernst Röhm, the head of the Sturm Abteilung, or SA (storm troopers), was assassinated, Adolf Hitler purged all known and suspected gays from the army.

Finally, the cause célèbre had implications for the history of sexuality. Isabel Hull, in her 1982 study of the scandal, quotes a letter by Eulenburg that was composed shortly after the scandal. The letter alludes to homosexuality being criminalized and made into a pathology during modern times, social changes that dealt the final blow to Platonic love, homosocial bonding, and Romantic friendship.

—Nikolai Endres

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March 2, 1906

PSYCHOANALYST ERNEST JONES IS ACCUSED OF MOLESTING MENTALLY DISABLED CHILDREN

Welsh psychoanalyst Ernest Jones was accused of sexually molesting mentally disabled children at a children’s hospital in London. Though the accusations generated much scandalous newspaper coverage and a criminal trial, the claims were subsequently forgotten, except for a brief account in Jones’s autobiography and occasional mention in psychoanalytic publications. The scandal resurfaced in 2002, when historian Philip Kuhn brought to light contemporary records that provided a powerful indictment of Jones.

LOCALE: London, England

CATEGORIES: Sex crimes; psychology and psychiatry; families and children; law and the courts; cultural and intellectual history; publishing and journalism

KEY FIGURES

Ernest Jones (1879-1958), Welsh psychoanalyst and associate of Sigmund Freud

James Kerr (1862-1941), medical officer

Archibald Bodkin (1862-1957), Jones’s legal counsel

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Ernest Jones was Sigmund Freud's biographer, his first English convert, and a lifelong proselytizer of Freudian psychoanalysis. In 1906, already under the influence of Freud's writings (though he did not meet him until two years later), Jones was working in London in various medical and scientific positions. In one of these jobs, for the London County Council (LCC), he tested students for medical and speech problems at the Edward Street School for mentally disabled children in southeastern London. It was here that he allegedly molested several children, the first of three similar incidents in about five years.

On his third visit to the school, Friday, March 2, Jones spent a little under two hours examining about two dozen students. Individual conferences with each student thus averaged not much more than four minutes apiece. Later that day, four students (one boy and three pubescent girls) individually complained to the head teacher, Amelia Hall, that Jones acted inappropriately during his interviews. Hall reported the complaints to her superiors.

The following Monday, March 5, LCC's medical officer for education, James Kerr, took Jones back to the school to investigate the claims made by the students. Ten-year-old Walter Johnson's complaint remained vague. Thirteen-year-old Elizabeth Overton said that Jones had asked her an "objectionable question." Fanny Harrigan, about twelve years old, said that Jones had spoken and acted in "a grossly indecent manner." Dorothy Freeman, thirteen years old, complained that Jones had "interfered" with her clothing, asked her "an improper question," and acted in "a grossly indecent manner."

Kerr believed there was no substance to the allegations, but Freeman's mother and father took their complaint to the police, which led to further investigation and Jones's arrest. Jones was defended by the eminent attorney Archibald Bodkin, who later became famous for banning Irish novelist James Joyce's book *Ulysses* in 1922. After four hearings before a magistrate, Jones was exonerated, but the scandal would resurface almost one century later.

In 2002, historian Philip Kuhn extracted from

contemporary records a more complex story of the Jones scandal. Though the newspaper reports of the time had used veiled language, Kuhn showed in his scholarly article "'Romancing with a Wealth of Detail': Narratives of Ernest Jones's 1906 Trial for Indecent Assault," how to read between the lines to unveil another history. In this article, Kuhn points out that, according to the prosecutor, Freeman and Harrigan claimed that Jones had "indecently exposed himself." Kuhn goes on to interpret Freeman's testimony as meaning that Jones asked her to touch his genitals and then forced her to do so. Harrigan is reported as testifying similarly, but adding (as was first revealed in an interview with police just over one week after the event) comments that led investigators to a tablecloth in the examination room. This tablecloth (and, according to some reports, the carpet) had stains, said police surgeon Dudley Burney, "of such a character that they should not have been there." Kuhn interprets this to mean that Harrigan said Jones had ejaculated. Kuhn writes, "none of the reports explicitly mention semen. But what other stains could possibly explain Jones's arrest and subsequent prosecution?"

The girls' accounts were dismissed, as Kerr had testified that "mentally defective children" were given to "romancing" and often made groundless accusations. Harrigan had not told him anything to draw his attention to the tablecloth, and he "gave evidence to account for the stains." In the end, the magistrate judged the physical evidence inconclusive (perhaps because, even if the stains were semen, there was no way to connect them directly to Jones), and believed no jury would convict Jones on the words of children alone. According to Jones, the magistrate sent him a friendly letter after the acquittal, and colleagues helped defray the costs of his defense.

Kuhn found that Jones, in a letter to Freud in 1913, characterized his life as "a story of . . . ten years of uninterrupted success, then a series of foolishness and failures." Jones's alleged impropriety was followed by additional incidents, at least two within four years, which changed the direction of his life. This revelation of additional improper acts could affect how the 1906 incident is viewed.

Following the 1906 incident, Jones discussed sexual matters with a ten-year-old girl (a patient, but not his own) at West End Hospital in 1908. According to Jones, this discussion was part of an attempt to provide a Freudian explanation for the girl's hysterical paralysis. The girl talked to others about the discussion, leading to Jones's forced resignation and, a few months later, his relocation to Canada.

The third incident took place in Canada between late 1910 and early 1911 and involved allegations by a former patient (not a minor) that Jones had had sex with her. Jones perhaps refers to this incident in a 1922 letter to Freud, to whom he wrote, "It is over twelve years since I experienced any temptation in such ways." Though Jones was exonerated after a university investigation, lingering suspicion nonetheless contributed to his decision in 1913 to leave

Toronto, Canada, and return to London, where he became a central figure in the development of British psychoanalysis.

Kuhn claims that there were probably additional incidents. Jones confessed to Freud in 1910 that he had "always been conscious of sexual attractions to patients," and that in subsequent years Freud sometimes suspected him of what are now called "boundary violations." Apparently, only the 1906 and 1908 incidents involved children.

Despite Kuhn's refusal, for philosophical reasons, to deem Jones guilty or innocent for the 1906 incident, commentators have recognized a compelling case. First, several children accused Jones, and they did so more or less immediately and more or less consistently. Second, some sort of physical evidence seemed to support the accusations. Third, the incident is part of a recurrent pattern of sexual scan-



Clockwise from top left: Abraham A. Brill, Ernest Jones, Sandor Ferenczi, Carl Jung, G. Stanley Hall, and Sigmund Freud at Clark University in 1909. (Library of Congress)

dal in Jones's early life and possibly his later life as well. His acquittal seems to have been based merely on class and gender bias. Several writers have suggested that Jones's guilt is clear, and they have even employed the word "pedophile" to describe him.

On the other hand, Jones's examinations of the children were brief, and they took place in an open medical setting. Adults came into the interview room unpredictably on at least four occasions during the proceedings, including during Jones's examination of Overton. How plausible is it that Jones would expose himself even once, let alone several times? If he did not, why did the children complain that he did?

Jones could have been sexually impulsive, and it remains clear that he felt enormous guilt about what in 1912 he called "various wrong tendencies in myself." It is also possible that he could have been self-destructive. Freud congratulated Jones on his successful return to London in 1913, writing, "But you must promise formally never to spoil it when you have got it at last, by no private motive."

IMPACT

Psychoanalytic historians have been indulgent. Renowned historian Peter Gay, in his biography *Freud: A Life for Our Time* (1988), notes that Jones had been "twice accused of misbehaving with children he was testing and examining." Gay also believes Jones had provided "frank and reassuring detail" of the events in his autobiography and that he found it plausible that the children had "projected their own sexual feelings"—essentially Jones's own account. In her 2001 biography of psychoanalyst Melanie Klein, French theorist Julia Kristeva briefly mentions that Jones was "accused of using indecent language with some of his child patients." The scandal was essentially forgotten—and its impact minimal—until Kuhn's reexamination was published in 2002.

Additionally, it is possible that, absent the 1906 scandal, Jones might have held his ground in the 1908 incident, not been forced to resign, and therefore not gone to Canada. In terms of the development of psychoanalysis, this might have been fateful, because Jones's scholarly activities in Canada

and the United States proved influential to the history of the development of psychoanalysis outside Europe.

—Edward Johnson

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June 25, 1906

MILLIONAIRE HEIR MURDERS ARCHITECT STANFORD WHITE

While having an affair with showgirl Evelyn Nesbit before she had married playboy Harry Kendall Thaw, Stanford White was shot and killed by Thaw. At trial Thaw pleaded temporary insanity and was sent to an institution for the criminally insane. The media followed the scandalous story with an intensity never before seen for a murder trial and depicted Thaw as a hero who had defended his wife by murdering the man accused of raping her.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Trial of the century; murder of the century

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Communications and media; drugs; law and the courts; murder and suicide; publishing and journalism; sex crimes

KEY FIGURES

Stanford White (1853-1906), New York architect
Harry Kendall Thaw (1871-1947), wealthy son of a Pittsburgh coal and railroad magnate

Evelyn Nesbit (1884-1967), New York showgirl and artists' model

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On the night of June 25, 1906, one socially prominent but emotionally unstable millionaire playboy, Harry Kendall Thaw, murdered another wealthy bon vivant, architect Stanford White, in New York City. Thaw shot White in the face during the finale of *Mam'zelle Champagne*, a musical comedy performed on the roof of Madison Square Garden II, a building designed by White. The identity of the murderer was never in question, and the motive, as described by Thaw, was the defense of his wife, Evelyn Nesbit, a showgirl who had been involved with White before her marriage to Thaw. Thaw's defense and the subsequent trial in which he pleaded temporary insanity was as riveting to the media as the sensational 1995 trial of football star

and actor O. J. Simpson for the murder of his former wife and her friend.

The events that led to White's murder began in 1901, when forty-eight-year-old White met Nesbit, a sixteen-year-old showgirl and later artists' model. The way the murder and trial unfolded was inextricably tied to the moral values of the time. During the early twentieth century, women were expected to remain chaste before and during marriage to devote themselves to home and family. Wealthy men such as Thaw and White, however, lived public lives of ostentatious luxury and, often, scandal. They were free to indulge in vices such as heavy drinking and in criminal activities such as gambling, drug use, domestic abuse, and the seduction or rape of young girls. Society, including the wives



Harry Kendall Thaw. (Library of Congress)

of wealthy men, generally tolerated, or at a minimum ignored, these vices.

In 1901, White was one of America's best-known architects. Born into a wealthy family, he studied architecture both in the United States and Europe, then joined two other architects, Charles McKim and William Mead, to form the New York City firm of McKim, Mead, and White. White gained fame and wealth by designing public buildings, churches, and mansions for rich industrialists from Baltimore to Boston. Although he married and had children, White's scandalous parties involving seminude showgirls and free-flowing champagne frequently were reported in the tabloid press. His wife apparently chose to ignore his lust for girls.

Nesbit was born into a middle-class family in Tarentum, Pennsylvania. Her father died when Nesbit was eight years old, and soon the family became impoverished. Nesbit was stunningly beautiful. After her father's death, she supported the family by posing as an artists' model, first in Pittsburgh then in Philadelphia, and finally, at the age of fifteen, in New York. In New York she posed for artist Charles Gibson and became one of his famous Gibson Girls. She became the sex symbol of her age; her popularity was built on her looks and the attention paid her by the tabloid press. Abandoning modeling, she obtained a role in the popular, sexually suggestive musical review *Floradora* and was noticed by White. After being introduced, White showered Nesbit with gifts and promoted her career. He eventually took her to the luxurious apartment he maintained for his private use in New York City. (His family's home was on Long Island.) Nesbit later claimed White drugged and raped her at that apartment. Nevertheless, Nesbit continued as White's mistress.

Thaw began sending Nesbit gifts, even though she was still involved with White. Since childhood, Thaw had been prone to violence and had been expelled from several preparatory schools as well as Harvard University. He was a regular user of morphine and cocaine and had the reputation of being sexually violent against women. Thaw and White competed for Nesbit's favors, but White began to lose interest in her. Thaw then took Nesbit and her



Evelyn Nesbit. (Library of Congress)

mother to Europe and proposed marriage, but Nesbit refused. He later beat and raped her. She married him in 1905, realizing that any wealthy, respectable man would be unlikely to want her as a wife.

Thaw's murder of White was clearly premeditated. He reportedly harbored a long-standing grudge against White for having been the one to take Nesbit's virginity. Thaw was armed when he arrived at the theater on June 25 and waited until the final musical number before walking up to White and shooting him in the face. Thaw then calmly left the theater but was immediately arrested.

Thaw later claimed that he shot White to defend his wife's honor, although Nesbit was not at the theater the night White was shot. Thaw's mother spent a fortune hiring defense lawyers and spreading the tale in the press of how White had abused Nesbit and how it was her son's duty to redress the abuse. As a result, Thaw became a media hero for defending his wife's reputation. Thaw's mother also of-

REPORTING WHITE'S MURDER

On the day following the murder of Stanford White by Harry Kendall Thaw, the press detailed the crime for readers. The following excerpt comes from an article in the June 26, 1906, issue of The New York Times:

Thaw had a pistol concealed under his coat. His face was deathly white. According to A. L. Belstone, who sat near, White must have seen Thaw approaching. But he made no move. Thaw placed the pistol almost against the head of the sitting man and fired three shots in quick succession.

BODY FELL TO THE FLOOR

White's elbow slid from the table, the table crashed over, sending a glass clinking along with the heavier sound. The body then tumbled from the chair. On the stage one of the characters was singing a song entitled "I Could Love A Million Girls." The refrain seemed to freeze upon his lips. There was dead silence for a second, and then Thaw lifted his pistol over his head, the barrel hanging downward, as if to show the audience that he was not going to harm any one else.

With a firm stride Thaw started for the exit, holding his pistol as if anxious to have some one take it from his hand.

Then came the realization on the part of the audience that the farce had closed with a tragedy. A woman jumped to her feet and screamed. Many persons followed her example and there was wild excitement.

ferred Nesbit \$1 million and a divorce from Thaw if she testified that White had beaten and raped her. Nesbit did testify, as requested by the Thaws, although there remains some doubt about the truth of her testimony. She got the divorce from Thaw in 1915 but never received the promised money.

Thaw had two trials in which he pleaded temporary insanity. The first resulted in a deadlocked jury. The second jury found him not guilty by reason of insanity and he was sent to a mental hospital for the criminally insane. He had virtually no restrictions on his activities and used his wealth to buy himself a comfortable lifestyle. He left the hospital without permission, fled to Canada, was re-

turned to the United States, and was freed in 1924. For much of the rest of his life, he continued to be violent and in trouble with the law. He died in 1947 at the age of seventy-six.

Nesbit's career declined after her divorce from Thaw. She eventually remarried and then was divorced from actor Jack Clifford. She died in 1967 at the age of eighty-two in a nursing home in Santa Monica, California.

IMPACT

Thaw's killing of White affected both the legal system and popular culture. The murder was sensationalised by the tabloid press, which featured stories about White's debauchery and sexual abuse of young girls. The press then portrayed Thaw, whose drug use and violent behavior were considered morally repugnant, as a hero who had defended his wife by murdering the man who had raped her. Ignored by the media, however, was Thaw's abuse of Nesbit. Thaw's second trial marked a rare case—rare at the time—in American legal history in which the plea of temporary insanity had been successfully used as a defense in a murder case. The success of this defense was likely due, in part, to the way Thaw was portrayed as a type of folk hero by the media.

A number of books and films were developed to tell the story of the Nesbit-Thaw-White saga. The best-known films include *The Girl in the Red Velvet Swing* (1955) and the best-known novels include *Ragtime* (1975) by E. L. Doctorow. In 2001 the Public Broadcasting Corporation produced a television movie on the White murder, *Murder of the Century*, as part of its *American Experience* series, and in January, 2005, White was profiled on the television series *Biography*.

—Martiscia S. Davidson

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July 12, 1906

FRENCH COURT DECLARES ALFRED DREYFUS INNOCENT OF TREASON

The anti-Semitism, intrigue, and injustice revealed by Alfred Dreyfus's wrongful conviction and subsequent exoneration for espionage placed this French political scandal in the world's spotlight. The affair led to rioting and other violence, exposed deep divisions within French society, and profoundly affected French politics for decades.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Dreyfus affair

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; espionage; civil rights and liberties; military; social issues and reform; violence

KEY FIGURES

Alfred Dreyfus (1859-1935), French army officer
Georges Picquart (1854-1914), chief of French army intelligence in 1896

Émile Zola (1840-1902), French writer and reformer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On July 12, 1906, the French Supreme Court of Appeal annulled Alfred Dreyfus's conviction for treason. In an ordeal that began twelve years earlier, Dreyfus had been convicted by a secret military tribunal. He was publicly humiliated by being stripped of his military ribbons while having his

sword broken in half before a hostile and anti-Semitic crowd and then spent more than three years in solitary confinement on the infamous Devil's Island in the penal colony in French Guyana. He was completely innocent of the crime with which he had been charged.

In the last half of the nineteenth century, anti-Semitism in Western Europe had been exacerbated by the immigration of hundreds of thousands of Jews from Eastern Europe. At the same time, racial bigotry was legitimized by the early advocates of the so-called race sciences: eugenics, modern anthropology, and Darwinian biology. It was with this backdrop that the aloof and upper-class Dreyfus began his military career.

Dreyfus was the son of a wealthy Alsatian family that had made its fortune in textiles. He and part of his family had retained their French nationality by leaving Alsace for Paris when Germany annexed that region during the Franco-Prussian War (1870-1871). Growing up in Paris, Dreyfus attended the military school at the École Polytechnique and later received specialized artillery training at Fontainebleau. His scholastic performance gained him admission to the prestigious École Supérieure de Guerre. Despite having his overall grades lowered by bad marks from one of the members of the panel who stated that Jews were not wanted on the staff, he had graduated ninth in his class and was assigned to the French army's general staff headquarters, becoming the only Jewish officer there.

Shortly after he began his assignment, however, a cleaning woman discovered a handwritten note in the wastebasket of Major Max von Schwartzkoppen, the German military attaché in Paris. The note, or bordereau (a detailed memorandum), contained French military secrets being passed to Schwartzkoppen. The cleaning woman, Marie-Caudron Bastian, was an agent of French military counterintelligence under the command of Colonel Jean Sandherr.

Because of the technical contents of the note, the French Defense Ministry concluded that its author must have had an artillery background. Suspicion immediately fell on Dreyfus because he visited his father in German-held Alsace at least once a year

and also because he was a onetime artillery officer. To add to their case, army authorities declared that the handwriting on the bordereau was similar to that of Dreyfus.

Given the anti-Semitic sentiment in the French military at the time, there is little doubt that Dreyfus's Jewishness also was suspect. He was arrested and charged with treason on October 15, 1894, and for reasons unclear for decades, the military proceeded with a swift and determined prosecution of the hapless young officer.

In less than three months, on January 5, 1895, Dreyfus had been convicted of treason by a secret military tribunal and was exiled for life to Devil's Island in French Guyana. The case seemed closed, and might have remained so, had not Colonel Sandherr retired because of ill health. His replacement turned out to be an unlikely but effective advocate of Dreyfus's cause.

At the age of forty-two, Georges Picquart was the youngest lieutenant colonel in the French army. Although, like many of his colleagues, he was unashamedly anti-Semitic, he also was hardworking and intelligent. It quickly became apparent to him that Dreyfus was not the author of the bordereau. When he recovered a discarded note from Schwartzkoppen that was intended for French major Ferdinand Walsin Esterhazy, he began a quiet investigation of Esterhazy. His investigation convinced him that Esterhazy wrote the bordereau and that Dreyfus had been wrongfully accused and convicted.

Even if Dreyfus's antagonists believed that he was guilty when they convicted him, the evidence Picquart's investigation had uncovered would have convinced them as early as 1896 that they had exiled an innocent person to Devil's Island. Nonetheless, the cover-up continued. When the deputy chief of staff, General Charles-Arthur Gonse, told Picquart that no one would ever know about the wrongful conviction if he kept quiet, Picquart told him that he would not keep quiet forever. As a result, Picquart was reassigned.

Esterhazy, meanwhile, faced a military tribunal. In spite of the considerable evidence against him, he was acquitted on January 11, 1898, and retired to England, where he received a pension from an un-

known source until his death in 1923. Two days after Esterhazy's acquittal, on January 13, an open letter to the president of France appeared in the Paris literary newspaper *L'Aurore*. The now-famous article, *J'accuse!*, was written by French novelist and reformer Émile Zola. In the piece Zola declared that Esterhazy was the real culprit and that his acquittal had been a farce. The article detailed how Dreyfus had been railroaded, and it named the officers who were participating in the cover-up. Indeed, Zola hoped to be charged with libel so that the facts of Dreyfus's case could be made a matter of record during his own trial.

Zola's article started a shift in public opinion in favor of Dreyfus, and because of Zola's international reputation, the world's attention was on the case. On January 17, anti-Semitic riots raged throughout France. In February, Zola was tried for criminal libel. Evidence showed clearly that Esterhazy was the guilty party in the case and that Dreyfus was innocent. Nonetheless, Zola was convicted, sentenced, and given the maximum penalty of one year in jail and a fine. Zola fled to England to avoid his sentence but returned after an appellate court ordered that Dreyfus be retried. The charges against Zola were eventually dismissed.

An appellate court reversed Dreyfus's conviction and ordered a retrial in 1899. Even without evidence of wrongdoing, the court retrying the case convicted Dreyfus nonetheless and sentenced him to ten years in prison. However, on September 19, 1899, he was pardoned by French president Émile Loubet and then released.

Almost seven years later, on July 12, 1906, the French Supreme Court of Appeal finally annulled Dreyfus's conviction and formally adjudged him innocent. A day later he was readmitted into the army with the rank of major and soon was made a Knight of the Legion of Honor. After his early retirement he volunteered to return to duty during World War I and held several commands, including front-line duty in 1917. He was promoted to Officer of the Legion of Honor in November, 1918. Dreyfus died on July 12, 1935.

In later years a compelling case was made by French military historian Jean Doise that the entire

affair had been engineered by French military counterintelligence as an exercise in disinformation. Doise argued in his 1994 book (in French) that the affair had been designed to keep the Germans from learning of the newly developed French 75 mm field gun, the famous French 75.

IMPACT

In France, the affair exposed deep divisions within French society, and for decades had a profound affect on French politics. Many of France's political divisions, even into the twenty-first century, can trace their origins to the ties that were formed during this crisis. Furthermore, the reputation of the French army was devastated by the participation of so many of its officers in this complex conspiracy.

To suggest that the Dreyfus affair affected anti-Semitism in Western Europe would be to ignore the rise of Nazi Germany and Vichy France in the years that followed. The affair's impact on human consciousness cannot be denied, however. For example, Theodore Herzl, a Jewish journalist credited with founding modern Zionism, had covered the Dreyfus affair for an Austro-Hungarian newspaper and was greatly influenced by what he saw. He stated in his diary that witnessing the anti-Semitic crowds in Paris and hearing their cries of "death to the Jews" convinced him that it was useless to try and combat anti-Semitism in Europe and that a Jewish homeland was needed. It is possible that without the energetic efforts of this influential writer and activist, there would be no state of Israel.

—Wayne Shirey

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December 8, 1906

FORMER U.S. SENATOR ARTHUR BROWN IS MURDERED BY LOVER

U.S. senator Arthur Brown, a Utah Republican, was married to his second wife when he became involved with Anne Bradley, a married woman. The affair created a public scandal when the two were arrested for adultery in 1901. The scandal deepened when Bradley killed Brown in 1906, apparently after he had expressed interest in having an affair with yet another woman.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; sex; families and children; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Arthur Brown (1843-1906), U.S. senator from Utah, 1896-1897

Anne Bradley (1873-1950), Brown's lover

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On December 8, 1906, after a scandalous love affair, Anne Bradley, the longtime mistress of one of Utah's first senators, Arthur Brown, shot him at a hotel in Washington, D.C. He died from his

wounds. Bradley pleaded temporary insanity and was acquitted of the murder.

Brown was born near Kalamazoo, Michigan, in 1843. He earned a law degree from the University of Michigan in 1864 and soon married his first wife, L. C. Brown. They had one child. Brown, a loyal friend to many but a dreaded legal foe, specialized in criminal and mining cases and his law practice flourished.

Early in his career, Brown began an affair with a newsstand worker, Isabel Cameron, the niece of a senator from Pennsylvania and the daughter of a Michigan state senator. Brown left his wife in 1876, after she confronted him in his Kalamazoo law office and attempted to shoot him because of the affair. Given the local scandal, Brown moved to Salt Lake City, Utah, in 1879 with an eye on politics. Brown divorced his wife and married Cameron. They soon had their first child.

According to Bradley's 1907 court testimony, she met Brown as early as 1890. By 1896, Brown had become one of Utah's first two U.S. senators; the other was Frank J. Cannon. However, at the



Arthur Brown. (Courtesy, Utah State Historical Society)

1898 Republican Convention in St. Louis, Isabel introduced her husband to Bradley, a fellow Poet's Round Table (a women's literary group) member and secretary of the Republican state committee. Bradley also had been secretary and treasurer of the Salt Lake Woman's Club (another literary group) and a member of the Women's Press Club. Brown was thirty years older than Bradley.

Bradley (born Anne Maddison in 1873) was a Kansas City, Missouri, native. She had joined her family in relocating to Salt Lake City in 1890. Three years later she married Clarence Bradley. They had two children. After seeing Brown at the Republican Convention in 1898, Bradley expressed such interest in Brown's career that Bradley and her husband separated. Bradley and Brown then began an affair, which led to the birth of a son, Arthur Brown Bradley, in February, 1899. At one point after the two met, Bradley moved to Colorado, and Brown pursued her with frequent visits and professions of love and promises of marriage.

In 1901, Brown's wife, Isabel, had her husband and Bradley arrested for adultery. However, Arthur persisted in promises to Bradley that he would leave his wife. He gave Bradley an engagement ring and separated from Isabel in 1902. To calm the scandalous situation, Brown reconciled with Isabel a month later and began denying the paternity of Arthur Bradley Brown. With the assistance of his attorney, he promised to stay away from Bradley. The Browns offered Bradley a home and one hundred dollars per month to keep her distance from the former senator. Bradley refused the offer.

Soon thereafter, Brown and Bradley resumed their affair. Isabel and her family attorney caught Arthur and Bradley at a hotel in Pocatello, Idaho. A physical confrontation between Isabel and Bradley led Isabel to attempt to choke Bradley. Ironically, Arthur then gave Bradley a gun for protection, the same gun that Bradley used to shoot him years later. That same night, Brown denied Max Brown was his son and claimed he was Arthur Brown Bradley's father. The night ended with a proposed divorce settlement for Isabel so that Arthur and Bradley could marry.

An angry Isabel accused the two of adultery, threatened to make love letters from Bradley to her husband public, and refused to grant the divorce. In early 1903, Bradley and Brown were arrested for adultery, for a second time. Brown provided substantial tabloid fodder by reacting with protestations that police time might be better spent. While Bradley pleaded guilty to two charges of adultery, Brown had the charges against him quashed after arguing that Isabel could not legally testify against him. On November 24, Bradley gave birth to a second son. Brown, although back with Isabel, continued his promises to marry Bradley. In 1905, Isabel died of cancer. Brown urged Bradley to get a divorce, which she did that same year, and so she waited, anticipating a June wedding; but Bradley stalled.

On December 1, 1906, Brown headed to Washington, D.C., for a legal case before the U.S. Supreme Court. He spoke to Bradley three days before about her plans for a trip to San Francisco to shop for a business that she intended to begin. With four

children to support, her business idea was important because she began to doubt Brown's long-standing promises of marriage. Brown had a staffer arrange Bradley's transportation, but Brown left without a word to her. A suspicious Bradley changed her train ticket for one to Washington, D.C.

After five days of travel, Bradley arrived on December 8. She got a room at the Raleigh Hotel under the name Mrs. A. Brown. That afternoon, she had a maid open the door of Brown's room, where she saw a letter to Brown from the famous actor (and his former lover) Annie Adams Kiskadden. From the letter, Bradley assumed that there was an impending marriage between Brown and Kiskadden. Bradley later returned to her room, which was on the same floor. Bradley heard Brown's footsteps as he returned to his room, then she knocked on his door. She insisted that he keep his promise of marriage to her. He did not respond but attempted to leave the room. At that point Bradley shot him—some assume accidentally—after a scuffle, because the gunpowder residue was on Brown's hand.

According to a contemporary news story in *The New York Times*,

A maid who heard two shots called the hotel manager, Theodore Talty, who found the former senator dressed and lying on the floor with Anne Bradley standing nearby. She was also fully dressed with hat in hand and wearing a single glove. Arthur Brown told Talty "she shot me." Talty instructed Anne to leave, but she refused, saying quite calmly, "I will remain here, I am the mother of his two children."

Brown was taken to a hospital emergency room in critical condition and had surgery. He had been shot in the hand and abdomen. The second bullet lodged in his pelvis; after two hours of surgery it could not be removed. Nevertheless, Brown was expected to recover. Bradley was taken into custody. At the police station, a rather calm Bradley did not apologize for her actions but was relieved to hear that Brown was expected to recover. She stated repeatedly, "I loved the ground he walked on." She received a mental evaluation and was deemed too fragile to be told immediately of Brown's death.

Brown had lived a few days, but he died on December 13.

Bradley was charged with murder. Her legal team argued that she was temporarily insane when she shot Brown. Witnesses included Bradley's mother, an attorney friend of Brown, Bradley's medical doctor during her incarceration, a physician to Bradley at the birth of her two children, and a reporter who spoke to her soon after the shooting.

IMPACT

The almost thirty-five-year-old Bradley said she had come to Washington, D.C., to demand Brown's hand in marriage. She explained that Brown facilitated her divorce, fathered her two children, and with the death of his wife promised to focus his life on Bradley. However, Brown delayed in this matter. Public sympathy for Bradley and against Brown was swift and plentiful, making the public's reaction the main significance of the scandal.

At her trial, a sobbing Bradley testified in her own defense for about four hours, bringing some jurors to tears. To add to the drama, Kiskadden's letters were read in court. They included references to physical affection between her and Brown. However, Kiskadden, a Utah native herself, denied having anything but a platonic and business relationship with Brown, whom she had known for about twenty years.

As it turns out, Brown did not acknowledge his children with Bradley in his will, a fact that became public during the trial. This seemingly callous act on the part of Brown garnered Bradley even more significant sentiment from the public, and her jurors, who acquitted her on December 3, 1907.

—Camille Gibson

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1907

ELINOR GLYN'S NOVEL *THREE WEEKS* SHOCKS READERS

The publication of Three Weeks, Elinor Glyn's story of an extramarital, child-producing love affair between a young English nobleman and a Balkan queen, was a scandal. Even as it shocked readers and faced censors, the novel nevertheless became a best seller and film. It introduced women's erotic fiction, or the romantic novel, to mass-market Western literature.

LOCALES: United Kingdom; United States

CATEGORIES: Literature; law and the courts; publishing and journalism; royalty; sex; public morals; women's issues

KEY FIGURES

Elinor Glyn (Elinor Sutherland; 1864-1943), British novelist, screenwriter, and film director
George Nathaniel Curzon (1859-1925), British statesman, viceroy of India, and cabinet minister

Alfred Milner (1854-1925), British statesman and colonial administrator

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Elinor Glyn was born into a distinguished British family and experienced as a young woman the cosmopolitan societies of Paris and London. After her family ran short of funds, she married Clayton Glyn, a supposedly wealthy landowner. Elinor soon found that her husband was living on borrowed funds. Moreover, he was not the romantic hero

Elinor had expected him to be. By the time their second daughter was born in 1898, the marriage was collapsing. Bored with her life and desperate for money, Glyn began to write articles about her social set. She then transformed her early diaries and letters into the novel *The Visits of Elizabeth* (1900). The book was a critical and popular success. Four more novels followed, including the scandalous *Three Weeks* (1907).

Three Weeks, Glyn's sixth novel, is the story of a handsome young Englishman, Paul Verdayne, who is sent abroad after being caught kissing the parson's daughter. At his hotel in Lucerne, Switzerland, he notices a black-haired woman in her thirties, whose white face reminds him of a magnolia. The woman he calls the Lady invites him into her flower-filled apartment, where she drapes herself seductively on a couch covered with a tiger skin. The next day Paul buys her a tiger skin, and that night, their honeymoon begins. Paul soon finds out that she is a Balkan queen and has an abusive husband. The lovers proceed to Venice, Italy, but learn that they are being followed. One morning, Paul awakens to find his Lady gone. Some time later, he receives a note informing him that she has given birth to their son. Paul then learns that the Lady's husband has killed her. Five years later, he finally sees his son, and his grief vanishes.

In *Three Weeks*, Glyn abandoned her detached tone in favor of passion—adulterous passion. *Three Weeks* reflected a dramatic change in her own atti-

tude toward extramarital relationships. By 1903, when she met the powerful statesman Alfred Milner, she no longer felt compelled to remain faithful to her husband. However, Milner was too busy to let their relationship become anything more than a close friendship. Interestingly, it was in a letter to Milner written in 1906 that Glyn first mentioned another statesman, George Nathaniel Curzon. Curzon would be the love of Glyn's life.

The model for the hero of *Three Weeks* was a young guards officer, Lord Alastair Innes-Ker, with whom Glyn had been involved as well. She incorporated into her tale two places she had visited, likely Lucerne and Venice, and included mention of the tiger skin she had bought in Lucerne. The story she invented was so clear in Glyn's mind that after she returned home to Essex, it took her only six weeks to finish the novel.

Glyn was warned by many of her friends that if *Three Weeks* was published, she would be shunned

by society. However, Milner liked the novel and did not anticipate trouble. He was wrong. When *Three Weeks* appeared in June, 1907, all who read it did so privately; in public, however, they voiced their disapproval of the novel. Reviewers condemned it as glorifying adultery. Glyn's friends crossed her off their lists. Edward Lyttelton, the headmaster of Eton College, banned the book and refused to lift the ban even after he had read and enjoyed the copy Glyn sent him. Also, Glyn would be haunted by the following verse, composed by a critic:

Would you like to sin / With Elinor Glyn / On a
tiger-skin? / Or would you prefer / To err / With
her / On some other fur?

Neither condemnation nor mockery could prevent *Three Weeks* from becoming a commercial success, however. According to the author's best estimate, by 1933 it had sold more than five million copies.

Three Weeks first faced censorship in the United States. In 1908, Boston's Watch and Ward Society asked booksellers to not sell the book. At the request of Duffield, the novel's New York publisher, Joseph E. Buckley sold a copy to an inspector with the Boston police. The result was an important U.S. legal case, *Commonwealth v. Buckley* (1909), in which a jury called the book obscene; Buckley was fined one hundred dollars. The Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts upheld the decision, arguing that words such as "obscene" did not have to be defined for a jury. In 1916, a British judge dismissed Glyn's suit against the company that had made the 1915 comic film *Pimple's Three Weeks (Without the Option)*, which was based on Glyn's novel. The judge insisted that Glyn's book was too indecent to deserve copyright protection (*Glyn v. Weston Feature Film Co.*, 1916).

Nevertheless, in the United States, *Three Weeks* became a best seller. After being assured that she would find herself treated far better in the United States than in England, Glyn traveled to New York, where she was entertained by socialites, warmly welcomed by U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt, and praised for her writing by the eminent author Mark Twain. In Rawhide, Nevada, a group of miners gave a banquet in her honor, presenting her a



Elinor Glyn. (Library of Congress)

small gun as a token of their respect for her courage.

Back in England, after having already written a dramatic version of *Three Weeks*, Glyn put on a charity matinee, which, as she had hoped, led to a contract for a West End production. However, the proposal was turned down by politician Neville Chamberlain, evidently because the British Foreign Office did not want to offend Russia. Two years later, Glyn was kidnapped in Warsaw, Poland, but was rescued shortly after. She always suspected that her references to Russian royalty in *Three Weeks* had come too close to the truth.

In 1920, Glyn was invited by Hollywood to develop her novels into screenplays. She had to alter her story considerably to pass censors, but the film, *Three Weeks: The Romance of a Queen* (1924), became a box-office success in the United States. However, in England, Chamberlain's office made extensive cuts and also eliminated the title *Three Weeks*. The film was shown in Britain as *The Romance of a Queen* (1924).

IMPACT

The publication of *Three Weeks* changed Glyn's life forever. Although unwelcome in some segments of English society, she became recognized as a professional author. Though the scandal associated with *Three Weeks* made it impossible for Glyn and Curzon to marry, Glyn recovered from their breakup and moved on to an exciting career in Hollywood. She returned to England financially secure and eventually was welcomed back into the society that had shunned her.

The court action in Massachusetts strengthened the power of the Watch and Ward Society, which was able, for the next ten years, to keep many fictional works out of state. Elsewhere, however, booksellers and publishers could not deny that this supposedly obscene novel had racked up millions of sales. Clearly there was money to be made from novels that were branded as shocking.

Moreover, Glyn's torrid novel and the romances she wrote later were especially appealing to members of a rapidly developing group of readers, middle-class and working-class women who yearned for romance but also were tired of being controlled

by their husbands. They were drawn to strong, self-sufficient heroines such as those of Glyn's novels, who not only inspired men but also controlled them, just as the Lady controlled Paul in *Three Weeks*. In its outspoken descriptions of sexual passion, *Three Weeks* anticipated the distaste for hypocrisy that followed World War I, but there were also hints of the kind of feminism that would not come into its own for another half century.

—Rosemary M. Canfield Reisman

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June 13, 1907

SAN FRANCISCO MAYOR SCHMITZ IS FOUND GUILTY OF EXTORTION

Supported by a major political boss, Mayor Eugene E. Schmitz shocked constituents when allegations of graft, extortion, bribery, and corruption within his administration came to light. Although he was eventually acquitted, his political career was ruined and an era of corruption came to an end.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Schmitz-Ruef regime; graft prosecutions

LOCALE: San Francisco, California

CATEGORIES: Corruption; organized crime and racketeering; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Eugene E. Schmitz (1864-1928), mayor of San Francisco, 1902-1907

Abraham Ruef (1864-1936), San Francisco lawyer and political boss

William J. Burns (1861-1932), U.S. Secret Service investigator, and head of the Bureau of Investigation, 1921-1924

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Eugene E. Schmitz was elected mayor of San Francisco in 1901, although not many people had taken his candidacy seriously. He had been nominated as the Union Labor Party candidate by lawyer Abraham Ruef, whose political machine was extremely powerful. Ruef had managed to accumulate the necessary number of votes to elect Schmitz through a variety of channels, some more questionable than others.

As soon as Schmitz took office in 1902, Ruef began to place his supporters in prominent positions. He even organized the Schmitz Club, forcing all holding government office in San Francisco to be a member. Ruef was amply compensated (reportedly with an annual salary of twenty-five thousand dollars) for starting and running the club. Soon, Ruef was the driving force behind San Francisco politics.

Although Schmitz was technically the mayor, most people believed that Ruef was the one who was calling the shots.

Schmitz was born in San Francisco, California, on August 22, 1864, to a German father and an Irish mother. As a child he got a job at the Old Standard Theater in San Francisco as a drummer boy. He continued to work in the music industry, mainly as a violinist, and eventually became the leader of the orchestra at the California Theater, also in San Francisco. Because of his work in the music industry he was a member of the Musicians' Union. It was through this membership that he met Ruef.

Ruef was born in 1864 in San Francisco and was a bright student who graduated from the University of California in 1883, receiving highest honors. He then attended Hastings College of Law in San Francisco, where he became active in politics in 1888, initially as a Republican. However, differences with the party soon led him to become active in the Union Labor Party, and he became the party's head.

Although Schmitz was elected mayor for a second term in 1903 and then a third term in 1905, whispers of scandal and corruption in city hall soon followed. Accusations were made as well against the board of supervisors, the police and fire departments, and elections commissioners, a charge that was not surprising given that Mayor Schmitz had been elected for his first term as a virtual unknown. Although some of these charges were investigated, none materialized into convictions. Members of the police force who detected wrongdoing in government were dismissed, and other tactics were used to hush up scandals and close investigations. The rumors continued to circulate and build, but soon, with an impending natural disaster, the public had other, more important, things about which to worry.

In 1906, a massive earthquake rocked San Francisco, and Mayor Schmitz had a crisis on his hands. Large sections of the city were burning, and there were dead and injured people who needed medical

treatment. There also was a significant level of looting. Schmitz decided to act, issuing orders that looters and others committing crimes were to be shot dead on the spot, no questions asked. This order is believed to have led to the deaths of five hundred or more civilians in the aftermath of the earthquake. Some reports indicate that soldiers and police officers not only shot looters but also those who disobeyed orders to work or those who were otherwise uncooperative.

Although the rumors of corruption in Schmitz's administration subsided during the earthquake and its immediate aftermath, it did not take long for them to resurface. The charges of corruption were still many and varied, but the newest concerns focused on the illicit happenings at "French restaurants." These establishments indeed had respectable first-floor restaurants (suitable for ladies and families, a concern of the time) and generally had more expensive, but less proper, eating establishments on the second floor. Above the second floor, however, there were a variety of illicit activities.

The French restaurants, which served alcohol, were required to have liquor licenses that needed to be renewed every three months. Public concern with the activities going on behind closed doors in the French restaurants, however, led police to slow their issuance of the licenses. The restaurants, though, were freed from licensing problems once Ruef got involved in the matter. He received ten thousand dollars from the restaurant owners to intervene on their behalf, and he gave half of that sum to Mayor Schmitz.

A federal investigation soon began into the Schmitz-Ruef political

dealings of the previous five years. Secret service agent William J. Burns traveled to San Francisco to collect further evidence and conduct sting operations. His work led to the indictments of both Schmitz and Ruef. (Burns's investigation tech-

FRENCH RESTAURANTS

The city and county of San Francisco issued a report on the grand jury's and prosecutor's investigations into the corruption of San Francisco mayor Eugene Schmitz and local political boss Abraham Ruef. The Report on the Causes of Municipal Corruption in San Francisco was published January 5, 1910. The following excerpt from the report details some of the criminal dealings of the so-called French restaurants, major centers of corruption in the city.

The presence of the [French] restaurant on the ground floor gives a certain air of legitimacy to the enterprise. . . .

A striking illustration of the toleration which permits a corrupt Mayor to deal in illicit privileges and to take profits from vice, arose in connection with a raid on a famous house of prostitution—presumably similarly licensed—during an earlier and unsuccessful investigation of the Ruef-Schmitz regime. . . . In the raid one hundred and sixty prostitutes were arrested from the one house, and released on the deposit of bail money exceeding in all Sixteen Thousand Dollars. It was subsequently published—and never denied—that the money was furnished by a prominent liquor man who was . . . the president of one of the oldest, the most powerful, and the richest of the associations of merchants in the city. . . . The fact that his company was, at the time of the raid, selling liquors to a large number of resorts whose licenses were dependent upon the Schmitz Board of Police Commissioners was accepted by many as a sufficient excuse for his supplying the bail.

The Ruef-Schmitz organization, recognizing how easily such illicit enterprises could be made to pay tribute, devised a plan to obtain a share of their profits. They included in their attack the trust company's restaurant already described. This was made the easier from the fact that one of the members of the Board of Police Commissioners had consistently opposed the granting of licenses to these places as soon as he had become aware of their extremely vicious character. The Mayor inspired another member of the Board of four commissioners, who had absolute power to grant or withhold liquor licenses, to commence an attack on the system and to threaten refusal to renew the licenses. The restaurant keepers soon discovered it was necessary to employ Ruef as an attorney to defend them before the Board. It is interesting to note that the member of the Board who had apparently conscientiously anticipated the attack on the system, refused to cease when the matter had been arranged, and was subsequently removed by the Mayor. Ruef was paid large "fees" by the restaurant proprietors, and the licenses were renewed at their expiration.

niques, in this case and others, as well as his persistence, eventually led to his appointment as head of the U.S. Bureau of Investigation, later the Federal Bureau of Investigation.) In March, 1907, Schmitz and Ruef were indicted on more than sixty-five counts of graft, extortion, bribery, and corruption. Ruef eventually pleaded guilty, and he appeared as a witness against Schmitz. On June 13, Schmitz was found guilty of extortion in a unanimous decision that took just one hour and thirty-five minutes to reach.

Ruef served four years in prison before being paroled and was eventually pardoned. Schmitz was jailed. He appealed the verdict and won his appeal because of technicalities and because an important prosecution witness had fled to Canada. Schmitz had been removed from his position as mayor upon his conviction, but he ran for mayor again in 1915 and again in 1919, losing both times. He did, however, win a seat on the board of supervisors for a few years.

IMPACT

The entire nation watched with fascination the trials of Schmitz and Ruef. All over the United States, in cities such as Chicago, New York, and New Orleans, there were tales of corrupt politicians and political machines, but nowhere had the corruption reached as high as that in San Francisco. Many of the wealthiest and most prominent citizens of San Francisco and surrounding areas also followed the trials, too, but they did so holding their breaths. They had been intimately involved with Schmitz and Ruef and some of their corrupt schemes.

Schmitz's and Ruef's convictions were cheered as major steps forward in the fight against corrupt politics, but the eventual dismissal of the charges against Schmitz was considered a step back. Ruef spent only four years in prison. His conviction did, however, send a message to other political bosses that the federal government was serious about prosecuting graft, fraud, bribery, and extortion.

After the installation of a new mayor in San Francisco, and after the appointment of new government officials, politics and big business in San Francisco underwent significant changes. Favors could no longer be so easily bought and sold. In the end, the

conviction of Mayor Schmitz and Ruef helped end the era of big political bosses and major political corruption in San Francisco.

—Helen Davidson

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November 15, 1908**BELGIUM CONFISCATES CONGO FREE STATE FROM KING LEOPOLD II**

King Leopold II of Belgium created the Congo Free State as his private fiefdom—a business venture—during Europe’s scramble for African territories. The Belgian government seized the state from Leopold after public revelations of his brutal and ruthless exploitation of the Congolese people. In twenty-two years, an estimated ten million Congolese—half the population—were forced into labor and were murdered or died from disease or starvation.

LOCALES: Brussels, Belgium; Congo Free State (now the Democratic Republic of the Congo)

CATEGORIES: Colonialism and imperialism; royalty; human rights; atrocities and war crimes; government

KEY FIGURES

Leopold II (1835-1909), king of Belgium, r. 1865-1909

Henry Morton Stanley (1841-1904), Welsh-born journalist and African explorer

Edmund Dene Morel (1873-1924), French-born British journalist and socialist politician

Roger Casement (1864-1916), Irish diplomat

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In September, 1908, the Belgian parliament passed an annexation treaty and a colonial charter that specified how the Congo Free State (CFS) would be managed, without Belgian king Leopold II. On November 15, in a ceremony in the state’s capital of Boma, the CFS became the Belgian Congo. The worst of the abuses perpetrated by Leopold’s administration had finally decreased because of international and domestic pressure, and the abuses were prohibited with the transfer of power. The economic exploitation and the political and cultural repression of colonial rule persisted, albeit in a more benign manner, but nothing compared to Leopold’s twenty-two-year exploitation of the Congolese people.

Newly independent Belgium had no interest in colonialism, but its second king, Leopold II, had always coveted an overseas colony. He had explored the purchase or acquisition of areas around the world. During the mid-nineteenth century, sub-Saharan Africa was largely unexplored and, except for the coastal areas, was mostly unclaimed by European countries, leading Leopold to Africa’s interior.

In 1879, Leopold hired the British American explorer Henry Morton Stanley to survey the Congo River area and to build a road, establish posts along the navigable river, and make treaties with Congolese chiefs along the way. The survey was made under the guise of the International Association of the Congo, a private holding company disguised as an international scientific and philanthropic association, headed by Leopold. Ostensibly, the IAC was devoted to free trade and elimination of the slave trade. At the fourteen-nation Berlin Conference of 1884-1885, however, Leopold used skillful and cunning diplomacy to play the major powers against each other to get de facto recognition of his claim to the Congo River basin. Leopold changed the name of the IAC to Congo Free State and became the absolute ruler of an area larger than Western Europe and eighty times the size of Belgium.

Leopold quickly abandoned the pretense of a free trade zone and instead controlled the country through private trusts. He declared that any uncultivated land was vacant and available for exploitation. He authorized forced labor for the Congolese population on behalf of his economic interests, primarily the collection of rubber and ivory. Congolese who refused to provide labor, rubber, and ivory, or who did not meet their assigned quotas, were beaten and mutilated (amputating hands was a common practice), their wives and children were kidnapped, women were raped, their villages were burned, and many of the uncooperative were executed. In the twenty-two years the CFS existed, an



King Leopold II. (Library of Congress)

estimated ten million Congolese—half the population—lost their lives to murder, starvation, and disease.

The CFS was unique in being a personal fiefdom rather than a colony. Accordingly, Leopold had total control of its resources and was answerable to no one. He chose to maximize his short-term economic gains at all costs. He gave his agents the authority to impose draconian methods to maximize his return. They took possession of all lands and forced compliance with demands for labor, rubber, and ivory.

When novelist Joseph Conrad captained a steamboat up the Congo in 1889, the crimes and plunder he saw formed the basis for his novella *Heart of Darkness* (1902), first published as a magazine serial in 1899. He indicated that the novella was only a slightly fictionalized version of what he saw. The atrocities also were clear in 1890, when George Washington Williams, an African American Baptist minister, made a trip across the country. In an

open letter to Leopold, written from the Congo, he condemned the brutal and inhuman treatment of the Congolese. Williams reminded the king that the crimes committed were done in his name, making him as guilty as the actual perpetrators. Williams appealed to the international community to investigate these crimes against humanity, marking, as well, the first time the phrase “crimes against humanity” was used. Leopold disparaged the report and, because Williams died on his way home, he did not feel compelled to investigate the accusations. Various Protestant missionaries in the Congo also brought attention to the atrocities. Prominent among these was William Henry Sheppard, an African American Presbyterian missionary, whose outspokenness earned him a libel suit brought by one of Leopold’s companies.

In 1900, Edmund Dene Morel was a clerk for an English company with a shipping contract for the CFS. He noticed that returning ships were full of valuable products, such as raw rubber and ivory, while the outgoing ships carried guns, ordnance, explosives, and chains, but no commercial goods. After realizing that Leopold had created a forced labor system of immense proportions, in essence slave labor, Morel began to publish a series of articles in the weekly magazine *Speaker*. By 1902, Morel had given up his job to become a full-time investigative reporter, continuing to expose the deplorable conditions in the Congo. Morel had contacts with agents of the CFS and with missionaries who furnished eyewitness accounts and photographs of atrocities. He published in 1906 the book *Red Rubber: The Story of the Rubber Slave Trade Flourishing on the Congo in the Year of Grace, 1906*.

In response to Morel’s accounts, the British House of Commons passed a 1903 resolution on the Congo and subsequently ordered the British consul in the Congo, Roger Casement, to inspect the region. His 1904 report, which meticulously confirmed Morel’s accusations, had a considerable impact on public opinion. Morel and Casement established the Congo Reform Association (CRA), with branches around the world, including the United States. The CRA, acknowledged as the first

large-scale human rights organization, publicized accounts of the atrocities and lobbied against Leopold's rule of the Congo. The CRA earned the support of famous writers such as Conrad, Anatole France, Mark Twain, and Arthur Conan Doyle. In 1905, Twain published *King Leopold's Soliloquy*, a fiercely satirical pamphlet, and Doyle published *The Crime of the Congo* in 1909, a book that included photographs of Congolese women and children whose hands had been cut off.

Leopold rebutted the accusations, belittled them, and suggested they were part of a British campaign of expansionism. However, under external pressure, he instituted his own commission of enquiry in 1904. Its report, which Leopold tried to suppress, substantially confirmed the accusations. After being shown the report, the vice governor-general of the Congo committed suicide. In 1906, Félicien Cattier, a professor of colonial law at Brussels University, published his own study, *Etude sur la situation de l'Etat indépendant du Congo* (study of the situation of the independent state of the Congo), and Jesuit priest Arthur Vermeersch published *La Question Congolaise* (the Congolese question). Both books were damning indictments of the abuses in the CFS that persuaded the Roman Catholic community in Belgium to take action as well.

The United States, Britain, France, and Germany pressured Belgium to take over the Congo and remove Leopold from its control. In 1906 the Belgian parliament voted in principle to do so. Leopold, however, insisted on being paid to give up his rights to the country and managed to extract 110 million francs to cover his outstanding debts, 45 million francs to complete the building projects in Belgium he had started, and 50 million francs in future receipts from the Congo. He also destroyed many records of his tenure in the Congo.

IMPACT

The atrocities perpetrated by Leopold II's administration, unthinkable in their severity and scale, also led to the formation of a new awareness of crimes against humanity (indeed, the phrase was

Belgium Takes Congo Free State from Leopold II

coined at this time) and to the founding of the first large-scale human rights group, the Congo Reform Association. The association galvanized public opinion at both the local and global levels and insisted on government action against Leopold. This call for action culminated in the confiscation in 1908 of the Congo Free State by the Belgian government, its annexation, and its formation as the Belgian Congo.

—James L. Robinson

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1909-1916

DANCER ISADORA DUNCAN BEGINS AFFAIR WITH MILLIONAIRE HEIR

Famous for her innovations in dance and notorious for her unconventional and controversial personal life, Isadora Duncan began an affair with Paris Singer, the married heir to the Singer sewing machine fortune. Scandal followed the pair not because of their liaison but because of Duncan's notoriety for flirting with cultural and social mores and for her independence.

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Sex; performing arts; public morals; women's issues

KEY FIGURES

Isadora Duncan (1877-1927), dancer and choreographer

Paris Singer (1868-1932), heir to Singer company and Duncan's lover

Patrick Singer (1910-1913), the son of Duncan and Singer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Dancer and choreographer Isadora Duncan first met Paris Singer in 1901 at the funeral of Singer's brother-in-law, Prince Edmond de Polignac. Their affair, however, did not actually start until 1909. Singer was well educated, reared among the English aristocracy, and was a patron of the arts. He had called upon Duncan in her dressing room, expressing his admiration for her talent and her daring in exploring new dance forms, after one of her performances at the Théâtre Gaieté Lyrique in Paris. He offered to support her in her efforts to establish and maintain dancing schools to teach her form of dance to children.

Although Duncan was not immediately in love with Singer, she was intrigued by his offer. The patronage of a person as wealthy as Singer would open doors for her. She wistfully remarked that her mil-

lionaire had appeared. She began to spend time with him in 1909, and while at Beaulieu, in France, they became lovers. She called him her Lohengrin, her knight who had come to make possible her mission as a dancer.

Duncan was born in San Francisco, California, on May 26, 1877, to Joseph Charles Duncan and Mary "Dora" Gray Duncan. Her father had been a banker but lost both his bank and his fortune soon after Isadora was born. Her parents divorced in 1880 and Mary moved to Oakland with her four children. The family was very poor, and Mary taught piano. Soon her daughters were teaching dance to children. Already exhibiting her need for freedom and personal expression, the young Duncan dropped out of school. In 1895, the family moved to New York.

Duncan's career began in New York when she became a dancer with Augustin Daly's theater company. Restless and wishing to develop her own dance theories, she traveled to London with her family in 1899 and then to Paris in 1900. She was very well received as a dancer throughout Europe, but she also became well known for her ideas on politics and sexual mores. In 1904, she met theatrical designer Edward Gordon Craig. They became lovers and had a daughter, Deirdre, in 1906. Duncan's affair with "her millionaire," Singer, would begin some three years later in Paris.

The tall, blond Singer fascinated women. He was born in Paris in 1868 to Isaac Merritt Singer, founder of the Singer Manufacturing Company (noted for its sewing machines). Upon his father's death in 1875, the young Singer inherited a very large fortune, which provided him with an income of about fifteen thousand dollars per week. He also inherited his father's Devonshire mansion, Oldway, which he transformed into a replica of Versailles. In addition to Oldway, Singer maintained several other residences: a villa at Cap Ferrat in

France, an apartment at Places des Vosges in Paris, and a town house in Cadogan Square in London. He also owned a yacht named *Lady Evelyn*. Singer, although married to Lillian Graham, with whom he had five children, nevertheless had many romantic adventures and enjoyed a reputation as a sought-after lover.

Duncan divided her life between Singer and her career. Taking her daughter Deirdre with her, she sailed to Italy with Singer on the *Lady Evelyn*. Then, Duncan left for an engagement in Russia. Upon returning to Paris, she joined Singer at his apartment at Place des Vosges. Shortly thereafter, they sailed again on the yacht. Then Duncan traveled to Venice by herself, repeating a pattern that would continue throughout their relationship.

It was in Venice that Duncan learned she was pregnant—Singer was the father. She had mixed feelings about having the baby. The pregnancy would change her physically and would likely affect her performances. She went on with her American tour. The last performance of the tour, at Carnegie Hall, met with a disapproving audience, shocked by her visible pregnancy. Arguing that the theme of her dance was fertility, Duncan flippantly dismissed the criticism.

In January, Duncan and Singer took a houseboat cruise on the Nile River, returned to Paris, and saw the birth of their son, Patrick Augustus, on May 1, 1910, in Beaulieu. Singer was very pleased with the birth of his son, but he was not mentioned as the father on the birth certificate. Upon returning to Paris, Singer suggested that Duncan host an elaborate party. He was then called away to London on business and suffered a stroke. Duncan joined him at Oldway.

After the birth of their son, Singer had asked Duncan to marry him several times, but she refused each time. At Oldway, however, she did attempt a trial run at married life. Singer wanted her to give up her career, believing she would still be happy. The life that he led with his aristocratic English friends, however, did not please Duncan. Moreover,

she did not wish to abandon her career. Singer, hoping to make her happy, suggested that she hire a pianist and dance in the ballroom. André Caplet, assistant director of the Colonne Orchestra, arrived from Paris to play for her.

Duncan first found Caplet unbearably ugly, which pleased Singer. One day, however, on an afternoon ride, Duncan discovered her passion for Caplet. It was a brief affair, but Singer discovered it and Duncan returned to Paris under less than ideal circumstances. Duncan continued to dance and tour. She and Singer reconciled, parted again, and reconciled again. However, they quarreled frequently about money and Duncan's flirtations.

On April 19, 1913, Singer asked Duncan to join him for lunch in Paris and to bring the children. They arrived in a rented car driven by an agency chauffeur. After lunch, Duncan rehearsed while the children and their nanny started back to Versailles.



Isadora Duncan. (Library of Congress)

Their car stalled and a tragic accident resulted in the death of Deirdre, Patrick, and the nanny. It was Singer who informed Duncan of the tragedy. Singer, deeply grieved, checked into a clinic; Duncan, also grief stricken, went to the island of Corfu to heal. Singer joined her there in the summer. Duncan's desire to have another child met only with displeasure from Singer, who abruptly left her one morning. Duncan later said that Singer could not bear her grief.

Nonetheless, the Duncan-Singer affair continued until 1916. Singer had joined Duncan in Palm Beach, Florida, that year. He had provided the funds to bring her young dancers, the Isadorables, to New York. He then proceeded to take a \$100,000 option on Madison Square Garden and offered the arena to her to use for her school of dance. Singer made the offer at a dinner party on March 6 for Duncan and a large number of her family and friends. Duncan sarcastically rejected his offer, quipping that he was simply using her name to advertise prizefights. In an extreme state of anger, Singer left the table and refused to see or communicate with Duncan again.

In 1918, having divorced Lillian Graham, Singer married Joan Balsh, a nurse who had been in charge of a soldiers' hospital on his Paignton estate. Duncan filled her life with parties and men. In 1922, she married Russian poet Sergei Esenin, who was eighteen years younger than Duncan. Esenin, however, committed suicide in 1925.

Duncan did see Singer once again shortly before her death on September 14, 1927. (She died from an accidental strangulation when her long shawl, which was around her neck, tangled in the wheel axle of the car in which she was riding.) Singer was no longer her Lohengrin nor her millionaire (he had lost much of his fortune) nor her passionate lover. He was simply a friend who had come to help her financially.

IMPACT

During the early years of the twentieth century, Duncan's affair with Singer was in every aspect scandalous. Singer was married and Duncan had an illegitimate child with him. Their affair provided her

with money for whatever she wanted, be it personal luxury or funding for her work in dance. However, their situation was not unique. Many wealthy—and married—men of the period were patrons of the arts and were involved in sexual affairs. What made the affair even more scandalous and noteworthy was that it was Duncan who was part of the affair. Her radical ideas about dance, politics, sex, and marriage, and her success as a dancer, caught the public's attention, and kept it throughout her career.

—Shawncey Webb

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1910

NOBELIST MARIE CURIE HAS AFFAIR WITH PHYSICIST PAUL LANGEVIN

Marie Curie's alleged romantic involvement with Langevin became a public scandal when his estranged wife encouraged a French newspaper to publish excerpts from Curie's letters to Paul Langevin, thus igniting a fierce controversy that nearly ruined Curie's career. Curie was attacked not only as a home breaker but also a Jew who had defiled a Christian home. Curie, however, was not Jewish.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Curie-Langevin affair

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Public morals; sex; women's issues

KEY FIGURES

Marie Curie (1867-1934), Polish-born French chemist, who won two Nobel Prizes

Paul Langevin (1872-1946), physicist and Curie's lover

Jeanne Langevin (1889-1934), Langevin's wife

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Marie Curie, one of the world's most famous scientists, won the Nobel Prize in Physics in 1903 with her husband, physicist Pierre Curie, and scientist Henri Becquerel. Pierre's sudden death in a carriage accident in 1906 left Marie bereft. She was supported during this time by one of her husband's closest colleagues, Paul Langevin. Still relatively young at the age of thirty-eight, Curie became romantically involved with Langevin, even though he was married and the father of four children.

Curie empathized with Langevin's troubles at home: He told her of an unsympathetic wife who had no understanding of his work or of its importance. Curie's intensive involvement in his domestic difficulties drew her into a scandal that threatened to disrupt her work as a scientist and to ruin her reputation.

Curie's personal story is appealing. She had grown up in Russian-occupied Poland and was denied access to higher education. On her savings from seven years as a governess, and with the help of her sister Bronia, she traveled to Paris, where she not only learned the language but also became an outstanding student and scientist and a colleague of Pierre Curie. The couple became famous for their scientific achievements and for their selfless devotion to the cause of science—refusing, for example, to patent or to profit directly from their most important discovery, the element radium.

The years between 1906 and 1910 had been stressful for Curie not only because of the loss of her husband and research partner but also because she took care of his ailing father (he died during this time as well) and coped with the responsibilities of a single mother. Curie had two young daughters, Irene and Eve, and as a devoted parent she worried over their childhood illnesses and their education (she set up a separate school for her children and the children of her colleagues). Curie, too, came to rely heavily on Langevin, a scientist she deeply respected for his work on sonar (a system that determines the position of unseen underwater objects) that developed from Pierre's experiments with crystals. Langevin and Curie taught science at a girls' school outside Paris.

As a woman who kept her own counsel and shared confidences only with her husband, Curie was susceptible to a person such as Langevin, who had an easy way with women and did not hesitate to tell Curie about his own domestic troubles. At one point, he came to his laboratory with bruises he said had been inflicted by his wife. A shocked and outraged Curie sent Langevin a letter suggesting that he separate from his wife, Jeanne.

Jeanne Langevin sensed the growing intimacy between her husband and Curie. On the alert to confirm her suspicions, Jeanne intercepted the Curie

letter advising Langevin to leave her, and also found other intimate messages between the two. With this evidence in hand, Jeanne threatened to have the letters published in the newspaper her brother edited. She then blackmailed Curie, who had earlier given Paul five thousand francs.

In spite of Curie's efforts to appease Jeanne, excerpts from the Curie letters were published in 1910. Curie was attacked as a home breaker and a foreigner who had taken advantage of her privileged position in France. Even more scurrilous were charges that the "Jewish" Curie had defiled a Christian home. (Curie was not Jewish.)

Curie was now a cause célèbre and the focus of xenophobic groups. Conservative newspapers attacked her morality and suggested she leave the country. Angry mobs protested her behavior, appearing at her laboratory and her home. An incensed Paul Langevin engaged in a duel with a newspaper editor—although no one was hurt.



Marie Curie. (© The Nobel Foundation)

IMPACT

Curie issued a statement in 1911, deploring efforts to connect her public and private lives. She refused to believe that her scientific work would be compromised by the slander. However, her colleagues in the scientific community did little to support her. Even so, she was awarded a second Nobel Prize in 1911. When the Nobel Academy asked her to not attend the ceremony (fearing public protests), she appeared nevertheless, refusing to behave as though she had done anything wrong.

It is perhaps this courageous and defiant act that helped to restore Curie's public reputation. After all, it was her indomitable character and rectitude that had contributed so much to her prestige and made her one of the world's most admired individuals. Although Curie never publicly acknowledged her affair with Langevin, she prudently cut off intimate contacts with him—a tacit acknowledgment of the impropriety of continuing a relationship that had aroused so much public ire.

Although the Curie-Langevin affair continued to be a public controversy until 1913, winning the second Nobel Prize enhanced Curie's standing—as did her efforts on behalf of France in World War I. She was instrumental in establishing an ambulance corps with mobile x-ray units, so that soldiers on the battlefield could receive immediate and expert medical care. This unflagging effort on behalf of her adopted country did much to restore and augment Curie's reputation.

Had Curie not maintained her proud, unbending persona during the scandal and had she not attempted to placate public opinion, the damage to her reputation might have been much greater. Instead, the affair became a lamentable but understandable lapse in an otherwise exemplary career.

Biographers have varied in their treatment of the affair. Curie's daughter, Eve, did not allude to it in her biography of her mother, and other biographers have given the affair only brief attention. Some have doubted that Curie and Langevin were lovers, although biographer Susan Quinn established that the couple rented a flat near the Sorbonne so they could meet, which certainly suggests an intimate and illicit liaison, judging by the standards of the

time. Other biographers have been keenly interested in how the affair revealed their subject's personality and have devoted entire chapters to the scandal.

—Carl Rollyson

FURTHER READING

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March 25, 1911

NEARLY 150 WORKERS DIE IN TRIANGLE SHIRTWAIST FACTORY FIRE

The Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire was one of the worst industrial fires in American history. Within an hour, more than one hundred workers, mostly young women and girls, jumped to their deaths after being trapped by blocked exit doors and faulty fire escapes. Others died later from smoke inhalation. The ensuing scandal over the hazardous working conditions led to many state and federal labor laws on worker safety.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Triangle fire

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Families and children; labor; law and the courts; social issues and reform; women's issues

KEY FIGURE

Robert F. Wagner (1877-1953), New York state senator, 1909-1918, and chairman of the state's Factory Investigating Commission, 1911-1915

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On March 25, 1911, at the end of a workday, a horrible fire broke out on the eighth floor of the ten-story building on the corner of Washington Place and Greene Street in Manhattan's Greenwich Village. The lower floors contained clothing shops that had closed at noon on this warm, spring Saturday. Floors eight, nine, and ten housed the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, a factory that employed about one thousand workers and made women's tailored shirts. The employees were working overtime on this particular day to supplement their typical weekly salary of six dollars. The fire, which spread quickly, had been fueled by bolts of cotton, linen, and silk fabric, and by laces and paper patterns, and quickly climbed to the hanging garments.

The fire, which started on the eighth floor, forced many of the workers, mostly girls and young women between the ages of thirteen and twenty-

three (and who were mostly of Jewish, Italian, and German descent), to jump from the windows. A fire truck soon arrived but had trouble getting its hose wagon into position because of the dead bodies on the pavement. Finally, distraught firefighters pulled out a life net and attempted to catch people as they jumped. The jumpers, however, bounced from the net and were killed after hitting the concrete. Next, hopeful rescuers tried to catch jumpers with a horse blanket, but the blanket split and became useless as well.

Some male factory employees reportedly tried to quench the fire with buckets of water, but this effort proved futile. The remaining young employees panicked and headed for the elevators and the stairway. As the workers pounded on the stairway doors, the doors slammed shut because they opened in rather than out. Others ran to the building's two elevators, which could carry approximately ten passengers each, and were able to escape to the street. Employees still upstairs finally got the stairway door open and ran down the stairs and escaped, but most suffered burns. Three male employees tried to form a human chain from an eighth-floor window to the adjacent window next door, but they lost their balance and fell eighty feet to their deaths. More firefighters arrived but soon learned their hoses could reach to the seventh floor only. Workers jumped and tried to reach the top of a firefighting ladder, but plummeted to the street instead. Interns arrived in horse-drawn ambulances from three area hospitals but by this time only covered and tagged the dead bodies.

Many of the employees who jumped had worked on the ninth floor. As flames from the eighth floor burned the windowsills of the ninth floor, women raced to the stairway, but the door was locked. An elevator attendant finally arrived at the ninth floor but could take a few women only down to the street level. As the attendant tried to go back up, he heard

bodies hitting the top of the elevator and saw blood and coins falling through the shaft. Police later reported pulling more than twenty-five charred bodies from the elevator shaft, and firefighters indicated they found nineteen bodies melted against the locked door.

Some workers on the tenth floor got news of the fire and initially believed it was a prank, but they soon smelled the smoke and climbed onto the roof. Students from nearby New York University Law School lowered a ladder onto the burning building's roof and led almost 150 workers to safety. By this time, firefighters with water hoses had reached the upper floors and began to extinguish the flames and look for survivors. The Triangle Building had one inadequate fire escape: one ladder that led to a narrow courtyard (which during this fire was filled

Nearly 150 Die in Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire

with smoke). Many of the workers had struggled to breathe during the fire, and the few that survived the fire itself later died from smoke inhalation.

As nightfall approached, firefighters and police officers began removing bodies from the upper floors of the building. They used nets and horse blankets to lower two to three bodies at a time out the windows, into rows on a dark red canvas. It took all night for ambulances to take the bodies to the morgue. A tin-roofed pier on the East River had to be used as a temporary morgue because of the large number of bodies. The next few days would bring hundreds of relatives and friends to try and identify their loved ones.

Strangely, the Triangle Building was made of steel and concrete and was considered fireproof. The exterior was undamaged. Except for the black-



Mourners protest poor working conditions in the aftermath of the Triangle Shirtwaist Factory fire. (NARA)

ened windows of the eighth, ninth, and tenth floors, it was difficult to notice that there had been a fire. The source of the fire remains unidentified, but there have been rumors that a man who had been smoking threw either a lit match or a cigarette on the fabric- and paper-covered floor.

Isaac Harris and Max Blanck, owners of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company, were acquitted of wrongdoing in the fire. However, twenty-three families sued them and were awarded seventy-five dollars each.

IMPACT

Appalled by the fire and loss of life, supporters of women's rights and labor unions cried out for lawmakers to implement worker health and safety laws and to regulate industry. The public reacted to the disaster with shock and outrage. There were protest meetings throughout the city, and a citywide mourning procession drew an estimated 120,000 marchers and 400,000 spectators. The public was outraged as well when Harris and Blanck were acquitted of manslaughter charges.

Following public demands, the New York State legislature created the Factory Investigating Commission, chaired by state senator Robert F. Wagner, which looked into the hazardous conditions of the city's sewing factories, or sweatshops. The commission's conclusions led to the implementation of labor laws designed to protect workers, to the creation of a fire prevention division for the fire department, and to the National Labor Relations (Wagner) Act of 1935, which guaranteed labor's right to organize and bargain collectively; labor unions quickly emerged.

Other building codes were instituted. These new codes included the following: all interior doors must open out and no doors may be locked during working hours; sprinkler systems must be installed if a business employs more than twenty-five people above the ground floor, and fire drills are mandated if a building does not have a sprinkler system. Fire extinguishers and education about fire prevention and escape routes also became mandatory. The fire also led to increased support for labor unions such as the International Ladies' Garment Workers'

Union, and it led to the development of the U.S. Department of Labor's Occupational Health and Safety Administration (OSHA) standards.

—Leigh Southward

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SEE ALSO: 1930: Liberia Is Accused of Selling Its Own Citizens into Slavery; Feb. 23, 1943: Irish

Orphan School Fire Kills Thirty-five Girls; Beginning Aug. 29, 2005: Government Incompetence Mars Hurricane Katrina Relief Efforts; Nov. 17, 2005: Liberian Workers Sue Bridgestone Firestone over Slave Labor.

January, 1913

BRITISH PRIME MINISTER'S STAFF IS INVESTIGATED FOR INSIDER TRADING

High-level staff members of British prime minister H. H. Asquith's government were investigated for insider trading after buying shares of Guglielmo Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company and profiting from the purchases. Those implicated had advance knowledge that the government was to sign a contract with Marconi, and that Marconi shares would increase in value as a result of that contract. The scandal, which led to the fall of Asquith's government, did not result in criminal convictions.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Marconi scandal

LOCALE: London, England

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; politics; business; trade and commerce; law and the courts; publishing and journalism; public morals; ethics

KEY FIGURES

Guglielmo Marconi (1874-1937), Italian physicist and inventor, who founded the Marconi company

Godfrey Isaacs (1867-1925), managing director of the Marconi company

H. H. Asquith (1852-1928), British prime minister, 1908-1916

David Lloyd George (1863-1945), Chancellor of the Exchequer, and future prime minister, 1916-1922

Rufus Isaacs (1860-1935), Liberal Party attorney general

Alexander Murray (1870-1920), Liberal Party treasurer

Herbert Samuel (1870-1963), British postmaster general

Cecil Chesterton (1879-1918), editor at *The Eye-Witness*

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Marconi scandal was an insider-trading scheme that helped to bring down the government of Liberal Party prime minister H. H. Asquith in 1915. The alleged crime centered on the purchase of shares in Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company by leading officials in Asquith's government. These high-level officials included his successor, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, David Lloyd George; Attorney General Rufus Isaacs; Postmaster General Herbert Samuel; and the Liberal Party treasurer, Alexander Murray.

The charges against Asquith's staff were based on the purchase of shares in an American subsidiary of Marconi by cabinet ministers motivated by insider information about a pending contract between the government and Marconi. The contract called for the construction of state-owned wireless telegraphy (radio) stations throughout Great Britain. The government link to Marconi was Asquith's attorney general, Rufus Isaacs, whose brother, Godfrey Isaacs, was chairman of Marconi. In 1923, Rufus Isaacs established the Israel Electric Corporation (IEC) in the British Mandate of Palestine. IEC remains the primary distributor of electricity in Israel.

The British learned that Guglielmo Marconi, company founder, had filed an application for a United States patent on a transmitting apparatus for wireless telegraphy on July 15, 1910. The patent was issued a year later, on July 11, 1911. Asquith's cabinet approved the plan to purchase telegraphy services from the Marconi company, and from August, 1911, through April, 1912, Marconi company shares experienced a sharp price increase.

Reporters started to probe the deal, which began with an agreement signed in early March for the construction of six telegraphy stations, after news of the contract was made public. The contract was

formalized later that spring. Taking the lead was *The Eye-Witness* (later called *The New Witness*), a publication edited by Cecil Chesterton, brother of writer and literary critic G. K. Chesterton. The Chesterton brothers, along with *The Eye-Witness's* founder, Hilaire Belloc, were soon accused of anti-Semitism, but such charges hold little historical weight given that a British parliamentary investigation found the government coconspirators did, in fact, buy Marconi shares and profited from the deal. Furthermore, neither of the government officials implicated in the scandal were Jewish, except the Isaacs. It is far more probable that countercharges of anti-Semitism were stoked to undermine the credibility of the criminal allegations and neutralize public perceptions of the criminality and seriousness of the claims, particularly given the lessons learned by European governments in the aftermath of the Dreyfus affair in France at the turn of the century.

The British parliament began its investigation of the Marconi deal in January, 1913. The parliamentary inquest, in its "Reports from the Select Committee on Marconi's Wireless Telegraph Company, Limited, Agreement," found that Asquith's staff had sold Marconi shares long before the April, 1912, public announcement of the contract. After the announcement, the company's shares rose even more to a solid 33 percent. Government staff earned a significant amount of money from sales of the shares: Godfrey Isaacs earned £10,000; Rufus Isaacs earned £20,000 and then sold £2,000 in shares to Lloyd George; and Samuel earned £2,532. Murray purchased three thousand Marconi shares for himself and an additional three thousand shares for the Liberal Party.

Although the parliamentary investigation found that Lloyd George, Samuel, Murray, and Rufus and Godfrey Isaacs had directly profited from inside information, the panel ruled that no political corruption occurred, and the five were virtually exonerated. Subsequently, Godfrey Isaacs sued Cecil Chesterton for criminal libel and won. Chesterton was fined one hundred pounds plus court costs.

Support for Prime Minister Asquith's Liberal Party government already had eroded significantly in parliamentary elections by 1911. He was able to



H. H. Asquith. (Library of Congress)

WHAT IS INSIDER TRADING?

Black's Law Dictionary defines insider trading as "transactions in shares of publicly held corporations by persons with inside or advance information on which the trading is based."

The *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)* refers specifically to Marconi scandal player Rufus Isaacs in its definition of an "insider." The *OED* defines an insider as a person within the limits of some organization in "possession of special information" and, hence, "in the secret." The *OED* entry states, in part, the following:

1913 *Q. Rev.* July 256: At any rate, as regards the 10,000 shares bought by Sir Rufus Isaacs, they took part in it as "insiders" exploiting the ignorance of the public.

Insider trading is the reaping of personal profit or pecuniary gain from the use of inside information, or preknowledge, not available to the general public. Illegal insider trading involves the participation of a corporate insider or other person, such as a public official, who is violating his or her fiduciary duty or otherwise misappropriating nonpublic information and trading on it or secretly relaying that information.

Insider trading is based on common law prohibitions against fraud. Not all insider trading is illegal. To qualify as criminal activity a number of factors must be present, including pecuniary gain; the information must be private or information not generally available to the public; and there must be an intention to defraud, a lack of full disclosure, and a breach of a fiduciary duty.

hold on to power in 1911 only by enlisting the support of Irish Nationalists in the House of Commons. His Liberal government collapsed in 1915, and Lloyd George succeeded Asquith as prime minister in a coalition government in 1916.

IMPACT

The accusations of insider trading among members of Asquith's government certainly accelerated the collapse of his government in 1915. However, historians have largely ignored the role of the Marconi scandal in the demise of Asquith's prime ministry.

Prime Minister's Staff Is Probed for Insider Trading

The respected *Chambers Biographical Dictionary*, for example, makes no reference to the scandal in its entry on Asquith. Such omissions, however, do not obscure the relationship between the development of corporate entities, nation-states, and technology in Western history.

Since at least the Scientific Revolution, science and technology have been envisioned as enhancing the interests of the state in architecture, communications, engineering, industry, and the military. In the modern era, the relationship between corporate structures such as Marconi and nation-states such as the United Kingdom has only expanded, as industrialization shifted the economic dynamics away from agrarian markets to the concentration of capital and industry in urban centers.

The deleterious mix of government and corporate interests continues to make headlines and policy as the revolving door between the halls of government and corporate lobbying firms continues unabated. Corporate special interests continue to subvert and overwhelm the public interest.

—Keith Carson

FURTHER READING

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Cheyette, Bryan. "Racism and Revision: Hilaire Belloc and the 'Marconi Scandal,' 1900-1914." In *The Politics of Marginality: Race, the Radical Right, and Minorities in Twentieth Century Britain*, edited by Tony Kushner and Kenneth Lunn. Savage, Md.: F. Cass, 1990. In this article, subtitled "a reassessment of the interactionist model of racial hatred," the author examines the charge of anti-Semitism made against investigators, including government officials and journalists, of the Marconi scandal.

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SEE ALSO: May, 1915: British Government Falls Because of Munitions Shortages and Military

Setbacks; June 22, 1922: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George Is Accused of Selling Honors; June 22, 1972: Police Arrest Architect John Poulson for Bribery and Fraud; Feb. 4, 1976: Lockheed Is Implicated in Bribing Foreign Officials; 1985-1986: Westland Affair Shakes Prime Minister Thatcher's Government; June, 1988-June, 1989: Insider-Trading Scandal Rocks Japanese Government; Aug. 27, 1990: Guinness Four Are Found Guilty of Share-Trading Fraud; Apr. 5, 1991: George W. Bush Is Investigated for Insider Trading; Mar. 5, 2004: Martha Stewart Is Convicted in Insider-Trading Scandal; Oct. 22, 2006: Chilean Politicians Use Community Funds for Personal Campaigns.

January 13, 1913

FEDERAL JUDGE IS IMPEACHED FOR PROFITING FROM HIS OFFICE

Judge Robert W. Archibald, appointed to the U.S. Commerce Court by President William Howard Taft, engaged in questionable financial dealings with railroad companies. He was convicted by Congress and removed from the bench for life for encouraging companies to act in his financial interest. The case caused a national scandal not only because a judge was impeached but also because a federal court, the Commerce Court, was abolished as a consequence.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; law and the courts; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Robert W. Archibald (1848-1926), U.S. district court judge and U.S. Commerce Court associate judge

John W. Davis (1873-1955), U.S. representative from West Virginia

William Howard Taft (1857-1930), president of the United States, 1909-1913

SUMMARY OF EVENT

U.S. president William Howard Taft proposed a federal-level commerce court to try cases involving interstate commerce. Created by congressional act, five judges were appointed to serve on the new U.S. Commerce Court. The court had received dubious public and congressional support and soon came under scrutiny for handing down decisions too favorable to the railroad companies. The court's reputation came under even greater attack when one of its judges, Robert W. Archibald, was accused of improper conduct and impeached for making deals with railroad companies for his financial gain.

On June 18, 1910, the U.S. Congress created the Commerce Court by passing the Mann-Elkins Act, effective February 8, 1911. The court was conceived as the venue to hear cases concerning the Interstate Commerce Act (1887) and to decide cases arising from appeals of decisions made by the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC), which was created by the Interstate Commerce Act.

Problems started soon after the Commerce Court began to hear cases. Many accused the court of

making decisions that unfairly favored railroad interests. The U.S. Supreme Court, which heard appeals of Commerce Court decisions, took away some of the new court's jurisdiction by ruling that it could not hear some cases appealing ICC decisions on rate changes. The public at the time supported the ICC, and the Commerce Court's tendency to reverse ICC decisions made it unpopular. The Supreme Court also reversed ten of the new court's first twelve decisions that had been appealed.

Bad publicity and negative sentiment surrounding Commerce Court decisions simply made a bad situation worse. A more pressing problem came to light. Rumors began to circulate in Pennsylvania that Archibald was making deals with railroad companies, a direct conflict of interest. He was familiar to the area because of his tenure as a Pennsylvania circuit court judge. Furthermore, even before Judge Archibald's appointment was confirmed, the Senate Judiciary Committee had been investigating some of his past financial affairs. He had been involved with a failed corporation, which led to heavy financial losses for its shareholders.

Further investigations revealed that Archibald had made a deal with the Erie Railroad. He had been trying to buy a culm heap in Pennsylvania that was on land owned by the Erie Railroad. Culm was a coal product that for many years was considered worthless to industry. However, the invention of a process of using the culm to generate power suddenly made culm heaps valuable. Archibald had attempted to arrange the purchase through Edward J. Williams, an attorney he hired to act on his behalf. The Erie Railroad would not sell the culm heap to Williams, so Archibald stepped in and began his own negotiations. Williams later stated that he had advised Archibald against the dealings.

Archibald went ahead with the purchase, paying thirty-five hundred dollars and arranging to sell the same heap to the Lackawanna and Wyoming Valley Railroad for thirty-five thousand dollars in a deal that would have netted Archibald a huge profit. The deal, however, was stalled because of issues with the land's title and because the railroad's executive had not yet signed the purchase agreement by the time the story became public. Newspapers detailed

the transaction between Archibald and the railroad, and people began to call for an investigation; some called for Archibald's impeachment.

A special committee, headed by Representative John W. Davis from West Virginia, investigated the allegations against Archibald. Davis spoke to Congress about Archibald's actions and argued that even though none of the charges brought against the judge could lead to impeachment, the judge's actions were impeachable. Davis's proclamations helped to make him a nationally recognized politician; in 1924 he was the Democratic nominee for president.

Most of the thirteen charges against Archibald centered on his using his position to get financial favors from railroads and related companies, although neither of the railroads in question faced him incourt. It was likely, however, they would have faced him had the dealings not come to light and he continued his tenure. Although judges were permitted to make personal financial transactions, they could not make those transactions, as Archibald did, from their positions as standing judges. Such transactions would constitute a gross conflict of interest. (Archibald even used Commerce Court stationery to carry out his negotiations with the railroad companies.)

On July 13, 1912, the U.S. House of Representatives impeached Archibald by a vote of 223-1. His impeachment trial in the Senate began four days later. On January 13, 1913, the Senate convicted him of five of the thirteen charges, removed him from office, and permanently barred him from holding legal or political office.

IMPACT

The Archibald impeachment proceedings were followed closely by Americans. Even before the Archibald case, there had been much outcry against the Commerce Court. The accusation that one of its members was involved in illegal dealings with the railroads seemed to confirm suspicions that the court, from the start, had been biased in favor of the railroads. On October 22, 1913, the Commerce Court was abolished, effective December 31 of the same year. The act to abolish the court, which Taft

had previously vetoed, was carried through after the new president, Woodrow Wilson, signed the bill into law.

The impeachment trial, the dissolution of the Commerce Court, and the publicity did little to help the government's image as a public advocate. Instead, the case gave rise to an increasing feeling that many of the prominent individuals in the country were in the pockets of the railroads. There have been few impeachment proceedings in U.S. history, but the Archibald case, enmeshed as it was with the dissolution of a national court, riveted the nation.

—Helen Davidson

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February 17-March 15, 1913**ARMORY MODERN ART SHOW SCANDALIZES THE PUBLIC**

The Armory Show of Modern Art in New York led to public condemnation because of the radical newness of the art. Works were labeled as filthy and degrading, and were laughed at, by noted reviewers. No exhibition so completely changed American knowledge of and attitudes about modern art.

ALSO KNOWN AS: International Exhibition of Modern Art

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Art movements; cultural and intellectual history; popular culture

KEY FIGURES

Arthur B. Davies (1862-1928), painter, founding member of the Association of American Painters and Sculptors (AAPS), and lead Armory Show organizer

Walt Kuhn (1877-1949), painter, AAPS secretary, and Armory Show organizer

Walter Pach (1883-1958), American painter, art critic, and Armory Show organizer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

No twentieth century art event left as profound an impression on American artists and the art-viewing public as did the Armory Show of Modern Art in the winter of 1913. Officially called the International Exhibition of Modern Art, the show marked, both literally and symbolically, the moment when modern art entered the American consciousness. There had been innovative and eye-opening exhibitions earlier in the United States, including the 1908 show of modern European art at the 291 gallery in New York, directed by photographer Alfred Stieglitz. This show featured many of the same artists whose work would be exhibited at the Armory five years later. Another show in 1908, featuring members of the Ashcan school, included new realist art by Robert Henri, George Bellows, and John Sloan, who would later exhibit at the Armory Show. The

show at the Armory, however, was unique—and scandalous—in bringing together modern American art and avant-garde European art into one exhibition.

The exhibition of 1,250 paintings, sculptures, and decorative works by more than three hundred European and American artists was exhibited in eighteen different galleries in Manhattan's Sixty-ninth Regiment Armory. Visitor totals grew successively during each of the four weeks of the show, with ten thousand people viewing on closing day, March 15. National publicity brought the exhibition to other cities in the United States, but it was the New York show that marked the arrival of modern art in the United States so dramatically for later art critics and historians. The Armory displayed the works of artists who would have a major impact on twentieth century art and art commerce. Henri Matisse, Paul Cezanne, Vincent van Gogh, Pablo Picasso, Paul Gauguin, Marcel Duchamp, Edvard Munch, Constantin Brancusi, Wassily Kandinsky, Mary Cassatt, James McNeill Whistler, Albert Pinkham Ryder, and Edward Hopper were represented at the show. Never again would such an illustrious group of artists, in such numbers, come together in the United States, and never again would their impact be so concentrated in one place at one time.

The Armory Show was organized, mainly, by American painters Arthur B. Davies and Walter Pach, officers of the recently formed Association of American Painters and Sculptors. Painter and art critic Walter Kuhn helped as well, although Davies, in the end, was the driving force. The original idea called for a show—like the 1908 realist exhibition—that would feature the work of emerging American artists. This plan changed when Davies saw a catalog of the 1912 Sonderbund Exhibition in Cologne, Germany, which inspired him to include modern art from Europe in the New York show. Kuhn traveled to Cologne to see the show and was stunned by the work, which included 125 pieces by

van Gogh, 26 by Cezanne, 25 by Gauguin, and 16 by Picasso. In no time the three organizers agreed that this new European art, much of which had never before been seen in the United States, must be included in the Armory Show. Davies sailed to Paris and, with the help of Pach, a resident of Paris, began identifying the works they would like to feature in their own show. After returning to the United States, the three organizers borrowed further works from American collectors, and by the end of the year they were advertising the exhibition for early 1913.

The Armory building was partitioned into octagonal gallery rooms containing roughly seven hundred American and five hundred European works. Organizers printed fifty thousand catalogs of the exhibition, which opened February 17, 1913; about three thousand people attended. The show quickly turned into a media event. Initial reviews recognized the importance of the show, but attendance in the first few weeks was sparse. Negative publicity soon followed and included jokes and spoofs. French painter Marcel Duchamp's cubist painting *Nude Descending a Staircase* was called both "Rude Descending a Staircase" and "an explosion in a shingle factory." The show, however, became the talk of the art world as well. Notable visiting figures included former U.S. president Theodore Roosevelt (who also reviewed the show), singer Enrico Caruso, journalists John Reed and Walter Lippmann, and many others.

The consensus among mainstream reviewers was that the show demonstrated what happens when decadent, radical artists break with tradition: controversy, condemnation, and scandal. Most of the abuse was aimed at the European artists; the American nudes did not cause the same stir as the less realistic cubist versions (from Europe) of the same subjects. The most savage attacks were directed at Matisse, whose work was described as "filth." People laughed at the works of Duchamp and Brancusi. The overall tone of these reviews was made clear in a piece in *The New York Times* that appeared the day after the show closed: The exhibition, the review notes, "is surely a part of the general movement . . . to disrupt, degrade, if not de-



Armory Show poster from 1913.

stroy, not only art but literature and society too . . . the Cubists and Futurists are cousins to anarchists in politics."

After less than one month at the Armory, the show was dismantled and a portion was shipped to exhibitions in Chicago and Boston. The Chicago show, at the Art Institute (March 24-April 16, 1913) had 200,000 visitors, but the Boston exhibition (April 28-May 19, 1913) was viewed by a disappointing 12,600 people. The damage had been done, however, and modern art had sailed past the Statue of Liberty and into American life forever.

IMPACT

The Armory Show had multiple and wide ranging effects, including sales: 174 items from the show were sold at incredibly low prices (by modern standards). For example, Duchamp's *Nude Descending*

a *Staircase* was bought by a San Francisco art dealer for a mere \$324. Individual buyers as well as art collectors (such as Albert C. Barnes) purchased works from the exhibition.

A more lasting impact was the show's effect on the consciousness of professionals and amateurs alike. Some American artists, such as Cassatt and Whistler, had studied and worked in Europe. Others, however, knew of artistic trends in Europe only from reviews and by word of mouth. For those not privy to the trends, the exhibition, and especially the work of its French and Russian participants, was a revelation. Many American artists shifted their work to more modernist forms in the years after the show.

Likewise, the artistic orthodoxy that had prevailed in the United States since the nineteenth century, with all its conventions and tradition, had been replaced by a sense of the far-reaching implications of the new art. Artists, much like art aficionados, were suddenly aware of the new art movements—such as cubism, Futurism, and expressionism—and artists such as van Gogh and Cezanne suddenly formed a new constellation.

The show also confirmed developments in other art forms, such as music (for example, Igor Stravinsky's *The Rite of Spring*, 1910; and Arnold Schoenberg's twelve-tone scale). Literature, too, was changing (for example, James Joyce's *Dubliners*, 1914; and T. S. Eliot's "The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock," 1915). One of the main collectors of modern European art at this time, and one of the inspirations for the Armory Show, was American expatriate writer Gertrude Stein, who lived in Paris. Her experiments with language, narration, and point of view (such as in *Tender Buttons*, 1914) paralleled, in many ways, the experiments that visual artists in the Armory Show were making in the elements of their craft. The show thus confirmed a major shift in the arts and literature at the beginning of the twentieth century, a shift that eventually would be called modernism. Modernism, in turn, had a profound influence on art and culture in the twentieth century.

—David Peck

FURTHER READING

- Association of American Painters and Sculptors. *The Armory Show*. 3 vols. New York: Arno Press, 1972. Volume 3 documents, through original sources such as cartoons and articles, the violent opposition to the Armory Show. Volume 3 also contains Walt Kuhn's pamphlet on the show.
- Brown, Milton W. *The Story of the Armory Show*. 2d ed. New York: Abbeville Press, 1988. Comprehensive history of the Armory Show includes an eighty-page catalog of the artists who exhibited, along with their works. Lists type of media exhibited and sale prices.
- Doss, Erika. *Twentieth-Century American Art*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002. Examines art movements in the United States in the twentieth century, with emphasis on the relations among artists, museums, and art audiences. Includes illustrations, a time line, a list of museums, and an index.
- Green, Martin. *New York 1913: The Armory Show and the Paterson Strike Pageant*. New York: Scribner, 1988. Green contrasts the Armory Show with the pageant that took place on June 7, 1913, in Madison Square Garden to celebrate striking textile workers in nearby Paterson, New Jersey.
- Mancini, JoAnne Marie. *Pre-Modernism: Art-World Change and American Culture from the Civil War to the Armory Show*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2005. A broad-ranging but still thorough account of visual modernism's development through the early twentieth century. Treats the Armory Show as a seminal event in art history.
- Schwartz, Constance H. *The Shock of Modernism in America*. Roslyn Harbor, N.Y.: Nassau County Museum of Fine Art, 1984. Catalog of an exhibition featuring works by some artists represented in the Armory Show. Accompanying essays characterize American art during the early twentieth century and discuss the influence of several independent exhibitions and developments leading to the Armory Show. Also contains a brief history of the show and an epilogue.

SEE ALSO: Mar. 26, 1922: Hindemith's Opera *Sancta Susanna* Depicts a Nun's Sexual Desires; 1927: Mae West's Play About Gays Is Banned on Broadway; June 6, 1929: Luis Buñuel's *Un Chien Andalou* Shocks Parisian Audience; Dec. 3, 1930:

Surrealist Film *L'Âge d'or* Provokes French Rioting; Jan. 20, 1933: Hedy Lamarr Appears Nude in the Czech Film *Exstase*; May 21, 2003: Sexually Provocative Film *The Brown Bunny* Premieres at Cannes Film Festival.

May 13, 1913

BOXER JACK JOHNSON IS IMPRISONED FOR ABETTING PROSTITUTION

The first black boxer to become world heavyweight champion, Jack Johnson led an extravagant lifestyle that included romantic liaisons with white women. These scandalous relationships eventually led authorities to charge him with helping a prostitute cross state lines, a violation of the Mann Act. After the act was broadly interpreted to convict Johnson, he fled the United States and spent years in exile before surrendering to authorities. U.S. lawmakers and other supporters sought a presidential pardon of Johnson, beginning in 2004.

LOCALE: Galveston, Texas

CATEGORIES: Racism; prostitution; law and the courts; public morals; social issues and reform; sports

KEY FIGURES

Jack Johnson (1878-1946), first black heavyweight boxing champion

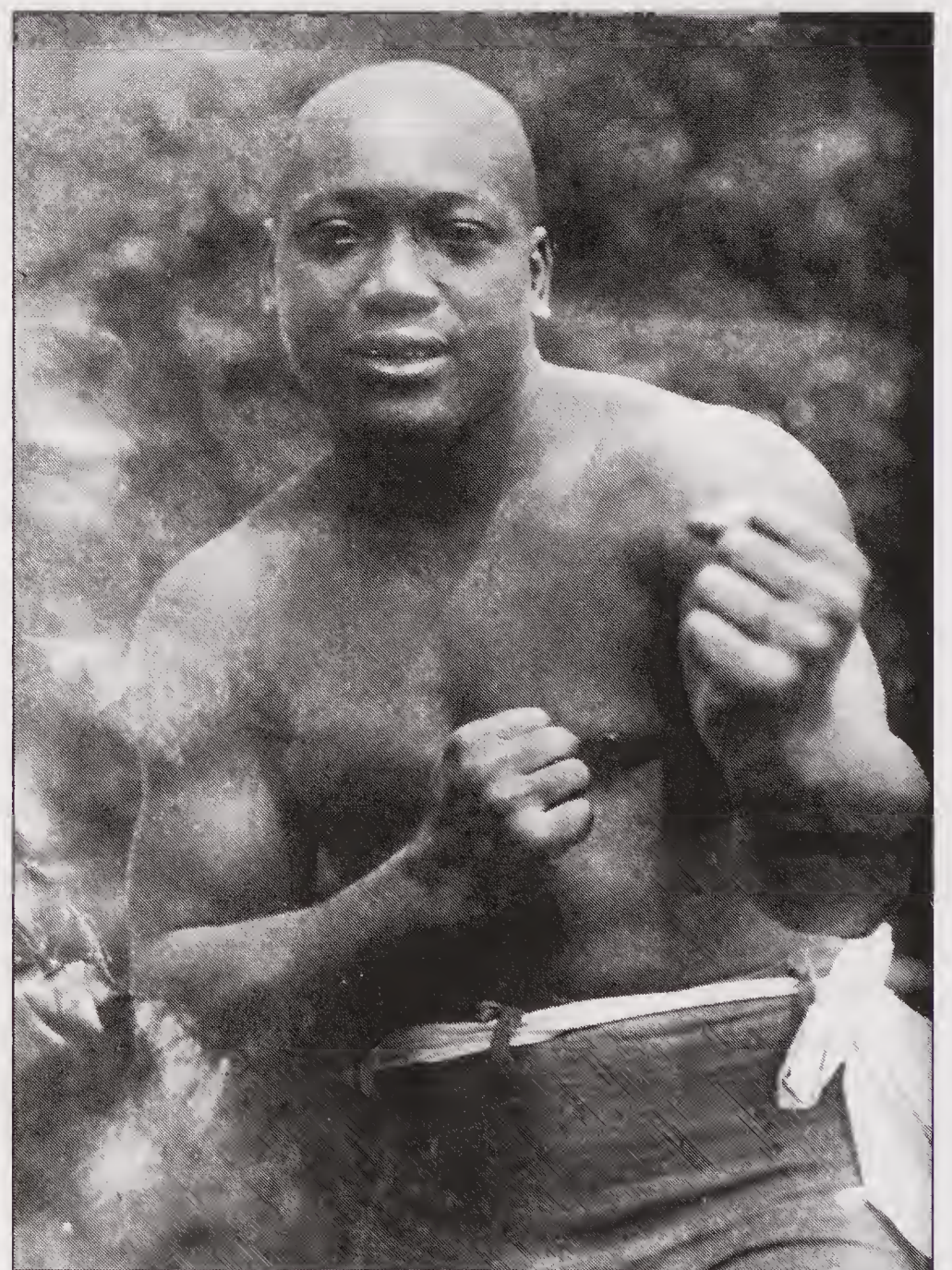
Lucille Cameron (b. 1894), Johnson's second wife and a former prostitute

Belle Schreiber (b. 1886), prostitute who testified during the Mann Act trial

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Professional boxer Jack Johnson's relationships with white women led to his conviction on May 13, 1913, for violating the White-Slave Traffic Act of 1910, better known as the Mann Act. Although the primary purpose of the Mann Act was to regulate

prostitution and debauchery (specifically, the interstate transportation of girls and women for "immoral purposes") and human trafficking (white slavery), the wording of the law was vague and broadly interpreted. Johnson was the first person prosecuted under this law.



Jack Johnson. (Library of Congress)

Johnson was born to former slaves in Galveston, Texas, on March 31, 1878. One of nine children, he completed five years of formal schooling before he began working at the Galveston shipping docks as a stevedore. He fought his first bout at the age of fifteen and in 1897 turned professional. In turn of the century America opportunities for black competitors in sports were few. Johnson was relegated to fighting in small private clubs against other black boxers for very little money.

Johnson's swagger, outspoken demeanor, intelligence, and good looks would soon raise the ire of the white boxing world. In 1901, a Polish-born Jewish heavyweight boxer from San Francisco, California—Joe Choynski, nicknamed Chrysanthemum Joe—was recruited to take on the immodest Johnson in a match in Galveston. Choynski knocked Johnson out in the third round. Because boxing was illegal in Texas, both fighters were jailed for twenty-three days for engaging in an illegal contest. Johnson's skills in the ring, however, convinced Choynski to remain in Texas after his release from jail and to hone Johnson's boxing skills.

Johnson had a love of fast cars, expensive jewelry, and white women, which gave him a reputation as a flamboyant and flaunting black man in the white boxing world. His traveling companions, too, included many women, most of them white. Serious trouble came when Johnson won the title of world heavyweight champion after knocking out Canadian world champion Tommy Burns in Sydney, Australia, on December 26, 1908. Johnson's victory was followed by racial turmoil and animosity. Whites began to call for a so-called Great White Hope to defeat the black pugilist and regain both the heavyweight title and racial superiority. In 1909, Johnson emerged victorious in bouts against Victor McLaglen, Frank Moran, Tony Ross, Al Kaufman, and middleweight champion Stanley Ketchel.

Finally, in 1910, former heavyweight champion James J. Jeffries came out of retirement to fight

SECTION 2 OF THE MANN ACT OF 1910

That any person who shall knowingly transport or cause to be transported, or aid or assist in obtaining transportation for, or in transporting, in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or in the District of Columbia, any woman or girl for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose, or with the intent and purpose to induce, entice, or compel such woman or girl to become a prostitute or to give herself up to debauchery, or to engage in any other immoral practice; or who shall knowingly procure or obtain, or cause to be procured or obtained, or aid or assist in procuring or obtaining, any ticket or tickets, or any form of transportation or evidence of the right thereto, to be used by any woman or girl in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or the District of Columbia, in going to any place for the purpose of prostitution or debauchery, or for any other immoral purpose, or with the intent or purpose on the part of such person to induce, entice, or compel her to give herself up to the practice of prostitution, or to give herself up to the practice of debauchery, or any other immoral practice, whereby any such woman or girl shall be transported in interstate or foreign commerce, or in any Territory or the District of Columbia, shall be deemed guilty of a felony. . . .

Johnson and reclaim the title for whites. On July 4 in Reno, Nevada, in front of about twenty-two thousand fans, Johnson and Jeffries engaged in pugilistic combat in a match hailed as the Fight of the Century. In the fifteenth round, and after his second knockdown, Jeffries' corner stopped the fight to keep Johnson from knocking out their fighter.

Race riots ensued through much of the nation after the fight. Two dozen people, twenty-two of them black, were killed during the disturbances. Later, states began to pass laws banning the transportation of films of the Johnson-Jeffries match for fear of circulating images of a black fighter's victory over a white fighter and, thereby, inciting more violence.

Johnson continued to flout many social conventions, appearing before the American public as a proud and wealthy black man. On January 18, 1911, he married Etta Duryea, a white woman and daughter of a well-to-do businessman from Long Island. Johnson did not know that Duryea was prone to nervousness and emotional upheavals. She killed herself on September 11, 1912, and within weeks Johnson remarried. His second wife was Lucille

Cameron, a white woman and former prostitute from Minneapolis, Minnesota. They had a tempestuous relationship, and Cameron's mother sought to end the marriage by asserting that Johnson had kidnapped her daughter and engaged in lewd and lascivious behavior with her. Cameron refused to cooperate with authorities and the case was dropped.

Johnson's legal troubles continued, however. In perhaps the most notorious of cases against a black athlete in the United States, Johnson was charged with wiring money to a former prostitute, Belle Schreiber, for a train ticket to travel from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, to Chicago, Illinois. He was found guilty of abetting prostitution—transporting Schreiber across state lines—a violation of the Mann Act. He was sentenced to one year and one day in jail and fined one thousand dollars.

During his appeal, Johnson and Cameron fled the United States and lived in exile in Europe for seven years before surrendering to authorities on July 20, 1920. Five days after his initial voluntary surrender to federal authorities, government agents escorted him to Leavenworth, Kansas, to begin his sentence. At the Leavenworth depot, Johnson and his escorts were met by a black cab driver who offered to drive the party to the penitentiary. Johnson refused the service of the cabman, preferring instead to drive himself. Sunday morning, September 19, Johnson became federal prisoner no. 15461.

Johnson was a model prisoner. He developed a patent for a modified wrench designed to assist in loosening fastening devices. Former acting governor of Nevada, Denver S. Dickerson, the person who had made the 1910 fight between Johnson and Jeffries in Reno possible, and who made a good sum of money from the outcome, acted as a powerful ally to help ensure Johnson's safety while incarcerated.

Cameron and Johnson divorced in 1924. Johnson then married Irene Pineau in August, 1925. They remained married until his death in a vehicle accident in Raleigh, North Carolina, in 1946, at the age of sixty-eight. Johnson was inducted into the Boxing Hall of Fame in 1954 and is part of the International Boxing Hall of Fame and the World Boxing Hall of Fame. His legacy influenced Cassius

Clay, better known as Muhammad Ali. Johnson's life and career are documented in the 1970 biopic *The Great White Hope* as well as in many books and magazines. In 2005, Ken Burns produced a two-part, Emmy Award-winning documentary about Johnson's life, *Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson*.

IMPACT

Johnson's career as a champion boxer, and more specifically his conviction based on an overbroad interpretation and application of the Mann Act, helped to bring about changes in how the law was interpreted. The changes were slow in coming, but a rising awareness of the act's ambiguity, coupled with changing social views regarding race and racism, led to calls for the law to be properly and fairly implemented.

In 2004 federal legislators unanimously passed a bill supporting a posthumous presidential pardon of Johnson because his conviction was won on weak grounds and because it was racially motivated. The committee seeking the pardon included senators John McCain, Edward Kennedy, and Orrin Hatch; Johnson biographers Geoffrey C. Ward and Randy Roberts; columnists Pete Hamill and Jack Newfield; boxers Sugar Ray Robinson, Bernard Hopkins, John Ruiz, and Vernon Forrest; and filmmaker Burns. If pardoned, Johnson would be the second person in American history to receive such an honor.

—Wendy L. Hicks

FURTHER READING

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Kent, Graeme. *The Great White Hopes: The Quest to Defeat Jack Johnson*. Stroud, England: Sutton, 2007. Examination of the civil unrest following Johnson's winning the heavyweight championship title.

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Ward, Geoffrey C. *Unforgivable Blackness: The Rise and Fall of Jack Johnson*. New York: Knopf, 2004. A detailed biography spanning the life of Johnson from his parents' emancipation to his boxing career and his death in 1946. The Ken Burns documentary of the same name is based on this book.

SEE ALSO: Mar. 30, 1931: "Scottsboro Boys" Are Railroaded Through Rape Trials; Dec. 12, 1957: Rock Star Jerry Lee Lewis Marries Thirteen-Year-Old Cousin; July 2, 1963: Muslim Leader Elijah Muhammad Is Sued for Paternity; July 19, 1985: Mayflower Madam Pleads Guilty to Promoting Prostitution; July 1, 2003: Basketball Star Kobe Bryant Is Accused of Rape.

April 2, 1915

PLAYERS FIX LIVERPOOL-MANCHESTER UNITED SOCCER MATCH

In one of the most infamous scandals in the history of association football, or soccer, players from Manchester United and Liverpool fixed a game for money. All accused players were eventually banned from the football league but were later reinstated.

LOCALE: Manchester, England

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; law and the courts; organized crime and racketeering; sports

KEY FIGURES

Jackie Sheldon (1887-1941), Liverpool football player and main conspirator

Tom Miller (fl. early twentieth century), Liverpool football player

Bob Purcell (fl. early twentieth century), Liverpool football player

Tom Fairfoul (1881-1952), Liverpool football player

Fred Pagnam (1891-1962), Liverpool football player

Sandy Turnbull (1884-1917), Manchester United football player

Arthur Whaley (fl. early twentieth century), Manchester United football player

Enoch West (1886-1965), Manchester United football player

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Several versions of British football and similar games have been played in public schools, universities, amateur athletic clubs, and other venues throughout modern history in the West. In 1863, an official list of rules and regulations dictating how the game is to be played was adopted in London and soon spread throughout England. This codification, along with the growing popularity of the sport, led to the creation of several amateur football clubs and associations across the region. Although the practice was not yet legal, athletes who were skilled at football were paid a nominal fee to support themselves financially.

Professionalism in sports was legalized in 1885, and the first professional football league was established in 1888. Originally known as the Aston Villa Football Club, the league started with twelve teams and was directed by William McGregor. Within twenty years there were two divisions with a total of forty teams. The sport of football had now become the national sport of England.

At the time of the origin of British football, gambling on sports was an established phenomenon. Indeed, cash betting had long existed within sports such as cricket and other competitions with long histories. To avoid the negative impact that betting could have on the sport, legislation was passed to criminalize betting, including the Betting Houses Act of 1853 and the Street Betting Act of 1906. Despite these new laws against gambling, however, spectators and players continued to exchange money with bookmakers while guessing the outcomes of games. This brought great temptation to the players, who often believed they were greatly underpaid, to get more money.

On April 2, 1915, a game between Manchester United (MU) and Liverpool saw MU win by a score of 2-0. Rumors following the game claimed that Liverpool players had not played as fiercely as they were known to play and had uncharacteristically given away a penalty shot. Bookmakers began having suspicions that the game was fixed, noticing that large amounts of money had been placed on 7-1 odds that the score would end in a 2-0 MU win. Although gambling on sports was common at this

point in history, it was not as common to place bets on the final scores. With uncertainties growing, bookies decided to investigate by offering a reward to anyone with information about the scheme. The commission of the English Football Association took the investigation a step further and eventually uncovered the depth of the conspiracy.

Preliminary theories were numerous. One theory held that the fix may have been an attempt to keep MU from being placed in a lower division. European professional-sports organizations were structured around a hierarchy system called promotion and relegation, through which teams at similar skill levels were placed together in the same football league. It was essentially a process of reelection that could lead to either a promotion or demotion for a team. Although Liverpool's placement within the league was locked, MU had feared relegation. A win against Liverpool would secure the team's spot in the upper division. While this theory seemed originally plausible, trial and testimony determined the game was fixed, but for money.

One player exposed as a key conspirator was Liverpool's Jackie Sheldon, who had played with Manchester United in the past. Familiar with both organizations, Sheldon was considered to be the ringleader behind the fixed game of April 2, and was believed to have conspired with three other Liverpool players—Tom Miller, Bob Purcell, and Tom Fairfoul—and three MU players—Sandy Turnbull, Enoch West, and Arthur Whaley. Each player was involved with the exchange of money to bookmakers taking bets on the game. Two additional players, George Anderson from MU and Liverpool's Fred Pagnam, also were approached by Sheldon. However, they refused to participate. Pagnam even threatened to score goals to ruin the game's outcome, and he became the lead witness testifying against his teammates at trial. The accused conspirators were found guilty and suspended indefinitely from the league.

The 1915 game-fixing scandal was not the first such scandal for some of the players. In 1907, charges had been brought against Turnbull for fixing games while playing for Manchester City (MC). Furthermore, MC players had been receiving a bo-

nus on top of their regular salaries, directly breaking the club's rule that a player's salary should not exceed four pounds per week. For his crime, Turnbull received a large fine and was immediately suspended from the club. West was another player with a questionable past. He had been temporarily suspended from playing football because of corruption.

Even though the Liverpool-MU game-fixing scandal was highly publicized, it was soon overshadowed by the start of World War I. Professional football was put on hold so that players could fight in the war. The Seventeenth Service Football Battalion of the Middlesex Regiment formed during this time. Great Britain suffered greatly when professional football was placed on hold. Football had been known as the poor man's sport, considered a healthy distraction for the working classes.

IMPACT

Professional football resumed after the war in 1919. A number of players who were convicted had their bans lifted and were able to rejoin their teams. Sheldon and Miller returned to the sport, while others, such as Turnbull, who was a soldier in the Football Battalion, did not survive the war. West, who did not follow his teammates to war, was the only surviving player not to return to the league. He adamantly contested charges of corruption against him, claiming his innocence until 1945, when the league granted him general amnesty.

Football's popularity grew considerably when the second and third team divisions were created after the war. Sports betting also continued, perhaps even stronger than before. A number of similar betting scandals included the most notable: that of 1964. Eight players were convicted for their roles in a match-fixing ring that had been in progress for several years. The British football scandal of 1915—and 1964—placed game-fixing and gambling under the microscope of other sports leagues around the world, many of whom also were dealing with similar scandals.

—Lauren Riggi and Brion Sever

FURTHER READING

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1971: Japanese Baseball Players Are Implicated in Game Fixing; Apr. 27, 1980: Mobster's Arrest Reveals Point Shaving by Boston College Basketball Players; Feb. 25, 1987: NCAA Imposes "Death Penalty" on Southern Methodist University Football; July 1, 1994: Soccer Star Diego

Maradona Is Expelled from World Cup; Jan. 27, 2005: German Soccer Referee Admits to Fixing Games for Money; May 4, 2006: Media Uncover Match-Fixing in Italian Soccer; July 29, 2008: NBA Referee Tim Donaghy Is Sentenced to Prison for Betting on Games.

May, 1915

BRITISH GOVERNMENT FALLS BECAUSE OF MUNITIONS SHORTAGES AND MILITARY SETBACKS

Following defeats in France at the beginning of World War I, British field marshal John French claimed that his troops faced major setbacks during battle because his government failed to provide an adequate supply of artillery shells. The scandal led to the fall of the Liberal government, to the appointment of a minister of munitions and the building of a large munitions factory, and to a rethinking of how wartime strategy must account for public sentiment.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Shell crisis of 1915

LOCALES: London, England; France

CATEGORIES: Military; government; colonialism and imperialism

KEY FIGURES

John French (1852-1925), commander of the British Expeditionary Force, 1914-1915

Lord Kitchener (1850-1916), head of the British War Office, 1914-1916

H. H. Asquith (1852-1928), prime minister of the United Kingdom, 1908-1916

SUMMARY OF EVENT

World War I quickly exploded into a struggle for which no one had planned. The generals fighting on the western front in France in 1915 were forced to deal with situations they had not trained for, including new battlefield technology. These issues led to a series of British defeats early in the war. The public wanted answers, and it looked to the commanding

general of British forces on the western front, Field Marshal John French, for an explanation. His answer, a shortage of shells that kept him from being able to launch a successful offensive, would lead to the fall of the Liberal British government in May of 1915 and to the formation of a wartime coalition government.

World War I was a new kind of war, in which the defense had the advantage. Trench warfare, with systems of trenches that stretched hundreds of miles, defended by barbed wire and machine guns and huge amounts of artillery, made taking the offensive extremely difficult and costly. This kind of war took a horrible toll on the troops. The government had to find a way to win the war as well as appease the home front. In Great Britain the balance between the people supporting the government and the people calling for the government's replacement was nearly level—one small event could tip that balance and cause the downfall of the current administration.

British losses early in the war led Field Marshal French and other British officers to rethink their battle strategy. They decided that the best way for them to fight this new kind of war was to precede troop attacks with a huge artillery barrage. This would clear out obstacles and stun the defending troops, giving the British a better chance of winning the battle. However, to accomplish this, the British army on the western front would need artillery shells, which were reportedly in short supply in 1915. The western front, though, was not the only area of conflict.

Strategists in Britain were pushing to prioritize other campaigns, especially the Dardanelles campaign in Turkey, which led to depleted resources; in some cases, war materiel was taken from one area to support another. French was told to transfer a large amount of mortar and artillery shells to the Dardanelles, an order that upset him because he knew that replacing the lost shells would take time. Without the extra shells his chances to go on the offensive were limited. Also, French wanted to secure his spot as commander on the western front, and to do so he had to have a major victory.

French believed that his command was tenuous because of the reverses suffered by the British in France, but even though shell supplies were short, there were other reasons for failure on the western front. The shell shortage was an easy scapegoat for French. By leaking a story to the media about a shortage, French believed he could spread the

blame for the heavy battle losses and include his “enemies” in London, persons in government who he believed were against him. French especially had been at odds with Lord Kitchener, the head of the British War Office, and had hoped that by leaking the story to the press, Kitchener would be forced from government and that his own position as commanding general would be made more secure. However, he did not count on the support Kitchener had in government circles, affecting the success of his plan to shift the blame for British losses.

IMPACT

The news story outlining French’s accusations, published in *The Times* of London on May 14, 1915, contradicted an earlier report by the British government that the army had plenty of ammunition for the fight in France. Other newspapers would pick up on the story, and it soon developed into a major scandal beyond the confines of the government and military. The government was portrayed as unable to adequately lead the war effort. To make matters worse, Fisher resigned as first sea lord over a disagreement on strategy dealing with the Dardanelles campaign. The British government was at the center of a scandal, especially the two men most identified with running the war: Asquith and Kitchener.

Asquith was forced to form a new coalition government by bringing in members of opposition parties into his cabinet. He remained prime minister and Kitchener stayed on at the War Office because of his popularity. However, Reginald McKenna replaced Winston Churchill in the Admiralty Office and David Lloyd George was appointed minister of munitions. In addition, the British built a huge munitions factory at the border with Scotland that employed thousands of civilians, bringing the war effort to the home front.

The story of inadequate troop munitions was a critical one for the British government. Any indication that it was not doing all it could to support the troops could lead to the government’s downfall. This was the first war in which the people who were called upon to support that war had such a great influence on policy. The shell scandal, in effect, forced



John French. (Library of Congress)

the British government to be responsive to public perception of how the war was being handled. One disgruntled general helped to create a new wartime dynamic, not only changing how World War I was fought but also how future wars must take into account public sentiment on all fronts.

—*Michael S. Frawley*

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July 27, 1917

MILLIONAIRE SOCIALITE DIES UNDER SUSPICIOUS CIRCUMSTANCES

The death of wealthy socialite, Mary Lily Kenan Bingham, soon after she married a suspected fortune hunter, led to scandal, rumors, speculation, and prodigious inquiry, including the exhumation of her body, which challenged reports that her death was caused either by natural causes, medical malpractice, or an overdose of morphine.

LOCALE: Louisville, Kentucky

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; publishing and journalism

KEY FIGURES

Mary Lily Kenan Bingham (1867-1917), wealthy Kentucky socialite

Robert Worth Bingham (1871-1937), judge, mayor of Louisville, and newspaper publisher
Barry Bingham, Sr. (1906-1988), Louisville publisher
William J. Burns (1861-1932), private detective

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Before Mary Lily Kenan Bingham would marry Robert Worth Bingham in 1916, she required that he sign a prenuptial agreement that waived all rights over her estate, which was worth millions of dollars. In less than one year, Kenan Bingham was dead, and no one knew why. Adding to the mystery of her death was the appearance of a secret codicil, allegedly written by Kenan Bingham, which willed five million dollars to her husband just days before

her death. Skepticism followed the revelation of the codicil and continued unabated for years.

For decades, theories would surface about what really happened to cause Kenan Bingham's death. One theory held that she died of natural causes (later determined to be cardiovascular syphilis). Another theory suggested by her stepson, Barry Bingham, Sr., was that she died of acute alcoholism, which was confirmed by a doctor and family friend in an affidavit. A third theory speculated that she died from either medical malpractice or from an overdose of morphine administered by either her husband or a colluding physician. This latter theory would lead the Kenan family to contest the secret codicil she had written just before her death, to challenge Bingham's behavior, and to hire investigators to search for more answers surrounding the mysterious death.

On a miserably hot July day in Louisville, Kentucky, the couple's maid found Kenan Bingham in a cool bath, draped over the tub and unconscious. Kenan Bingham's health had begun to decline seven months earlier, and she had complained of chest pains. Bingham had hired an old friend, dermatologist Michael Leo Ravitch, to tend to her and to keep her sedated around the clock. When she was found in a coma, after becoming addicted to the daily morphine she had received since early May, Ravitch determined that she was unconscious because of a heart attack. He called a second friend of Bingham, pediatrician Walter Fisk Boggess. Although neither doctor was qualified to diagnose or treat heart disease, they nevertheless continued the morphine treatment. So extreme were the dosages that two different attending nurses protested; they were immediately released from their duties.

While Kenan Bingham's condition worsened, Bingham was making statements to the press, alluding to her assumed heart condition. By 3:10 P.M. on July 27, 1917, she was dead, having had a seizure earlier that morning and after suffering convulsions. The attending physicians determined that she had died of edema of the brain and myocarditis.

Taken by private railroad car to Wilmington, Kenan Bingham's body was buried in the family's Oakdale Cemetery plot. Shortly thereafter, it was

learned that she had left an estate of \$150 million (her will was filed in Florida courts). A month later, however, Bingham filed with the Louisville courts a secret codicil that Kenan Bingham had written eight days before her death. Bingham had hired yet another old college friend, attorney Dave Davies, to oversee the signing of the secret codicil, made to Bingham for five million dollars and "to be absolutely his." While apparently in a dazed morphine state, Kenan Bingham reportedly told Davies that information about the codicil was to be kept secret, and that its existence was not to be revealed to anyone, especially not her brother, Will Kenan. Bingham had told Davies earlier that her dazed condition was caused by her serious medical condition.

Suspicion followed news of the secret codicil. Kenan Bingham's family hired renowned detective William Burns of the William J. Burns International Detective Agency. What Burns discovered would lead to serious questions: Why had Kenan Bingham been drugged so heavily? Why had Bingham, with access to the best physicians money could hire and with the money to do so, hire inferior doctors whose specialties were not in cardiology but in pediatrics and dermatology? Why, when Kenan Bingham was so obviously ill, did the couple reside in the far less comfortable Louisville home, with temperatures reaching 102 degrees, rather than at the cooler, more comfortable mansion at Mamaroneck? Burns also found that Bingham had given Ravitch a brand-new 1925 Packard Roadster and that Kenan Bingham's half-million-dollar pearl necklace (given to her by her first husband, Henry Morrison Flagler, the late Standard Oil cofounder) had disappeared. Trustees of the Flagler estate, studying Burns's report, decided to open Kenan Bingham's grave and to order an autopsy on her remains. A New York pathologist concluded the cause of death was endocarditis, inflammation of the heart lining.

More curious in the scandal, however, was that Burns's report was never released, the report of the autopsy was repressed, and an initially outraged Kenan family dropped its court case against Bingham. Furthermore, later research on the case uncovered more information: Bingham and Kenan Bing-

ham had begun an affair in their early college years. Soon after college, Bingham had begun a series of treatments with Ravitch, who was experienced in treating syphilis. Syphilis, in its tertiary stage, not only does not surface with identifiable symptoms until decades later but also can manifest as endocarditis and can be fatal. Another theory surrounding her death emerged: that Bingham was protecting Kenan Bingham, the family, and himself from the scandal that would follow had her syphilis become public knowledge.

Skeptics, however, believe that Bingham did not necessarily intend to kill Kenan Bingham; they believe, instead, that it was his mission to get support by way of Standard Oil stocks, financial relief by way of Kenan Bingham paying off his outstanding debts, and funding for his new publishing venture. In the end, Bingham got everything he aimed to get. On their wedding day, November 15, 1916, Kenan Bingham gave him a certified check for fifty thousand dollars, but no gift came from him. She gave him freedom from his many debts, but he gave her grief over plans she made for the family, over trips she had planned, over being a close and loving husband-and-wife team. She also gave him \$700,000 in Standard Oil stocks and five million dollars, contingent upon her death. He gave her daily and excessive amounts of morphine and, possibly, the condition that caused her early demise.

IMPACT

Bingham's secrecy about Kenan Bingham's death continued to lead to skepticism for Kenan Bingham's family and friends, as well as for reporters, researchers, and the public. The scandal had several unanswered questions and shady circumstances, including the coincidental timing of the death, the hiring of friends as doctors and lawyers, and the convenient secret codicil—which helped pay for Bingham's start-up newspapers, a venture he had approached a reticent Kenan Bingham about months before her death. These circumstances add up to possible motives, and these possible motives kept the scandal alive for years following her death in 1917.

With the money, Bingham purchased the *Louisville Times* and the *Courier-Journal*, two newspapers that would help propel him into national prominence and politics. He became a major financial supporter of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt. In 1933, Roosevelt appointed Bingham ambassador to the United Kingdom.

—Roxanne McDonald

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1919-1920

PONZI SCHEMES ARE REVEALED AS INVESTMENT FRAUDS

In 1920, Italian immigrant Charles Ponzi seemed to be living the American Dream and making it easily available to others willing to invest in his business. However, his get-rich-quick scheme turned out to be a fraud. He himself later died nearly penniless after serving prison sentences and being deported for his crimes, and his name became synonymous with the type of swindle he orchestrated.

LOCALE: Boston, Massachusetts

CATEGORIES: Banking and finance; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Charles Ponzi (1883-1949), Italian American founder of the Securities Exchange Company and perpetrator of investment fraud

Richard Grozier (1887-1946), American publisher and editor of the *Boston Post*

Joseph C. Allen (1878-1943), Massachusetts bank commissioner

Clarence Barron (1855-1928), American editor and magazine publisher

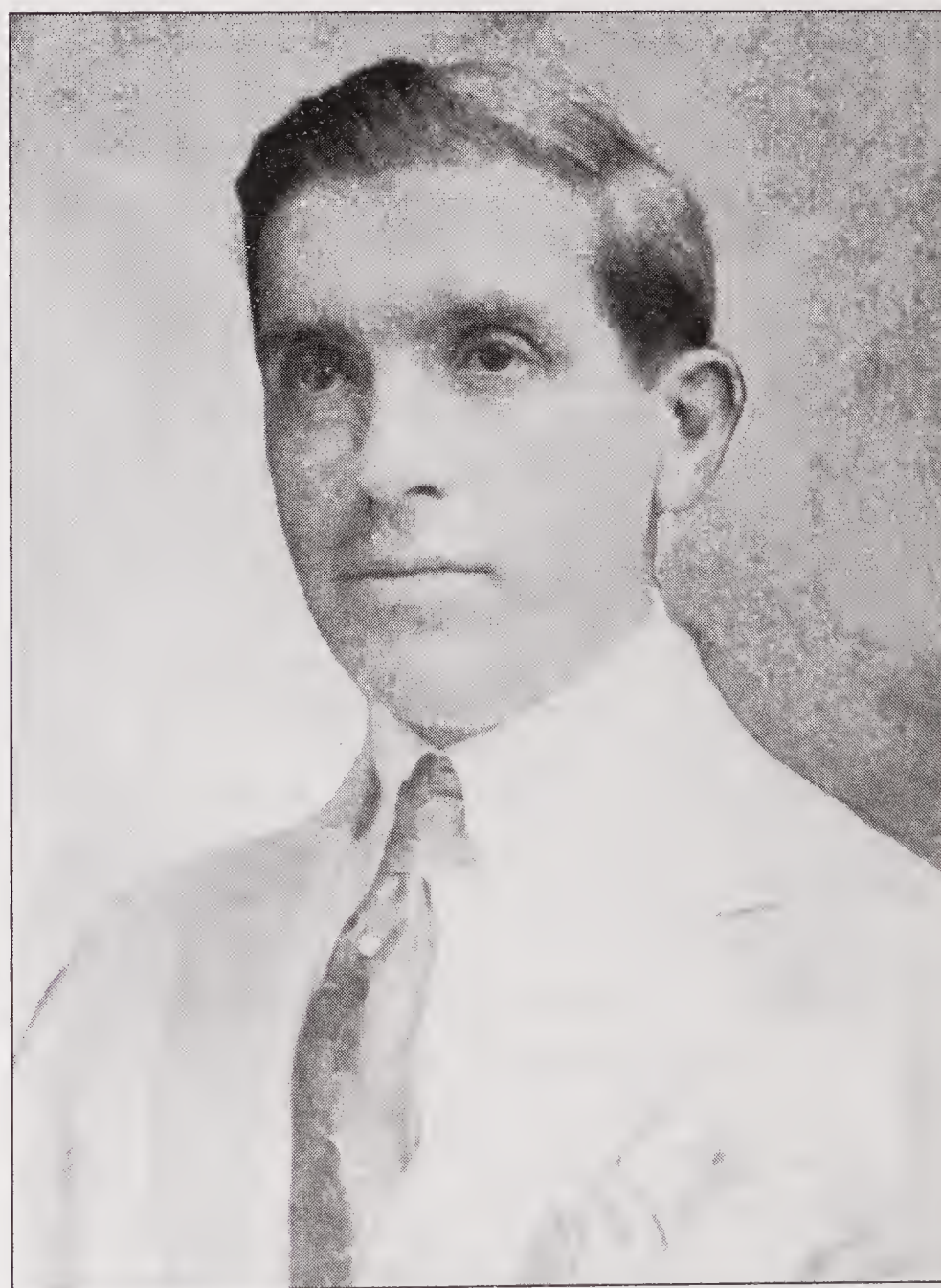
SUMMARY OF EVENT

In late 1919, Charles Ponzi found the idea that would bring him the fortune that he had long dreamed about and thought was his for the taking when he arrived in the United States from Italy in 1903. Lacking the means to finance his idea himself, he set out to attract investors to his latest business venture, which he promoted under the name the Securities Exchange Company. The business would turn out to be a fraud.

With the promise of 50 percent interest in forty-five days, money from investors slowly began to come in to Ponzi's company. As people began to hear that initial investors had actually received the promised 50 percent interest, Ponzi attracted increasingly more investors and their money. By the end of July, 1920, investors had entrusted him with

nearly ten million dollars. What the investors did not realize was that Ponzi was using the money from new investors to pay off the obligations to those who had previously invested.

The business that Ponzi purported to be conducting involved international reply coupons. In 1906, the Universal Postal Union, the international organization responsible for setting policy regarding the transfer of mail among countries, introduced the international reply coupon as a means to send return postage to a person in another country. The coupons could be bought in the post office of one country and redeemed in another country for postage stamps of the recipient country. Popular among immigrants, the coupons allowed many to keep in touch with less affluent friends and relatives in their



Charles Ponzi. (Library of Congress)

KUDOS FOR PONZI'S SCHEME

In the introduction to his hand-typed autobiography The Rise of Mr. Ponzi (1937), Charles Ponzi takes great delight in quoting the accolades that his scheme initially received in the press. It is small wonder that his name became synonymous with the fraud he perpetrated.

MEET MR. PONZI, THE CHAMPION GET-RICH-QUICK WALLINGFORD OF AMERICA

"Ponzi is the guy who put the crease in Croesus," wrote Neal O'Hara for the *Boston Traveler* toward the end of July, 1920. "He is the guy that ran up millions from a two-cent stamp. If five-spots were snow flakes, Ponzi would be a three day blizzard."

"You've got to hand it to his credit. He makes your money gain 50 per cent in 45 days, which is as much as the landlords do. He delivers the goods with postage stamps, which is more than Burleson does. The way Ponzi juggles the reds and the greens, he makes Post Office look like a child's game. He simply buys stamps in Europe while the rest of the boys are buying souvenir post cards. And a postage stamp is still worth two cents in spite of the service you get for it, and any yap knows that you cannot get stuck on postage stamps unless you sit on the gluey side up."

"Worried" isn't the half of it. According to Miss Marguerite Mooers Marshall, a staff writer for the *New York Evening World*, Ponzi had them in a frenzy. Listen to what she said:

"Whoever said that proud old New Englanders are conservative, undoubtedly made that statement before the advent of Charles Ponzi. To-day all Boston is get-rich-quick mad over him, the creator of fortunes, the modern King Midas who doubles your money in ninety days. Did I say Boston? My mistake. I should have said the entire New England, from Calais, Maine, to Lake Champlain, from the Canadian border to New Jersey."

"At every corner, on the street-cars, behind the department store counters, from luxurious parlors to humble kitchens, to the very outskirts of New England, Ponzi is making more hope, more anxiety, than any conquering general of old. Mary Pickford, Sir Thomas Lipton and smuggling booze over the Canadian border aren't in it any more."

the United States. He found that he could send a U.S. dollar to Italy, exchange it for Italian lira to buy international reply coupons, send the coupons to the United States, and redeem them for more than one dollar's worth of stamps. The difference came about as a result of the devaluation of many European currencies caused by the effects of World War I. As a result, the exchange rates for currency differed from the implicit exchange rate of the reply coupons as set up in 1906. By his calculations, one U.S. dollar used in this scheme could purchase \$3.30 worth of stamps. He assumed that he could sell the stamps for a discount off their face value and still make a large profit.

With an idea that seemed plausible, Ponzi set out to find investors. He quickly discovered that agents could better sell his idea to a wider audience. With the promise of a 10 per cent commission on all investor money solicited, Ponzi's first sales agent, Ettore Giberti, a grocer from a Boston suburb, had by early January, 1920, sold the idea to eighteen investors, who entrusted him with \$1,770. Each month, Ponzi saw an increase in the number of new investors and new agents willing to sell his idea. In February new investments totaled \$5,290 from seventeen investors. In June, the total was more than \$2.5 million from seventy-eight hundred investors, and in July, the last month of operation, total new money was nearly \$6.5 million from more than twenty thousand investors.

While many of the investors chose to reinvest their money after their initial investments matured, Ponzi made attempts to find some means to make his business legitimate after it became obvious to him that it was not possible to actually profit from reply coupons. He soon found that the money generated from his enterprise had a destabilizing impact on some of the smaller banks in Boston as a result of withdrawals made by his investors and the large balances that he held in them, which he could threaten to withdraw. He managed to take control of one bank, the

home countries, who were otherwise reluctant to pay the cost of a postage stamp.

Ponzi discovered in 1919 that the value of coupons in some countries differed from their value in

Hanover Trust Company, and thought he could profit by gaining control of other weakened banks. He also developed a scheme, which never materialized, which involved buying from the U.S. government for \$200 million a fleet of surplus passenger and freight ships that had been built during World War I and selling stock in the two companies that would own and operate the fleet.

Although never at a loss for investment ideas, and ever-optimistic that he would find a way to pay off investors, Ponzi was beginning to run out of time to implement his ideas. At the beginning of July, 1920, a furniture dealer named Joseph Daniels sued Ponzi for one million dollars, claiming that a loan he had made to Ponzi in December entitled him to part of Ponzi's profits in the international reply coupon venture. While his claim was baseless, it did cause the *Boston Post*, under acting publisher Richard Grozier, to begin investigating Ponzi's business.

Postal and law enforcement authorities already had taken note of Ponzi's activities but failed to find anything illegal. However, interviews with Clarence Barron, a renowned financial authority and founder of *Barron's Weekly*, about Ponzi's operation for a July 25 article in the *Boston Post*. Barron suggested that the business was a fraud, which Ponzi strongly denied. With the allegations made public, federal, state, and local authorities were forced to investigate. On July 26, in an effort to deflect criticism, Ponzi offered investigators the opportunity to audit his business, during which he would close it to new investors. Ponzi saw the audit as a way of proving that his business was solvent. He planned to claim assets from his bank, the Hanover Trust, as his own to prove that he could pay off all his obligations.

Ponzi's plan, however, ran into a number of obstacles. The allegations that his business was a fraud caused investors to return in droves and demand their money back. Ponzi initially saw this as a benefit because money that was refunded before forty-five days did not receive any of the promised interest and thereby reduced his indebtedness. As the investor-run continued, though, he feared that he would run out of money before the audit was com-

pleted and before he could "prove" he was solvent. Bank commissioner Joseph C. Allen forced the issue on August 9 when he ordered the Hanover Trust to stop honoring Ponzi's checks. Although Ponzi still had money available, his main account with the bank was overdrawn, and Allen, who had been investigating Ponzi, saw this as an opportunity to close down Ponzi's enterprise. Later in the same week, the bank commissioner took control of the Hanover Trust, which eliminated any possibility that Ponzi could prove that he was solvent. This coincided with an article published by the *Boston Post* detailing Ponzi's connection with a failed bank in Montreal and his prison record in Canada for forgery. By August 12, the results of the audit revealed that his obligations exceeded his assets by about three million dollars. Ponzi's bubble had burst.

In addition to the Hanover Trust, several other banks in the Boston area with ties to Ponzi failed as a result of runs caused by depositors' fears. Investors who had not collected on their investments before Ponzi's business was closed received about 37 cents for each dollar they had invested.

Ponzi served several years in federal prison for his crime and, after a brief period of freedom, another few years in state prison. He then was deported to Italy in 1934. The *Boston Post* won a Pulitzer Prize for public service in 1921 for exposing Ponzi as a fraud.

IMPACT

Ponzi's story did not end with his fall. His success spawned countless imitators who profited throughout the 1920's. In the years since his death in the charity ward of a hospital in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, with less than one hundred dollars in his name, many investment opportunities that have seemed too good to be true have turned out to be swindles, much like those perpetuated by Ponzi. While Ponzi did not invent this type of fraud, he gave it such notoriety that it has come to be called a Ponzi scheme.

—Randall Hannum

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September 21, 1919

WHITE SOX PLAYERS CONSPIRE TO LOSE WORLD SERIES IN "BLACK SOX" SCANDAL

Chicago White Sox players conspired with a professional gambler to lose the 1919 World Series for a cash payout, triggering the biggest scandal in Major League Baseball history. Eight players were promised at least \$100,000 from gamblers to lose the World Series intentionally. A grand jury acquitted the conspirators, but the baseball commissioner banned them from organized baseball for life.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Black Sox scandal

LOCALE: Chicago, Illinois

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; organized crime and racketeering; sports

KEY FIGURES

Chick Gandil (1887-1970), Chicago White Sox first baseman

Eddie Cicotte (1884-1969), Chicago White Sox pitcher

Charles Comiskey (1859-1931), owner of the Chicago White Sox

Joseph Sullivan (fl. early twentieth century), Boston gambler

Arnold Rothstein (1882-1928), New York City gambler

Lefty Williams (1893-1959), Chicago White Sox pitcher

Shoeless Joe Jackson (1887-1951), Chicago White Sox outfielder

Kenesaw Mountain Landis (1866-1944),
commissioner of baseball

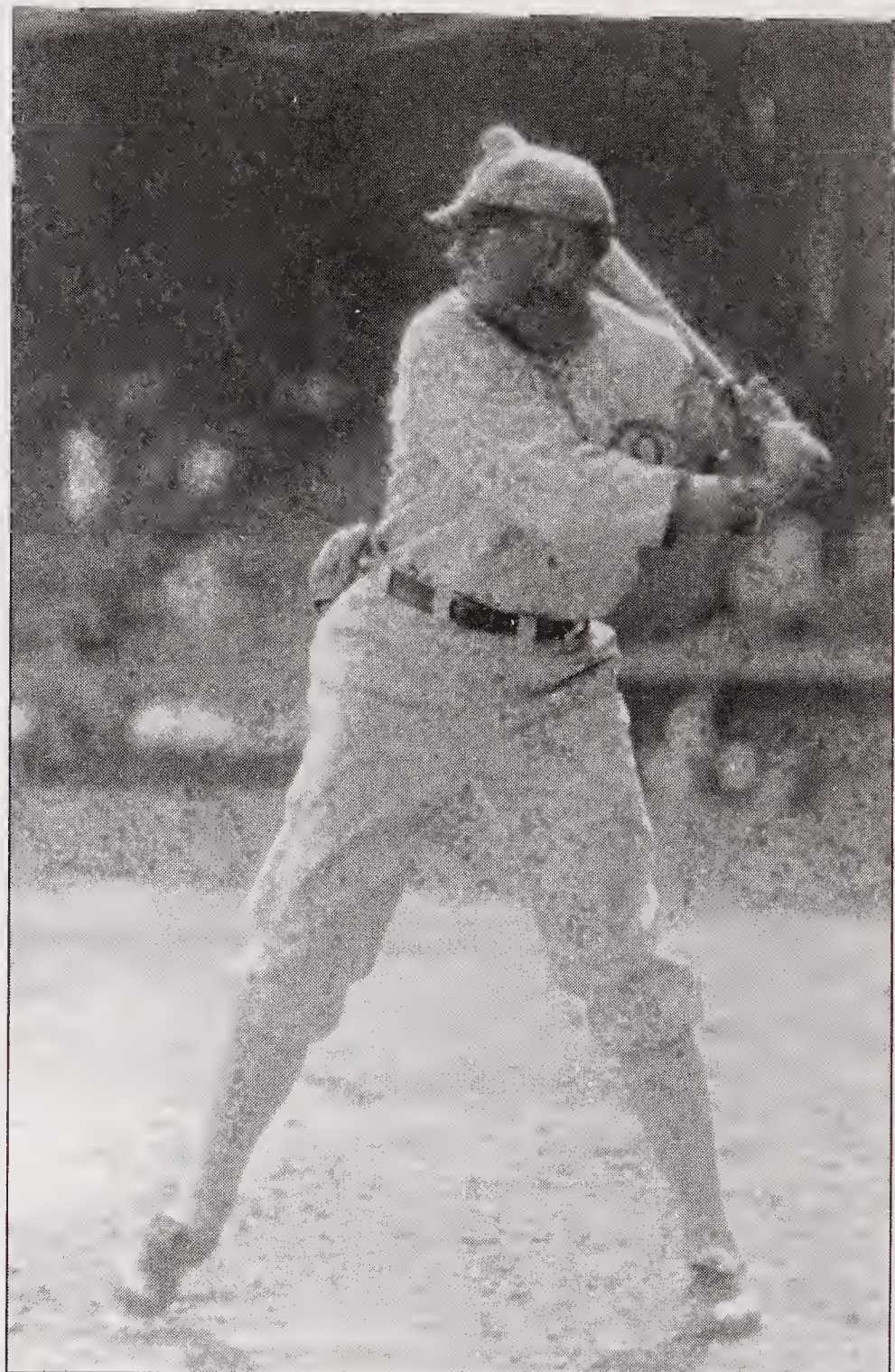
SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Chicago White Sox had won the 1919 American League pennant and were heavily favored to defeat the Cincinnati Reds in the World Series, played at the time in a best 5 of 9 games format. Chicago featured several outstanding players, some of whom despised owner club Charles Comiskey. He had forced the players to take salary cuts for the year because of declining attendance at games. Players were paid between three thousand and sixty-five hundred dollars, considerably less than players on other professional teams in the league.

White Sox first baseman Chick Gandil approached Boston gambler Joseph "Sport" Sullivan at the Buckminster Hotel in August, 1919, offering to throw, or intentionally lose, the 1919 World Series for cash. Sullivan suggested that Gandil recruit several teammates for the deal. Those players were pitchers Eddie Cicotte, Lefty Williams, Dickie Kerr, and Red Faber; outfielders Shoeless Joe Jackson and Happy Felsch; infielders Buck Weaver and Eddie Collins; and catcher Ray Schalk. Cicotte agreed to participate if he received ten thousand dollars before the start of the World Series. Gandil also enlisted Williams, Jackson, Felsch, and short-stop Swede Risberg in the scheme. Reserve infielder Fred McMullin insisted on being included as well, and Weaver knew of the plot. The eight players met at Gandil's hotel room in New York City on September 21 and agreed to throw the series if the gamblers advanced them eighty thousand dollars apiece. Gandil relayed that message to Sullivan.

Another gambler, Bill Burns, meanwhile, approached Cicotte and promised to best Sullivan's offer. With Gandil, Burns and Cicotte agreed to work a fix for \$100,000 in advance. Burns and associate Billy Maharg sought financial backing from prominent sports gambler Arnold Rothstein on September 23 in New York. Rothstein dispatched his assistant, Abe Attell, to meet with them. Attell told Burns that Rothstein had consented to provide the \$100,000 to fund the fix.

White Sox Players Conspire to Lose World Series



Joe Jackson, one of eight Chicago White Sox players implicated in the gambling scandal. (Library of Congress)

Sullivan, whom Rothstein respected more than he did Burns and Maharg, outlined his plans to Rothstein for the fix. Rothstein instructed his partner, Nat Evans, and Sullivan to meet with the eight players in Chicago. The players demanded an eighty thousand dollar cash advance. Rothstein gave Sullivan forty thousand dollars to distribute to the players and placed the other forty thousand dollars in a Chicago safe. He bet more than one-quarter million dollars on the Reds to win the World Series. Gandil convinced the other conspirators to accept that arrangement.

Sullivan, however, initially gave only ten thousand dollars to Gandil, who distributed it to game one pitcher Cicotte. The other conspirators were angered at not receiving the entire eighty thousand

JACKSON'S CONFESSION

On September 28, 1920, Hartley L. Replogle, assistant state attorney, questioned Shoeless Joe Jackson before the grand jury of Cook County, Illinois. Jackson's testimony tied him to the 1919 World Series gambling scandal. The following excerpts, however, show that he had been bullied and cheated.

REPLOGLE: Did anybody pay you any money to help throw that series in favor of Cincinnati?

JACKSON: They did.

REPLOGLE: How much did they pay?

JACKSON: They promised me \$20,000, and paid me \$5.

REPLOGLE: Who promised you the twenty thousand?

JACKSON: "Chick" Gandil.

REPLOGLE: Who is Chick Gandil?

JACKSON: He was their first baseman on the White Sox Club. . . .

REPLOGLE: You think Gandil may have gotten the money and held it from you, is that right?

JACKSON: That's what I think, I think he kept the majority of it.

REPLOGLE: What did you do then?

JACKSON: I went to him and asked him what was the matter. He said Abe Attel gave him the jazzing. He said, "Take that or let it alone." As quick as the series was over I left town, I went right on out. . . .

REPLOGLE: Didn't you think it was the right thing for you to go and tell [White Sox owner Charles A.] Comiskey about it?

JACKSON: I did tell them once, "I am not going to be in it." I will just get out of that altogether.

REPLOGLE: Who did you tell that to?

JACKSON: Chick Gandil.

REPLOGLE: What did he say?

JACKSON: He said I was into it already and I might as well stay in. I said, "I can go to the boss and have every damn one of you pulled out of the limelight." He said, it wouldn't be well for me if I did that. . . .

REPLOGLE: What did you say?

JACKSON: Well, I told him any time they wanted to have me knocked off, to have me knocked off.

REPLOGLE: What did he say?

JACKSON: Just laughed. . . .

REPLOGLE: Supposing the White Sox would have won this series, the World's Series, what would you have done then with the \$5,000?

JACKSON: I guess I would have kept it, that was all I could do. I tried to win all the time.

A sudden shift in betting odds in Cincinnati's favor sparked rumors about a possible fix. Chicago's inept performance in the first two games aroused further suspicions, as conspirators helped throw both games. Cicotte pitched abysmally in game one, uncharacteristically surrendering five runs in the fourth inning and losing 9-1. In the fourth inning of game two, Williams ignored Schalk's signals, walked three batters, and allowed three runs in the 4-2 setback.

Rothstein ordered the conspirators to play game three straight because non-conspirator Kerr was pitching. Gandil singled in two runs, giving the White Sox a 3-0 win. In the fifth inning of game four, Cicotte uncharacteristically made two crucial errors to hand Cincinnati a 2-0 victory. After the fourth game, Gandil received a twenty thousand dollar installment from the gamblers and then handed five thousand each to Williams, Jackson, Felsch, and Risberg.

Chicago lost game five, 4-0, after Felsch misplayed two key fly balls and Jackson misjudged one. The gamblers, however, failed to deliver the next installment of twenty thousand dollars after that game. The conspirators, after realizing the gamblers had double-crossed them, were now determined to win the World Series. The White Sox won game six, 5-4, behind Kerr in 10 innings. Cicotte pitched superbly in game seven, and the team triumphed 4-1. Jackson's single produced the deciding run.

Rothstein ordered the conspirators to lose the decisive game eight. Sullivan contacted a Chicago mobster who instructed pitcher Williams to blow the game in the first inning, threatening harm if he did not cooperate. Williams ignored Schalk's signs in the first inning, allowing four runs and retiring one batter only. Cincinnati won the game, 10-5, clinching the World Series. After that

dollars from Sullivan, so they met with Attell in Cincinnati the day before game one. Attell refused to advance the players any cash, promising instead twenty thousand dollars for each lost game.

game, Williams gave Jackson five thousand dollars and Gandil collected thirty thousand dollars.

In the end, Williams had lost all three of his starts as a pitcher, and Cicotte lost two games. Jackson batted .375 and Weaver hit .324, but the other conspirators struggled offensively; they struggled defensively as well. *Chicago Herald and Examiner* sportswriter Hugh Fullerton became suspicious of seven defensive plays and feared a scandal.

It was in mid-October that the conspiracy came to light. Gambler Harry Redmond told team owner Comiskey that several conspirators had thrown the World Series. Comiskey offered a ten thousand dollar reward to anyone who could prove that the series had been fixed and delayed sending his players their losing shares for the game.

All White Sox conspirators except Gandil played the 1920 season. Gandil retired because Comiskey refused to raise his salary. Chicago narrowly trailed the first-place Cleveland Indians in September when the *North-American*, a Philadelphia newspaper, confirmed the 1919 World Series scandal and published details provided by Maharg. American League president Ban Johnson, who despised Comiskey, pressed for a Cook County grand jury investigation. On September 28, Cicotte and Jackson told the grand jury that they had thrown the series, naming Gandil, Felsch, Williams, Weaver, Risberg, and McMullin as coconspirators.

In late October, 1920, the grand jury indicted the eight White Sox players for conspiring with the gamblers to defraud the public. The players were arraigned in February, 1921, but Cicotte and Jackson filed affidavits repudiating their confessions. Judge William Dever ruled that the indictments were faulty.

Cook County authorities secured new indictments against the conspirators, and the trial began on June 27. The accused players did not testify, so prosecutors had to rely on the testimony of two gamblers to prove a conspiracy to commit fraud. The jury had to decide whether the players deliberately lost the games and intended to commit fraud. On August 2 they acquitted the players and gamblers, as the packed courtroom cheered.

White Sox Players Conspire to Lose World Series

IMPACT

The scandal wrecked the White Sox franchise. Chicago tumbled to seventh place in 1921 and languished in the second division for the next decade. Comiskey made numerous player transactions and managerial changes in largely futile attempts to rebuild the White Sox until his death in 1931. Chicago did not capture another American League pennant until 1959 and did not win a World Series title until 2005.

To restore confidence in its badly shaken institution, baseball needed someone to take the lead and monitor and oversee the league. In November, 1920, club owners appointed federal judge Kenesaw Mountain Landis as baseball's first commissioner, and they gave him a hefty salary of fifty thousand dollars and absolute power. On August 3, 1921, Landis barred the eight White Sox players, even though they were acquitted in a criminal trial, from organized baseball. Landis remained baseball czar until his death in 1944.

The scandal ended the professional baseball careers of Jackson, Cicotte, Williams, Felsch, Gandil, Weaver, Risberg, and McMullin. Jackson, who compiled the third highest batting average (.356) in major-league history, likely would have been inducted into the Baseball Hall of Fame; the scandal ended that dream. Cicotte and Williams both won more than 60 percent of the games in which they garnered a decision.

—David L. Porter

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July 19, 1921

U.S. SENATE REBUKES NAVY IN HOMOSEXUALITY INVESTIGATION

Reports of gay sex at and near a U.S. naval base led to Navy investigations and then an inquiry by the U.S. Senate into the Navy's investigatory tactics. These tactics, used "for the good of the service," included sex to secure evidence. Even more controversial was the young age of those used in the investigation. The local community was shocked as well by the arrest of a respected civilian Christian minister for immoral conduct.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Newport sex scandal

LOCALE: Newport, Rhode Island

CATEGORIES: Sex; military; public morals; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Ervin Arnold (fl. 1920's), U.S. Navy chief machinist's mate

Samuel Neal Kent (1873-1943), Episcopal minister in Newport, Rhode Island

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945), president of the United States, 1933-1945, who served as assistant secretary of the Navy, 1913-1920, during the scandal

John R. Rathom (1868-1923), editor of the *Providence Journal*

Josephus Daniels (1862-1948), secretary of the Navy, 1913-1921

Erastus Hudson (1888-1943), doctor at the naval base in Newport in 1919

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In February, 1919, U.S. Navy chief machinist's mate Ervin Arnold had been transferred to the newly expanded U.S. naval base at Newport, Rhode Island. Although planned to house about twenty thousand sailors, the base could only house about two thousand sailors; the overflow stayed in hastily erected quarters throughout town. Before the end of his first month in Rhode Island, Arnold had a plan to inform the Navy about homosexual men in the service in Newport, hoping the Navy would initiate an investigation. Navy lieutenant and doctor Erastus Hudson was a part of Arnold's plan. It appears that Arnold had a deep fear of homosexuality, and he quickly found evidence of it in Newport. He found that young Navy men gathered at the local Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) to find male sex partners.

Among the men who Arnold accused of homosexuality were sailors Samuel Rogers, John Gianelloni, Jay "Beckie" Goldstein, and John "Ella" Tem-

ple. Two civilians, Arthur Green and Episcopal minister Samuel Neal Kent, also were impugned. In the end, the attacks against Kent would bring the scandal to national prominence.

Admiral Spencer S. Wood formally ordered an investigation, and Secretary of the Navy Josephus Daniels told Arnold to proceed with an investigation. On March 19, Judge Murphy J. Foster convened an official court of inquiry, which determined the need for further investigation. Arnold and Hudson began recruiting a group of young men, many in their teens, for the investigation at the YMCA.

Because of similar reports of homosexual relations elsewhere in the Navy, Assistant Secretary of the Navy Franklin D. Roosevelt was given the records in Daniels's absence. Roosevelt, in turn, passed the information to Attorney General Mitchell Palmer because of the alleged involvement of civilians. At the same time, Palmer's staff had been tied up in the massive hunt for suspected communists that would become the first Red Scare. Palmer could assign only one agent to investigate in Newport, and that agent found insufficient evidence to pursue a civilian inquiry, returning full jurisdiction to the Navy.

Arnold selected volunteers to solicit homosexual sex. These volunteers included enlisted men Millard C. Haynes, Charles B. Zipf, Gregory A. Cunningham, and John E. McCormick. In addition to evidence of homosexual sex, investigators were told to gather evidence of alcohol and drug use as well as female prostitution. Investigators went to the YMCA to solicit sex, but they also participated in sex acts to confirm their suspicions. By March 28 the investigators were regularly meeting and having oral sex with those they were investigating.

Fred Hoage was the first enlisted person arrested, on April 4. Many more arrests followed; ultimately, twelve would face courts-martial. Now, however, the legitimacy of Arnold's investigation was questioned. Foster had wanted the investigation stopped with the resumption of formal court in April, but Arnold had continued sending operatives for a couple of weeks after. Suspects were held for months before being formally charged. The final twelve who were convicted received sentences ranging from ten

to thirty years, though a later presidential clemency reduced most sentences to under ten years.

Charles P. Hall, the Newport Red Cross field director, helped advance the case against the civilians. Believing that the naval court could proceed only against enlisted men—and wanting to put pressure on the rival YMCA and, in particular, the accused homosexual Reverend Kent—Hall involved Rhode Island governor R. Livingston Beeckman in the case. Beeckman, in turn, brought Roosevelt back to the case. Roosevelt gave increased responsibility to Arnold and Hudson in May to begin civilian investigations, even though the director of the Office of Naval Intelligence was concerned about Navy surveillance of civilians. The director hired a private investigator, whose report questioned Hudson's objectivity and experience as an investigator. Regardless, Hudson's work proceeded directly under Roosevelt. Hudson and his new squad resumed investigations, this time focusing on civilians such as Kent.

The mass arrests stemming from the continued investigations included Kent, who was acquitted in local court. Hugh Baker, the trial judge, faced questions about his impartiality and competence. Episcopal clergy attacked the Navy for prosecuting Kent, demanding amends to him. Further investigation began to reveal the extent to which operatives were involved in homosexual activities with those they were investigating. Kent was prosecuted again under federal guidance, with Arthur L. Brown as the judge. At this trial, the defense again poked holes in Arnold's operators' tactics and motives, and in January, 1920, Kent was once more acquitted.

The day after the acquittal, questions about the Navy's investigative tactics began to surface. A group of Rhode Island ministers complained to the president of Kent's persecution, and journalist John R. Rathom used his newspaper, the *Providence Journal*, to attack Navy secretary Daniels for a dirty investigation. The paper then focused on how Navy investigators were ordered to engage in homosexual acts to obtain their evidence and that Navy officials sanctioned these activities. Rathom and Roosevelt sparred back and forth in the national press, with Rathom attacking Roosevelt's accuracy and Roosevelt attacking Rathom's journalism.

A new court of naval inquiry was appointed in 1921 to examine the Navy's investigation of homosexual conduct. However, the Navy men implicated in the initial court-of-inquiry case had powerful friends operating on that court, and they were generally shielded throughout testimony, further increasing the public's perception of corruption. Furthermore, Newport ministers provided testimony to support Kent, and the Reverend Stanley C. Hughes took the stand for more than two days and used his testimony to question the court. The Navy, unsurprisingly, found itself innocent.

Finally, the U.S. Senate conducted its own investigation around the time of the Navy's court of inquiry, on January 25. By March of that year, a formal Senate inquiry was launched, and the still-incarcerated sailors were interviewed. On July 19, 1921, the Senate's Naval Affairs Committee issued a strong rebuke against the Navy for requiring operatives to participate in homosexual acts. They also questioned the Navy's self-exoneration. The Senate accused the Navy of targeting men based on Arnold's and Hudson's claims that they could identify gays on sight. Finally, the Senate expressed concern that the convicted had been detained for months without trial.

IMPACT

The Newport sex scandal remains one of the most significant gay-related scandals in American history because of its far-reaching impact. The investigation and its consequences led to a change in Navy legal practice: The Navy promised to never again use enlisted personnel to investigate other enlisted personnel. Furthermore, neither Roosevelt nor Daniels apologized to the Reverend Kent, who was barred from practicing by the Episcopal Church in 1921 because of the scandal. He continued his career outside the church, however.

—Jessie Bishop Powell

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February 1, 1922

DIRECTOR TAYLOR'S MURDER RUINS MABEL NORMAND'S ACTING CAREER

Mabel Normand, the first superstar of film comedy, was the last person to see director William Desmond Taylor on the night of his murder. The murder, the first major unsolved crime of the film community, rocked Hollywood. Scandal-seeking newspaper reporters and headline-seeking district attorneys focused on Normand, although she clearly was not the killer. She was hounded by the media, which followed her into another scandal in 1924, and her career was ruined.

LOCALE: Los Angeles, California

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; publishing and journalism; film; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Mabel Normand (1892-1930), American silent-film star

William Desmond Taylor (1872-1922), American silent-film director

Mabel Miles Minter (1902-1984), American silent-film star

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Prominent silent-film director William Desmond Taylor was shot on the night of February 1, 1922, in his Los Angeles, California, home. Mabel Normand, famed for her roles in director Mack Sennett's slapstick comedies, had stopped by his home before his murder about 6:45 P.M. to pick up a book Taylor had purchased for her. About one hour later, Taylor walked her to her car, where her chauffeur had been waiting. No evidence suggests that she returned to Taylor's home.

The next morning, Taylor's servant, Henry Peavey, returned to work at Taylor's home. (Peavey was present during Normand's visit with Taylor the day before.) He discovered Taylor's body and called for help. Before police arrived, crime-scene

evidence was contaminated by neighbors and by at least one studio troubleshooter who either removed or planted evidence of Taylor's sexual involvement with Normand and with young actor Mabel Miles Minter. No actual evidence, apart from affectionately signed photographs, was produced to support the allegations that Taylor had affairs with the two women. In part because of such investigative bungling, the murder remained, perhaps deliberately, unsolved.

Los Angeles district attorney Thomas Woolwine, who had a reputation for corruption, focused his investigation on Normand to gain press headlines and to suggest he was actually trying to solve the crime. He focused less upon Minter and her fam-



William Desmond Taylor. (AP/Wide World Photos)

THE HEADLINES

Newspapers around the United States were quick to comment not so much on the murder of William Desmond Taylor but on the criminal investigation and Hollywood's penchant for scandal.

It is absolutely useless for anyone to try to compete with the movie folks for front page scandal position.

—February 4, *Pittsburgh Sun*

Nothing shown on the screen has so far exceeded in weirdness the things actually done by the movie players.

—February 4, *Omaha Bee*

A movie funeral seems to be one thing that will get the Los Angeles people out to church.

—February 9, *Indianapolis Star*

After all the bizarre stuff that is being written about the Taylor murder we wouldn't be surprised to find out that he isn't dead.

—February 12, *St. Louis Star*

There is this to be said about the Hollywood affair from the newspaper folks' standpoint. It was not a difficult matter to get hold of pictures of the various persons involved.

—February 14, *Des Moines Tribune*

Great progress has been made in solving the Hollywood murder case. The detectives have about decided that Taylor was killed.

—February 21, *Miami Herald*

Mabel Normand is reported to be ill as a result of the Taylor case. Well, all the rest of us are rather sick of it, too.

—February 25, *Philadelphia Record*

Despite rumored evidence of sexual liaisons, Taylor's relationship with both women was probably paternal, not sexual. Normand and Minter had been badly exploited by Hollywood. Minter, groomed unsuccessfully to supplant star Mary Pickford, had been kept childish, even infantile, and her income was confiscated by her overbearing mother. Normand had been exploited and underpaid by director Sennett; they had planned to marry but she apparently discovered that he was unfaithful with a friend of hers shortly before their wedding.

By 1922, Normand also had forcibly learned the fragility of success. Her frequent film partner Fatty Arbuckle was tried several times for a rape and murder in San Francisco, California, of which he was innocent. Public reaction against Arbuckle was hysterical, inflamed by an ambitious San Francisco district attorney and irresponsible journalists. Normand and other friends were not allowed to defend Arbuckle in public; no defense appeared in Hearst-owned newspapers.

Taylor, too, was not who he seemed, but he had mastered the Hollywood system as Normand, Minter, and Arbuckle could not. Taylor, an Irish-born one-time adventurer and actor, originally named William Cunningham Deane-Tanner, had abandoned his wife and daughter in New York.

He had reinvented himself as a cultivated establishment director. He served three terms as Motion Picture Directors Association president and was an outspoken enemy of censorship and narcotics. He was not known for having relationships with women, leading to rumors that he was gay or bisexual. Normand and Minter, however, were obvious objects for compassion. Minter fantasized about him as her future lover and husband. For Normand, he was a teacher, although some criticized Normand and Taylor's reading of works by Jewish psychoanalyst Sigmund Freud. It was clear that both young women found solace from a person who

ily, although Minter's mother, Charlotte Shelby, had apparently made death threats against Taylor; Woolwine, too, was a family friend and may have been one of several district attorneys paid off by Shelby. Carl Stockdale, who provided the family with an alibi, was allegedly paid by Shelby to do so. There were other suspects, but the focus remained on those who created the best headlines and photo opportunities. Journalists, led by reporters from papers owned by William Randolph Hearst, created scenarios of jealousy and uncontrolled passion that rivaled silent-film melodrama.

treated them as human beings, and not commodities.

Of the two actors, Normand was the most successful, so she had more to lose from the scandal. A talented actor, comedian, and athlete who performed dangerous stunts, she also wrote scenarios and produced and directed, making her a Hollywood superstar. She also was a cocaine addict, and she blamed her addition on the cough medicines she had taken for hemorrhages that she attributed to tuberculosis. (Cocaine was widely used during the 1920's, even though federal legislation banned it in 1914.)

Never a model of self-restraint and decorum, Normand's behavior became riotously erratic after Taylor's murder, making her even more suspect. Her audience remained loyal for a time, and her career might have at least temporarily survived had her chauffeur not shot millionaire playboy Courtland S. Dines at Normand's New Year's Eve party on January 1, 1924. Her chauffeur had used her pistol in the shooting and was later found to be an escaped convict. Again, no evidence implicated Normand, but state censorship boards in Kansas and Tennessee banned her films; other similar threats followed.

In September, a woman named Georgia Church cited Normand in a divorce suit, accusing Normand of having had an affair with her husband, Norman Church, while both were patients in a hospital. Once again, evidence was lacking, but reporters seized on the allegation. By then, too, film distributors noted changes in Normand's appearance. Her despair, ill health, and hard living were reflected on her face, changes that jeopardized her career in a day of harsh lighting and relatively crude makeup.

IMPACT

After World War I and the success of the Russian Revolution, would-be censors found moral weakness everywhere among the working classes and immigrants. Normand was among the most conspicuous victims of these censors, who were primarily religious moralists, members of women's clubs, and social conservatives. Attempts were made to ban films, newspapers, and sports on Sun-

days, the one day that working-class people would be free to enjoy them. Prohibition was part of the same movement. Newspaper and magazine articles not only frequently denounced film but also jazz and new forms of dancing. Shaken by rapid social changes, the moral censors, associating vice with the working classes and immigrants, urged that films uplift the masses, not pander to their tastes. By the time of Taylor's murder, former U.S. postmaster general William H. Hays already had been hired as Hollywood's first censor.

In her final films Normand modified her behavior for a more genteel set of standards, as the age of her brand of tomboyish comedy and Sennett's knockabout Keystone Kops comedies was over. These films had been produced for a working-class audience that had relished custard pies being thrown into the faces of the priggish and authoritarian. Sennett had costumed Normand and his bathing beauties in skimpy swimsuits, now seen by censors as insults to the ideals of American womanhood, while the comic ineptness of the Keystone Kops was considered subversive of law and order.

Associated not only with Arbuckle's and Sennett's comedies but also with a murder, an attempted murder, a divorce, and illegal drug use, Normand's career was over. In 1926, she married minor actor Lew Cody. In 1929, when still another district attorney threatened to implicate her in a reopened Taylor case, she was too ill to be summoned. She died of tuberculosis in a California sanitarium on February 23, 1930, perhaps unaware that the silent-film era itself had come to an end.

—Betty Richardson

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March 26, 1922

HINDEMITH'S OPERA *SANCTA SUSANNA* DEPICTS A NUN'S SEXUAL DESIRES

Paul Hindemith's complex, experimental one-act opera, Sancta Susanna, created a firestorm of controversy at its debut because of its frank portrayal of a troubled novice nun whose smoldering sexual passions and desires are aroused one spring night by a life-size wooden statue of the crucified Christ.

LOCALE: Frankfurt, Germany

CATEGORIES: Music and performing arts; public morals; religion; sex

KEY FIGURES

Paul Hindemith (1895-1963), German avant-garde composer and violinist

August Stramm (1874-1915), German expressionist poet and playwright

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Paul Hindemith was a noted violinist whose reputation for exquisite formal control in concert catapulted him to prominence in the prestigious classical music scene of Frankfurt, Germany, shortly before World War I. He had ambitions to compose as well, intrigued by new theories of dissonance and experimentation with the traditional tonal scale. After the war, Hindemith finally turned to composing and began a decade of immense productivity in which he established himself as one of the most audacious innovators among a new school of modernist artists. These artists, in the aftermath of a war that had shattered much of that generation's faith in tradition, sought to reinvent all aesthetic forms, as art was perceived as a vehicle to both engage and enrage the public.

Although his compositions immediately after the war were most notably highly experimental chamber music, Hindemith wrote prodigiously in a variety of genres and was at the forefront of a movement to bring the revolutionary principles of expressionism to the staid and conservative world of German opera (he had been concertmaster of the Frankfurt Opera orchestra—the Frankfurter Museumsorchester—before the war). Hindemith held that opera, given its vested interest in the often hyperbolic emotional and psychological range of its characters, would accommodate expressionism, which freely distorted the presentation of reality by using multilayered symbols to capture the interior life of distraught, emotionally traumatized characters as a way to shock audiences perceived by these uncompromising expressionist artists as bourgeois and complacent.

To that end, Hindemith began what would become a loose kind of trilogy of expressionist one-act operas. The first two—his 1919 setting of dramatist Oskar Kokoschka's *Mörder, Hoffnung der Frauen* (pr. 1909; *Murderer, the Women's Hope*, pb. 1963), a dreamlike ritual restaging of rape and murder by strangulation conducted between two vaguely defined male and female principles, and 1920's *Das Nusch-Nuschi*, a comic farce about rape using performers as life-sized marionettes—had stirred controversy, most notably a near-riot at the Frankfurt Opera House when the audience understood that *Das Nusch-Nuschi* was mocking Richard Wagner's *Tristan und Isolde*, a venerated landmark of German national pride and cultural identity.

In early 1921, Hindemith read the one-act play *Sancta Susanna*, written in 1912 by August Stramm, an early expressionist poet and playwright who had been killed during the war, and was immediately intrigued by its possibilities as an operatic work. The play exemplified a prewar theatrical movement known as *Schreidramen* (loosely translated as scream plays), which sought to disorient the audience by using hallucinatory, dreamlike sequences and dispensing with linear plot and clearly defined characters. Hindemith was captivated by the play's bold use of the character of a deeply troubled young nun as an allegorical figure representing the tension

between lust and celibacy. Hindemith later said he wrote the intricate score for Stramm's libretto in a furious two-week rush of inspiration, completing the work in late February. However, Fritz Busch, a force in postwar experimental German music, refused to direct this production, objecting to its sacrilegious content. As the musical director of the Stuttgart Opera House, Busch had supported the avant-garde movement and directed both of Hindemith's earlier one-act works.

The production, however, went forward—Hindemith unwilling to alter the opera's argument. *Sancta Susanna* premiered on March 26, 1922, at the Frankfurt Opera House. The twenty-five minute opera takes place entirely in a convent chapel, washed in the eerie and unsettling bluish light of the moon and the unsteady flicker of a single large candle. Off to the left stands a larger-than-life wooden crucifix. As the opera begins, center stage, prostrate before an altar spilling over with spring flowers devoted to the Virgin Mary is the novice nun Susanna. Other nuns, concerned about Susanna's mental condition, given her long prayer sessions and her increasing isolation, gather about Susanna and try to comfort her. The act is futile, though, underscored by Hindemith's use of tolling bells (signifying a feeling of doom) and a single extended organ note (a G-sharp held amid other orchestral movements for more than five minutes). Such an extended note would suggest to any organist that something was wrong with the instrument, and that a valve had become stuck. Here, Hindemith prepares the audience for Susanna's fast-approaching calamitous emotional collapse, signaling musically how something is clearly broken in the convent.

Susanna finds herself increasingly agitated by the heavy smell of the early spring lilacs outside the chapel windows. Suddenly, as a flute hits a halting staccato series of notes that suggest the spring wind rich with the musky smell, Susanna, overtaken by her repressed sexuality, chants an invocation welcoming Satan. An older nun immediately cautions her against such wickedness, telling her of another novitiate long ago whose erotic indulgences had led the order to brick her up alive behind the altar. However, Susanna is beyond reason—a preternaturally

large spider crawls out of the darkness behind the altar and entangles itself in Susanna's hair, symbolic of her lustful nature and the dementia she is enduring as that primitive nature is released. She tosses away her veil and, shockingly, rips the loin-cloth off the statue of the crucified Christ and attempts to intertwine her legs about the figure.

Amid a wild burst of dissonance from the orchestra, Susanna, now wracked by guilt, demands that the nuns who have witnessed her desecration wall her up. The stage is suspended for a moment—the moonlight disappears. The nuns gather to pray and try to compel Susanna to repent. A storm begins to howl outside the chapel, excessive percussion shakes the stage. The distraught woman refuses. As the opera closes, with harsh brass bursts underscoring the drama of damnation, the circle of nuns chant “Satan,” a recognition of the loss of Susanna's soul, even as Susanna gathers herself to full height and closes the opera ironically with a feeling not of damnation or repentance but of pride and unfazed dignity.

It is difficult to appreciate the disturbing impact of the theatrical experience—not merely the provocative subject matter but the lurid theatrical effects, the claustrophobic feel of the stage darkness, the growing sense of doom, and the unnerving musical effects that mimic the natural phenomena outside the chapel. However, the critical establishment, ignoring the groundbreaking atmospheric effects of Hindemith's technically intricate orchestral score, focused rather on the subject matter and decried the opera's sacrilege and the use of German opera, long a noble part of German culture, as a vehicle for such decadent subject matter.

IMPACT

The operatic work immediately dominated artistic discussion (in subsequent stagings, theatergoers had to sign a pledge promising not to interrupt the performance). However, amid that generation's decade-long avant-garde assault on all conventional expressions of art, the controversy ebbed even as Hindemith faced a far more serious dilemma as the National Socialists came to power with an aggressive agenda of using art as propa-

ganda that glorified its political vision. The government viewed as decadent, obscure, and elitist the dense experimental works of composers such as Hindemith. Hindemith avoided outright condemnation by virtue of his international status—but in 1938, he emigrated to the United States. He would not return to Europe until 1953. During the last decades of his life, he was remarkably productive, but his voluminous works edged away from the experimental dissonant sounds of his 1920's work. Thus, *Sancta Susanna* was eclipsed by Hindemith's own more traditional later work.

Sancta Susanna itself has not secured a position in the international repertoire. Not so much because of its controversial look at sexual repression, its depiction of sexual desire, and its harsh critique of abstinence and the Roman Catholic holy life (although when it was staged in New York as part of the Hindemith Centennial in 1995, it was the subject of condemnation by Catholic groups), but more because of its staging. The opera requires eccentric instrumentation (an addition to the organ, a xylophone, bells, a celesta, a large gong, and a harp), has an unconventional musical score (part of Hindemith's well-documented theories of expanding the nature of musical sound itself), had difficult staging instructions that involve an intricate system of theatrical effects (although it has been proposed for cinematic treatment), and has a decidedly hallucinatory atmosphere and unsettling ending that puts off audiences. It is seen now largely as a kind of closet-drama, a period piece that testifies to an era when music boldly sought to startle audiences into rethinking the role music plays in a culture and, in turn, seeing the composer as provocateur.

—Joseph Dewey

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Fatty Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter

mentary, January, 2002. Discusses Hindemith's musical education, career, and compositions.

SEE ALSO: June 6, 1929: Luis Buñuel's *Un Chien Andalou* Shocks Parisian Audience; Mar. 9, 1956: British Conductor-Composer Is Arrested for Possessing Pornography; Feb. 23, 1963: Play Accuses Pope Pius XII of Complicity in the Holocaust; May 21, 2003: Sexually Provocative Film *The Brown Bunny* Premieres at Cannes Film Festival; Sept. 30, 2005: Danish Newspaper's Prophet Muhammad Cartoons Stir Violent Protests.

April 12, 1922

FILM STAR FATTY ARBUCKLE IS ACQUITTED OF MANSLAUGHTER

Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle was one of America's most popular actor-comedians at the beginning of the 1920's. He became the target of national outrage after he was accused of causing the death of actor Virginia Rappe, whom he reportedly raped at a party at a San Francisco hotel. Although he was acquitted, his career virtually ended.

LOCALE: San Francisco, California

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; murder and suicide; sex crimes

KEY FIGURES

Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle (1887-1933), silent-film star

Virginia Rappe (1891-1921), silent-film actor and model

Margaret Maude Delmont (fl. 1920's), self-employed celebrity-news correspondent

Matthew A. Brady (1876-1952), district attorney of San Francisco

Gavin McNab (1869-1927), Arbuckle's defense attorney

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1921, Roscoe "Fatty" Arbuckle was one of the world's most famous film stars and the top actor at Paramount Pictures. After leading a hardscrabble life on the vaudeville theater circuit, he finally achieved fame around 1913 by starring in a series of comedy shorts produced by Mack Sennett, who had made stars of Charles Chaplin, Buster Keaton, and Mabel Normand. Despite his immense weight (250-300 pounds), Arbuckle was known for his deft comedic moves and his ability to take a fall. His sweet, humble persona made him a fan favorite with moviegoers while his lively sense of humor made him popular with his fellow Hollywood stars.

In the summer of 1921, his new contract with Paramount promised him an annual salary of one million dollars, making him the highest paid film star in the history of cinema, to that time. Looking to celebrate his newfound fortune, Arbuckle decided to take a Labor Day weekend trip to San Francisco, California, with his friends, directors Lowell Sherman and Fred Fischbach. Together, they drove to San Francisco and checked into a suite at the St. Francis Hotel.

Arbuckle hoped for a quiet weekend visiting



Fatty Arbuckle, seated second from right, at his manslaughter trial in San Francisco. (Library of Congress)

friends but Fischbach insisted on throwing a party. He ordered bootleg liquor, had it delivered to the suite, and invited to the hotel his Hollywood friends and hangers-on who were in town that weekend. Among those celebrities in town was actor Virginia Rappe, who had appeared in some minor films, and Margaret Maude Delmont, a media correspondent known primarily for accumulating potentially damaging evidence on stars. Arbuckle was unhappy to have either of them there, especially Rappe, who had a reputation as a “loose” woman, sometime prostitute, and a bad drunk. The party quickly devolved into a drunken revel, with Arbuckle fearing that the noise would get them thrown out of the hotel.

Several hours into the party, Arbuckle went to change clothes in his bedroom and discovered an ill Rappe vomiting in the bathroom. Arbuckle would

later claim that he moved her to his bed and attempted to calm her down, though she continued to cry and scream. Her cries attracted the other partygoers, who found her lying on the bed with her clothes in disarray and sobbing incessantly. When attempts to calm her failed, the hotel doctor was called. After a brief examination, he declared that Rappe was merely intoxicated, and she was moved to another room. The party continued for the rest of the day and ended later that night.

The following day, Arbuckle checked out and left instructions that he would pay for Rappe’s room and medical costs. He and his friends returned to Los Angeles, believing everything would be fine. However, Rappe’s condition worsened. Two days later she was moved to a clinic where she was diagnosed with a ruptured bladder and acute peritonitis. She lapsed into a coma and died on September 9.

Delmont, when questioned by police, said that Rappe had been sexually assaulted by Arbuckle. San Francisco district attorney Matthew A. Brady, an ambitious attorney hoping to become California governor, promptly charged Arbuckle with first degree murder, a charge later changed to manslaughter.

Confident of vindication, Arbuckle surrendered to authorities, only to be returned to San Francisco and jailed. National newspapers, particularly *The New York Times* and the newspapers of William Randolph Hearst, including the *San Francisco Examiner*, devoted page after page to the story, printing lurid gossip and unfounded rumors about Arbuckle's alleged assault on Rappe. One legendary story relates that he sexually assaulted her with a soda or beer bottle. Groups around the country who already were decrying what they believed was an immoral Hollywood demanded the immediate withdrawal of all Arbuckle films from theaters; the theaters were quick to comply.

Fearing mass censorship, the studio bosses invited William H. Hays, a former Republican presidential candidate popular with religious conservatives and a former U.S. postmaster general, to become the industry's new morality czar. Hays founded the precursor of the Motion Picture Association of America (MPAA) and established a production code (known as the Hays Code) that dictated what could and could not be portrayed on film. Films hoping for release in theaters would first have to be approved by his office.

Arbuckle's first trial began in November, 1921, and he was defended by San Francisco attorney Gavin McNab. At trial, Arbuckle's conduct was questioned repeatedly by prosecutors, whereas Rappe's past was not admissible in court. Witnesses who were at the party in San Francisco were threatened with jail time if they did not corroborate the story that Arbuckle raped Rappe. Delmont, Arbuckle's chief accuser, did not even take the stand because district attorney Brady feared her story would fall apart under cross-examination. Even so, the trial ended in a hung jury, with eleven jurors voting not guilty and one juror (alleged to have ties with the district attorney's office) refusing

Fatty Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter

to vote anything but guilty. A second trial ended with the same result. A third trial allowed all the evidence to come forward. The jury deliberated for about five minutes before returning a not-guilty verdict on April 12, 1922. Some jurors even issued a public apology for all the pain and hardship Arbuckle had needlessly suffered.

Arbuckle's sense of triumph was short-lived, however. A few days after his acquittal, Hays announced that Arbuckle would be banned from appearing in any Hollywood film. In effect, he became the first actor to be blacklisted. Unable to perform as an actor, he began operating a popular Hollywood restaurant and directing low-budget films under aliases. The ban was eventually lifted, but no movie offers came his way. Despondent, he watched his marriage fall apart and battled both drug and alcohol addictions.

Arbuckle toured the vaudeville circuit again and was warmly received by the public. During the early 1930's, Warner Bros. studio cast him in a series of comedy shorts. When the films proved surprisingly popular at the box office, Warner signed Arbuckle to star in a feature film, his first since 1921. Arbuckle declared it "the best day of my life." That night he suffered a heart attack in his sleep and died. His good friend, Buster Keaton, declared that Arbuckle had literally "died of a broken heart."

IMPACT

The Arbuckle scandal had many far-reaching consequences for the film industry and journalism. It turned the private lives of actors into fodder for entertainment and established disturbing trends: paparazzi stalking stars in search of scandal and tabloid reportage. The blacklisting of Arbuckle established the precedent of banning actors, writers, and directors who did not conform to the movie industry's rules of behavior. Blacklisting would come to fruition during the Red Scare of the 1950's, when actors and others in the entertainment industry would be banned from work based simply on innuendo and rumors that they had communist associations. The Hays Code remained in force until the 1960's, thus providing incalculable influence on which movies were made and how sexuality, adult

themes, and language were depicted in film. The scandal also revealed the media penchant for planting the idea in the public's mind that a person was guilty before he or she had been tried in a court of law.

—Richard Rothrock

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Anger, Kenneth. *Hollywood Babylon*. New ed. New York: Bell, 1981. The original, salacious, Hollywood tell-all book, which discusses the scandalous (though largely untrue) gossip whispered for decades behind Hollywood's closed doors. Complete with lurid photographs (some quite shocking), this collection remains a classic.

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June 22, 1922**BRITISH PRIME MINISTER DAVID LLOYD GEORGE IS ACCUSED OF SELLING HONORS**

Prime Minister David Lloyd George sold noble titles to strengthen his position and that of his new Coalition Liberal Party. By granting honors to war profiteers and even criminals, including traitors and tax evaders, he scandalized British society and fell from power.

LOCALE: London, England**CATEGORIES:** Government; politics; royalty; corruption**KEY FIGURES**

David Lloyd George (1863-1945), prime minister of the United Kingdom, 1916-1922

Frederick Guest (1875-1937), Coalition Liberal Party chief whip

Maundy Gregory (1877-1941), con artist, magazine publisher, and Lloyd George's co-conspirator

George Younger (1851-1929), Conservative Party chief whip

Sir Rowland Hodge (1859-1950), British shipbuilder convicted of hoarding food during World War I

Sir Joseph Robinson (1840-1929), South African industrialist

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The concept of buying into the nobility was not new in the United Kingdom. In the seventeenth century, both James I and Charles I sold titles to operate outside the financial restrictions of Parliament. Beginning with William Pitt in 1783, prime ministers employed the practice to cover expenses and win political favors. By the early twentieth century, a growing electorate required political parties to run campaigns. It was not enough to knight landowners; both the Liberals and the Conservatives needed the money of industrialists and businessmen anxious to enter the ranks of the nobility.

In late 1916, David Lloyd George used a split in the wartime Coalition government to force Prime Minister H. H. Asquith's cabinet out of office and take part of his Liberal Party. While he was a dynamic and forceful leader, Lloyd George had no party apparatus or funding to support him in the next general election. To make matters worse, Parliament was soon to approve voting rights for all adult males.

Lloyd George turned to Coalition Liberal Party chief whip Frederick Guest to raise the needed funds. For the previous twenty years, prime ministers had relied on their party's chief whips to find appropriate individuals deserving of titles as well as important donors. Guest took this system to a higher level. Between 1916 and 1922, he found 87 persons who were willing to give up to £50,000 for a peerage, 237 who donated £30,000 for a baronetcy, and 1,500 who paid up to £10,000 for a knighthood. Guest was helped by a series of middlemen, or "touts." The most famous was Maundy Gregory.

Gregory was a successful con artist who created the society magazine *Mayfair & Town Topics* in 1910. The magazine was in reality a scheme to obtain cash from the nouveau riche, who paid to have flattering biographies written by Gregory in the hopes of gaining respectability. As an outgrowth of the magazine, Gregory started a detective and credit-rating agency two years later, making him a unique asset for Guest. Gregory knew those wishing to enter society and, more important, those who could afford to pay the price.

Lists of those receiving honors are traditionally posted at New Years and the monarch's official birthday (as the Birthday Honours List) in June. Lloyd George had long been seen as a maverick and as antiestablishment. His first list in 1917 was modest, and many hoped it marked a new trend. Conservative James Gascoyne-Cecil, Lord Salisbury, was not convinced. His worse fears were realized with

the prime minister's June, 1917, list, but his complaints were ignored. Lloyd George successfully presented Salisbury as a mere elitist. With World War I taking a priority in the minds of the public, Guest and Gregory's system went unnoticed.

At war's end, Gregory revived the concept of *Mayfair & Town Topics* under the new title *The Whitehall Gazette*. The magazine's name, typeface, and paper were designed to convince readers that it was a government publication. Once again, Gregory devoted a segment to profile wealthy individuals who paid him for access into society. The war had made many individuals rich, and they made easy targets for Gregory to use and then pass on to Guest.

The highpoint of Lloyd George's career was De-



David Lloyd George. (Library of Congress)

cember 14, 1918. He won the coupon election with a wide Coalition Party majority, but his party actually controlled only 127 seats in the House of Commons. His junior partner, the Conservative Party, held 332 seats. The need to build a new party base became more crucial than ever. Protesting soldiers, strikes, the issue of Irish independence, and the Paris peace conference all combined to keep the public's focus away from Gregory. He also used each of these to solicit donations for Lloyd George and his party.

It was not until January of 1921 that the honors lists truly made national headlines. Lloyd George had put forward war profiteers before this, but he now nominated Sir Rowland Hodge. A shipbuilder, Hodge had been convicted of hoarding food during the war. In 1918, he had sought to purchase a title through the influence of Winston Churchill and then Conservative Party chief whip George Younger. Both found Hodge vulgar and thus rejected him. Even King George V, who had met him only once, found Hodge to be disagreeable. Over the king's objections, the prime minister successfully made Hodge a baronet.

Lloyd George allowed the political waters to calm. For the Birthday Honours List of June 3, 1922, he recommended persons who were beyond the bounds of acceptability. Samuel Waring was a war profiteer who reorganized his company to avoid paying his shareholders. William Vestey moved his meatpacking business out of Britain in 1915 to avoid paying taxes. Both Archibald Williamson and John Drughorn had been convicted of trading with the enemy. Even worse, however, was Sir Joseph Robinson. As a prospector in South Africa, he had made much of his money by buying undervalued land and then reselling it to his own company at inflated prices. He had been convicted of fraud and fined £500,000. He fought the case all the way to the Privy Council, which had ruled against him in November of 1921, and lost this case as well. Members of the council in the House of Lords were incensed that he was now to be made one of them. Jan Smuts, the prime minister of South Africa, was angry that he had not been consulted, and the British king was furious with the selection.

Lord Harris used Robinson to launch the assault on Lloyd George and his list on June 22. After the South African's business practices were made public, the prime minister had no choice but to have Robinson decline the honor. On June 29, the prime minister announced Robinson's decision, but it did not calm his critics. According to historian Geoffrey Searle, Lloyd George became a victim of both the left and right. The former disliked the whole concept of the nobility and felt betrayed by the prime minister, while the latter feared that if he was not stopped he would dilute the English nobility. Equally important, Guest and Gregory's work had undercut Lloyd George's Coalition Party partners. Younger revealed that Guest brought several Conservative supporters over to the Coalition Liberals by offering them titles. On July 17, the prime minister was attacked simultaneously in both the Commons and the Lords. After seven hours of debate, to protect himself, Lloyd George agreed to create a royal commission to investigate the selling of titles, but the die was already cast.

IMPACT

From 1916, the Conservatives had been willing to operate under Lloyd George only as long as he remained an effective force. The honors scandal convinced many party members that it was time to chart an independent course. On October 16, the Conservatives left, the Coalition collapsed, and without a political base, Lloyd George was forced to resign. He then used the funds Guest had secured to purchase the *Daily Chronicle*. The royal commission issued its nine-page report the next month. It did little more than suggest that a scrutiny committee be established to investigate all candidates.

In April, 1923, the Conservatives introduced the Honours Prevention of Abuses Bill, which sought to punish those trying to buy or sell titles. The Conservatives fell from power before the bill could make its way through Parliament. Shortly after his return to office, Stanley Baldwin reintroduced the bill in June of 1925, and it received a royal assent in August. In 1933, Gregory became the only person ever convicted under the Prevention of Abuses Act

of 1925. He died in France in 1941, but his name and the honors scandal he helped create remain in British political discourse.

—Edmund D. Potter

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Civil Servant Is Arrested for Spying; Mar. 2-Sept. 25, 1963: John Profumo Affair Rocks British Government; June 22, 1972: Police Arrest Architect John Poulson for Bribery and Fraud;

Nov. 20, 1974: British Politician John Stonehouse Fakes His Suicide; 1985-1986: Westland Affair Shakes Prime Minister Thatcher's Government.

January 18, 1923

ACTOR WALLACE REID'S DEATH IN DRUG REHAB SHAKES FILM INDUSTRY

After years of drug abuse and overwork, silent-film star Wallace Reid collapsed on set. His death during rehabilitation in a well-known sanatorium for the stars brought extensive and unwelcome publicity to the film industry and led to the development of production codes for filmmaking.

LOCALE: Hollywood, California

CATEGORIES: Drugs; film; Hollywood; medicine and health care; popular culture

KEY FIGURES

Wallace Reid (1891-1923), American silent-film star

Dorothy Davenport (1895-1977), American silent-film star who was married to Reid

Jesse L. Lasky (1880-1958), American film producer

William H. Hays (1879-1954), film-studio consultant, U.S. postmaster general, 1921-1922

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1921, Wallace Reid was perhaps the most popular male film star in Hollywood. Fewer than two years later, he was dead, the result of years of morphine abuse combined with overwork. Although his death did not mark Hollywood's first big scandal, it was, according to groundbreaking film director Cecil B. DeMille, the event that almost destroyed Hollywood.

Reid got his start in film at a time when filmmaking was quick, cheap, and primitive. E. J. Fleming points out in his 2007 biography of Reid that about the time Reid made his first film, *The Phoenix*

(1910), the biggest stars of the day were stage actors based in New York who frequently took their plays on tour to the small towns of the United States. Films, in contrast, were little more than "filler" material. That is, early films were six- to seven-minute entertainments that would be shown during the intermissions of live theater and variety acts.

Films were shot quickly and cheaply in New York, Chicago, New Orleans, and other cities, usually taking no more than a day or two to outline, shoot, and edit. The independent filmmakers of the early 1910's had little money to invest in film production; they set up cameras wherever something visually interesting (and free) was happening—like a parade or a house fire—and wrote film scripts enabling them to make use of the resulting footage. These filmmakers made hundreds of short films each year. Between 1910 and 1915, Reid appeared in almost 140 films; he also directed more than fifty films and wrote screenplays for twenty-five.

At the time, the most powerful organization in filmmaking was Thomas A. Edison's Motion Picture Patents Company (MPPC), based in New Jersey. Inventor Edison owned the patents for movie cameras, projectors, and even film stock, and he rigorously and unscrupulously harassed independent filmmakers. According to Fleming and other writers, independent filmmakers settled in Hollywood partly because it had an advantageous climate but mostly because it was out of the MPPC's reach. By 1915, MPPC patents were vacated.

Over the course of the next decade, these legal changes, along with technological advances, allowed filmmakers in Hollywood to make longer,

more involved narratives. However, longer films took longer to shoot and produce, requiring a larger investment of capital on the part of the producer or studio. The drive to recoup that investment created the star system in Hollywood. After receiving glowing reviews for an extremely small part in D. W. Griffith's epic (and racist) film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915), Reid began appearing in other feature films.

After 1915, Reid worked primarily with film producer Jesse L. Lasky, who recognized that Reid was an exceptionally talented actor in a variety of genres; over the course of the next half decade, Reid appeared in thrillers, Westerns, racing movies, period dramas, comedies, and romances. His films turned a profit, and the studio he worked for did almost everything possible to ensure that he could continue to work. This included prescribing morphine for Reid to get him to complete a film, enabling what turned into morphine addiction, exploiting him as he declined physically, and then hypocritically capitalizing on his unsuccessful battle with drugs.

During the production of *The Valley of the Giants* (1919), Reid was injured during a stunt, leaving him with serious lacerations and intense pain in his hips and back. The drug of choice at the time for severe pain was morphine. A studio doctor, rushed to the scene of the accident, gave Reid morphine to enable him to shoot the picture. From 1919, Reid grew dependant on increasing amounts of morphine and its illicit derivative, heroin.

Derived initially from opium during the early nineteenth century, morphine had been used to treat everything from ghastly wounds in the American Civil War (1861-1865) to coughs and hiccups. Morphine stimulates two types of central nervous system receptors, relieving pain, producing euphoria, inducing sedation, and reducing anxiety, all without putting the user to sleep. Writer Jill Jonnes notes in her 1996 book on drugs and drug use that many Hollywood figures between 1915 and 1925 used morphine and other opioids regularly, sometimes in combination with cocaine, alcohol, or both. Long-term users rapidly become tolerant of the drug and physically dependent upon continued use.

Reid's Death in Drug Rehab Shakes Film Industry

Tolerance means that long-term users must increase the dosage they take to experience therapeutic effects. It was an open secret in Hollywood that Reid was unable to function without enormous amounts of morphine, and that when he was unable to get it from studio doctors, he bought heroin from drug pushers who brought it to him on the set and at home.

Reid also became physically dependent upon morphine. Although the exact mechanism remains unclear, it is believed that morphine increases the number of opioid receptors in the brain and lessens the body's ability to self-regulate pain and promote pleasure. As his biographer notes, Reid frequently experienced severe withdrawal symptoms that included anxiety, insomnia, irritability, and tremors.

Throughout the early 1920's, Reid suffered from severe weakness, repeated illness, and substantial weight loss. He was given little chance to rest between films. A crass relationship developed between Reid and his studio bosses: He was exploited for his profit-making potential and he reportedly



Wallace Reid. (AP/Wide World Photos)

threw tantrums in return. Fleming said that while most actors could expect a week or two off between films, Reid received three to four days and sometimes as little as six hours. Initially his producers fed him morphine and kept him working. By the early 1920's, however, Reid was a full-blown addict who would blackmail directors in the middle of film production; he earned more than one million dollars for his films and spent almost all of it on drugs.

Throughout 1922, Reid's drug use had been increasingly alluded to in newspapers and magazines, although his name was not used. Eventually, Reid was desperately weak and, after pleading from his wife, actor Dorothy Davenport, he entered a well-known sanatorium for the stars. In 1919, he weighed 190 pounds. By the time he entered the sanatorium in December, 1922, he weighed less than 130 pounds. He could not lift his head from his pillow without fainting.

A particularly severe consequence of opioid addiction is the damage it does to the user's immune system. Those who inject heroin intravenously, as Reid did, tend to lose the ability to fight off infections. From mid-December, 1922, to mid-January, 1923, Reid was frequently in a coma after suffering sustained fevers as high as 103 degrees. He died on January 18 from pneumonia. Even in death he was exploited: News of his grave illness and death was used to publicize his last films and the products he endorsed.

IMPACT

Along with other scandals of the time—including the suicide of film star Olive Thomas in 1920, the rape scandal involving comedian Fatty Arbuckle in 1921, and the unsolved murder of director William Desmond Taylor in 1922—Reid's drug use and death was exploited by the news media. Newspapers covered these scandals but presented them as evidence of a pervasive moral rot in Hollywood. As one might expect, media exposés led to calls for reform, and studio executives heeded those calls to ensure the film industry's survival.

In 1922, studio bosses invited former U.S. postmaster general William H. Hays to California to

head a consortium called the Motion Picture Producers and Distributors of America (now called the Motion Picture Association of America, or MPAA). Fueling the effort, as usual, was a desire to make a profit by avoiding the making of films audiences would shy from. Americans wanted to see films dealing with topics other than the glorification of substance abuse and criminal behavior. In part, Reid's death, and the scandals involving other celebrities at the time, helped fuel the changing mood of film audiences and prompted the formation of the MPAA.

Hays's role, initially, was to advise studio bosses on what types of films not to shoot, leading to the development of the Motion Picture Production Code of 1930, better known as the Hays Production Code. The code, which was voluntary, began to outline the moral do's and don'ts of filmmaking. A rating system (for example, PG, PG-13, and R) developed from this early production code.

Davenport, too, had a mission after her husband's death. After enabling the addiction that led to his death in 1923, she spoke to the print media but misrepresented Reid's illness. She claimed that he had become addicted in 1921—and not around 1919, as many already knew—while shooting a film in New York City. News stories suggested that Hollywood was not to blame for Reid's addiction and death. Instead, his addiction and death were proof of the evils of morphine. Within six months of Reid's death, Davenport was able to convert him from a symbol of excess into a symbolic victim of a national drug problem. Later in 1923 she released the film *Human Wreckage* and toured the country as Mrs. Wallace Reid, lecturing on the dangers of morphine addiction while showing her film as evidence. Hays gave her crusade his full blessing and support.

—Michael R. Meyers

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SEE ALSO: Feb. 1, 1922: Director Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's Acting Career; Apr. 12, 1922: Film Star Fatty Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter; Jan. 1, 1924: Film Star Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. Dines; Nov. 19, 1924: Film Producer Thomas H. Ince Dies After Weekend on Hearst's Yacht; 1928-1929: Actor Is Suspected of Falsely Claiming to Be an American Indian; Aug. 31, 1948: Film Star Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession; May, 1955: Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past; Feb. 25, 1977: Film Producer David Begelman Is Found to Have Forged Checks; July 28, 2006: Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making Anti-Semitic Remarks.

March 2, 1923

U.S. SENATE INVESTIGATES VETERANS BUREAU CHIEF FOR FRAUD

Charles R. Forbes, a World War I hero who had campaigned for U.S. president Warren G.

Harding, was chosen by Harding to manage the Veterans Bureau. A Senate investigation revealed Forbes had been looting the bureau. He was found guilty of defrauding the U.S. government and sentenced to two years in prison. The Forbes debacle was the first in a long line of scandals that plagued the Harding administration.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; politics; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Charles R. Forbes (1878?-1952), director of the U.S. Veterans Bureau, 1921-1923, and a World War I veteran

Warren G. Harding (1865-1923), president of the United States, 1921-1923

Florence Harding (1860-1924), First Lady of the United States, 1921-1923

Elias Mortimer (fl. 1920's), sales representative and lobbyist

Charles E. Sawyer (1860-1924), Harding family physician, brigadier general in the U.S. Army Medical Corps, and chairman of the Federal Hospitalization Board

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Rumors of misconduct in the U.S. Veterans Bureau began to circulate in Washington, D.C., in the fall of 1922. War veterans in the U.S. Congress demanded a formal inquiry. President Warren G. Harding heard from friends about the suspicious activities of Veterans Bureau director Charles R. Forbes, but Harding refused to believe accusations about his poker-playing buddy. The general public would not know the dimensions of the scandal until a U.S. Senate committee began public hearings in October, 1923.

Harding had first met Forbes when the newly elected senator from Ohio and his wife took a ten-day trip to Hawaii in February, 1915. Forbes, in charge of construction at the Pearl Harbor naval base, showed the two the sights of Hawaii. Forbes visited them later in Washington, became a particular favorite of Florence Harding, joined Warren Harding's poker parties, and played an active role in the 1920 presidential campaign. Forbes proudly described his wartime service during World War I. A major in the Signal Corps, he was awarded a Croix de Guerre from the French government, a Distinguished Service Medal by the United States, and promoted to lieutenant colonel. He never mentioned that two months after enlisting as a private in 1900 he was absent without leave (AWOL), was caught, then reinstated, and received a good-conduct discharge at the rank of sergeant in 1907.

First Lady Harding chose as her special project to take care of her "boys," wounded war veterans, and pressured Harding to put Forbes in charge of veterans' affairs. She also insisted that her personal physician, homeopath Charles E. Sawyer, become the White House doctor; Harding gave him the rank of brigadier general in the Army Medical Corps Reserve and appointed him chairman of the Federal Hospitalization Board.

Forbes was sworn in as chairman of the Bureau of War Risk Insurance on April 21, 1921, and took over as head of the Veterans Bureau when Congress created the bureau in August to consolidate agencies concerned with veterans. Unsatisfied with powers Congress had granted, Forbes persuaded the president to issue executive orders on April 29, 1922, transferring control of a \$35.6 million hospital construction fund from the Treasury Department to him and shifting management of warehouses at Perryville, Maryland, which stored supplies for all federal hospitals from the Public Health Service to his bureau.

Sawyer, who had never liked or trusted Forbes, complained to Harding that when he left town in May, Forbes got the Hospitalization Board to approve construction of unneeded hospitals. After visiting the Perryville warehouses on October 14, Sawyer alerted Harding to strange shipments of

goods leaving the facilities. Harding did not believe him. That same month, the American Legion called for Sawyer's dismissal from office for delaying hospital construction, while lavishly praising Forbes. However, as stories of misconduct multiplied, legion posts supported the December demand by the Disabled American Veterans for an investigation.

By January, 1923, enough evidence reached Harding to finally persuade him that Forbes had betrayed his trust. He called Forbes to the White House and demanded his resignation. After an angry confrontation, Harding agreed to let Forbes depart for Europe and resign from there; the resignation arrived February 15. The administration announced a major reorganization of the Veterans Bureau on January 31. The chief counsel of the bureau resigned the next day and committed suicide on March 12.

Demands for a full investigation were now unstoppable. After the Senate authorized a probe of the Veterans Bureau on March 2, the lead counsel of the committee carefully gathered evidence for nine months before starting public hearings on October 22. The first witness on the following day was Elias Mortimer, a lobbyist for various businesses who was hardly unbiased. Angered by an affair between Forbes and Mortimer's wife that destroyed his marriage, Mortimer was eager for revenge. Having been an enthusiastic participant in Forbes's nefarious activities, he knew all the details. He described a trip he and his wife had taken with Forbes in June, 1922, at Mortimer's expense, to select sites for new hospitals. His account of continual wild parties replete with liquor and gambling delighted reporters but shocked the public in Prohibition era America.

As they approached Chicago, Forbes complained of needing money and requested \$5,000. Mortimer called Forbes into the bathroom of Forbes's Chicago hotel suite and handed over ten \$500 bills on behalf of the president of a construction company who hoped to win hospital building contracts. Only contractors who "lent" Forbes money successfully bid on hospital construction contracts. Mortimer also provided examples of Forbes profiting from

bureau purchases of land during that trip, including having the bureau pay \$105,000 for a vineyard in California that had cost its owner less than \$20,000, in return for a \$25,000 kickback.

Forbes's management of the Perryville medical warehouses provided yet another tale of massive corruption. On November 14, 1922, Forbes had convinced Harding's coordinator of the federal budget to approve a three-page list of what Forbes claimed were damaged goods to be sold for whatever price Forbes could get. A plot had been prepared and swung into immediate action. On November 15, Forbes added two additional unapproved lists and signed a contract selling new supplies at a small fraction of cost. That same day fifteen empty freight cars arrived at Perryville and left the next day fully loaded with brand new sheets, towels, gauze, and other hospital materials. Forbes sold new hospital bedsheets for 20 cents that Veterans Bureau hospitals were currently purchasing for about \$1 each. An often repeated estimate claims Forbes sold for less than \$600,000 supplies that were valued at between \$5 and \$7 million. How much he received in kickbacks is unknown.

Mortimer's three weeks of testimony, replete with unsavory details that reporters and the public eagerly followed, were high points of the nine-week hearings. After the hearings ended in December, the Senate referred the evidence to the Department of Justice.

Forbes, along with the contracting company president who provided the notorious \$5,000 "loan," went on trial in Chicago in November, 1924, accused of conspiring to defraud the U.S. government. Once again, Mortimer was the star witness, continuing his vendetta with Forbes. The \$5,000 payment and the lucrative contracts the construction company subsequently received were central to the prosecution's case. On January 30, 1925, after nine weeks of testimony and argument, the jury took five hours to find both Mortimer and Forbes guilty. On February 2, the judge sentenced the two felons to two years in prison and fined them \$10,000 each. Forbes appealed his sentence, reaching the U.S. Supreme Court and delaying incarceration at Leavenworth Penitentiary until March 21,

1926. He was paroled on November 26, 1927, after serving twenty months in prison. Forbes died on April 10, 1952, at Walter Reed Army Medical Center in Washington, D.C., and was buried at Arlington National Cemetery.

IMPACT

The Veterans Bureau affair was the first scandal of the Harding administration to become public knowledge and the only scandal that did so while Harding was still alive. Other scandals involving corruption in the Departments of the Interior and Justice, and enforcement of Prohibition, would erupt after his death. The scandals are frequently lumped together under the name Teapot Dome, which involved the illegal sale of naval reserve oil, even though the other cases of corruption had nothing to do with oil. The scandals destroyed Harding's reputation and led to his being deemed one of the worst U.S. presidents.

—Milton Berman

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SEE ALSO: May 30, 1923: U.S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty's Aide Commits Suicide; Oct. 22, 1923: U.S. Senate Begins Hearings on Teapot Dome Oil Leases; May 12, 1924: Kentucky Congressman John W. Langley Is Convicted of Violating the Volstead Act; 1927:

President Warren G. Harding's Lover Publishes Tell-All Memoir; Nov. 16, 1951: Federal Tax Official Resigns After Accepting Bribes; Sept. 22, 1958: President Eisenhower's Chief of Staff Resigns for Influence Selling; Oct. 7, 1963: Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson Aide Resigns over Crime Connections; Sept. 21, 1977: Carter Cabinet Member Resigns over Ethics Violations; Dec. 16, 1982: Congress Cites Environmental Protection Agency Chief for Contempt; Dec. 11, 1997: HUD Secretary Henry Cisneros Is Indicted for Lying to Federal Agents.

May 30, 1923

U.S. ATTORNEY GENERAL HARRY M. DAUGHERTY'S AIDE COMMITS SUICIDE

U.S. attorney general Harry M. Daugherty brought his personal and political confidant, Jesse W. Smith, into the Justice Department upon assuming office in 1921. In 1923, Daugherty informed Smith that he was under suspicion for fraud and influence peddling. Stunned and depressed, Smith committed suicide. His death led to public scrutiny and investigations that revealed the scandals of the Warren G. Harding administration.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; corruption; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Jesse W. Smith (1872-1923), U.S. attorney general Daugherty's aide

Harry M. Daugherty (1860-1941), U.S. attorney general, 1921-1924

Warren G. Harding (1865-1923), president of the United States, 1921-1923

Thomas W. Miller (1886-1973), U.S. alien property custodian, 1921-1925

SUMMARY OF EVENT

When Warren G. Harding became president in 1921, he brought into his administration members of his political machine known as the Ohio Gang. Chief among the Gang was his friend, political adviser, and newly appointed U.S. attorney general Harry M. Daugherty. Daugherty, in turn, brought close friend Jesse W. Smith into the U.S. Department of Justice, where he became Daugherty's spokesperson and deal maker.

Smith had full access to department records and to personnel and privileges. At the Justice Department, Smith wrote letters, gave orders, and requested department funds, all in Daugherty's name. He had free access to official cars and department railroad passes. Daugherty required Smith to travel with him on all political trips, sleeping in the same hotel suite with the door between them open. Daugherty became so dependent upon Smith that he moved him into his own apartment. Smith became Daugherty's valet, secretary, bookkeeper, and errand boy. He also shared Daugherty's access to the White House, visiting at least twice weekly for White House poker sessions. He often accompanied the president's party on weekend excursions.

Smith and other members of the Ohio Gang rented a house at 1615 K Street, which became known as the Little Green House, from which they would run their fraudulent schemes. The house became a private club, in which Smith and other politicians met with those seeking favors and willing to pay for influence. Among these persons were organized crime figures, convicts seeking pardons, indicted persons wanting charges against them dropped, bootleggers seeking liquor permits, and foreigners trying to recover properties seized by the government during World War I. Government-seized liquor was available in unlimited quantities for entertainment and for gifts to guests, families, and friends.

A major scandal of the Harding administration involved Smith and Thomas W. Miller, the U.S. alien property custodian. Miller had control of thirty-one thousand active trusts and several thousand real estate properties that the government had confiscated from German owners during World War I. One such case involved 49 percent of the American Metal Company's shares, valued at six million dollars, which were taken in 1917 from the German Metallgesellschaft & Metall Bank. The shares were sold by the alien property custodian, A. Mitchell Palmer, who invested the proceeds in liberty bonds.

In September, 1921, the Moses family, German owners of the Metall Bank, sought to recover its property, now worth seven million dollars. Richard Merton, of the Moses family, claimed that a Swiss corporation, Societe Suisse, also controlled by the Moses family, had purchased the American shares in March, 1917, before the United States entered the war. However, the transfer was not in writing. Seeking a favorable decision, Merton contacted Smith through a lobbyist-politician, John King, and on September 20, Smith, Miller, Merton, and King met in New York to discuss Merton's claim.

The next day, Miller, acting head of the U.S. Alien Property Bureau, formally agreed to honor Merton's claim. Two days later, Attorney General Daugherty's office approved payment on the claim. Miller drew two checks on the U.S. Treasury totaling \$6,453,979.97, along with liberty bonds valued

at \$514.350, and took them to Merton in New York. In gratitude, Merton gave a celebration dinner for Miller, King, and Smith, and presented each of them with expensive cigarette cases as mementos. Merton also paid King a service fee of \$391,300 in bonds and \$50,000 cash. In turn, King gave \$224,000 to Smith and \$50,000 to Miller for expediting payment of the claim. Smith deposited \$50,000 in bonds to the "Jess Smith Extra No. 3" account, a political account in Daugherty's brother's bank (Midland National at the Washington Court House, Ohio). Daugherty later claimed that Smith deposited the bonds as partial payment of \$60,000 in campaign contributions that Smith had failed to return. Daugherty burned the bank records shortly after Smith's suicide.

Another scheme perpetrated by Smith was the sale of illegal liquor permits after the 1919 passage of the Eighteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution, which outlawed the sale and transport of liquor beginning in 1920. Government-seized liquor was stored in warehouses until legal permits could be issued for its sale and transport. Sometimes, shipments consigned to buyers in foreign countries were diverted to the Little Green House on K Street, and from there they were distributed to the White House, family friends, and cronies in the Ohio Gang.

After passage of the Volstead Act (1919), which defined illegal liquors and established a Prohibition Bureau to enforce the law, Smith began selling liquor permits to bootleggers. German-born George Remus had acquired seven liquor distilleries and needed permits to withdraw bonded liquor from those distilleries and warehouses without facing federal prosecution. Remus contacted Smith and, over time, paid Smith more than \$250,000 plus per-case fees for liquor permits. Within a year, Remus had distributed about 800,000 gallons of liquor on the bootleg market. After the Department of Justice indicted Remus, Smith received from Remus another \$30,000 to ensure that he would not serve time in jail. Despite Smith's assurances, Remus was sent to prison for bootlegging.

Another scam from which Smith profited was the nationwide showing of the 1921 Jack Dempsey-Georges Carpentier boxing-match film. The law

did not forbid showing the film, but it did outlaw its transport across state lines. Smith and film distributor Jap Muma arranged for a straw man, purportedly representing a charity or veterans' organization, to transport the films across state lines. The straw man would be arrested and fined, leaving the films to be shown throughout the state. Smith's job was to bribe federal judges who would fine but not jail the straw man. Eventually the films were shown in twenty states at a profit estimated at more than one million dollars for Smith and the distributors. When Justice Department investigators started preparing charges of conspiracy against the film distributors, the evidence suddenly disappeared from department files. One of the investigating agents was transferred to Haiti, and the other resigned.

In 1923, Harding voiced growing suspicion about his attorney general and his Ohio friends. Daugherty alerted Smith that he was under suspicion and would not be welcome on the president's planned trip to Alaska. Smith was in poor health, often moody, and increasingly paranoid. He suffered from diabetes and had never healed from appendicitis surgery in 1922. Upon learning that Harding was displeased with him, Smith returned to the Washington apartment and made a new will, leaving his estate to Daugherty; his brother, Roxy Stinson; and two of Smith's cousins. He gathered all his accounts and correspondence with Daugherty and files that he had taken from the Justice Department and burned everything in a wastebasket.

Daugherty, who was worried about Smith, sent a Justice Department assistant to the shared apartment to check on him. On May 30 the assistant found Smith in pajamas and dressing gown on the floor with a gun in his hand. He had shot himself in the left temple; the bullet had exited his forehead and was lodged in the doorjamb. Smith was dead of an apparent self-inflicted gunshot.

IMPACT

Smith's suicide was widely publicized, and it focused public attention on the Harding administration. Though published reports attributed Smith's suicide to ill health, rumors persisted linking the Ohio Gang to corruption. Harding's public state-

ment that his friends had betrayed his administration, combined with evidence of burned and missing papers, aroused further suspicions and led to U.S. Senate investigations, which revealed the scandals. Smith's former wife, Roxy Stinson, in whom he had confided, became the government's primary witness in the investigation of fraudulent activities by Smith and Daugherty.

President Harding died on August 2, 1923, before investigations were complete, but no evidence surfaced that pointed to the president's direct involvement in corruption. Daugherty was later tried but not convicted. In 1927, Miller was convicted and imprisoned for conspiracy to defraud the government. He was paroled in 1929 and pardoned by President Herbert Hoover in 1933. Investigations ultimately revealed that by fraud, graft, and theft, Smith and the Ohio Gang had cost the government an estimated \$2 billion during Harding's administration.

—Marguerite R. Plummer

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Investigating Organized Crime; Nov. 16, 1951: Federal Tax Official Resigns After Accepting Bribes; June 25, 1956: President Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of Tax Conspiracy; Sept. 22, 1958: President Eisenhower's Chief of Staff Resigns for Influence Selling; May 9, 1969: Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas Is Accused of Bribery; Feb. 2, 1980: Media Uncover FBI Sting Implicating Dozens of Lawmakers.

October 22, 1923

U.S. SENATE BEGINS HEARINGS ON TEAPOT DOME OIL LEASES

Teapot Dome in Wyoming was the site of one of several naval oil reserves on public land. A number of politicians opposed restrictions preventing oil companies from exploiting the deposits. Albert B. Fall, secretary of the interior, convinced the U.S. Navy secretary to turn over to him control of the oil lands. Fall then leased the lands to oil companies and received gifts of more than \$400,000. After knowledge of this became public, the scandal became a major issue in the 1924 presidential election.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Teapot Dome scandal; Oil reserves scandal; Elk Hills scandal

LOCALES: Salt Creek, Wyoming; Buena Vista and Elk Hills, California; Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; politics; business

KEY FIGURES

Albert B. Fall (1861-1944), U.S. secretary of the interior, 1921-1923

Laurence E. Doheny (1856-1935), president of the Pan-American Petroleum and Transport Company

Harry F. Sinclair (1876-1956), president of Mammoth Oil Company

Thomas J. Walsh (1859-1933), U.S. senator from Montana, 1913-1933

Warren G. Harding (1865-1923), president of the United States, 1921-1923

Calvin Coolidge (1872-1933), president of the United States, 1923-1929

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Before U.S. president Warren G. Harding died on August 2, 1923, he knew little about the crimes and corrupt activities of his subordinates. Their activities would ruin his reputation and lead historians to label him the worst president in U.S. history. The public knew even less about what was happening in Harding's administration. They were shocked when the head of the Veterans Bureau was convicted of embezzling government funds and collecting kickbacks on hospital construction contracts and on the sale of surplus goods. They also witnessed a scandal when the government's alien property custodian was jailed for accepting bribes when returning confiscated German property to legal owners. Furthermore, the attorney general of the United States had avoided prison only because a series of juries could not agree on a verdict. However, the scandal that came to symbolize the corruption of the era and provide a name for the whole tale of

what went wrong under Harding involved leases on naval oil reserves at Salt Creek (better known as Teapot Dome) in Wyoming and at Elk Hills and Buena Vista in California.

When the U.S. Navy shifted from coal to oil for fueling its vessels, concern over ensuring emergency supplies led President William H. Taft to set aside California oil lands for government use in 1912; President Woodrow Wilson followed in 1915 by adding a third reserve in Wyoming. Reserved oil would be used only if regular supplies were inadequate. Even at the height of naval warfare during World War I, reserves went untouched. Most experts during the early 1920's predicted the world's oil supply would soon be exhausted, which led to the public's attention to oil leases. Conservationists, who opposed any use of reserved oil, kept an eager eye on the reserves, knowing that Westerners and their Washington, D.C., political allies believed natural resources on federal land should be open for all citizens.

Albert B. Fall, a U.S. senator from New Mexico, was also a rancher and mine owner who shared this point of view. Conservation supporters, alarmed when Harding appointed Fall secretary of the inte-

rior, mobilized and successfully blocked Fall's attempt to move the U.S. Forest Service to the Department of the Interior, so that he could open the national forests to lumber and mining interests. The Forest Service had been part of the Department of Agriculture since 1881.

In May, 1921, two months after taking office, Fall convinced the secretary of the Navy to transfer control of the naval reserves from the Navy department to the Interior Department. In 1922, Fall proceeded to open exploitation of the oil by secretly negotiating leases with Laurence E. Doheny, president of the Pan-American Oil and Transport Company, for the California reserves and with Harry F. Sinclair, president of the Mammoth Oil Company, for Teapot Dome.

Doheny's first deal involving the Elk Hills reserve had been openly negotiated. During the Wilson administration, the naval department requested bids for drilling offset wells that would block adjoining wells from draining reserved oil. Doheny's company made the best offer and publicly received a contract to drill twenty-two wells on July 12. The following year, Fall negotiated a contract with Doheny, without competing bids, which opened the

Elk Hills and Buena Vista reserves to full exploitation; in return, Doheny agreed to build and fill storage tanks at Pearl Harbor for the Navy. At the same time, Fall secretly negotiated a similar lease with Sinclair on April 7, 1922, opening Teapot Dome in return for Sinclair's pledge to build a pipeline to the Midwest and supply oil to the Navy.

Sinclair's contract would not remain secret for long. After a Wyoming oilman complained to his senator about activity at Teapot Dome, the Senate began inquiries that forced Fall to reveal the secret lease. His answer aroused suspicion, and the Senate appointed an investigative committee, chaired by Democratic



Oil wells near Teapot Dome, Wyoming. (NARA)

senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana, to examine the treatment of reserves. Since questions about Teapot Dome spurred the investigation, it provided the name for the scandal, even though it was much less significant than the California fields. Sinclair reportedly said he expected to extract \$100 million worth of oil from the field, but when the reserves were opened late in the twentieth century, Teapot Dome proved to have little oil; Elk Hills, though, sold at auction for \$3.5 billion in 1998.

The Senate committee demanded all relevant documents from Fall, who complied by supplying thousands of pages of material, accompanied by a letter of transmittal from President Harding asserting he was aware of the secretary of the interior's activities and that they had his full approval. This statement would destroy Harding's reputation when Fall's actions were finally revealed. Walsh proceeded cautiously. He took eighteen months to carefully analyze the submitted material before opening hearings on October 22, 1923, by which time Fall had resigned (in March, 1923), with his reputation intact. Harding had died and Calvin Coolidge was president of the United States.

Initially, the hearings attracted little attention. Fall's antagonistic response to Walsh's questions appeared to give him the upper hand as he arrogantly refused to admit to any problematic actions. Geological reports appeared to support drilling offset wells in the reserves. Fall asserted secrecy over the leases was necessary because they involved national defense, ignoring that the Navy Department had publicly negotiated the previous lease at Elk Hills. In December, Walsh heard from Fall's New Mexico neighbors that shortly after granting the leases, Fall had paid long-overdue back taxes on his ranch, repaid debts, purchased an adjoining ranch, and began extensive improvements on his property. It was after Walsh had asked Fall to explain the source of his new wealth that newspaper reporters began to flock to the hearings, and national attention was focused on the committee room.

Claiming he was too ill to testify in person, Fall responded with a letter stating he had received a personal loan of \$100,000 from wealthy newspaper publisher Edward McLean, owner of *The Washing-*

ton Post, and denied having received money from Doheny or Sinclair. Fall's testimony began to unravel almost immediately; Walsh interviewed McLean, who refused to confirm Fall's account.

On January 28, 1924, Doheny apologized to the committee for not having told them in previous testimony that he had given Fall a loan of \$100,000. Asserting he and Fall had been friends for forty years, dating back to when they were prospectors in the same mining camp, and that the amount was a trivial sum to a multimillionaire, he insisted he had merely assisted a comrade in need of help. Doheny admitted he anticipated earning a \$100 million profit selling the reserved oil but insisted the loan had nothing to do with the leases he expected Fall to grant. Reporters listened spellbound as Doheny described sending his son from Los Angeles to a New York City bank. The young Doheny withdrew the funds, placed five bundles of twenty thousand dollars each in a black satchel, and hand carried the satchel to Fall's Washington, D.C., hotel suite. Fall counted the money on his kitchen table and signed a note for the amount.

Republican senators, eager to implicate Democrats in the scandal, questioned Doheny about relations with other politicians. Doheny provided a list of men who had served in the Wilson administration whom he kept on retainer because they were useful to him. Prominent among them was a leading candidate for the 1924 Democratic nomination, former secretary of the Treasury William G. McAdoo. Pundits predicted the revelation would badly damage McAdoo's presidential hopes.

When Sinclair was recalled, he refused to testify by invoking his Fifth Amendment right against self-incrimination, leading to his indictment for contempt of the Senate. The committee arranged a grant of immunity for Fall's son-in-law and forced him to describe how, in January, 1922, Fall sent him to Sinclair, who gave him close to \$200,000 in 3.5 percent Liberty Bonds. In May, after the leases were granted, Fall received another thirty-five thousand dollars in bonds. Followers of the scandal do not agree on the exact amount that Fall received from the two oilmen, but most place the total at more than \$400,000.

After hearing the testimony, Walsh proposed that the Senate call upon the president to cancel the leases and appoint a special prosecutor to bring criminal charges against Fall, Doheny, and Sinclair. Coolidge heard of the plan and moved first, preempting Senate action by appointing two special prosecutors, a Democrat and a Republican, to pursue the investigation together.

The special prosecutors moved expeditiously to have the leases declared invalid and to bring the accused to trial, but the courts moved slowly; the last court ruling would not come until June, 1931. On June 5, 1924, both Doheny and Sinclair had been indicted in Washington, D.C., in separate suits on multiple charges of bribery and conspiracy to defraud the United States. Fall was a codefendant in both suits. Civil actions to annul the leases began in Los Angeles against Doheny and in Wyoming against Sinclair.

The Los Angeles civil trial opened on October 24 before a judge who would hear the case without a jury. Prosecutors brought special attention to what they considered strange: the carrying of huge amounts of cash from state to state in a satchel. The defense, however, claimed that transfers of large amounts of cash were normal in New Mexico because banks were unreliable. Doheny's lawyers were shocked when the judge ruled against Doheny and voided the leases on May 30, 1925. Sinclair had won his case in Wyoming; the judge in that case ruled that no fraud had taken place. However the Wyoming judge was overruled on appeal. In 1927, the U.S. Supreme Court affirmed the verdicts, canceling all naval-reserve leases as fraudulent.

Criminal conspiracy trials traditionally are less favorable for the prosecution. The case against Doheny and Fall did not start until November 22, 1926, in Washington, D.C. Fall did not testify, but Doheny did, responding effectively under cross-examination. The jury found both Doheny and Fall not guilty. The trial of Sinclair and Fall started October 17, 1927, but ended abruptly in a mistrial two weeks later when Sinclair was discovered trying to tamper with the jury. Sinclair was sentenced to six months for tampering, but a jury declared him not guilty in his conspiracy trial in 1928.

Different verdicts came in the separate bribery trials of Fall and Doheny. Strangely, one jury ruled Fall had accepted a bribe from Doheny but another jury decided Doheny had not bribed Fall. Doheny was a better witness than Fall, and he convinced his jury that he lent Fall money without intending to bribe him. Fall, however, could not satisfactorily explain the falsehoods in his letter to the Senate committee—that he thought it necessary to lie about his behavior was powerful evidence that Fall knew accepting the money was wrong.

On October 25, 1929, Fall was sentenced to one year in jail and fined \$100,000. He never paid the fine because he had no money, but after losing a final appeal in 1931, he served nine months and nineteen days in jail, the first federal-level cabinet member to be convicted and jailed for a crime committed while in office.

IMPACT

Democratic Party strategists had optimistically hoped Teapot Dome and other scandals during Harding's administration would be the key to victory in the 1924 presidential campaign. They did not expect the Republicans to easily evade the corruption label nor did they foresee that their party would effectively commit political suicide at its national convention.

The Republicans used a dual strategy in the campaign, blaming specific individuals and asserting Democrats were equally vulnerable. The dead Harding and the discredited Fall were convenient scapegoats for Republicans, while McAdoo's acceptance of a retainer from Doheny supported assertions that the scandal was bipartisan. Coolidge proved untainted by the scandals. He insisted he knew nothing of the problems while vice president and claimed credit for appointing special prosecutors to pursue the criminals.

Although McAdoo's association with Doheny weakened him, he entered the Democratic convention with the largest bloc of votes. McAdoo's candidacy failed, not due to Teapot Dome but over his refusal to condemn the Ku Klux Klan. Infuriated urban and Roman Catholic conventioners obdurately blocked his nomination. After one hundred

three ballots during twenty-nine sessions, the party chose a Wall Street lawyer as its candidate. Fourteen days of vicious debate over religion and race, with the nation listening through the new medium of radio, left a bitterly divided party.

Teapot Dome and its associated scandals decided no elections. Democrats hammered away at corruption scandals in 1924, but Coolidge easily triumphed. In 1928, Democrats unsuccessfully attacked Herbert Hoover over his presence in the Harding cabinet when transfer of the naval reserves to Fall's department was approved. However, Teapot Dome became enshrined in the popular imagination as an enduring image of political corruption.

—Milton Berman

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January 1, 1924

FILM STAR MABEL NORMAND'S CHAUFFEUR SHOOTS MILLIONAIRE COURTLAND S. DINES

Silent-film star Mabel Normand's chauffeur wounded millionaire Courtland S. Dines after shooting him for reasons remaining unclear. The Dines shooting was the second shooting, and the third criminal case, involving Normand within three years, and it sealed the end of her already fading career. Dines refused to press charges or testify, however, and the charges were dropped.

LOCALE: Hollywood, California

CATEGORIES: Drugs; Hollywood; law and the courts; murder and suicide

KEY FIGURES

Mabel Normand (1892-1930), American silent-film star

Courtland S. Dines (fl. 1920's), wealthy American playboy

Joe Kelley (Horace Greer; fl. 1920's), Normand's chauffeur

Edna Purviance (1895-1958), American silent-film star

SUMMARY OF EVENT

By 1924, the so-called noble experiment, Prohibition, which outlawed the manufacture, sale, and transportation of liquor, had been in force for four years. In Hollywood, however, as in many other places in the United States, liquor flowed freely, and it played a role in many scandals, especially in Hollywood. At this time, Hollywood was the center of the glamorous silent-film industry. Comedic actor Mabel Normand was at the height of her popularity. She had established her career ten years earlier in films directed by Mack Sennett and gone on to star in films with Charles Chaplin and Fatty Arbuckle. Like many Hollywood stars of the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, however, Normand became involved in a series of scandals that damaged her career. The shooting of millionaire playboy Courtland S. Dines by Normand's

chauffeur, Joe Kelley, also known as Horace Greer, was the final scandal that ruined Normand's career.

Born in 1892 into an impoverished family in Staten Island, New York, Normand began working at a very young age as an artists' model in New York City, achieving recognition as one of artist Charles Gibson's celebrated Gibson Girls. From there, she moved on to acting, making her first film at the age of fifteen. Normand would be an extremely successful and prolific film star. Early in her career, she developed a reputation as an actor who would do anything to make her films do well at the box office. Under the direction of Sennett, with whom she was romantically involved at the time, she made film history with *A Dash Through the Clouds* (1912) as the first woman filmed in an airplane. She also is credited with being the first person to use the cream-pie-in-the-face technique for comedic effect.

On New Year's Day, 1924, Normand was dropped off by her chauffeur, Kelley, at Dines's apartment. Kelley, as it later became known, was an escaped convict. Normand apparently did not know this at the time of the Dines shooting. Also present that day in the apartment was Dines's girlfriend, actor Edna Purviance, who was best known as the leading lady in many Chaplin films. Normand, Dines, and Purviance were drinking when Purviance got up to get ready to attend a party; the picture of what happened next remains murky.

Apparently, Normand's chauffeur had been sent back to her home to retrieve a Christmas present for Dines. The chauffeur was supposed to wait until Normand called him to pick her up, but he instead returned to Dines's apartment with the present. When Dines answered the door, Kelley shot him in the shoulder. Kelley admitted shooting Dines, first claiming that Dines had accosted him with a liquor bottle but later saying that he shot Dines to protect Normand. Kelley then claimed that Dines kept Normand in a perpetual state of drunkenness, and he shot Dines to save her.

Normand was a talented actor, and the public did not know that by her early twenties she was addicted to both alcohol and narcotics. The first whiff of public scandal occurred in 1918, when she found her fiancé, Sennett, in bed with another woman. What happened next is unclear. Normand either was injured by the other woman, attempted suicide by drowning, or, as the newspapers of the time reported, had an accident on the set. A short time later, Normand left Sennett and Keystone Studios and began acting for Samuel Goldwyn and his film production company.

Another scandal-provoking incident came a few years later. After leaving Keystone Studios, Normand had become friends with director William Desmond Taylor. She was still using drugs around this time, and Taylor disapproved. On February 1, 1922, Normand visited Taylor at his home in Los Angeles, California, to pick up a book. A few minutes after Normand left Taylor, he was shot dead by an unknown assailant. Although Normand was questioned repeatedly by the police and had to testify at Taylor's inquest, she was not considered a serious suspect in his murder. Nevertheless, speculation ran high, and the press would not give up its pursuit of Normand.

The tabloid press covered Taylor's murder in sensational style, linking his death to Normand in the minds of the public. Some reports suggested that Taylor and Normand had been lovers because love letters from her allegedly were found in Taylor's apartment. There was speculation that Normand had killed Taylor out of jealousy over his interest in another woman. Others sources speculated that Taylor was killed by one of Normand's drug dealers because he had tried to end her use of drugs. He even asked the government to help by stopping the flow of drugs into the film industry. The speculation remained unproven, but it tarnished Normand's reputation with the public.

Normand continued her edgy lifestyle, and the press continued linking her to scandals. In 1923, after falling from a horse, she was hospitalized and alleged to have had an affair with another patient, Norman Church. Church's wife filed for divorce, citing Normand as the cause for the split. Normand

Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire

sued the wife for libel for half a million dollars, but lost the case. The tabloid press enthusiastically covered both the divorce and the libel trial.

It was against the background of previous scandals that the shooting of Dines occurred. Had his shooting been an isolated incident, Normand likely would have ridden out the publicity without too much damage to her career. Furthermore, Dines recovered and would not press charges against her or her chauffeur. However, because of her past drug use and the previous public scandals, the shooting would become her professional undoing.

The tabloid press gave extended coverage to the shooting, especially when it was discovered that Dines had been shot with a pistol owned by Normand. Neither she nor Kelley ever successfully explained how he had come to have her gun. On January 22, 1924, Normand testified in court in Los Angeles about the shooting, claiming that at first



Mabel Normand. (Library of Congress)

she thought the shots were firecrackers. A transcript of her testimony shows that her answers were confusing and contradictory to the point of being almost incoherent. Some thought this suggested that she was trying to cover up what really happened, while others saw her testimony as evidence of her drug and alcohol addiction. Dines refused to testify and no action was taken against Kelley, although once it was discovered that Kelley was an escaped criminal, he was returned to prison to finish out his sentence, after which he dropped from sight.

Normand made five other films starting in 1926, and she had an unsuccessful marriage in 1926 to actor Lew Cody. She died of tuberculosis in 1930 at the age of thirty-seven. Dines faded back into the social scene and married a society woman.

IMPACT

Normand, known for her wild lifestyle, lost in the court of public opinion. The shooting of Dines, combined with her history of drug and alcohol use, the use of her pistol as the weapon in the shooting, and her involvement two years earlier in the shooting of Taylor effectively ended her career. Because of the Dines shooting, the Kansas and Ohio film boards banned her films. Her films also were banned in many cities, including Boston, Memphis, Tennessee, and Hartford, Connecticut.

Scandal followed Normand much as it followed pop music star Britney Spears during the early twenty-first century. The Dines scandal called attention to the vices prevalent in Hollywood, including heavy alcohol use during Prohibition, drug habits, and casual sexual affairs. None of the parties involved in the Dines shooting came away looking good.

—Martiscia S. Davidson

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May 12, 1924**KENTUCKY CONGRESSMAN JOHN W. LANGLEY IS CONVICTED OF VIOLATING THE VOLSTEAD ACT**

U.S. representative John W. Langley was convicted of conspiring illegally to transport and sell liquor. While appealing his conviction, he ran for reelection and was returned to the House, but he was forced to resign before he could serve another term.

LOCALES: Washington, D.C.; Kentucky**CATEGORIES:** Corruption; government; politics; law and the courts**KEY FIGURE**

John W. Langley (1868-1932), U.S. representative from Kentucky, 1907-1926

SUMMARY OF EVENT

John W. Langley was born in Floyd County, Kentucky, in 1868. He attended law school in Washington, D.C., and was elected to Kentucky's House of Representatives in 1886. In 1906, he was elected to represent Kentucky's 10th District in the U.S. House of Representatives, where he served until he was forced to resign in January, 1926, because of his conviction for conspiring to transport and sell whiskey. His crime was emblematic of a change in the type of crime that plagued the 1920's during Prohibition, when the manufacture, transportation, and sale of liquor were outlawed.

Prohibition in the United States lasted thirteen years, from 1920 to 1933. The temperance movement, which advocated restrictions on the sale and use of alcohol, had been a presence off and on in the United States since the American colonial period. However, during the 1850's, the movement became much stronger and better organized. Temperance laws were supported mainly by religious organizations and women who argued that drunkenness and chronic alcohol use caused poverty, unemployment, and domestic violence, all of which hurt not just the drinker but also his (or her) family and soci-

ety. By 1855, thirteen states, mostly in New England, had passed some form of temperance legislation restricting the sale of alcohol. These states were called dry states; states in which alcohol was legal were called wet states.

Led by organizations such as the Prohibition Party and the Anti-Saloon League, temperance advocates began to pressure politicians to pass a federal temperance law that would make the entire nation dry. This pressure increased when temperance advocates claimed that brewing beer and hard liquor diverted grain needed as food for the troops in World War I. Concurrently, improvements in brewing technology made it possible to sell beer by the glass rather than by the bottle, and the number of establishments selling alcohol increased substantially.

Alcohol consumption had become a clear problem, leading, in 1917, to a proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution to ban alcohol. This amendment, the eighteenth, prohibited "the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors" within the United States and its territories.

The Eighteenth Amendment was ratified by the required thirty-six states in 1919, becoming effective on January 16, 1920. The National Prohibition Enforcement Act, more commonly known as the Volstead Act, was passed in 1919 to permit criminal prosecution of violators. The Volstead Act was the law that Langley was accused of breaking.

Langley's troubles started almost incidentally in early 1924 during a Chicago grand jury investigation of a conspiracy in the Veteran's Bureau to defraud the federal government. During the investigation, which involved bribes and kickbacks from contractors to Veterans Bureau employees, a link was made to the behavior of two U.S. representatives, Langley and Frederick N. Zihlman of Cumberland, Maryland. Zihlman was never convicted of a crime, although the House investigated his activities. However, on March 27, Langley was arrested

for bribing government officials in connection with the illegal transportation and sale of whiskey. A conviction would bring two years in federal prison and a ten thousand dollar fine. Langley and his lawyers immediately proclaimed his innocence, requested a quick trial, and posted five thousand dollars for his bail. (To put these sums in perspective, Langley's annual salary as a member of the U.S. Congress in 1924 was ten thousand dollars.)

Langley was specifically accused of participating in a conspiracy to illegally remove fourteen hundred cases of whiskey from the Belle of Anderson Distillery near Lawrenceville, Kentucky, with the intention of selling them. Prosecutors claimed that Langley accepted money to use his political influence to get Sam Collins, the federal prohibition director for Kentucky, to authorize permits to allow the whiskey to be transported by truck. Other conspirators were accused of bribing additional government employees.

Langley's trial was held in federal court in Cincinnati, Ohio. The main evidence against Langley came from Elias Mortimer of Washington, D.C. Mortimer was thought to be the link between the Veterans Bureau investigation and Langley's involvement in illegal transport of whiskey. Mortimer testified that he had paid Langley bribe money several times and had been present at conferences between Langley and the other conspirators at which the illegal whiskey scheme was discussed. William J. Fields, the governor of Kentucky from 1923 to 1927, testified as a character witness for Langley. Despite this, Langley and three others, Milton Lipschutz, Walter E. Cary, and M. E. Huth, were convicted on May 12. Langley was sentenced to two years in the federal penitentiary in Atlanta, Georgia, and fined ten thousand dollars. He immediately appealed his conviction.

While the appeal was making its way through the courts, Langley ran for reelection to the House and was overwhelmingly reelected by his (dry) district. During this time, he was also arrested at least twice for public drunkenness. Langley never did serve his final term in the House. On January 11, 1926, the U.S. Supreme Court refused to hear his final appeal, stating that he must immediately begin serving his

prison sentence. Langley formally resigned from the House the same day. His wife, Katherine G. Langley, was then elected to his seat in November, becoming the first female congressperson from Kentucky.

Langley served only eleven months of his two-year sentence and was later pardoned by U.S. president Calvin Coolidge. Upon his release from prison, he returned to his law practice in Pikesville, Kentucky, and self-published a book called *They Tried to Crucify Me* (1929), in which he proclaimed his innocence and claimed he was a victim of a government conspiracy that had driven him into poverty. Langley died a few years later, in 1932, before the repeal of Prohibition in 1933.

IMPACT

Corruption in government is nothing new, but Americans were shocked when Langley, an elected official who was also a lawyer, knowingly conspired to violate a federal law, and did so with little remorse. Langley's actions were particularly surprising because he came from a dry district and had voted for Prohibition. That he was reelected by a dry district with strong religious traditions after having been convicted of conspiring to illegally sell alcohol showed just how fragile the public sentiment for Prohibition was less than five years after it was instituted.

Ultimately, Prohibition proved to be an unworkable concept. People were unprepared for the consequences. Thousands of brewery workers, haulers, and saloon owners lost their livelihood. Meanwhile, gangsters such as Al Capone found illegal liquor sales to be very profitable and developed a network of bootleggers and clandestine speakeasies to meet the public demand for liquor. Crime soared nationally and violence soon followed. Prohibition turned out to be a costly mistake for the country. In 1933, the Twenty-first Amendment repealed the Eighteenth Amendment. With the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, alcohol manufacture and sale were no longer illegal under federal law, although states and individual communities retained the right to regulate liquor sales.

—Martiscia S. Davidson

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Forged Letter Brings Down British Government

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SEE ALSO: 1904: Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds; June 13, 1907: San Francisco Mayor Schmitz Is Found Guilty of Extortion; Jan. 13, 1913: Federal Judge Is Impeached for Profiting from His Office; May 30, 1923: U.S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty's Aide Commits Suicide; Oct. 22, 1923: U.S. Senate Begins Hearings on Teapot Dome Oil Leases; Nov. 16, 1951: Federal Tax Official Resigns After Accepting Bribes; June 25, 1956: President Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of Tax Conspiracy; Mar. 1, 1967: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Is Excluded from Congress; May 9, 1969: Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas Is Accused of Bribery; Feb. 2, 1980: Media Uncover FBI Sting Implicating Dozens of Lawmakers; June 1, 1994: Congressman Dan Rostenkowski Is Indicted in House Post Office Scandal; June 4, 2007: Congressman William J. Jefferson Is Indicted for Corruption.

October 25, 1924

FORGED COMMUNIST LETTER BRINGS DOWN BRITISH GOVERNMENT

The London Daily Mail published a letter allegedly from Soviet Communist Party leader Grigory Yevseyevich Zinovyev that called on the British Communist Party to engage in a political campaign on behalf of the Labour government. The letter, which brought down the Labour government, proved to be a forgery.

LOCALE: London, England

CATEGORIES: Forgery; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; publishing and journalism; government; politics; international relations

KEY FIGURES

Grigory Yevseyevich Zinovyev (Ovsel Gershon Aronov Radomyslsky; 1883-1936), Soviet Communist Party leader, chairman of Communist International, 1919-1926

Sidney Reilly (Sigmund Rosenblum; 1874-1925?), British intelligence officer

Desmond Morton (1891-1971), British intelligence officer

Ramsay MacDonald (1866-1937), British prime minister, 1924, 1929-1931, 1931-1935

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Both Great Britain and the Soviet Union (U.S.S.R.) faced critical changes in 1924. In Britain the Labour Party under Ramsay MacDonald gained power for the first time. Although the MacDonald government was in coalition with members of the Liberal Party, it carried out policies, including a treaty with the Soviet Union not yet recognized by London, which alarmed the Conservatives and some Liberals and independents. The treaty established the Anglo-Soviet Trade Company to engage in economic transactions between London and Moscow. The Soviets established an office in England, and the MacDonald government also authorized Moscow a loan. The treaty, however, needed to be ratified by the British parliament.

The Soviet Union also faced much political uncertainty. The country was recovering from the disasters of World War I, the Russian Revolution, and the Russian Civil War (1918-1922), which had led to famine and political unrest. Communist Party leaders, however, had adopted a popular economic policy, bringing some stability and recovery. Meanwhile, communist leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin died at the beginning of the year, and Leon Trotsky waged a struggle to take his place with a triumvirate of Joseph Stalin, Leo Kamenev, and Grigory Yevseyevich Zinovyev. Zinovyev also was general secretary, or leader, of the Communist International (Comintern), an association of communist parties around the world. Its objective was to help these parties achieve revolutions in their own countries. However, because of the political circumstances during the mid-1920's, Comintern's ability to carry out this objective was weakened.

In England, MacDonald's policies brought about an anticommunist backlash, and he lost a vote of confidence in Parliament, which required new elections (scheduled for the end of October). The new parliament would then deal with the trade treaty. On October 25, 1924, four days before the election, the conservative *Daily Mail* published a letter allegedly written by Zinovyev and addressed to the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB).

The paper claimed the letter was dated September 15, 1924, and was marked "very secret." Re-

covered by the secret service on October 8, the letter stated that the British bourgeoisie and reactionary circles were waging a fierce election campaign to break the trade agreement between the United Kingdom and the Soviet Union and to prevent recognition of the U.S.S.R. by London. The British proletariat, it said, must force MacDonald to maintain the treaty. It called on the CPGB to stir up British workers, especially the unemployed, who, the letter insisted, would benefit from the proposed loan. The letter also emphasized that the CPGB put pressure on members of the Labour Party to rally behind the treaty and its supporting candidates.

The letter went on to warn the CPGB about the duplicity of MacDonald and other Labour Party leaders, claiming that they were part of the bourgeoisie. It further stated that the communists should expose the weaknesses of the Labour government, especially in foreign policy. The Comintern reportedly had documents that revealed the activities of the British in Asia, who were carrying out their imperialistic policies. The main point of the letter, however, was to continue to fight for improving the relations between London and Moscow, maintaining that these relations were as important as revolution. Such relations could lead to greater contact among the workers of the two countries and to further propaganda for Leninist ideas in England and the colonies.

Armed revolution, the letter argued, would be difficult in England because the workers leaned toward compromise and evolutionary Marxism (something that had been promoted by playwright George Bernard Shaw, members of the British Fabian Society, and even Karl Marx) and must be gradually prepared for armed struggle. In Ireland and the British colonies, the letter suggested, armed revolution would be possible because of the "national" question. However, England could quickly develop more revolutionary ideas if circumstances such as strikes and government repression were to hasten the development of a militant ideology. In the meantime the CPGB would have to rely on propaganda.

The letter concluded with a suggestion that CPGB recruitment and work among the military was weak and must be more forcefully attended to,

especially among units in the larger cities. The CPGB, it said, must pay especial attention to building cells among munitions factories and arms depots. If war came, Communist Party cells in those areas and among transport workers would hamper the bourgeoisie war effort and lead to a class war. The CPGB must train military specialists as the future leaders of a British "Red Army." The letter suggested slogans for the CPGB, including "Danger of War" and "The Bourgeoisie Seeks War; Capital [seeks] Fresh Markets." Such language, which indicated, at minimum, interference in British internal affairs by Moscow and, in the extreme, an attempt to overthrow the British government by violent revolution, was exceedingly inflammatory. The public release of the letter served the interests of the Conservative Party in its election campaign against Labour.

The letter, however, was found to be a forgery, written by British intelligence agents, most likely Sidney Reilly, a Russian immigrant and notorious British spy in Soviet Russia. The letter's origins, though, have yet to be proven. Desmond Morton, a British intelligence officer familiar with Soviet affairs, had received the letter and handed it over to the British foreign office. He initially thought the letter genuine but later expressed doubts about its authenticity.

IMPACT

The purpose of the forgery was to embarrass the Labour government. Historians agree that it played a critical part in bringing down the government in the ensuing election. In the end, however, the Liberal Party suffered the most from the scandal. The Conservatives gained more than 150 seats, part of a total of more than 400 (twice as much as all other parties combined). Labour lost 40 seats but still remained the leader of the opposition. The once-powerful Liberal Party lost more than 100 seats and never really recovered. Labour, along with MacDonald, returned in 1929, and MacDonald remained prime minister for six years; also, Great Britain would come to recognize the Soviet Union as a nation.

After the triumvirs defeated Trotsky, Zinovyev

THE FAKE LETTER

The Zinovyev letter, excerpted here, was proven to be a forgery.

A settlement of relations between the two countries will assist in the revolutionising of the international and British proletariat not less than a successful rising in any of the working districts of England, as the establishment of close contact between the British and Russian proletariat, the exchange of delegations and workers, etc., will make it possible for us to extend and develop the propaganda of ideas of Leninism in England and the Colonies. Armed warfare must be preceded by a struggle against the inclinations to compromise which are embedded among the majority of British workmen, against the ideas of evolution and peaceful extermination of capitalism. Only then will it be possible to count upon complete success of an armed insurrection. In Ireland and the Colonies the case is different; there there is a national question, and this represents too great a factor for success for us to waste time on a prolonged preparation of the working class.

But even in England, as other countries, where the workers are politically developed, events themselves may more rapidly revolutionise the working masses than propaganda. For instance, a strike movement, repressions by the Government etc.

lost out in the power struggle with Stalin, who removed him from the Comintern and ordered his execution in 1936. The Comintern, which under Stalin became a complete instrument of Soviet foreign policy, was ended by him in 1943, when the Soviet Union and Britain became allies against Germany in World War II.

—Frederick B. Chary

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November 19, 1924

FILM PRODUCER THOMAS H. INCE DIES AFTER WEEKEND ON HEARST'S YACHT

Thomas H. Ince, an influential film producer and former actor, died following a yachting trip with William Randolph Hearst, Charles Chaplin, and others. The official cause of death was a heart attack, but persistent rumors about his death remain. Some believe that Hearst shot Ince out of jealousy over a possible affair between Ince and Hearst's mistress, actor Marion Davies. Others claim Ince was accidentally shot while Hearst and Chaplin were fighting over Davies.

LOCALES: Beverly Hills and San Diego, California

CATEGORIES: Hollywood; murder and suicide; publishing and journalism; popular culture

KEY FIGURES

Thomas H. Ince (1882-1924), film producer, director, and former actor

William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951), media mogul

Elinor Kershaw (1884-1971), Ince's spouse and former silent-film actor

Marion Davies (1897-1961), film actor and long-time mistress of Hearst

Charles Chaplin (1889-1977), film actor, composer, producer, and director

SUMMARY OF EVENT

If D. W. Griffith is recognized as the first great American film director, then Thomas H. Ince is considered the first great film producer. Starting as a film actor during the 1910's, Ince soon moved behind the camera to direct such early hits as *The Battle of Gettysburg* (1913), *The Coward* (1915), and *Civilization* (1916). He worked exclusively as a producer and built the first recognized film studio—Inceville—along the coast near Santa Monica, California, where he oversaw the production of more than one hundred films.

In a time when a film's plot was generally improvised on the set, Ince introduced the idea of the continuity script, where a story is fully written out before filming. Detailed budgets and shooting schedules revealed just how much a film would cost and how long it would take to make. Ince would then turn the script over to a director. After production finished, Ince would oversee the editing of the final film.

As 1924 drew to a close, the once pioneering Ince found himself increasingly an outsider as the film industry consolidated around large studios such as Fox, Paramount, MGM, and Warner Bros. Unlike Inceville, these new studios were owned by national theater chains that both provided the large and continuous capital for film production and guaranteed nationwide theatrical distribution of their films. Ince hoped to solve his problem by forming an alliance with William Randolph Hearst, the premier media mogul of the time. Hearst's film company, Cosmopolitan Pictures, produced movies starring the talented comedy actor Marion Davies. Davies also was Hearst's longtime mistress.

On November 15, 1924, Ince joined Hearst and Davies for a weekend trip to San Diego, California, aboard Hearst's yacht, the *Oneida*. The purpose of the trip was to celebrate Ince's forty-second birthday, though he also hoped to use the time at sea to land the partnership with Hearst and secure his studio's future. Also on the trip were Davies, comedy superstar Charles Chaplin, novelist Elinor Glyn, a



Thomas H. Ince. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

New York reporter named Louella Parsons, and a group of young aspiring actors.

Gossip had been circulating around Hollywood for weeks that Davies was having an affair with Chaplin as well and that Hearst had invited the comedian along so that he could observe Chaplin and Davies up close. It remains unclear what happened, exactly, on the yacht that weekend, but it seems that Ince suddenly became ill on the second night with acute indigestion. Others suggest Ince was shot.

The yacht docked in San Diego, where Ince was removed under the watchful eye of Daniel Carson Goodman, a Hearst employee. Ince was taken to his home in Beverly Hills and died on November 19 from an apparent heart attack (the official cause of death). His body was cremated on November 21. A headline in the *Los Angeles Times* morning edition declared "Producer Shot on Hearst Yacht." By the evening edition the story had disappeared from the *Los Angeles Times* but reappeared in Hearst-owned papers with the "official" cause of death.

The rumors of foul play began almost immediately. Further confusion arose over just where Ince had died. One press release claimed he died at Hearst's Northern California ranch, while another declared that Ince left the yacht in good health but took ill on the train ride home and died in a local hospital. A third and final release said he passed away at home, surrounded by his wife and family. Curiously, none of the yacht's guests ever stepped forward to clear up these discrepancies.

The whispered rumors persisted. Hearst was thought to have taken a shot at Chaplin after catching him in a passionate embrace with Davies but had struck Ince instead. Chaplin's secretary was rumored to have spied Ince being removed from the yacht on a stretcher with a bullet wound in his head. Adding fuel to the fire were odd facts, including that Ince's body was cremated before it could be examined by authorities. The San Diego district attorney called off his investigation after questioning only Goodman, Hearst's employee.

In the months and years following Ince's death, his wife, former actor Elinor Kershaw, built a large French chateau on Sunset Boulevard (now the Scientology Celebrity Centre), reportedly paid for by Hearst hush money. Also, the gossip columnist, Parsons, received a lifetime contract as Hearst's chief Hollywood reporter (a possible reward for keeping quiet about the weekend's events). Years later, Parsons would claim that she was in New York on the weekend of the yacht trip, a claim that has since been disproved.

Hearst's defenders insist that the confusion over Ince's death resulted not from covering up any foul play but from Hearst's desire to keep his own and Davies' names out of the newspapers. They also hoped to cover up the use of bootleg liquor (illegal in the era of Prohibition) on board the yacht. Defenders point out that Ince was seen by several doctors at his home and died of complications from a bleeding ulcer. Furthermore, they claim that the money for the Sunset chateau came not from Hearst hush money but from funds Kershaw received after the sale of Ince's studio (she had been a full partner in the studio) to Cecil B. DeMille about a year after Ince's death. (Ince formed a new studio in 1918 in

Culver City, California.) Finally, defenders point out that if Hearst had been angry enough with Chaplin to try to kill him, why, then, did Hearst and Davies maintain a friendship with the comedian that lasted for decades after Ince's death?

In her autobiography, *The Times We Had: Life with William Randolph Hearst* (1975), Davies vigorously dismissed any notions of foul play aboard the yacht. She insisted that once Ince became ill, they simply put him ashore in San Diego so he could take the next train home. It was not until they returned to Hollywood that she and Hearst discovered that their guest had died. However, she also maintained that there was never any liquor or guns on board (despite evidence to the contrary) and, even more curiously, she conspicuously omitted Chaplin and Parsons from the yacht's list of guests for that weekend. Such inconsistencies have led to decades of persistent rumors about Ince's mysterious death.

IMPACT

Ince's death overshadowed his real contributions to the development of film and the Hollywood studio system. His method of production became the industry standard. MGM's legendary production chief, Irving Thalberg, copied Ince's production model over the next decade to produce a string of classic films that remain unparalleled. Also, Ince was one of the innovators of the Western film genre, and he created silent-screen stars such as William S. Hart, Billie Burke, and Sessue Hayakawa. Top directors, including Frank Borzage, Henry King, and Fred Niblo, got their start at Inceville.

The death of Ince also signaled the end of the independent producer as a force in Hollywood. With the new studios controlling all the means of production, from idea to distribution, a producer's only hope was to work within a studio.

Lions Gate Films produced *The Cat's Meow* (2001), a film about what might have happened aboard the yacht the weekend Ince died. The film, directed by Peter Bogdanovich, is based on a story by Orson Welles, who claims he was given details of the fateful weekend by a Hearst relative.

—Richard Rothrock

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July, 1925

NOSFERATU IS FOUND TO HAVE VIOLATED DRACULA COPYRIGHT

In one of the earliest cases of copyright infringement involving a film adaptation, the estate of Bram Stoker, the author of Dracula, successfully sued the German producer of the macabre film Nosferatu (1922), a classic of German expressionism. The film's production company declared bankruptcy, so was unable to pay damages, but the court ordered the destruction of all prints of the film—a scandal in itself—which set a precedent for protecting literary properties. However, some prints survived.

LOCALES: Berlin, Germany; London, England

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; film; literature

KEY FIGURES

Bram Stoker (1847-1912), Irish novelist and short-story writer

Florence Stoker (1858-1937), Bram Stoker's wife and executor

Albin Grau (1894-1942), codirector of Prana-Film
Henrik Galeen (1881-1949), author of the script of *Nosferatu*

G. Herbert Thring (1859-1941), secretary of the Society of Authors

F. W. Murnau (1888-1931), director of *Nosferatu*
Manfred Wronker-Flatow (fl. early twentieth century), lawyer who represented Stoker and the Society of Authors

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In July, 1925, a German court delivered a significant ruling in favor of Florence Stoker, widow and literary executor of Irish writer Bram Stoker, who had died in 1912. The court found that in adapting Bram Stoker's supernatural novel *Dracula* (1897) without permission, a German film production

company had infringed upon the right of his estate to control adaptations of his works.

The film, *Nosferatu: Eine Symphonie des Grauens* (Nosferatu: a symphony of horror), had opened with a gala premiere at the Marble Hall of the Berlin Zoological Gardens in Germany on Saturday, March 4, 1922. It was the first production of a new company known as Prana-Film, whose codirector, Albin Grau, was deeply interested in the occult. The script was written by Henrik Galeen, whose credits included several other macabre films. The film was directed by F. W. Murnau, a rising figure in German cinema.

As its credits clearly acknowledged, the film was based on the novel *Dracula*, although Prana-Film had made no attempt to negotiate rights with Stoker's estate. Galeen had altered the characters' names, with Count Dracula, for example, becoming

Graf Orlok. He also changed the work's primary setting from England to Germany and pruned away many of Stoker's characters and subplots. Nevertheless, the film script followed the novel closely, with the only significant thematic change coming in its resolution. The title was taken from a term that Stoker mistakenly believed to be an Eastern European word for "vampire."

At the time of the film's production, Stoker's widow, Florence, had been living in straitened circumstances in the London, England, suburb of Knightsbridge. She learned of the film's existence the month following its premiere when an anonymous correspondent mailed her the film's program. Most of her husband's books were out of print, and even *Dracula*, recognized in later decades as one of the most important supernatural novels ever written, brought in few royalties. Acting as her hus-



A still photograph from the film *Nosferatu* (1922). (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

band's literary executor, she promptly joined the Society of Authors, a British organization dedicated to aiding writers in their business and legal affairs, and enlisted its help.

The *Nosferatu* controversy, later chronicled by scholar David J. Skal and others, was the start of a long and convoluted campaign, with Florence Stoker eventually mailing as many as half a dozen letters a month to the society. The society's secretary, G. Herbert Thring, over the following years would act as intermediary between Stoker and the society's governing committee. After reviewing the situation, the committee hired a Berlin-based lawyer, Manfred Wronker-Flatow, to pursue the case against Prana-Film. The society hoped to settle on Stoker's behalf quickly and out of court, but by midyear the profligate company had already gone bankrupt and was in receivership. *Nosferatu* had been its only film, and according to contemporary press reports, the company had spent more money publicizing than producing the film.

The society, however, became reluctant to proceed, so Stoker redoubled her efforts. She approached longtime friends in the publishing business, such as William Heinemann, to apply pressure to the society, and she even attended one of its annual dinners in the company of her accountant-son, Noel. With reservations, the society agreed to carry on. Prana-Film's receivers, Deutsch-Amerikanische Film-Union, offered Stoker a share of the film's profits if she allowed them to show the film in the English-speaking world with the title *Dracula*. Following the society's advice, Stoker rejected the offer as unlikely to be of much value.

A hearing finally was held in Berlin in late March, 1924, and the case began in May. Two months later, authorities ruled in favor of Stoker. Now, Stoker offered to sell the receivers the rights to the novel for five thousand pounds, but they appealed the ruling instead, resulting in further delay. The receivers lost their appeal early the following year, and in July, 1925, they were ordered to destroy the film's negative and all prints. Although it was not necessarily considered scandalous at the time to destroy a film, the destruction of an artistic creation in the name of legal propriety was considered scan-

dalous in later years, especially by artists, film preservationists, scholars, and film aficionados.

Stoker and the Society of Authors had secured a favorable legal ruling at last, but it seems to have had no practical effect. As early as 1922, Stoker had learned of showings of *Nosferatu* in Budapest, Hungary, and Paris, France. A British firm had planned a showing that same year, but the company was refused a certificate by the British Board of Film Censors because of the film's sensational subject matter and because the issue of copyright had been sidestepped. A few months after her legal victory, however, Stoker realized that the ruling to destroy all copies of the film had not been carried out. In October, the newly formed London Film Society, which was dedicated to the study and preservation of motion pictures, announced a Sunday afternoon showing of the troublesome film, now billed as *Dracula*.

Again, Stoker pushed the Society of Authors into action, but this time its efforts were less successful. Although it was determined that the print for the planned showing had been purchased in Germany, it proved impossible to trace the exact source. In any case, the London Film Society's showing was canceled. With undoubtedly great relief, Thring informed Stoker in January, 1926, that the society was withdrawing from the case.

Nosferatu, though, refused to go away. The London Film Society scheduled another screening of the film on December 16, 1928, at the New Gallery Kinema in London. The indefatigable Stoker again instituted legal proceedings, and although she was unable to stop the screening, the print for this showing apparently was burned in 1929. Other prints clearly existed, however: Two months later the film received its American premiere at the Film Guild Cinema in Greenwich Village, New York. For all her perseverance, Stoker's triumph had been a hollow one.

IMPACT

The scandal that ensued over the *Nosferatu* case had its legal beginnings with the 1886 Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works, and subsequent revisions, which asserted the right of creators of literary and artistic material

to control reproduction of that material, including adaptations. The convention was international in scope and included Germany and Great Britain among its original signatories. The individuals connected with Prana-Film were aware of the general requirements of the convention and altered the particulars of Stoker's novel accordingly. They may have believed that their alterations were legally adequate, or they may simply have assumed that news of their adaptation would never reach Britain.

Furthermore, the Society of Authors clearly found its relationship with Florence Stoker trying, particularly as the months went by, and reminded her on several occasions that it had obligations to members of longer standing. However, the group persevered because it realized that film adaptations could come to represent an important source of income to writers.

Despite the legal significance of the court decision, later generations of film lovers have been grateful that copies of *Nosferatu* survived. The film is now recognized as a key work of German expressionism and is generally regarded as the most successful cinematic adaptation of Bram Stoker's novel.

—Grove Koger

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May-June, 1926

EVANGELIST AIMEE SEMPLE MCPHERSON CLAIMS SHE WAS KIDNAPPED

Popular Christian evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson disappeared while swimming off Venice Beach, California, and was believed to have drowned. A month later she showed up at a hospital in Arizona, brought there by Mexican authorities after she told them she had been kidnapped and held captive. Many believe she fabricated the story and had instead run away with a lover. A grand-jury investigation and trial lasted more than seven months and attracted overflowing crowds. Charges were dropped for lack of evidence.

LOCALE: Los Angeles, California

CATEGORIES: Hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; law and the courts; publishing and journalism; public morals; religion

KEY FIGURES

Aimee Semple McPherson (1890-1944), Canadian-born evangelist

Kenneth G. Ormiston (d. 1937), radio-station technician and allegedly McPherson's lover

Mildred Pearce Kennedy (1862-1947), McPherson's mother and business manager

Roberta Semple Salter (1910-2007), McPherson's daughter, with her first husband

Rolf McPherson (b. 1913), McPherson's son, with her second husband, and head of Angelus Temple after his mother's death

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In May of 1926, thirty-five-year-old Aimee Semple McPherson, a popular Christian evangelist and founder of the Foursquare Gospel Church and the Angelus Temple in

Los Angeles, California, walked into the Pacific Ocean and then disappeared. She was presumed dead. A month later, she was found in a hospital in Douglas, Arizona, claiming she had been kidnapped. Skeptics, doubting her story, demanded a grand-jury investigation. Although no kidnappers were found, allegations that she had had an affair were never proved either.

Ten years before the public scandal, McPherson, following a call from God, left her family to spread the word of salvation. Depending on God to direct her and provide for her, she organized revivals. McPherson, or Sister Aimee, as many later called



Aimee Semple McPherson. (Library of Congress)

her, was born in rural Ontario, Canada, to Mildred Kennedy, an orphan raised by the Salvation Army, and James Kennedy, who was in his fifties and also was a religious person. Their daughter, too, became dedicated to the Salvation Army, a group that did not believe in baptism. McPherson grew up confident and outspoken, entertaining herself by preaching to her dolls and organizing her schoolmates into a marching corps, and gaining recognition, as an adolescent, for her speaking and writing skills.

At the age of seventeen, McPherson met and married Irish evangelist Robert Semple. They became missionaries in China, but he soon died there of malaria. McPherson gave birth to their daughter, Roberta, and moved to New York City to be with her mother. Seeking the security of marriage, she then married Harold McPherson, and they had one child, Rolf. McPherson soon left her family to become an itinerant preacher. Her family joined her, and while her mother managed her schedule, her husband gave up on the marriage.

After traversing the United States twice, McPherson and her family settled in Los Angeles. With her mother they began a campaign to solicit contributions for the building of a temple for their planned church. On January 1, 1923, to overflowing crowds, they opened the Angelus Temple, a megachurch with more than five thousand seats. The temple drew thousands to her famous sermons, and it had services for the impoverished. It also educated evangelicals and established worldwide missions. McPherson enhanced her preaching with dramatic skits she called “illustrated” sermons, and she became one of the first women to star in radio, bringing her voice into the homes of thousands. She was assisted in her radio mission by technician Kenneth G. Ormiston, with whom she developed a close friendship. This relationship provoked gossip, led to his resignation, and led his wife to sue him for a divorce. He was reported missing by his wife in Jan-

uary of 1926. A few months later, on May 18, McPherson disappeared as well.

On the day she disappeared, McPherson had gone to the beach with her secretary, Emma Schaffer, as she often did, to work on the text for her sermon and to relax. She asked Schaffer to check on some visuals for her sermon, swam from shore, and did not return. A search began. Looking for a story, reporters stormed the church parsonage, forcing McPherson’s daughter to hide in the basement while they ransacked closets and drawers. McPherson’s son, who had been boarding with church friends on a ranch near Winters, California, was rushed back to Los Angeles by the local sheriff to evade reporters. Reported sightings of McPherson around the country as well as a reward of twenty-five thousand dollars that was soon withdrawn, suggested that McPherson was alive. However, after a month, her mother held a memorial ceremony. In

A VIGIL FOR MCPHERSON

Evangelist Aimee Semple McPherson’s disappearance from a Los Angeles beach in May, 1926, stunned her supporters. Hundreds of them gathered in a “silent mass” to wait for her return. A Los Angeles Times reporter was at the beach vigil, one week after she vanished, and described the scene.

To the hundreds of men and women who wait in a huddled and silent mass beneath the open sky on the beach between Venice and Ocean Park, Aimee Semple McPherson, their beloved leader, still lives.

A faith as strong and deep as the ocean they watch hour after hour with aching eyes holds them there.

“She can’t be dead. She can’t be dead.”

It is almost a refrain, repeated time and time again, an expression of faith which flings defiance into the teeth of death itself.

“God wouldn’t let her die. She was too noble. Her work was too great. Her mission was not ended. She can’t be dead.”

The crowd remains hushed and tense. The words are alike. They come only in answer to direct questions. The speakers say them as if quoting. Then their eyes turn back to the sea.

Source: “Faithful Cling to Waning Hope; Men and Women Followers of Mrs. McPherson Grouped on Sands at Venice Pray That Leader Will Return to Them.” Los Angeles Times, May 26, 1926.

mid-June, more than one month after her disappearance, McPherson was found at a hospital in Douglas, Arizona. Her mother, daughter, and son went to Douglas and then brought her home, on June 26, to a crowd of tens of thousands of supporters.

McPherson explained that she had been lured to a car by pleas of help for a sick child. She claimed that when she got to the car she was abducted, drugged by three kidnappers, and eventually taken to a shack in Mexico, where she was bound and tortured (with a cigar burn to her hand). Left alone briefly, she cut her ties loose on the jagged edge of a tin can and then walked hours to Agua Prieta, Mexico, and later was taken to the Arizona hospital near the border. Her story was questioned first by the local sheriff, who stated that her appearance and physical condition did not indicate that she had just walked through a desert. Additionally, Ormiston reportedly had been seen with a mysterious woman. McPherson's enemies saw an opportunity.

In addition to the journalists looking to develop news stories for their papers, others were eager to malign McPherson. Robert P. Shuler, who owned a local radio station and was pastor of Trinity Methodist Church in Los Angeles, resented her drawing crowds from other Protestant churches. Shuler would eventually lose his radio license because of his controversial broadcasts. The Los Angeles business community, including the Chamber of Commerce, and crime lords objected to her alleged interference in their business activities. Reporters pressed Los Angeles district attorney Asa Keyes to investigate the alleged kidnapping, but their real motive was to uncover an affair. After a grand-jury investigation failed to indict any kidnappers, a second investigation began, prompted by the testimony of a woman who had named the mystery woman with Ormiston as her sister-in-law; this witness told the grand jury that she had been paid to say this. McPherson and her mother were then charged with obstruction of justice, corruption of public morals, and conspiracy to manufacture evidence. At their trial, grandstands had to be constructed at the courthouse to accommodate the crowds.

Although McPherson presented herself as a defenseless woman, she managed herself well. During

the trial, she responded to reporters with humor and irony, and she famously announced that she was sticking to her story. She had become a savvy manager of the media. In addition to continuing her magazine *Bridal Call*, she created her own weekly newspaper, *Foursquare Crusader*, and she continued to use radio for her sermons, one of which portrayed her major critic, Shuler, as the devil. Charges against McPherson and her mother were dismissed in January, 1927, for lack of evidence.

McPherson worked to exhaustion and died at the age of fifty-four from an accidental overdose of sleep medication. Her son carried on the work of the Foursquare Church and its hundreds of missions worldwide.

IMPACT

After the trial, McPherson came to see herself as a star, which brought both influence and problems. Her life and the scandal unwittingly increased the popularity of Pentecostal Christianity, as it exacerbated the schism between the conservative, fundamental Protestant Church and the moderate Protestant Church. While she kept loyal followers and had supporters, from the famed Baltimore journalist H. L. Mencken to the Ku Klux Klan, she was portrayed by others as a fraud and hypocrite. She traveled abroad with as much access as an ambassador, holding conversations with Benito Mussolini, Mohandas Gandhi, lepers, and impoverished Japanese fathers. Her actions continued to provoke publicity and lawsuits, causing fractures in relationships with her mother and daughter. Lonely, she married again unsuccessfully.

McPherson's disappearance also led to the ruin of California Superior Court judge Carlos S. Hardy, who was later impeached for providing McPherson and her mother with legal advice and for intimidating witnesses. McPherson's attorney, Russell A. McKinley, died under mysterious circumstances in an auto accident.

—Bernadette Flynn Low

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December 26, 1926

TY COBB AND TRIS SPEAKER ARE ACCUSED OF FIXING BASEBALL GAMES

Major League Baseball superstars Ty Cobb and Tris Speaker abruptly retired from baseball in 1926 after facing accusations that they fixed a game in 1919. A lack of supporting evidence and witnesses, however, as well as the general public's sympathy with the popular players, led the baseball commissioner to dismiss the case, though vestiges of the scandal remained.

LOCALE: Detroit, Michigan

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; sports

KEY FIGURES

Ty Cobb (1886-1961), professional baseball player

Tris Speaker (1888-1958), professional baseball player

Dutch Leonard (1892-1952), professional baseball player

Kenesaw Mountain Landis (1866-1944), commissioner of Major League Baseball

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The baseball world was shocked in November, 1926, when living legends and player-managers Ty Cobb of the Detroit Tigers and Tris Speaker of the Cleveland Indians abruptly retired from professional baseball. It was later revealed that their sudden departures were linked to the allegations of a former Cobb teammate who accused the two of fixing a game in 1919.

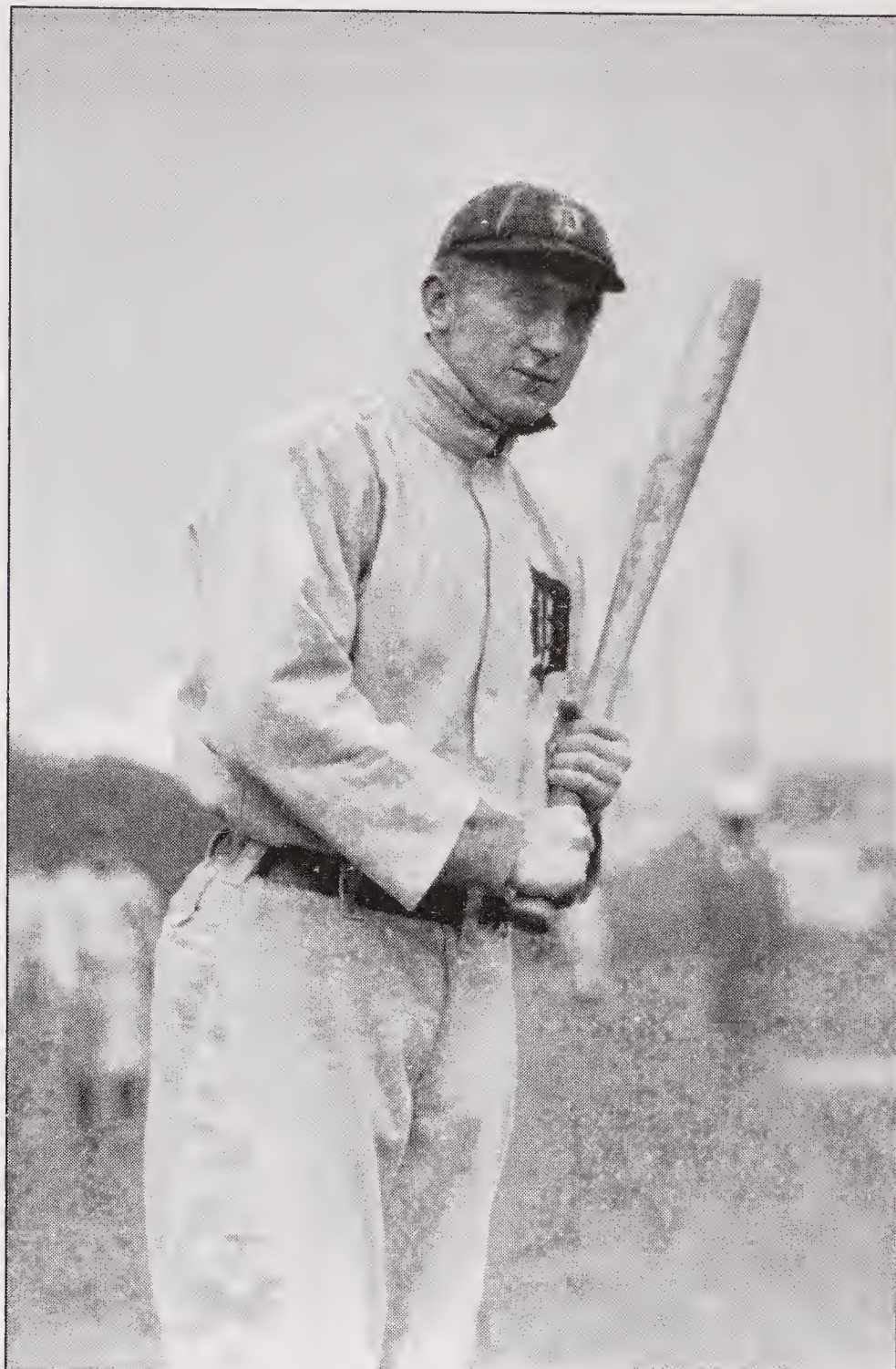
Cobb, whose aggressive style of play on the field and racist behavior off it, was both an idol and a villain to fans. He held several prominent records upon his retirement, including most hits, runs, and steals. Likewise, Speaker, who played the majority of his career for the Boston Red Sox, retired in 1926 with a .345 batting average, nearly 3,500 hits, and with a ranking that placed him among the best defensive

center fielders. Speaker and, particularly, Cobb were two of the most iconic players of the era and were ubiquitous as athletes, managers, and representatives of the game well into the 1920's.

Nevertheless, both players, and Cobb mainly, displayed intolerant, crude, and violent behavior in public. In one episode, Cobb savagely beat a black groundskeeper, then attempted to strangle the man's wife while his Detroit teammates tried to subdue him. In another episode, Cobb entered the grandstands and beat a one-armed heckler named Claude Lueker after Lueker called Cobb a "half nigger." Both incidents revealed Cobb's racism and violent temperament. Although Speaker was not as violent off the field, the native Texan did engage in a number of brawls during games and was at one time affiliated with the Ku Klux Klan.

Given the reputations of the two players, it came as no surprise when former Detroit pitcher Dutch Leonard publicly accused Cobb and Speaker, on December 26, 1926, of fixing a game near the end of the 1919 season. Still, the fallout created quite a shock wave. Leonard, who pitched two no-hitters and held the major-league record for the lowest single-season earned run average, or ERA (0.96 in 1914), had a well-known and longstanding feud with Cobb that emerged after Cobb felt he was intentionally struck by a Leonard pitch during the pitcher's record-setting year.

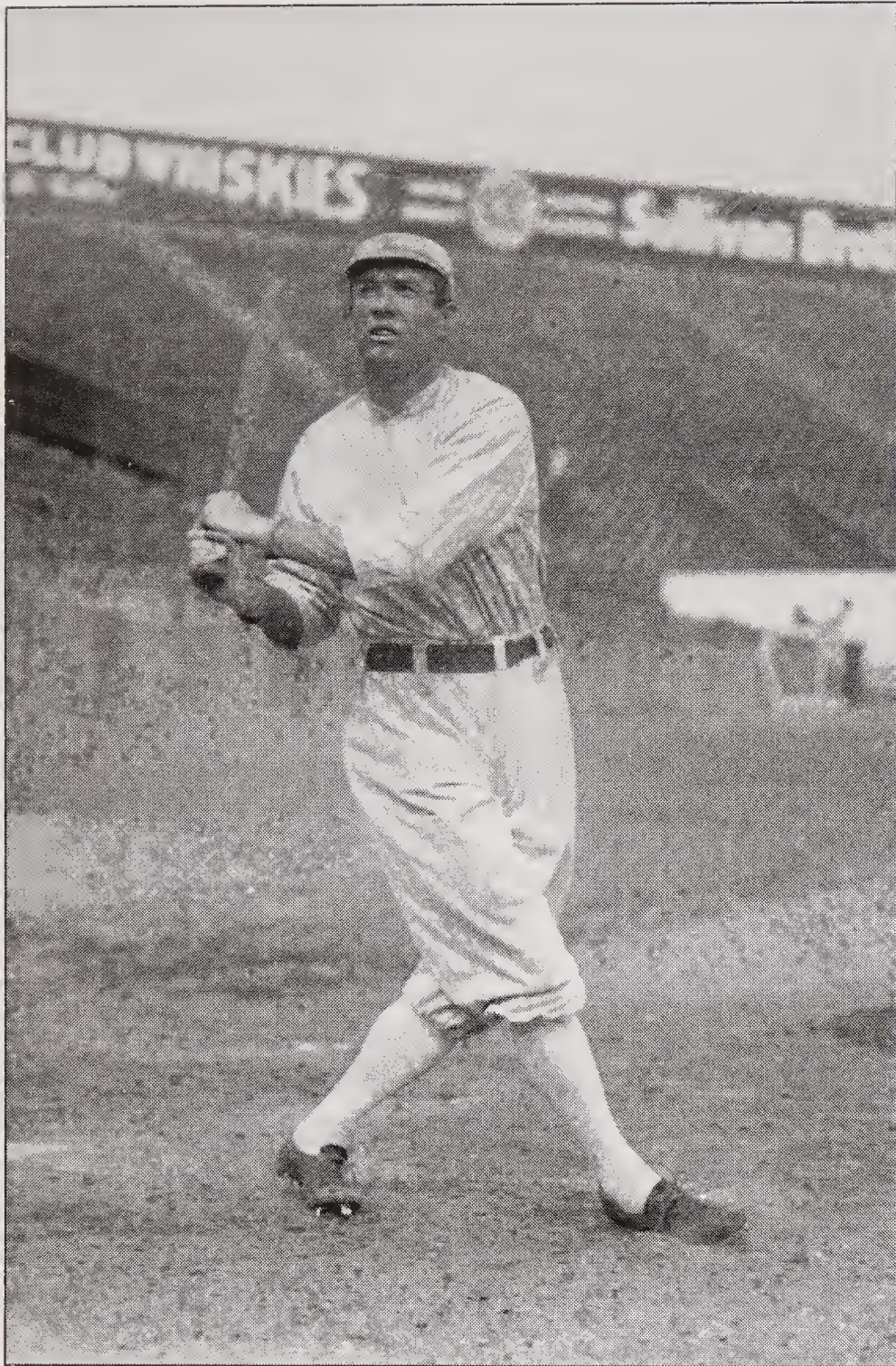
The bad blood between Leonard and Cobb continued until it climaxed in 1921, the year Cobb became Leonard's manager in Detroit. Cobb consistently fined Leonard, who was reputed as something of a night owl, for violating curfew. The two fought over how best to pitch to star players such as Speaker and George Sisler. Cobb also verbally derided Leonard because of his lackluster season on the mound. Although Leonard ultimately quit the team during the 1921 season, the quarrel manifested yet again when he rejoined the club in 1924. The Leonard-Cobb feud peaked in 1924 after Leonard accused Cobb of overworking him on the mound. Seemingly motivated by reprisal, Cobb left the pitcher in for an entire game—which was common in 1924—even though Leonard was being badly beaten and was not throwing well. Leonard



Ty Cobb. (Library of Congress)

was subsequently placed on waivers and, when no other team elected to pick him up, his career in major-league baseball effectively came to a close.

In the years following Leonard's retirement, rumors began to swirl that Leonard had some sort of knowledge about Cobb that could be used to blackmail him. According to Cobb biographer Al Stump, Leonard was heard on more than one occasion wanting to publicly disgrace Cobb. In 1926, Leonard gave baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis detailed information that implicated Cobb and Speaker in fixing a game in 1919. Leonard alleged that Cobb and Speaker, who was a player-manager for the Indians at the time, conspired to fix the September 24 game between the Tigers and Indians. Detroit, the home team, won the game 9-5. Leonard also produced an ample amount



Tris Speaker. (Library of Congress)

of evidence to corroborate his claim. Two letters in particular, one written by Cobb and another by retired Red Sox pitcher Smokey Joe Wood, referred to gambling and game fixing.

Moreover, baseball commissioner Landis revealed that league president, former baseball commissioner, and longtime Landis adversary Ban Johnson permitted Cobb and Speaker to resign rather than risk the type of fallout that came from the 1919 “Black Sox” scandal. Allegedly, Johnson had found the charges against Cobb, Speaker, and Wood so damning and likely to lead to convictions that he paid Leonard twenty thousand dollars to suppress the evidence. Landis’s revelation of Johnson’s intentions later factored into claims that the commissioner was using the Cobb-Speaker scandal as a personal publicity stunt.

A veritable firestorm erupted when Landis made the information public, in part to prevent reporters from picking up on the information first and exacerbating the indignity. Surprising to many, Landis’s decision to go public with the accusations produced the opposite effect. Fans and many in the baseball community, fueled by the newspaper syndicate, claimed Landis’s announcement was one of shameful self-advertisement intended to gain cheap exposure. However, had a newspaper rather than Landis broken the story, it is likely that fans would have accused baseball authorities of lacking the nerve to expose, denounce, and discipline its own stars. In hindsight, Landis probably made the right decision by disclosing the case himself rather than risking media exposure. Still, in 1926, the disreputable specter of game fixing still loomed large over baseball. That such prominent names as Cobb and Speaker could be deeply involved in such a scandal was threatening to both the business of baseball and the faith of the American public.

After being confronted with the charges, Cobb and Speaker immediately defended themselves. Most important, the public ultimately believed the two stars. Cobb implied that Leonard was traitorous by nature and that Leonard had publicly debased his own reputation. Cobb also claimed that Leonard’s evidence had been misinterpreted and that the monetary figures he was referring to were business investments.

Ultimately, Landis dropped the case against Cobb and Speaker, in part because of Leonard’s lack of cooperation (Landis refused to face the players and testify in court purportedly because he feared a beating from Cobb). A lack of further evidence or witnesses sealed the dismissal.

IMPACT

Many sportswriters and those within baseball continued to believe that Cobb’s and Speaker’s stardom and public stature, and not insufficient evidence or Leonard’s abnormal behavior, played chief roles in their exonerations. Still, the general public refused to believe that outstanding players such as Cobb and Speaker could have been cheating.

Cobb and Speaker resumed their playing careers with the Philadelphia Athletics after being reinstated by the commissioner, but both retired permanently after the 1928 season. After retirement, Leonard went on to become a successful fruit farmer and winemaker in California. Personal and public grudges against Landis and Leonard never mended. For his part, Landis used the episode to strengthen baseball's policy on gambling: Those involved with Major League Baseball who are found guilty of fixing a game are banned from the game for life. Still, the 1926 gambling scandal, coupled with the 1919 Black Sox case, was a negative mark on professional baseball and remained so for years.

—Matthew E. Stanley

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West, Mark D. *Secrets, Sex, and Spectacle: The Rules of Scandal in Japan and the United States*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006. Pages 211-217 examine sports scandals in the United States (and Japan).

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1927

MAE WEST'S PLAY ABOUT GAYS IS BANNED ON BROADWAY

Mae West's play The Drag was first performed in Connecticut to packed houses because of censorship restrictions in New York. It was American theater's first substantial and somewhat realistic picture of the world of cross-dressing and drag among gays. Although the play was naïve by modern standards because of its view that gay men want to be women, its advocacy of restraint to prevent disruptions to family life, and its claim that cross-dressing harms society, there is no doubt that the play's theme was heartfelt on the part of its creator and its tolerant views were ahead of their time.

LOCALES: Bridgeport, Connecticut; New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Performing arts; public morals; sex

KEY FIGURES

Mae West (1893-1980), American film star and playwright

Edward Elsnor (fl. 1920's), American director, producer, performer, and writer

James Timony (d. 1954), American attorney and stage manager

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Mae West, who wrote and acted in the successful and notorious play *Sex* (1926), wrote what would become another notorious—and scandalous—play: *The Drag: A Homosexual Comedy in Three Acts* (1927). *The Drag*, written under the pseudonym Jane Mast, offered its audience a glimpse into the lives of the gay men of New York City's infamous drag, or cross-dressing, balls. The publicity leading up to the anticipated opening of the play on Broadway in New York caused such a stir that legislation quickly was introduced to ban such plays in the city. The Society for the Suppression of Vice campaigned against it as well. Newspapers and entertainment magazines all condemned the play. West,

who had been arrested for *Sex*, was forced to end production of *The Drag* before it opened in New York.

The play, which premiered on January 31, 1927, at Poli's Theatre in Bridgeport, Connecticut, tells the story of Rolly Kingsbury, who is gay but married to a woman to conceal his homosexuality. His friends include several flamboyant gays, and his wife is very unhappy in their marriage without fully understanding why (until the end of the play). Eventually, Kingsbury is killed by a former lover, David Caldwell. The play includes brief discussion between a sympathetic character representing the medical community and a character representing the law, a judge who finds homosexuals a threat to society.

For her first twenty-five years in show business, West had a fair amount of success in vaudeville, musical comedy, and even burlesque. To expand her career, she founded the Morals Production Company with James Timony and her mother. She then developed into a notable figure with star power with her play *Sex*, the story of a Montreal madam and the various goings-on in her brothel. With its April 26, 1926, premiere, *Sex* became one of the biggest hits on Broadway until it was forced to close permanently in March of 1927. A month earlier, on February 9, West and the entire cast and crew of *Sex* had been arrested for creating a public nuisance and producing an immoral play.

The popularity of *Sex* convinced West to begin another work in September, 1926. Another inspiration for her was timing. A new genre was developing on the Broadway stage—sex plays—and *The Drag* would fit right in as a “homosexual comedy-drama,” as West called her new production. A French play about lesbians, *The Captive*, had premiered on Broadway earlier in 1926. Adapted from Edouard Bourdet's *La Prisonniere*, the American production was restrained in its depiction of lesbian desire (although this play, too, would be raided by police). Because of *The Captive*'s general accep-

tance, West felt she could create her gay-themed production (which, she and Timony would later claim, was envisioned as a gay version of *The Captive*). West and Timony began recruiting from known, albeit underground, gay neighborhoods in late 1926. She hired Edward Elsner to direct the play. (Elsner pushed West's creative imagination, and West credited him for pointing out her distinguishing, and later trademark, walk.)

Daly's 63rd Street Theatre served as the space (part of which they rented) where they would begin their work. The midnight-only rehearsals began, but the play was not quite complete. West, again with Elsner's strong encouragement, allowed many in the cast to help "write" the play by ad-libbing their lines. The characters displayed extremely stereotypical mannerisms, but for the time it seemed appropriate.

The Drag did manage one staging in New York City: a private showing for doctors and New York City officials in an attempt to win support for bringing it to Broadway. To limit the chance that it would be censored, West had written into the play a doctor character, who argues that homosexuals are not criminals or dangerous to society; they simply need help, whether medical or psychological or simple compassion. West could then claim that the play was a vehicle for sex education and not merely a play about sex. However, the officials and doctors were not persuaded, and they refused to approve the play's staging. Because of West's previous arrest, for which she was awaiting trial, she decided against fighting for *The Drag*. She had hoped someday to turn it into a book or even to produce a film version of the play, but those plans never developed fully.

IMPACT

The public's reaction to *The Drag* revealed how scandal would accompany homosexuality—and depictions of homosexuality—in 1920's America, so much so that the play was taboo on stage even in the seemingly open and tolerant city of New York. Official condemnation of the play, too, only reaffirmed what many already knew: homosexuality, and its depiction, was taboo, officially.

Scholars have speculated that when it first premiered, *The Drag* had a significant social impact, both positive and negative. Although many insist that West was attempting to "help" the homosexual community by writing the play, others believe she was merely exploiting New York's gay community for profit. Many argue that she saw the potential in the sex-plays genre and exploited it for her sole benefit, not only financially but also personally. Later, however, she often spoke on how she had always been in full support of gays, and that her support came out with the play.

—Michael T. Martin

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- West, Mae. *Goodness Had Nothing to Do with It: The Autobiography of Mae West*. 1959. New ed. New York: Belvedere, 1981. West's own thoughts and reminiscences on her life through the 1950's. An interesting mix of personal memoir, business acumen, insights into life, and plenty of gossip.
- _____. *Three Plays by Mae West: "Sex," "The Drag," "The Pleasure Man."* Edited by Lillian

Schlissel. New York: Routledge, 1997. Collection that includes West's three earliest plays. Includes a brief introduction by Schlissel that covers the plays and their histories independently. Also ties the plays together. Provides a look into the case against West for *Sex*, and includes trial documents.

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1927

PRESIDENT WARREN G. HARDING'S LOVER PUBLISHES TELL-ALL MEMOIR

In her 1927 book The President's Daughter, Nan Britton spoke of her longtime romantic affair with U.S. president Warren G. Harding. Britton claimed she had had sex with Harding in the White House and that Harding had fathered her daughter. The affair was the first sex scandal involving a U.S. president revealed not by the press but through a book's publication.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; government; politics; public morals; sex

KEY FIGURES

Nan Britton (1896-1991), President Harding's mistress, author of a tell-all book

Warren G. Harding (1865-1923), president of the United States, 1921-1923

Elizabeth Ann Blaesing (1919-2005), alleged illegitimate daughter of Britton and Harding

SUMMARY OF EVENT

After the tumult of World War I, much of the United States wanted to move back to a simpler and quieter era. It seemed that Warren G. Harding would provide that comfort when he was elected president in 1920. However, Harding's administration was

wracked by scandal, and the Roaring Twenties, as the name suggests, were anything but quiet. Harding-administration scandals included personal indiscretions and misconduct by his political appointees. Harding's mistress, Nan Britton, published an account of her trysts with him in her 1927 book *The President's Daughter*.

Harding was not considered to be presidential material in 1920 by most political pundits. The Republicans had been unable to agree on a first-rate presidential candidate but settled on him as their next-best choice. Harding benefited from the nation's rejection of Woodrow Wilson and the Democrats, and he promised a return to better times, or, in Harding's terms, "normalcy." The new president, however, had long been distanced from middle-class America's public definition of "normalcy." Harding had been cheating on his wife for nearly two decades, generally with his first mistress, Carrie Phillips, and he also enjoyed a good poker game, with drinking, even while the nation was deep in Prohibition.

Harding's second long-term mistress was Britton, who was about thirty years younger than the president. Britton had met him in 1912, and their affair began in 1916. It continued throughout his service in the U.S. Senate (which lasted until he be-

came president). It was while Harding was a senator that one of the most disputed events allegedly took place. Britton gave birth to a daughter, Elizabeth Ann Britton Blaesing, in 1919 and then claimed in *The President's Daughter* that Harding was the father.

The Britton affair was but one of many unacceptable actions by the president. Most people in the United States, after finding out about the affair, also condemned the frequent poker parties and drinking at the White House. However, because the press was much less investigatory during the 1920's, most of his indiscretions remained virtually unnoticed by the public. Harding was not as hands-on as other presidents, and he delegated much of his work to his cabinet secretaries and aides. Also, Harding was not interested in remaking the world or substantially remaking the United States—after all, he had promised normalcy, not change. He was interested, though, in continuing his life and affairs, particularly the one with Britton. The office sometimes wore on Harding, and he allegedly once remarked that the presidency was “one hell of a job.”

Harding's appointment of Interior Secretary Albert B. Fall turned out to be a bad one, as Fall was caught taking a bribe to arrange for oil leases to government land (the infamous Teapot Dome scandal). Harding's administration found itself in the middle of controversy by 1923. To address and counteract the controversy (and in part to get away from it), Harding began a speaking tour of the West Coast. In San Francisco, California, he collapsed and died after suffering either a heart attack or stroke.

Harding's quick death, combined with Britton's personal allegations, led some to suspect that his wife, Florence, had poisoned him, but that theory was not given much credence. Harding's wife died the following year. The nation quickly forgot about the Hardings until 1927, when Britton published her tell-all book, revealing her escapades with Harding. Throughout her life, Britton had been smitten with the president, which she reveals in her memoir.



Nan Britton and her daughter, Elizabeth Ann Blaesing, in 1931. (AP/Wide World Photos)

However, this revelation did not help her effort, which she said was aimed at providing for herself and her daughter. The book caused an immediate scandal. Previous scandals had merely been whispered about and were kept from the press.

To refute Britton's claims, Anton Shrewsbury Jenks published *A Dead President Makes Answer to "The President's Daughter"* (1929). That same year, a lawsuit was filed by Britton against those who backed the claims in Jenks's book. Britton could not prove her claims, and the attorney hired by her opponents painted her as vile, out for money, and a person who had created the entire affair and was besmirching Florence Harding's good name (and, thus, speaking ill of two dead people). Regardless of the truth, Harding's earlier affair shows that he was indeed a cheater. Claiming that Britton was lying about her affair helped win the lawsuit, but that claim likely had little truth.

Britton's allegations about her daughter's paternity were never proven, but most scholars do accept that Britton had an affair with Harding. The question remains whether the details in Britton's book support her affair with Harding. Most historians believe that those White House particulars were mostly imagined, even while believing in the existence of the affair and his possible paternity. Britton's daughter, coincidentally, was not interested in discovering her father's identity. The situation became even more complicated because many of Harding's personal letters and papers were sealed by court order (until 2023) and because Florence Harding burned some of his other papers to protect his reputation. The sealed papers generally consist of love letters between Harding and his first mistress, Phillips.

IMPACT

The Harding-Britton affair marked the first sex scandal involving a U.S. president revealed through a book's publication. However, this was not the first highly publicized scandal, as U.S. president Ulysses S. Grant's affairs were well known during his administration, nor was it the first time that a president slept with someone not his wife.

Britton's book also provides insight into the gender relations of the time: During the trial and after, Britton was condemned for trying to make money off the scandal and for suggesting that a president would be adulterous, even while the evidence was clearly there that Harding had not been faithful to his wife. Phillips's experiences, for those who do not find Britton's case convincing enough, suggest that Harding did have extramarital affairs, and Harding's character implies that Britton very well could have been telling the truth. Finally, the sealed Phillips letters suggest that Harding's extramarital affairs will remain a vital topic.

This scandal also has relevance for studies of the lives and times of U.S. presidents Bill Clinton and John F. Kennedy. Clinton's administration was marred by his affair with Monica Lewinsky, and Kennedy likely had extramarital affairs as well.

—Scott A. Merriman

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“Diary of a Mad Congresswife” Scandalizes Washington; Sept. 24, 1992: British Cabinet Member David Mellor Resigns over Romantic Affair; Jan. 17, 1998: President Bill Clinton

Denies Sexual Affair with a White House Intern; Sept. 28, 2002: British Politician Reveals Her Affair with Prime Minister John Major.

Early 1928

JOSEPH P. KENNEDY BEGINS AN AFFAIR WITH GLORIA SWANSON

Business tycoon Joseph P. Kennedy, the father of future U.S. president John F. Kennedy, met film star Gloria Swanson during a business venture. Though both were married to others at the time, they embarked on an affair that was an open secret in Hollywood. Kennedy also financed several of Swanson's films. The two broke up amid personal accusations.

LOCALES: New York, New York; Hollywood, California

CATEGORIES: Sex; Hollywood; film; public morals

KEY FIGURES

Joseph P. Kennedy (1888-1969), business investor
Gloria Swanson (Gloria May Josephine Svensson; 1899-1983), silent-film star

Rose Fitzgerald Kennedy (1890-1995), Joseph P. Kennedy's wife

Henri de la Falaise (1898-1972), Gloria Swanson's husband

SUMMARY OF EVENT

By 1927, Joseph P. Kennedy, nearly forty years old, had been married to Rose Fitzgerald, the daughter of a former mayor of Boston, for thirteen years; the couple had seven children. Kennedy had amassed a fortune through stock manipulation, and he was looking to invest in Hollywood, believing money could be made through mergers of the production and distribution of films. Also by 1927, Gloria Swanson was at the height of her career as a silent-

film star. In 1925, she had married her third husband, Henri de la Falaise, in France and returned to the United States in triumph. She opted to forgo her studio contract and join United Artists, a group of actors producing their own films independently. While her self-produced films were successes (especially *Sadie Thompson*, 1928), she was in debt and unsure of her financial footing.

When Kennedy and Swanson met in New York to discuss Swanson's business affairs, Kennedy seemed the answer to her prayers: confident, ebullient, and a person who knew money. Swanson seemed the answer to his dreams: petite, sensual, and a star. Soon, she had given him power of attorney over her business affairs. He reorganized her estate into Gloria Productions, replacing virtually all of her advisers with his own team. To reduce her costs, he recommended economies; to reduce her debt, he advised she sell her rights to *Sadie Thompson*.

By early 1928, Swanson and Kennedy were lovers. Kennedy solved the problem of Swanson's husband by employing him as director of his holdings in Pathé Studio, Europe, and he solved the problem of his wife by spending long periods away from home.

While Kennedy was wheeling and dealing, creating mergers that would become RKO Studios and making associations with the Radio Corporation of America (RCA)—an association that led to the success of talking films—he also wanted to produce serious cinema, starring Swanson. He hired Erich von Stroheim, a director known for high-art but

over-budget films, to create an artistic vehicle for Swanson. That story, to be known as *Queen Kelly*, was made as a silent film just as talkies were becoming the rage. After miles of shot film and hundreds of dollars of Swanson's money, the project would be shelved. Kennedy also appeared as producer on *The Trespasser* (1929) and the much less successful *What a Widow* (1930).

Hollywood knew of the Swanson-Kennedy affair but did not tell, though gossip columnist Hedda Hopper hinted. The two lovers never cohabited. For reasons that can only be imagined, Kennedy decided that Swanson would visit his family in the East and that they—not the triangle of Joseph and Rose Kennedy and Swanson but the full quadrangle of Joseph and Rose Kennedy, Swanson, and la Falaise—ought to travel together to the European premieres of *The Trespasser*. The events, many recorded in the memoirs of both Swanson and Rose Kennedy, were surreal.

While in Hyannis Port, Massachusetts, Kennedy arranged a tryst with Swanson aboard a sailboat at anchor, only to have his impressionable son, John, who was twelve years old, surprise the two lovers. Shocked and distressed, John jumped overboard

and tried to swim to shore. He had to be saved from the water by his father. On the ship to Europe, Kennedy fawned over Swanson in Rose's presence while the women tried to pretend the situation was not what it was. Rose was the more successful at this, leading Swanson to wonder if she was a fool, a saint, or the better actor.

Perhaps Rose was not as unaware as she pretended to be. In the fall of 1929, while in New York, Swanson was called into the presence of Boston's Roman Catholic cardinal William Henry O'Connell. He had been asked—by whom he would not say—to tell her that her relationship with Kennedy was an “occasion for sin” and that she should end the affair. Swanson, a non-Catholic, was livid.

By December, 1930, Kennedy's ardor for Hollywood mergers and for Swanson was cooling. After a dinner at which she questioned him (jokingly, she claims) about an expenditure from her personal accounts, he left her and Hollywood without a goodbye. As the affair ended, Swanson discovered that the trust she had granted him had been betrayed. He had indeed misused her personal funds, giving her extravagant “gifts” that she actually paid for herself.

The aftermath of the affair seemed minimal. Kennedy may have had a significant impact on the way Hollywood did business, but his affair did not play a major role in his business decisions. He got in, he made money, he got out. His status as a family man and patriarch also did not suffer, and he entered politics as an adviser to Franklin D. Roosevelt untarnished. Likewise, Rose Kennedy's choice to ignore the affair meant her relations with her husband could return to a chilly normalcy after 1930. The ninth and final Kennedy child, Ted, was born in 1932.

Swanson's husband did not ignore the goings-on. He opted for an amicable divorce, which was



Joseph P. Kennedy in 1934. (AP/Wide World Photos)



Gloria Swanson in 1927. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

finalized in 1931. Almost immediately he married actor Constance Bennett, herself an heir. He later married a third time. The position at Pathé in Europe arranged for him by Kennedy paid long-term dividends. La Falaise and Swanson remained friends until his death.

IMPACT

The three years of Swanson's liaison with Kennedy were critical ones for the film industry. Those years were critical for Swanson as well. Twenty-eight years old when the relationship began, she was thirty-one years old when it ended. In the life of a screen actor, these were important years. Furthermore, the work that she did under Kennedy's tutelage (if it could be called that for a woman who had star status when they met) was not her best. *The Trespasser* was a great success, but that film was the least influenced by Kennedy. *Queen Kelly* was a fiasco and never released in the United States; *What a Widow* (1930) was coolly received. Her career was fading. A series of flops during the 1930's confirmed that she was finished. Years later, her appearance in the Hollywood classic *Sunset Boulevard* in 1950 was a final success. In it, as the aging

actor Norma Desmond, she played a ruthless caricature of herself.

Financially, too, Swanson suffered from the affair. When she followed Kennedy's advice to sell the rights to *Sadie Thompson*, she lost one of her most profitable properties. Most of the production costs (and losses) for *Queen Kelly* and *What a Widow* were hers, not Kennedy's.

Beyond the effects on the immediate players, historians have argued that Kennedy's open secret had a deep and negative impact on the attitudes of his sons. The Kennedy men learned to marry up (in class) but sleep down. For the Kennedy politicians of the next generation, marriage was important for its public face and dynastic implications; fidelity in marriage was not. Though John F. Kennedy's womanizing was quietly ignored while he was in the White House, he appears to have followed in his father's footsteps where Hollywood affairs were concerned. Senator Ted Kennedy's longer political career, too, was marred by scandal.

—Jean Owens Schaefer

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1928-1929

ACTOR IS SUSPECTED OF FALSELY CLAIMING TO BE AN AMERICAN INDIAN

American Indian journalist and activist Buffalo Child Long Lance starred in a silent film with an American Indian cast. Before the film's release, however, rumors circulated that he was actually an African American, not a Native American. The scandal led to his ostracization, seclusion, and suicide. Historians have used the scandal to debate issues such as contested racial and ethnic identities, "Indianness," and cultural impersonation.

LOCALES: United States; Canada

CATEGORIES: Hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; social issues and reform; publishing and journalism; murder and suicide

KEY FIGURES

Buffalo Child Long Lance (Sylvester Clark Long; 1890-1932), American activist, actor, and journalist

William Douglas Burden (1898-1978), American naturalist and film producer

Ilia Tolstoy (1902-1970), American film director
Chauncey Yellow Robe (1870-1930), American Indian chief of the Rosebud Sioux, film adviser, and actor

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In the Roaring Twenties, one of the best-known American Indians in North America was journalist, activist, and future actor Buffalo Child Long Lance, chief of the Bloods, one of the four nations of the Blackfoot Confederacy of the northwestern United States and western Canada. His life story was so impressive that he reached eager readers and listeners from indigenous and nonindigenous communities.

In 1927, Long Lance was offered a contract by the publisher Cosmopolitan to write his autobiography. The book, *Long Lance: The Autobiography of a Blackfoot Indian Chief* (1928), chronicled his life from infancy—during the last years of fighting against the Crows and the Royal Canadian Mounted Police—until his decision to protect the Blackfoot culture by embracing white civilization through ed-

ucation. The autobiography became an immediate best seller in Canada, the United States, and England and was translated into Dutch and German. By 1928, Long Lance became a frequent sight in posh restaurants, theaters, opera houses, and the homes of New York City's wealthy elites. Dressed in top hat and tails, he entertained hosts and guests with American Indian folklore, songs, sign language, and dances. His popularity and notoriety would cause his downfall.

Long Lance signed on for the lead acting role in a film planned by producer and naturalist William D. Burden, who wanted to portray the harsh lives of Canada's indigenous peoples before the arrival of European technology and science. Long Lance was to be the star in an "all full-blooded Indian cast." The film, *The Silent Enemy* (1930), portrays a group of Ojibwa (Chippewa) peoples starving to death before the arrival of the seasonal caribou migration. During the film's editing stages, costar-adviser Chauncey Yellow Robe, a chief of the Rosebud Sioux, privately shared with Burden his doubts about Long Lance's identity as an American Indian.

Yellow Robe was convinced that Long Lance did not grow up in the Bloods community. Long Lance did not know tepee etiquette, his tribal dances were not authentic, and his sign language made no sense. He was loud and boisterous, behavior that offended cast members, and he was always punctual, another oddity. Yellow Robe suspected that Long Lance was white. Burden, fearing that his all-Indian cast would be compromised and his film discredited, launched an investigation of Long Lance's past.

Long Lance's autobiography shows that he had been immersed in American Indian and Western culture as a youth. At an early age he worked on cattle ranches in Alberta, Canada, and Montana and rode with Buffalo Bill's Wild West show. He graduated from the famed Carlisle Indian Industrial School in Pennsylvania, where he played on the football team with the legendary athlete Jim Thorpe. U.S. president Woodrow Wilson appointed Long Lance to the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, making him only the second American Indian to receive such an appointment. From West Point, Long Lance returned to Canada, enlisted in the Canadian army,

Actor Is Suspected of Claiming to Be an Indian

and served with the Canadian Expeditionary Force in France during World War I. After being wounded three times, he was awarded France's Croix de Guerre, promoted to the rank of lieutenant, and transferred to an intelligence unit in Italy. In Italy he was promoted to captain and awarded the Italian War Cross. Upon returning to Canada in 1919, he began a career as a journalist in Calgary, Alberta.

Long Lance started his career as a general reporter, but he demonstrated talent for sports reporting and for feature writing about Canada's indigenous peoples. In the first half of the 1920's, he worked at several newspapers in western Canada and spent weeks at a time on different Indian reserves (known as reservations in the United States). His detailed reports resembled anthropological fieldwork and were read widely in Canada. In a short time his stories went beyond descriptions of the disappearance of traditional lifestyles to accounts of high death rates from diseases and the institutional neglect and abuse at the hands of the federal government in Canada.

When invited to speak to Native American communities, Long Lance spoke of the importance of education and adapting to white civilization without giving up indigenous cultures and values. He further advocated that the scattered indigenous communities unite with the fledgling allied tribes movement to recover lost lands and to pressure the government to deliver services denied but required by treaty and law. Newspapers and magazines in Canada and the United States purchased articles from him, and he became a popular speaker throughout Canada and the American Midwest. In his talks he explained to white audiences the rich heritage of the Plains cultures and how indigenous peoples suffered at the hands of the negligent government agencies required to protect them. His speaking and writing made him a celebrity.

In 1928, an investigation inadvertently triggered by *Cosmopolitan* discovered that Long Lance's autobiography was fictional. Investigators found that when Long Lance first arrived in Alberta in 1919, he had identified himself as a Cherokee from Oklahoma. His adoption by the Bloods in 1922 had been honorary, but it gave him no claims on Blood prop-

erty, rights, or titles. Burden's later investigation further exposed Long Lance's fabricated public persona. Long Lance's highest rank in the Canadian army had been corporal, and he never received medals for valor, from any nation. He did receive a presidential appointment to West Point but never attended the academy. He did graduate from Carlisle but was not on the famous football team with Thorpe. Long Lance's name did not appear on the roster of any Cherokee tribe, and the Cherokee students at Carlisle regarded him as more African American than Cherokee. He had added Chahuska and Lance to his given name, Sylvester Clark Long, to make his name appear Cherokee. When confronted with this evidence, Long Lance insisted that he was a Cherokee who had been adopted by the Long family of Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

Burden sent the film's coproducer, and Long Lance's friend, Ilia Tolstoy to Winston-Salem to examine the adoption story. Tolstoy learned that Long Lance was not adopted but was born to Joe Long and Sallie Carson Long on December 1, 1890. Both parents were of mixed American Indian and white ancestry and denied that their antecedents were African or African American. William Blair, a prominent white banker, told Tolstoy that when the Longs came to Winston (as it was then called) during the 1880's, everyone in the white community understood them to be American Indian. They were treated as "colored" because the segregation system had two categories only, but they were not African American. Burden was greatly relieved and continued his promotional campaign.

IMPACT

Long Lance's performance in *The Silent Enemy* brought great praise, but rumors that he was African American and not American Indian circulated throughout New York City. He was all but shunned and was left off the lists of invitees for social events. Offers to write or speak stopped coming in as well, but one woman, Anita Baldwin, continued to believe in him.

Baldwin, one of the wealthiest women in the United States and a student of American Indian culture, hired Long Lance as her body guard and pri-

vate secretary at her three-thousand-acre ranch near Los Angeles. Long Lance tried to remake himself by earning a pilot's license. He planned to buy his own airplane and take part in archaeological expeditions in Latin America, but he despaired of raising enough money.

However, Long Lance frequently disappeared for days at a time and returned to the ranch drunk and violent. At the end of one binge, on March 30, 1932, he fatally shot himself with his own pistol. The news and manner of his death shocked those who knew him. After a short time of speculation that Long Lance had been murdered, his name disappeared from the news. *The Silent Enemy* was all but forgotten. It was one of the last of the silent films and did poorly at the box office.

No attempt was made to investigate thoroughly the rumors of Long Lance's family background. The literary and film communities embraced the barriers of segregation and distanced themselves from him, even though he was a great communicator and champion of the rights of American and Canadian Indians. In a short time, Long Lance's name and his film *The Silent Enemy* were unrecognized beyond the circle of those who knew him.

—Paul E. Kuhl

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March 21, 1928

ALBERTA GOVERNMENT STERILIZES THOUSANDS DEEMED GENETICALLY AND MENTALLY UNFIT

In an attempt to stem the growing population of immigrants and the urban poor, the Alberta, Canada, legislative assembly passed a law designed to keep genetically "unfit" people from reproducing. Once in place, the government agency in charge of approving sterilizations removed itself from the public eye and continued its project of eliminating so-called social deviants from the gene pool long after the science of eugenics was discredited. Despite the draconian aspects of this eugenics law, it was not repealed until 1972.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Sexual Sterilization Act

LOCALE: Edmonton, Alberta, Canada

CATEGORIES: Medicine and health care; law and the courts; psychology and psychiatry; science and technology; human rights; civil rights and liberties

KEY FIGURES

John W. MacEachran (1877-1971), Canadian academic and chairman of the Alberta Eugenics Board

Margaret W. Thompson (b. 1920), Canadian geneticist and Eugenics Board member

Leilani Muir (b. 1944), Canadian cafeteria worker who sued the province of Alberta

SUMMARY OF EVENT

For forty-four years, the Canadian province of Alberta pursued one of the most aggressive and persistent eugenics policies in North American history. Eugenical theories during the 1920's proposed that the human race could be improved by selective breeding. Alberta's Sexual Sterilization Act of 1928 attempted to alleviate social problems of unemployment, crime, and poverty by authorizing surgical operations on mental patients who were deemed unfit to reproduce. The act originally targeted ethnic minorities and women who lived in poverty, though adolescent children were frequently targeted as well. Though eugenics lost its scientific credibility during the following thirty years, surgical sterilization continued at a high rate in Alberta until 1972, when sweeping civil rights reforms led to the law's repeal. By that time, over twenty-eight hundred men, women, and children had been sterilized, most of them without their knowledge or consent.

The sterilization act permitted mental institutions to sterilize particular inmates as a precondition for their release. It called for the creation of the Alberta Eugenics Board, a four-person committee composed of two physicians and two individuals from outside the medical profession. The board would be responsible for determining whether a

given patient might produce offspring who would inherit the characteristics that led to institutionalization and whether sterilization would alleviate the risks involved in the patient's reintegration into society. If the board agreed unanimously that these conditions were met, a surgeon could legally sterilize the patient. Before its revision in 1937, the law required that the patient (or the next of kin, if the patient was mentally incompetent) give consent before the surgery could become legal. The bill met with public opposition and opposition among members of Alberta's Legislative Assembly. Strong support from the United Farmers of Alberta, the dominant political party in the Legislative Assembly, pushed the bill to passage on March 21, 1928.

The sterilization act was implemented in 1929 with the first meetings of the Alberta Eugenics Board under Chairman John M. MacEachran, founder of the University of Alberta's Department of Philosophy and Psychology. Under MacEachran the board soon developed an efficient system to approve sterilizations. A representative from a mental institution had to present each candidate for sterilization to the board in person. The board reviewed the patient's case history, interviewed the patient, and made its decision. It authorized sterilization in 99 percent of all cases it reviewed. For the remaining 1 percent, the board deferred its decision until a later date; it never denied authorization.

Before 1937, the consent requirement had prevented many authorized sterilizations. Although the board approved 1,283 candidates for sterilization between 1928 and 1938, 644 persons were actually sterilized. To increase this rate, the legislative assembly removed the consent requirement for mentally "defective" patients and expanded the grounds for sterilization to include psychotics and people considered unfit to raise children—a characterization that in practice was applied to women who drank heavily or who had become pregnant out of wedlock. As eugenics programs declined after World War II, the Eugenics Board's activities were mostly forgotten by the general public. MacEachran maintained a small network of contacts in the provincial government and the mental health system, but he remained isolated from much of the sci-

entific community, whose consensus now rejected most of the old beliefs that justified the board's creation.

The removal of the consent requirement made most who resided in a mental institution vulnerable to involuntary sterilization. Though the number of candidates presented dropped after the 1930's, the number of sterilizations increased once institutions began diagnosing more patients with mental deficiencies. Tests for mental deficiency favored well-educated English speakers from middle-class backgrounds. Women and Canadian Indians were the most vulnerable to sterilization because of gender and ethnic biases in the evaluation procedures. Mental defectiveness could be diagnosed at an early age, and the growth of training schools for disadvantaged youth after 1950 led to a greater proportion of young people among the candidates presented to the board. At the same time, the number of adult patients declined rapidly. Ninety-three percent of candidates under the age of fifteen already had been diagnosed as mentally defective before they were presented.

The administration of the Provincial Training School for the Mentally Defective (PTS) was especially zealous in its approach to sterilization during the 1950's and 1960's. The PTS administration wanted to sterilize mentally defective children at the earliest possible age, referring many children soon after the onset of puberty. After 1955, parents had to sign a consent form for sexual sterilization before their children could be admitted. One administrator used the children for medical experiments, obtaining authorization from the board to remove the testicles of boys with Down syndrome (who were already known to be infertile), which he then used as tissue samples for his research. These were blatant violations of the Sexual Sterilization Act because the patients were not going to be discharged from the institution and the surgical procedure was completely unnecessary, but by this time the board's entrenchment and lack of oversight had given it near-complete autonomy. In its first decade of operation, the board had sometimes spent up to an hour discussing certain cases, often because of consent issues or concerns about possible negative

effects of sterilization. By 1960, it often spent less than ten minutes on each case before authorizing sterilization.

The Eugenics Board gained public attention in 1969, when several women who had been sterilized requested medical help in restoring their fertility. This prompted two University of Alberta law professors to review the Sexual Sterilization Act. They presented a scathing attack on the act's antiquated science and imprecise language. It questioned the board's ability to determine the heritability of a mental deficiency. The act was repealed in 1972 by the newly elected Progressive Conservative government.

IMPACT

The extent of the harm done by the Sexual Sterilization Act did not become evident until 1995. Former PTS resident Leilani Muir sued the province of Alberta for wrongful confinement and sterilization while she was a teenager at PTS from 1955 to 1965. In court it was discovered that children in PTS were often sterilized not as a precondition for their release but to suppress sexual behavior when they reached puberty. Muir, like many PTS patients, had been retained at PTS for labor and illegal experimentation. After she left the institution, an IQ test showed her to have normal intelligence.

Margaret W. Thompson, a geneticist who served briefly on the Eugenics Board, acknowledged that it was impossible to determine the risk of a patient having children with genetic disorders. By 1960, the board had realized that the standards of the law were too high to meet, so it approved sterilizations of nearly every individual who came before the board, which included patients with conditions that rendered them infertile. Most of the patients, Thompson claimed, were unable to read or write or dress themselves. School records showed that this was untrue, but the board did not spend sufficient time on any one case to verify the accuracy of the information it was given. In 1996 an Alberta court awarded \$900,000 to Muir for wrongful sterilization, pain and suffering, damages, and court costs. The case of *Muir v. Alberta* (1996) set a precedent that prompted more than eight hundred victims to

seek claims against the province for wrongful sterilization over the next four years. By February, 2000, Alberta had paid \$150 million in compensation and legal fees.

After *Muir v. Alberta*, the Sexual Sterilization Act became a cautionary tale in the application of biological theories to social policy. Some commentators have drawn parallels between the repercussions of the Sexual Sterilization Act and the ethical dilemmas that may arise from breakthroughs with the Human Genome Project, stem-cell research, and prenatal screening for birth disorders. The prospect of medical technologies that may allow doctors to detect or manipulate certain genetic characteristics in fetuses may lead to concerns about how far human beings can, or should, go in the attempt to control the biology of future generations.

—Shaun Horton

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June 6, 1929

LUIS BUÑUEL'S *UN CHIEN ANDALOU* SHOCKS PARISIAN AUDIENCE

Generally regarded as the first Surrealist film, Un Chien Andalou aroused public fury after its inaugural screening because of its shocking and disconnected imagery. Nevertheless, the film helped launch the artistic careers of its makers, Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí.

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Film; art movements; cultural and intellectual history; public morals

KEY FIGURES

Salvador Dalí (1904-1989), Spanish Surrealist painter

Luis Buñuel (1900-1983), Spanish Surrealist filmmaker

André Breton (1896-1966), French writer and founder of the Surrealist movement

Cyril Connolly (1903-1974), English writer and critic

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí's short film *Un Chien Andalou* (an Andalusian dog) is filled with perplexing and nightmarish scenes. On June 6, 1929, it had its first showing at Paris's Studio des Ursuline. Because the government censor did not

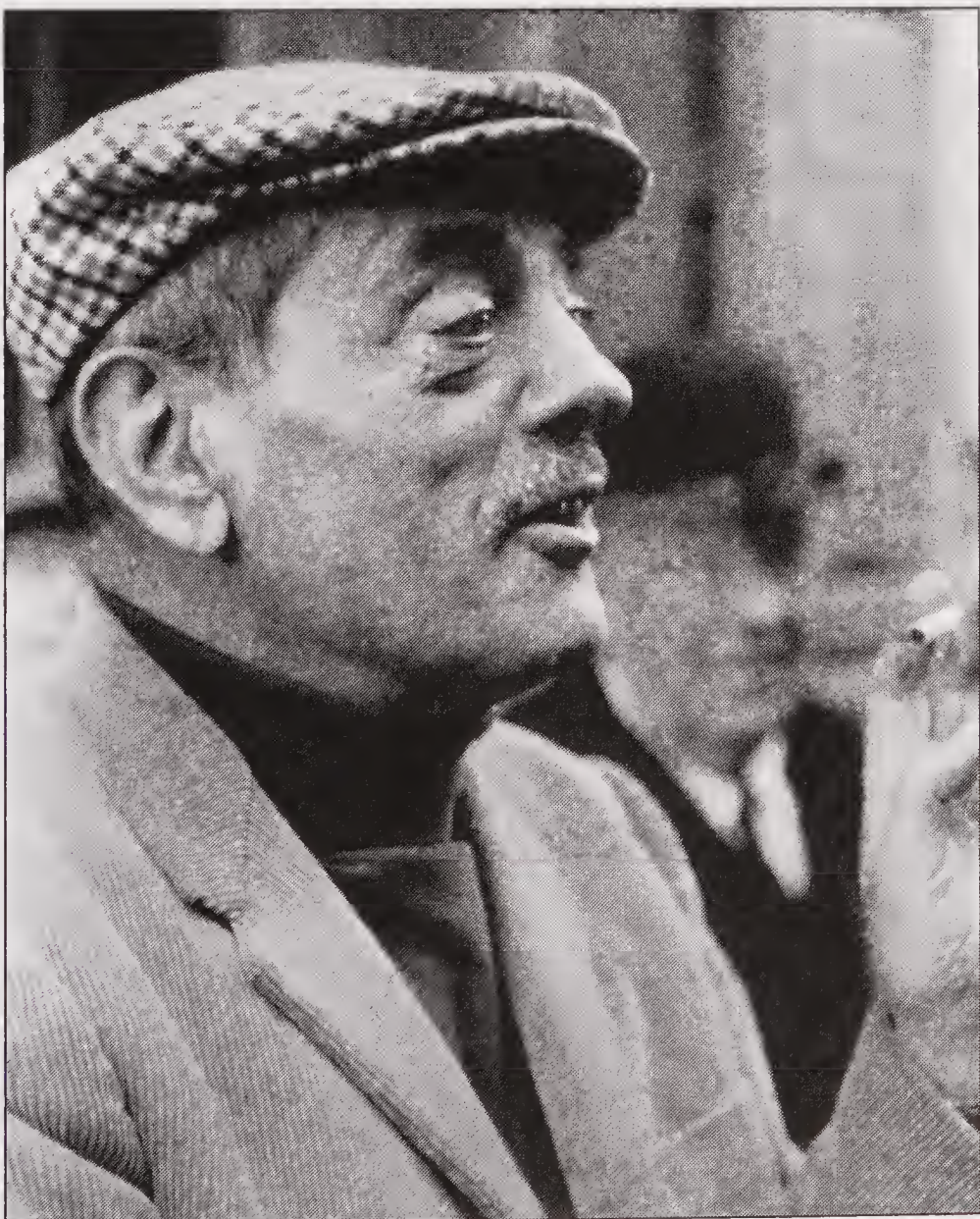
grant permission to show the film publicly, it was screened before a private audience of mostly Surrealists. André Breton, Surrealism's domineering leader, had been known to organize disruptions of events claiming to be Surrealist without his authorization, so the audience's expected response was uncertain for *Un Chien Andalou*. Buñuel expected a fight and stood behind the screen, prepared to throw stones at anyone who made trouble. However, the film was received enthusiastically by the Surrealist artists in attendance, many of whom welcomed anything deemed scandalous. The notoriety the film brought to Paris's Studio 28 made it a popular avant-garde attraction visited by those who spurned bourgeois respectability. The general public's response to the film, however, was different.

The film opened to the public on October 28, together with a crime film called *The Cop*. Surviving reports of the first public screening are unclear and contradictory. According to some, the public greeted *Un Chien Andalou* with quiet perplexity. However, British critic Cyril Connolly reported that many of those with whom he watched the film raised catcalls and shouted obscenities. Connolly himself saw the film as a liberation of the unconscious and of primordial instincts. In Spain, the famed poet Federico García Lorca read reviews of

the film and became angry because he interpreted the film as an attack on him.

Buñuel and Dalí had become friends while Buñuel was studying at the University of Madrid and Dalí was studying at the San Fernando School of Fine Arts (SFSFA). They moved among a set of young artists, writers, and intellectuals. In 1925, Buñuel moved to Paris and worked as a director's assistant on silent films. Four years younger than Buñuel, Dalí was regarded as eccentric from a very early age but showed talent and versatility as a painter. After his arrogance and unorthodox behavior got him expelled from SFSFA in 1926, he began splitting his time between Madrid and Paris.

In Paris, Dalí and Buñuel became acquainted with many of the most advanced artists of their day and were particularly close to writers and artists of the Surrealist movement. Surrealists sought to break up the rationality of everyday life to attain a reality like that of dreams that was beyond ordinary realism. Influenced by the theories of Austrian psy-



Luis Buñuel in Spain, c. 1970. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Luis Buñuel's Un Chien Andalou Shocks Audience

choanalyst Sigmund Freud, among others, they attempted to bring the unconscious into the realm of consciousness through spontaneity, the merging of incongruous images and objects, and intentional shocks to ordinary expectations and morality. Later in his life, Buñuel called scandal one of the weapons Surrealists used to counter society.

As Buñuel absorbed the influences of the Surrealists, he aspired to become an artist. However, unlike Dalí, he could not paint, so he moved into the emerging art of filmmaking by writing film reviews. An admirer of the work of German director Erich von Stroheim, Buñuel studied the early dedication of silent films to coherent narrative structures and realistic settings. Eventually, he would apply the Surrealist principles to film to turn the early cinema against itself.

Meanwhile, Dalí had been living at Cadaques in Spain, where Buñuel visited him in 1929. Trying to find where he might fit into the art world, he proposed to Dalí that they make a film together. They began writing a script by sharing their dreams and working out how they could express these dreams through visual images. They agreed that they would include no idea or image that would lend itself to rational explanation.

Buñuel and Dalí shot *Un Chien Andalou* in only fifteen days, and the film was only sixteen minutes long. Its opening scene gained notoriety the first moment it was shown to an audience. It depicts a man (played by Buñuel) sharpening a razor. As he gazes at the sky and sees a drifting cloud, he takes a woman's face in one hand and with his other hand draws his razor across her eye. A calf's eye was used in filming, but the shot appears to show a living person's eye being slit open. Many commentators regard the shot as a symbolic attack on the viewers themselves, expressing the Surrealist impulse to assault and disturb audiences, instead of providing entertainment. After this jolting beginning, the film continues with a progression of images, many clearly sexual or anticlerical in character.

The eye-slashing sequence is followed by the words "Eight Years Later" and a shot of a figure, who appears to be a Roman Catholic nun but turns



Salvador Dalí in Paris, 1934. (Library of Congress, Carl Van Vechten Collection)

out to be a man, bicycling down a street. A woman shown indoors reading suddenly looks up, sees the bicyclist fall over, and runs down some stairs to kiss and caress the fallen man. She then returns to her room. A nearby man looks at a hole in his hand from which ants are crawling. In the street, a short-haired woman pokes a severed hand with a stick. After additional disturbing scenes, the film ends with a man and a woman embracing and walking along a shore. The words “In the Springtime” appear, and then the film concludes with two figures seemingly buried in sand.

IMPACT

Un Chien Andalou ranks as one of the most notorious films in cinematic history. Its eye-slashing scene still shocks and disturbs even modern film audiences jaded by screen violence. Although Dalí and Buñuel made a second film together—*L'Âge d'or* (1930; the golden age), which provoked riots in Paris before being banned—their friendship soon ended, and *Un Chien Andalou* became one of the points of contention between them. Although Buñuel apparently contributed much more to the

film than his partner, Dalí claimed that he should have received more credit than he did. Dalí also accused Buñuel of withholding profits from the film, although it appears that the film did not actually make a profit.

Buñuel and Dalí both eventually became famous and controversial. Buñuel made a career in cinema after returning to Spain but fled to Mexico when the fascist dictator Francisco Franco came to power in 1936. After a long career in Mexico, he returned to Spain to make *Viridiana* (1961), an attack on Roman Catholicism and Spanish morals that scandalized Franco and his supporters while garnering international praise. As viewers increasingly expected artistic films to be ironic and subversive, Buñuel's genius at expressing the scandalous made him

one of the grand old artists of modern cinema.

Dalí also turned his rejection of convention into success and became the most widely recognized Surrealist painter, even though most Surrealists shunned him. His odd behavior, as well as his art's striking images, made him a popular icon who transformed scandal into reputation and reputation into marketable products.

The techniques of *Un Chien Andalou*, the sudden movement from one image to another without regard to logical or strictly narrative connections, influenced many later filmmakers. The film's influence can be found in the work of such modern filmmakers as David Lynch and in the anarchic comedy of the group Monty Python. Film scholars have also noted more subtle influences in the works of many directors, such as Alfred Hitchcock and Roman Polanski, who produced films with more traditional plot structures.

—Carl L. Bankston III

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November, 1929

BANQUE OUSTRIC ET CIE FAILURE PROMPTS FRENCH INQUIRY

Albert Oustric was a clever and less-than-honest speculator in the volatile financial climate of 1920's France who declared bankruptcy on his phantom companies, then quickly formed others. His stock manipulations and fraudulent bankruptcy had significant repercussions in the French political world, as several government ministers had business dealings with him and were criminally implicated as well.

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Banking and finance; business; government; politics; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Albert Oustric (b. 1887), banker and speculator who founded the Banque Oustric et Cie

Raoul Adolphe Péret (1870-1942), attorney for Oustric, minister of finance, and minister of justice

André Tardieu (1876-1945), premier of France, March 2-December 13, 1930

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Before the outbreak of World War I, Albert Oustric worked as a messenger, a waiter, and a café singer in Toulouse, France, then as a wine salesman. Because of certain connections he had made, he obtained a job in a munitions factory during the war. Thus, he was able to avoid the harsh life of a French soldier in the trenches of World War I. After the war was over and France was inundated by a wave of inflation, he began speculating, or investing. Oustric was intelligent and talented in financial dealings, and he helped companies such as Blanchisserie de Thaon and Peugeot become successful after the war.

In 1919, Oustric opened an office on Rue Auber in Paris. This site became the Banque Oustric et Cie, a limited partnership bank with a supposed capital of one million francs. In reality, its capital amounted to only 250,000 francs. From the time he opened his bank to 1925, Oustric carefully acquired useful relationships with important politicians. Among the politicians with whom he established friendships were Raoul Adolphe Péret, the minister

of finance, and René Bernard, French ambassador to Rome. Using his connections in the ministry of finance and in the ministry of foreign affairs, Oustric succeeded in listing the Italian artificial-silk manufacturer Snia Viscosa on the Paris bourse, or stock market. This successful venture netted him a substantial fee from the Italian banker and a favorable reputation in the business world.

Oustric moved forward and became heavily involved in speculation on the Paris bourse. As the owner of a bank, he began lending significant sums of money to companies with financial problems in exchange for stock in the companies. He preferred to purchase stock, which gave him a plurality of votes to gain control of the companies. He then used these stocks as security to borrow money at a discounted rate from the Banque de France.

Using this money, Oustric began buying up companies in one particular trade area and consolidating them. His first such venture was in the purchase of a number of shoe companies. After he had combined the companies, he sold stock in the merged companies at four or five times its actual value. Oustric also bought the controlling interest in the Banque Adam. He then began creating phantom companies to finance other companies. His schemes attracted a large number of investors both large and small. In October, 1929, the Paris bourse posted a warning about Oustric, and by October 30, the institution suspended his companies' listings. In November, Oustric's banks—Oustric and Adam—and all of his satellite companies declared bankruptcy. The losses amounted to the equivalent of \$56 million. Oustric was arrested, found guilty of fraudulent bankruptcy, and sentenced to eighteen months in prison in November, 1930. He also was required to pay a fine for irregularities in his stock dealings, particularly in regard to the shoe companies.

The failure of Banque Oustric and Banque Adam and the bankruptcies declared by Oustric made for sensational news in the French press. *Le Canard enchaîné*, the satirical French weekly founded in 1915, reported the affair in great detail. The publication not only made known the facts of the scandal but also added fabricated interviews, cartoons, and a *jeu d'oie* (game of the type of snakes and ladders)

called *Le Canard et du Financier*. A number of books on the scandalous affair, such as Maurice Privat's *Oustric et Cie* (1930), were published, and *Le Canard enchaîné* also carried reviews of them.

Oustric's relationship with a number of French politicians brought about a French senate investigation in April of 1931. In the parliamentary inquiry, former minister of justice Péret, Senator René Besnard, and Gaston Vidal and Albert Favre, two other politicians with whom Oustric had established connections, were brought to trial before the senate on charges of corruption for their dealings with Oustric. Péret had given legal advice to Oustric and was the minister of finance when Oustric received approval to place the stocks of Snia Viscosa on the Paris bourse. Péret was minister of justice when Oustric was charged with irregularities in his business ventures and delayed bringing Oustric to trial. (At the time, Premier André Tardieu supported Péret.) Even though Péret had denied any wrongdoing, he resigned as minister of justice on November 17, 1930. The Oustric scandal also brought an end to Tardieu's cabinet. It also was alleged that Péret had received considerable sums of money from Banque Oustric.

Much of the trial centered on the listing of the Snia Viscosa stock on the Paris bourse. An official in the ministry of finance under Péret in 1926 testified that he had issued a favorable report on the Italian firm's stock on the direct order of Péret. Also, Bernard was accused of having received a large amount of money from Oustric after the listing. The trial lasted from April 3 to July 21, 1931, when all the Oustric affair defendants were acquitted by the senate.

IMPACT

Oustric's stock manipulation and speculation were actually not uncommon occurrences in the period after World War I and during the Great Depression. In 1928, Marthe Hanau had bought an economic newspaper in which she gave tips on which stocks to buy. These stocks were almost always in companies that existed only on paper, which she set up with a number of unscrupulous business partners. When she began issuing short-term bonds at 8 per-

cent interest, the government began investigating her practices. She and her business partners were arrested, tried, and imprisoned.

In 1934, another financial scandal, the Stavisky affair, rocked France. Alexandre Stavisky had established a credit union that sold worthless bonds to the French working class. When his duplicity was discovered, he fled to Chamonix and either committed suicide or was murdered by the police. In each instance, government officials were involved, and there was evidence of bribery and the exchange of considerable amounts of money.

All three scandals contributed to distrust of the government and the strengthening of the antiparliamentary movement and the popularity of left-wing politicians. The Oustric affair, however, involved politicians at a higher level of government. During the period of his involvement with Oustric, P  ret was the head of a government ministry. As minister of finance, he helped Oustric start his scandalous banking and speculating career by approving the listing of the Snia Viscosa stock on the Paris bourse; then, as justice minister, he delayed Oustric's trial. P  ret's involvement with and favoring of Oustric had far-reaching impacts, as it ruined his political career and caused the demise of Tardieu's government. Oustric also defrauded a broad segment of French society.

The failure of the Banque Oustric and the resulting scandal serve as examples of the opportunities for unscrupulous speculation and defrauding of the investing public. The scandal shows that governments must maintain stringent controls on financial institutions and the government officials with whom they deal.

—Shawncey Webb

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1930

LIBERIA IS ACCUSED OF SELLING ITS OWN CITIZENS INTO SLAVERY

The League of Nations' slavery commission led an investigation into the continuing trade in forced labor between Liberia and the Spanish cocoa plantations on the island of Fernando Pó and into corruption in the Liberian government. The subsequent report led to many reforms by the Liberian government.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Christy Commission

LOCALES: Monrovia, Liberia; island colony of Fernando Pó (now Bioko, Equatorial Guinea); Geneva, Switzerland

CATEGORIES: Human rights; labor; trade and commerce; colonialism and imperialism; government; international relations

KEY FIGURES

Charles D. B. King (1871-1961), president of Liberia, 1920-1930

Allen Yancy (1881-1941), vice president of Liberia, 1928-1930

Robert Cecil (1864-1958), president of the British League of Nations Union

Cuthbert Christy (1863-1932), British doctor

Charles S. Johnson (1893-1956), American social scientist and civil rights advocate

Arthur Barclay (1854-1938), former president of Liberia, 1904-1912

W. E. B. Du Bois (1868-1963), American social activist, author, and educator

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1930, the League of Nations, the precursor of the modern United Nations, issued a report issued by the Christy Commission, an international team that investigated charges that the African nation of Liberia was selling its citizens to the Spanish island colony of Fernando Pó (now Bioko). The allegations were shocking to the world on many levels, but chiefly because Liberia was the culprit. Liberia had been founded in 1847 by former American

slaves as a land of freedom, far from the reaches of slavery in the United States. The 1930 controversy, the commission found, was complex on several levels.

The United States government had alleged that there were human rights abuses in Liberia and that Liberian citizens were being pressed into forced labor, both within the boundaries of Liberia and at Fernando Pó. The Liberian government expressed its desire to have an impartial investigation of these allegations, and it asked for help in the matter. Robert Cecil, president of the British League of Nations, appointed the International Commission of Inquiry on Slavery and Forced Labor in Liberia. Because the United States was not a member of the League of Nations, its request for an impartial, international-level investigation would have to originate as an inquiry by the League of Nations. The League formed the Christy Commission, comprising Chairman Cuthbert Christy, a British doctor and a specialist in tropical diseases; Charles S. Johnson of Fisk University, an American social scientist and advocate for African Americans; and Arthur Barclay, a former president of Liberia.

The inquiry lasted over five months and not only investigated the allegations of slavery and forced labor but also examined the administration of Liberia more broadly. The Christy Commission found widespread corruption and a vastly mismanaged governmental base. It found that Liberia was a nation that foundered in massive amounts of national debt and an unstable infrastructure. The commission issued a “plan of assistance” as a remedy. The Liberian government agreed with the commission’s report and asked for the League’s help in providing administrative and financial assistance.

Fernando Pó, an island off the coast of Cameroon, had long suffered a decline in the population of its native people, the Bubi, because of sexually transmitted diseases brought by European colonists to the island and because of social dislocation.

Fernando Pó was forced to look to the African mainland for laborers. In 1905, the governments of Fernando Pó and Liberia worked out a system where representatives from Fernando Pó's plantations sent African recruiters into the Liberian interior. The recruiters were promised large bonuses for every laborer brought back to the island colony. The transfer of Liberian workers to Fernando Pó was implemented by the German company Wiechers & Helm. Those persons who were "recruited" into such labor conditions were given a passage order for travel to Fernando Pó. Though laborers were supposed to work no more than two years, most worked far longer.

One of the commission's immediate goals was to clean up the corruption of the Liberian government at its top levels. Liberian vice president Allen Yancy and members of the Monrovia cabinet were impeached, and President Charles D. B. King resigned. Because the country's next official election was not until January of 1932, Secretary of State Barclay was made interim president.

Yancy, investigators found, had organized and conducted the slave traffic from Liberia to Fernando Pó and was the chief beneficiary of this traffic. He also instigated the creation of camps where more than two hundred women were held against their will to "serve" male administrators and laborers. The women were taken away from their own communities and families to live in what were, in effect, rape camps.

The structural changes in Liberian government, though necessary, did not address the alarming and pressing fact that Liberian citizens were being sold by their own government to another country and were likewise being pressed into forced labor in their own homeland. The Christy Commission found Liberian society to be immensely fractured along lines of birth—those who were indigenous (native African) and those who were of American lineage. Those who were of American descent overwhelmingly were socially dominant, owned land, and governed, and they were often the perpetrators of the human rights abuses that included human trafficking: the sale of Liberian citizens as slaves.

Liberia Is Accused of Selling Citizens into Slavery

The commission's plan of assistance sought to equalize the social standings of the indigenous and those of American lineage. It attempted to readjust the administration of the outlying areas of Liberia, where people lived more traditionally but increasingly at the whim of the government in Monrovia. It planned to financially bolster the Liberian government.

IMPACT

The Christy Commission was deeply criticized by American civil rights activist and educator W. E. B. Du Bois. Du Bois condemned the investigative attacks on Liberia while the commission ignored forced labor in European-occupied Africa. He condemned the exclusive focus on Liberia rather than on the Spanish colony of Fernando Pó for its corrupt role in "receiving" human slave traffic. Furthermore, Du Bois questioned why no one condemned the practices of the American tire company Firestone, which had invested in Liberia, created vast rubber plantations, and become wealthy from the heavy labor it exacted from Liberians. The Christy Commission, however, did not investigate Firestone.

Human trafficking has been a constant thread through world history, yet most people believe that slavery has been abolished. However, humans are still bought and sold. The accusations of the sale of Liberian citizens as laborers on the island colony of Fernando Pó came as a shocking revelation to most. The investigation by the Christy Commission found that the accusations were indeed shocking and complex. The case was littered with the effects of poverty, corruption, and greed. It was fed by a web of colonial powers (Spanish), German company officers, and Liberian politicians. At the local level, the commission's findings led to a massive restructuring of Liberian government, including President Barclay's new three-year program of development and governmental overhaul. At the global level, the sale of Liberian citizens called into question the world community's awareness—or lack thereof—of mass injustice and suffering and led to questions of what it would do to address these problems.

—Alison Harper Stankrauff

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May, 1930

POSTMASTER'S DIVISION OF AIRMAIL ROUTES CREATES A SCANDAL

The Air Mail Act of 1930 gave U.S. postmaster Walter Folger Brown complete power over the movement of mail by air. After its passage, Brown met with airline executives to divide airmail routes among only three airlines. President Franklin D. Roosevelt soon dissolved the monopoly and ordered the Army Air Corps to deliver the mail. Twelve ill-equipped pilots died before a better-regulated private industry could resume mail delivery.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Airmail scandal; airmail fiasco

LOCALE: United States

CATEGORIES: Government; space and aviation; business; corruption; military; politics

KEY FIGURES

Walter Folger Brown (1869-1961), U.S. postmaster general, 1929-1933

Herbert Hoover (1874-1964), president of the United States, 1929-1933

Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945), president of the United States, 1933-1945

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1930, U.S. postmaster general Walter Folger Brown was enabled by federal legislation to rule like a czar over not only the airmail routes of the United States but also its accompanying contracting. Newly empowered, Brown met in May, 1930, with the top executives of three major U.S. airlines (precursors to American Airlines, Trans World Airways, and United Airlines). At the meeting, which came to be called the Spoils Conference, Brown developed three primary airmail routes, with each airline company covering a given route exclusively. Curiously, rather than pay the airlines according to the amount of mail, in pounds, they actually deliv-

ered, Brown elected to pay them based on the cargo volume of their respective operable airplane fleets.

Brown's decision, scandalous as it was revealed to be, would have three significant consequences: the deaths of U.S. Army Air Corps (AAC) pilots, the alteration of the fledgling commercial airline industry, and the development of a modern U.S. Air Force. In the most negative light, Brown had negotiated in a private setting with a cadre of industry leaders. By doing so, he prevented smaller companies from competing in an open marketplace. This both stifled competition and led smaller airline operators to insolvency. American taxpayers lost in this deal because they were paying noncompetitive rates for airmail delivery. In a positive light, Brown was a visionary who was charged with a task quite unusual for a postmaster general.

This twisting, yet vital story began with the first delivery of mail by airplane in 1918 in a flight from Washington, D.C., to New York (with a stop in Philadelphia). During the early days of aviation, the delivery of mail was exciting and challenging. Airplanes had open cockpits, and pilots were forced to cope with buffeting winds and extremely cold temperatures while flying without instruments. Needless to say, the design and manufacture of airplanes was primitive by modern standards. These earliest of airmail flights were conducted not by contractors but rather by an arm of the federal government called the Air Mail Service.

The Kelly Act (also known as the Air Mail Act) of 1925 began the process of ending this government service and replacing it with private contractors. The idea was that the high risks of airmail should be assumed by a private company rather than by government employees. Within a short period of time, however, the price being charged for airmail delivery began to rise. In an attempt to rectify this problem, the U.S. Congress, on April 29, 1930, passed the McNary-Watres Act (best known as the Air Mail Act of 1930), which enabled President Herbert Hoover's postmaster general to corral the upstart airline industry into providing less expensive mail delivery.

The 1930 act made Brown an important figure in civil aviation. At the time, he faced a youthful in-



Walter Folger Brown. (Library of Congress)

dustry without stable financing, but he envisioned possibilities beyond mail delivery. By paying airlines by volume, he provided an incentive for the largest companies to create high-volume fleets, which could be used for passenger travel. He thereby helped create a modern passenger airline industry. However one views Brown—as a visionary or as an industry bagman—public outrage was followed by congressional hearings in 1934 that would expose his superficially bizarre pay structure for airmail contractors.

As the newly elected president, Franklin D. Roosevelt was faced with the problem of efficiently delivering the nation's mail. Congressional hearings led to the dissolution of all private airmail contracts on February 19, 1934. In place of private airmail delivery, the AAC was tasked with flying the routes. The AAC program, called AACMO (Army Air Corps Mail Operation), however, assigned inexperienced pilots to the mail routes, which were flown

at night and in poor weather, two conditions little encountered by the young airmen assigned to the flights. One dozen aviators crashed and died during the short period (February 19-June 6) in which the AAC made the flights.

Much like Brown's contracting scandal, the AACMO crashes led to inflammatory headlines of their own. Only the pilots of one region—headed by aviation hero H. H. Arnold—flew their routes without suffering fatalities. (Arnold went on to command the Army Air Forces during World War II and became a driving force behind the creation of the modern U.S. Air Force.)

IMPACT

The politics of airmail played an important but often overlooked role in U.S. history. The airmail scandal of the early 1930's in particular should be remembered more for its remarkably lasting effects than for the particularities of its unfolding. The scandal further developed the fledgling commercial airline industry and provided an impetus for creating the modern U.S. Air Force. Furthermore, the scandal highlighted the significance of monopoly-busting government regulation.

The confidence and risk taking of the AAC brought to public light the shortcomings of the airborne military capacity of the United States. The lessons learned during the military's turn at airmail delivery proved crucial, leading to reforms in both AAC funding levels and safety before World War II. The nation took notice of the pilots' crashes and wondered, even on the floor of Congress, what would become of such a unit if it had to carry bombs rather than mail.

The congressional oversight of Alabama senator Hugo L. Black (later associate justice of the United States) would cast a dark shadow over the corrupt practices of Brown, who was portrayed as an insider who had it out for the "little person," whether that person was a small business owner in the airplane industry or a postal customer. On June 12, 1934, Black introduced what would become the Air Mail Act of 1934, which further regulated the airline industry by breaking monopolies. The act also set airmail rates, routes, and schedules; regulated air traf-

fic; and licensed pilots. Brown was exonerated several years after the hearings.

The profits generated from the contracts Brown devised likely helped to support the struggling airline industry during the early 1930's. Furthermore, the protection provided by contracts consolidated the industry, leading to an effective system of domestic air travel.

—R. Matthew Beverlin

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December 3, 1930

SURREALIST FILM *L'ÂGE D'OR* PROVOKES FRENCH RIOTING

L'Âge d'or, the second collaborative film of Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí, was targeted by anti-Semitic, xenophobic protofascists at its screening in Paris, provoking a riot. The protestors, reacting to the film's subject matter, which challenged Christian morals regarding love and sexuality, threw ink at the screen and destroyed Surrealist paintings that accompanied the premiere. Parisian police banned the film from distribution.

ALSO KNOWN AS: *L'Âge d'or* scandal

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Film; violence; art movements; popular culture; religion

KEY FIGURES

Luis Buñuel (1900-1983), Spanish filmmaker
Salvador Dalí (1904-1989), Spanish Surrealist painter

André Breton (1896-1966), French writer and founder of the Surrealist movement

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Following the striking success of their controversial film *Un Chien Andalou* (1928; *An Andalusian*

Dog), Spanish filmmaker Luis Buñuel and Spanish artist Salvador Dalí immediately began to think of another film that would extend the surrealist aesthetic that had made their initial effort so compelling. Buñuel and Dalí came up with *L'Âge d'or* (*The Golden Age*), which was to be a "film about Rome." The script that Buñuel prepared focused on his own lifelong preoccupation (according to his biographer John Baxter). Buñuel summarized this obsession as "the obstacles which religion, as well as society, oppose to the attainment of love."

L'Âge d'or, which premiered October 28, 1930, in Paris, France, earned generally respectful but bemused reviews, and the film played without incident through November. By December, however, fascist agitators were planning a demonstration in Paris against what they considered was the corruption of French culture by Jews and atheist artists. In the film, a documentary-like prologue shows two scorpions killing a rat. Scenes follow in Surrealist juxtaposition. Prosperous colonists arrive on an island. They recall Spain's voyages of discovery and Christianization. Protestors reacted to the film on December 3, when right-wing thugs interrupted the show by throwing ink at the screen and shouting "Death to the Jews!" The protestors set off fumiga-

tion devices in the audience, attacked spectators with blackjacks, smashed furniture, and slashed many of the paintings on exhibit in the theater's lobby. Most of the audience, however, remained in the theater to see the rest of the film. They also signed a petition condemning the riot.

The League of Patriots, a right-wing organization, attempted to distance itself from the most destructive acts of its followers but condemned "the immorality of this Bolshevik spectacle." The newspaper *Le Figaro* declared that no one could find "the faintest artistic value" in the film. On December 5, the distributor was ordered to cut two scenes featuring archbishops, and on December 8, the Paris prefect (chief magistrate) demanded the removal of all scenes with a Christ figure, of which there were none. (The prefect, or one of his minions, apparently had depended on Dalí's comment that in the film "the Comte de Blangis is obviously Christ.") On December 11 the film was nevertheless banned from further showings, and police raided Studio 28 in Montmatre (Paris) and Buñuel's home on December 12, seizing two of the three existing copies of the film. Charles de Noailles and Marie-Laure de Noailles financed *L'Âge d'or* as well as *Un Chien Andalou* and managed to hide the negatives of *L'Âge d'or* at the Spanish Bookshop.

French Surrealist writer André Breton, characteristically, was excited by the furor and prepared a manifesto demanding an accounting of the incident. He and poet Paul Éluard also produced a leaflet, which had a photograph of the ripped Dalí paintings and the ink-covered screen under the title "A Christian Alphabet." Breton also encouraged a screening in London, which took place on January 2, 1931, with the sole surviving print.

Buñuel's and Dalí's collaboration on this film had not proceeded profitably, however, as Dalí dismissed most of the ideas that Buñuel had sketched out in his notebook, while Buñuel did not find

BRETON'S DEFINITION OF SURREALISM

In his now-classic Manifesto of Surrealism (1924), André Breton, who helped inspire the making of the Surrealist films of Luis Buñuel and Salvador Dalí, provides the following definition:

SURREALISM, *n.* Psychic automatism in its pure state, by which one proposes to express—verbally, by means of the written word, or in any other manner—the actual functioning of thought. Dictation of thought, in the absence of any control exercised by reason, exempt from any aesthetic or moral concern.

ENCYCL. *Philos.* Surrealism is based on the belief in the superior reality of certain forms of previously neglected associations, in the omnipotence of dreams, in the disinterested play of thought. It tends to ruin once and for all all other psychic mechanisms and to substitute itself for them in solving all the principal problems of life.

Source: Manifestoes of Surrealism, translated by Richard Seaver and Helen R. Lane (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969).

Dalí's fixation on images drawn from Roman Catholic regalia interesting, rejecting them as "insufficiently savage." Noailles was ready to support their next effort. Buñuel, while remaining ambiguous about his new screenplay, proposed a budget of one million francs for the new film. Noailles wanted to keep it closer to 350,000 francs, but as the project grew from two reels to seven, the budget eventually reached Buñuel's mark.

While Dalí always claimed that he was instrumental in the creation of both of their first two films, Buñuel insisted that "Dalí sent me several ideas, and one of them at least found its way into the film." Evidence shows that both artists had ideas that were incorporated into the final production, but Buñuel prepared the shooting script and controlled the actual shooting. Noailles asked Buñuel to prepare a silent and a sound version because many theaters did not yet have equipment for synchronous sound.

The film was made at the Billancourt studios, utilizing the same cinematographer and production manager as *Un Chien Andalou*, with location shots in Catalonia, Spain, and in the Paris suburbs. Painter Max Ernst played a pirate chief, and poet Jacques Prevert appeared as a man walking along a

street. Éluard provided some voice-over narration. During the time that the film was in production, a group of surrealist activists invaded a nightclub they believed had taken its name disrespectfully from writer French Comte de Lautreamont's *Les Chants de Maldoror* (wr. 1868-1869), excusing Buñuel from the action because, as a foreigner, he would risk deportation if he participated.

L'Âge d'or's tight production schedule, typical of Buñuel's rapid fashion of work, ran from March 23 to April 3. Buñuel edited the film in Paris, adding a musical score with excerpts from Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart, Ludwig van Beethoven, Claude Debussy, and Richard Wagner. Russian film director Serge Eisenstein also had been working at the Billancourt studios and had neglected to offer a gift (actually, an expected bribe) to a charity in the name of the Parisian police, which further aggravated the prefect's distrust of foreign filmmakers (including Buñuel and Dalí).

Buñuel waited for the distributor, Mauclair, to release the film, but it premiered at several private screenings. A notable screening on July 9 had an international audience that included American writer Carl van Vechten and British sculptor Jacques Lipschitz. The film opened at Studio 28 on October 12. Breton and Éluard prepared a twenty-eight-page program book with a gold cover. The studio's foyer displayed paintings by Dalí, Ernst, Jean Arp, Joan Miró, Man Ray, and Yves Tanguy. Buñuel was in Hollywood at the time of this private screening, negotiating unsuccessfully with Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) studios.

Noailles was the most vulnerable of those involved with the production. He wrote to Buñuel, insisting that "We are obliged to avoid all scandal in the future." He was forced to resign from Paris's ultra-exclusive Jockey Club, and the intercession of his mother at the Vatican prevented Noailles from being excommunicated. Her bribes and a promise to destroy the print reduced the pressure on Noailles, and he himself defended the film, offering to send Buñuel copies in the United States and the negatives and the print when Buñuel returned to Europe. Buñuel biographer Baxter surmises that Buñuel actually thought of destroying the film as a kind of

dramatic gesture epitomizing his career to that point. Buñuel wrote that "After *L'Âge d'or*, I sometimes thought that my career as a director was finished."

When Buñuel learned that the right-wing Spanish government had been overthrown, he sailed to France and arrived at Le Havre on April 1, remaining in Europe until 1936. He then went into exile in Mexico after the attack on the Spanish government by Francisco Franco's armies.

IMPACT

American writer Henry Miller, an enthusiastic and knowledgeable film lover, contended in a 1938 essay ("The Golden Age") that the most important aspect of the cinema was that "in it all the possibilities for creating antagonisms, for stirring up revolt" were present. He believed *L'Âge d'or* placed the spectator "at a miraculous frontier which opens up before us a dazzling new world which no one has explored." Buñuel was unable to explore this world in the immediate aftermath of the *L'Âge d'or* scandal. However, Buñuel's reputation as an avant-garde artist working on the fringe of the cinema continued to grow even as *L'Âge d'or* remained out of general circulation for the next four decades. The film's scarcity contributed to the legend surrounding its production and suppression, which Dalí used to his advantage during the rest of his life as a painter and notorious advocate of Surrealist art.

Although the film itself has lost its power to shock and startle an audience in the manner it did in 1930, when it offered onscreen a vision of a world that had no precedent in any form, the film remains intriguing both as a historical record and as an act of cinematic invention. Also, the various economic and cultural obstacles that Buñuel continued to confront in Mexico followed him upon his return to Spain in 1961 to direct *Viridiana*. The film outraged Franco and his supporters in a fashion similar to the Fascist response to Buñuel's first two films. Buñuel's ability to scandalize the bourgeoisie and fascinate and delight film lovers sealed his legacy as one of the most admired of filmmakers of the twentieth century.

—Leon Lewis

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March 30, 1931

“SCOTTSBORO BOYS” ARE RAILROADED THROUGH RAPE TRIALS

The arrest of nine African American youths in 1931 for rape began a long-standing legal ordeal that ruined the lives of most of the young men. The years of trials, sentencing, and appeals, however, would lead to the expansion of constitutional rights for criminal defendants.

LOCALES: Paint Rock and Scottsboro, Alabama

CATEGORIES: Racism; law and the courts; social issues and reform; government

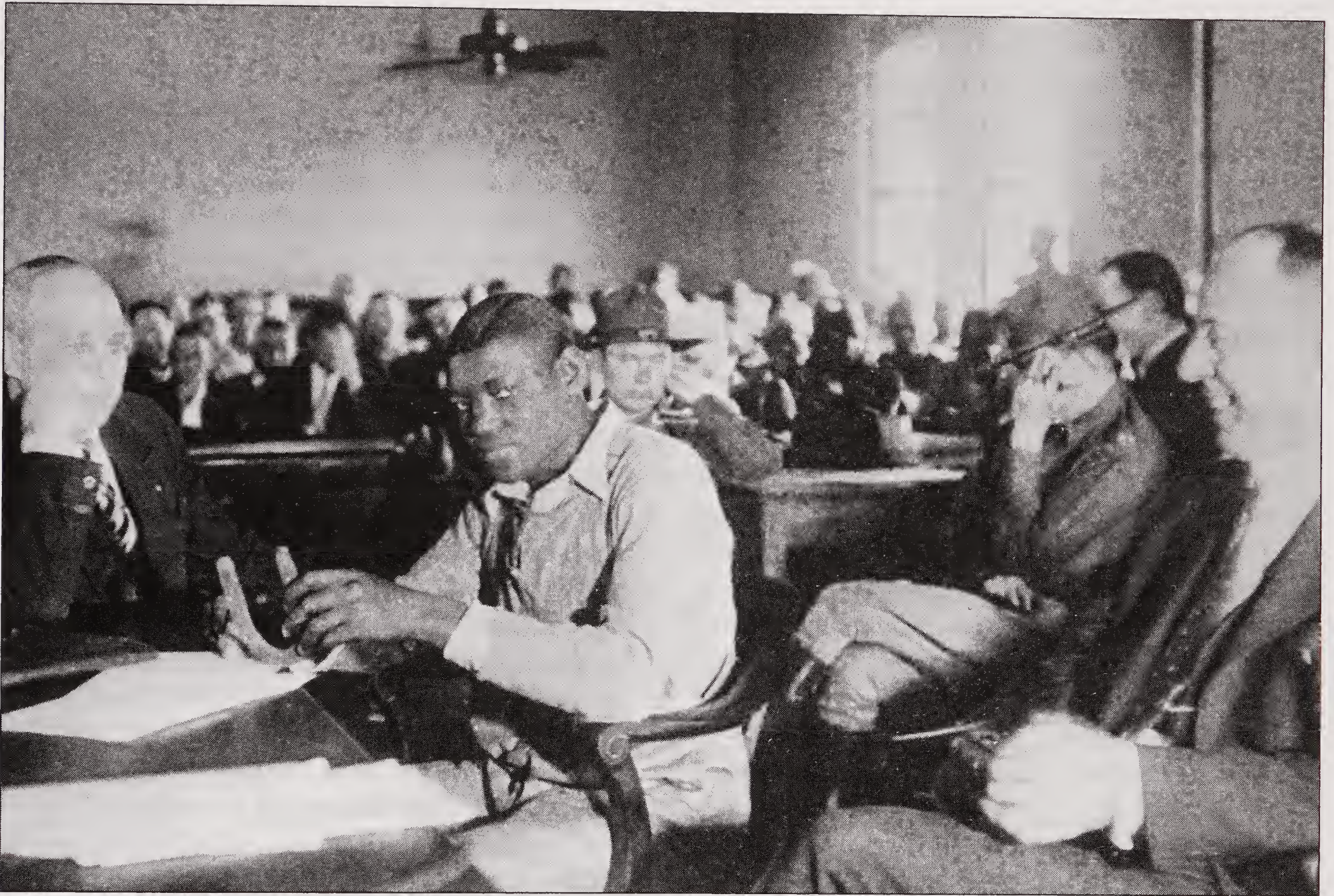
KEY FIGURES

Haywood Patterson (1913-1952), defendant
Clarence Norris (1912-1989), defendant

Roy Wright (1918-1959), defendant
Victoria Price (1911-1982), mill worker
Ruby Bates (1915-1976), mill worker
Samuel Leibowitz (1893-1978), defense attorney

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On the morning of March 25, 1931, in the depths of the Great Depression, seven disheveled young white men appeared at a railroad station office in northern Alabama. They reported that they had been riding on a freight train as hoboes when “a bunch of Negroes” had assaulted them and thrown them off the train. The station master telephoned the local sheriff’s office. As soon as the train arrived at



Haywood Patterson, center, one of the defendants in the Scottsboro case, at trial in 1933. (NARA)

the nearby depot in Paint Rock, a deputized posse arrested nine African American youth and two white teenage girls. At first, it appeared that the girls were arrested for vagrancy and that the males were arrested for both vagrancy and assault. However, while the detainees were being transported to the jail at Scottsboro, about ten miles east of the depot, one of the girls, Ruby Bates, claimed that she and her friend, Victoria Price, had been raped by the nine young black men.

In Scottsboro, the sheriff had the two women examined by separate physicians. As the alleged rapes became widely known, an angry mob of approximately five hundred townspeople threatened to lynch the detainees. The sheriff notified the Alabama governor, who then dispatched National Guard troops to help maintain the peace. The mob dispersed after assurances of speedy trials and prompt sentencing.

As was typical for many African Americans during the Depression, the nine suspects were poor, uneducated, and without financial resources. They had hitched a ride on the freight train to seek employment. Five of the youths were from Georgia and four were from Chattanooga, Tennessee. Twenty-year-old Charles Weems was the eldest of the nine. Both Eugene Williams and Roy Wright were only thirteen years old. Seventeen-year-old Olin Montgomery was legally blind. Willie Robertson, also seventeen years old, suffered from syphilis and walked unsteadily with a cane.

On March 30, a grand jury indicted all nine of the so-called Scottsboro boys for the capital crime of rape. Judge Alfred Hawkins invited local attorneys to represent the defendants without pay, but no attorneys volunteered. Although Tennessee attorney Stephen Roddy and a local attorney agreed to assist in an informal way, they made no effort to investi-

gate the case, and they spoke to the defendants just thirty minutes before the trials began. Roddy, who had a criminal record for drunkenness, was reportedly inebriated during part of the proceedings. The youth were tried in four separate trials, all of which were concluded within a single week (April 6-7, April 7-8, April 8-9, and April 9).

In courtroom testimony, Price claimed that she had been gang-raped and “beaten up” until she “lost consciousness.” Supporting her story, Bates added that a defendant had held a knife to their throats. One of the examining physicians, R. R. Bridges, reported having seen a few scratches and bruises on the two accusers but no evidence of violent rape. He went on to say that both young women showed evidence of having had recent sexual intercourse, and that even though the semen was “nonmotile,” or inactive, he refused to estimate its age.

Defendant Wright, who testified that the rapes had taken place, later renounced his confession as coerced. The defendants, except Wright, were sentenced to death. Wright’s trial was inconclusive because of a hung jury: eleven jurors voted for the death penalty and one juror voted for life imprisonment. The executions were stayed pending appeals. The rapidity of the trials and the severity of the sentences infuriated liberals and radicals throughout the United States. In Harlem, New York, 300,000 protesters marched to the slogan “The Scottsboro Boys Shall Not Die.”

All but one of the sentences were upheld by Alabama’s highest court. Both the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Communist Party’s International Labor Defense (ILD) offered to appeal the case to the U.S. Supreme Court, but the defendants chose the latter organization to represent them. The result was the landmark case of *Powell v. Alabama* (1932), in which the Court overturned the convictions and held that the principles of due process required the states to provide indigent defendants in capital cases with effective counsel. The cases were remanded to the lower court.

When the state ordered new trials, the ILD engaged a noted criminal defense lawyer, Samuel Leibowitz, to represent the defendants. Haywood

Patterson was the first to stand trial. Surprisingly, Bates changed her story and confessed that she had lied at the first trial, but the prosecutor suggested that she was being paid by the ILD. Patterson was sentenced to death, but Judge James Horton set aside the conviction as unreasonable and ordered a new trial. In his third trial, Patterson again received a death penalty. Shortly thereafter, Clarence Norris also was sentenced to death. In a second landmark decision, however, the Court, in *Norris v. Alabama* (1935), reversed both convictions, based on the systematic exclusion of African Americans from the jury.

In 1936, Patterson was convicted a fourth time and sentenced to seventy-five years in prison. All charges against four of the defendants were dismissed. The next year, the remaining four were tried and found guilty. Norris was sentenced to death, Wright was sentenced to ninety-nine years, Weems was sentenced to seventy-five years, and Powell received a sentence of twenty years for stabbing a guard while attempting an escape.

In 1938, Alabama governor Bibb Graves was close to pardoning the five prisoners, but after meeting with them, he decided that they were dangerous and undeserving of a pardon. In 1943, Weems was released from prison, and in 1950 Wright was pardoned. Patterson escaped in 1948 and was arrested in Michigan during the 1950’s, but the governor of Michigan refused to extradite him to Alabama. The last prisoner, Norris, was finally given a full pardon by Alabama governor George Wallace in 1976.

IMPACT

Based on the weakness of the evidence, most scholars have concluded that the nine black youths were not given fair trials and that, almost certainly, they were innocent of rape. The accused spent years in prison, and their unfair incarceration embittered most of them for the remainder of their lives. In the South under a Jim Crow system, blatant racial discrimination was common in the criminal justice system, but that racism usually escaped public attention. The publicity surrounding the Scottsboro case helped many understand the nature of “southern justice.” The legal battles came to symbolize the

unfair treatment of African Americans and encouraged legal reform.

Furthermore, the long Scottsboro case led to two landmark decisions by the Supreme Court that significantly expanded the rights of criminal defendants. In *Powell* the Court declared that indigent criminal defendants have a constitutional right to an attorney. *Norris* was the first case in which the Court held that systematic exclusion in jury selections may deprive defendants of due process and the equal protection of the law. Both precedents, which were based on the Fourteenth Amendment, were expanded and refined by the Court in later cases.

—Thomas Tandy Lewis

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1932

INSULL UTILITIES TRUSTS COLLAPSE PROMPTS NEW FEDERAL REGULATION

The Insull Trusts was a network of public utilities and electric railways that had been created through extensive borrowing. Because of the Great Depression and questionable corporate governance, the empire folded in 1932 amid scandal. Following Insull's collapse, the U.S. Congress enacted the Public Utility Holding Company Act, which requires extensive financial disclosures by utility companies.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Insull Trusts scandal

LOCALE: United States

CATEGORIES: Business; banking and finance; law and the courts; government

KEY FIGURE

Samuel Insull (1859-1938), British-born American businessman

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Samuel Insull was one of the most respected businessmen of his era. He appeared on the cover of *Time* magazine on at least three occasions and controlled a huge corporate empire. Insull, who had started out as the secretary of Thomas A. Edison, became vice president of Edison General Electric Company in 1889 and president of Chicago Edison Company in 1892. By 1908, he had formed the Commonwealth Edison Company in Chicago and made it the greatest single electricity producer in the world. He was responsible for unifying rural electrification efforts and eventually took control of financially troubled electric commuter trains. He administered an integrated electrical conglomerate and was revered for making electric power universally cheap and abundant to millions.

Insull was an early supporter of utility regulation; he recognized that government regulation would treat utilities as natural monopolies and, thus, would allow them to grow without competi-

tion. This would allow for greater economies of scale and permit electric companies to sell electricity at lower prices. Eventually, Insull became a director of eighty-five corporations, chairman of sixty-five, and president of eleven. He controlled a utilities empire worth more than four billion dollars. This control was achieved through a trust system—a series of holding companies—that allowed Insull to organize his companies in a pyramid fashion, with a series of much-leveraged companies owning each others' shares.

At the age of seventy-three, Insull was indicted for perpetrating a corporate fraud and cheating investors of millions of dollars. He fled the United States to avoid prosecution but was eventually returned to face trial. In his state and federal trials, however, he was acquitted of all charges.

With the start of the Depression in 1929, the number of passengers on the Insull railroads declined, people who had lost their jobs tried to cut costs by conserving electricity, and there was less money available from bankers and investors. Losses at the Insull companies soared. Several of his companies went into receivership in 1931, but the real collapse of the Insull empire began in 1932 with the bankruptcy of the Chicago Rapid Transit Company (CRT). Insull's other holdings had been drained of cash to support the CRT. As a result, Insull was left in financial ruin. Little cash was available from lenders, but this did not matter because Insull had previously made enemies of many of New York's financial leaders, leaving him without support from the national financial markets as well.

In June, 1932, Insull initially fled to France, then to Italy, Greece, and Istanbul, Turkey. He resisted extradition but eventually was caught when the U.S. Coast Guard illegally boarded the ship he was on in the Mediterranean and brought him back to the United States for trial. Millions of investors had lost money in the Insull companies. A scapegoat was

needed, and that person was Insull. The indictment for fraud was enough to convince the public that the federal and state authorities were trying to do something about the situation. The prosecutors made a strong point, arguing that Insull's 1931 salary had been \$485,767, while 25 percent of Americans were out of work. However, Insull was acquitted on all charges. During the trial, he explained that he had fled the United States because he felt that if he had stayed, his trial would have been politicized because the state prosecutor had been running for reelection.

In 1932, the accounting firm Arthur Andersen & Company was selected to oversee the financial restoration of Insull's bankrupt utilities empire. During the 1920's, the Andersen company had started a service known as financial and industrial investigations, which were specialized studies using accounting analysis to evaluate organizational structures, plants, or products. This proficiency landed the firm the Insull job.

Despite the publicity surrounding the bankruptcy of the Insull Trusts and Insull's flight to avoid prosecution, there was little in the way of criminal activity. Insull was guilty of nothing more than participating in a few wash sales of stocks in the last days when the Depression was toppling his empire. Although Insull was tried on a variety of charges, he was subsequently acquitted of all wrongdoing. Insull's empire did not all crumble at the same time. Small companies would periodically file for bankruptcy, and some never succumbed to bankruptcy. For many of those companies that did go bankrupt early in the Depression, Insull was appointed by the court as their trustee.

One accountant explained the situation at the Insull Trusts with the comment that although Insull's holdings might have been difficult to unravel, there was no secrecy involved. One of his biographers described the Insull Trusts as being so full of intricacies that they almost defied human understanding.

At the age of seventy-eight, Insull died of a heart attack in 1938 in a Paris subway station. He had eighty-four cents in his pocket, leading to rumors that he died nearly penniless. Others, however, say that his wallet must have been stolen by a thief be-

fore the police arrived on the scene. He was buried in London, England, the city of his birth.

IMPACT

The scandalous collapse of the energy-based empire created by Insull resulted in investors losing millions of dollars in 1932. The immediate result of the collapse was the enactment of the Public Utility Holding Company Act (1935), which would prevent the formation of private, investor-owned utility empires, such as that put together by Insull. Other energy regulation followed: the Rural Electrification Act of 1936 and expansion of the Tennessee Valley Authority. Even before the Holding Company Act, Congress passed the 1933 Securities Act, which some people believe was influenced by the Insull bankruptcy. In fact, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt mentioned Insull in his pleas to Congress to pass a securities act. Nevertheless, the Insull case was only one of many to influence Congress in 1933; the 1932 bankruptcy of Ivar Kreuger was more of a concern to Congress than the Insull case because the Kreuger case was indeed a massive fraud.

After trial, Insull was left with nothing. In 1935, one of his companies voted to give him an eighteen thousand dollar annual pension because of his fundamental contributions to the electricity industry, contributions that led to three major shifts in American history. First, Insull's innovations in the delivery of low-cost electric power made possible the modern consumer age. Second, the failure of his financial empire became a basis for New Deal laws that affect corporate America into the twenty-first century. Third, his creation of the power grid, which fuels large urban areas, was instrumental in creating the modern city.

In summary, the case of Insull was more of a rumored scandal than a real scandal. Insull and his companies were as much victims of the Great Depression as were the investors who lost their fortunes because of the bankruptcy of his empire. Insull lost more than anyone else; his son claimed that the loss of his utility properties was the ultimate cause of his death.

—Dale L. Flesher

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tially written as a rags-to-riches story. Quite sympathetic to its subject. Includes discussion of Insull's personal wealth, all of which he lost in the Great Depression. The author claims that Insull was the model for Orson Welles's film *Citizen Kane*.

SEE ALSO: 1904: Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds; Mar. 29, 1962: Billie Sol Estes Is Arrested for Corporate Fraud; Nov. 28, 1967: Investor Louis Wolfson Is Convicted of Selling Stock Illegally; Feb. 4, 1976: Lockheed Is Implicated in Bribing Foreign Officials; May 2, 1984: E. F. Hutton Executives Plead Guilty to Fraud; Jan. 15, 1988: ZZZZ Best Founder Is Indicted on Federal Fraud Charges; Dec. 2, 2001: Enron Bankruptcy Reveals Massive Financial Fraud; June 25, 2002: Internal Corruption Forces Adelphia Communications to Declare Bankruptcy; Sept. 3, 2003: Mutual Fund Companies Are Implicated in Shady Trading Practices; Mar. 5, 2004: Martha Stewart Is Convicted in Insider-Trading Scandal.

July 28, 1932

U.S. TROOPS DRIVE WORLD WAR I VETERANS FROM WASHINGTON

Suffering through the Great Depression, close to twenty thousand World War I veterans, collectively known as the Bonus Army, descended on Washington, D.C., to demand from the U.S. president and Congress the bonuses promised them for their wartime service.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Bonus Army; Bonus Expeditionary Force

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Civil rights and liberties; government; politics; military; social issues and reform; violence

KEY FIGURES

Walter W. Waters (b. 1898), former U.S. Army sergeant, leader of veterans' protest

Herbert Hoover (1874-1964), president of the United States, 1929-1933

Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), U.S. Army chief of staff

George S. Patton (1885-1945), U.S. Army major
Smedley Butler (1881-1940), U.S. Marine general

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1932, the United States was suffering through a severe economic downturn called the Great Depres-



Bonus Army marchers outside the Capitol building await the outcome of the U.S. Senate vote on a bill for veterans of World War I. (U.S. Senate Historical Office)

sion. Millions of citizens were without work, and many of the unemployed were military veterans of World War I. The veterans had been promised by the U.S. government that they would get cash bonuses for their service to the country.

Given the country's poor economic conditions, the veterans wanted an immediate cash payment on certificates that had been issued to them under the Adjusted Service Certificate Law of 1924, payable in 1945, some twenty years after their issuance. The law called for the payment of \$1.25 for each day served overseas and \$1 for each day served state-side. The U.S. Congress proposed that the delay in payment was necessary so that a fund could be established to earn interest until the 1945 payment

date. In this way, Congress believed, federal budget planning would not be compromised.

Many prominent Americans supported the veterans' demand. General Smedley Butler, a decorated U.S. Marine Corps war hero, publicly backed the effort to move the payment of the bonus to 1932. As economic conditions worsened, veterans' groups soon began to form throughout the United States. They planned to protest to Congress directly. Calling themselves the "Bonus Expeditionary Force" or "Bonus Army," they traveled in freight cars, in the backs of trucks, and in some cases by foot, and descended on Washington, D.C., beginning in May. Some came from as far away as Portland, Oregon. The veterans, many accompanied by their families

and other supporters, established camps across the Anacostia River at Anacostia Flats, adjacent to the capitol building.

At its peak, the number of participants reached close to twenty thousand. The veterans, led by Walter W. Waters, a former Army sergeant, organized the encampments along military lines, with strict rules of conduct for all of the participants. Drinking, panhandling, and other types of negative behavior were discouraged. “We’re here for the duration,” Waters said, “and we’re not going to starve. We’re going to keep ourselves a simon-pure [authentic] veteran’s organization. If the bonus is paid it will relieve to a large extent the deplorable economic condition.”

On June 15, in response to the veterans’ demands, the House of Representatives passed the

Patman Veterans’ Bill (for Representative Wright Patman), designed to pay the bonuses. Two days later, however, the Senate defeated the proposal. Vocal protests and some violence by the veterans soon followed. Washington police superintendent Pelham D. Glassford received orders to begin the removal of the protesting veterans, but only those protestors occupying government buildings in the city itself. In their efforts to clear a federal construction site, the police killed two protestors. In retaliation, protestors began stoning police officers. The District of Columbia commissioners then announced that they could no longer maintain law and order.

U.S. president Herbert Hoover ordered Patrick Hurley, the secretary of war, to initiate a mobilization of the military. Hoover was convinced that some members of the American Communist Party as well as a large number of hoodlums and former convicts were behind the Bonus Army protest. The information he received in this regard later proved to be of questionable validity.

On July 28, U.S. Army chief of staff Douglas MacArthur, following Secretary Hurley’s instructions, ordered the Army’s Twelfth Infantry Regiment and the Third Cavalry Regiment (led by another future World War II hero, George S. Patton) to clear out the protesting veterans from the capital. Although not ordered to do so, Major Patton and his troops then crossed the Anacostia River and commenced the destruction of the encampments. Although the troops did not fire their weapons, they did unsheath their bayonets as they pressed into the crowd, and some cavalry units did use their sabers in dispersing the protestors. Blood was spilled as a result.

The camps were soon in flames, set on fire either by troops or the veterans themselves. In the melee, several veterans were killed and hundreds were injured. After the termination of the conflict, the government made provision for

AGAINST MOB RULE

U.S. president Herbert Hoover resolved to temper “mob rule” one day after U.S. military troops attacked American veterans of World War I who were protesting outside the capital in Washington, D.C. Several people were killed and hundreds more injured in the attack. Hoover’s public statement is excerpted here.

A challenge to the authority of the United States Government has been met, swiftly and firmly.

After months of patient indulgence, the Government met overt lawlessness as it always must be met if the cherished processes of self-government are to be preserved. We cannot tolerate the abuse of Constitutional rights by those who would destroy all government, no matter who they may be. Government cannot be coerced by mob rule.

The Department of Justice is pressing its investigation into the violence which forced the call for Army detachments, and it is my sincere hope that those agitators who inspired yesterday’s attack upon the Federal authority may be brought speedily to trial in the civil courts. There can be no safe harbor in the United States of America for violence.

Order and civil tranquillity are the first requisites in the great task of economic reconstruction to which our whole people now are devoting their heroic and noble energies. This national effort must not be retarded in even the slightest degree by organized lawlessness. The first obligation of my office is to uphold and defend the Constitution and the authority of the law. This I propose always to do.

the veterans to return to their homes. About six thousand chose to accept the government's offer.

After some delay, the balance of the Bonus Army left the capital on its own. Although Waters did not accompany them, he did suggest that they reassemble at Johnstown, Pennsylvania, because the mayor there offered them space in his city to assemble. The plan proved to be impractical, however, because the only assistance available was open land for an encampment; the veterans needed more than a place to camp. Waters then sent the word from Washington, D.C., that the veterans should leave Johnstown and return home. The Bonus Expeditionary Force ceased to exist.

IMPACT

President Hoover's handling of the Bonus Army's protest did little to enhance his campaign for reelection in November of 1932. The public at large disagreed with his decision to turn down the veterans over his concern for the federal budget. The veterans themselves supported his opponent, Franklin D. Roosevelt, en masse, and helped propel him to the presidency in the national elections in 1932.

In 1933, following Roosevelt's inauguration, the veterans again attempted a protest. Roosevelt handled the situation much more effectively, and demonstrations in the capital were kept to a minimum. Still, the Bonus Army's demands were yet to be met, even by Roosevelt. His administration did launch a work program called the Civilian Conservation Corps, which provided jobs for many of the unemployed, including veterans, and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt persuaded a substantial group of veterans to take jobs building a new causeway in the Florida Keys. Unfortunately, many of those who accepted the work were killed in the Labor Day hurricane of 1935. The public's support of the veterans began to increase.

As the country's mood changed in support of the veterans, Congress passed, over the veto of Roosevelt, the Adjusted Compensation Payment Act of 1936, which authorized the long-sought bonus payments to four million World War I veterans. Several years later, in 1944, Congress would pass

Troops Drive War Veterans from Washington

the G.I. Bill, which provided an extensive list of benefits for veterans of World War II (and, later, military veterans in general). Benefits included a college education and low-cost home loans. The overall effects of the G.I. Bill proved to be of immense benefit not only for veterans but also for the United States as a whole. The Bonus Army's legacy includes inspiring the formation of this important veterans' bill.

—Carl Henry Marcoux

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September 4, 1932

FILM STAR JEAN HARLOW'S HUSBAND IS AN APPARENT SUICIDE

Film star Jean Harlow was married to studio executive Paul Bern, a reportedly volatile personality who also was financially supporting a woman with whom he had an earlier affair. He died under mysterious circumstances, ruled a suicide by the Los Angeles County coroner. Rumor and speculation followed the scandal for years after Bern's death, and the case was reopened in 1960, but no new evidence was found.

LOCALE: Beverly Hills, California

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; publishing and journalism; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Jean Harlow (1911-1937), film star

Paul Bern (1889-1932), film-studio executive

Dorothy Millette (1880-1932), Bern's lover

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Jean Harlow achieved stardom as a tough-talking, sexually alluring young woman, paired with leading men such as Clark Gable and James Cagney. Women dyed their hair platinum blond in imitation of Harlow. Although she created a sensation after appearing in the Howard Hughes production of *Hell's Angels* (1930), her rise to superstardom coincided with her romantic involvement with film-studio executive Paul Bern, who convinced Irving Thalberg, head of production at Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM), to buy out her contract with Hughes.

Bern became Harlow's second husband on July 2, 1932, but their marriage was brought to a sudden, shocking end at their home in Beverly Hills, California, with his sudden death on September 4. About 11:30 A.M., John Carmichael, Bern's butler, found Bern's body lying in a pool of blood and with a pistol by his side. By 12:45 P.M., studio executives arrived; at least an hour transpired before the police were called. What happened during that one-hour period "remains unknown," according to Harlow biographer David Stenn. Rumors circulated that the studio tampered with the death scene.

Rumors also spread that Harlow had murdered her husband. Her studio, seeking to protect her and divert public attention, put out the story that Bern had shot himself in the head because of impotence. He had left an enigmatic note, which read, "Dearest Dear, unfortunately this is the only way to make good the frightful wrong I have done you and to wipe out my abject humiliation. I love you. Paul. You understand that last night was only a comedy." The household staff gave conflicting testimony about the state of the marriage. One staff member said it was "blissful" but another mentioned a fight between Bern and Harlow the night before his body was found. Studio head Louis B. Mayer told reporters that Bern was behaving strangely during the last days of his life. A rumor also spread that an autopsy revealed that Bern was a hermaphrodite.

Harlow is rumored to have told police that she had a wonderful marriage and that she loved her husband dearly. She did not understand what the suicide note meant. It was a mystery to her. Because

a distraught Harlow issued no other statement, and because Bern's note was so suggestive, the ensuing scandal was magnified by gossip, public interest, and press coverage. During the investigation, Harlow told a grand jury that she knew nothing that could explain Bern's death. A coroner's jury heard testimony from studio executives, who described Bern's mood swings. Other witnesses reported that Bern often spoke about suicide. The jury concluded Bern's death was a suicide. Harlow never commented on the case.

Precisely because there was no convincing account of why Bern took his life—other than the studio's transparent effort to make his suicide look like the desperate act of a man who could not please his wife sexually—reporters and later biographers tried to construct a chronology of Bern's last days that might, through circumstantial evidence, provide a reason for his death. However, the gaps in the evidence and contradictory testimony could not resolve the mystery of what actually happened.

Bern's brother, Henry, could offer no explanation for his sibling's suicide, other than to say his brother had been living "under tension always." Henry insisted the Bern-Harlow marriage was a happy one and that his brother suffered from no malady, physical abnormality, or concern that would have harmed his relationship with Harlow. The later release of grand jury testimony from the medical examiner confirmed Henry's contention that his brother had normally developed sexual organs.

A curious public kept showing up at the Harlow residence, hoping to take or purchase photographs of the "suicide house." Harlow remained inside, protected by guards. A mob attempted to attend the Bern funeral and broke through police lines to see Harlow and ask her for autographs.

The scandal took on new life when the press discovered that Bern had supported a woman who went under the name of Mrs. Paul Bern. According to Henry, Mrs. Paul Bern was Dorothy Millette, a woman who suffered from a religious mania, and though his brother had been involved with her, he was no longer so when he married Harlow. Furthermore, Bern had told Harlow about this previous liai-

Jean Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent Suicide

son. Bern had generously continued to support Millette, although he was not married to her. Tabloid newspapers reported that Harlow traveled to San Francisco for a secret meeting with Millette. A Sacramento judge issued a warrant to search Millette's belongings.

Shortly after Bern's funeral service, Millette disappeared. Speculation circulated that she was avoiding police questioning about the Bern case. A woman matching Millette's description was reported to have thrown herself from a ferryboat. Her body could not be found. This sensational event, and Henry's decision not to speak with the press, provoked yet another round of speculation in the press, especially after the police reported but did not disclose the contents of letters Millette had written



Jean Harlow and Paul Bern in Beverly Hills in April, 1932, following the couple's marriage. (AP/Wide World Photos)

to Bern. Then, Millette's badly decomposed body was recovered along the California coast.

Initially, Bern's death seemed a blow to Harlow's career. The Los Angeles County district attorney briefly considered her a suspect in Bern's death. However, when expert testimony established that Bern's head wound was consistent with a self-inflicted gunshot, Harlow no longer was under suspicion. Now, the prolongation of the Bern mystery worked in Harlow's favor; that is, the public began to sympathize with her as a woman in the public eye who had to live with the constant prying of the press and the search for new revelations about her husband's death. In spite of her anguish, Harlow managed to return to her film career.

IMPACT

Even after Harlow's death in 1937, the mysterious circumstances of Bern's death continued to be the subject of newspaper articles and magazine features. Screenwriter Ben Hecht suggested that Millette might have murdered Bern. In 1960, the Los Angeles district attorney reopened the Bern case and interviewed members of Harlow's household staff, but no new evidence was discovered and the suicide verdict remained in effect.

In 1990, Samuel Marx, a story editor at MGM who knew both Harlow and Bern, cowrote a book with Joyce Vanderveen that drew on his memories of visiting the Harlow-Bern home shortly after Bern's death and before the police arrived. To Marx, the death certainly looked like a suicide, although it did seem that Thalberg and other studio executives had tampered with the crime scene. After accessing grand jury files and interviewing those who knew Bern, Marx and Vanderveen concluded that Bern was indeed murdered by Millette, who then committed suicide, and that MGM went to considerable lengths to ensure a grand jury verdict that would minimize the scandal.

Biographer Stenn accepted the suicide verdict but suggested that the mystery of Bern's death was the result of the studio's tampering with evidence and its effort to cover up its embarrassment over the self-inflicted death of one of its own executives. If the police had been called promptly to the Bern-

Harlow home, Stenn concluded, there would have been no mystery. Stenn rejected the story that Bern was impotent, preferring instead to rely on considerable testimony that Bern was perhaps gay, and that living as a so-called sexual imposter drove him to suicide. To Stenn, Marx's circumstantial case that Millette murdered Bern was not conclusive.

Biographer Eve Golden, on the contrary, cited evidence that Bern was heterosexual and concluded that Millette, who seemed to have shown up on the night of Bern's suicide, "pushed the already neurotic man over the edge." Thus the suicide note, Golden surmised, was intended for Millette, whom Bern had abandoned.

—Carl Rollyson

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Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past; Apr. 4, 1958: Actor Lana Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover; Feb. 25, 1977: Film Producer David Begelman Is Found to Have Forged Checks; Aug. 4, 1978: British Politician Jeremy Thorpe Is Charged with Attempted Murder; Mar. 10, 1980: Scarsdale Diet Doctor Is Killed by His Lover.

January 20, 1933

HEDY LAMARR APPEARS NUDE IN THE CZECH FILM *EXSTASE*

The Czechoslovakian film Exstase was the first mainstream film to include a nude scene, in which actor Hedy Lamarr played a young bride having an extramarital affair. The scandalous film, denounced around the world, was tagged in its American release as "the most whispered about picture in the world." Lamarr was known ever after as the Ecstasy Girl.

LOCALE: Prague, Czechoslovakia (now the Czech Republic)

CATEGORIES: Film; sex; art movements; public morals; popular culture

KEY FIGURES

Hedy Lamarr (Hedwig Eva Maria Kiesler; 1913-2000), Austrian-born American actor
Aribert Mog (1904-1941), German actor
Gustav Machatý (1901-1963), Austrian-Czechoslovakian film director
Louis B. Mayer (1884-1957), Russian-born American film producer
Joseph Breen (1890-1965), American film censor
Fritz Mandl (1900-1977), Austrian arms manufacturer and Lamarr's first husband

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Czechoslovakian film *Exstase* (*Ecstasy*), released in Prague on January 20, 1933, was the first mainstream film to show female frontal nudity and a woman's orgasm. The film's star was seventeen-

year-old Hedy Lamarr, acting under her birth name Hedy (Hedwig) Kiesler. This was her fifth film. Directed by Gustav Machatý, the film rocketed Lamarr to Hollywood stardom largely because of its checkered reception, which was drawn upon by Lamarr and her publicists throughout her life.

Although technically a sound film, *Exstase* includes very little dialogue, moving through lushly shot images to an almost continuous musical score. The story is very simple. Lamarr plays a young bride, Eva, disappointed on her wedding night by her much older husband (played by noted Croatian actor Zvonimir Rogoz), whose impotence leaves her lonely and depressed. The famous nude scene occurs on a summer day when Eva goes riding, leaving her clothing on her horse as she goes for a nude swim. Her mount, attracted by another horse, gallops off with Eva's clothing, leaving the beautiful young woman to wander nude through meadows and woods in pursuit. Early versions show equine copulation, but censored versions go directly to the horse's capture by a handsome young worker, Adam, who later makes love to Eva in a scene with a close-up of Lamarr's face, showing pleasure in orgasm, with her violently broken pearls spilling on the floor beside the bed. Aribert Mog, who played Adam, was rumored to have been in love with Lamarr, raising suspicions that their on-screen passion accompanied a real-life affair.

Exstase raised immediate interest and was censored around the world. Roman Catholic pope Pius

XII denounced the film, and Nazi leader Adolf Hitler banned it, especially because Lamarr was Jewish. The Paris release of the film at the Pigalle Theatre was of a cut version. In London, only small film societies showed it until 1938, when the ban against it was lifted. Italy's Benito Mussolini, however, championed the film's participation in the Venice Film Festival, where opposition from the Roman Catholic Church is rumored to have cost it a prize. In fact, despite its innovative filming techniques, *Exstase* won only one major award, a prize at the 1934 International Film Exposition in Vienna.

The film's history in the United States was as mixed as its reception in Europe. Eureka Productions released the film as *Ecstasy* for the United States in 1935, where it became the first movie to be denied entry by the U.S. Customs Department under the 1930 Tariff Act, a decision later upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court. U.S. customs allowed the film entry in 1937, but only after significant alterations. Hollywood censors, using the production

code, however, did not give *Ecstasy* its blessing until 1940, so between 1937 and 1940 the film played only in art houses in such cities as Washington, D.C., Newark, Los Angeles, and Boston. Even after 1940, individual states continued to restrict screenings. Pennsylvania and New York initially refused the film altogether. Massachusetts banned Sunday showings of *Ecstasy*, and Maryland insisted on further cuts, significantly affecting the coherency of the film's story line.

Ecstasy has alternately been considered as voyeuristic fluff and as a serious aesthetic representation of female sexual desire and fulfillment. The long-lasting controversy around the film's artistic merit is fueled partly by the multiple versions created by Eureka in an attempt to appease different censors in different countries. Furthermore, copies of the original are rare, since soon after *Ecstasy*'s release, Lamarr married Austrian munitions magnate Fritz Mandl, who was possessive of his beautiful young wife and spent great sums (estimates range from \$280,000 to millions of dollars) in an attempt to purchase and destroy all copies of the film.

More than thirty years after *Ecstasy*'s first release, Lamarr's 1966 autobiography *Ecstasy and Me* illustrated the importance of this early film to her career. The book shares many stories about her most famous performance, claiming that the simulated orgasm scene in *Ecstasy* was accomplished by director Machaty poking a pin into her buttocks from under the bed. She also writes that she was tricked into doing the nude scene, and she recounts her parents' shock and dismay when they saw the premiere of the film. The book also recounts her daring escape from Mandl and her first meeting with Louis B. Mayer, cofounder of Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer (MGM) Studios, with whom Lamarr negotiated her first Hollywood contract. Mayer was responsible for her name change, ostensibly in honor of the silent-film star Barbara La Marr but perhaps also because he felt that the name Kiesler was too close to the word "keister" (buttocks), a name he considered unfortunate given Lamarr's on-screen revelation.



Hedy Lamarr. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

MOTION PICTURE PRODUCTION CODE (1930)

Film censors in the United States used Ecstasy as a benchmark film to reiterate and strengthen the Hollywood production code of 1930. Section II outlines the rules in depictions of sex and sexuality in film.

The sanctity of the institution of marriage and the home shall be upheld. Pictures shall not infer that low forms of sex relationship are the accepted or common thing.

1. Adultery, sometimes necessary plot material, must not be explicitly treated, or justified, or presented attractively.
2. Scenes of Passion
 - a. They should not be introduced when not essential to the plot.
 - b. Excessive and lustful kissing, lustful embraces, suggestive postures and gestures, are not to be shown.
 - c. In general passion should so be treated that these scenes do not stimulate the lower and baser element.
3. Seduction or Rape
 - a. They should never be more than suggested, and only when essential for the plot, and even then never shown by explicit method.
 - b. They are never the proper subject for comedy.
4. Sex perversion or any inference to it is forbidden.
5. White slavery shall not be treated.
6. Miscegenation (sex relationships between the white and black races) is forbidden.
7. Sex hygiene and venereal diseases are not subjects for motion pictures.
8. Scenes of actual child birth, in fact or in silhouette, are never to be presented.
9. Children's sex organs are never to be exposed.

IMPACT

Ecstasy set the stage for Lamarr's rise to prominence in Hollywood and her lifelong notoriety. Her first Hollywood role, in the critically acclaimed 1938 film *Algiers*, was perhaps her finest. Her next role, in *Lady of the Tropics* (1939), marked her as a salable commodity in Hollywood, with young women imitating the turban and pearls she wore in the film. Also in 1939, Lamarr appeared on the covers of at least nine American magazines. Throughout her career, she often played sexually aggressive

Hedy Lamarr Appears Nude in Ecstasy

women in such famous films as *Boom Town* (1940), *Ziegfeld Girl* (1941), *White Cargo* (1943), and *Samson and Delilah* (1949).

Lamarr's career had a downturn after *Samson and Delilah*, and she became more notorious for off-screen happenings than for those on screen. Each of her six marriages ended in divorce. She was involved in several well-publicized lawsuits throughout her life, including a messy (successful) custody case and a (failed) claim against the ghostwriter and publisher of *Ecstasy and Me*. Although she earned much money throughout her career, she ended up living with modest means and was twice accused of shoplifting. She was rehabilitated in the press—and *Ecstasy* was released again—during the 1990's, when she was celebrated for inventing, with avant-garde composer George Antheil, an antijamming device in 1941 that became a foundation for wireless technology.

Machaty also earned an MGM contract as a result of *Ecstasy*'s notoriety, but he enjoyed far less success than the leading lady of the most famous film he ever directed. Although he worked in Hollywood during the 1920's and again during the late 1930's and 1940's, *Ecstasy* was his only major commercial success. One of his innovative touches was used by Orson Welles while directing *Citizen Kane*. Welles used Machaty's

technique of filming a man being reflected in several mirrors as he walks.

Ecstasy also provided a benchmark for film censorship in the United States, especially clarifying the part of Hollywood's production code dealing with representations of sex. American film censor Joseph Breen considered *Ecstasy* indecent and dangerous, and his detailed reading of the film under the code resulted in several changes to future versions. For example, the code denounced the extra-marital affair between Eva and Adam, and altered

versions of the film took several strategies to bypass this criticism. One reveals the divorce papers of Eva and Emil before the scene in which Eva sleeps with Adam, demoting her crime from illicit affair to premarital sex. Another announces the nuptials of the young couple before the sex scene, through a diary entry, or, in one version, through an English language voice-over not matching the German of the film. These alterations demonstrate areas of moral anxiety among film censors, who saw themselves as protectors of America's moral decency. The reception history of the film suggests that in 1930's America, preventing representations of scandalous material as defined by the production code was more important than preserving aesthetic or narrative continuity.

—Pamela Bedore

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March 31, 1933

NEW YORK TIMES REPORTER DENIES REPORTS OF A SOVIET FAMINE

Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Walter Duranty denied widespread reports of millions of starving Russians during the height of the Communist-enforced famine of 1932-1933. Duranty's news stories deliberately hid the worst of the Stalinist regime and undermined his own journalistic career once the truth of the famine became known.

LOCALE: Moscow, Soviet Union (now in Russia)

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; corruption; politics; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism

KEY FIGURES

Walter Duranty (1884-1957), American reporter for *The New York Times*

Gareth Jones (1905-1935), British reporter for the *Manchester Guardian*

Eugene Lyons (1898-1985), American reporter who defended Duranty

Malcolm Muggeridge (1903-1990), British reporter for the *Manchester Guardian*

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On March 31, 1933, *The New York Times* published a news story by Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter Walter Duranty that dismissed an earlier article detailing famine in the Soviet Union. That earlier article, written by a young British journalist, Gareth Jones, described widespread famine throughout the southern and central portions of the Soviet Union. In challenging Jones's story, Duranty was putting his prestige behind the patently false contention that Soviet leader Joseph Stalin was not engaged in deliberate and widespread famine, which would kill millions of Russians.

Duranty was an experienced journalist who had reported on Russian and Soviet affairs since the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917. He was one among a

contingent of foreign reporters, including several American and British socialists who looked favorably on the Stalinist regime. Among these reporters were the British socialist Malcolm Muggeridge, who was writing articles for the *Manchester Guardian*, and his colleague, Jones, a twenty-seven-year-old reporter whose aggressive style produced some of the best articles on the Soviet famine. Duranty, writing for *The New York Times*, was joined by another American, Eugene Lyons, who shared Duranty's pro-Soviet views and defended him against the British journalists.

The Soviet Union was a totalitarian nightmare, as Stalin's regime engaged in wholesale murder through the twin strategies of starvation and exile. The Stalinist policies were at their fiercest during the early 1930's, as the government forced collectivization on millions of people. The Communist Party sought to eliminate private property ownership by confiscating grain and cattle and by forcing peasants to join communes. As a result, Russian farmers limited grain production to what they needed to feed their families and slaughtered their herds to prevent their cattle from falling into government hands. Widespread hunger followed, and by 1930, many of the country's rural villages were suffering through a deep famine.

Even while the famine was spreading in 1929-1930, Duranty assumed the role of Stalinist propagandist rather than neutral journalist. Just as the Soviet killing machine began exiling, starving, or executing middle-class Russian peasants, Duranty praised collectivization and wrote about the ecstatic desire of Russian peasants to join the new collective farms. Duranty explained away failures by relying on the Communist Party line of denouncing as terrorists the farmers who resisted collectivization. He claimed any starvation that occurred was the result of either the backward Russian peasants adhering to outdated ideas or the lazy peasants who refused to

work and fulfill their duties within the new communist paradise.

The 1931 and 1932 famine brought out the worst in Duranty's reporting. As the Soviet Union descended into widespread starvation, Duranty defended the Soviet system and policies, noting the government recognized and accepted that some deaths were necessary to bring about the revolution promised by Vladimir Ilich Lenin and Stalin. Duranty also blamed reports about starvation on Nazi propaganda. A report from Riga, Latvia, described tens of thousands of deaths each day from starvation and bands of Russian peasants roaming the countryside in search of food. Again, Duranty denied the truth of the report, dismissing it as either propaganda or mistaken reporting.

In the middle of the suffering, Duranty traveled through Ukraine, where the worst of the famine was killing tens of thousands of people daily. Duranty's reports from the southern city of Rostov resembled Soviet propaganda pieces, as he wrote of happy workers toiling for the advancement of world socialism. Sticking carefully to the Potemkin-like communal farms created just for Western visitors, Duranty denounced the reports of suffering as ab-

surd and those who made the reports as tools of anti-Soviet propaganda.

Faced with actual signs of suffering in cities such as Kharkov, Duranty claimed the famine was the result of poor planning by Communist officials rather than a deliberate policy of using food to force farmers off their land. Again describing collectivization efforts in terms of military conflict, Duranty left out the reality that the soldiers in the battle were land-owning peasants who were starving by the millions.

Duranty was producing articles with surrealistic titles such as "Masses in Soviet Look to Future" (December, 1932), "Russians Hungry, but Not Starving" (March 31, 1933), and "Soviet Hopes High as Industry Gains" (July, 1933). His denial of the Russian famine in 1933 included his famous comparison of Soviet policies to making an omelet, both requiring the breaking of eggs.

IMPACT

Duranty's misplaced optimism about the Soviet system was not shared by all of his colleagues. Muggeridge traveled into the rural areas and composed three stories detailing the gruesome effects of the famine, though his stories were ignored. Later,

Muggeridge described Duranty as the most dishonest journalist he had ever known. Duranty also had his defenders, including Lyons, who shared his fellow American's positive views of the Communist state. However, even Duranty had second thoughts, telling officials in the British embassy that some ten million people had starved, a startling admission considering the upbeat stories he was producing for *The New York Times*.

Duranty's willingness to abandon journalistic ethics and become a Western propagandist for the Soviets has been attributed to internal and external pressures on the reporter. Seeking information on the Soviet Union that he could send to his editors, he realized any articles



Walter Duranty reading the Soviet newspaper Pravda in 1925. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

overly critical of the regime would lead him to being expelled from the country and being blocked from return. The Soviet government's tight control of information forced reporters to cooperate with Communist officials to receive any information, true or false. His most notorious article, the one that denied the existence of famine (March 31, 1933), was prompted by a Soviet threat to exclude any anti-Soviet reporter from access to the trial of four British citizens accused of economic sabotage. Eager to report the story, Duranty surrendered his independence in exchange for personal glory and fame.

There also were personal reasons for Duranty's behavior. He was married to a Russian woman and had a son with her. Because his wife and son were Soviet citizens, they could be forced to remain in the country if Duranty were expelled. The reporter also had less ethical reasons for his actions. Western reporters were granted housing and food well beyond what the average Soviet citizen received. Duranty enjoyed these perks even more than his colleagues, and while married, he had a succession of mistresses, all of them government informants eager to spread Soviet propaganda. This made him more susceptible to Soviet pressure to write progovernment stories.

Duranty's biased reporting earned him praise from many in the West who favored Communism and supported Stalin. The true nature of Stalin's genocide would become known only after Duranty's death, though. When he left the Soviet Union in 1933, his journalistic career faltered.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, a campaign was launched against Duranty's main accomplishment, his Pulitzer Prize for serving as a Stalinist propagandist. Keeping Duranty's memory alive, *The New York Times* and the Pulitzer Prize committee rejected any effort to revoke his award. The debate continued into the twenty-first century, as Duranty's false reporting raised questions about how reporters write about totalitarian systems.

—Douglas Clouatre

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January 8, 1934-January 17, 1936

STAVISKY'S FRAUDULENT SCHEMES ROCK FRENCH GOVERNMENT

A lifelong swindler who moved from petty scams to grandiose schemes involving huge sums of money, Alexandre Stavisky was found dead soon after the French police took action against him. He had either killed himself or been murdered to keep him from revealing the complicity of prominent politicians, civil servants, and journalists in his crooked dealings. Public outrage over the case led to the resignations of the prime minister and the head of the Paris police.

LOCALES: Orléans, Bayonne, and Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Banking and finance; corruption; gambling; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; murder and suicide

KEY FIGURES

Alexandre Stavisky (1886-1934), Ukrainian-born French swindler

Camille Chautemps (1885-1963), French prime minister

Jean Chiappe (1878-1940), head of the Paris police prefecture

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Alexandre Stavisky was born in Ukraine in 1886. Emmanuel, his father, was a dentist who later committed suicide when it was suspected that he was involved in his son's nefarious swindling activities. When Stavisky was three years old, his family moved to Paris, France, and later took up French citizenship. As an adolescent, Stavisky began a life of crime, operating on the margins of the world of theaters, nightclubs, and gambling sites. One early venture involved the printing of business cards with a publisher's name that he used to obtain free theater tickets.

Stavisky's youthful illegal activities earned him a brief jail term. After his release, he formed a com-

pany that advertised meat-based, canned consommé to gullible buyers, relying on an endorsement praising the nutritional merits of the nonexistent product that Stavisky obtained from a doctor. He also sought to market a useless device called a matryscope, which, he claimed, would accurately determine pregnancy. Other scams involved raising the sum on a check given him by a nightclub owner from two thousand to sixty thousand francs and dealing in fraudulent stock transactions and counterfeit treasury notes. Stavisky also was believed to have been responsible for the theft and sale in 1925 of bonds stolen from aboard the steamship *Valdivia*, which had anchored in France after sailing from South America.

For these misdeeds, Stavisky was confined for seventeen months in La Santé, the Paris city jail, in which he waited while the police dug for sufficient evidence to convict him. His attorneys maneuvered to postpone his trial nineteen times, and Stavisky finally was released late in 1927 on a faked medical diagnosis of internal disorders and a serious nervous condition. He vowed that he would rather kill himself than face another stay in prison.

Stavisky thereafter graduated into grander schemes. His core fraud involved the deposit of 155 "emeralds," most of them worthless spinach-colored glass, in the municipal pawnshop—the *crédit municipal*—in Orléans, one of thirty-four such institutions in France and Algeria. The Orléans *crédit municipal*, operating with scant oversight, expanded its mission from aid to the impoverished into public works projects and banking transactions. Stavisky and his allies bribed an appraiser to set the value of the "emeralds" at wildly inflated amounts. This allowed the schemers to obtain short-term bonds from the credit organization with face values of millions of francs. Stavisky and allies then exchanged the bonds at a discount for cash from Paris banks and insurance companies.

In 1931, when the law enforcers, often handcuffed by Byzantine intramural antagonisms, became suspicious of the legitimacy of the Orléans operation, Stavisky hurriedly redeemed the pawned items and redeposited them with much grander financial benefits in a *crédit municipal* that he established in Bayonne in southwestern France. He craftily inveigled a cadre of luminaries who were greedy, short of funds, or naïve to serve on its board of directors to make the Bayonne operation appear to be a legitimate enterprise.

Stavisky also managed the Société d'Installations Mécaniques et Agricoles (SIMA), an agricultural supply company that produced Phébor, a wooden refrigerator that he claimed required no electricity for its operation. He said it was an ideal product for the North African market and for ships, but it soon became obvious that the Phébor did not work. Stavisky was besieged by disgruntled purchasers and SIMA stockholders. He managed to stay beyond the reach of the authorities by compensating those who kept after him with funds secured from subsequent gullible investors. As his loans became due, Stavisky sought unsuccessfully to purchase, at rock-bottom prices, agrarian bonds issued to Hungarians displaced during wartime and use them as collateral for additional loans from French banks or for sale to investors who were not aware that they were practically worthless.

A bon vivant, heavy gambler, and owner of racehorses, among other indulgences, Stavisky did not have the funds to redeem the bonds that he had placed with the banks and insurance companies. When the police closed in, he took flight to a ski chalet in Chamonix in the French Alps. On January 8, 1934, he likely killed himself, as his father had done; less likely, he was murdered by the police to protect prominent persons who had shared in his ill-gotten gains. Those who suspected murder emphasized that there were no powder burns on Stavisky's body and that the pistol that was used was clutched in his right hand while the lethal wounds were inflicted on parts of his body somewhat inaccessible for a right-handed person. Profuse bleeding also suggested internal hemorrhaging. The headline of a Paris newspaper noted

sarcastically, "Stavisky Commits Suicide with a Bullet Fired at Him at Point-Blank Range."

On February 21, the Stavisky affair took a notably bizarre turn when the wife of Albert Prince, a court-of-appeal judge who had been the top investigating magistrate in the financial section of the Paris prosecutorial office, received a call allegedly from someone in the town of Dijon, telling her that her husband's mother was in serious condition there and that he must go to Dijon immediately. Two days later Prince's body was found on a railroad track near Dijon, ripped into three parts by a train, his head a dozen meters from his torso. It was claimed by some that he had been executed to keep him from implicating other officials in Stavisky's nefarious activities, but the most likely interpretation is that Prince staged the suicide, hoping it would be seen as a murder, in an attempt to divert attention from his failure to have dealt forcefully with Stavisky's crimes.

On November 4, 1935, almost two years after Stavisky's death, the trial began in Paris for those allegedly tied to his fraudulent practices. Many persons who had been involved escaped prosecution because of the difficulty of convincing a jury that they had knowingly rather than innocently violated the law. Of the twenty defendants put on trial, the jury found nine guilty on January 17, 1936. Two defendants were sentenced to seven years in prison, the rest to shorter terms. Among those deemed not guilty was Arlette (Simon) Stavisky, Stavisky's partner in a close-knit marriage. She later would marry an American Army officer and live out her days in Puerto Rico.

IMPACT

Stavisky's dramatic end and the revelations that came in its wake convulsed France. The right-wing, conservative opposition accused Prime Minister Camille Chautemps and his government of having killed Stavisky to protect those in the government who, as rumors had it, were part of Stavisky's dealings. The affair led to the resignations of Chautemps, several ministers, and civil servants. Jean Chiappe, the prefect of the Paris police, was forced from office by the government that replaced that of

Chautemps. For a time the episode seemed likely to overthrow the liberal Third Republic that had been established in 1870 after the collapse of the empire under Napoleon III.

Riots, known as Bloody Tuesday, launched by right-wing forces erupted in Paris on February 6, 1934. Government forces managed to quell the outbreak but not before fifteen persons were killed and more than one thousand were wounded. Those on the political left retaliated by calling a general strike, but the Third Republic would survive, although discredited and dishonored by the Stavisky affair, until the German invasion of France during the 1940's.

—Gilbert Geis

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May 16, 1934

GENERAL DOUGLAS MACARTHUR SUES NEWSPAPER COLUMNIST FOR LIBEL

While serving in the Philippines, U.S. Army general Douglas MacArthur had an affair with a teenage girl named Isabel Cooper, and he secretly brought her to the United States when he was reassigned to Washington, D.C. After months of enduring scathing critique by columnist Drew Pearson on other matters, MacArthur sued Pearson for libel. He dropped his lawsuit, however, after learning that Pearson knew about his relationship with Cooper and that he was prepared to reveal the affair if MacArthur pursued his libel suit.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; law and the courts; sex

KEY FIGURES

Douglas MacArthur (1880-1964), U.S. Army chief of staff

Drew Pearson (1897-1969), syndicated columnist

Isabel Cooper (1910-1960), Filipina singer who was MacArthur's lover

Louise Cromwell Brooks (1890-1965),

MacArthur's first wife, who blew the whistle about the affair

SUMMARY OF EVENT

During his assignment as commander of all U.S. troops in the Philippines, the recently divorced Army general Douglas MacArthur befriended a teenage song-and-dance entertainer of Philippine and Scottish ancestry named Isabel Cooper (nicknamed Dimples by the general). MacArthur and Cooper, who was between sixteen and eighteen years old, became lovers.

MacArthur returned to the United States in 1930 after being assigned as chief of staff. He arranged for Cooper to meet him in Washington, D.C. He gave her a ticket to follow him on a different ship

and set her up in her own apartment for his visits (first in a Georgetown apartment and then in a downtown hotel). When military duties made those visits less frequent, Cooper—despite receiving gifts of clothes and jewelry from MacArthur—became bored.

Meanwhile, MacArthur was targeted by syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, who claimed that the general's promotion to major general came about through the intervention of his former father-in-law. In response, MacArthur filed a libel suit against Pearson. The suit never got to court, however, because MacArthur found out that Pearson knew about his relationship with Cooper. MacArthur chose to drop the suit rather than risk his affair being made public.

Born into a military family, MacArthur was the son of Medal of Honor winner Arthur MacArthur, who had served in the Civil War and become a lieutenant general. The younger MacArthur distinguished himself quickly when he entered the Army. He became the decorated commander of the Forty-second Division during World War I. In 1918, he was promoted to brigadier general and became the youngest division commander in France. After the war, still a brigadier general, he became the youngest superintendent in the history of the U.S. Military Academy at West Point, New York. Next, he became the youngest officer appointed as Army chief of staff. Furthermore, at the age of forty-three, he was the youngest two-star general in Army history.

In 1922, MacArthur had married socialite Louise Cromwell Brooks, who was twice divorced. Brooks, used to more glamorous surroundings, became disenchanted with military life in the Philippines, where her husband was stationed. They divorced in 1929, after seven years of marriage. MacArthur then found romance in the arms of Cooper, a young Eurasian musical performer.



Douglas MacArthur. (NARA)

Pearson was a journalist with the Washington bureau of the *Baltimore Sun* when he launched, with Robert S. Allen, the syndicated column *Washington Merry-Go-Round* in 1932. The column was distributed by United Feature Syndicate, and it appeared in newspapers throughout the United States. In 1931, Pearson and Allen, the Washington bureau chief for the *Christian Science Monitor*, had anonymously published a muckraking book, also called *Washington Merry-Go-Round*. Pearson was fired from the newspaper because of the book.

In 1932, Pearson criticized MacArthur for his use of force in breaking up a demonstration by some fifteen thousand out-of-work veterans of World War I in Washington, D.C. The veterans, popularly called the Bonus Army, were demanding congressional approval to cash bonus certificates issued to them for their military service. MacArthur used overwhelming force, including tanks and the threat of bayonets, to break up the demonstration. Several people died, and countless were injured. Bad blood developed between the columnist and the general,

and Pearson's criticism of MacArthur continued for the next two years.

Brooks contacted Pearson with disparaging claims about her former husband. She told Pearson that MacArthur was promoted because of those he knew and because of his family background. In his December 20, 1932, column, Pearson wrote, "General Douglas MacArthur, chief of staff, hero of the Bonus War, was jumped by Newton Baker from major to brigadier general. MacArthur's father was Lieut. Gen. Arthur MacArthur." Finally, on May 16, 1934, a fed-up MacArthur, after facing months of criticism by Pearson, filed a \$1.75 million libel suit against both Pearson and *The Washington Times*, which printed the column. If the case had gone to trial with MacArthur as plaintiff, and if Pearson had lost, it might have ruined the credibility of his fledgling column. Pearson apparently thought Brooks would testify as to the veracity of her claims about MacArthur. However, she refused to testify, leaving Pearson without a defense.

The relationship between Cooper and MacArthur had been deteriorating as well. MacArthur gave Cooper another boat ticket, this one to take her back to the Philippines. She never used the ticket, though, and eventually settled in California. Before leaving for the West Coast, she met with Pearson. It is not clear how Pearson found out about Cooper—whether one of his sources told him about her or whether she contacted him independently. At their meeting, Cooper gave Pearson a batch of love letters from MacArthur, written to her during their affair. With the letters in hand, Pearson warned MacArthur that he would call Cooper to testify against the general, revealing their affair, if the libel suit came to trial.

Taking his family and career into account, MacArthur withdrew his libel action against Pearson. Pearson had to pay one dollar to have the suit formally dropped, and MacArthur ended up paying fifteen thousand dollars to Cooper for his letters and for her to leave Washington, D.C. She did just that.

IMPACT

MacArthur's military career likely would have been ruined had the affair come to light. His per-

sonal life would have been deeply affected as well. His mother, Mary Pinckney Hardy, oversaw the early development of his military career. He graduated from West Point in 1903, and his mother used both her military and civilian contacts to help him get choice assignments and promotions. She always encouraged her son to strive for perfection in his career, and there can be no doubt that she would have found his affair with Cooper as falling far short of that. She died in 1935, not long after accompanying him to Manila when he was reassigned to the Philippines. She apparently never learned of her son's affair with Cooper.

Pearson continued writing his column until his death in 1969, by which time it was being carried in more than 650 newspapers. The column was continued by his assistant, Jack Anderson. Pearson faced about fifty other lawsuits over his columns but lost in only one case. He continued to be critical of MacArthur in a number of columns over the years.

MacArthur rose again to prominence during World War II, and his vow to return to the Philippines after it was overrun by the Japanese became a rallying cry for U.S. soldiers. When the war in Korea broke out in 1950, he was initially named commander but was relieved by U.S. president Harry S. Truman when he challenged the president's order not to carry the war into China. His subsequent criticisms of Truman failed to generate support. He left the Army and became board chairman of Remington Rand in New York City, a position he held until his death in 1964.

After settling in California, Cooper appeared in several films, sometimes under the name Elizabeth Cooper. She already was somewhat notorious for a 1926 film in which she was part of the first kiss shown in a Philippine film. She made her last film in 1947 and committed suicide in 1960.

Cooper's letters from MacArthur were never made public. However, one of the subplots in the popular novel *Seven Days in May* (1962), by

Fletcher Knebel and Charles W. Bailey, told the story of a maverick general brought to heel by someone getting possession of letters he had written to a woman with whom he was having an affair. The resemblance to the MacArthur-Cooper-Pearson affair is clear.

—Paul Dellinger

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July 10, 1934

SEX SCANDAL FORCES RESIGNATION OF ALBERTA PREMIER BROWNLEE

Nine years into serving his post as the fifth premier of the province of Alberta, Canada, John Edward Brownlee was forced to resign after Vivian MacMillan, a stenographer in the attorney general's office, filed suit claiming Brownlee seduced her over a two-year period. Questions remain as to whether Brownlee was set up for political sabotage or was indeed guilty of violating the revised 1922 Alberta Seduction Act.

ALSO KNOWN AS: *MacMillan v. Brownlee*

LOCALE: Alberta, Canada

CATEGORIES: Sex; government; politics; law and the courts; public morals

KEY FIGURES

John Edward Brownlee (1884-1961), premier of Alberta, Canada, 1925-1934

Vivian MacMillan (1912-1980), stenographer in the office of Alberta's attorney general

Allan D. Macmillan (fl. 1930's), MacMillan's father, mayor of Edson, Alberta

SUMMARY OF EVENT

By July of 1930, John Edward Brownlee had been serving as Alberta's premier for five years. He was forty-six years old and married. Vivian MacMillan, the daughter of the mayor of Edson, Alberta (Allan MacMillan), was eighteen years old. According to the young MacMillan, she had met Brownlee at the home of her parents, whom Brownlee had been visiting. She later claimed that she was dissuaded by Brownlee from pursuing a career in music or nursing and was instead urged to go to business school in Edmonton. Brownlee purportedly promised her a job with the Alberta government. The young MacMillan followed Brownlee's advice and graduated a year later from the school, having become a welcome guest of the Brownlee family. She took a position as stenographer for the attorney general's office in Alberta.

According to MacMillan, Brownlee seduced her for the next two years, using her job as leverage for the seduction. Along with her father, she filed a lawsuit against Brownlee, generating intense scandal, forcing Brownlee from office, causing his party to lose the next election, and turning sour MacMillan's fiancé's affection for her.

In the fall of 1932, MacMillan had begun a romantic relationship with John Caldwell. A third-year medical student, Caldwell had proposed marriage around Christmas of that year but had added they would wait to marry until he had completed his degree. In January of 1933, MacMillan told her fiancé of her relationship with Brownlee. Caldwell first insisted MacMillan take legal action against Brownlee, then he broke off his engagement to the twenty-one-year-old, but not before participating in what was supposed to be an undercover sting operation, or possibly a head-on confrontation.

On July 5, two men followed Brownlee as he escorted MacMillan to his car to give her a ride home. The two men were MacMillan's fiancé and her soon-to-be courtroom attorney, Neil MacLean. Evidence would later show that Caldwell and MacLean stood to gain financially were they to contribute to the ruin of Brownlee's reputation.

By August, MacLean had mailed Brownlee a letter notifying him the Macmillans were suing him—Vivian seeking ten thousand dollars in unstated damages and costs and her father seeking five thousand dollars—under Alberta's revised Seduction Act of 1922. On September 22 the Supreme Court of Canada issued a writ, charging seduction of an eighteen-year-old and naming Brownlee as defendant. MacLean filed the statement of claim at the courthouse that day. As the rumors continued—after escalating for some time—Brownlee, who denied all charges, filed a countersuit accusing MacMillan and Caldwell of fabricating the story for financial gain. Brownlee made a counterclaim for ten thousand dollars in damages, alleging that the

claims by MacMillan and the others amounted to nothing more than attempts to blackmail him and harm his political reputation.

With the start of the trial on June 25, 1934, MacMillan offered the details of how Brownlee came to the MacMillan home, disapproved of her plans for a musical career (there was no money in it, he admonished) and of her considering going into nursing (too difficult a life for a young girl, he said), and recommended she study business in Edmonton. MacMillan also testified about his offers to act as her guardian, invite her into his home so she would not be alone in a strange city, and ensure she did not get into trouble. After the first round of suggestions, MacMillan testified, she and the premier attended a dance. On the dance floor together, Brownlee repeated his invitation and also told her she was beautiful and that he hoped she would come to Edmonton. She defined the relationship that ensued for more than two years as one in which she never loved him and, she believed, he never loved her.

Brownlee had insisted from the start that there was not one word of truth in the allegation. He said that what he had to face would enable him to come to grips with the rumors and was prepared to “defend the action to the limit.” Having submitted a file of defense on November 13, 1933, Brownlee not only denied all charges but also made his statement of defense to allege that MacMillan’s claim was indeed false, vexatious, and scandalous. Furthermore, he argued, the claim was frivolous and an abuse of the process of the courts. He added that the claim should be expunged from court records.

On cross examination by defense attorney A. L. Smith, MacMillan twice broke into tears, requiring a court recess. Smith rigorously pursued contradictions and inconsistencies in her testimony, and he successfully had MacMillan admit that she had not resided in the maid’s room at the Brownlee home in October of 1931, when Brownlee’s wife, Florence, was away. She also admitted that she had not gone to the premier’s bedroom during the night. Conceding that she must have slept in Florence’s room, MacMillan still did not retract the claim that there had been “improper intimacies” between her and Brownlee. In addition, the defense produced diaries

for the years between 1930 and 1933, which showed that Brownlee had been away from Edmonton, engaged in official business, or involved in personal or other engagements and therefore could not have been, as MacMillan had alleged, driving her around in his car. Also untrue, Brownlee said, was MacMillan’s claim that she had become a great friend to Florence and had become close as a family member, even a niece. Furthermore, he testified, there had been “nay intimacies” with MacMillan in his car, any other car, his home, his office, or any parliament building.

On July 3, after four hours and forty-five minutes of deliberation, the jury found Brownlee guilty of seduction, upheld the action, and awarded the MacMillans fifteen thousand dollars in damages. However, Judge William Carlos Ives overturned the decision, deciding that the MacMillans were to pay Brownlee’s legal expenses. Though the Court of Appeal would concur with Ives, the supreme court would not. On March 1, 1937, it awarded Vivian MacMillan ten thousand dollars plus legal costs. Brownlee’s 1940 appeal to Canada’s highest appeals court, the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council in London, was to no avail.

IMPACT

It is difficult to speculate who was the victim in this scandalous affair, one of the most sensational trials in Albertan history. Even more difficult to determine is the question of who suffered the most. For Brownlee—who had worked hard to effectively control Alberta’s natural resources, to lead a successful United Farmers of Alberta (UFA) to political victory, and to remain staunchly conservative during times of economic and agrarian depression—the sex scandal impelled his resignation from the provincial ministry (effective July 10, 1934), led to the failure of the UFA to win a single seat in the legislature, and ultimately destroyed his reputation. Brownlee died in 1961, almost unnoticed.

For MacMillan, though she won the case and was awarded ten thousand dollars, the scandal prompted her fiancé to break off their engagement, caused her to have a nervous breakdown, and despoiled her personal reputation. She returned to her hometown

of Edson, recovered from her breakdown, and married a druggist, with whom she had a son. She divorced him then married again and lived in Calgary for several years. She died in Florida in 1980 at the age of sixty-eight. The Brownlee-MacMillan debacle left neither defendant nor plaintiff the solitary victim or the sole victor.

—Roxanne McDonald

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December 16, 1935

FILM STAR THELMA TODD'S DEATH CANNOT BE EXPLAINED

Popular comedic film star Thelma Todd was found dead in a garage behind the restaurant she co-owned with her boyfriend. The official cause of death was listed as accidental carbon monoxide poisoning, but some investigators have suggested that she was murdered.

LOCALE: Pacific Palisades, California

CATEGORIES: Hollywood; murder and suicide

KEY FIGURES

Thelma Todd (1906-1935), American comedic film actor

Roland West (1885-1952), American film producer-director

Hal Roach (1892-1992), American film producer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Beautiful and vivacious actor Thelma Todd made the transition from silent film to sound film, or talkies, with ease. She found her niche as a comedic actor and part of two popular comedy teams. Behind the scenes, Todd's personal life was far from idyllic. She had become addicted to alcohol and diet pills and suffered under the confines of a controlling mother and an abusive husband. She was also

co-owner of Thelma Todd's Sidewalk Café along the coast near Los Angeles, California. The discovery of Todd's lifeless body in her car shocked the film community.

The year 1934 was eventful for Todd. She divorced her husband, Pasquale "Pat" DiCicco, in March, and the Hal Roach Studios was getting ready to pair her with a new comedy partner. Hoping to help take her mind off her personal troubles, she agreed to open a restaurant with her sometime boyfriend, Roland West.

Thelma Todd's Sidewalk Café became an instant success with the Hollywood crowd. The building was situated on Roosevelt Highway (now called Pacific Coast Highway). The café was on the first floor, along with a drugstore.

The second story had been converted into apartments shared by Todd and West; the second floor also housed a cocktail lounge. The third floor was rumored to have been used for gambling. The café was located at the bottom of a hill, and behind the location were 270 cement steps that led up the hill to Posetano Drive. The garage Todd used to park her car was in front of a house on Posetano that belonged to West's estranged wife.

At 8:00 P.M. on December 14, 1935, Todd was dressed and ready for a party being held in her honor. Before leaving her apartment on Roosevelt Highway, she had an argument with West about what time she would be home. West, who was very possessive, told her to be in by 2:00 A.M.; she answered that she would be home when she wanted to be home.

Todd enjoyed herself at the party, despite a disagreement she had with her former husband, who had arrived late with a young actress. About 11:45 P.M., Todd was observed having a phone conversation in the ladies' powder room. Witnesses interviewed later agreed that Todd's mood changed after



A detective with the Los Angeles Police Department examines Thelma Todd's body, which was found in her garage-parked car. (AP/Wide World Photos)

that phone call, but she would not tell anyone why she was upset. She stayed at the party until 3:15 A.M., when her driver picked her up. They arrived back at the apartment around 4:00. Todd's driver offered to walk her up to her door, but she declined his offer.

At 10:30 A.M. on Monday, December 16, Todd's maid, Mae Whitehead, arrived at the garage on Posetano to get Todd's car and drive it to the restaurant, as she usually did. Whitehead opened the garage and found Todd's body slumped behind the wheel of the car, still dressed in clothes from the party on Saturday night. Whitehead tried waking her employer, but Todd did not respond. She then raced down the cement steps to the apartment to wake West.

The police arrived and began their investigation. They found blood on Todd's upper lip, which was consistent with carbon monoxide poisoning, but just how bloody and battered Todd's body was depended on whose report was read. Robbery was ruled out because Todd was found wearing her mink coat and twenty thousand dollars worth of

jewelry. Investigators had a female police officer walk up the 270 steps to the garage; her shoes were scuffed from the climb but Todd's were not. The coroner examined the body and determined that the cause of death was suicide by carbon monoxide poisoning. The time of death was approximately 2:00 A.M. on Sunday.

Todd's mother, Alice, arrived on the scene and claimed her daughter was murdered because she would never have committed suicide. The district attorney's office, wanting to avoid yet another Hollywood scandal, announced that Todd's death was an accident. However, an autopsy revealed she had a broken nose, several cracked ribs, and a chipped front tooth. The contents of her stomach included partially digested food, indicating she may have eaten just before her death. It was also noted that rigor mortis had not yet set in at the time her body was discovered. Because rigor mortis usually sets in after twelve hours, it would have been impossible for her to have died at 2:00 A.M. on Sunday; the time of death eventually was changed to 5:00 P.M. on Sunday.

Several theories exist about what happened to Todd. One theory suggests that she had become friendly with a known mob boss, Charles "Lucky" Luciano, whom she supposedly met through her former husband. It was believed that Todd refused Luciano's request to take over the gambling room on the third floor of her café. After arriving home from the party, Todd allegedly joined Luciano for a drive and a meal, after which Luciano had one of his hired thugs choke her and leave her in the garage to die. This could explain why she had undigested food in her stomach. Several witnesses at the grand jury trial refused to testify because they had received death threats from an unknown source. This theory could never be confirmed because there was no proof that Luciano had ever been to the Los Angeles area.

Another theory suggests that after being dropped off by her driver, a drunken Todd found herself locked out of her apartment. She climbed the steps to the garage, got in her car, and started it to stay warm until morning. The theory then suggests that she was overcome by the exhaust fumes, then

passed out and died. This theory does not take into account that although the key was turned in the ignition, the motor was off and two gallons of gas remained in the tank when police arrived on the scene. In addition, the café's treasurer and his wife lived in an apartment above the garage and could hear if a car were started; they heard nothing on the night of Todd's death.

A third theory involves a confession by Todd's boyfriend West. According to investigations and an interview with movie mogul Hal Roach in 1987, West had been angry with Todd for staying out so late that night. Roach said that West had locked the apartment from the inside so she could not get in after she arrived home. When she did come home, at 4:00 A.M., the two had an argument through the locked door; Todd then went up the steps to her garaged car. West followed her and locked the garage to keep her from leaving. The next morning, he went to the garage and found her lifeless body. Not knowing what to do, West left her body in the garage and went to the café. When asked where Todd was, he said that he did not know. Not knowing the whereabouts of Todd would have been unusual for West, who had been possessive and controlling of Todd and always knew her every move.

Roach continued his revelation of West's confession, but when asked why he had kept quiet about West's admitted involvement, he explained that he had had an affair with Todd and was concerned that if word got out it would result in a scandal he could not afford. His version also included a corrupt sheriff, who was West's lodge brother, and included film producer Joseph Schenck, who was afraid West would trade information about his tax-fraud scheme. Schenck also was a friend of the sheriff.

IMPACT

The speculations behind the events surrounding Todd's death served as an early example of scandal involving conspiracy theory. All parties with a stake in the case appeared to have valid reasons for keeping the truth a secret. Roach was afraid of involving his studio in a scandal, and the police and

district attorney wanted to avoid another unsolved Hollywood murder. Afraid of being accused of killing the woman he loved, West used his influence over Schenck, who paid a few people to point a finger at the mob. Todd's death remains listed as an accident.

—Maryanne Barsotti

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British Cabinet Member Resigns After Budget Leak

Wolf, Marvin J., and Katherine Mader. *Fallen Angels: Chronicles of L.A. Crime and Mystery*. New York: Facts On File, 1986. Details of crimes involving film and television stars, focusing on their deaths, many of which remain unsolved, in and around Hollywood.

SEE ALSO: June 25, 1906: Millionaire Heir Murders Architect Stanford White; July 27, 1917: Millionaire Socialite Dies Under Suspicious Circumstances; Feb. 1, 1922: Director Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's Acting Career; Jan. 1, 1924: Film Star Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. Dines; Nov. 19, 1924: Film Producer Thomas H. Ince Dies After Weekend on Hearst's Yacht; Sept. 4, 1932: Film Star Jean Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent Suicide; Jan. 14, 1943: Film Star Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized; July 5, 1948: Actor Carole Landis Commits Suicide During Affair with Rex Harrison; May, 1955: Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past; Apr. 4, 1958: Actor Lana Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover; June 12, 1994: Double Murder Leads to Sensational O. J. Simpson Trial.

May 20, 1936

BRITISH CABINET MEMBER RESIGNS AFTER BUDGET INFORMATION LEAK

Cabinet secretary James Henry Thomas was alleged to have provided hints—perhaps unwittingly—about the British government budget to speculators who made quick, unseemly profits on the information. After a parliamentary tribunal issued an incriminating report, Thomas left the government in disgrace.

LOCALE: London, England

CATEGORIES: Banking and finance; corruption; gambling; government

KEY FIGURES

James Henry Thomas (1874-1949), British trade union leader, cabinet secretary, and member of Parliament, 1910-1936

Sir Leslie Thomas (1906-1971), son of James Henry Thomas and British member of Parliament, 1953-1966

Sir Alfred Butt (1878-1962), British member of Parliament, 1922-1936

Alfred Bates (fl. 1930's), British businessman

Reginald Marriott (fl. 1930's), British stockbroker

Neville Chamberlain (1869-1940), British prime minister, 1937-1940

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The budget scandal of 1936 brought a disgraceful end to the career of James Henry Thomas, one of Great Britain's most successful trade-union politicians. Born in Newport, Wales, in 1874 in straitened circumstances, Thomas had become a railway worker at the age of fifteen. Rising quickly through the ranks of the railway trade unions, he was elected a Labour Party member of Parliament from Derby in 1910 and would remain a member until 1936. In 1913 he helped found the National Union of Railwaymen, and as its general secretary from 1916 he oversaw its initial successes.

In 1924, Thomas was appointed to the king's cabinet as secretary of state for the colonies in the first Labour government, and in 1930 he was promoted to secretary of state for the dominions. In 1931 he controversially joined the emergency coalition National Government, which was seen as antagonistic to the labor movement and for which he was expelled with great acrimony from both the trade unions and the Labour Party. Thomas remained popular in his home district, but his indulgence in fine living, horse racing, and gambling came under increased scrutiny from his colleagues and the press.

Thomas spent much of a weekend in April, 1936, sporting with an old friend, Alfred Bates, a wealthy businessman. A week later, on April 21, a member of Parliament and well-known racehorse owner and gambler, Sir Alfred Butt, visited Thomas in his cabinet office. Later that day, Chancellor of the Exchequer Neville Chamberlain presented to the House of Commons the government budget, which included an increase on the taxes on income and tea.

Preparation of the British budget was a closely guarded government secret. However, two days later, London newspapers accused the government of allowing a leak of the budget, a leak that led to numerous insurance policies being taken out against a rise in taxes. Bates had taken out several insurances policies, worth four thousand pounds, through Thomas's son, Leslie Thomas, a stockbroker, and

Butt had taken out similar policies worth eight thousand pounds. Both men made quick profits. Suspiciously, both Bates and Butt had taken out policies in other people's names as well. Lloyds Insurance alone lost over £100,000. (At the time, one British pound was worth about five U.S. dollars.)

On May 5, Parliament instituted a tribunal, presided over by Judge Sir Samuel Porter, to investigate the leak. Holding hearings at the King's Bench, the tribunal called Thomas, his son Leslie, Bates, Butt, and others to testify. The most damaging testimony came from Bates and a stockbroker named Reginald Marriott. Bates testified that he had paid Thomas over fifteen thousand pounds to assist Thomas in purchasing his luxurious country manor, purportedly as an advance on Thomas's autobiography. Marriott testified that he had heard from a customer—who had heard from Bates's secretary—that Thomas leaked the tax increase. (The oft-repeated but apocryphal story that Thomas leaked the tea increase by shouting "Tee up!" during a golf game originated in jest.)

On May 20, Thomas resigned his cabinet position. In presenting his resignation to King Edward VIII, Thomas protested that the scandal was a "bloody conspiracy." Nevertheless, on May 27, the tribunal issued a twenty-four-page report that found Bates had obtained information about the budget from Thomas and had used this information for financial gain.

Because there was no direct evidence that Thomas had deliberately disclosed budget information, no one could be prosecuted under the Official Secrets Act. Marriott's hearsay testimony, for example, could not have been admitted in a criminal trial. However, Thomas was compelled to resign from Parliament, which he did on June 11. His spirits were crushed by this disgraceful end to his political career, by the public exposure of his carelessness with state secrets and of his habits of gambling and drink, and by the venom with which some of his opponents welcomed his fall. A communist member of Parliament, Willie Gallagher, implied that Thomas was a traitor to his class and bid him good riddance; another member called Thomas "a little swine."

There was considerable sympathy for Thomas as

well. Member of Parliament and future prime minister Winston Churchill wiped away tears when Thomas bowed to the Commons speaker for the last time. Edward VIII wrote in his book *A King's Story* (1951) of trying to console Thomas when he returned the cabinet seal. However, no concerted support for Thomas emerged.

Thomas's deficiencies in dealing with the questions of foreign dominions such as Ireland had already been exposed, and he was not considered indispensable to the government. His speaking abilities, which had enraptured his local constituents and the trade unionists, had declined considerably. His moderation in government policy already had alienated the more extreme elements of the labor movement and socialist parties. His unpopular decision to join the emergency National Government had already gotten him expelled from the trade unions he had helped lead for thirty years. In sum, he had lost the support of his working-class allies. To the middle and upper-class English citizens, he must have seemed simply a vulgar politician, the first to be punished for disclosing budget secrets.

Thomas immediately set out writing his autobiography *My Story* (1937), an unrelated series of reminiscences of his public life, emphasizing his lifelong resistance to "despotic capitalism" and his support of the trade unions and Labour Party. He did not mention the budget scandal except to call it the "greatest trial experienced by any public man, humiliated by a morbid and sensational press."

Thomas lived privately with his wife, Agnes, often visited by his children and grandchildren, until his death in 1949 at the age of seventy-four. Although his son, Leslie, was implicated in the scandal, he would be elected to Parliament in 1953.

IMPACT

The budget scandal of 1936 brought about the sad end of the career of one of Great Britain's more remarkable interwar politicians. Thomas had emerged from unlikely circumstances to become a leading trade-union official, one of the rising Labour Party's key parliament members, and an influential cabinet secretary. His oratorical abilities, his witty personality, and his gruff but diplomatic manner

British Cabinet Member Resigns After Budget Leak

had won the affection of his working-class constituency and charmed aristocrats and King George V. As the leading conciliator in the labor movement, Thomas was a truly beneficial influence in government and the economy. Although Thomas's abilities were clearly in decline by 1936 and he could expect no higher office, the scandal brought his career to a wretched end.

The scandal was not without its symbolic effect. Although Thomas had used his political talents to secure favorable compromises for workers, to the more radical elements he was a renegade who had been purchased by the attentions of the king, the favors of the rich, and the emoluments of office, which his extravagant lifestyle demanded. His fall, therefore, was his just deserts. To the more conservative British, the scandal revealed a man out of his depth, unaccustomed to the discretions of wealth, whose habits of drink, gambling, and horse-playing made the possibility of bribery inevitable.

Perhaps more would have been made of this symbolic fall but for the year in which it occurred. Chamberlain became prime minister in May, 1937, with the English public already in the middle of a crisis brought on by the aggression of Nazi Germany. If the actions of Chamberlain and his cabinet during this ensuing crisis would be much criticized in years to come, it would not be for the mistakes of the likes of Thomas.

—Howard Bromberg

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Thomas, J. H. *My Story*. London: Hutchison, 1937. In this hastily written memoir, allegedly written with an advancement that figured in the scandal, Thomas focuses on his relationship with famous English politicians without explaining the budget scandal that ended his career.

SEE ALSO: 1904: Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds; June 22, 1922: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George Is Accused of Selling Honors; May 30, 1923: U.S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty's Aide Commits Suicide; Oct. 22, 1923: U.S. Senate Begins Hearings on Teapot Dome Oil Leases; Dec. 10, 1936: King Edward VIII Abdicates to Marry an American Divorcée; June 25, 1956: President Truman's Appointments Secretary Is Convicted of Tax Conspiracy; June 22, 1972: Police Arrest Architect John Poulson for Bribery and Fraud; Nov. 20, 1974: British Politician John Stonehouse Fakes His Suicide; 1985-1986: Westland Affair Shakes Prime Minister Thatcher's Government; Sept. 24, 1992: British Cabinet Member David Mellor Resigns over Romantic Affair.

Summer, 1936

FILM STAR MARY ASTOR'S DIARY BECOMES A PUBLIC SENSATION

The contents of a diary kept by Mary Astor, a popular film actor, were revealed to the press during a custody battle with her former husband, Franklyn Thorpe. Although the diary was not proven genuine, its description of her sexual activities, particularly with playwright George S. Kaufman, titillated the American public. The scandal did not hurt Astor's public appeal.

LOCALE: Hollywood, California

CATEGORIES: Forgery; publishing and journalism; sex; public morals; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Mary Astor (1906-1987), American dramatic film actor

Franklyn Thorpe (1892-1977), American physician

George S. Kaufman (1889-1961), American playwright

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The lurid sections of actor Mary Astor's diary that were made public during the summer of 1936 graphically described an adulterous love affair she had had in 1934 with playwright George S. Kaufman while she was married to physician Franklyn Thorpe. Astor never denied that she had kept a diary during this time, but she did claim that a forged version with pornographic details was being circulated in newspapers and magazines.

The diary came to light when Astor tried to regain legal custody of her daughter following an uncontested divorce from Thorpe in 1935. Astor's career never suffered as a result of the scandal; if anything, critical acclaim for her performances increased, especially when she portrayed duplicitous women. She also regained custody (for nine months each year) of her daughter.

Astor and Thorpe had been married on June 29, 1931, more than one year after her first husband,

film director Kenneth Hawks, was killed in a plane crash. As a result, Astor began to suffer depression and had nightmares about the plane crash. She had been referred to Thorpe for treatment. He diagnosed her problems as malnutrition and incipient tuberculosis and prescribed rest, relaxation, and a more nutritional diet. As Astor's health improved, her relationship with Thorpe became less professional and more personal. They had a daughter, Marylyn Hauoli Thorpe, who was born on June 15, 1932.

Meanwhile, in films such as *Red Dust* (1932) and *The Little Giant* (1933), Astor's career was just beginning to regain the prominence she experienced during the 1920's, when she had appeared opposite John Barrymore in *Beau Brummel* (1924) and *Don Juan* (1926). While making those films, Astor and Barrymore had a romantic affair, even though Barrymore was married and was twenty-four years older than Astor.

Astor and Kaufman met in New York in January, 1934, shortly after she had finished acting in *The Man with Two Faces* (1934), which was based on Kaufman's play *The Dark Tower* (1933). According to published excerpts from her diary, Astor "fell like a ton of bricks" for Kaufman and continued to see him frequently for more than a year. She wrote, "Once George lays down his glasses, he is *quite* a different man. His powers of recuperation are amazing." In one of the more notorious and oft-quoted passages from the diary, Astor describes Kaufman's visit to California in February, 1934, which included a stop in the desert resort of Palm Springs. "Ah, desert night—with George's body plunging into mine, naked under the stars."

Astor had been keeping a diary since March, 1925, generally writing one line each day. When she acquired a larger ledger-type book in 1928, her entries became more extensive. She also started using a new ink, known as Aztec brown, which apparently looked purplish when viewed from a distance. This effect led the press to refer to the book as Astor's Lavender Diary because it looked like it had been written with purple ink. Furthermore, the newspapers reported that the diary contained two hundred pages.

AN AFFAIR TO REMEMBER

Snippets from Mary Astor's diary, or a falsified version of it, circulated in public in the summer of 1936. The following entry, allegedly written by Astor, moves from talk of sandwiches to singing birds to a dewy morning to George S. Kaufman's virility.

One morning about 4 we had a sandwich at Reuben's, and it was just getting daylight, so we drove through the park in an open cab, and the birds started singing, and it was a cool and dewy day and it was pretty heavenly to pet and French . . . right out in the open . . . Was any woman ever happier? It seems that George is just hard all the time . . . I don't see how he does it, he is perfect.

Source: Kenneth Anger, *Hollywood Babylon* (New York: Dell, 1975).

How the diary was discovered remains uncertain. Several sources claim that Thorpe accidentally came across it in a bedroom drawer where Astor kept her underwear. What is undisputed, however, is that Thorpe and his attorneys introduced the diary in July, 1936, as evidence of Astor's alleged immoral behavior. Astor had filed suit in California Superior Court, seeking full custody of their daughter. Thorpe had been granted legal custody of Marylyn after Astor did not contest their divorce in April, 1935. Although the diary was never officially admitted as legal evidence, its contents were released to the press, presumably by Thorpe's attorneys, in an attempt to discredit Astor. The court case concluded on August 13, 1936, when Judge Goodwin J. Knight bestowed nine months child custody to Astor each year, and the remaining three months to Thorpe. Knight further ordered that the diary be sealed and placed in a depository for safe keeping. The diary was burned in July, 1952, shortly after Marylyn reached the age of twenty. No copies of the diary are known to exist.

The court case and diary revelations provided sensational front-page news for several weeks, which meant that Astor became irrevocably associated with the scandal. Although some studio heads

initially feared repercussions for the film industry—as had been the case with some Hollywood scandals during the 1920's—they eventually realized that no serious harm was done. In fact, many movie fans admired Astor's motherly instinct to fight for custody of her child, even though her reputation would be damaged in the process. There were reports of audiences applauding Astor when she appeared on screen as the “other woman” in *Dodsworth*, which was released just after the trial ended.

For the next several years, the studios shrewdly capitalized on Astor's reputation. For instance, in *The Great Lie* (1941), Astor earned an Academy Award for Best Supporting Actress by playing a woman who gives birth to a child out of wedlock. Even more memorable was *The Maltese Falcon* (1941), in which Astor was perfectly cast as the deceitful Brigid O'Shaughnessy, a woman who would do anything to gain a jewel-encrusted falcon for herself. When O'Shaughnessy tells Sam Spade (played by Humphrey Bogart), “I haven't lived a good life. I've been bad, worse than you could know,” audiences at the time could appreciate the self-referential line.

Astor's personal life never attained the same success as her professional life. She was married and divorced two more times following the affair with Kaufman (to Manuel del Campo from 1937 to 1942 and Thomas G. Wheelock from 1945 to 1955). She suffered from alcoholism, and she attempted suicide several times, according to newspaper reports during the late 1940's and early 1950's.

IMPACT

Hollywood stars are often regarded as larger than life—more glamorous, more wealthy, and sometimes even more sinful than the average person. Their lives and their loves become public fodder, eagerly devoured by fans who never tire of learning more about the beautiful women and men on the screen. As a result, the Hollywood film industry has had a love-hate relationship with sensational scandals. On one hand, scandals can ruin lives and careers, bringing discredit to the industry as a whole (as occurred with the Fatty Arbuckle affair during the early 1920's). On the other hand, the right kind

of scandal can enhance a star's reputation and marketability on the screen.

The case of Astor's diary was a scandal of the latter kind. It did no harm to Astor's film career, as Hollywood producers exploited and incorporated her sinful reputation in the roles they gave her. Likewise, it did no harm to Kaufman's reputation, turning this bookish-looking playwright into “Public Lover No. 1,” as newspapers called him. Even Astor's wronged husband, Thorpe, was able to maintain a successful career as a physician until his death.

The excerpts from Astor's diary seem to reinforce the public belief about the sex lives enjoyed by Hollywood's stars. That Astor was able to weather this particular scandal may even have helped prepare the public for subsequent sexual scandals during the 1940's involving Charles Chaplin, Errol Flynn, and Ingrid Bergman.

—James I. Deutsch

FURTHER READING

Anger, Kenneth. *Hollywood Babylon*. New ed. New York: Bell, 1981. Written by an avant-garde film director and former child actor, this now-classic tell-all book explores the seamier side of Hollywood stardom.

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_____. *A Life on Film*. New York: Delacorte Press, 1971. Although not as detailed as *My Story*, this second autobiographical memoir is useful for covering Astor's career in television.

“Bare Excerpts of Mary Astor's *Lavender Diary*.” *Chicago Daily Tribune*, August 11, 1936. Although not proven genuine, these excerpts provide a flavor of the diary's scandalous content.

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Rape; Jan. 14, 1943: Film Star Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized; June 4, 1943: Actor Charles Chaplin Is Sued for Paternity; May 27, 1949: Actor Rita Hayworth Marries Aly Khan After Adulterous Affair; Feb. 7, 1950: Swedish Film Star Ingrid Bergman Has a Child Out of Wedlock; May, 1955: Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past; 1978: Actor Joan Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir, *Mommie Dearest*; Jan. 13, 1992: Woody Allen Has Affair with Lover Mia Farrow's Adopted Daughter; June 27, 1995: Film Star Hugh Grant Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct; Nov. 20, 2006: News Corp Abandons Plan to Publish O. J. Simpson's Book.

December 10, 1936

KING EDWARD VIII ABDICATES TO MARRY AN AMERICAN DIVORCÉE

Less than one year after ascending to the throne of Great Britain, but before he was formally crowned, King Edward VIII, later known as the duke of Windsor, threw his country into a constitutional crisis by insisting on marrying a twice-divorced American socialite, Wallis Simpson.

LOCALE: London, England

CATEGORIES: Government; politics; royalty

KEY FIGURES

Duke of Windsor (Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David Windsor; 1894-1972), king of Great Britain as Edward VIII, r. 1936

Wallis Simpson (Bessie Wallis; 1896-1986), American socialite and later duchess of Windsor

Stanley Baldwin (1867-1947), British prime minister, 1923-1924, 1924-1929, and 1935-1937

Walter Monckton (1891-1965), attorney general to the duchy of Cornwall and legal adviser to Edward VIII

George VI (Albert Frederick Arthur George Windsor; 1895-1952), king of Great Britain, r. 1936-1952

SUMMARY OF EVENT

At 10 P.M. on December 11, 1936, the British people tuned in to the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) channel for a speech that became one of the most momentous of twentieth century Britain. In the space of just a few minutes, King Edward VIII, later known as the duke of Windsor, announced his abdication and immediate departure from England. The events leading up to this moment created a scandal that caught the public ear not only in England but also around the globe; it also defied tradition and brought the royal family into the modern era.

From his youth, Windsor was a compelling individual, comparatively modern in his views, particu-

larly regarding social issues such as poverty and care for World War I veterans. He had argued his way into serving in France, and although he was constrained to observing and inspecting the troops rather than engaging in direct combat, he spent much time at the front lines, earning the respect of the soldiers. This respect would resurface during the crisis leading up to his abdication and even later during his exile from England.

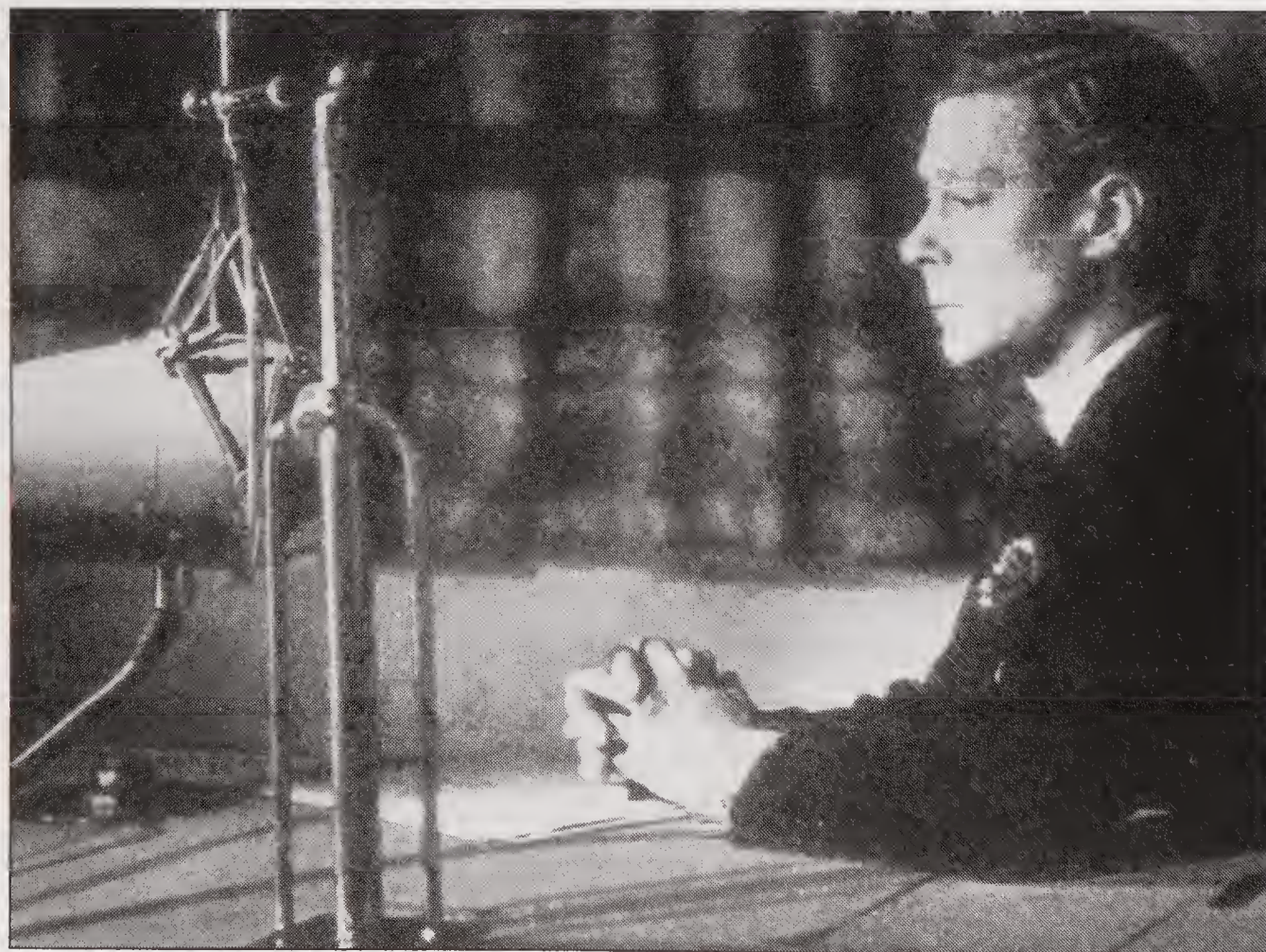
When he was invested as prince of Wales at Caernarfon Castle on July 13, 1911, much was expected of him in his role as heir apparent. By day, he performed the requisite royal duties, if not always in traditional form. Following the death of his father, George V, on January 20, 1936, Windsor became King Edward VIII. He was given to more casual dress and was less reserved in expressing his views. Most famously, while visiting poverty-stricken South Wales in November, 1936, he commented on the appalling living conditions and lack of work opportunities, saying “something must be done.” His coronation had not yet taken place and never would; by the end of the year, Windsor would be living in exile, no longer a king. The reason was Wallis Simpson.

Simpson, an American who had been divorced from her first husband and married to her second, met Windsor in January, 1931, at a party given by his lover, Lady Furness. Soon after, the prince fell deeply in love with the Baltimorean socialite, who was moving up in London society. Witty, incisive, acquisitive, and power-driven, Wallis became the prince’s paramour and confidant while still married to Ernest Simpson.

By autumn of 1936, Windsor became convinced that he must marry Wallis, who had been granted a decree nisi and was awaiting a decree absolute to dissolve her marriage. The king intended to make her his queen, announcing his intent to British prime minister Stanley Baldwin. Baldwin objected on the grounds that Wallis was not acceptable as queen because of her divorced status and the king’s position as titular head of the Church of England. The alternative of a morganatic marriage was suggested, in which Windsor and Wallis might marry and she not be queen but consort, but this would require a parliamentary bill. Put before the cabinet and the leadership of the dominions, this suggestion was rejected outright. International press had followed the scandalous love story for some time, and

the British press finally broke its self-imposed silence on December 3, opening the situation to public uproar.

Some suggested that Windsor remain with Wallis as a lover, go ahead with the coronation, and perhaps marry someone else at a later date. On the surface, his decision to abdicate came down to a choice between true love and the throne, although there is evidence of additional complicating factors that may have forced the government’s hand. Both Windsor and Wallis had developed sympathetic views of Nazism. Windsor’s choice to step down elevated his brother, Albert, to the throne, even though the Windsors would continue to meet high-



King Edward VIII announces his abdication in a December 11, 1936, address to the nation on British radio. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

ABDICATING FOR LOVE

On December 11, 1936, the day after he abdicated the British throne so that he could marry an American woman, the duke of Windsor addressed British citizens through a radio broadcast. He began with these words:

At long last I am able to say a few words of my own. I have never wanted to withhold anything, but until now it has not been constitutionally possible for me to speak.

A few hours ago I discharged my last duty as King and Emperor, and now that I have been succeeded by my brother, The Duke of York, my first words must be to declare my allegiance to him. This I do with all my heart.

You all know the reasons which have impelled me to renounce the Throne. But I want you to understand that in making up my mind I did not forget the country or the Empire which as Prince of Wales, and lately as King, I have for twenty-five years tried to serve. But you must believe me when I tell you that I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love.

level Nazi officials, including Adolf Hitler, who sent them a gift for their wedding on June 3, 1937.

Windsor’s (Edward’s) abdication speech was written by his longtime friend and legal adviser, Walter Monckton, who also drew up the Instrument of Abdication. This moving statement sealed history’s commemoration of the romantic view of the event. It stated, in part, “I have found it impossible to carry the heavy burden of responsibility and to discharge my duties as King as I would wish to do without the help and support of the woman I love.” It also dismissed any collusion of government against him. He signed the Instrument of Abdication on December 10, gave his speech to the nation the following evening, and by December 12 left England for Austria. Shortly afterward, he was given the title duke of Windsor.

IMPACT

The scandal surrounding the abdication of Edward VIII (Windsor) profoundly affected Britain’s role during World War II, the relationship between British royalty and the press, and the line of succession that continued into the twenty-first century. Wind-

sor embodied the paradox of public persona, private individual, and monarch as no royal had during the modern era, but it was a paradox impossible to contain for long.

In its own way, the press declared war on its own long-held gentlemen’s agreement not to expose the royal family’s foibles and misdeeds. The appearance of the press placards on December 3, 1936, effectively ushered in the modern era of royal-family coverage that continues to range from investigative reporting to digging up possible scandals.

Viewing fascism as preferable to communism, Windsor threw his support behind the Nazis and likely would have supported Neville Chamberlain’s appeasement policies, whereas his brother, George VI, fell in with Churchill’s views. This ensured a unified monarchy

and government in the face of the looming Nazi threat and drew an absolute line between Britain and Germany. Although in exile from England, the Windsors continued to associate with various individuals of Hitler’s party, but their support was effectively moot, especially once Britain declared war and they were dispatched to the Bahamas.

The task of restoring the image of the royal family fell to George VI and his queen, Elizabeth. Ironically, much of this occurred as a result of World War II, when the royal family refused to leave London and instead made a very visible presence of support and endurance to the people. Princess Elizabeth, later Queen Elizabeth II, served during the war. She continued to stabilize the public’s view of the royal family, steering a steady course of tradition and accommodating change in the face of her own children’s rocky marriages.

Wallis became duchess of Windsor when she married the duke of Windsor. The two never returned to England, a fact often attributed to direct intervention by George VI and Elizabeth. Windsor’s desire that Wallis be given the title Her Royal Highness was never granted, and this upset Wind-

1930's

sor especially. He died from throat cancer in 1972, and Wallis lived another fourteen years alone in Paris.

The scandal attending Edward VIII's precedent-setting abdication left a legacy of royal romance, intrigue, and governmental intervention, and even an impression of what constitutes a noble action. Delving into any one of these areas opens up new debates about the only king ever to abdicate from the British throne.

—Jennie MacDonald

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March 17, 1937

ATHERTON REPORT EXPOSES SAN FRANCISCO POLICE CORRUPTION

Edwin Atherton, a private investigator commissioned to investigate possible corruption and graft in the San Francisco Police Department, found that police officers were key figures in moblike shakedowns of prostitution houses and gambling halls. The soon-to-be-revealed scandal led to extorted earnings of about one million dollars each year for the corrupt officers and their superiors.

LOCALE: San Francisco, California

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; law and the courts; organized crime and racketeering; prostitution

KEY FIGURES

Edwin Atherton (1896-1944), former U.S. foreign service officer and agent with the U.S. Bureau of Investigation

Matthew A. Brady (1876-1952), San Francisco district attorney, 1919-1943

Peter McDonough (1872-1947), San Francisco bail bondsman

Tom McDonough (fl. 1930's), San Francisco bail bondsman

SUMMARY OF EVENT

When John Lewis, a young tax collector, made an offhand remark about taxing the unreported income of officers with the San Francisco Police Department (SFPD), he had no idea his remark would end up as front-page news. In no time, the San Francisco County Board of Supervisors asked the San Francisco district attorney, Matthew A. Brady, to investigate Lewis's claim. In 1935, Brady hired Los Angeles-based Edwin Atherton, a retired U.S. foreign service officer and agent with the U.S. Bureau of Investigation (later the Federal Bureau of Investigation), to conduct the inquiry.

Following a sixteen-month investigation, Atherton's seventy-two-page report—described by some

as a cold, matter-of-fact document lacking moral fervor—explained how the officers of the SFPD charged prostitution houses and gambling establishments “fees” that added up to approximately one million dollars annually. As a result of the investigation, hundreds of officers were reassigned; three captains, three lieutenants, and one sergeant were fired; and several patrol officers were relieved of their duties. Five officers were indicted but were never convicted in a court of law.

Atherton began his investigation in November, 1935, and his report was released to the public on March 17, 1937. The district attorney instructed him to conduct a top-to-bottom inquiry of the SFPD to look for police graft and corruption, directing him to gather evidence that could lead to the firing and, if necessary, prosecution of any officers involved in such corruption. While it was expected that Atherton would find some corruption within the police department, the extent and seriousness of the illegal activities was much greater than originally believed.

Atherton began his investigation by examining the location of prostitution houses. He found that of the 135 known houses, the majority were located in three police districts. One area had so many houses of prostitution that residents were forced to place signs on their homes to indicate their house was a private residence rather than a business establishment. After interviewing persons connected to these establishments, many who agreed to speak “off the record” only, he found that each house of prostitution was required to pay officers a fee upon opening and a monthly fee thereafter. Atherton also found that officers were extorting money from hotels that were renting rooms to high-end call girls. The estimated income from these extorted fees was about \$325,000 per year. The money was distributed among captains, superior officers, and officers who were responsible for those police beats. The funds were divided according to the number of houses of prostitution within a police beat.

Atherton also learned that many of the San Francisco police officers were working with organized-crime brothers Peter and Tom McDonough, bail bondsman by trade who were involved in racketeering, prostitution, and gambling. Atherton discovered that the police were not only cooperating with the brothers in charging the prostitution houses but also accepting money for information about raids on establishments run by the brothers. The police would call the McDonoughs and tip them about a pending raid. With this knowledge, house employees would help to make the raid appear legitimate; however, all of the real assets and money would be taken away before the raid. The police tips also allowed for the prearrangement of bail, so arrested employees would not have to spend time in jail. The McDonoughs owned the deeply corrupt and highly profitable bail-bond company McDonough Bros., which was later implicated in the scandal. Atherton found that without the brothers, the corruption involving the houses of prostitution would not have been possible, at least not to the same extent.

Police officers also were involved in payoffs with the towing industry. An officer would work a car accident and call a certain garage for a tow truck. The garage would pay the officer \$2.50 and the garage would pass the charge on to the customer. Some garages, however, would try to outsmart the officers by using a police scanner to arrive at an accident before the police and stake claim. The officers, though, because they were “the law,” could easily persuade accident victims to use the police-recommended towing service, thus ensuring the receipt of payoff fees.

In addition to the organized criminal activities, police officers also were willing participants in petty graft. They willingly accepted free meals, drinks, and tickets to sporting events. Some would get free medical and dental services and clothes. Some officers interviewed by Atherton stated that failing to participate would lead to their ostracism by fellow officers. Alternatively, officers would protect each other in case of trouble.

The release of the Atherton Report was followed immediately by attempts to clean up the SFPD. First, the department had to weed out the corrupt officers

and their superiors. Although criminal charges were pursued wherever possible, officers most often were reassigned or were dismissed for conduct unbecoming. Interestingly, the Atherton Report included the claim that police departments can never be entirely free from corruption. It added, however, that corruption could be curtailed somewhat if certain crimes, such as gambling or prostitution, were legalized. Atherton defended this proposal for legalization by also suggesting that regulating these crimes could lead to increased state revenue through taxes, improved health conditions for prostitutes (and, thus, their johns), and a decrease in support for organized crime. As expected, these radical suggestions were met with fierce resistance. Several clergy, however, unexpectedly supported the recommendation.

IMPACT

The Atherton Report had two principal effects. First, it aired the dirty laundry of a corrupt SFPD. Police officers commanded little respect from the community after the report’s release, and the department as a whole took an emotional beating from the general public. It took years before San Franciscans could once again trust their police officers, especially those on the beat.

The Atherton Report also led to a new California law requiring the licensing of bail-bond companies. The corruption would not have worked without the McDonough brothers and their bail-bond company.

—Jennifer Hutchinson and Jeffery T. Walker

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September-October, 1937

PRESCRIPTION ELIXIR CAUSES MORE THAN ONE HUNDRED DEATHS

More than one hundred people, many of them children, died after taking a prescription drug known as elixir sulfanilamide, a new liquid form of the popular antibacterial drug sulfanilamide. Drug manufacturer S. E. Massengill sold the drug before performing pharmacological safety studies for toxicity. The scandal led to the passage of federal regulations aimed at curbing the unsafe manufacture and distribution of prescription and other drugs in the United States.

LOCALE: United States

CATEGORIES: Corruption; drugs; ethics; medicine and health care; science and technology

KEY FIGURES

Harold Cole Watkins (d. 1939), chief chemist for S. E. Massengill Company

Samuel Evans Massengill (1871-1946), director of S. E. Massengill Company

Frances Oldham Kelsey (b. 1914), University of Chicago pharmacologist

Walter Campbell (fl. 1930's), U.S. Food and Drug Administration commissioner

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1937, the pharmaceutical company S. E. Massengill developed and sold a new product known as elixir sulfanilamide in response to demand for a liquid form of sulfanilamide, a popular antibacterial drug sold in tablet and powder form as a treatment for streptococcal infections. Sulfanilamide was part of a class of drugs known as sulfonamides (sulfa drugs), which were the forerunners of modern antibiotics. At the time, reformers were pushing for new legislation to replace the obsolete 1906 Food and Drug Act, but that legislation was stalled in the U.S. Congress. Pharmaceutical companies faced little regulation in their attempts to develop new drugs, and they did not have to prove that their drugs were safe before putting them on the market.

Massengill's chief chemist, Harold Cole Watkins, developed elixir sulfanilamide when he dis-

ELIXIR OF DEATH

In a letter to U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, a woman describes the painful death of her child, who had ingested the antibacterial liquid drug, elixir sulfanilamide, which had been prescribed to the child by a family doctor.

The first time I ever had occasion to call in a doctor for [daughter Joan] and she was given Elixir of Sulfanilamide. All that is left to us is the caring for her little grave. Even the memory of her is mixed with sorrow for we can see her little body tossing to and fro and hear that little voice screaming with pain and it seems as though it would drive me insane. . . . It is my plea that you will take steps to prevent such sales of drugs that will take little lives and leave such suffering behind and such a bleak outlook on the future as I have tonight.

Source: Quoted in Carol Ballentine, "Taste of Raspberries, Taste of Death: The 1937 Elixir Sulfanilamide Incident." *FDA Consumer*, June, 1981.

covered that sulfanilamide could be dissolved in diethylene glycol to create a liquid form of the drug. He then added raspberry flavoring and red coloring to improve the elixir's taste, smell, and appearance. Watson had not read the current medical literature on diethylene glycol and apparently did not know that the substance, commonly used as antifreeze, is a deadly poison that leads to kidney failure and a slow, painful death. No safety tests were required under existing drug laws, and Massengill did not conduct tests before shipping the elixir to fifteen U.S. states in September and October. The majority of the company's shipments went to Oklahoma and Mississippi. None of the bottle labels identified diethylene glycol as an ingredient.

In early October, the American Medical Association began receiving reports from Tulsa, Oklahoma, doctors about patient deaths from kidney failure following ingestion of elixir sulfanilamide. An anonymous tip alerted the U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) to the developing problem. The University of Chicago began a study of the elixir, and pharmacologist Frances Oldham Kelsey

isolated diethylene glycol as the cause of the elixir's toxicity.

The FDA soon sent inspectors to Massengill's Bristol, Tennessee, headquarters and to its branch offices in other cities. Newspapers and radio announcements began to carry warnings against using the product. Massengill sent telegrams alerting salespeople, druggists and pharmacists, and doctors to return the product, but it did not warn that the elixir was toxic. The FDA insisted that the company send a second telegram stressing the deadly urgency of the situation.

The FDA then sought to track down and recall all shipments of the elixir, a difficult process for its field inspectors. State and local health officials aided in the search. The groups used shipping records and sales slips to track Massengill salespeople and the physicians and druggists to whom they had sold the product. They also sought to track down patients who had received prescriptions. Some druggists, however, had sold the elixir without a prescription, and some physicians lied to inspectors regarding patient deaths to avoid possible liability, which hindered the investigation. Most of the elixir, though, was recovered.

Scandal followed the deaths. Many of the victims were young children. The product's liquid form and raspberry flavoring made it a popular choice among parents treating children with sore throats. Symptoms of diethylene glycol poisoning include severe abdominal cramps and pain, nausea and vomiting, headaches, blindness, convulsions, coma, and kidney failure. Relatives recounted that victims often thrashed in severe, unrelenting pain for several days (sometimes up to twelve days) before dying. There had been no known antidote or treatment. Anguished parents wrote letters to U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, describing their children's horrible deaths. Prescribing doctors agonized over the deaths of their patients.

The FDA could take no action against Massengill for selling an untested drug because the company had violated no laws. Company director Samuel Evans Massengill also claimed that the company had violated no laws in developing and

marketing elixir sulfanilamide and that it was not responsible for the resulting deaths. The only charge brought against the company was for misbranding: Products named an elixir had to contain alcohol, but elixir sulfanilamide had none. The company received the maximum fine allowed under the law: twenty-six thousand dollars. Without the charge of misbranding, the FDA would not have had the authority to track down and retrieve the distributed elixir. Massengill later fired Watkins, the chemist who had created the elixir. Watkins died after shooting himself while he was cleaning his own gun; many believe he committed suicide.

IMPACT

The widespread publicity and public outrage surrounding the elixir sulfanilamide scandal led to the passage of new, stricter standards for drug regulation in the United States. The public became much more cautious about the medicines it took and demanded that the federal government do more to protect consumers.

FDA commissioner Walter Campbell had been pressing for better federal regulation of drugs for years, and he used this scandal to highlight the importance of his cause. Shortly after the crisis, Congress enacted the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938. The FDA received greater authority to regulate drugs manufactured and sold in the United States and required that drugs pass certain tests before they could be marketed. Laws against misbranding and false labeling also became much more stringent after the scandal. Drug labels had to include the common names of all active ingredients, and penalties were increased for violations of the new standards. The act not only protected the public but also spurred new medical research.

—*Marcella Bush Trevino*

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October 11-22, 1937

DUKE AND DUCHESS OF WINDSOR VISIT NAZI GERMANY

After the marriage of the former King Edward VIII of England and American socialite Wallis Simpson, the couple, now the duke and duchess of Windsor, took a much-criticized tour of Nazi Germany. They were personal guests of Adolf Hitler and met other high-ranking members of the Third Reich. The duchess was suspected of being a German agent at the time of the visit and after the beginning of World War II, and the duke was permanently in exile from England.

LOCALE: Germany**CATEGORIES:** Politics; international relations; royalty**KEY FIGURES**

Duke of Windsor (Edward Albert Christian George Andrew Patrick David Windsor; 1894-1972), king of Great Britain as Edward VIII, r. 1936

Wallis Simpson (Bessie Wallis; 1896-1986), duchess of Windsor

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), chancellor of Germany and leader of the Nazi Party

Charles Bedaux (1887-1944), industrialist

Robert Ley (1890-1945), head of the German Labor Front and member of the Nazi Party

Hermann Göring (1893-1946), second in command of the Third Reich and leading member of the Nazi Party

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Following his abdication on December 10, 1936, Edward VIII, now the duke of Windsor, retired to Austria to await the decree absolute necessary to release American socialite Wallis Simpson, his lover, from her second marriage while she sat out the time in France. The divorce hearing was held May 3, 1937, and the decree absolute was granted. Plans whirled into place for the duke's wedding on June 3 at Château de Candé, home of Charles Bedaux and family. Gifts, including an inscribed gold box sent

by the chancellor of Germany, Adolf Hitler, poured in from across the globe.

The looming figures of Bedaux and Hitler would circumscribe the popular and diplomatic focus of attention on the Windsors for the rest of the year. The couple's association with Bedaux and Hitler—the former a French-born American millionaire and industry efficiency expert and the latter the leader of the Nazi Party of Germany, which was already threatening European peace—would shadow them for the rest of their lives. At Bedaux's urging, the Windsors initiated plans for a trip to Germany to be followed by a tour of the United States. Ostensibly, the two international visits were justified because of the duke's interest in the working conditions of the laboring classes. Nazi Germany's much-publicized public projects seemed the ideal place to start the trip.

The arrangements were made by German diplomat Fritz Weidemann in accordance with instructions from the Third Reich, possibly Hitler himself. The Windsors's schedule would ensure they saw only the best of Germany's systemized social welfare plan and keep the Third Reich's celebrated guests very much in the limelight. This schedule would serve the Third Reich by confirming public belief in the duke's support of the regime both in Germany and around the world. Back in England this notion caused great alarm, but although King George VI and his top advisers pressed for the Windsors to cancel their visit, the Windsors boldly defied them. On October 11, 1937, the duke and duchess boarded a train bound from Paris for Berlin.

Arriving at the Friedrichstrasse station in Berlin the same day, they were met by the third secretary of the British embassy. The exasperated powers in England decreed that only minimal attention would be given the visit to minimize the appearance that London sanctioned the trip. In the face of this snub, however, the Windsors were fêted throughout Germany. Their tour fell into three principal compo-

nents: meeting high-ranking Nazi officials, examining the labor practices under the new regime, and making public appearances ornamented by enthusiastic national sentiment fit for a royal visit in the form of cheering crowds and the prominent display of swastikas and the unmistakable Nazi salute.

Robert Ley, head of the German Labor Front, had been detailed to lead the Windsors's visit. The Windsors spent the first few days separately, occupied by activities their hosts deemed appropriate to their interests. At the Nazi Welfare Society, the duchess observed women sewing clothes for the poor. The duke was escorted to the Stock Machine Works at Grünewald, where he approved the many recreational facilities available for the workers, and to the training school of the Death's Head Division of the Elite School of the SS (the Nazi police), where the stars of the Hitler Youth prepared for their future roles as leaders of the movement. Together, the Windsors visited museums and socialized with leading figures of the Nazi Party.

The first dinner party the day after their arrival was hosted by Ley. Guests included Minister of Propaganda Josef Goebbels, Joachim von Ribbentrop, Artur Goerlitzer, SS leader Heinrich Himmler, and Rudolph Hess. On October 14, the Windsors were welcomed by Field Marshal Hermann Göring and his wife at their country estate, Karinhalle. While the duchess and Mrs. Göring toured the estate, the duke and Göring played with an elaborate toy train. In the library, the duke was shocked to see a large map of Europe upon which Austria had been collapsed into German territory.

On October 20, the duke at last had a taste of a family reunion at a dinner party hosted by his cousin, Carl Eduard, duke of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha. During the festivities, the duchess was curtsied by every lady and addressed as Royal Highness, just as the Windsors had envisioned happening during their lives together. These gestures, along with the reminder to the duke of his family's German heritage, surely made the evening a poignant one.

On the last day of their visit, October 22, Hitler invited the Windsors to Berchtesgaden. Accompanied by Hess and Paul Schmidt, Hitler's transla-

tor, and escorted by a multitude of detectives and SS officers, they were driven up the mountain to Hitler's hunting lodge. The führer, outfitted in a brown SS jacket and black trousers, his face a pasty white behind his mustache, greeted them, led them to the immense hall, and took in the view of the Alps from a window.

The duke and Hitler spoke privately, with Schmidt translating, although the duke had long been fluent in German. Both the duke and Schmidt later recalled the noncommittal tone of the conversation that focused on social welfare and the duke's ideas about English and German soldiers of the Great War creating a fraternal relationship. The visit ended pleasantly with Hitler remarking that the duchess "would have made a good Queen."

Upon their return to France, the Windsors continued planning their American trip. It was scuttled ultimately by the round rejection in the United States of Bedaux, who was seen as an enemy of workers, and by the complexities of receiving the couple whose German visit appeared to confirm their support for the Nazi regime.

IMPACT

The Windsors's visit to Germany generated a storm of controversy that contributed not only to the cancellation of the couple's U.S. visit but also permanent exile of the duke and perhaps to a minor degree the hardening of the Third Reich's attitude toward England. The duke's reasons for the trip were deeply personal but also tinged with political aspiration.

While the duke's interest in labor conditions formed a principal component of his travel plans, it is also likely he wished to give the duchess the opportunity to make the sort of state visit to which she might have become accustomed had he retained the throne of England and been able to escort her as queen. Additionally, the duke was aware of the tenuous relationship that existed between Germany and England and appears to have been eager to mediate peace as well as to secure a welcome return to his home country at a later time, when the scandal over his abdication and marriage had cooled.

A further consideration simmered in England—the duke’s desire to return to the English stage to influence politics and public sentiment. As-yet-unproven suspicions of the duchess’s role as a Nazi agent, the Windsors’s association with Hitler and other Nazi Party members, and their potential for stirring up the working classes and fomenting rebellion were largely responsible for their never being able to return to England.

—Jennie MacDonald

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May 22, 1939

KANSAS CITY'S BOSS PENDERGAST PLEADS GUILTY TO INCOME TAX EVASION

Thomas Joseph Pendergast, head of a Democratic political machine that dominated politics in Kansas City, Missouri, for more than thirty years, pleaded guilty to charges of income tax evasion and spent fifteen months in federal prison. After his conviction, his political machine never regained its former power and influence. Harry S. Truman, later a U.S. senator, vice president, and president, was associated with Pendergast in his early political career.

LOCALE: Kansas City, Missouri

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; organized crime and racketeering; politics

KEY FIGURES

Thomas Joseph Pendergast (1872-1945), Kansas City political boss

Harry S. Truman (1884-1972), Jackson County, Missouri, judge, and later president of the United States, 1945-1953

James Pendergast (1856-1911), Kansas City businessman, political boss, and Thomas Pendergast's brother

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Pendergast political machine dominated politics and municipal government in Kansas City, Missouri, and surrounding Jackson County from the 1890's through the 1930's. The Democratic machine was founded by James Pendergast, who owned a saloon-restaurant that doubled as a boarding house in a working-class area in the West Bottoms area of the city. Pendergast was elected to the city's board of aldermen in 1892. Eventually, his influence was great enough that other politicians sought his backing. By 1900 the Pendergast machine was powerful enough to get its own candidate, James A. Reed, elected mayor of Kansas City.

After Pendergast retired from politics in 1910,

his brother, Thomas Joseph Pendergast, was elected to the board of aldermen and became the head of the machine. The Pendergast machine reached its greatest height under "Boss Tom's" leadership. The machine controlled hiring for city jobs, the awarding of city contracts, and elections to many city and Jackson County government positions. Kickbacks from city and county employees and contractors doing business with the city funded the machine's social welfare activities, which sought to influence voters by providing for the needs of the poor or those facing health concerns, job loss, or other problems. During the mid- and late 1930's, federal investigations into extensive voter fraud and Thomas Pendergast's evasion of income taxes led to the decline and ultimate demise of the Pendergast machine.

During the early 1930's, Thomas Pendergast's political machine was at the height of its powers. Pendergast not only controlled politics and government in Kansas City and Jackson County but also ensured his candidate, Harry S. Truman, was elected as U.S. senator in 1934. The incumbent governor of Missouri, Lloyd C. Stark, also owed his 1936 election to a great extent to Pendergast's support. Additionally, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration funneled much of the funds for New Deal relief and public works programs through Pendergast's machine, giving him even more jobs and funds to hand out to patrons.

During the mid- and late 1930's, the Pendergast dynasty began to deteriorate. For decades, the machine had controlled Kansas City and Jackson County elections with remarkable efficiency. During the late 1920's, as the number of Republican votes in the metropolitan area began to grow, the Democratic machine added sixty thousand nonexistent or long-dead voters to the voting rolls. On election days, operatives paid by the machine voted under these names, often voting several times in

various precincts and receiving twenty-five cents per vote. City elections in 1936 were accompanied by so much open violence, voter intimidation, and voter fraud that there were calls for a federal investigation. Maurice M. Milligan, the federal district attorney in Kansas City, began an investigation into the voter fraud allegations in 1937.

As a result of investigations over the next two years, more than two hundred fifty operatives of the Pendergast machine were convicted of voter fraud and more than two hundred of those convicted spent time in jail. Initially, the machine showed little concern for these investigations. Demonstrating open contempt for the legal proceedings, the machine paid the fines of those who had been convicted and even paid salaries to those who were imprisoned, with the funds for this coming from a special assessment made on the gambling interests the machine controlled. The investigations and litigation associated with the voter fraud cases began to turn public opinion against the machine.

Truman, in the Senate by this point, tried to use his senatorial privileges to block the reappointment of Milligan as federal prosecutor in Kansas City. Truman attacked Milligan in a speech on the Senate floor in February, 1938. In this speech, he also attacked federal district judges Merrill E. Otis and Albert L. Reeves. Truman alleged that these judges, who had been appointed by Republican presidents Warren G. Harding and Calvin Coolidge, were the most “violently partisan” judges since the days of the Federalist appointees that troubled Thomas Jefferson. Truman claimed that Milligan and these judges were out to get Democrats. “A Jackson County Democrat has as much chance of a fair trial in the Federal District Court [in Kansas City] as a Jew would in a Hitler Court or a Trotsky follower before Stalin,” Truman suggested. Ultimately, however, President Roosevelt insisted that Milligan be retained, and Truman backed down, allowing a voice vote in the Senate to approve the reappointment.

In addition to the voter fraud issue, the Bureau of Internal Revenue (now the Internal Revenue Service, or IRS) began an investigation of Pendergast’s personal finances in 1938. There had long been rumors that Pendergast received payoffs, handled by

members of organized crime families, from businesses involved in illegal gambling, liquor, and prostitution. Investigators also heard rumors that Pendergast had received a large payoff for helping to broker a compromise on insurance-rate rebates that saved several large insurance companies millions of dollars. Investigators found that Pendergast had received about \$750,000 for this influence peddling, although much of that money was passed on to others as payoffs for their role in the compromise. Federal investigators also knew that Pendergast gambled heavily on horse races and apparently had ready access to large amounts of cash to pay his sizable gambling debts. Eventually, the investigation led to charges that Pendergast had failed to report approximately \$1.24 million in income over the previous decade. He was arraigned, and pleaded not guilty, on May 1 to two counts of income tax evasion.

Ever a realist, Pendergast knew the case against him was very strong and changed his plea to guilty on May 22. Judge Otis presided over this case and sentenced Pendergast to fifteen months in prison on the first count. On the second count, Pendergast received a three-year prison sentence and a \$10,000 fine. Otis, however, suspended the prison sentence on this count and substituted five years probation. Additionally, Pendergast was ordered to pay \$430,000 in back taxes and penalties and was forbidden to participate in any political activity unless his “full civil rights” were restored by a presidential pardon. Other people associated with Pendergast’s machine also were convicted of income tax evasion. In the two years preceding his conviction, Pendergast had suffered a heart attack and undergone three abdominal surgeries; Otis said that he had taken Pendergast’s poor health into consideration in determining the sentence. The sentences were met with public condemnation.

Pendergast died on January 26, 1945. Truman, who just days earlier had been inaugurated as vice president under Roosevelt, attended Pendergast’s funeral against the advice of many who counseled him not to remind the public of his earlier ties to a corrupt political machine. Truman stated that Pendergast had “always been my friend and I was his.”

Truman, however, always contended that Pendergast had never exercised undue influence on his own actions in the Senate.

IMPACT

Although the Pendergast machine continued to have some influence for a few years, it never recovered its power after the voter fraud convictions and Pendergast's conviction for income tax evasion. Many Pendergast appointees resigned or were forced from office in the following months. An investigation disclosed approximately three thousand people on the city payroll who had been hired by the machine but apparently did no work for their pay. In 1940, a political-machine-fighting coalition, the Citizen's Reform ticket, won most of the seats in the city election. Candidates backed by Pendergast's machine, however, still won in five of the city's sixteen wards.

Pendergast's friends and associates largely abandoned him after his release from prison, and his last years were spent in lonely isolation. Politics had been Pendergast's life, and being barred from participation in the political process was an especially bitter part of his punishment. Pendergast hoped that he would receive a pardon from President Roosevelt, but the pardon never came.

—Mark S. Joy

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Boss Pendergast Admits Income Tax Evasion

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February 6, 1942

FILM STAR ERROL FLYNN IS ACQUITTED OF RAPE

Despite being tried and acquitted for raping two teenage girls, actor Errol Flynn fortified a lasting reputation as a womanizer and modern-day Romeo. Many argue that the expression “in like Flynn,” a phrase suggestive of assured sexual success, stems from the sensationalism of Flynn’s rape trial in 1942.

LOCALE: Los Angeles, California

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; sex crimes; public morals; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Errol Flynn (1909-1959), Tasmanian-born

American actor

Jerry Giesler (1886-1962), defense lawyer

Betty Hansen (b. c. 1926), aspiring teenage actor

Peggy Satterlee (b. 1926), teenage dancer-actor

John F. Dockweiler (1895-1943), U.S.

representative from California, 1933-1939, Los Angeles County district attorney, 1940-1943

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Film actor Errol Flynn had attended a party on September 27, 1942, at a Bel Air residence owned by silent-screen actor Colleen Moore and jointly leased by three others: Freddy McEvoy, a former Olympic bobsled champion, and actors Bruce Cabot and Stephen Raphael. Also attending the party was seventeen-year-old Betty Hansen. On the morning of October 11, two police officers—Lieutenant R. W. Bowling and Sergeant Edward Walker—arrived at Flynn’s home to question him on reports that he had had sexual intercourse with a minor child (which was a felony).

Police officers then went to juvenile hall to interview three young Warner Bros. employees: eighteen-year-old Armand Knapp, twenty-two-year-old Morrie Black, and twenty-year-old Joseph Gerald. All had been arrested for attacking Hansen after Flynn’s alleged assault.

Hansen told police that Flynn had forced himself

on her for intercourse, adding that she had protested his actions but ultimately did not resist. The case against Flynn, for statutory rape, first went before the Los Angeles grand jury on October 15 but was thrown out following a ruling that there was no criminal case.

Continuing private investigations by members of the district attorney’s office, however, eventually revealed an earlier complaint against Flynn for sexual intercourse with a minor. The name of Flynn’s accuser in this earlier complaint was Peggy Satterlee. Satterlee’s mother had lodged a complaint with the Los Angeles County Sheriff’s Department almost fourteen months earlier after an episode that occurred between her daughter and Flynn on Flynn’s yacht, *Sirocco*, on the weekend of August 2-3, 1941. Satterlee’s mother claimed that the actor had seduced her then-fifteen-year-old daughter. Police had investigated the accusations at the time but decided there was no case against Flynn; police also convinced the Satterlees not to pursue the case.

Even with the grand jury’s ruling in Hansen’s case in October, 1942, however, the newly elected district attorney, John F. Dockweiler, determined to pursue the actor. Dockweiler combined the two complaints (from Satterlee and Hansen) and filed his case on November 20.

Both Hansen and Satterlee testified for the prosecution. They were represented by Assistant District Attorney Thomas W. Cochran at a preliminary hearing before a grand jury. Cochran established the grounds of Hansen’s complaint: Flynn had escorted her into one of the upstairs bedrooms of the Bel Air mansion on St. Pierre Road, removed her clothing, disrobed (except for his shoes), and had sexual intercourse with her on one of the beds. The grounds of Satterlee’s complaint was that Flynn had twice forced himself upon her while she was a guest aboard his yacht in early August, 1941.

Flynn’s arraignment before Judge Edward R. Brand took place on November 23. Flynn pleaded not guilty to three counts of rape. His trial date was

set for January 11, 1943, and he secured his release after posting bail, which had been set at one thousand dollars. The trial, heard by Superior Court judge Leslie E. Still, would last twenty-one days. Flynn's defense lawyer, Jerry Giesler, who was retained by Warner Bros., shrewdly ensured that the jury comprised three men and nine women.

During trial, Giesler easily discredited the testimony of both Hansen and Satterlee. He was able to admit as evidence Hansen's previous sexual history, which essentially undermined the public role she was adopting as a chaste and innocent young woman. Black and Geraldini both testified to having had sexual intercourse with Hansen. Giesler also relentlessly challenged specific points of Hansen's testimony, including her claim that Flynn had locked the door of the bedroom in which the alleged rape had taken place. During his pretrial investiga-

tions, Giesler had had the door removed from the Bel Air mansion, introduced it into evidence, and substantiated that the lock had in fact been broken at the time of the incident, thus showing that it was not possible for Flynn to have locked the door, as Hansen had alleged.

Satterlee's allegations against Flynn were more serious: She claimed that Flynn raped her twice and that she had fought back each time. As in the case with Hansen, however, Giesler relentlessly challenged specific points of Satterlee's testimony. Giesler exploited Satterlee's job as a nightclub dancer and established that she often exaggerated her age to secure work. Her driver license had indicated that she was twenty-one years old.

Damaging the prosecution's case was Satterlee's testimony that she had seen the moon through a porthole of a cabin aboard *Sirocco* when Flynn



Errol Flynn, left, with his attorney, Robert Ford, at Flynn's 1942-1943 trial in Los Angeles for rape. (AP/Wide World Photos)

raped her. Giesler demonstrated that the moon could be seen that night only on the other side of the *Sirocco*; thus, he established that it was not possible for Satterlee to have seen the moon as she had testified. This point cast considerable doubt on her credibility.

More damning to the prosecution, and more sensational and scandalous, had been Satterlee's sexual history, admissible in this case under California law. Giesler had received an anonymous tip to investigate a figure from Satterlee's past: a former friend named Owen Cathcart-Jones. Cathcart-Jones, a Canadian pilot, was then forty-two years old. Giesler later admitted to manipulating Cochran into calling Cathcart-Jones as a character witness for Satterlee. This gave Giesler the opportunity to cross-examine Cathcart-Jones about an incident involving Satterlee at a Los Angeles funeral parlor. Cathcart-Jones testified that Satterlee had "frollicked" among a number of cadavers, removed sheets from bodies, peered at them, and on one occasion pushed her head down against the face of a deceased elderly man's body.

Perhaps the final blow to the prosecution's case, however, was when Satterlee confessed during cross-examination to having had an abortion before she had met Flynn. Abortion in the state of California was a felony at the time. Satterlee's declaration of guilt in this matter raised suspicion that she was testifying against Flynn to avoid her own possible prosecution for the abortion.

The jury returned its verdict after a twenty-four-hour deliberation. On February 6, 1943, jurors found Flynn not guilty on all three counts of rape.

IMPACT

Flynn's autobiography, *My Wicked, Wicked Ways*, was published the year he died. Many claim that Flynn originally wanted to call the book *In Like Me*, a play on the expression "in like Flynn," but that his publisher, G. P. Putnam's Sons, refused to do so.

Earl Conrad, in his biography *Errol Flynn: A Memoir*, claims that the phrase "in like Flynn" materialized because of Flynn's trial. Similarly, Thomas McNulty, in *Errol Flynn: The Life and Career*, implies that the phrase came to exemplify a

man's sexual skill in seducing a woman during the time that Flynn stood trial for rape—beginning around early January, 1943.

Incidentally, some sources claim Dockweiler, the Los Angeles district attorney, had had an ax to grind against Warner Bros. studio. Peter Stackpole, who had been on Flynn's yacht on the weekend of August 2-3 (the same weekend Satterlee was on the yacht), claimed that while two candidates were running for district attorney at the time, Warner Bros. backed one man for the job, and it was not Dockweiler. Others, such as Lionel Godfrey in *The Life and Crimes of Errol Flynn*, claim that Flynn believed Dockweiler to be morally vengeful toward Hollywood and that this resentment motivated Dockweiler to make an example of him.

—Nicole Anae

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Star Jerry Lee Lewis Marries Thirteen-Year-Old Cousin; Feb. 1, 1978: Roman Polanski Flees the United States to Avoid Rape Trial; 1980: Biographer Claims Actor Errol Flynn Was a Nazi Spy; Jan. 13, 1992: Woody Allen Has Affair with Lover Mia Farrow’s Adopted Daughter; June 27,

1995: Film Star Hugh Grant Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct; Dec. 18, 2003: Pop Star Michael Jackson Is Charged with Child Molestation; July 28, 2006: Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making Anti-Semitic Remarks.

February 19, 1942

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT ORDERS INTERNMENT OF JAPANESE AMERICANS

The U.S. government relocated more than 100,000 persons of Japanese ancestry, including U.S. citizens, to internment camps during World War II. U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, in the face of constitutional guarantees to equal treatment before the law for all citizens but pressured by national security concerns, signed the order of internment. Following the internments, the courts, the public, and the government came to recognize the relocations as racism.

LOCALE: United States
CATEGORIES: Racism; civil rights and liberties; government; espionage; law and the courts; social issues and reform; military

KEY FIGURES
Franklin D. Roosevelt (1882-1945), president of the United States, 1933-1945
Henry L. Stimson (1867-1950), U.S. secretary of war, 1940-1945
John L. DeWitt (1880-1962), military commander of the Western Defense Command
Gordon Kiyoshi Hirabayashi (b. 1918), University of Washington student
Fred Korematsu (1919-2005), resident of Oakland, California
Minoru Yasui (1916-1986), resident of Oregon
Mitsuye Endo (1920-2006), resident of Sacramento, California

SUMMARY OF EVENT
On December 7, 1941, Japanese warplanes bombed the U.S. naval base at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. On the following day, the United States declared war with Japan. The declaration soon was followed by a fear that persons of Japanese ancestry living on the West Coast could assist Japan in attacking the U.S. mainland or could commit acts of sabotage. The U.S. government prepared a study of the issue for President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The study, submitted to Roosevelt at the end of January, 1942, claimed that persons who might be loyal to Japan, including second-generation Japanese Americans, constituted an unacceptable risk in the western United States. Despite opposition from First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, the president decided that “successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities.” On February 19, he issued Executive Order 9066, which authorized the U.S. secretary of war, Henry L. Stimson, to appoint a military commander to identify areas of the United States that should be placed under special restrictions. These restrictions included the relocation and interment of those deemed a threat to national security.

On February 20, Stimson appointed Lieutenant General John L. DeWitt as the commander of the Western Defense Command, comprising the three Pacific Coast states and Arizona. On March 2,

1940's

ROOSEVELT'S ORDER OF INTERNMENT

On February 19, 1942, U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt ordered the internment of all Japanese Americans living near the Pacific Coast. The majority of the internees were U.S. citizens.

Whereas the successful prosecution of the war requires every possible protection against espionage and against sabotage to national-defense material, national-defense premises, and national-defense utilities. . . . I hereby authorize and direct the Secretary of War . . . to prescribe military areas in such places and of such extent as he or the appropriate Military Commander may determine, from which any or all persons may be excluded, and with respect to which, the right of any person to enter, remain in, or leave shall be subject to whatever restrictions the Secretary of War or the appropriate Military Commander may impose in his discretion. The Secretary of War is hereby authorized to provide for residents of any such area who are excluded therefrom, such transportation, food, shelter, and other accommodations as may be necessary, in the judgment of the Secretary of War or the said Military Commander, and until other arrangements are made, to accomplish the purpose of this order.

DeWitt designated two military areas within the four states as subject to later restrictions. On March 18, Roosevelt issued Executive Order 9102, creating the War Relocation Authority, which was tasked with organizing the relocation of persons whose loyalty to the United States was questioned. On March 21, Congress criminalized violations of the orders of the president, the war secretary, or the military commander of the Western Defense Command.

Effective March 27, DeWitt ordered an 8 P.M. to 6 A.M. curfew for "alien enemies" of German, Italian, and Japanese ancestry and for all Japanese Americans in southern Arizona and the coastal areas of California, Oregon, and Washington. Orders were issued the same day requiring these newly classified "enemies" to report to designated sites, pending reassignment to detention camps.

The Japanese internees, two-thirds of whom were U.S. citizens, had no alternative but to comply and to sell all their possessions, including businesses and properties, before reporting to Civil Control Stations such as that at Tanforan Racetrack

in San Bruno, California, south of San Francisco. At Tanforan, the internees were housed in stables before being transported to various internment camps. Some thirty thousand internees were allowed, on a case-by-case basis, to leave the camps to live in states outside the military-controlled area during the war.

Some Japanese Americans, however, refused to comply with the orders, which they believed were unconstitutional. Gordon Kiyoshi Hirabayashi, a student at the University of Washington, disobeyed the curfew and refused to report to the designated Civil Control Station in Seattle. Minoru Yasui, a graduate of the University of Oregon, disobeyed the curfew order in Portland. After the two were arrested and convicted, they appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which ruled unanimously on June 21, 1943, that a rational basis existed for the curfew and the relocation orders. In its *Hirabayashi v. United*

States and *Yasui v. United States* rulings, the Court reasoned that the orders reflected the government's urgent need to act to prevent domestic acts of sabotage as well as a possible Japanese invasion of the U.S. mainland.

The Court would rule in other cases, but with a different legal outlook. Fred Korematsu, a resident of Oakland, California, had challenged the relocation order by refusing to report to Tanforan and be separated from his Italian American girlfriend. Mitsuye Endo of Sacramento, California, also had challenged her relocation order after being detained at the Tule Lake War Relocation Center in Central California. The Court issued rulings in both cases on December 18, 1944. Two days earlier, Japanese American soldiers, many of whom had been allowed to enlist in the Army after their relocation, fought bravely as members of the 442d Regiment, which notably relieved an American unit that had been trapped behind enemy lines during the Battle of the Bulge.

Although the Court upheld the validity of Korematsu's relocation order, the vote in the case of

Korematsu v. United States was 6-3, and the majority changed the basis of its decision from a rational-basis test to a rigid-scrutiny test, arguing that “all legal restrictions which curtail the civil rights of a single racial group are immediately suspect.” Although the majority ruled that national security considerations met the rigid-scrutiny test, dissenting justices decried the orders. It concluded that “racial discrimination of this nature bears no reasonable relation to military necessity and is utterly foreign to the ideals and traditions of the American people.”

Endo insisted on pressing her case, even though she had been offered resettlement east of the military area. The Court, in *Ex parte Mitsuyo Endo*, unanimously ruled that Endo should be discharged from the relocation center to return home to Sacramento. In accordance with War Relocation Author-

ity procedures, officials at the relocation centers had to segregate internees who were loyal from those who were disloyal. Endo had been one of the many considered loyal, so her petition for release from confinement was granted. However, by this time, all internees were free to leave. The camps were shut down beginning January 2, 1945, when the order was rescinded.

IMPACT

In 1948, Congress had authorized some monetary compensation for those who had been interned. Third-generation Japanese Americans, however, considered the 1948 compensations insufficient and pressured Congress for more action. In 1980, Congress set up the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians to study the mat-



Entrance gate to the Manzanar War Relocation Center near Independence, California, along the eastern Sierra Nevada. (Library of Congress)

AN OFFICIAL APOLOGY

In 1988, the U.S. Congress passed the Civil Liberties Act, which granted reparations and a formal apology to those persons who were interned by the U.S. government during World War II.

The Congress recognizes that, as described in the Commission on Wartime Relocation and Internment of Civilians, a grave injustice was done to both citizens and permanent residents of Japanese ancestry by the evacuation, relocation, and internment of civilians during World War II.

As the Commission documents, these actions were carried out without adequate security reasons and without any acts of espionage or sabotage documented by the Commission, and were motivated largely by racial prejudice, wartime hysteria, and a failure of political leadership.

The excluded individuals of Japanese ancestry suffered enormous damages, both material and intangible, and there were incalculable losses in education and job training, all of which resulted in significant human suffering for which appropriate compensation has not been made.

For these fundamental violations of the basic civil liberties and constitutional rights of these individuals of Japanese ancestry, the Congress apologizes on behalf of the Nation.

ter. On February 24, 1983, the commission's report, *Personal Justice Denied*, recommended further redress, characterizing the internment as "unjust and motivated by racism rather than real military necessity."

On November 10, 1983, Korematsu's conviction was overturned in a federal court, which found that the federal government had knowingly altered, suppressed, and withheld important and relevant information from the Supreme Court in its earlier case on Korematsu. Hirabayashi's convictions were reversed as well in later rulings.

In 1988, Congress officially apologized for its actions, which, it agreed, were based on "race prejudice, war hysteria, and a failure of political leadership." It authorized \$1.2 billion in reparations to survivors of the internment camps, amounting to \$20,000 (at minimum) for each former detainee. In

1992, when Congress provided an additional \$400 million in benefits because the \$1.2 billion fund had run out, President George H. W. Bush issued another official apology.

The most important legal impact was to establish the principle of "strict scrutiny," that is, that no government action or law can ever treat individuals in a different matter on the basis of ancestry or race. Although national security considerations met that test during World War II, separate drinking fountains for blacks and whites in the South, for example, did not. Korematsu's case, therefore, provided a foundation for dismantling racial segregation throughout the United States after the war. Ten years later was the landmark Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, which began the desegregation of public schools.

—Michael Haas

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terviews with thirty Japanese people who were detained in internment camps during World War II. Although the book was originally published in 1994, the author provides a 1999 afterword that updates the lives of the thirty interviewees.

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April 22, 1942

FRENCH PRIME MINISTER PIERRE LAVAL WANTS GERMANY TO WIN WORLD WAR II

French prime minister Pierre Laval was infamous for his collaborationist policies toward Nazi Germany during the opening months of World War II. After regaining his ministerial position—in part because of German pressure—Laval publicly declared his hope for a German victory. His name thereafter became synonymous with pro-German policies of the Vichy France government.

LOCALE: Vichy, France

CATEGORIES: International relations; government; politics; military

KEY FIGURES

Pierre Laval (1883-1945), prime minister of France, 1931-1932, 1935-1936, 1940, and 1942-1944

Philippe Pétain (1856-1951), military general, prime minister of France, 1940, and chief of state of Vichy France, 1940-1944

Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970), military general and president of the French Republic, 1959-1969

SUMMARY OF EVENT

A four-time prime minister of France, Pierre Laval gained notoriety during World War II for his enthu-

siastic cooperation with the Germans. He had served as prime minister twice during the 1930's and then returned to office in July, 1940, after the German occupation. He was dismissed by the head of state of Vichy France, Philippe Pétain, in December but returned because of German pressure in 1942.

On April 22, Laval delivered an infamous speech declaring his hope for a German victory over the Allies. Although this sentiment endeared him to German officials, it also sealed his fate as a traitor. As a result, Laval was tried and convicted of high treason for his collaboration with the Nazi occupiers and was executed by firing squad on October 15, 1945.

Born on June 28, 1883, Laval was involved in socialist politics from an early age. He then earned a law degree and began practicing law in Paris in 1907. After military service in World War I, Laval became mayor of Aubervilliers, a suburb of Paris, in 1924, and his political power and connections steadily increased at the national level. By 1927 he was elected to the French senate followed by a short period where he held no office, and he was elected prime minister in 1931. In addition, he was named *Time* magazine's Man of the Year in 1931.

Ironically, Laval formulated a number of anti-

German policies and strategies as prime minister during the mid-1930's. He rightly feared German aggression, which he considered a hereditary enemy of France, and pursued alliances with Italy and the Soviet Union to counter a possible German threat. However, some of those treaties, particularly the Hoare-Laval pact with Italy, which was designed to enhance Italian colonial aims in Africa, were perceived in France as appeasements rather than bilateral diplomacy. As a result, Laval was forced to resign in January, 1936, and was run out of ministerial politics. Laval instead went into private business, creating a commercial enterprise based on newspapers, printing, and radio.

After the fall of France in June, 1940, Laval used his media empire to become an energetic Nazi collaborator and active supporter of the pro-German Vichy regime. He also developed a close working relationship with Otto Abetz, the German ambassador to France. In July, Laval became vice premier and named Fernand de Brinon, a known Nazi sympathizer, to head the surrender negotiations between France and Germany. Laval exhibited additional conciliatory policies in the summer of 1940 by working as an auxiliary between Marshal Pétain and Adolf Hitler, who thereby solidified the collaborationist policy of the new Vichy France government. Laval augmented his personal cooperation with the Nazis that fall in his proposition to move the Vichy France capital back to Paris so it could be under closer German surveillance and by suggesting a joint German-French military alliance.

Laval's radicalism and growing unpopularity, however, led to his removal by Pétain in December, after which he left France for Germany and lived under the protection of that government. On August 27, 1941, French nationalist student and former Croix-de-Feu (far-right league) member Paul Collette seriously injured Laval in an assassination attempt that took place while Laval was seeing off French troops in the German army who were preparing for Operation Barbarossa against the Soviet Union. On April 18, 1942, after his recovery, Laval was recalled to France to serve as prime minister of the Vichy government.

As he had in 1940, Laval continued to privately and publicly believe in the probability of an Axis victory (or a German victory over the Soviet Union at minimum) when he reentered public office in the spring of 1942. Still, his faith in German success also involved a personal agenda. Thus, the prime minister wasted little time in expressing his loyalties and clearly articulated his opinion on the war in a letter to American admiral William D. Leahy on April 22, in which he claimed to prefer a German victory over a Soviet and English one. In the event of a Soviet victory, Laval maintained that Bolshevism would inevitably disperse throughout Europe, and he would much favor the status quo of German domination. In other words, as Laval saw it, post-war France would be under either a Soviet or German sphere of influence, and he much preferred the latter. Laval also explained to Leahy on April 22 that he felt the war had become an ideological struggle between democracy and totalitarianism. Laval then asserted that it was not necessary for France to take sides and that his foremost concern was the safety of his country.

As a German collaborator, however, Laval also understood the personal consequences for him in the event of an allied victory, and he kept his own security in mind. Laval knew his safety was assured only with a German victory. He confessed his fear of being hanged by the Allies in a September letter to Jacques Barnaud. Still another part of Laval's thought process might have been his anti-Anglo attitudes, as he blamed Britain for the war and the predicament of France. Moreover, Laval had no desire for an allied occupation of France, as he feared both British control and the prospect of France becoming a battlefield.

It is clear, however, that even though the United States had entered the war on the side of the Allies, Laval wished to maintain good relations with the Americans, whose friendship he considered vital to France. In fact, part of the basis for Laval's sometime opposition to a German presence within the French empire was that it would have a damaging effect on U.S.-French diplomatic relations.

After the Anglo-American recapturing of France in the summer of 1944, Laval followed the relo-

cated Vichy government to Sigmaringen, Germany. In May, 1945, he fled Germany and was captured by allied forces in Austria. French general Charles de Gaulle then handed Laval, now a political prisoner, to the new French government in July. Acting as his own defense, Laval nevertheless was found guilty of high treason and violating state security. After an unsuccessful suicide attempt involving the ingestion of cyanide, he was executed by firing squad at Fresnes prison, outside Paris, on October 15.

IMPACT

Laval's infamous legacy as prime minister is also associated with a rise in French anti-Semitism and the deportation of thousands of French Jews to Germany, his collaboration with the Gestapo against the French Resistance, and the decision to send French workers to Germany to labor in the latter's war industries in exchange for French prisoners of war. Contemporaries also accused Laval of exploiting his political office to advance his personal fortune.

By the time of his death, Laval's reputation was already solidified in French posterity. His wartime actions, as well as five years of allied propaganda against him, had painted the popular image of a self-serving traitor. Historians, however, have reconsidered Laval's place in history since 1945, and a minority alleges that his sometime thwarting of German demands entitle him to be considered a member of the Resistance. Academics also admit that Laval had a unique vision of European unity and a vocalized fear of Soviet communist expansion, both of which might have been well ahead of their time. Clearly, part of his desire for German victory was directly linked to his desire for Soviet and British defeat.

Most historians, however, agree that, from the point of view of French wartime interests, Laval was a loyal collaborator from the very outset. Above all, the wartime culpability of Laval, along with Pétain and others, is representative of collaborationist politicians and administrators whose ac-

tions were detrimental to both the allied war effort and French unity.

—Matthew E. Stanley

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SEE ALSO: July 12, 1906: French Court Declares Alfred Dreyfus Innocent of Treason; Oct. 11-22, 1937: Duke and Duchess of Windsor Visit Nazi Germany; Dec. 5, 1942: Industrialist Charles Bedaux Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration; May 9, 1945: Norwegian Politician Quisling Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration; May 26, 1945: Norwegian Writer Knut Hamsun Is Arrested for Treason; Aug. 14, 1945: French War Hero Pétain Is Convicted of Nazi Collaboration; Dec. 14, 1945: Poet Ezra Pound Is Charged with Treason and Institutionalized; 1980: Biographer Claims Actor Errol Flynn Was a Nazi Spy; Mar. 3, 1986: Former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's Nazi Past Is Revealed; Dec. 1, 1987: Yale Scholar's Wartime Anti-Semitic Writings Are Revealed.

December 5, 1942

INDUSTRIALIST CHARLES BEDAUX IS ARRESTED FOR NAZI COLLABORATION

Charles Bedaux and his wife, Fern Bedaux, were arrested in Algiers by occupying U.S. troops and charged with treason for collaborating with the Nazis before and during World War II. His arrest brought an end to his remarkable rise from the red light district of Paris to the halls of industry and government on two continents. He was found dead from an apparent suicide before the start of his trial.

LOCALES: Algiers, Algeria; Miami, Florida

CATEGORIES: Atrocities and war crimes;

business; government; murder and suicide; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Charles Bedaux (1886-1944), French-born

American millionaire and business consultant

Fern Bedaux (1888-1974), Bedaux's wife

SUMMARY OF EVENT

A year after his arrest in Algiers, Algeria, on December 5, 1942, Charles Bedaux was sent for trial to a border-patrol station in Miami, Florida. The morning after he was told that he would be tried for treason, he was found dead from an overdose of sleeping medication in an apparent suicide. The note found with his body included the unexpected explanation of how he had come into possession of so much medication. Skeptics question the suicide and claimed his death was a murder, pointing out that many of Bedaux's important and powerful friends in government and industry would have welcomed his death out of fear they would be implicated had he testified in his own defense.

Bedaux was born in 1886 to a middle-class family in Charenton, a Paris suburb. As a young dropout, he drifted into the employ of a pimp in the Pigalle district of Paris and quickly discovered his remarkable talents for persuasion. He began to re-

cruit young ladies for his mentor, Henri Ledoux, after Ledoux was murdered in 1906. Feeling unsafe in Paris, Bedaux quickly emigrated to the United States. He was nineteen years old.

Penniless and speaking no English, Bedaux worked as a laborer and salesperson in New York City. He became a U.S. citizen, got married, and had a son, but he left his new family for the mid-western United States. He taught French and worked at various jobs while he learned English and sharpened his salesmanship. He then worked as a lab assistant for a St. Louis, Missouri, chemical manufacturer, who implemented his suggestions for improving efficiency at the company. The experience showed him a way to capitalize on the inefficiencies of the manufacturing process, and he set out to become a management consultant.

By 1917, Bedaux had been working as a management consultant in Grand Rapids, Michigan, where he met Fern Lombard, the daughter of an attorney. They were married on July 13, and Fern remained at his side until 1942, when they were both arrested in France as enemy aliens by the occupying Germans.

After their marriage, Bedaux and Lombard moved to Cleveland, Ohio, where Bedaux became one of the founders of the management consultancy industry in the United States by establishing the Charles E. Bedaux Company. By 1925, he was a millionaire, and at his peak in 1934, he had one of the top five incomes in the United States, his company had offices in eighteen countries, and he counted companies such as Campbell's Soup, Du Pont, General Electric, B. F. Goodrich, and Kodak among his six hundred clients. Bedaux's name shares company with seminal management and industrial-engineering figures such as Frederick Winslow Taylor and Frank Gilbreth.

After the Nazis shut down his company in Germany in 1934, Bedaux immediately traveled there to restore its operation. His efforts were unsuccessful.

ful, but he did manage to establish ties with some highly placed Nazi officials. When the Nazis asked his opinion on Adolf Hitler and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini, he called them both great leaders. He also did Hitler a personal service when he learned that Hitler was embarrassed by the presence in Germany of his Jewish World War I superior. Bedaux removed the man from Germany by opening a Bedaux company office in Turkey and hiring him as its director.

Resistance to the Bedaux system in the United States came from American labor. Strikes were called against his clients, and his system was often attacked as an inhuman speed-up system. While he was faced with these problems in Germany and the United States, he thought of a way to elevate his reputation and the worldwide prestige of his company: He would host the wedding of the century.

Bedaux owned the luxurious Château de Candé in the Loire Valley of France. He had modernized the château and made it a playground for the rich and famous, placing himself and Fern in the very center of European society, where they met industrial and political leaders, film stars, and the royalty of Europe. When King Edward VIII of Great Britain abdicated his throne in 1936 to marry an American, Wallis Simpson, Bedaux persuaded Edward to have the wedding at Candé.

Shortly after the 1937 marriage of the former monarch, Bedaux organized a twelve-day tour for him of working conditions in Germany. Now known as Prince Edward, duke of Windsor, he was warmly received by the German people and by the government of the Third Reich. Apparently as a direct result of the tour, Bedaux's company in Germany was restored, and the Nazis were so pleased with Edward's performance that they paid the expenses for the entire tour.

Flushed with the success of the tour in Germany, Bedaux organized a similar tour of the United States for Edward. Because of resistance from labor and a cool reception by President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, however, the American tour was canceled. In addition, because of his publicized Nazi connections, Bedaux was forced to sever his connection with the company he had founded. In

1937, pursued by the U.S. Internal Revenue Service for back taxes and facing a lawsuit by a former mistress, Bedaux and his wife returned to Europe under assumed names.

German troops entered Paris in 1940, and Bedaux agreed to staff the Paris office of Nazi interior ministry officer General Franz Medicus. A short time later, the Germans asked Bedaux to oversee the installation of the Bedaux management system in the French coal mines. Bedaux was credited with convincing German and French Vichy government officials in early 1941 to build a trans-Sahara railroad. He proposed that they build a pipeline alongside the railroad, which would supply water during construction and could be used to move inexpensive peanut oil across the desert to Europe after the railroad's completion, thereby aiding the war effort of the Axis powers.

Bedaux's fortunes fell when the United States entered World War II. He and his wife refused a chance to return to the United States, choosing instead to remain in occupied France. In September, 1942, they were arrested by the Germans as enemy aliens. Bedaux's friend in the interior ministry, General Medicus, arranged their release, and Bedaux left immediately for North Africa. He was forced to leave his wife, who was placed under house arrest, in France.

Following the allied invasion of North Africa and the subsequent occupation of Algiers, U.S. military intelligence traced the railroad and pipeline projects directly to Bedaux. He was arrested on December 5 and held in a suburb of Algiers for one year before being sent to Miami to stand trial. On February 17, 1944, Bedaux was informed that he would be tried for treason. The next morning, he was found dead from an apparent suicide.

IMPACT

Debate remains as to whether Bedaux was a dedicated altruist or an unscrupulous egoist dedicated to his own self-interest. He certainly was one of the most colorful characters in the first half of the twentieth century. His arrest ended a critical relationship between Bedaux the industrial genius and Hitler the dictator. Hitler's plans for world domination relied

on the expertise of major industrialists, such as Bedaux, and wealthy financiers, all willing to help him succeed. Bedaux's management system would have been a significant element in Hitler's rise to power.

—Wayne Shirey

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Nasan, David. "Remembering a Life That Read Like a Movie Script." *The New York Times*, November 3, 1996. A review of the excellent 1995 biographical film about Bedaux, *The Champagne Safari*.

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SEE ALSO: Oct. 11-22, 1937: Duke and Duchess of Windsor Visit Nazi Germany; Apr. 22, 1942: French Prime Minister Pierre Laval Wants Germany to Win World War II; May 9, 1945: Norwegian Politician Quisling Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration; May 26, 1945: Norwegian Writer Knut Hamsun Is Arrested for Treason; Aug. 14, 1945: French War Hero Pétain Is Convicted of Nazi Collaboration; Dec. 14, 1945: Poet Ezra Pound Is Charged with Treason and Institutionalized; Mar. 3, 1986: Former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's Nazi Past Is Revealed; Dec. 1, 1987: Yale Scholar's Wartime Anti-Semitic Writings Are Revealed.

January 14, 1943

FILM STAR FRANCES FARMER IS JAILED AND INSTITUTIONALIZED

American film star Frances Farmer was stopped by police for a traffic violation and found to be drunk and driving without a license. She argued with police and was arrested, convicted, and put on probation. When she failed to show up for her probation officer, she was taken to the Hollywood police station; she listed her occupation as "cocksucker." After a violent episode in court, Farmer was taken away in a straitjacket and later put in a mental institution. It is the scandal of Farmer's life after Hollywood that remains her most lasting legacy.

LOCALE: Santa Monica, California

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; public morals; psychology and psychiatry; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Frances Farmer (1913-1970), American actor
Lillian Van Ornum Farmer (1874-1955), mother of Frances Farmer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

By 1942, the fortunes of Frances Farmer, a talented Hollywood actor who had risen to fame in the previous decade, had begun to decline. She no longer had first-rate roles in successful films. She had achieved a reputation of being difficult to work with and of throwing temper tantrums on the set. As a result, she had an erratic work history. A volatile person, she also was behaving eccentrically, showing signs of stress, alcoholism, and instability. In October, she was arrested while on her way home from a party.



Frances Farmer after her arrest for driving while drunk. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Farmer was driving with her lights on in a “dim-out” wartime area in Santa Monica, California. She was tried for driving without a license and driving while drunk and was sentenced to 180 days in jail (a sentence that was suspended) and fined five hundred dollars. After paying only half of the fine and promising to pay the remainder later, she left for Mexico to work on a new film.

In two weeks, Farmer was back in Southern California, having quit the film in Mexico and leaving yet another contract unfulfilled. She soon discovered that in her absence, her belongings had been moved out of her house and into a hotel because of her dwindling resources. In January, 1943, Farmer began a new role in *No Escape*. On January 13, while on the set, she slapped a hair stylist. The stylist, who was knocked to the ground and was injured, notified police. Police officers already had been alerted to her failure to complete her previous legal

Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized

obligations. She fought with police officers when they arrived at her residence the following day. They arrested her for assault and for violating her probation. In court, she was a shocking figure—defiant, disheveled, and belligerent. When denied a call to an attorney, she harassed the judge, assaulted a court matron and two police officers, and was carried out of the courtroom, screaming.

Farmer was transferred to the psychiatric ward of Los Angeles County General Hospital and was placed under the care of a psychiatrist, with whom Farmer refused to cooperate. He diagnosed her with manic psychoses and had her moved the next day to Kimball Sanitarium in La Crescenta, in the foothills north of downtown Los Angeles.

Farmer’s life had been considered scandalous long before the episodes of the early 1940’s. In high school, she had written the essay “God Dies!” for a *Scholastic* magazine contest and won one hundred dollars. Public outcry was swift, and it revived four years later when she sold subscriptions to a leftist magazine and won a trip to the Soviet Union. Farmer considered this trip an opportunity to visit the New York theater scene, the object of her greatest ambition. Her mother, Lillian, opposed the trip to New York, but Farmer did go to Moscow. Her mother maintained later that Farmer’s insanity arose from her close contact with communism.

Soon after her return from Moscow to New York, Farmer had found an agent, passed a screen test, and landed a part in a Paramount studios feature film. In Hollywood, she made four films rather quickly, moving into a significant part in *Come and Get It* (1936), a film directed by Howard Hawks, who was impressed with her performance. She flew back to Seattle for the film’s world premiere and was the “Cinderella girl” of her hometown. However, at the height of this achievement, her personal life began to ebb.

Farmer had married actor Leif Erickson earlier that year and soon separated in what began a life-long pattern of moving from one relationship to another. She went to New York and was given the part of the female lead in the Group Theater’s production of Clifford Odet’s *Golden Boy*, whose phenomenal success owed no small debt to Farmer’s bril-

liant performance. The play ran for two hundred fifty performances and then toured the United States. Farmer had fallen in love with Odets, but her tumultuous relationship with him ended with the return of his wife from Europe. Farmer's position with the play was terminated when it began its European tour.

Farmer's life began to unravel. Drinking heavily and dependent upon amphetamines to control her weight, she returned to Hollywood—a place she criticized heartily—and accepted several smaller roles in less important films. She continued to display eccentric and temperamental behavior, which led to her being shunned by a growing number of directors, or replaced by other actors. She eventually was neglected by major studios altogether. After the devastating plunge in her career, she spent a great deal of time by herself in 1942, drinking and attempting to write her memoirs in an effort to cleanse herself. She reportedly became involved in several altercations prior to her infamous arrests of October, 1942, and January 13, 1943.

IMPACT

The scandal of Farmer's life after Hollywood remains the most lasting legacy of her career. She remained at Kimball Sanitarium in La Crescenta for more than seven months while being treated with insulin shock, a treatment so horrible that her mother finally secured her release. Mother and daughter then returned to Seattle, where after six months of fighting each other, Farmer's mother had her declared insane and sent to the Harborview Hospital for observation. In March of 1944, at a King County Commission sanity hearing, two psychiatrists said she was legally insane, and she was committed to Western State Hospital at Steilacoom, Washington.

Farmer's stay at Steilacoom provided the basis for even more scandals. For the mentally insane housed there, electroshock therapy was the most widely used technique, and Farmer reportedly received two or three applications per week for a period of three months. Farmer also was forced into so-called hydrotherapy, wherein she was placed in an ice bath for between six to eight hours. Said by

authorities to be cured, she was dismissed, only to be recommitted by her mother, into whose custody she had been placed, in the spring of 1945. She was to remain in this hospital for over five years.

In the dilapidated, decaying state hospital that was understaffed, whose requests for funding were mostly ignored, and in which patients were kept in bed twelve hours a day for want of supervision, Farmer reportedly endured even more electroshock treatments. In 1947, Walter G. Freeman, a prominent Washington, D.C., neurosurgeon and psychiatrist, arrived in Steilacoom to demonstrate the newly developed process called transorbital lobotomy, which was demonstrated on several patients at Steilacoom. During this procedure, "simplified" by Freeman, he inserted an icepick under a patient's eyelid and then into brain tissue. Freeman performed this procedure on thirteen patients, one of whom he identified as Farmer; a picture, allegedly taken during the process, was circulated to the media.

The scandal of Farmer's treatment at Steilacoom continued after her death in 1970 in a controversial biography of Farmer called *Shadowland* (1982), written by William Arnold. Arnold contends in the book that in addition to the lobotomy, Farmer was kept for hours in a straitjacket and was chained to her cell. She was chewed by rats, raped and gang-raped, and used as a guinea pig for experimental drugs. Arnold later retracted his claims. Three feature films and a documentary were made using Arnold's biography as a basis for their representations of Farmer's life. Her scandals were perpetuated through popular song lyrics and by artists assuming her persona or her name.

—Mary Hurd

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Farmer, Frances. *Will There Really Be a Morning?*

An Autobiography. New ed. New York: Dell, 1982. Farmer's posthumously published autobiography, often criticized for its sensationalism. Ghostwritten by Farmer's friend, Jean Ratcliffe.

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SEE ALSO: Jan. 20, 1933: Hedy Lamarr Appears Nude in the Czech Film *Exstase*; Summer, 1936: Film Star Mary Astor's Diary Becomes a Public

Sensation; Feb. 6, 1942: Film Star Errol Flynn Is Acquitted of Rape; Aug. 31, 1948: Film Star Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession; May 27, 1949: Actor Rita Hayworth Marries Aly Khan After Adulterous Affair; Feb. 7, 1950: Swedish Film Star Ingrid Bergman Has a Child Out of Wedlock; May, 1955: Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past; 1978: Actor Joan Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir, *Mommie Dearest*; Feb. 1, 1978: Roman Polanski Flees the United States to Avoid Rape Trial; July 26, 1991: Comedian Pee-wee Herman Is Arrested for Public Indecency; June 27, 1995: Film Star Hugh Grant Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct; Apr. 7, 1998: Pop Singer George Michael Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct; July 28, 2006: Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making Anti-Semitic Remarks.

February 23, 1943

IRISH ORPHAN SCHOOL FIRE KILLS THIRTY-FIVE GIRLS

St. Joseph's Orphanage and Industrial School in Cavan, Ireland, was a home for orphaned girls and was run by Roman Catholic nuns. One night, a fire ignited in the basement laundry room. The blaze engulfed the school and the dormitories, where the girls slept. While the fire spread, the nuns reportedly encouraged the local people to help put out the fire rather than evacuate the children. As a result, thirty-five girls and one elderly woman were killed. An inquiry followed and the nuns were officially absolved of any wrongdoing; however, concerns and speculations about their actions remained.

LOCALE: Cavan, Ireland

CATEGORIES: Education; families and children

KEY FIGURES

Bridget O'Reilly (fl. 1940's), nun at St. Joseph's Orphanage who was in charge of most of the girls who perished in the fire

Margaret Harrington (fl. 1940's), nun at St.

Joseph's Orphanage who rescued most of the girls under her care

Sean McEntee (fl. 1940's), local government minister who called for a formal inquiry into the fire

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Located in Cavan, Ireland, sixty-three miles northwest of Dublin, St Joseph's Orphanage and Industrial School was considered to be one of the best industrial schools in the country. Children could be committed to industrial schools if they were orphaned, destitute, or in need of care and protection. Originally, industrial schools admitted children between the ages of six and sixteen, and St. Joseph's began accepting babies during the late 1930's. Under the terms of the Education Acts at the time, girls were supposed to stay in school until they were fourteen years of age. Many of the older girls were retained by the nuns at St. Joseph's to clean, wash,

cook, and embroider at the convent. The orphanage, school, and convent were run by an enclosed order of Poor Clare nuns. Most industrial schools at the time were run by religious orders, but it was unusual that one would be run by a closed order.

On the night of February 23, 1943, a fire started in the basement laundry room of the orphanage. The blaze spread quickly from the laundry room to the refectory and classrooms. Alerted by the smoke, the nearby townspeople rushed to St. Joseph's to render aid. The first responders were asked to concentrate their efforts on containing what they thought was the source of the fire, and they were provided with fire extinguishers brought from the refectory by the nuns. Most of the children were still in the dormitories and the flames moved rapidly through the building. The children in Our Lady's dormitory, on the first floor and under the care of nun Margaret Harrington, were able to flee the building, but the girls in St. Clare's dormitory, on the second floor and under the care of nun Bridget O'Reilly, were trapped. Many rescuers attempted to reach the children, but the wooden staircase inside the building was engulfed in flames. Moreover, a thick blanket of smoke made rescue efforts from inside the building impossible.

Outside, the residents of Cavan battled the fire. Newspaper articles reported that women knelt in the streets and prayed while men attempted to rescue the children. Shortly after the fire began, members of the town's fire brigade arrived with a handcart and hose. The apparatus, however, was leaking so badly that there was little water pressure and the hose was useless. Meanwhile, others ventured into the town to find ladders that were long enough to reach the second floor dormitory. The ladders that were returned were in disrepair and either fell apart or did not extend far enough to reach the windows. The girls in St. Clare's were encouraged to jump from the dormitory window. A few jumped but suffered terrible injuries. An additional three girls were able to jump into the outstretched arms of a rescuer. These were the last girls to escape the fire. At 2:40 A.M., approximately forty minutes after the fire began, the flames completely consumed St. Clare's dormitory and the remaining children.

In the morning, the remains of the thirty-five girls and the elderly cook, Margaret Smith, were recovered and placed into eight coffins. The horrific event was covered widely by local Irish newspapers and even reached *The New York Times*. The aftermath provoked many questions about how such a tragedy could have happened. Many criticized the inadequacy of the firefighting equipment as well as the response of the nuns on the night of the fire. A tribunal of inquiry, called for by local government minister Sean McEntee, was established a week after the disaster. The tribunal investigated the cause of the fire and the circumstances that resulted in such an immense loss of life. The hearings lasted eleven days. Testimony came from sixty-four witnesses, including the first responders, members of the fire brigade, the nuns and employees of St. Joseph's, and the surviving children.

After the hearing, the tribunal published a report that asserted that the fire was possibly caused by a defective flue in the laundry. The consequent loss of life was the result of panic and fright, which impaired decision making and appropriate directions from the nuns. The report also found fault with the lack of leadership at the time of the crisis, the rescuer's lack of knowledge of the layout of the building, and poorly trained firefighters.

Because St. Joseph's was a certified industrial school, many of the girls had been admitted through the courts by the Department of Education. The department's duty was to ensure that regulations were implemented and enforced. One regulation concerned fire drills. Fire drills were required to take place once every three months and alternate between daytime drills and nighttime drills. Although the inspector of industrial and reformatory schools testified that she had been satisfied that all of the compulsory requirements, including fire drills, were being carried out at St. Joseph's, there were questions concerning why the fire drill operations were not carried out on the night of the fire. Additionally—although not required by state institutions at the time—St. Joseph's had a fire escape; however, it saved the lives of only two girls. Speculation centered on why the children were not able to

use the escape. One theory was that the fire doors leading to the fire escape were locked.

IMPACT

In the end, the inquiry absolved the nuns, including O'Reilly, of any fault or misconduct on the night of the fire. It is believed that the pious and respectful attitude of the time influenced the investigation. Decades later, however, this finding was met with contention, and many local people believe that the inquiry was a cover-up for incompetence and even prudishness.

A number of facts remain to challenge the inquiry's conclusions. First, many people believe that, were proper steps taken by the nuns as the fire broke out, all of the children could have been saved that night because of the swift rescue response by the local townspeople. Rescue attempts were hindered by a lack of equipment. Second, some claim that many of the doors in the building had been locked at the time of the fire and that finding the keys to open each door consumed too much valuable time. The time that was lost opening locked doors could have been used to rescue more children. Third, some also believe that the nuns were so concerned and preoccupied with the children being seen in their nightclothes by the public that they failed to assess the seriousness of the emergency at hand. It can be argued that thirty-five girls perished in a fire because they were in their nightgowns.

The Cavan disaster is reminiscent of a similar catastrophe that happened thirty-two years earlier in New York City. On March 25, 1911, a fire broke out at the Triangle Shirtwaist Company factory in Greenwich Village. Because of locked doors and inefficient firefighting equipment (neither the ladders nor the water from the fire hoses was able to reach the top floors), 146 people—123 of whom were young women and girls—perished in the

flames or jumped to their deaths from the ninth and tenth floors to the street below. The aftermath of the disaster led to major changes in labor laws protecting factory workers. The new laws covered health care, disability, and fire prevention.

The fire at St. Joseph's orphanage also led to reform and new regulations. The inquiry report recommended that industrial schools include proper fire escapes and more effective fire drills. It further proposed the establishment of a national fire brigade. St. Joseph's Orphanage closed its doors in 1967.

—Alison S. Burke

FURTHER READING

Arnold, Mavis, and Heather Laskey. *Children of the Poor Clares: The Story of an Irish Orphanage*. Belfast, Ireland: Appletree Press, 1985. A history of the orphanage that includes a concise account of the disastrous 1943 fire. Also features interviews with a number of survivors of the fire, the townspeople who were first to respond and rescue the children, and others involved in the rescue efforts.

Von Drehle, David. *Triangle: The Fire That Changed America*. New York: Atlantic Monthly Press, 2003. Relevant to any study of fire disasters that take the lives of many, including the fire at St. Joseph's Orphanage. Provides a thorough account of the Triangle Shirtwaist Company factory fire and the political and social climate of the era.

SEE ALSO: Mar. 25, 1911: Nearly 150 Workers Die in Triangle Shirtwaist Factory Fire; Aug. 12, 1983-July 27, 1990: McMartin Preschool Is Embroiled in Child-Abuse Case; Mar. 4, 1999: Quebec Offers Support for Abused Duplessis Orphans; Jan. 30, 2001: Liverpool Children's Hospital Collects Body Parts Without Authorization.

June 4, 1943

ACTOR CHARLES CHAPLIN IS SUED FOR PATERNITY

Charles Chaplin was one of the world's best-known actors when the mother of actor Joan Barry, on behalf of Barry's unborn child, filed a paternity suit against him. The FBI followed by charging Chaplin with violation of the Mann Act. He was acquitted of the latter but had to pay child support after two highly publicized trials, and he was forced to leave the United States. It took decades to rehabilitate his reputation.

LOCALES: Los Angeles, California; New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; families and children; government; popular culture; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Charles Chaplin (1889-1977), English comedy actor, film director, and producer

Joan Barry (1903-1989), film actor

J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1924-1972

Oona O'Neill Chaplin (1926-1991), fourth wife of Charles Chaplin

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Charles Chaplin's success in silent films began in 1914 with his first appearance in a Keystone Studios comedy, and he had attained legendary stature by 1940, the year he made his first dialogue film, *The Great Dictator*. The rumors of his affairs with teenage girls had not lessened his popularity, nor had the lurid details made public in 1927 when he was divorced by Lita Grey Chaplin, the mother of his first two children. However, from the 1920's on, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), had been collecting information about Chaplin, whom he suspected of being a communist.

Hoover found it suspicious that Chaplin often voiced his admiration for the Soviet Union and his sympathy for the working classes and that despite

his long residence in the United States, Chaplin had never become a citizen. Chaplin's speech at the end of *The Great Dictator*, voicing his abhorrence of nationalism, seemed to prove that the actor was, in Hoover's terms, "un-American." What Hoover needed now was evidence that the actor was immoral as well. The Joan Barry case was his answer.

In 1940, the twenty-one-year-old Joan Barry (or Berry, as her name was occasionally spelled), left Brooklyn, New York, for Hollywood, where she planned to become a famous film actor, even though she had no acting experience. Like so many other hopefuls, she took a job as a waitress, expecting to be discovered by a talent scout. As it turned out, millionaire J. Paul Getty noticed Barry and took her with him to Mexico. A film executive she met there arranged for her to meet Chaplin's friend, Tim Durant, after she returned to Hollywood, and Durant introduced her to the famous actor. Chaplin found the tall, big-breasted girl attractive, and since Barry clearly welcomed Chaplin's advances, the two were soon involved in an affair. However, Chaplin also believed that Barry had promise as an actor. He had her read the part of Brigid in the play *Shadow and Substance*, which he planned to adapt for the screen. Chaplin was so impressed that he arranged a screen test for Barry, and at the end of June, 1941, he signed her to a one-year contract and sent her to drama school.

By the spring of 1942, however, it was evident that Chaplin's protégée was mentally unstable. She began driving up to Chaplin's house late at night, drunk and verbally abusive. When he would not let her in the house, she broke his windows. After he discovered that she had long since abandoned her lessons, Chaplin wanted only to get Barry out of his life. In return for her agreeing to cancel her contract two months early, Chaplin paid off her debts and bought two one-way train tickets to New York, one for Barry and one for her mother, Gertrude Barry. They left Los Angeles on October 5.

On October 15, Chaplin arrived in New York to

speak at a rally in Carnegie Hall that was sponsored by a leftist organization, the Artists' Front to Win the War. Later that night Barry came to see Chaplin, asking for money. Wisely, Chaplin had Durant stay with them throughout the visit. A month later, Barry was back in Hollywood. Chaplin ignored her telephone calls, but she was not discouraged. On December 23, she broke into Chaplin's house, waving a gun. After she was somewhat calmer, he put her into a bedroom. That night, Barry said later, they were intimate, but Chaplin insisted that he had locked his door to keep her away from him. The following morning, he again gave her money, and she left.

Barry returned to Chaplin's house a few days later, and this time he called the police. She was arrested, charged, given a suspended sentence, and told to leave Los Angeles. In May, 1943, she was back. Again, she was arrested; this time she had to serve a thirty-day sentence for vagrancy. She also was six months pregnant. From this time forward her every move would be orchestrated by some powerful people, notably the gossip columnist Hedda Hopper and Hoover's FBI.

On June 4, Barry informed the press that Chaplin was the father of her unborn child. That same day her mother, who had been named guardian of the child, filed a paternity suit against Chaplin. Though he denied that he was the father, Chaplin was ordered by the court to support both mother and child until four months after its birth, when blood tests could be used to determine paternity. On October 2, Barry gave birth to a girl, and she was named Carol Ann.

Meanwhile, Chaplin had married Oona O'Neill, who proved to be his chief support in the months to come. On February 10, 1944, Chaplin was indicted by a federal grand jury, which charged that by buying Barry her ticket to New York, he had violated the Mann Act of 1910, which

forbade transporting women across state lines for sexual purposes. Chaplin also was charged, with six others, with depriving Barry of her civil rights by having her arrested as a vagrant, but it was the Mann Act trial that was the real threat. After a month of testimony by scores of witnesses, Chaplin was acquitted.

Meanwhile, blood tests had proven that Chaplin was not Carol Ann Barry's father. However, the court in Los Angeles took over guardianship of the child and sued on her behalf. The attorney for the prosecution ignored the facts, resorting instead to emotional appeals, and the result was a hung jury. A retrial was held in April, and this time the verdict was guilty. Chaplin was ordered to pay child support until Carol Ann was twenty-one years old. In June, 1945, his request for a new trial was denied.

IMPACT

Barry disappeared from Chaplin's life. She married, had other children, and later lived in a mental institution. Her scandalous accusations had seri-



Charles Chaplin, left, being fingerprinted at the U.S. Marshal's office in Los Angeles after surrendering on charges of violating the Mann Act. (AP/Wide World Photos)

ously damaged Chaplin's reputation as an actor and entertainer. Moreover, he continued to be a subject of suspicion because of his political outspokenness and his loyalty to friends who were under attack by the notorious House Committee on Un-American Activities. He would never again experience the popularity he had once known.

In 1952, Chaplin decided to take his family to London on the passenger ship *Queen Elizabeth* for the world premiere of his new film *Limelight*. Two days out, he learned that the U.S. attorney general had rescinded his reentry visa. Chaplin spent the rest of his life in Switzerland. He returned to the United States only once, in April, 1972, when he received special awards in both New York and Hollywood. Ironically, time has tarnished the reputation of Chaplin's bitterest enemy, Hoover, while Chaplin himself is now generally considered one of the greatest film actors and producers of all time.

The Barry case did have one significant impact beyond celebrity and career status: It encouraged the use of blood tests to prove or disprove paternity. Undoubtedly, the unjust verdict in Chaplin's case prompted California in 1953 to pass legislation that made blood tests the final authority in paternity cases.

—Rosemary M. Canfield Reisman

FURTHER READING

Chaplin, Charles. *My Autobiography*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1964. Despite some inaccuracies, this is a valuable volume, especially for its portrayal of the actor's early life.

Hayes, Kevin J., ed. *Charlie Chaplin: Interviews*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2005. Twenty-four interviews, dated from 1915 to 1967. Includes an introduction by the editor, a chronology, a bibliography, and an index.

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Princeton University Press, 1989. Particularly relevant chapters focus on Joan Barry, Chaplin's politics, and his banishment from the United States.

Robinson, David. *Chaplin: His Life and Art*. 2d ed. New York: McGraw-Hill, 2001. An encyclopedic work, with ten appendixes, including a chronology, a "Chaplin Who's Who," and the section "The FBI v. Chaplin." Includes illustrations, notes, a bibliography, and an index.

_____. *The Mirror of Opinion*. London: Secker & Warburg, 1983. Traces the rise and fall of Chaplin's career and reputation, outlined decade by decade. Includes illustrations, a filmography and bibliography, and an index.

Vance, Jeffrey. *Chaplin: Genius of the Cinema*. New York: Abrams, 2003. As David Robinson points out in his introduction, the primary purpose of this impressive volume was to make available some five hundred photographs of Chaplin at work. Includes chapters on the Barry scandal and Oona O'Neill Chaplin. Notes, bibliography, filmography, index.

SEE ALSO: Jan. 1, 1924: Film Star Mabel Normand's Chauffeur Shoots Millionaire Courtland S. Dines; Nov. 19, 1924: Film Producer Thomas H. Ince Dies After Weekend on Hearst's Yacht; Summer, 1936: Film Star Mary Astor's Diary Becomes a Public Sensation; Nov. 23, 1946: Tennis Star Bill Tilden Is Arrested for Lewd Behavior with a Minor; July 5, 1948: Actor Carole Landis Commits Suicide During Affair with Rex Harrison; Sept. 19, 1952: Actor Charles Chaplin Not Allowed in the United States; July 2, 1963: Muslim Leader Elijah Muhammad Is Sued for Paternity; July 28, 1980: Magazine Reveals Baseball Star Steve Garvey's Marital Problems; May, 1999: Civil Rights Leader Jesse Jackson Fathers a Child Out of Wedlock.

June 5, 1944

AUSTRALIAN POETS CLAIM RESPONSIBILITY FOR A LITERARY HOAX

Regarded by some as the greatest literary fraud of the twentieth century, the Ern Malley hoax, perpetrated by two Australian soldiers who also were poets, not only raised serious questions about literary authenticity but also led to an obscenity trial that represented the first bureaucratic effort in Australian history to censor poetry. Malley's enduring fame as a "poet" has outlived the hoax.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Ern Malley hoax

LOCALE: Adelaide, Australia

CATEGORIES: Hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; literature; law and the courts; publishing and journalism

KEY FIGURES

James McAuley (1917-1976), poet, and lieutenant in the Australian army

Harold Stewart (1916-1995), poet, and corporal in the Australian army

Maxwell Henley Harris (1921-1995), poet, writer, and coeditor of *Angry Penguins* literary magazine

John Reed (1901-1981), coeditor of *Angry Penguins*

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Ern Malley was a fictional poet fabricated by Australian soldier-poets James McAuley and Harold Stewart. For a concocted collection of sixteen poems, McAuley and Stewart also created biographical details for this fictional author, including that he had a sister named Ethel Malley. The duo, fierce critics of modern poetry, then sent two poems from this collection, accompanied by a cover letter from Ethel, to Maxwell Henley Harris, coeditor of the Australian literary journal *Angry Penguins*, based at the University of Adelaide in South Australia.

In a statement issued to Sydney's *Fact* tabloid on

June 5, 1944, McAuley and Stewart claimed they wrote the poems according to three rules they developed. First, submitted poems must have no coherent theme, only disordered and incoherent allusions to meaning. Second, poems must not adhere to verse technique, aside from deliberately highlighting the technique's shoddiness. Third, poems must be stylistically imitative of literary trends as characterized by the works of T. S. Eliot, Dylan Thomas, and Henry Treece, among other nontraditionalist poets of the 1940's.

McAuley and Stewart also claimed that they devised Malley's poems in part to discredit the poetic productivity of Eliot, Thomas, Treece, and to determine whether Harris and his colleagues, whom the pair despised, could discriminate between "real" poetry and poetry that was simply an assemblage of "garish images without coherent meaning and structure." The answer came that first week of June, when Harris took delivery of two hundred issues of *Angry Penguins* and began distributing them to bookshops in Adelaide. This issue included sixteen poems representing Malley's life work. One thousand copies of the edition, with the theme "The Darkening Ecliptic," were sold—five hundred in Australia and the remainder in England and the United States. The edition sold out, and the publication has since become a collector's item.

Harris gave one copy of "The Darkening Ecliptic" to Brian Robinson Elliott, one of Harris's former university lecturers, on June 9, and had him read the work. While Elliott was right in deducing that the poems were fraudulent, he wrongly concluded that the true author was Harris. Elliott's suspicions were published in an edition of the University of Adelaide's newspaper, *On Dit*, on June 16. It was following this issue that Harris and fellow *Angry Penguins* editor John Reed hired the services of a private detective agency to discover the truth about Malley.

One person who claimed to know the identities of the real hoaxers was a friend of Stewart, Tess van Sommers, who worked as an aspiring reporter for Sydney's *Sunday Sun*. Stewart, without McAuley's knowledge, had confessed off the record to Sommers in February, 1944, that both he and McAuley had orchestrated the Ern Malley affair. Sommers falsely assumed she was free to publicize the truth about Malley once she saw the "Darkening Ecliptic" issue of *Angry Penguins* on a magazine stand in Sydney. Sommers's scoop was taken over by her senior, Colin Simpson. Simpson was the editor of *Fact*, the magazine supplement to the *Sunday Sun*. The identities of the hoaxers became front-page news in the June 18 edition of *Fact*.

Simpson's exposé emerged the same day the *Mail* in Adelaide reported a rumor that the real author of the Malley poems was John Innes Mackintosh Stewart. Stewart was a professor of language and literature at Adelaide University who often wrote mystery stories under the pseudonym Michael Innes.

On the afternoon of August 1, editor Harris was questioned in Adelaide by Detective Jacobus Andries Vogelesang about the "Darkening Ecliptic" issue. Harris, then only twenty-three years old, was subsequently charged with publishing "indecent advertisements" (the Malley poems) in the magazine. At the obscenity trial on September 5, a representative of the Crown Solicitor's Department claimed the offense was a breach of the Police Act. The representative quoted extensively from seven of Malley's poems. The remaining nine were labeled as "indecent, immoral, or obscene." Defense lawyer Eric Millhouse cross-examined Detective Vogelesang during the trial, and Vogelesang's evidence caused a sensation. Vogelesang testified that the reference to genitals in the poem "Egyptian Register" was indecent and immoral, as were the allusions to sexual intercourse he detected in "Sweet William," "Boult to Marina," and "Perspective Lovesong," among other poems. Vogelesang testified that even though he did not know the meaning of the word "incestuous," he did believe there was a suggestion of indecency about the word.

The laughter emanating from the gallery during

and following Vogelesang's testimony prompted Stipendary Magistrate (judge) L. C. Clarke to threaten to evict from the courtroom those responsible for outbursts. Vogelesang confessed under cross-examination by Millhouse that he had read Malley's poems only to prepare for questioning Harris. On October 20, Clarke found Harris guilty of publishing obscene material and fined him five pounds in lieu of six weeks imprisonment.

IMPACT

Although the Ern Malley hoax inspired much debate about the politics of authorship and modernist notions of poetry in Australia, the affair also brought the question of copyright to the fore. Clearly, the poems were written by someone, but who retained the right of ownership? Did it rest with coauthors McAuley and Stewart? Did it remain with the fictional author Malley? Or did the right of ownership rest with the editor of *Angry Penguins*, Harris, the person to whom the fictional Ethel Malley had relinquished the poems? Ethel had, in a letter, "given" Harris total rights and full permission over the publication and use of the poems, without the expectation of financial reward.

McAuley was perhaps the most successful of the key figures to survive the backlash of the Ern Malley hoax. He would become founding editor of *Quadrant* magazine in Australia, an anticommunist journal publishing literature, poetry, and cultural criticism (established in 1956) and was later elected a fellow of the Australian Academy of the Humanities in 1969. In 1972, he won the Britannica Award for achievement in the humanities. Stewart would publish several books of poetry, including one on haiku, and lived in Kyoto, Japan, for the last thirty years of his life.

Aside from the question of ownership, and the damaging influence the Ern Malley hoax exerted on Harris's credibility, Harris, too, remained a key figure in Australia's literary world. Ironically, he would ensure the future of the Ern Malley collection, sponsoring the publication of Australia's first edition of the Malley poems in seventeen years (Lansdowne Press, 1961). His introduction also appears in the special edition of the Malley poems re-

leased by the Adelaide Festival of the Arts in 1974. Later, in March, 1988, Harris launched another edition of the poems, this time in book form and published by Allen & Unwin Australia.

Finally, despite McAuley's and Stewart's insistence that the Malley collection was utterly devoid of literary merit as poetry, the poems remain the compelling subjects of critical and stylistic study by students and scholars alike. Many consider the hoax to have been a significant form of literary criticism in itself, and according to critic David Lehman, the poems are so lastingly brilliant because "Malley escaped the control of his creators and enjoyed an autonomous existence beyond, and at odds with, the critical and satirical intentions of McAuley and Stewart. They succeeded better than they had known, or wished."

—Nicole Anae

FURTHER READING

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Hornadge, Bill. *Ern Malley and the "Angry Penguins": Being a Review of the Greatest Hoax in*

Poets Claim Responsibility for Literary Hoax

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Nolan, Maggie, and Carrie Dawson, eds. *Who's Who? Hoaxes, Imposture, and Identity Crises in Australian Literature*. St. Lucia: University of Queensland Press, 2004. A wide-ranging examination of literary hoaxes and scandals specific to Australian literature. Includes discussion of the Ern Malley hoax.

SEE ALSO: 1928-1929: Actor Is Suspected of Falsely Claiming to Be an American Indian; Dec. 14, 1945: Poet Ezra Pound Is Charged with Treason and Institutionalized; 1978: *Roots* Author Alex Haley Is Sued for Plagiarism; Apr. 15, 1981: Janet Cooke Admits Fabricating Her Pulitzer Prize-Winning Feature; Apr. 25, 1983: German Magazine Publishes Faked Hitler Diaries; Spring, 1996: Physicist Publishes a Deliberately Fraudulent Article; Mar. 12, 1997: Prize-Winning Aborigine Novelist Revealed as a Fraud; July 24, 2007: University of Colorado Fires Professor for Plagiarism and Research Falsification.

May 9, 1945

NORWEGIAN POLITICIAN QUISLING IS ARRESTED FOR NAZI COLLABORATION

Vidkun Quisling, a one-time Norwegian army officer and minister of defense, was also the leader of a fascist party. Shortly after Germany's invasion, he unilaterally proclaimed himself the new leader of Norway. Although he was politically and diplomatically inefficient, Quisling's public allegiance to Adolf Hitler made him perhaps the earliest pro-Nazi collaborationist leader in occupied Europe and resulted in his name becoming synonymous with treason and collaboration.

LOCALE: Oslo, Norway

CATEGORIES: Atrocities and war crimes; government; military

KEY FIGURES

Vidkun Quisling (1887-1945), minister president of Norway

Josef Terboven (1898-1945), Reich commissioner of Norway

Adolf Hitler (1889-1945), chancellor of Germany, 1934-1945

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Vidkun Quisling, the son of a Lutheran pastor, was an able student but also shy and unassuming. Pressure from a success-driven mother led him to achieve outstanding grades, especially in mathematics. Academic success continued during his military career, and as a student at the Norwegian Military Academy he set record high marks before he was posted to the military's general staff. In World War I, he served as a military attaché to the Norwegian consulate in Russia. During this time he became fluent in Russian and was acquainted with a number of Bolshevik leaders, including Leon Trotsky.

During the Russian Civil War (1918-1922) that followed the revolution, Quisling became involved

with administering humanitarian aid in Russia. During the early 1920's, he served the League of Nations as an assistant to the high commissioner for repatriation of prisoners of war and disbursement of aid to starving Russians. The extensive famine found throughout Russia was the result of war's destruction, a broken down transportation system, inept officials, and aggressive expropriations of farmers' food, which left the farmers and their families destitute. Quisling's firsthand exposure to these conditions left him strongly opposed to Bolshevik government.

After his return home, Quisling's military career stalled, so he turned to politics. From 1931 until 1933, he served as minister of defense in a government run by the Agrarian Party. When this government fell, Quisling began to work with the founders of a new fascist, conservative party, the Nasjonal Samling (national union), or NS. The NS was a conservative party based on the models of fascist Italy and Germany's rising Nazi Party. The NS was anti-communist and conservative Christian, and it propounded a call for a moral rejuvenation of Norway based on a mythical racial glory that was to be focused and led by an authoritarian leader in the Adolf Hitler mold.

Although Norway suffered during the Great Depression, the fascist calls for change generated little enthusiasm. Quisling's introverted persona did not lend itself to recruitment, as he lacked the fiery passion of street orators such as Hitler. Consequently, the NS remained an insignificant and peripheral party. In his efforts to drum up support, Quisling eventually traveled to Germany and gained the sponsorship of Alfred Rosenberg, one of the political philosophers of Hitler's Nazi Party. Ultimately, Rosenberg arranged for a stipend to be paid to the NS to defray the daily costs of running the party. After World War II began, Quisling traveled again to Germany, this time to convince the Germans to

support an NS coup in Norway. During this trip he met with both Hitler and the head of the German navy and discussed secret British plans for joint actions with Norway in the case of war. Quisling's knowledge of these plans was based on his years as minister of defense.

Although Hitler had already been planning an invasion, these talks helped convince Hitler that action was needed. However, he refused to commit to an official relationship with Quisling. When the German invasion began on April 9, 1940, Norway's king and cabinet left Oslo for exile in Great Britain. That afternoon, Quisling acted on his own by announcing over the radio that he was forming a new Norwegian government that would accommodate the Germans. Quisling expected Hitler to sanction his action, and he also expected widespread Norwegian support; he was quickly disappointed. The NS leaders had not been contacted before Quisling's announcement, so they were unprepared and disorganized. The common person in the street saw Quisling's coup as self-serving and his willingness to collaborate with the invaders as treasonous. Almost immediately, Quisling's name became synonymous with treachery and collaboration.

Quisling's relationship with Hitler and the Germans was compromised from the start. Quisling anticipated that an NS-run Norway would be treated by Germany as a partner in the war against both Britain and, eventually, Bolshevik Russia. In exchange for a friendly but independent Norwegian government, Quisling expected preferential treatment in Germany's new European order. Hitler did not consider Quisling a strong leader, nor did he want a divisive Norwegian leader with delusions of independence, for such a person could obstruct German plans for the vigorous exploitation of conquered territories. Thus, within six days, Hitler ordered Germany's ambas-

sador to depose Quisling and coordinate directly with the NS. Norway was to be treated as a conquered land administered by a Reichskommissar (Reich commissioner). The person chosen for this post was a veteran and loyal Nazi Party member named Josef Terboven. Terboven was tasked with milking Norway for the raw materials, foreign laborers, and financial resources necessary to help sustain Germany's war effort.

Throughout the war, Terboven was Norway's real leader. He quickly concluded that, like Rosenberg, Quisling was a doctrinaire with neither the capacity nor ruthlessness necessary for leadership, and during the occupation Terboven either ignored or bypassed Quisling's requests and concerns. Terboven's appointment was a real blow for Quisling, for Terboven was an experienced player in the byzantine arena of turf battles and internal squabbles for prominence that marked the true nature of Nazi Germany. Quisling's German sponsors, such as Rosenberg, were ineffective players in this arena and, thus, Quisling was rendered ineffective through his lack of personal charisma, na-



Vidkun Quisling shakes hands with Adolf Hitler in January, 1945. Quisling was executed less than one year later. (AP/Wide World Photos)

iveté in internal politics, and the weakness of his supporters.

Eventually, Hitler decided that Norway did need a figurehead leader. On February 1, 1942, he appointed Quisling as minister president of Norway. In this capacity the Germans expected him to turn Norway into a willing satellite nation. Quisling was expected to reinvigorate the NS, Nazify Norwegian society, enlist volunteers to fight in the German armed forces, and recruit laborers to work in German factories. Quisling's efforts were consistently unsuccessful. The NS failed in its efforts to create a vibrant Hitler Youth type of organization to inculcate fascist values and to force public school teachers to adopt fascist curricula. Both efforts floundered in the face of anemic support and widespread passive resistance. Quisling's attempts to "tame" the Lutheran Church likewise failed.

In spite of an extensive propaganda effort, only about fifteen thousand Norwegians volunteered to serve in the German armed services, and less than one-half of those persons reached the front line. Likewise, the NS failed to grow into a functional equivalent of the Nazi Party. At its heyday, the NS had just forty-three thousand members—approximately 1.5 percent of Norway's population.

While Quisling's efforts fell far short of German expectations, they were more than enough to make him look like Hitler's stooge. As Norwegian resistance coalesced during the war, increasingly repressive occupation policies made Quisling's collaboration ever more demeaning for Norwegians. When the German regime collapsed on May 9, 1945, Terboven committed suicide and Quisling was arrested. Because Norwegian law did not allow the death penalty, an exemption for traitors was made during Quisling's trial for treason. Quisling's defense claimed that his collaboration was the only way to preserve an independent Norway, a claim made hollow by Germany's occupation policies. The final nail in Quisling's coffin was the British discovery of German naval documents detailing the plan for a coup that Quisling had discussed with Hitler before the invasion. In the end, Quisling was condemned to death for treason and shot by a firing squad on October 24.

While Quisling did not appear to be venal or corrupt, his diffident personality was at odds with the decisive kind of leadership he espoused. Without a ruthless drive or a strong party as a base of support, Quisling was doomed to failure. The width and depth of these failures angered the Germans, caused suffering and humiliation for the Norwegians, and doomed Quisling when Hitler fell. When these personal failures were added to Norwegian hostility engendered by the exploitive nature of German occupation, it is little surprise that Quisling's name was linked to the two concepts of ineptitude and spineless collaboration with a pitiless and exploitative regime.

IMPACT

Quisling was far too irresolute and unassertive to live up to the expectations inherent in fascist leadership; that is, he would never become a strong leader, whose will and determination would unite a people and drive them to a new era of prosperity. Instead, Quisling's actions as a leader were marked by ineptitude and an inability to navigate through the byzantine politics of the Third Reich. This isolated him from the Norwegian populace and reinforced its anger at the exploitive nature of German occupation. In the end, Quisling's execution was as much about Norwegian anger at Nazi policies as it was about Quisling's acts of treason. As a result, "quisling" came to be associated with crass opportunism, treachery, and spineless ineptitude.

—Kevin B. Reid

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May 26, 1945

NORWEGIAN WRITER KNUT HAMSDUN IS ARRESTED FOR TREASON

Knut Hamsun, Norway's greatest modern writer, openly supported the nominal government of Norwegian Nazi collaborator Vidkun Quisling. During World War II, Norway was occupied by Germany. Hamsun's articles supporting Quisling embarrassed the Norwegians and led to his arrest for treason soon after Adolf Hitler's death. He was tried for collaboration—not for treason—found guilty, and heavily fined.

LOCALE: Oslo, Norway

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; atrocities and war crimes; publishing and journalism; literature; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Knut Hamsun (Knud Pedersen; 1859-1952), Norwegian writer and Nazi supporter

Marie Hamsun (1881-1969), Nazi supporter, Knut Hamsun's second wife

Vidkun Quisling (1887-1945), founder of the Norwegian Nazi Party

Gabriel Langfeldt (1895-1983), psychiatrist who examined Knut Hamsun

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Knut Hamsun's already intense admiration for German culture grew even stronger when his novel *Mysterier* (*Mysteries*, 2001) was published in Berlin by Albert Langen Buch and Kunst Verlag in 1892. By 1910, Hamsun was describing himself as "a Germanish soul," and World War I prompted numerous outbursts of praise for Germany and a corresponding dislike for England. He argued that Germany needed land for its expanding population, whereas England required no more colonies.



Knut Hamsun. (Library of Congress)

Hamsun scholars still debate whether his Nazi sympathies were the genuine convictions of a rational person or the product of senility. The two psychiatrists who examined him at length after World War II, Gabriel Langfeldt and Ørnulv Ødegård, pointed to his “permanently impaired mental faculties,” a judgment that conveniently cleared him of guilt. Others, such as his English biographer, Robert Ferguson, consider Hamsun’s fascism “a genuinely held political conviction,” and that Hamsun may have believed that it was Germany’s turn for world dominance. Beyond this geopolitical thesis was a contempt for the English people as rude and unfeeling. This attitude emerged in the two novels he published in 1908, *Benoni* and *Rosa*, in which an Englishman, Sir Hugh Trevelyan, is caricatured in both works as an arrogant drunk. Ferguson further dismisses suggestions that Hamsun’s anti-English

stance marked him as an eccentric artist drawn naïvely into the spell cast by Adolf Hitler, arguing instead that like many others during the 1930’s he saw in fascism a cure for the decade’s ills.

Animosity between the Left and the Right in Norway was at its peak when Hitler came to power in 1933, and almost half the nation’s trade unionists were out of work. The defense minister, Vidkun Quisling, urged a dictatorship and started his own Nazi Party, the Nasjonal Samling (national union), or NS, a movement that never had any significant success.

In November, 1935, Hamsun attacked the German pacifist Carl von Ossietzky in an article that aroused a loud protest in Norway, even though, Ferguson notes, much of the Norwegian middle class was sympathetic to Hamsun’s point of view. The German leaders recognized Hamsun’s propaganda value and promoted a vision of a Nordic community emphasizing a Germanic race free from sexual and intellectual contacts with other races. Many people were repulsed by Hamsun’s attitude toward the old, the weak, and the disabled, the care of whom he felt used up resources better devoted to the young.

During the war Hamsun wrote about twenty-five articles that constituted the main evidence against him of treason in his 1945 trial. Perhaps the most devastating piece came on May 4, 1940, when he penned the plea “NORWEGIANS! Throw down your rifles and go home again. The Germans are fighting for us all, and will crush the English tyranny over us and over all neutrals.” Another damaging missive at this time was an open letter to a Norwegian journalist, rebuking him for describing the German invasion as an act of aggression. This letter was written to muster support for Quisling, whom he praised as a natural leader but who disappointed him when they met. In January, 1941, he wrote an embarrassing newspaper piece, “We Have Changed Tracks and Are on Our Way in a New Time and a New World.” Ferguson considers “surreal” Hamsun’s vision of life under the Nazis as an idyllic world of cooperation among all peoples.

On his eightieth birthday in 1939, Hamsun received congratulatory telegrams from both the Nazi ideologue Alfred Rosenberg and Hitler’s propa-

ganda minister, Josef Goebbels. Goebbels was a failed writer himself and he admired Hamsun tremendously, calling him a poet who had transcended good and evil. On May 19, 1943, while in Berlin, Hamsun and his second wife, Marie, also a Nazi sympathizer, called on Goebbels, who wrote an excited account of their meeting and immediately ordered that 100,000 copies of a new German edition of Hamsun's works be published. Hamsun was so moved by the visit that he sent Goebbels his Nobel Prize medal, won in 1920, as a gift.

If Hamsun's meeting with Goebbels was a success, his meeting with Hitler turned into a disaster. On June 23, Hamsun flew to Vienna, Austria, to address the Press Internationale. His speech was his most fierce denunciation of England, and ironically he delivered it in English because he never mastered German. Goebbels had organized the conference to solicit sympathy for Germany, as it endured crushing air raids by the British and Americans. Hamsun's tirade against "Anglo-Saxon barbarians" was exactly what was wanted. The meeting with Hitler was arranged at the last minute, but on June 26, Hamsun and his translator landed at Obersalzberg and were driven to Hitler's retreat at Berghof.

Fortified by a large glass of cognac, Hamsun was ushered into a reception room, where he soon began questioning Hitler. Why, Hamsun persisted, would Josef Terboven, the Reich commissioner in Norway, not release to Quisling certain documents that would prove that the king of Norway, and his government, were pro-English? Moreover, the Nazi policy of confining Norwegian shipping to rivers and home waters was damaging the industry. Hamsun's loud protests (he had a hearing impairment) continued, especially his criticism of Terboven, until Hitler abruptly left the room and soon said a cool goodbye. At Hitler's death in May, 1945, Hamsun published a brief obituary in *Aftenposten*, judging Hitler as "a warrior for mankind, and a prophet of the gospel of justice for all nations."

The day after the obituary appeared, Terboven committed suicide. The next day, Quisling was arrested, followed by forty thousand other NS members. Marie and Knut Hamsun waited until May 26

before they were placed under house arrest. Marie went to jail on June 12; on June 28 she was followed by her husband, who was placed in the hospital in Grimstad.

Hamsun denied membership in the NS and asserted that he supported Germany to help Norway attain a high place in a German-oriented Europe. In September, he was moved to a comfortable old person's home in Landvik. The authorities planned to charge him on two counts—treason and inciting others to commit offences—but the psychiatrist, Langfeldt, thought Hamsun showed evidence of mental decline, an opinion shared by many Norwegians. Accordingly, he was sent to Langfeldt's psychiatric clinic at Vindern to be examined by Langfeldt and Ødegård. After 119 days of struggle with Hamsun, Langfeldt produced an eighty-three page document (May, 1946) concluding that Hamsun was not insane but suffered from "permanently impaired mental faculties," a judgment that sent him into a rage. In December, he was tried not for treason but for financial collaboration, then found guilty and fined. On February 19, 1952, he died in his sleep at the age of ninety-three.

IMPACT

Hamsun's treason and his trial resulted from his ingrained hatred of the English and his admiration for Germany's cultural achievements. Many Europeans felt that Germany had been punished too harshly at Versailles, and with most of Europe suffering from economic chaos Hamsun must have been only one of many who saw in Hitler and Italian dictator Benito Mussolini strong individuals who would restore order. After all, the NS enrolled forty thousand members, most of whom surely had no idea of the horrors for which Hitler would be responsible.

The kroners that Hamsun paid his government were nothing compared to the cost that Hitler's cheering throngs during the 1930's were to pay, and Hamsun's lesson—and he must have seen his humiliation as a lesson—was emblematic of Germany's infatuation with power. Langfeldt and Ødegård were right to quote from Hamsun's 1895 play *Ved Rigets Port* (at the gate of the kingdom), in

which Ivar Kareno declares his faith in the “born leader, the natural despot, the great commander, the one who is not chosen but who elects himself to mastery over the hordes on the earth. I believe and hope for one thing, and that is the coming again of the Great Terrorist, the Life Force, the Caesar.” The impact of Hamsun’s trial, and of the larger phenomenon of which it was a part, was to muffle the voice of the Great Terrorist.

—Frank Day

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August 14, 1945

FRENCH WAR HERO PÉTAİN IS CONVICTED OF NAZI COLLABORATION

Philippe Pétain was convicted of treason for overseeing the surrender of France to the Germans in 1940 and subsequently acting as head of the collaborationist puppet government of Vichy France. He failed to assuage the national conscience and left the French public nearly equally divided concerning whether the true scandal lay in a military hero’s having cooperated with an evil enemy to further personal ambitions and a conservative agenda or in a victor’s making a scapegoat of a person whose actions represented the best option available at the time.

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Government; politics; military; public morals

KEY FIGURES

Philippe Pétain (1856-1951), French general, premier of Vichy France, 1940-1943

Charles de Gaulle (1890-1970), leader of Free French forces, 1940-1945, and president of France, 1958-1969

Jacques Isorni (1911-1995), French attorney and historian

Paul Reynaud (1878-1966), prime minister of France, March-June, 1940

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On July 23, 1945, Philippe Pétain, the eighty-nine-year-old hero of Verdun and former premier of the puppet regime that governed southern France during the Nazi occupation, stood accused of treason in a Paris courtroom. The charges stemmed from his coming out of retirement and assuming control of the French government following the German invasion in 1940, and his signing a surrender that left northern France under German occupation and southern France as an authoritarian puppet regime with Pétain as its head.

That truncated client state takes its name, Vichy France, from the resort town that served as its capital. Repressive measures taken against the French Resistance, trials of political figures, laws gutting the constitution of the Third Republic, and failure to flee to North Africa when allied armies liberated French colonial possessions there also figured prominently in the trial.

Since Pétain's trial was predominantly a trial for treason and not for war crimes or crimes against humanity, treatment of Jews in Vichy France did not form a large part of the indictment. Subsequent assessments accord this aspect more prominence, figuring in the controversies surrounding the extent of Pétain's guilt. In 1945, the central issue was whether Pétain had betrayed France and the French people, rather than his complicity in the most odious aspects of Nazism.

When Free French forces under Charles de Gaulle succeeded in expelling the Germans from southern France in 1944, the Germans forcibly evacuated the Vichy government to Germany. De Gaulle had mixed feelings about prosecuting Pétain and tried to prevent him from returning to France to face trial. The old soldier would have nothing to do with disappearing into exile.

The trial itself was not so much about determining guilt or innocence of an individual as about expiating national guilt about what seemed, in retrospect, to be collective dishonorable behavior in 1940. De Gaulle and the soldiers who went into ex-



Philippe Pétain. (Library of Congress)

ile with him, and the Resistance fighters who kept up a campaign of guerrilla warfare within France, were the heroes; the bulk of the French army and population were not. Preserving national pride required assigning blame for surrendering and for instituting repressive domestic policies to a small number of collaborationists, preferably ones with base motives and corrupt lifestyles. Although Pétain had an able defense counsel in Jacques Isorni and was able to call numerous witnesses in his favor, the whole setup of the trial, notably the choice of jurors entirely from the ranks of Resistance fighters and hostile members of France's 1940 Parliament, made a guilty verdict inevitable.

In fact, the French government had no good options in June, 1940. The premier, Paul Reynaud, headed a weak, divided government. Adding Pétain strengthened it by including a popular military leader, but added an authoritarian fascist element. In May, Germany broke the months-long phony

war, or *sitzkrieg*, with a massive invasion of Belgium and the Netherlands. Heavily committed to that campaign, France lost one tenth of its army and a disproportionate amount of armament in the evacuation at Dunkirk. On June 5, the German fighting machine turned on an overextended, ill-equipped French army. By June 20, Paris was in German hands, most of the French air force had been de-

stroyed, and the main fighting force had capitulated. The British were not prepared to commit troops to defend French soil. By agreeing to take the reins of power when Reynaud resigned, Pétain became heir to a catastrophe for which he was not responsible. He believed the terms of the armistice represented the best interests of the French people under the circumstances.

On July 10, the French Chamber of Deputies met, ratified the armistice, and voted 569-80 to grant Pétain authority to draw up a new constitution. His government thus had a tolerable claim to legitimacy. Most neutral nations, including the United States, recognized Vichy France as a sovereign state.

In November of 1942, British, American, and Free French forces moved to liberate Axis-controlled French possessions in North Africa, and Churchill urged Pétain to defect. That he chose to remain in occupied France, serving as an increasingly impotent figurehead, was viewed as betrayal.

On August 14, 1945, the court found Pétain guilty of treason and collaboration and sentenced him to death by firing squad. Citing his advanced age and previous service, and mindful that French public opinion was nearly equally divided concerning his guilt, de Gaulle commuted the sentence to life imprisonment on the Île de Yeu in Normandy. There he remained, despite efforts by Isorni and others to have him freed, until released to a nursing facility on the island shortly before his death in 1951.

Spearheaded by Isorni and supported by surviving military colleagues from World War I, ef-

PÉTAIN'S PLAN FOLLOWING GERMAN OCCUPATION

On August 12, 1941, Philippe Pétain delivered a policy speech with twelve proclamations concerning his National Revolution. Among the proclamations published in The New York Times the next day were the following:

Authority no longer emanates from below. The only authority is that which I entrust or delegate. . . . This is what I have decided:

1. Activity of political parties and groups of political origin is suspended until further notice in the unoccupied zone. These parties may no longer hold either public or private meetings. They must cease any distribution of tracts or notices. Those that fail to conform to these decisions will be dissolved. . . .
3. The first disciplinary sanctions against State officials guilty of false declarations regarding membership in secret societies has been ordered. The names of officials have been published this morning in the *Journal Officiel*. Holders of high Masonic degrees—of which the first list has just been published—may no longer exercise any public function. . . .
5. I will double the means of police action, whose discipline and loyalty should guarantee public order.
6. A group of Commissars of Public Power is created. These high officials will be charged with studying the spirit in which the laws, decrees, orders and instructions of the central power will be carried out. They will have the mission of ferreting out and destroying obstacles which abuse the rules of administrative routine or activity of secret societies opposed to the work of National Revolution. . . .
11. I have decided to use the powers given me by Constitutional Act No. 7 to judge those responsible for our disaster. A Council of Justice is created to that effect.
12. In the application of this same Constitutional Act, all Ministers and high officials must swear an oath of fealty to me and engage themselves to carry out duties in their charge for the well-being of the State according to the rules of honor and propriety. . . .

In 1917 I put an end to mutiny. In 1940 I put an end to rout. Today I wish to save you from yourselves. . . .

Remember this: If a beaten country is divided against itself it dies. If a beaten country can unite it is reborn. Vive la France!

forts to rehabilitate Pétain continued long after his death. Isorni filed appeals with the French Department of Justice in 1972 and 1981 but failed to obtain a hearing. A 1984 advertisement published by defenders of Pétain in *Le Monde*, titled “French, You Have a Short Memory,” prompted a lawsuit by surviving members of the Resistance. In 1990, a French court ruled against the Pétainists, awarding damages of one franc and requiring them to publish an apology. Isorni then took the case to the European Court of Human Rights, which in 1998 ruled that Isorni’s free speech rights had been violated and awarded damages to his heirs. Periodic informal polls of French public opinion continue to reveal divided sentiments. An extensive survey in *Le Figaro* in 1980 showed that 59 percent of respondents considered Pétain to have been sincerely concerned by national interests but overtaken by events, 7 percent considered him a hero who was unjustly condemned, and only 8 percent considered him a traitor.

IMPACT

In a sense, Pétain’s trial never ended, as reassessment continues into the guilt and innocence of individuals, peoples, and entire nations for their role in the human catastrophe of World War II. In 1945, the Western world had been focused on that conflict as a military struggle, and people painted the glossiest possible portrait of the victors, labeling their early reversals as treason. In the end, the drama of the heroic Resistance and its brutal repression by the collaborationist Milice (secret police) under Pétain’s malevolent aegis imparted a sense of dignity and purpose to an exhausted and demoralized civilian population.

In 1945, anti-Semitism and specific repressive measures against Jews in Vichy France did not loom as large in the catalog of Pétain’s crimes as they now appear. Over the years, the war against Nazi Germany has come to be viewed more as a crusade against the Holocaust and less as a military response to territorial aggression. Consequently, while most military historians would now agree that the 1940 armistice could not have been improved upon, Holocaust scholars now pore over the sordid

record of Jewish persecution in Vichy France and conclude that Pétain’s active role, fueled by fascist sympathies and Roman Catholicism, exacerbated that persecution.

There are arguments on both sides. Pétain’s supporters would point out that survivorship among French Jews was among the highest in occupied Europe and contend that his willingness to oversee repressive measures that stopped far short of genocide saved many thousands of lives. Opponents contend that the willingness of a respected war hero to endorse anti-Jewish sanctions encouraged compliance in the general population, especially among conservative Catholics.

Scandals are gripping because they hold up a mirror exposing inner weaknesses. That of Pétain’s trial serves as a reminder that the willingness to take charge when no good solution is apparent can lead to calumny and condemnation at the hands of the victor.

—Martha A. Sherwood

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December 14, 1945

POET EZRA POUND IS CHARGED WITH TREASON AND INSTITUTIONALIZED

While living as a U.S. citizen in Italy during World War II, the influential modernist poet Ezra Pound recorded profascist radio speeches. Arrested for treason in 1945 and imprisoned in Italy and in Washington, D.C., he was found mentally unfit for trial and was sent to a psychiatric hospital. Pound provoked further scandal when he won the Bollingen Prize for The Pisan Cantos (1948), completed while he was institutionalized.

LOCALES: Rapallo, Rome, Genoa, and Pisa, Italy; Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; politics; radio and television; psychology and psychiatry; literature

KEY FIGURES

Ezra Pound (1885-1972), American expatriate poet

Dorothy Shakespear Pound (1886-1973), English artist, who was married to Pound

Olga Rudge (1895-1996), Pound's mistress

Julien Cornell (1910-1994), Pound's attorney

Winfred Overholser (1892-1964), superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital

Bolitha J. Laws (1891-1958), federal district judge in Washington, D.C., 1938-1958

Archibald MacLeish (1892-1982), librarian of Congress and American poet

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Born in Idaho, Ezra Pound grew up in the northeast and received his formal education there. In 1908, he left the United States and eventually arrived in London, England, where he married Dorothy Shakespear in 1914 and made a name for himself as a modernist poet and critic who influenced other writers. After having moved in 1921 to France, the Pounds settled on the Mediterranean coast at Rapallo, Italy, in 1925.

Under the influence of populism and socialism, Pound developed a hatred of usury, which he considered the source of economic injustice and defined as a "charge for the use of purchasing power, levied without regard to production." He came to view U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt as a collaborator with rich Jewish financiers who wanted to

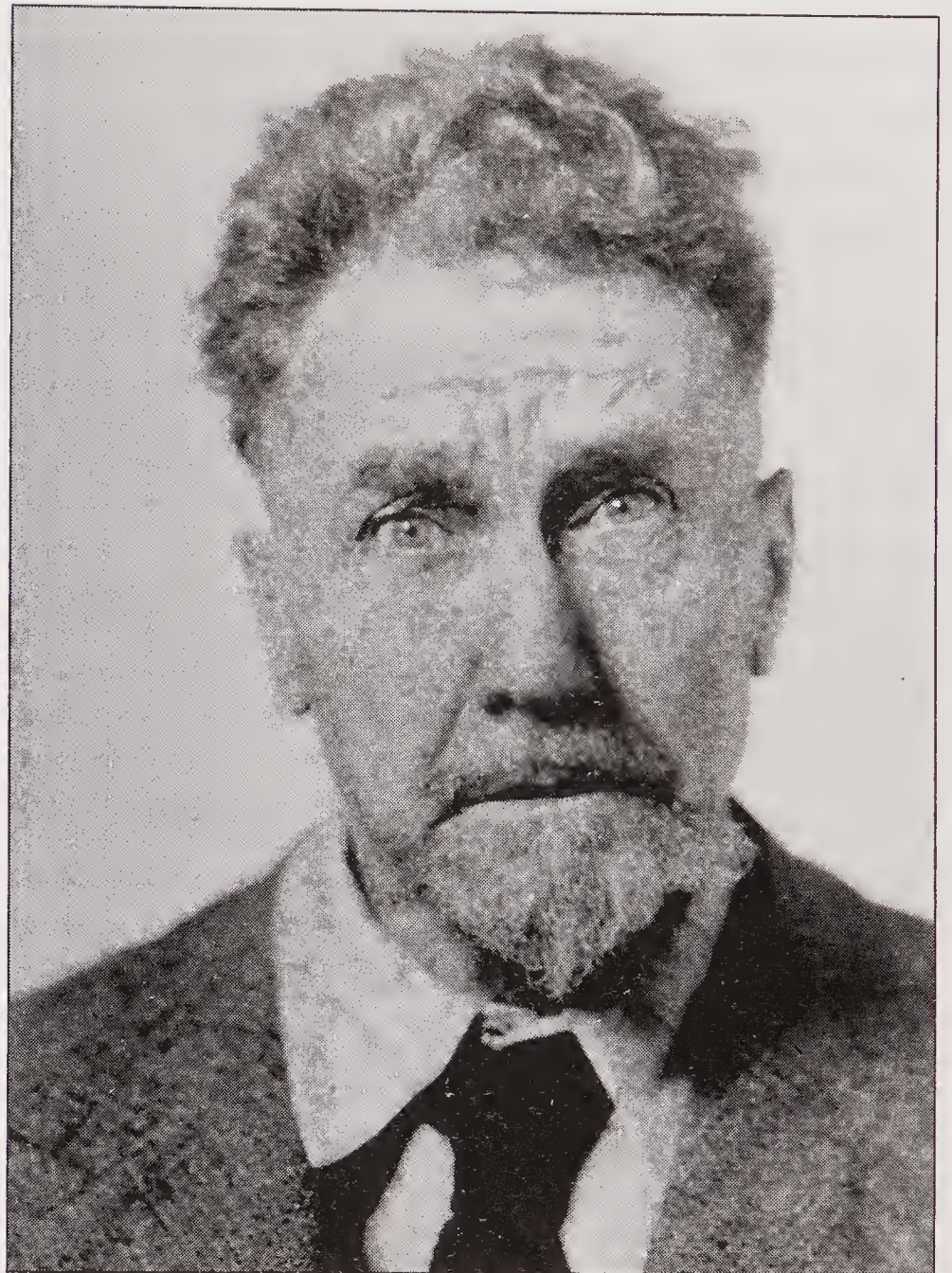
control the world by controlling its money. In contrast, Pound admired the Italian dictator Benito Mussolini. During 1939, when war loomed in Europe, Pound traveled to the United States to persuade Roosevelt to keep the nation at peace and to reform American economics, but the president never met with him.

After World War II began in Europe but before Pearl Harbor, Pound, still a U.S. citizen, was eager to broadcast his ideas from Italy to his country of birth. Despite Italian skepticism about his qualifications, on January 21, 1941, he began personally recording talks for the Italian Broadcasting System. In total, up to the summer of 1943, he recorded more than one hundred twenty talks for shortwave broadcast to the United States and other English-speaking countries.

Pound's practice was to write a script in Rapallo, read it to his mistress, Olga Rudge, in nearby Sant' Ambrogio, and then, when he had written a set of scripts, travel by train to Rome to record them. Often using a bizarre American drawl, he would urge the United States not to take part in the war, contend that the war had resulted from usury inflicted by Jews and their colleagues, and include commentary on culture. One of his many individual targets was Archibald MacLeish, the pro-Roosevelt poet serving as the librarian of Congress in the United States. Unknown to Pound was that U.S. officials were monitoring his broadcasts.

On July 25, 1943, as the Allies advanced, Mussolini fell from power, and the new Italian government sued for peace. The next day, in Washington, D.C., a federal grand jury indicted Pound for treason. Learning of his indictment, Pound sent a letter to the U.S. attorney general to protest the claim that he violated his duty as an American and that the right to free speech included the right to speak freely through radio. Pound received no reply.

When, in northern Italy later in 1943, Mussolini used Germany's help to establish a puppet state, Pound volunteered to write for that state. He continued to live with his wife in Rapallo until, under allied attack, German soldiers in May, 1944, ordered Ezra and Dorothy Pound to leave their apartment near the seashore. They moved to Rudge's home in



Ezra Pound the day he entered St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington, D.C. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Sant' Ambrogio, which created a tense household. On May 3, 1945, claiming he had information for the U.S. Department of State, Pound tried unsuccessfully to turn himself in to the U.S. troops who had recently arrived in Rapallo. The next day, in Sant' Ambrogio, two antifascist Italians arrested him as he was translating a Confucian classic.

Pound wanted to go to the United States to explain his actions. With Rudge, Pound was eventually driven to Genoa, where, after a long delay, an agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation arrived to interrogate him. Pound cooperated because he believed he was innocent. On May 24, however, he was handcuffed and driven away in a jeep; he thought he was headed to an airport and then to the United States. Instead, he was taken to the U.S. Army's Disciplinary Training Center (DTC) just outside Pisa and placed in a maximum-security cage, where he had inadequate protection from

sun and rain and was forced to sleep on a concrete floor.

Eventually, Pound received a pup tent to pitch in his cage. In June, the Army moved him to the DTC's medical compound to prevent his mental collapse. The stress Pound suffered, however, may have led to renewed poetic creativity. Returning to a long series of his poems called *The Cantos* (the songs), which had been published piecemeal since 1915, he composed eleven more, Cantos 74 to 84. Written in Pound's allusive, multilingual, multivoiced style, the new poems became *The Pisan Cantos*.

Because of bureaucratic delay, it was not until late in 1945 that Pound was taken to the United States, arriving in Washington, D.C., on November 18. The next day, Judge Bolitha J. Laws persuaded him not to serve as his own counsel but to accept a court-appointed attorney, Julien Cornell. On November 26, a federal grand jury formed a new indictment, longer and more detailed than the previous one. At his arraignment, Pound remained silent, leading Judge Laws to enter a plea of not guilty on his behalf. Denying a motion for bail, Laws sent Pound back to prison but, with Cornell's approval, ordered a medical evaluation. On December 14, the four physicians who examined him wrote that Pound was "insane and mentally unfit for trial" and should be sent to a psychiatric hospital for care. In an inquisition on February 13, 1946, all twelve grand jurors reached the same conclusion.

Since December 21, Pound had been confined to a gloomy cell at St. Elizabeths Hospital, a federal psychiatric hospital in Washington, D.C., and supervised by Winfred Overholser, one of the physicians who had examined him. After the jury's decision, Pound remained in a jail-like building until February 4, 1947, when he received better quarters. At Pisa he could receive no visits from family or friends, but at St. Elizabeths he received many visits, notably from his wife but also from numerous others, including famous poets. In general, people who had long known him found him not insane but merely as eccentric as always.

In theory, Pound was to stand trial when he recovered his sanity; but, according to Overholser, he remained insane. Meanwhile, *The Pisan Cantos*

was published in July, 1948. In February, 1949, the fellows in American Literature of the Library of Congress, by majority vote, chose Pound's new book as the winner of the first Bollingen Prize, a prize given for the best work of American poetry. Expecting the furor that arose after they (the fellows were, in effect, federal government representatives) awarded money to a person under indictment for treason, the fellows argued that to take into account matters other than aesthetics would make the prize meaningless. The award stood, but Congress forced the library to stop giving prizes, and control over the Bollingen Prize went to Yale University's Beinecke Library.

As years passed and Pound still was deemed unfit for trial, he seemed destined to die in confinement without having been convicted. On April 18, 1958, however, after a campaign led by MacLeish, Judge Laws—with Overholser's consent—dismissed the indictment against Pound, and he was released into his wife's custody. Pound soon left St. Elizabeths and returned to Italy, where he died in 1972 with Rudge at his bedside.

IMPACT

Pound's wartime broadcasts from an enemy nation tested the constitutional definition of "treason" and the limits of the First Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. The case of the broadcasts opened the door to the legal question, How far can a U.S. citizen go in opposing U.S. military action? Furthermore, Pound's long confinement in a mental hospital while he was merely under indictment presented a new issue for the justice system, just as his receipt of an award for his poetry presented the problem of how to distinguish the lives and beliefs of artists from their artistic accomplishments.

—Victor Lindsey

FURTHER READING

Carpenter, Humphrey. *A Serious Character: The Life of Ezra Pound*. New York: Dell, 1988. Devotes nearly three hundred pages to the period from Pound's trip to the United States in 1939, his release from confinement in 1958, and his return to Italy.

Nadel, Ira B. *The Cambridge Introduction to Ezra Pound*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007. Discusses briefly Pound's life, the literary context of his work, and the details of his poetry and prose, including critics' responses.

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port, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 2005. Contains 265 entries by ninety-nine scholars on persons, writings, and ideas. Includes discussion of Pound's *Pisan Cantos* as well as economics, politics, and anti-Semitism.

SEE ALSO: July 12, 1906: French Court Declares Alfred Dreyfus Innocent of Treason; Apr. 22, 1942: French Prime Minister Pierre Laval Wants Germany to Win World War II; Dec. 5, 1942: Industrialist Charles Bedaux Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration; May 9, 1945: Norwegian Politician Quisling Is Arrested for Nazi Collaboration; May 26, 1945: Norwegian Writer Knut Hamsun Is Arrested for Treason; Aug. 14, 1945: French War Hero Pétain Is Convicted of Nazi Collaboration; Sept. 19, 1952: Actor Charles Chaplin Not Allowed in the United States; Aug. 19, 1985: West German Counterintelligence Chief Defects to East Germany; Mar. 3, 1986: Former U.N. Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim's Nazi Past Is Revealed.

November 23, 1946

TENNIS STAR BILL TILDEN IS ARRESTED FOR LEWD BEHAVIOR WITH A MINOR

One of the greatest tennis players of all time, Tilden was arrested and charged with lewd behavior with a teenage male prostitute. After Tilden was convicted and sentenced to one year in jail, his reputation was ruined. The tennis community and the public dismissed him as a sexual deviant, which overshadowed his many professional achievements during the 1920's. He also had other contacts with police for sex-related incidents.

LOCALE: Los Angeles, California

CATEGORIES: Prostitution; sex crimes; law and the courts; public morals; sports

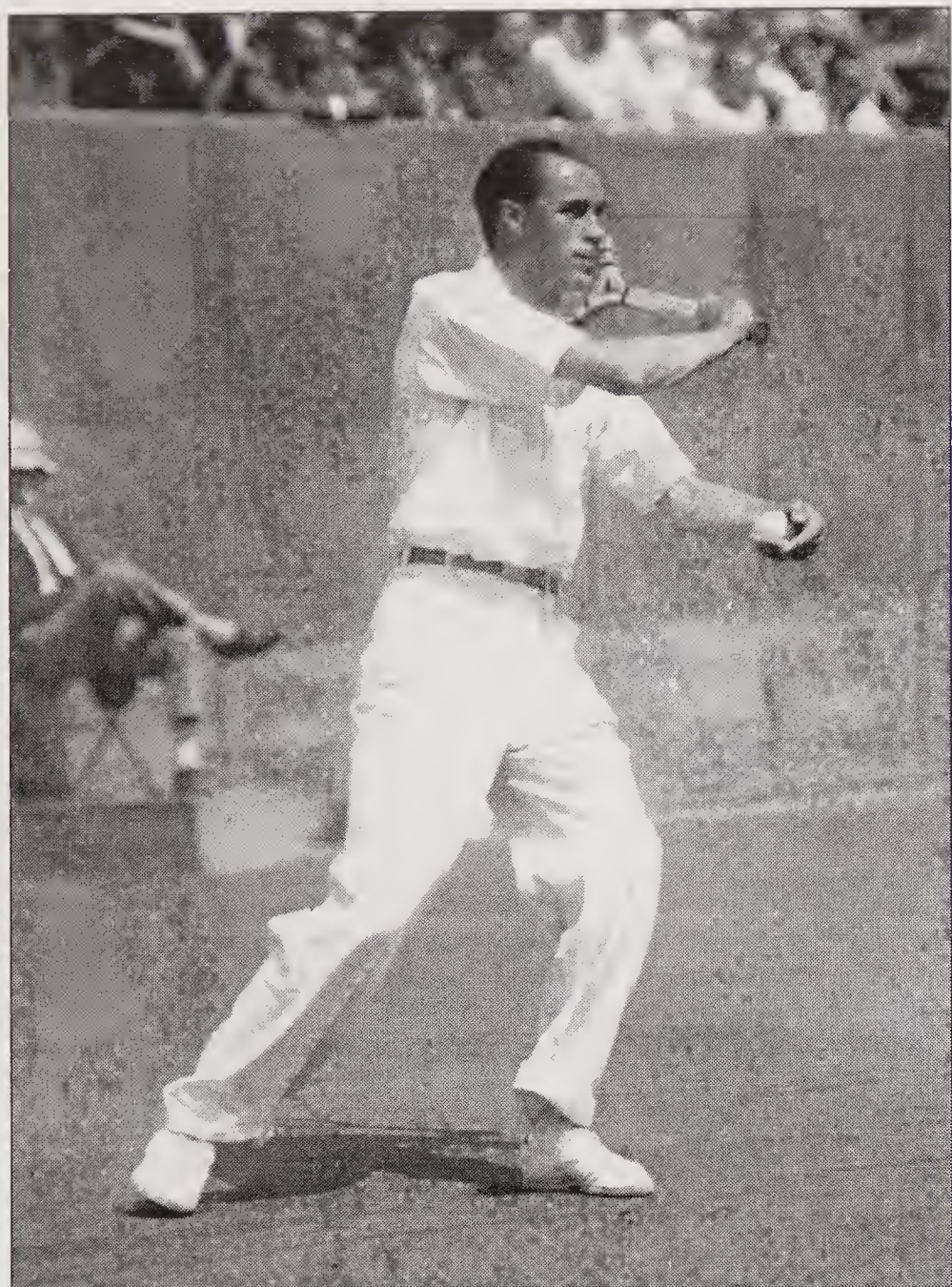
KEY FIGURE

Bill Tilden (1893-1953), American professional tennis player

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Bill Tilden was a star of the international tennis scene during the 1920's. One of the best known American tennis players of the era, he helped transform tennis from a competition usually reserved for the wealthy elite to a popular spectator sport.

Tilden's arrest on November 23, 1946, in Los Angeles occurred after police spotted him in a car being driven by a teenager. Police stopped the car and found Tilden in the front seat with a boy Tilden



Bill Tilden. (AP/Wide World Photos)

solicited for sex. Both were in various stages of undress. Tilden was arrested and charged with lewd and lascivious behavior with a minor, a felony charge usually associated with sexual abuse, but the charge was reduced to contributing to the delinquency of a minor, a misdemeanor. Tilden offered no defense during his arrest and booking and signed a statement about the incident without protest. It was only later that the tennis star would hire a lawyer to defend him as he sought to escape certain conviction.

Tilden showed no apparent concern about the charges. He had been detained by police in two earlier incidents, one in which he had propositioned a boy and another in which he had physical contact with a boy. Tilden managed to escape punishment or public exposure for these two incidents, but with his 1946 arrest came public scandal and the beginning of the end to his career as a tennis star.

At a court hearing on January 16, 1947, Tilden

pleaded guilty, expecting to receive a light punishment. Most of the hearing was consumed by psychologists who labeled him mentally ill and in need of counseling. With this testimony on his side, it appeared Tilden would escape jail, or prison, but the judge was not swayed by the psychologists or by Tilden's character witnesses. Tilden's odd behavior during the hearing, which included denying previous sexual misconduct, may have influenced the judge's decision to give him one year in the county jail and further restrictions after he served his sentence. Tilden spent much of his sentence at a California work farm, serving only eight months.

Some twenty years before his arrest and public disgrace, Tilden was one of the world's best tennis players. He was most proficient during the 1920's, winning seven U.S. singles titles in the tournament that would later be known as the U.S. Open and five doubles and four mixed-doubles championships in the same tournament. Tilden also was a Wimbledon champion, winning three singles titles and a doubles title, and he won a mixed-singles title in what would become the French Open. Furthermore, he played in eleven consecutive Davis Cup tournaments from 1920 to 1930 and helped the United States win seven straight of the international titles, a feat never repeated by any other country. With ten singles and eleven doubles titles, Tilden remains ranked among the greatest tennis stars of any era, matching the feats of some of the game's modern stars.

With his achievements, Tilden's fame grew, as did the swings in his mercurial personality. Prone to tantrums and disagreements, he was in constant conflict with tennis officials, including line judges and referees, and other players. His antics on the court, which included threats to leave during the middle of a match, resembled those of later tennis star John McEnroe. Tilden's favorite strategy was to scowl at any line judge or referee he believed missed a call. His staring became so intimidating that the U.S. tennis organization considered a rule against glaring, which, while it would be difficult to enforce, was implicitly directed at Tilden. The rule did not pass, and Tilden continued his tirades and glares at officials. He also earned the reputation for

throwing (losing) sets out of personal pique or as part of an elaborate plan to taunt his opponent, exhibiting how he could turn on and off his talent and win even though behind in a match.

Tilden's showmanship aided him in adding to his income, a necessity for tennis players prior to World War II. During that period the tennis profession was much different from what it became in the modern era. Tilden and his competitors were considered amateurs, forced to make money in professions outside tennis while competing in tournaments. Tilden made money by acting in plays, earning mainly scathing reviews of his efforts, and writing articles about tennis matches. He also composed an autobiography, dropping names of politicians, Hollywood actors, and other tennis players in an effort to heighten his own fame.

With his arrest and release, Tilden's tennis career was over. Well over fifty years old, he could no longer play competitively, and because of his arrest he could not draw a paying crowd to see his tennis exhibitions, which provided much of his income during the 1940's. Teaching tennis also was a foreclosed possibility, as one of the conditions of his release was having no contact with minors, even those whom he might instruct in tennis.

In January, 1949, Tilden again was arrested. He had picked up a fifteen-year-old hitchhiker and attempted to molest him. He received a less severe sentence, one more year at the work farm for a probation violation rather than a new sentence for the second crime. He served only four months of this sentence and was released at the end of 1949.

Tilden's final years were spent in shame, as friends, players, and fans rejected him. Attempting a career comeback at the age of sixty, Tilden's body apparently was unable to handle the stress of training. He died in 1953 after having a heart attack in a hotel room in Cleveland, where he was set to play in the U.S. Pro Championship.

IMPACT

Tilden's arrest and conviction in 1946 ended one of the greatest athletic careers of all time, in any sport. With his wins in the U.S. and French championships and at Wimbledon, Tilden was the first to ac-

Tilden Is Arrested for Lewd Behavior with a Minor

complish the rare career grand slam. However, his personal failings and uncontrolled attraction to teenage boys destroyed his career and reputation, but not before he was voted the greatest athlete of the first half of the twentieth century, beating even baseball icon Babe Ruth. He also was inducted into the International Tennis Hall of Fame in 1959. While Tilden's accomplishments are occasionally mentioned in the modern tennis world, he remains an outcast, whose stellar career was overshadowed by his criminal acts.

—Douglas Clouatre

FURTHER READING

Deford, Frank. *Big Bill Tilden: The Triumphs and the Tragedy*. Wilmington, Del.: Sport Classic Books, 2004. A full-length biography of Tilden. Examines his tennis career, including the tournaments he won, his opponents, his disputes with the tennis establishment, and his arrest and humiliation at the end of his life.

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Philips, Caryl. *The Right Set*. New York: Vintage Books, 1999. A historical analysis of tennis in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, with chapters written by tennis pros and experts. Discusses how tennis became a widely viewed sport. Includes two chapters on Tilden.

Warren, Patricia Nell. *The Lavender Locker Room: Three Thousand Years of Great Athletes Whose Sexual Orientation Was Different*. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Wildcat Press, 2006. Warren, author of a classic novel in gay literature, provides a comprehensive work on lesbian, gay, and bisexual

athletes over the centuries. Includes a chapter on Tilden.

SEE ALSO: June 4, 1943: Actor Charles Chaplin Is Sued for Paternity; Dec. 12, 1957: Rock Star Jerry Lee Lewis Marries Thirteen-Year-Old Cousin; Feb. 1, 1978: Roman Polanski Flees the United States to Avoid Rape Trial; July 28, 1980: Magazine Reveals Baseball Star Steve Garvey's

Marital Problems; July 18, 1988: Actor Rob Lowe Videotapes Sexual Tryst with a Minor; Feb. 26, 1997: Teacher Mary Kay Letourneau Is Arrested for Statutory Rape; Dec. 18, 2003: Pop Star Michael Jackson Is Charged with Child Molestation; Dec. 6, 2005: Spokane, Washington, Mayor Recalled in Gay-Sex Scandal; June 13, 2008: Singer R. Kelly Is Acquitted on Child Pornography Charges.

Spring, 1947

BASEBALL MANAGER LEO DUROCHER IS SUSPENDED FOR GAMBLING TIES

Brooklyn Dodgers manager Leo Durocher got into a battle of words with Larry MacPhail, co-owner of the New York Yankees. Durocher, who had been warned by the baseball commissioner about consorting with gamblers, complained when he saw two well-known gamblers in the Yankees owner's box during a game and argued that there was a double standard for managers. MacPhail then complained to the commissioner about Durocher's statements, leading to Durocher's suspension for the season.

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; organized crime and racketeering; sports

KEY FIGURES

Leo Durocher (1905-1991), manager of the Brooklyn Dodgers

Larry MacPhail (1890-1975), co-owner and president of the New York Yankees

Happy Chandler (1898-1991), commissioner of Major League Baseball

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Leo Durocher was well known for his gambling habits. He also was known for his loudness and willingness to fight things out in the press. Larry MacPhail, too, was known for his unpredictable be-

havior and, like Durocher, for his ability to turn a losing team around. Durocher and MacPhail would get into a fight in 1947, leading, ultimately, to Durocher's suspension, on April 9, for the season.

While Durocher enjoyed gambling personally, colleagues argued that he worked to keep gambling away from his team. According to sportscaster Red Barber, new Dodgers owner Branch Rickey ordered Durocher in 1942 to stop all gambling in the Dodgers clubhouse and on trains during road trips. Durocher complied, but he still gambled in his private life.

In 1944, Durocher's friend, actor George Raft, was investigated for throwing a crooked dice game in Durocher's apartment. Raft, who was known for his underworld associates, was not popular with the heads of baseball. In 1941, Baseball Commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis refused Durocher's request for four seats in the manager's box for the actor. Durocher was not present at the infamous dice game of 1944, but the incident generated a fair amount of negative press. Raft and Durocher remained friends, leading to charges of guilt by association for Durocher. Commissioner Landis died in 1944 and was replaced by Happy Chandler, much to the liking of MacPhail, who strongly supported his selection.

In January, 1947, Durocher married actor Lorraine Day in El Paso, Texas, the same day she was

divorced in Mexico. However, her husband was contesting the divorce in California, so the couple could not live together as a married couple in that state for a year. The controversy surrounding their marriage upset the commissioner, as well as the Catholic Youth Organization of Brooklyn. As a result, the Catholic Youth Organization withdrew its participation in the Knothole Club, which provided free Dodgers tickets for children.

Around this time, Chandler met with Durocher and told him he could not associate with known gamblers. Durocher agreed, and during spring training “his deportment was downright monkish,” according to reporters. At a game against the Yankees in spring training, Durocher saw Memphis Engelberg and Connie Immerman, two well-known gamblers who Chandler warned Durocher to stay away from; Engelberg and Immerman were sitting with MacPhail in Yankees box seats. Durocher and Dodgers owner Rickey complained that if Durocher could not associate with gamblers, then neither should MacPhail.

In a column published in the *Brooklyn Eagle* (ghostwritten by Harold Parrott), Durocher wrote, “MacPhail was flaunting his company with known gamblers right in the players’ faces. . . . If I even said ‘Hello’ to one of those guys, I’d be called before Commissioner Chandler and probably barred.” Durocher then called MacPhail a liar and claimed that MacPhail had “stolen” some of his coaches.

These accusations angered MacPhail, who filed a complaint with Chandler, arguing that Durocher’s “airing of dirty linen” was “detrimental to baseball.” After holding a closed hearing, Chandler suspended Durocher for the 1947 season, citing the “accumulation of unpleasant incidents in which he has been involved which the commissioner construes as detrimental to baseball.” In the uproar that followed, some fans and reporters “conceived the notion that Chandler was paying off a debt” to MacPhail. Also, demands began to pile up for the release of records of the hearing on Durocher. Chandler refused to release a transcript of the hearing or to elaborate on his reasons for the suspension; the exact reasons were never revealed.

Gambling was on the minds of many in New

York in 1947; there were several gambling scandals in progress at the time, including those involving boxer Rocky Graziano, the New York Giants football team, and the Brooklyn College basketball team. It is possible that because of these contemporary gambling scandals, the public came to associate Durocher’s suspension with gambling. Durocher’s infamous mouth, his unorthodox and possibly illegal marriage, and his past association with gamblers all likely contributed to his suspension. As Durocher biographer Gerald Eskenazi notes in his 1993 book *The Lip*,

We will never know all the ingredients that went into making the decision to suspend Leo. Even after it happened, there was so much reckless speculation that it has become a truth: Leo Durocher was suspended for 1947 for gambling, or for his associates, or for marrying a divorced woman before she was free.

Durocher’s suspension was especially upsetting to Rickey, who had wanted Durocher to be the manager who helped Jackie Robinson break into major-league baseball. Prior to Durocher’s suspension, a number of Dodgers players were circulating a petition to keep Robinson off the team. Durocher heard of this petition and called the players into a meeting, telling them that Robinson was on the team and that anyone who did not like it would be traded. Following Durocher’s suspension, Burton Shotton took over as team manager for the rest of the 1947 season, which ended when the Dodgers lost to the Yankees in the World Series.

IMPACT

The suspension of Durocher led to much discussion from sports writers and fans across the United States. Some thought Durocher deserved the suspension, but many felt Chandler’s actions were too severe. The actions, too, did not endear the commissioner to the public. The argument that the suspension was inspired by Durocher’s alleged continued association with gamblers has, over time, been repeated so often that it is now commonplace. However, Chandler never revealed his reasons for suspending Durocher.

Chandler's term as commissioner, which expired in 1951, was not renewed. Some have argued that the Durocher incident was the reason for the rejection. Others noted that some owners were angry that Chandler allowed Robinson into the majors. Either way, 1947 had a major impact on his future as commissioner.

MacPhail left the Yankees after the 1947 season after being "bought out" by the other Yankees owners, partly because of an altercation with the press at the World Series championship party in the locker room. Durocher came back to the Dodgers in 1948 but left in July to manage the New York Giants. He later managed the Chicago Cubs and Houston Astros. Both Durocher and MacPhail are in the Baseball Hall of Fame.

When Pete Rose was suspended from baseball in 1989 for gambling, Durocher's 1947 suspension was brought up as a reminder of baseball's tough stance on the issue. Durocher's name, along with the name Rose, will forever be associated with the baseball scandal that is gambling, regardless of guilt or innocence.

—Julie Elliott

FURTHER READING

Barber, Red. *1947: When All Hell Broke Loose in Baseball*. New York: Doubleday, 1982. Book by Dodgers broadcaster covers the history of the relationships among Durocher, Rickey, and MacPhail, as well as some of the events leading up to Durocher's suspension.

Durocher, Leo. *Nice Guys Finish Last*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1975. The chapter "A Ham-fat Politician Named Happy," presents a colorful discussion of the gambling and suspension scandal.

Eskenazi, Gerald. *The Lip: A Biography of Leo*

Durocher. New York: William Morrow, 1993. Biography covers Durocher from his childhood in Massachusetts through his playing and managing days and beyond. Lengthy section on 1947 suspension examines how the rumors of suspension for gambling have remained unverified.

Ginsberg, Daniel E. *The Fix Is In: A History of Baseball Gambling and Game Fixing Scandals*. New York: McFarland, 2004. A valuable overview of a neglected component of baseball history.

Smith, Red. "Has Baseball Forgotten the Fan?" *The Saturday Evening Post*, October 4, 1947. Article published the final month of the 1947 season. Critical of Chandler's decision to suspend Durocher. Details concerns with baseball owners and the commissioner overall.

SEE ALSO: Sept. 21, 1919: White Sox Players Conspire to Lose World Series in "Black Sox" Scandal; Dec. 26, 1926: Ty Cobb and Tris Speaker Are Accused of Fixing Baseball Games; May 3, 1950: U.S. Senate Committee Begins Investigating Organized Crime; Jan. 17, 1951: College Basketball Players Begin Shaving Points for Money; Fall, 1969-Winter, 1971: Japanese Baseball Players Are Implicated in Game Fixing; Nov. 29, 1979, and Jan. 31, 1983: Baseball Commissioner Suspends Mickey Mantle and Willie Mays for Casino Ties; Feb. 28, 1986: Baseball Commissioner Peter Ueberroth Suspends Players for Cocaine Use; Aug. 24, 1989: Pete Rose Is Banned from Baseball for Betting on Games; Mar. 17, 2005: Former Baseball Star Mark McGwire Evades Congressional Questions on Steroid Use; July 29, 2008: NBA Referee Tim Donaghy Is Sentenced to Prison for Betting on Games.

July 5, 1948

ACTOR CAROLE LANDIS COMMITS SUICIDE DURING AFFAIR WITH REX HARRISON

Film actor Carole Landis killed herself after her lover, film and stage actor Rex Harrison, refused to leave his wife, actor Lilli Palmer, for her. Harrison afterward denied that either he or the affair itself had caused Landis's death and went on to a long distinguished film career.

LOCALE: Pacific Palisades, California

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; sex; Hollywood; popular culture

KEY FIGURES

Carole Landis (1919-1948), American film actor
Rex Harrison (1908-1990), Oscar-winning British film and stage actor

Lilli Palmer (1914-1986), German-born actor, married to Rex Harrison

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Carole Landis seemed to have it all—beauty, brains (she also was a writer), and the ability to sing her own songs in musicals without her voice having to be dubbed. However, she was unlucky in love, with four failed marriages and numerous affairs that led nowhere. One affair was with Rex Harrison, whose own sexual peccadilloes were legendary (he was known as Sexy Remy). Married at the time to his second wife, actor Lilli Palmer, Harrison nonetheless carried on a liaison with Landis but refused to divorce Palmer to marry Landis.

The youngest of five children, Landis came from a broken home and lost two of her brothers to tragic accidents during her childhood. After her family, led by her mother, moved to California, Landis became fascinated with the glamour of Hollywood. As a youngster, she gave an impromptu singing performance at an amateur-night contest, began placing high in beauty contests, and organized a short-lived football team for girls in high school. At the age of fifteen, she eloped with her first husband and

remarried him some time after the first marriage was annulled, but the second marriage did not last either. She also dropped out of school at the age of fifteen, wanting to devote herself to becoming a star.

After she saved money from jobs as a sales girl, waitress, and movie-theater usher, Landis took a bus north to San Francisco, changed her name, and dyed her hair blond. She began landing jobs as a dancer (her first job was as part of a hula-dance duo), singer, and small-role player in films, including *A Star is Born* (1937). Musical choreographer Busby Berkeley was sufficiently impressed with her to help get her a contract with Warner Bros. Berkeley later proposed marriage but changed his mind because of vague rumors that she had been a call girl when she first came to Hollywood.

Landis next performed in a stage show starring Bob Hope. Moving to Republic Pictures, she had leading roles in two small Westerns (one starring a young John Wayne) and a twelve-chapter serial. However, her breakthrough role came as a cave girl, wearing a skimpy costume that showed off her fabulous figure, in the Hal Roach production *One Million B.C.* (1940). It was a low-budget film (the prehistoric beasts were magnified lizards) but was nominated for Oscars for special effects and musical score.

Landis married again in 1940, but the marriage ended within the year. Among her high-profile escorts around this time were Charles Chaplin, Victor Mature, George Montgomery, and Cesar Romero, whom she later described as her favorite leading man.

During World War II, Landis took part in war-bond rallies, flew with the Civilian Air Patrol, and visited soldiers at the Hollywood Canteen. In 1942 and 1943, she joined actor Kay Francis, comedian Martha Raye, and dancer Mitzi Mayfair on trips to Europe and North Africa to entertain U.S. soldiers.



Carole Landis. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Landis found time for her third marriage, to a former air squadron commander in London. Back in the United States in 1943, she was honored as having traveled more miles and done more entertaining for the war effort than any female celebrity of the time.

Landis wrote a book about her wartime adventures, *Four Jills in a Jeep*, which was first serialized in the magazine *The Saturday Evening Post*. In 1944, the book was made into a film in which she, Francis, Raye, and Mayfair played themselves, but the picture did lackluster business. Later that year, Landis again went on tour with a USO troupe, led by Jack Benny, to the South Pacific. She became ill with amoebic dysentery and malaria and nearly died of pneumonia. She never fully regained her health and, later that year, separated from husband number three. They divorced the following year.

In 1945, Landis appeared in a musical comedy

on Broadway along with future novelist Jacqueline Susann. She and Susann developed an intimate relationship, and Landis showered Susann with gifts that included jewelry and a mink coat. Susann's best-selling novel *Valley of the Dolls* (1966) features an actor who commits suicide by overdosing on pills. Some readers believe the character is based on Marilyn Monroe but others suggest she was based on Landis. In the 1967 film version of the novel, the character was played by Sharon Tate, an actor who was murdered with four others by the notorious Manson family in 1969.

Susann introduced Landis to a millionaire Broadway actor and producer named W. Horace Schmidlapp, whom Landis married near the end of the year. He was her last husband (they were in the process of divorce when she died). In the summer of 1947, Landis met British actor Harrison, who was then married to the second of what would be six wives—German actor Palmer. Landis and Harrison, however, did not let their marriages stand in the way of their passionate affair. In 1948, columnist Walter Winchell predicted that Harrison would eventually become Landis's fifth husband, causing public interest in the affair to peak. With her career fading in Hollywood, Landis went to England to make some pictures, and Harrison followed with his family. Eventually catching on to the affair, Palmer took her and Harrison's three-year-old son and returned to New York.

Landis and Harrison reconnected upon their returns to the United States, although Harrison consistently denied the existence of an affair when queried by reporters. The two met for dinner on the Fourth of July in 1948, and Landis learned that Harrison would be returning to England to do a play. After Harrison left about nine o'clock, Landis filled a small suitcase with letters he had written to her and placed it outside the house of another actor they both knew. She returned home, drank several cocktails, wrote a note to her mother apologizing for what she was going to be putting her through, and wrote a note to her maid to check on her pet cat's sore paw. Landis took enough barbiturates to have been fatal five times over, according to the autopsy. She was just twenty-nine years old.

After returning to Los Angeles, Harrison tried to telephone Landis several times the next morning, then came to her house early in the afternoon and found Landis's body. He informed Landis's maid and then left the house. It was the maid who called authorities. Harrison did not call them until more than one hour after he discovered Landis's body. Someone gave Harrison the suitcase of letters that Landis had collected. Harrison promptly burned them.

Rejoined by his wife a few days later, Harrison told reporters there was no love affair between him and Landis and that they were merely friends. Palmer proclaimed her love for Harrison and said they had a happy marriage. The coroner's inquest was covered by reporters, photographers, and even radio announcers. Harrison testified that he had no idea why Landis would have killed herself. That Landis had attempted suicide in the past tended to support the view that her death was indeed a suicide. Thousands of people, including Harrison and Palmer, attended her funeral on July 10. Harrison and Palmer slipped out a side door as the ceremony was ending to avoid the press and public.

IMPACT

Although Landis, at the time of her death, had been suffering from depression and a fading career, either or both of which could have contributed to her suicide, the public blamed Harrison for her death. Harrison lost his film contract with Twentieth Century Fox, but his career did not slow down, despite public opinion. He went on to win many acting honors, including for his performance on Broadway

and also in the film version of the musical *My Fair Lady*. He and Palmer divorced in 1957 and he married four more times. Adding a further twist to the scandal of Landis's suicide by overdose was the suicide of Harrison's fifth wife, Rachel Roberts. She also killed herself with an overdose of sleeping pills.

—Paul Dellinger

FURTHER READING

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Harrison, Rex. *A Damned Serious Business*. New York: Bantam Books, 1991. The British actor's autobiography, covering his professional career on stage and screen but with little information on his personal life.

Walker, Alexander. *Fatal Charm: The Life of Rex Harrison*. London: Orion, 2002. A balanced treatment of Harrison's achievements as an actor. Also explores his affairs, his unfaithfulness to all six of his wives, and the emotional injury he inflicted on the women in his life.

SEE ALSO: June 25, 1906: Millionaire Heir Murders Architect Stanford White; 1909-1916: Dancer Isadora Duncan Begins Affair with Millionaire Heir; Sept. 4, 1932: Film Star Jean Harlow's Husband Is an Apparent Suicide; Dec. 16, 1935: Film Star Thelma Todd's Death Cannot Be Explained; Apr. 4, 1958: Actor Lana Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover.

August 4, 1948

COLUMNIST DREW PEARSON EXPOSES CONGRESSMAN'S CORRUPTION

U.S. representative J. Parnell Thomas, former chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities during the McCarthy era, was convicted of running a kickback scheme, through which he received the salaries of nonworking members of his staff. Muckraking columnist Drew Pearson was tipped about the corruption by Thomas's secretary, with whom Thomas had a long-time affair. Pearson wrote a series of columns that broke in The Washington Post.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; corruption; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

J. Parnell Thomas (1895-1970), U.S. representative from New Jersey, 1937-1950, and chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities

Drew Pearson (1897-1969), journalist and cowriter of the syndicated column *Washington Merry-Go-Round* with Robert S. Allen

Helen Campbell (fl. mid-twentieth century), Thomas's secretary, who had a long-time affair with the Congress member

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The August 4, 1948, muckraking column *Washington Merry-Go-Round*, written by Drew Pearson and published in *The Washington Post*, broke the story that U.S. congressman J. Parnell Thomas, the powerful but irascible chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities, had been running a kickback scheme involving supposed members of his staff. In one case, he placed on his payroll a clerk named Myra Midiiff at an annual salary of \$1,300, with the understanding that she was to kick back her salary to the congressman in exchange for not working.

Thomas was born John Parnell Feeney, Jr., in Jersey City in an era when a clearly Irish name was considered a hindrance to political success. It was in 1920 that Thomas, believing he could achieve greater recognition and business under his mother's family name, changed his last name. After World War I, Thomas entered conservative New Jersey Republican politics. In 1925, he won a seat on the Allendale borough council. From 1926 to 1930, he served as mayor of Allendale, and in 1935 was elected a representative from Bergen County to the New Jersey state assembly.

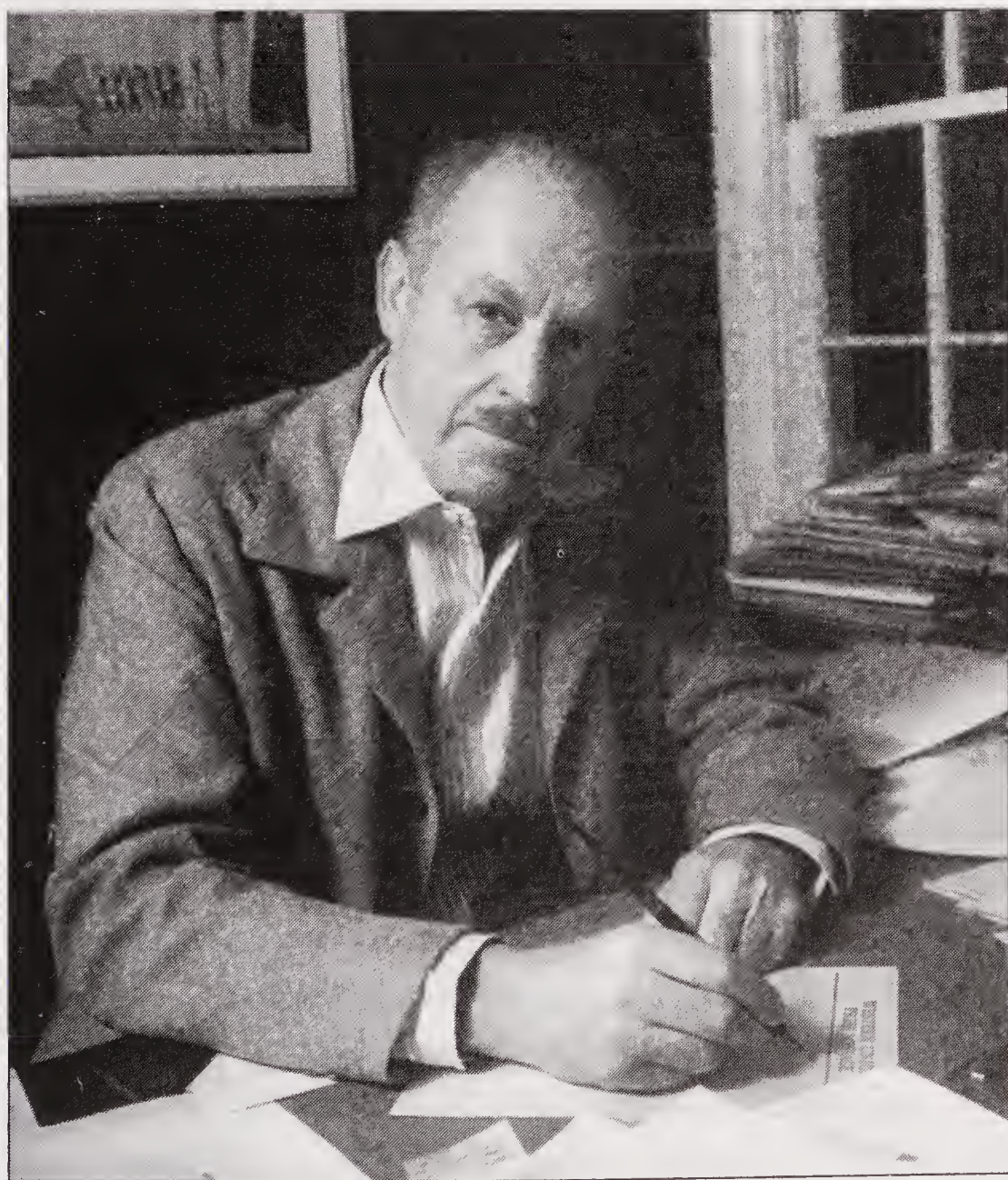
Controversy and publicity surrounded Thomas during his brief assembly tenure. In a foreshadowing of later events, opponents questioned his political ethics and accused him of undue profits from the sale of bonds to the state. In the spring of 1936, the Republican state committee picked Thomas to run for the Seventh Congressional District seat. That fall he won the first of six successive terms in the U.S. House of Representatives.

Thomas became a member of the Military Affairs Committee and supported the Lend-Lease Act of 1941, favoring aid to Great Britain during World War II, and then emerged as a leading opponent of civilian control of peacetime atomic energy. He maintained that military control would prevent domination by "subversive" scientists. Shortly after being appointed in 1938 to the Special Committee on Un-American Activities (called the Dies Committee for its chairman, Martin Dies) to investigate communism in U.S. politics, Thomas attacked as communist the Works Progress Administration's Federal Theater and Writers' projects. He saw his mission to uncover liberal "fellow travelers" as well.

After the 1946 congressional elections, in which the Republicans gained control of the House, Thomas became chairman of the newly renamed House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC) in 1947, where he began using a tactic that

ultimately led to a series of contempt-of-Congress citations against uncooperative witnesses. His tactic was to replace an uncooperative witness unwilling to testify with one of the committee's own investigators, who in turn disclosed what information it had on the witness. Thomas and his blatant partisanship and dictatorial tactics drew criticism from the Harry S. Truman administration and civil libertarians.

Thomas would claim that his career was ended by scandal because of his low salary (\$10,000 per year), which he believed was inadequate for advancing in Washington, D.C. By 1940, to increase his income, Thomas devised what he considered to be a foolproof scheme: to kick back to himself the net salaries of nonworking persons on his staff. In addition, he would pay the taxes on staff salaries at a lower tax bracket. The scheme, which included strangers, a housekeeper, an aunt, and a daughter-in-law, worked until 1948, when his long-time secretary, Helen Campbell, with whom he was in-



Drew Pearson. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

Drew Pearson Exposes Congressman's Corruption

volved romantically for decades, revealed Thomas's secret. Allegedly in love with the married Thomas and knowledgeable about his kickbacks, she turned on him when she discovered that he had been unfaithful to her. She reported his criminal activities to columnist Drew Pearson, who was a staunch critic of Thomas. Pearson's first column on Thomas's scheme, "Thomas Held Ignoring Old Adage," appeared on August 4 in *The Washington Post* and was the first column in a series. The others were published on August 7 ("Probe of Files Suggested"), August 10 ("Political Donors Expect Favors"), August 13 ("Thomas Makes Insurance Story"), and August 14 ("Truman Has Thomas Trouble").

Pearson explored all elements of Thomas's office payroll practices and investigated his kickback schemes. In October, a federal grand jury began investigating the accusations. Thomas denied all of the charges against him, claiming that they were the dirty tricks of his political enemies, who, he claimed, faked the bank accounts that detailed his kickbacks. To get the U.S. Department of Justice to drop the charges and to prove his innocence, he appealed to the American Legion and to other congressional leaders. However, their attempts failed. Thomas was able to secure five trial postponements by faking illnesses, including unnecessary surgery to finagle a hospital stay, but a sixth attempted postponement failed when Walter Reed Army Medical Center refused to admit him.

Thomas finally went to trial in late 1949, to great dramatic effect. He disrupted the proceedings by suddenly pleading no contest and throwing himself at the mercy of the court, amid a great display of crying. He was fined \$10,000 for the crime of embezzling \$8,000 and was sentenced to prison for a period not to exceed eighteen months. He resigned from the House on January 2, 1950, and served nearly nine months in federal prison at Danbury, Connecticut, before he was pardoned by President Truman. Ironically, one of his fellow inmates was Ring Lardner, Jr., one of the Hollywood Ten, who appeared before HUAC.

In 1954, Thomas tried to reclaim his old seat but he failed, and his political career was over. He moved to Florida in 1956 and lived there until his death in 1970.

IMPACT

The Thomas scandal undoubtedly delighted those who had appeared before HUAC during Thomas's tenure, but it also uncovered the Congress member as a coward who used tears and other dramatic effects during his trial to get the court to show mercy for him. The devious methods he employed and the blunders he committed eventually caught up with him, when his corruption and public immorality caused his total banishment from the political scene.

Thomas represented the all-too common American story of the small timer who went to Washington, D.C., and found he could not handle the temptation. Thomas's case was especially ironic because in his early political career, he straddled the fine line of sometimes questionable dealings against an attempt to stay away from any activity that might be considered illegal and would blemish his transit from the mayoralty of a New Jersey town to his election in 1937 to Congress. Along the way there even was a name change.

The Thomas scandal, along with the attention HUAC generated during his time as chairman, focused attention on the kind of person whom members of Congress and party leaders appointed to lead such a committee. Thomas's ultimate disgrace was not seen by those who allowed him membership on the Dies Committee in 1938, but it was seen in subsequent years. He gradually unveiled evidence of his questionable characteristics. The shameful manner in which he ended his career was, in a sense, another perverse irony as he faced the same scrutiny in court that he inflicted on HUAC witnesses during the scandalous McCarthy era.

—Martin J. Manning

FURTHER READING

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during the period when Parnell was chairman, with discussion of Thomas's difficult personality and blatant unfairness toward witnesses he considered un-American or communist or both.

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Pearson, Drew, and Jack Anderson. *The Case Against Congress: A Compelling Indictment of Corruption on Capitol Hill*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1968. An account of Capitol Hill corruption by journalist Drew Pearson and his fellow columnist of *Washington Merry-Go-Round*.

Stripling, Robert E. *The Red Plot Against America*. New York: Arno Press, 1977. Stripling was a long-time member of HUAC, who was appointed the committee's chief investigator in 1947, the same year that Thomas became chairman. The book, which appeared serially early in 1949, describes Stripling's work with HUAC, including many of the hearings with which he was involved.

SEE ALSO: May 16, 1934: General Douglas MacArthur Sues Newspaper Columnist for Libel; June 23, 1967: Senator Thomas J. Dodd Is Censured for Misappropriating Funds; May 31, 1989: Speaker of the House Jim Wright Resigns in Ethics Scandal; June 1, 1994: Congressman Dan Rostenkowski Is Indicted in House Post Office Scandal; June 4, 2007: Congressman William J. Jefferson Is Indicted for Corruption.

August 31, 1948

FILM STAR ROBERT MITCHUM IS ARRESTED FOR DRUG POSSESSION

Film actor Robert Mitchum was arrested for drug possession at the Hollywood Hills home of another actor. After pleading no contest at his arraignment, he served fifty days in jail. Three years later, a not-guilty plea replaced his earlier plea, and the case was expunged from the records. Known for often playing “heavies” and hard-boiled antiheroes, Mitchum became an even bigger star after his release from jail.

LOCALE: Los Angeles, California

CATEGORIES: Drugs; Hollywood; law and the courts; public morals

KEY FIGURES

Robert Mitchum (1917-1997), American film actor

Lila Leeds (1928-1999), American film actor

Robin Ford (fl. 1940's), bartender

Howard Hughes (1905-1976), American businessman, film producer, and head of RKO Radio Pictures

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Even as a young actor, Robert Mitchum projected self-assurance and strength on-screen, in addition to a sense of existential detachment that deepened as he aged. He began his movie career during World War II, appearing mostly in Westerns. In 1944, he signed a seven-year contract with RKO Radio Pictures. After a short time in the U.S. Army, he was nominated for an Academy Award for his impressive supporting performance in *The Story of G.I. Joe* (1945).

In the years following the war, Mitchum would become one of the only Hollywood stars who consistently played villains. Nevertheless, his performances displayed considerable versatility. *Out of the Past* (1947) was one of a string of B-films produced by RKO that featured Mitchum. It would

later become celebrated as the quintessential example of American film noir; Mitchum's resonant portrayal of private eye Jeff Bailey led critic Roger Ebert to state that Mitchum “embodies the soul of film noir.”

As the Cold War developed, those who worked in the film industry came under scrutiny regarding their loyalty and their adherence to American values. The commissioner of the Federal Bureau of Narcotics, Harry J. Anslinger, convinced many that marijuana was what he called a “killer weed,” the use of which would inevitably lead to using hard drugs.

Mitchum was quite conservative politically, but he also was a hard drinker and marijuana user. He and others in the film industry were put under surveillance in one of the periodic cleansing operations in which the Los Angeles Police Department (LAPD) publicly shames and punishes film celebrities.

In the summer of 1948, Mitchum was earning three thousand dollars per week, a princely sum at the time; however, his marriage was strained and his wife and children were living in Delaware. Always generous, he was taking bartender Robin Ford to dinner on the night of August 31. Ford, later described by Mitchum as a hanger-on, insisted that they stop at a cottage in Laurel Canyon—in the Hollywood Hills—presumably so Ford could make a phone call. The house had been rented to Lila Leeds, a twenty-year-old who earlier had been under contract to Warner Bros. studio. Another young woman with film aspirations, Vicki Evans, also lived at the house that Mitchum and Ford reached around midnight.

Narcotics officers from the LAPD had arrived at the cottage two hours earlier and were watching the place from outside, listening through open windows as Leeds received telephone calls from Ford. Leeds offered marijuana cigarettes to Mitchum and



Robert Mitchum, left, and Robin Ford wait at Los Angeles County jail following their arrest for drug possession. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Ford, which they accepted. Within minutes, Detective Sergeant Alva M. Barr and Sergeant J. B. McKinnon entered the house, guns drawn, and arrested the party of four. The police report of the raid indicated that Mitchum had been under surveillance for eight months and that the house at 8443 Ridpath Drive had been bugged for five months.

Mitchum was convicted of one felony count of conspiring to possess; his case was submitted without defense. RKO head Howard Hughes wanted Mitchum to fight the charges, but the actor refused any preferential treatment. He spent one week in a county jail, then forty-three days (February 16-March 30, 1946) at a prison farm in Castaic, California, north of Los Angeles.

The arrest and trial generated headlines for weeks, and Mitchum's prison stay was documented by photographs that appeared in *Life* magazine. The brawny star was shown posing in his prison uniform and performing various tasks. Known for his sarcastic sense of humor, the actor described his incarceration as "like Palm Springs, but without the riff-raff."

Investigations by Hughes and by Mitchum's attorney found evidence of a direct link between the marijuana raid and Dorothy Mitchum's testimony against her husband's former business manager, Paul Behrmann, who was subsequently convicted of embezzlement. Furthermore, it was discovered that Ford had been the one who alerted police that Mitchum would be at Leeds's home in Laurel Canyon the night-early morning he was arrested. The case was reopened by the Los Angeles County district attorney's office, and Mitchum's sentence was overturned on January 31, 1951, a ruling that received little press notice.

Mitchum's September, 1948, arrest was not his first, nor was it his last. He had been arrested eleven times for minor infractions. He spent one week on a chain gang in Georgia for vagrancy when he was a teenager and was jailed for two days after a family fight in 1945. Later altercations, often involving excessive drinking and fighting, most notoriously with a heavyweight boxer, confirmed Mitchum's reputation as a tough guy, off-screen as well as on. Biographer Lee Server claims that Mitchum continued smoking marijuana until late in life. Perhaps this smoking habit influenced the teenagers who were polled in 1968 and voted Mitchum "coolest celebrity."

The actor's conviction on drug charges affected his career in general as well, but only to a point. U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower banned the showing of Mitchum's films in the White House. Colonel Dean E. Hess did not want Mitchum to portray him in the historical drama *Battle Hymn* (1957). What affected the actor most, however, was deeply personal: the dismissal of his son from the private school where he was enrolled.

The RKO films starring Mitchum that were released soon after the actor's arrest—*Rachel and the*

Stranger (1948) and *Blood on the Moon* (1948)—and the Republic Pictures production *The Red Pony* (1949), were all successful. Hughes had rushed *The Big Steal* (1949) into production, hoping to keep Mitchum out of jail, but the request was denied by the court; consequently, the shoot went on hiatus until after Mitchum's release. His re-entry into film production was a drunken one, as he arrived intoxicated at the filming site in Mexico.

Despite his deserved reputation as a hell raiser, the enigmatic Mitchum also was widely respected as an intelligent, unpretentious, hard-working, technically skilled performer who managed an active career for more than a half a century, a rarity in the notoriously fickle movie industry. Although Mitchum was a consistently bankable actor across genres, two villainous portrayals—as the singing preacher in *Night of the Hunter* (1955) and the ex-con rapist in *Cape Fear* (1962)—stand among his best and among the most menacing in American film history. Also notable were subtle performances as a circumspect schoolmaster in *Ryan's Daughter* (1970), an aging hood in *The Friends of Eddie Coyle* (1973), and a world-weary detective in *Farewell, My Lovely* (1975).

Mitchum's last starring roles were on television, playing military officers in two blockbuster miniseries (*The Winds of War* in 1983 and *War and Remembrance* in 1988). He starred in Jim Jarmusch's *Dead Man* (1995) and appeared in small roles in the last years before his death in 1997 from lung cancer and emphysema. Certainly not all of the more than one hundred films in Mitchum's filmography are noteworthy, but this intuitive actor often made a weak picture better and a good picture memorable. Many contemporary critics consider Mitchum the most underrated actor of his generation.

IMPACT

Film scholar Richard Dyer claims in his book *Stars* (1979) that while the careers of some Hollywood stars are seriously damaged, even destroyed, by scandals, Mitchum benefited from the publicity surrounding his imbroglio with marijuana. Already known as one of the film industry's most swaggering bad boys, the actor solidified his reputation as

Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession

an adventuresome maverick tough enough to handle a jail sentence (albeit a short one) with ease.

Studio head Hughes, although initially worried about the financial repercussions of Mitchum's arrest, was impressed by the actor's ability to serve his time unfazed. Hughes also was surprised by the surge of support, curiosity, and sensation that accelerated the wayward star's box-office appeal.

—Carolyn Anderson

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Server, Lee. *Robert Mitchum: "Baby, I Don't Care."* New York: St. Martin's Press, 2001. This biographical account is based on many rare documents and scores of interviews with Mitchum's family, friends, and colleagues.

Tomkies, Mike. *The Robert Mitchum Story*. New York: W. H. Allen, 1972. Draws on interviews with the actor and features extensive coverage of the marijuana arrest of 1948. Includes photographs and a filmography.

SEE ALSO: Jan. 18, 1923: Actor Wallace Reid's Death in Drug Rehab Shakes Film Industry; Feb. 6, 1942: Film Star Errol Flynn Is Acquitted of Rape; Jan. 14, 1943: Film Star Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized; May, 1955: Scandal Magazine Reveals Actor Rory Calhoun's Criminal Past; Apr. 4, 1958: Actor Lana Turner's Daughter Kills Turner's Gangster Lover; 1978: Actor Joan Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir, *Mommie Dearest*; July 18, 1988: Actor Rob Lowe Videotapes Sexual Tryst with a Minor; June 27, 1995: Film Star Hugh Grant Is Arrested for Lewd Conduct; July 28, 2006: Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making Anti-Semitic Remarks.

May 27, 1949

ACTOR RITA HAYWORTH MARRIES ALY KHAN AFTER ADULTEROUS AFFAIR

American film star Rita Hayworth married the Ismaili Muslim prince Aly Khan of Pakistan after a well-publicized intercontinental courtship that had begun while both of them were already married to others. Hayworth was also two months pregnant at the time of her wedding, a fact that added fuel to the already volatile scandal.

LOCALE: Vallauris, France

CATEGORIES: Families and children; public morals; religion; royalty; sex

KEY FIGURES

Rita Hayworth (1918-1987), American film star
Prince Aly Khan (1911-1960), Pakistani Muslim religious leader, son of Aga Khan III

Aga Khan III (1877-1957), imam of the Ismaili sect, father of Aly Khan

Orson Welles (1915-1985), American actor and filmmaker, married to Hayworth

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The May 27, 1949, marriage of Hollywood film star Rita Hayworth to Muslim prince Aly Khan of Pakistan was the culmination of a whirlwind courtship that had begun less than two years earlier. Between film assignments and on a trip to Europe, Hayworth had attended a charity ball in Paris; also present at this benefit was Khan, who was eager to meet the beautiful film star. Soon after the ball, they were introduced at a dinner party in Cannes, France, by noted society host Elsa Maxwell. Hayworth and Khan soon began to see each other, even though Hayworth's divorce from Orson Welles was not officially final. The prince himself was still married to Joan Yarde-Buller Guinness, with whom he had two young sons, Karim and Aryn.

Because Khan was an internationally known Muslim leader, and because the moral climate of the late 1940's was relatively strict, the couple had to

tread carefully in their attempts to spend time together, especially in public places. Avoiding aggressive reporters proved to be impossible for the pair, as they were rushed past news writers and photographers while on a trip through Spain. The couple experienced similar ambushes by story-hungry journalists, or paparazzi, on visits to Mexico and Cuba.

Hayworth had moved into the prince's château in the south of France but then returned to the United States to resume her film career. Khan followed her to Los Angeles, staying in a rented house in Brentwood, close to the studios. The couple's overt relationship was considered sensational by the standards of the time.

Hayworth refused to take the lead role in a film assigned to her at Columbia Studios, where she was under contract, as her relationship with Khan began to take a toll on her public and professional image. Facing negative reaction from varying quarters in the United States, including a suspension from the studio, Hayworth accepted Khan's invitation that she abandon her film career to be with him.

This decision only magnified the scandal. The press dogged the pair as they separately boarded the RMS *Britannic* for Great Britain. Hayworth's public travels with a married man drew criticism and condemnation from the British press, the Roman Catholic Church hierarchy, and perhaps most important for the couple, Khan's father, Aga Khan III. While in Gstaad, Switzerland, the prince received an ultimatum from his father: Either end the affair completely or marry Hayworth. Confronted with this choice, Hayworth agreed to accompany Khan to Cannes so they could meet his father and secure his permission to marry. The meeting went well; Hayworth and Aga Khan responded positively to each other. The couple announced their engagement to the press.

On November 10, 1948, Hayworth had been

granted a divorce from her second husband, actor and filmmaker Orson Welles, with whom she had one daughter, Rebecca (three years old at the time of the divorce). The divorce decree would not become final until December 1. The matter of Khan's marriage still needed to be resolved. On February 19, 1949, Khan and his wife appeared in a French court for the requisite and routine attempt at reconciliation, which failed as expected, paving the way for the final decree. That decree was granted on April 7, more than one month ahead of schedule. In the divorce agreement, Khan was granted uncontested custody of his two sons. Sandwiched between these events, in March, was the discovery that Hayworth was pregnant.

The wedding was set for May 27. Khan's request to Paul Derignon, the mayor of Vallauris, France, to bar reporters from the town-hall civil ceremony was initially granted. However, at the last moment, the journalists were permitted to enter the back of the room where the vows were exchanged. On the following day, the couple married in a Muslim ceremony. The legitimization of the relationship appeased Aga Khan and Aly Khan's religious followers, but the Vatican remained critical of Hayworth, a Roman Catholic, for marrying outside the Church. On December 28, 1949, Hayworth gave birth to a 5.5-pound girl, Princess Yasmin.

Hayworth and Khan's marriage was short-lived. Hayworth soon tired of her new husband's affinity for party-going, party-throwing, and extramarital relationships. In addition, she never was comfortable with the fishbowl existence that was an unavoidable part of the role of princess. Realizing that life with Khan would not provide the solitude and simplicity she desired, Hayworth took the initial steps to end the marriage. On April 28, 1951, her attorney announced to the press that she was seeking a divorce from Khan.

By May 10, Hayworth had rented a home in Glenbrook, Lake Tahoe, to begin a six-week residence requirement for those seeking a divorce in the state of Nevada. Although Hayworth could have had her final decree at the end of the six-week period because Khan failed to respond to a summons to appear in Nevada within thirty days of receipt of that summons, she allowed about eighteen months to lapse before making the divorce official. The primary reason for this delay was twofold.

First, there had been some consideration of reconciliation between Hayworth and Khan, although this attempt was mainly to avoid upsetting Aga Khan, who earlier had suffered a heart attack. Sec-



Rita Hayworth and Aly Khan at their wedding in France. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

ond, Hayworth was concerned about the custody and safety of daughter Yasmin, who had been the target of multiple death threats during the divorce proceedings. On November 20, 1953, after a satisfactory child visitation and financial agreement was reached, Hayworth signed the divorce papers, which granted her custody of her daughter.

IMPACT

The marriage of Hayworth and Khan, along with the events that immediately preceded and followed the ceremony, provides a valuable snapshot of public opinion, values, and interests during the mid-twentieth century. During the late 1940's, people were shocked and outraged that a married woman and a married man would openly have an intimate relationship outside those respective marriages. Hayworth's suspension from her home studio, partially attributable to her relationship with the prince, is another relic of the time. During the early twenty-first century, however, the public still relished a contentious celebrity custody battle, much as it did during the early 1950's. At the same time, however, the social taboo against adultery has relaxed since midcentury, at least in Western culture.

On a less universal level, it can be argued that the Hayworth-Khan relationship was detrimental to the careers of both figures. Hayworth would never regain the star status she relinquished when she left Hollywood and married the prince, and while Khan was named Pakistan's representative to the United Nations, he was bypassed for designation as imam, or Aga Khan IV, an honor that went, instead, to Khan's eldest son, Karim, when Aga Khan III died on July 11, 1957.

—Cecilia Donohue

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McLean, Adrienne L. *Being Rita Hayworth: Labor, Identity, and Hollywood Stardom*. Piscataway, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2004. Full-length scholarly work that argues that Hayworth's career exerted a major impact on her life choices.

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SEE ALSO: Jan. 20, 1933: Hedy Lamarr Appears Nude in the Czech Film *Exstase*; Summer, 1936: Film Star Mary Astor's Diary Becomes a Public Sensation; Feb. 7, 1950: Swedish Film Star Ingrid Bergman Has a Child Out of Wedlock; Dec. 12, 1957: Rock Star Jerry Lee Lewis Marries Thirteen-Year-Old Cousin; 1978: Actor Joan Crawford's Daughter Publishes Damning Memoir, *Mommie Dearest*; Feb. 1, 1978: Roman Polanski Flees the United States to Avoid Rape Trial; Jan. 13, 1992: Woody Allen Has Affair with Lover Mia Farrow's Adopted Daughter.

August 26, 1949

VIET MINH BROADCASTS FRENCH GENERAL'S DAMAGING REPORT

General Georges Revers developed a report on opinions of French officers about France's war against communists in Indochina. The French were having problems pacifying the area, and Revers's report outlined these problems and possible solutions. The Viet Minh resistance obtained a copy, which it broadcast on radio. Revers was dismissed, and in 1950, the French government created a commission of inquiry to investigate.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Generals' affair; Revers Report

LOCALES: Paris, France; French Indochina (now Vietnam)

CATEGORIES: Military; politics; government; corruption; publishing and journalism; colonialism and imperialism

KEY FIGURES

Georges Revers (1891-1974), chief of the French general staff, 1946-1949

Charles Emmanuel Mast (1889-1977), French resident-general of Tunisia, 1943-1947

SUMMARY OF EVENT

By the end of World War II, many areas of Southeast Asia that had been under years of colonial rule by European powers hoped to win their independence. French Indochina was no exception. Partially occupied by Japan during the war, the people of this area, the Vietnamese, formed an underground, communist guerrilla movement. This movement was not focused on defeating the Japanese but on gaining independence from the country's occupiers. These resistance fighters had hoped that with the problems France had faced during the war and with other problems worldwide, they would have their own nation back as soon as the Japanese were defeated. However, this hope would not come to pass.

At the war's end, France, which wanted to reestablish its colonial domination over the area to reaffirm its status as a major world power, returned to Indochina in force, beginning a guerrilla war with the communist underground led by communist leader Ho Chi Minh. This quagmire that the French created would lead directly to American involvement in the region in general and to the Vietnam War specifically.

In 1949, General Georges Revers, the chief of the French general staff, was sent to Vietnam to assess the situation there. Revers was considered perfect for the task. He was an important leader in the French Resistance during World War II, and because of this, was well liked by the French government and the French people. His words would carry a great deal of weight.

As could be expected at this time, France was facing problems in Indochina. It was still recovering from the effects of World War II and trying to project its power far from the European continent in the face of a determined and well-organized resistance. Ho Chi Minh had a great deal of experience in fighting this kind of war and would not be easy to defeat. He learned his trade in China from the example set by Mao Zedong's communist forces. The important difference was that Ho Chi Minh was trying to win independence, not a civil war. He was determined to remove French rule from his country, by any means necessary. However, France could not, and would not, settle for a loss. The nation had just emerged from a horrible war, and a loss in Indochina would add to the humiliation of World War II.

Revers traveled around the entire area of Indochina to talk to military and civilian leaders, seeking a clear picture of what was happening. Indochina was a quagmire. The entire area was well suited for the guerrilla warfare that the resistance was using. The mountainous terrain and poor communications, along with the support of the local people for

the resistance, made the situation bad for the French. The French were trying to use conventional tactics to beat an enemy that would not fight conventionally, leading to the French having a weak hold on the area. Their garrisons were spread out and vulnerable to attack, and the guerrillas were able to move around the nation with impunity.

Revers's report was a full sixty pages, and it was mostly negative. He found a great deal wrong with how France was handling the war, and he made a large number of suggestions on what needed to be done to try and remedy the situation. The report was supposed to be kept secret—for government eyes only—but this was not to be.

The French had been having a great deal of trouble getting information on the Viet Minh resistance, but the Viet Minh was able to secure secret French government documents. On August 26, 1949, parts of Revers's report were broadcast by a Viet Minh radio station. Soon, the French journal *L'Express* had printed parts of the report, which it had received from a confidential source. The Cold War by this point was in full swing, and many people in the West feared intelligence leaks would supply a great deal of secret information to the communist bloc, especially the Soviet Union. The broadcast of parts of the report by the communist resistance in Indochina confirmed the worst fears of the West.

It was later revealed that Revers had given a copy of the report to French general Charles Emmanuel Mast. Mast, in turn, apparently leaked the report to Do Dai Phuoc, a Vietnamese student leader in France who was found with a copy of the report following his arrest for fighting on a bus in Paris. Phuoc said he had received the report from a Vietnamese socialist who, in turn, told police he received the report from Mast. Questioned later, Revers admitted to having passed the report to Mast. While Revers did not technically leak the report, he was the initial messenger whose action allowed the wrong people—the communist resistance in Indochina—to see the report.

IMPACT

The leak of the Revers Report proved how difficult it was to conduct intelligence gathering and to keep

military and government secrets during the Cold War. The report itself was not especially damaging. What was damaging was the ease with which a secret document could fall into the hands of so many so quickly.

Revers lost his job in December, 1949, and was replaced by General Clement Blanc. Revers would never receive another command. In January, 1950, the National Assembly of France created a commission of inquiry about the affair, but now it was too late. The damage had been done and the information was out.

Revers and Mast would pay the price for their actions, but France would not be able to recover in Indochina. The end of French colonial rule of the region would come a few short years later at Dien Bien Phu, and the United States would step in to keep Indochina (divided in 1954 into North and South Vietnam) from becoming communist, embroiling Americans in the Vietnam War.

—Michael S. Frawley

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New York Times Publishes the Pentagon Papers; July 8-22, 1972: Jane Fonda's Visit to North Vietnam Outrages Many Americans.

January 21, 1950

ALGER HISS IS CONVICTED OF PERJURY

A former U.S. State Department official, Alger Hiss was accused of being a communist spy by Whittaker Chambers, a former Communist Party member. After Chambers repeated the accusation on national television, Hiss sued him for libel. Hiss, in turn, was tried for perjury for denying to a grand jury that he passed documents to the Soviets and that he knew Chambers. The case remains one of espionage in the public memory, even though Hiss was never formally charged with spying.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Alger Hiss (1904-1996), attorney and former State Department staff member

Whittaker Chambers (1901-1961), newspaper editor and former Communist Party member

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The perjury trial of Alger Hiss was held in the first few years of the fight against communism by Western powers following World War II. The scandal began with the investigations and hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), whose purpose was to ferret out communist infiltrators in the U.S. government. As the HUAC hearings took place in the summer and fall of 1948, they became themselves part of the larger picture of an emerging Cold War international politics that heightened public concerns about Soviet espionage in the 1930's and 1940's.

The HUAC hearings in which Whittaker Chambers was called to testify and which form the basis of the case against Hiss began within a larger political context of postwar U.S. domestic and international politics. Domestically, a federal loyalty program required that all federal employees take an oath against communism, and U.S. Congress members sponsored a bill outlawing the Communist Party in the United States. Internationally, the first major Cold War event to suggest a communist infiltration of the U.S. State Department was the 1945 Amerasia affair, in which federal agents raided the editorial office of the foreign affairs and communist-leaning journal *Amerasia* and found hundreds of classified federal documents.

The scandal involved two persons who could not have been more different. Hiss had an impeccable family background. He was a Harvard-trained lawyer and a former clerk of U.S. Supreme Court justice Oliver Wendell Holmes, Jr. In 1933, Hiss accepted an offer to work in President Franklin D. Roosevelt's administration, for which he served in various capacities. In 1936, he joined the U.S. State Department and was the key State official who presided over the meeting that founded the United Nations in 1945. After leaving the State Department in 1947, he joined the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace as its president. Chambers, on the other hand, was a Columbia University dropout, a confessed former member of the Communist Party, and a journalist who came from a poor and troubled Philadelphia family.

Although hardly insightful, the HUAC proceedings exposed Hiss and Chambers for repeatedly giving stories that for the most part flatly contra-

dicted each other. Chambers identified Hiss as a comrade of a Communist Party cell that operated in Washington, D.C., in 1930's. Hiss not only denied any membership in the party but also claimed an unwavering loyalty to the United States.

Initially, Chambers's testimony did not include charges of espionage against Hiss, but in a subsequent grand jury hearing, Chambers amended his previous statements to include espionage claims against Hiss for receiving and passing State Department documents to the Soviets. Chambers also testified that at a meeting hastily arranged to meet with the assistant secretary of state, Adolf Bearle, in 1939 he informed Bearle that Hiss was a communist. While a letter introduced at the hearings confirmed Chambers's meeting, the content revealed nothing criminal.

Also testifying before HUAC was Elizabeth Bentley, who supported Chambers's general assertion that a communist cell existed in the U.S. government. Bentley, an admitted Soviet agent, testified that she had been involved in passing documents obtained from a "nameless high-ranking government official" to the Soviets in the 1930's. Also, even though Federal Bureau of Investigation

(FBI) records show that the bureau began targeting Hiss as early as May, 1942, and met with Chambers twice in 1942 and 1945, that record does not confirm that Hiss was a spy. The records simply acknowledge that Chambers had testified that Hiss was one of the members of the Washington, D.C., communist cells operating in the State Department. While it is obvious what the FBI knew at the time, it is unclear what they did with that knowledge.

In his testimony, Chambers alleged that Hiss, among other government employees, had been a communist sympathizer during the Roosevelt and Truman administrations. Most of the alleged communists named by Chambers refused HUAC's request to testify or answer questions, but Hiss was the exception. In a telegram sent to HUAC chairman J. Parnell Thomas following Chambers's testimony accusing him of being a communist, Hiss wrote, "I do not know Mr. Chambers, and insofar as I am aware, have never laid eyes on him." Hiss also requested the right to appear before HUAC and make his denials formally and under oath. Before HUAC on August 5, Hiss's denial of the charges against him was unequivocal, and he pleaded for a face-to-face confrontation with Chambers. He also

challenged Chambers to repeat the charges outside the cover of congressional immunity, that is, outside the hearings.

Chambers repeated part of his testimony against Hiss on the television news program *Meet the Press* on August 27. Hiss sued him for libel, and Chambers countersued. In his filings, Chambers claimed for the first time publicly that Hiss had been a Communist Party informant during his tenure at the State Department. He also claimed that he passed information through Hiss to the Soviets—thereby making a claim of espionage against Hiss. These new claims turned out to be very significant.

Chambers insisted that Hiss



Alger Hiss listens to a question during hearings with the House Committee on Un-American Activities in New York City in 1948. (AP/Wide World Photos)

was one of the most zealous Communist spies operating in Washington during the 1930's, and he provided supporting evidence for his claim by producing fifty-eight microfilm frames of State Department documents that were dated 1938. He also submitted four penciled memoranda in Hiss's handwriting and sixty-five typewritten pages purported to be copies of State Department communication. Chambers added that the typed papers were reproductions from originals made by Hiss's wife, Priscilla Hiss, on a Hiss family typewriter. In Hiss's perjury trial, these documents were key pieces of evidence.

On December 15, Hiss appeared before a federal grand jury in New York City and was indicted on two counts of perjury. In effect, the grand jury believed Chambers but not Hiss. The first count was for denying that he passed classified State Department documents to Chambers in 1938 and the second count was for denying that he met Chambers after 1937. Hiss was tried twice because his first trial ended in a hung jury in July, 1949. His second trial began on November 17, and he was found guilty of both counts on January 21, 1950. He was sentenced to five years in prison. Although the grand jury could not indict Hiss for espionage because he was protected by the statute of limitations, his trial and sentence was widely perceived by the public as an espionage case. That perception rings true today. Chambers, however, was never charged with a crime even though he admitted that he had lied to government officials.

IMPACT

The Hiss perjury and spy case remains notable for several reasons. First, Hiss was a former government official who was alleged to have betrayed his country, but for reasons that remain unclear. Some have argued that he was motivated by a profound ideological belief in communism. Second, the case assumed major political significance because it occurred during the start of

DOMESTIC COMMUNISM

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover testified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities on March 26, 1947, about the threat to Americans from communists—including, many would argue, Alger Hiss—inside the United States.

The communist movement in the United States began to manifest itself in 1919. Since then it has changed its name and its party line whenever expedient and tactical. But always it comes back to fundamentals and bills itself as the party of Marxism-Leninism. As such, it stands for the destruction of our American form of government; it stands for the destruction of American democracy; it stands for the destruction of free enterprise; and it stands for the creation of a "Soviet of the United States" and ultimate world revolution. . . . One thing is certain. The American progress which all good citizens seek, such as old-age security, houses for veterans, child assistance, and a host of others, is being adopted as window dressing by the communists to conceal their true aims and entrap gullible followers. . . . The Communist Party of the United States is a fifth column if there ever was one. It is far better organized than were the Nazis in occupied countries prior to their capitulation. They are seeking to weaken America just as they did in their era of obstruction when they were aligned with the Nazis. Their goal is the overthrow of our government. There is no doubt as to where a real communist's loyalty rests. Their allegiance is to Russia, not the United States. . . .

I would have no fears if more Americans possessed the zeal, the fervor, the persistence and the industry to learn about this menace of Red fascism. I do fear for the liberal and progressive who has been hoodwinked and duped into joining hands with the communists. I confess to a real apprehension so long as communists are able to secure ministers of the gospel to promote their evil work and espouse a cause that is alien to the religion of Christ and Judaism. I do fear so long as school boards and parents tolerate conditions whereby communists and fellow travelers, under the guise of academic freedom, can teach our youth a way of life that eventually will destroy the sanctity of the home, that undermines faith in God, that causes them to scorn respect for constituted authority and sabotage our revered Constitution.

the Cold War. Third, the case was a major catalyst in launching the careers of Richard Nixon and Senator Joseph McCarthy to national prominence. Nixon admitted this in his book *Six Crises* (1962).

For McCarthy, the case provided ammunition for his infamous crusade against alleged communist infiltration of the federal government, which leads to another impact of the Hiss scandal. The case was a major validation of the claim of communist infiltration, and it inspired federal legislation intended to crack down on the American Communist Party.

In a landmark 1999 ruling, a federal judge ordered the release of thousands of pages of grand jury testimony from the Hiss case. Judge Peter K. Leisure stated that some federal cases are of such overriding historical importance that they need to be made public. In 2001, the U.S. House of Representatives ordered the release of all transcripts of HUAC executive-session testimony as well as investigators' notes dating from the very first days of the HUAC hearings in 1948.

—Marc G. Pufong

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February 7, 1950

SWEDISH FILM STAR INGRID BERGMAN HAS A CHILD OUT OF WEDLOCK

Swedish film star Ingrid Bergman had an impeccable moral and professional reputation when she left the United States for Italy to make a film with director Roberto Rossellini. Bergman and Rossellini shocked many when they started a love affair while both were still married to others. Before they married each other, Bergman gave birth to their first child, an even more shocking event at the time.

LOCALES: Stromboli and Rome, Italy

CATEGORIES: Public morals; families and children; sex

KEY FIGURES

Ingrid Bergman (1915-1982), Swedish film star
Roberto Rossellini (1906-1977), Italian film director

Roberto Ingmar Rossellini (b. 1950), the Italian son of Bergman and Rossellini

Petter Lindstrom (1907-2000), Swedish brain surgeon and Bergman's first husband

Pia Lindstrom (b. 1938), American daughter of Bergman and Lindstrom

SUMMARY OF EVENT

At the end of the 1940's, Ingrid Bergman was arguably the world's most famous film actor. Though her career had started in her native Sweden—and she had even worked in Nazi Germany—it was in Hollywood that her career had flourished. Gossip columnists practically canonized her as a person who could do no wrong, praising her naturalness, absence of cosmetic enhancement, and family life.

Family values were stressed in postwar America, and fan magazines featured smiling pictures of film stars at home with their children. Bergman was married to a distinguished physician and the mother of a ten-year-old daughter. She was also a serious performer who did not pose for cheesecake photos,

sought to make serious films, and was best known for her roles as an innocent wife in *Gaslight* (1944), a sacrificing wife in *Casablanca* (1942), and a long-suffering nun in *The Bells of St. Mary's* (1945). She had just finished a well-publicized film portrayal of her childhood idol, Joan of Arc, when the scandal broke.

Robert Capa, a war photographer, took Bergman to view the innovative Italian film *Roma, Citta Operta* (1945; Rome, open city). This powerful story of Italian resistance, with its gritty scenes of devastation, came as a revelation to Bergman. Her Hollywood films, in all their glitter, seemed trivial in relation to such work. She was informed that Roberto Rossellini, the director of the film, worked only in Italy, cared only about truth, and made films in a documentary style. She wrote him a charming, slightly flirtatious letter expressing her admiration and her desire to work with him, though admitting that the only Italian words she knew were *ti amo* (I love you).

For all his artistic loftiness, Rossellini was flattered that a famous Hollywood celebrity would pursue him. He made a trip to the United States, stayed at the home of Bergman and her husband (Petter Lindstrom), and persuaded Bergman to make a film with him in Italy. Bergman later admitted in her memoir that her marriage to Lindstrom had become meaningless by the time of Rossellini's visit, and she had only been waiting for someone to liberate her. Meanwhile, Rossellini, though still married as well, was living separately from his wife with the tempestuous actor Anna Magnani, who performed magnificently in his films. When Bergman left the United States, she told Pia, her daughter, "good-bye," not realizing that it would be several years before she saw her child again. The guilt of this separation from her daughter, at such a critical age, would remain with Bergman for the rest of her life.

On the island of Stromboli, where Rossellini de-

cided to make his film, living conditions were primitive. Instead of professional actors, Rossellini used local fishermen. There was no set story line, and no real dialogue for Bergman to learn. She had no wardrobe mistress, and, without a double, was forced to climb the volcanic mountain, which erupted while they were filming. Unused to Rossellini's methods, she found the work hard, but she easily responded to the ardent demonstrative Italian, who now vowed to possess her as both performer and woman.

Rumors from Stromboli reached the newspapers, and pictures of Bergman and Rossellini, hand in hand, walking through the rugged terrain of Stromboli, appeared in major magazines in Europe and the United States. Rossellini was able to annul his marriage and moved to separate himself from Magnani, who allegedly threw a bowl of hot spaghetti in his face. Lindstrom was more hesitant to give Bergman a divorce, hoping she would still return, and the custody of Pia was a major concern. Subsequent events, together with Bergman's desertion of her family in the United States, settled the custody battle in Lindstrom's favor. However, there was soon an added urgency in Bergman's pleas for a

divorce because she was pregnant, and Rossellini was the father.

Turmoil followed news of the impending birth. A public that had been sold the sanctified image of Bergman now felt betrayed. Hollywood studios feared that her movies would be banned in theaters throughout the United States. During the late 1940's, a time in which attitudes about out-of-wedlock children could ruin a career, studio press agents covered up illicit affairs. Abortions were secret but common in Hollywood, and some actresses presented their illegitimate offspring as adopted.

Roberto Ingmar Rossellini was born February 7, 1950, in a Rome hospital. His birth was greeted with an international uproar. U.S. senator Edwin C. Johnson denounced Bergman on the floor of the U.S. Senate, calling her a disgrace to American womanhood (while acknowledging that she was not a U.S. citizen). Her native Sweden was even less sympathetic, as newspapers complained that she had disgraced her country of birth in front of the entire world. After many complications, Bergman and Rossellini were finally able to marry on May 24. Two years later, twin daughters, Isabella and Isotta, were born to them.

Despite the attractiveness of their growing family and the sacrifices they had made for each other, Bergman and Rossellini were not happy. Rossellini insisted that Bergman work only in his films and the stage plays he directed, and their collaboration did not flourish. Even more than Lindstrom before him, he dominated her life, and his tempestuous personality became difficult for the more placid Bergman. In her autobiography, she claimed that it was with more relief than sorrow that she agreed to their divorce in 1957, after he had left her for a woman he met in India. She later married a third time, to a fellow Swede, but was divorced after twelve years.



Roberto Rossellini and Ingrid Bergman in London in 1956. (AP/Wide World Photos)

IMPACT

For a time Bergman's career was suspended in the United States, while she performed in film and on stage in Europe, always under Rossellini's direction. An especially tasteless manifestation of America's rejection took place in July of 1956. Ed Sullivan, the humorless host of a popular television variety show, negotiated an interview with Bergman from London. Unsure, however, of audience acceptance, he asked viewers to vote by mail on whether or not she should appear. He reminded viewers that Bergman had had six years to do penance and that perhaps now she should be forgiven. When she heard of Sullivan's remarks, Bergman understandably was outraged, declaring that she had enjoyed a good life, had not been doing penance, and would not appear on his show.

Bergman weathered the scandal and came back stronger as a result. After a few years in Europe, she had returned to American films with *Anastasia* (1956), a role for which she was considered too old and inhibited. Still, she won an Oscar for the performance. Americans embraced her with an enthusiasm that suggested the guilt had been theirs rather than hers; fans were now more tolerant. There also was a growing respect for film acting, and it was her work that had helped establish it as a recognized art. She continued making films in both the United States and Europe, even working with the great Swedish director Ingmar Bergman (no relation), whose father had confirmed her in Lutheranism years before in Sweden. Her appearances on stage and television were successful. Her first devotion, as always, was to her acting, and she performed almost to the end of her life.

With the arrival of the 1960's came a sexual revolution of sorts, which swept the United States and Europe, and earlier condemnations of Bergman now seemed quaint. She was respected for proudly giving birth to her son and avoiding the hypocrisy and subterfuges of others who had been less open in their relationships. The attitude toward the private lives of celebrities now turned from censure to prurient curiosity, and movies themselves became more honest. In films, honeymooning couples no

longer had to sleep in separate twin beds, and the traditional Hollywood happy ending was far from imperative.

—Allene Phy-Olsen

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February 9, 1950

U.S. SENATOR JOSEPH MCCARTHY LAUNCHES COMMUNIST WITCH HUNT

In a speech to a Republican women's club, U.S. senator Joseph McCarthy claimed to possess a list of communist subversives working in the U.S. State Department. Over the next four years, he conducted a widely publicized Red-baiting campaign in which he repeatedly violated the civil liberties and impugned the reputations of the people whom he investigated. His campaign finally ended when he was formally censured by the U.S. Senate.

ALSO KNOWN AS: McCarthy hearings

LOCALE: Wheeling, West Virginia

CATEGORIES: Civil rights and liberties;
espionage; government; politics; corruption

KEY FIGURES

Joseph McCarthy (1908-1957), U.S. senator from Wisconsin

Harry S. Truman (1884-1972), president of the United States, 1945-1953

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), president of the United States, 1953-1961

Ralph W. Zwicker (1903-1991), U.S. Army brigadier general

Joseph Nye Welch (1890-1960), U.S. Army attorney

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In the years immediately following World War II, anticommunist sentiments pervaded American politics and culture in reaction to the rise of the Soviet Union, the communist revolution in China, and the arrest and trial of Alger Hiss, a prominent former U.S. government employee, on charges of spying for the Soviet government. In this Cold War environment, politicians such as Richard Nixon reaped significant success from adopting staunch anticommunist stances, while others perceived as “soft” on communism saw their careers diminished as a result.

At the outset of the 1950's, U.S. senator Joseph McCarthy was little known outside his home state of Wisconsin, his lackluster career in the Senate colored by allegations of chronic alcohol abuse and questionable financial dealings. His political fortunes improved dramatically, however, during the 1950's, as he leveled dramatic allegations of communist activity at the highest level of the U.S. government and used these allegations as a springboard for launching a personal crusade against communism. McCarthy reportedly adopted his fervent anticommunist stance upon the advice of friends to increase his political profile and deflect growing scrutiny of his personal conduct. Whether or not McCarthy acted primarily from genuine concern over communist activity or to deflect criticism and advance his career remains a controversial question.

The movement that became known as McCarthyism began in early 1950, as Republican Party leaders began organizing speaking appearances for Lincoln Day dinners in February that marked the traditional start of campaigning for the November general elections. McCarthy volunteered to join the slate of speakers who would be dispatched across the United States to address attendees at these local dinners. As an obscure figure even within his own party, McCarthy drew a relatively low-profile assignment to address a local Republican Women's Club at the McLure Hotel in Wheeling, West Virginia, on the evening of February 9. It was here that McCarthy would first level allegations of communist infiltration at the highest levels of the federal government.

According to journalistic accounts of the speech, McCarthy began by characterizing the postwar global climate as a struggle between Christianity and the so-called communist atheism of the Soviet Union, in which the future of Christianity was threatened by an alleged complacency on the part of the American people and government following the

end of World War II. Criticizing the alleged reluctance of the administration of U.S. president Harry S. Truman to ferret out domestic communists, McCarthy then leveled his most famous allegation, holding aloft a document that he claimed contained a list of 205 known members of the Communist Party employed by the U.S. Department of State. The true contents of the document, which were never made available to the public, remain unknown.

Initially, there was little indication of the historic significance of the February 9 speech; a local radio station recorded the address but erased the tape soon afterward. News of the sensational allegations soon rippled through the national news media, adding validation and impetus to growing fears among Americans of international communism.

The publicity surrounding these allegations brought McCarthy to the forefront of American politics virtually overnight, leading to a series of subsequent high-profile appearances in which he repeated his claims, varying the number of alleged communist conspirators in the U.S. State Department to suit his audience. In one such speech delivered in Salt Lake City, Utah, McCarthy claimed that fifty-seven “known” communists worked in the department. In a February 20 address before the Senate that lasted approximately six hours, McCarthy revised the number to eighty-one “known” communists, repeatedly refusing the requests of his colleagues that he reveal the names of the alleged conspirators and other details concerning the origins and accuracy of his statements.

McCarthy’s claims never were definitively verified; yet many Americans accepted them without question. McCarthy’s notoriety and influence continued to increase as his crusade intensified, contributing to the passage of the Internal Security Act of 1950, which prohibited Americans with alleged communist ties from

working in the defense industry, required the registration of purportedly communist organizations, and permitted the deportation or internment of accused communists during times of national emergency. President Truman vetoed the bill but was easily overridden, provoking further accusations from McCarthy that the Truman administration did not take the threat of communism seriously. Several Democratic senators who publicly criticized McCarthy were defeated in the 1950 election, and his allegations that Democratic presidential candidate Adlai E. Stevenson was soft on communism led to the election of Dwight D. Eisenhower to the presidency in 1952.

McCarthy also won reelection that year and was made chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Government Operations, a position that he used to broaden his investigation into alleged communist activity in the U.S. government. Republican leaders in the Senate had made McCarthy chairman of this committee instead of appointing him to the Internal Affairs Committee (whose primary duty was investigating communist activity) in the hope that this position of relatively little influ-



Joseph McCarthy. (Library of Congress)

ence would circumscribe his power. Leadership of this committee also gave McCarthy control of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, a position he would use to launch further investigations against alleged communists in the executive branch. He proceeded to employ the power of the subcommittee to target a variety of persons and departments, calling numerous government employees to testify before his committee and subjecting them to hostile, intrusive questioning that was often based upon fabricated, erroneous, or non-existent evidence. Those who refused to cooperate saw their reputations, careers, and lives destroyed, as McCarthy leaked derogatory information about them to employers and the media. A significant number of his targets were members of the Republican leadership that he had helped elect.

As the depth and breadth of his undertakings intensified, support for McCarthy and his tactics began to decrease. His escalating attacks against his fellow Republicans, including insinuations that even Eisenhower was soft on communism, drove even many of his erstwhile supporters to fear and resent him. McCarthy questioned the patriotism of even his mildest critics, creating an atmosphere of personal destruction and intimidation that rendered him virtually untouchable. After he was accused of assaulting journalist Drew Pearson in a restroom, he defiantly admitted to the assault and was not punished. Reports of his inappropriate behavior, including shady financial dealings and rampant alcohol abuse, were largely ignored. Many Americans considered McCarthy a hero and McCarthyism a defense of the American way against an evil foe. To a growing minority, however, McCarthy and his tactics showed an anti-American disregard for due process, civil liberties, and personal dignity.

One of the first targets of the subcommittee under McCarthy was Voice of America (VOA), a radio network run by the State Department, whose mission was to broadcast pro-American and anti-communist content to foreign countries. McCarthy called several VOA employees before the subcommittee, leveling unfounded accusations of communist influence that significantly disrupted the operations of the agency and reportedly drove one

employee to suicide. Despite growing evidence of his excesses, the attack on the VOA only increased the stature of McCarthy in the news media, which gave heavy coverage to the investigations.

Emboldened, McCarthy then accused the U.S. Army of harboring communist sympathizers, launching formal investigations on January 15, 1953. In February, 1954, during the course of these investigations, McCarthy called Brigadier General Ralph W. Zwicker, a decorated World War II battlefield commander, before the subcommittee. McCarthy proceeded to insult Zwicker, questioning both his intelligence and his fitness for duty. Reports of the exchange angered supporters of the military and contributed to a decline in popular support for McCarthy, which had peaked at 50 percent according to a Gallup poll taken in early January. In March, 1954, CBS television aired a documentary on McCarthy as part of its *See It Now* series hosted by the popular journalist Edward R. Murrow. The documentary contained numerous film segments of McCarthy attacking a number of persons and organizations, and included footage of his attack upon Zwicker. It ended with a scathing criticism by Murrow of McCarthy and his tactics. McCarthy's popularity declined once more, and it dropped further, to below 40 percent by April, as he subsequently attacked Murrow's patriotism.

Undaunted, McCarthy scheduled a series of televised hearings, to begin in April, 1954, into alleged communist influences in the Army. As cameras captured the proceedings and broadcast them to a national audience, McCarthy angrily confronted a series of witnesses, many of whom were in uniform and conspicuously decorated with medals. Many of his supporters became disenchanted with his increasingly erratic and hostile performance, further undermining his public support. When military lawyers revealed that McCarthy and his chief counsel, Roy Cohn, sought favors for a former staff member, an American public already alarmed by the heavy-handed tactics of McCarthy recoiled at this firsthand glimpse of the inner workings of McCarthyism. Finally, when McCarthy accused an associate of Army counsel Joseph Nye Welch of being a member of a communist organization, Welch

SENATE'S CENSURE OF McCARTHY

The U.S. Senate censured Senator Joseph McCarthy on December 2, 1954, effectively ending not only the hearings, which began in March, 1951, but also McCarthy's political career.

Resolved,

That the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, failed to cooperate with the Subcommittee on Privileges and Elections of the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration in clearing up matters referred to that subcommittee which concerned his conduct as a Senator and affected the honor of the Senate and, instead, repeatedly abused the subcommittee and its members who were trying to carry out assigned duties, thereby obstructing the constitutional processes of the Senate, and that this conduct of the Senator from Wisconsin, Mr. McCarthy, is contrary to senatorial traditions and is hereby condemned.

reacted indignantly, responding, "Have you no sense of decency, sir, at long last? Have you left no sense of decency?" His dismissal of McCarthy prompted much of the room to erupt into applause. The hearings were adjourned shortly afterward.

The McCarthy-Army hearings marked the effective end of the anticommunist crusade. The senator's zealous public confrontation of an entire branch of the U.S. military less than a decade after the end of World War II proved a fatal miscalculation, and his exchange with Welch left him defeated and exposed as a fraud before a stunned national television audience. As the American public abandoned him, his colleagues in Congress, many of whom had secretly feared and resented his political power, followed. In December, 1954, the Senate voted to censure McCarthy for fraud and abuse of power, and he spent the remainder of his Senate career in obscurity. He died at Bethesda Naval Hospital in Maryland in 1957 of liver failure precipitated by years of heavy drinking.

IMPACT

Through his bold allegations, ruthless tactics, and successful use of news media, McCarthy became symbolic of the American anticommunist move-

ment of the 1950's. His fall from power proved as rapid and dramatic as his rise to prominence; just as his crusade against communism brought his party to power during the early 1950's, the political demise of McCarthy contributed to the Republicans' loss of Congress during the 1954 elections.

In addition, the legacy of McCarthyism continued to influence American politics and government long after his own death. His investigations and allegations ultimately resulted in the removal of numerous experts on communism and communist countries from the Department of State and other key agencies of the United States government, affecting U.S. foreign policy for decades and prompting some historians to establish connections between McCarthyism and crucial strategic

and foreign policy blunders contributing to the defeat of U.S. forces in Vietnam.

The synthesis of old-fashioned demagoguery and the fledgling medium of broadcast television at the heart of McCarthyism created a new style of politics that emphasized the skilled manipulation of information, assaults upon the patriotism and character of opponents, and appeals to the raw emotion of the public. As a result, some observers have attributed the political polarization and acrimonious discourse of late twentieth century and early twenty-first century American politics to the influence of McCarthyism. The rise of authoritarian conservatism in American society during the late twentieth century inspired scattered efforts to rehabilitate his image and validate his tactics.

Government documents declassified at the end of the twentieth century indicated that a small number of the government employees that McCarthy investigated were indeed communist operatives; yet the group was substantially smaller in number than the figures McCarthy quoted and reportedly were planted to spy upon fellow communists rather than to gather intelligence on the government. It is unclear whether the list that McCarthy claimed to possess actually contained the names of any of these

operatives. Evidence suggests that at best, McCarthy dramatically overestimated the presence of communist activity in the government. At the outset of the twenty-first century, the propriety and competence of McCarthy and his tactics remained the subject of criticism and a symbol of ideological excess.

In 2003, the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations released transcripts of executive sessions conducted under McCarthy. These transcripts included a bipartisan condemnation of the tactics documented in the sessions.

—Michael H. Burchett

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May 3, 1950

U.S. SENATE COMMITTEE BEGINS INVESTIGATING ORGANIZED CRIME

The U.S. Senate's Kefauver Committee explored the full extent of organized crime in the United States, holding televised hearings at a time when television was still new. The hearings commanded the attention of the entire nation at the height of the Cold War, bringing to light the country's own war: domestic crime. The hearings also confirmed what many already knew: Organized crime existed in the United States.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Kefauver Committee; Kefauver hearings; Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce

LOCALE: United States

CATEGORIES: Gambling; government; organized crime and racketeering; radio and television; popular culture; publishing and journalism

KEY FIGURES

Estes Kefauver (1903-1963), U.S. senator from Tennessee, 1949-1963

Philip Graham (1915-1963), American publisher

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The American economy surged during the early 1950's, leading to a rise in criminal enterprises that



Members of the Kefauver Committee in Washington, D.C. in June, 1950. (AP/Wide World Photos)

assumed legitimacy for money-laundering purposes behind the facades of burgeoning businesses. Organized crime syndicates expanded their operations from urban centers to suburban areas. In early 1950, a probe of nationwide crime syndicates would be engineered by Estes Kefauver, a former U.S. representative and a Democratic senator from Tennessee. At the urging of Kefauver, the U.S. Senate formed the Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce on May 3.

News reports by *The Washington Post* on the extent of organized crime across the United States led to the full-scale senatorial investigation. Philip Graham, publisher of *The Washington Post*, approached Kefauver for his reputation, political ties, and regional interests. Kefauver's media savvy, coupled with his experience as the attorney for the

Chattanooga News prior to his political career, positioned him as the ideal senator to head the investigation. Kefauver sponsored the probe at Graham's request, but the investigation was one he had considered prior to Graham's prompting.

When Kefauver won his Senate seat in 1948, his familiarity with antitrust cases endowed him with the skill to head the Senate's organized crime probe. His intention was purely to boost the Democratic Party's image and bring to light the pervasiveness of organized crime in the United States, and yet it also led to his name being considered for the 1952 presidential election.

Kefauver's work on a subcommittee that probed judicial corruption alerted him to the links between the judiciary and organized crime. His contacts with other investigators on the committee kept him

THE VIOLENT, BENEVOLENT WORLD OF ORGANIZED CRIME

The Kefauver Committee released its first report on hearings it conducted in Miami, Florida, in May, 1950. The report, dated August 18, noted characteristics shared by organized crime syndicates.

An essential general characteristic of the operations of these criminal syndicates wherever the committee has looked into them is an attempt to monopolize by the use of intimidation, physical violence, connivance or assistance of public officials, or political pressure. Usually these criminals indulge in political activity in order to obtain protection for themselves and oppression for their competitors. They contribute generously to local benevolent and philanthropic organizations to gain public good will. These contributions, of course, are deductible from income for tax purposes.

updated on crime at the state level, thus increasing his awareness of how often crime crossed state boundaries and thus became a federal issue. As a response to the expansion of criminal activities in the United States, Kefauver drafted bills dealing with interstate crime, but those bills were ineffective because information about how organized crime syndicates operated nationally was not centralized.

Kefauver's resolution of January 5, 1950, led to the formation of the committee. The first component of the Senate probe addressed gambling, mainly because it had observable interstate implications. The investigation, however, languished at the judiciary-committee level because that committee's chairman, Senator Pat McCarran, was from Nevada, where much gambling was legal. Kefauver courted the media, and after a month the press forced McCarran to broaden the committee's probe. On April 6, while the investigation languished, a Kansas City Democratic boss and overlord, Charles Binaggio, along with his chief lieutenant, Charles Fargotta, were murdered. Public sentiment demanded the slayings be investigated, and Democratic interests helped push through Kefauver's resolution for fear they would be accused of a cover-up.

The Senate brought together members of the judiciary, interstate, and foreign commerce committees. Finally, in May, Kefauver's resolution from January was approved and the work began. Kefauver's main objective was to educate the public about the seriousness and insidiousness of organized crime in the United States. He also wanted to out major crime bosses. Public knowledge of and interest in the hearing was minimal in the beginning. The first hearing was held in Miami on May 26 and 27. In June, public hearings were held in Washington, D.C. Interest began to spread across the country as hearings were held in Tampa, Florida; St. Louis, Missouri; Kansas City, Kansas; Chicago; Las Vegas; Los Angeles; New York City; Philadelphia; Cleveland, Ohio; Detroit, Michigan; San Francisco; and New Orleans.

The Kefauver Committee heard testimony from more than six hundred witnesses, including crime bosses, criminal investigators, and petty criminals. Politicians such as New Jersey governor Harold G. Hoffman and New York mayor William O'Dwyer gave candid testimony that ruined their careers. Committee hearings revealed evidence of corruption, bribery, vice, and extortion at many levels, including government.

IMPACT

Kefauver's resolution set a precedent for conducting Senate investigations: Probes would first discover the root of an issue and then would develop steps to correct problems. Furthermore, the committee proved to a wide audience that organized crime existed to a significant extent in the United States. Because the hearings were broadcast live into many homes during the 1950's, during the early years of television ownership, Americans were introduced to the subtle yet pervasive criminal elements of the country, organized elements that extended into their local communities.

A byproduct of Kefauver's widespread appeal

following the hearings was his eventual bid to become U.S. president. As the committee chairman, Kefauver had a name and image that became easily recognizable, thus ensuring his popularity. Supporters believed that he could be the frontrunner for the nomination on the national Democratic ticket in 1952. However, Kefauver's crusade against criminals alienated the party bosses at the state level, and he was passed over as a candidate.

—Rebecca Tolley-Stokes

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January 17, 1951

COLLEGE BASKETBALL PLAYERS BEGIN SHAVING POINTS FOR MONEY

American college basketball players were implicated and convicted for losing games for money, a scandal that rocked sports in the United States and led to a backlash of distrust of sports at all levels. The basketball program at City College of New York was banned from playing games at Madison Square Garden, and the team was moved to a lower division for competition.

LOCALE: United States

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; law and the courts; sports

KEY FIGURES

Frank Hogan (1902-1974), New York district attorney

Henry Poppe (fl. 1950's), Manhattan College basketball player

Jack Byrnes (fl. 1950's), Manhattan College basketball player

Al Roth (fl. 1950's), City College of New York basketball player

Ed Roman (d. 1988), City College of New York basketball player

Ed Warner (d. 2002), City College of New York basketball player

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The City College of New York (CCNY) had reached a moment of glory in basketball history by winning both the National Collegiate Athletic Association (NCAA) Tournament and the National Invitation Tournament (NIT) in 1950. The top-rated team at the end of the 1950 season faced a scandal, however, less than one year later, when several players were implicated for point shaving: losing games deliberately, most often for money.

Point shaving is the practice of manipulating the number of points scored in a game. Players accept

bribes from gamblers to miss shots or blocks, which causes their teams either to lose or to win by narrower margins than gamblers predict. This manipulation is called going outside the spread, a method used by gamblers to give better odds to lower-ranked teams to win a game. Oddsmakers benefit greatly from this player manipulation, making it worth the cost of the bribes to pay off the players to lose or to “cover” the spread. Soon after beginning his search into allegations of point shaving in past tournaments, New York City district attorney Frank Hogan found how far reaching this scandal was.

The events, which spanned almost an entire year, began on January 17, 1951, when two players from Manhattan College were arrested on charges of bribery. Henry Poppe and Jack Byrnes had received fifty dollars per week throughout the season and an additional three thousand dollars each for Manhattan to lose two games at Madison Square Garden. They received an additional two thousand dollar payoff to prevent the spread in two other games that season. Poppe had made the mistake of trying to recruit Junius Kellogg, a junior at Manhattan, who in turn reported the two players to their coach, Ken Norton. The police were quickly involved, and several days later Poppe and Byrnes were arrested.

More charges of bribery were levied on February 18, when the first CCNY players were arrested. Al Roth, Ed Roman, and Ed Warner were charged with accepting \$4,650, \$3,250, and \$2,500, respectively, for losing games throughout the season. These charges would mark the beginning of the scandal only; two days later, three members of the Long Island University (LIU) basketball team were brought in by District Attorney Hogan. Among the LIU players were LeRoy Smith and Adolph Bigos, both veterans of the U.S. armed services. Smith had been a Marine and Bigos had served in the Army and earned a bronze star. Also among those charged

at LIU was Sherman White, who was touted as the best New York college basketball player of all time.

Three more City College players were arrested on March 26. Irwin Dambrot, Norm Mager, and Herb Cohen were all charged with accepting bribes. Four days later, LIU came back into the limelight with the arrest of Louis Lipman. On April 13, Richard Feutardo was arrested for helping to deliberately lose games several years earlier. The search left New York when Hogan arrested Eli Klukofsky on April 20. Klukofsky had bribed players from City College and Toledo University to throw games in 1948 and 1949. The players from Toledo—Jack Freeman, Bob McDonald, Carlo Muzi, and Bill Waller—were making good money by shaving points, but they never imagined they were doing business with the Mob. Klukofsky had been linked to organized crime, and it was suggested that he was merely a conduit between the players and Mob bookies. Klukofsky died during his trial, and no more information was obtained on his Mob ties.

Over the next six months, Hogan would arrest fifteen more players, bringing the total to thirty-two from seven different schools. Most of the players received suspended sentences, but some did spend time in jail. The longest sentence issued was four to seven years, but the average was one to three years. Of the game fixers, all but Klukofsky served time in prison. None of the players indicted would ever again step foot on a basketball court. One player accused was able to play for the National Basketball Association (NBA), in what would be very short-lived career. His opportunity was an exception.

Bill Spivey, a leading center for the University of Kentucky and an NCAA champion, was banned from playing at Kentucky on March 2, 1952. Rumors abounded that Spivey had shaved points, but no charges were proven. The court proceedings ended in mistrial, and Spivey was never formally charged. However, he was banned from playing in the NBA.

There have been four other scandals in NCAA history that have come close to the magnitude of the scandal of 1951. Rick Kuhn of Boston College was put on trial after being accused of shaving points during six games during the 1978-1979 season. He

College Basketball Players Begin Shaving Points

was later sentenced to ten years in prison. In 1985, Tulane University dropped its basketball program after five players were indicted on multiple counts of point shaving and bribery. Two players from Northwestern University were charged with fixing the outcomes of several games during the 1994-1995 season. Steven Smith, of Arizona State, served almost one year in jail after pleading guilty to shaving points in four games during the 1994-1995 season. None of these incidents affected college sports with the same fury as the shaving scandal of 1951.

IMPACT

The 1951 point-shaving scandal was the first large-scale admission to cheating and bribery in American sports history, yet, despite the consequences of gambling and cheating, point shaving continues as a problem in college sports.

Those most directly affected by the scandal clearly were the players who got caught. Some of them built on the lessons they learned to teach others about their mistakes, while others let the scandal destroy them. Gene Melchiorre of Bradley University in Peoria, Illinois—who also was indicted in the 1951 scandal—toured the United States along with implicated LIU player White and talked to students about the scandal. They tried to right their wrongs by teaching younger players the negative effects of point shaving. Spivey of Kentucky University did not follow the same path. The shame of the 1951 incidents affected him deeply after he left the United States to start a new life in South America. Friends said that he got relief from the scandal only when he died in 1995.

Less obviously affected by the scandal was the basketball team at CCNY, which was banned from playing games at Madison Square Garden and moved from Division I to Division III play. As a result of the ban, with its consequent drain on incoming funds for the college, several sports programs at the school had to be shut down.

The 1951 scandal, furthermore, destroyed college basketball's once-innocent reputation. Nevertheless, the sport rebounded and continues to thrive. Over the years, NCAA basketball has expanded

into more than sixty teams and brought in millions of dollars each season. Basketball lovers may never forget the misdeeds of 1951, but they did forgive.

—Christian Glotfelty

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July 16, 1951

BELGIUM'S DISGRACED KING LEOPOLD III ABDICATES

Belgium's King Leopold III led a heroic, if brief, defense against the German army during World War II. He had surrendered after eighteen days, refused to leave his country at the urging of his government, and then went into exile. By remaining in German-occupied Belgium, Leopold was seen as a traitor by Great Britain and France for his surrender and as a hero by the Belgians for suffering imprisonment along with them. Finally, the public turned against him after he married a Flemish commoner.

LOCALE: Brussels, Belgium

CATEGORIES: Government; military; politics; royalty

KEY FIGURES

Leopold III (1901-1983), king of Belgium, r. 1934-1951

Paul-Henri Spaak (1899-1972), prime minister of Belgium, 1938-1939, 1946, 1947-1950, and foreign minister, 1939-1945

Baudouin I (1930-1993), king of Belgium, r. 1951-1993

Lilian Baelis (1916-2002), princess de Rethy, 1941-2002

Hubert Pierlot (1883-1963), prime minister of Belgium, 1939-1945

Charles, Count of Flanders (1903-1983), prince regent, 1944-1950

SUMMARY OF EVENT

At the Congress of Vienna in 1815, Dutch-speaking Flanders—then part of the Austrian Netherlands—and French-speaking Wallonia were merged with the Netherlands as a compensatory reward for the House of Orange's contributions to the defeat of Napoleon. The mixture proved immediately unsatisfactory. Flanders and Wallonia were both Roman Catholic and liberal. They detested the arrogance and economic exploitation by the Protestant Dutch to the north. An 1830's revolt in Flanders and Wallonia scuttled the Vienna merger, and with the assent of Europe's major powers, Dutch-speaking Flemings and French-speaking Walloons were united into the artificially contrived Kingdom of Belgium led by a German prince, Leopold.

Nineteenth century prosperity for the new Belgium centered in the industrialized Walloon portion of the kingdom. French was the nation's official language. During the early twentieth century, power and wealth began to shift from Wallonia to Flanders and away from middle-class Catholics and liberals to the working-class Flemish socialist majority who demanded an end to a century of discrimination. Increasingly, Belgium's king was forced to arbitrate between the two rival linguistic factions.

The future King Leopold III, born in 1901, was distinguished by his handsome appearance, his grave manner tempered in the trenches fighting the Germans in World War I, and a remarkable sense of duty. A sports enthusiast, a lover of fast cars, and widely traveled, Leopold met his first wife, Princess Astrid of Sweden, on one of his trips. If he was the epitome of the fairy-tale prince, then Astrid was the fairy-tale princess, beautiful, charming, and graceful. Married in 1926, the royal couple seemed destined for greatness and were admired and loved by both of Belgium's linguistic communities.

Leopold's life was marred by three great tragedies. In 1934, his father, Albert I, was killed while on a rock-climbing expedition, making Leopold

king. The Belgians' beloved Queen Astrid was killed the next year in an automobile accident, with Leopold at the wheel, while the two were vacationing in Switzerland. In grief, the Belgian people's attachment to their widower king and his three orphaned children deepened. Leopold's third tragedy was the increasingly militaristic stance coming from Adolf Hitler's Germany, threatening the nation's internationally guaranteed neutrality. Without adequate support from either Great Britain or France, who were distracted by their own domestic problems, Belgium was abandoned by the promises of protection from Europe's great powers, a position reminiscent of events from Belgium's 1914 past. From 1936 to 1939, King Leopold, as commander in chief, focused on building Belgian defenses against possible German aggression.

The Kingdom of Belgium is a constitutional monarchy with the monarch's actions needing government sanction. The nation's constitution was less clear on the relationship between the commander in chief (the king) and the head of the elected government (the prime minister). It has been argued that King Leopold overstepped his authority in 1940 by sending his special adviser, Sir Roger Keyes, to London and Paris without the permission of his government, intimating with proper guarantees that Belgium might side with Britain and France against the Germans. The king's diplomatic actions violated the constitutional responsibilities of the Belgian foreign minister, Paul-Henri Spaak. The 1940 collapse of Denmark and Norway to German aggression and of the king's own government over a minor linguistic issue forced Leopold to refuse the resignation of Prime Minister Hubert Pierlot at such a critical time. The king seemed the nation's anchor more than its divided elected government.

The German invasion of Belgium on May 10, 1940, led Leopold to assume personal control of the army as his father had done in 1914. For eighteen days, Belgium's army fought heroically against great odds and without British or French assistance. Threatened by the king's independence, his ministers began to criticize Leopold because he did not heed their recommendations. However, it was

Leopold's decision at the time of surrender on May 28, to share his army's fate and remain in Belgium as a prisoner of war, which created an almost insurmountable breach between the king and his government.

Prime Minister Pierlot had requested the king's and the royal family's evacuation to France, along with the government, to continue the fight from outside Belgium. Leopold refused. From London, the evacuated Belgian government-in-exile became a symbol of resistance while Leopold remained under house arrest in Brussels. Both British and French politicians and military leaders condemned the king's surrender as traitorous behavior, even blaming Leopold for the collapse of France and for the Allies' near catastrophe at Dunkirk. As a prisoner of war, Leopold could not defend himself.

During the war, Leopold attained the near-mythic status of his father, Albert I, as he braved the German occupation and suffered along with his people. This imagery could have resolved the differences between monarch and politicians had Leopold continued to be seen as a grieving widower raising three small children and suffering wartime deprivations. When it became known that the king had married Lilian Baels, the daughter of a Flemish politician, without the consent of the government, public sympathy for the king began to evaporate. The king's image was further eroded when it was apparent the marriage was necessary because Baels was pregnant. The king was clearly not suffering along with his people, and the Belgian people rejected a replacement for their adored Queen Astrid.

The monarchy, the one institution carefully crafted to remain above ethnic rivalries, had now descended into the maelstrom of regional politics. For the rest of the war, Pierlot's exile government ignored the king. When Belgium was liberated, Leopold's brother Charles, the count of Flanders, was declared regent in the king's absence because Leopold, his new wife, and children were evacuated by the Germans to Dresden and later Austria, where they were liberated by the Allies in 1945.

From 1944 to 1950, the royal question dominated Belgian public life, splitting the nation and threatening civil war. Sequestered in exile in Swit-

zerland, Leopold was ready to return to Belgium but was denied the right by his government. The opportunity for Leopold, Spaak, and Pierlot to resolve differences generated by wartime policies enacted by both sides failed to occur because the king demanded his government apologize for its condemnations of his wartime actions. The controversy over the king's constitutional responsibilities and his second marriage to a Flemish commoner divided the country along ethnic lines, with Flanders supporting the king and Wallonia adamantly against him.

A trial exonerated the king, and later, British and French politicians admitted they made Leopold a scapegoat to cover their own political and military failures. The government continued to advise him to stay away. Leopold demanded a plebiscite. On March 12, 1950, Belgians voted and the king received 2,933,392 votes (57.68 percent of the total). Flanders sided with the king and his new wife, now known as Princess de Rethy, while Brussels and Wallonia voted against the king. Violence and massive demonstrations put pressure on the government to force Leopold to reconsider his position for the good of the nation and the monarchy. Upon his return Leopold agreed to abdicate on July 16, 1951, in favor of his eldest son, Baudouin, when he came of legal age.

IMPACT

The crisis created by Leopold III's wartime actions and remarriage was not resolved with the ascension of Baudouin. For the next four decades, parliamentary elections proved that it was impossible to muster a majority for one political party. The vote was consistently divided along ethnic lines, demanding skillful coalition building on the part of the king. No longer were the duties of the king as commander in chief left in doubt. Revisions to the Belgian constitution in 1970 and 1980 placed these duties within the government's domain and divided the nation into a federated state of three regions: Wallonia, Flanders, and Brussels. King Baudouin I depoliticized the monarchy and gradually regained the nation's respect for the institution.

—William A. Paquette

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November 16, 1951

FEDERAL TAX OFFICIAL RESIGNS AFTER ACCEPTING BRIBES

Federal tax official T. Lamar Caudle resigned after a Senate committee revealed that he had accepted bribes from a number of clients under investigation in exchange for postponing or preventing tax audits. Caudle's subsequent admission before the committee eventually led to a reorganization of the U.S. Bureau of Internal Revenue, which later became the Internal Revenue Service.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Bureau of Revenue scandal

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; business; politics

KEY FIGURES

T. Lamar Caudle (1904-1969), assistant U.S. attorney general, 1947-1949, 1949-1951

Cecil R. King (1898-1974), U.S. representative from California, 1942-1969

J. Howard McGrath (1903-1966), U.S. senator from Rhode Island, 1945-1947, and U.S. attorney general, 1949-1952

Thomas C. Clark (1899-1977), U.S. attorney general, 1945-1949, and associate justice of the United States, 1949-1967

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On June 1, 1951, U.S. representative Cecil R. King, a Democrat from California, investigated alleged

corruption originating in the tax division of the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ). As chairman of the House Ways and Means Subcommittee tasked with uncovering the facts in the case involving the Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR; now the Internal Revenue Service, or IRS), King looked into allegations of wholesale fraud from collectors in Delaware, Boston, New York, San Francisco, and St. Louis, Missouri.

King's findings led to the forced resignation of Assistant U.S. Attorney General T. Lamar Caudle on November 16, 1951. Caudle's public display before King's committee beginning earlier in November exposed the mismanagement that plagued the department, calling into question the leadership of Attorney General J. Howard McGrath.

Problems within the BIR first became evident in 1947, when first-term Delaware senator John Williams inadvertently stumbled onto criminal activity in his own state. Much to his disbelief, he discovered that an employee in the Wilmington collector's office had stolen nearly thirty thousand dollars. Even more disturbing, the delinquent cashier, Maurice Flynn, was terminated, but he was not made to stand trial until Williams exposed the crime. During the next three years, Williams uncovered similar transgressions throughout the United States.

Williams's findings led to the King congressional hearings. King, like Senator Williams, wondered why high-level officials had not prosecuted many of these offender-employees. King soon discovered that many employees were protected from ouster by their local political machines. More alarming, the cover-up was authorized from the tax division office in Washington, D.C. At the same time, the Senate Special Committee to Investigate Organized Crime in Interstate Commerce, headed by Tennessee Democrat Estes Kefauver, disclosed



T. Lamar Caudle reacts to testimony at a congressional committee hearing in early November, 1951. The committee was investigating corruption within the Bureau of Internal Revenue, which was headed by Caudle. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

that the BIR had been negligent in the prosecution of known mobsters who committed tax fraud.

Ironically, the assistant attorney general, Caudle, the root of the dysfunction, was a personable, seemingly harmless southern lawyer. Caudle was born in Wadesboro, North Carolina, on July 22, 1904, and had received a degree in law from Wake Forest College in 1926. He was a member of his father's law firm until 1940, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt named him attorney for the Western District of North Carolina. Five years later, the new president, Harry S. Truman, appointed Caudle assistant attorney general of the criminal division. Under the auspices of Attorney General Thomas C. Clark, Caudle was made department head of the tax division in 1947.

However, the appointment of Caudle was, it would turn out, ill-conceived. Although it was Caudle's duty to prosecute those who were in clear violation of the law, he was unable to resist offers of personal favors. As a result, wealthy business people and real estate agents under review by the BIR bribed Caudle and his associates with paid vaca-

tions, commissions, and other expensive gifts. Caudle would later reveal that he had received a number of enticements in exchange for favorable verdicts, exposing his own ineptitude and highlighting the level of negligence and corruption that permeated the DOJ. In the end, Caudle earned a handsome profit for his cooperation with various clients under investigation.

By the time Caudle was ousted in November, 1951, more than fifty employees of the agency also had been removed. This revelation did not bode well for the organization or for President Truman, who already was dealing with mounting scandal concerning the lending practices of the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC), a body that was organized during the Depression to aid in the recovery of business, banking, and insurance companies. Although Truman had weathered the fallout from the RFC, the BIR scandals threatened to undermine the 1952 Democrat presidential campaign, especially since Truman's low approval rating (23 percent) undermined the president's relationship with Adlai E. Stevenson, the frontrunner for the Democrat nomination. The most troublesome element of this latest debacle for Truman, however, was the attitude of his current attorney general, J. Howard McGrath, who appeared ignorant of the department's extracurricular activities.

As Democrat national chairman in 1948, McGrath played a major role in Truman's upset victory over New York governor Thomas E. Dewey. Personally loyal to Truman, McGrath unequivocally supported the president. Therefore, when Protestant attorney general Clark replaced Roman Catholic Frank Murphy on the U.S. Supreme Court in 1949, Truman rewarded the loyal and Catholic McGrath with the DOJ post. In spite of McGrath's questionable reputation—reports of his excessive drinking and poor performance as solicitor general tainted his image—Truman supported him. Upon taking office, however, McGrath, who proved very effective as governor of Rhode Island and Democrat National Committee chairman, turned in a lackluster performance as attorney general. When Truman ordered McGrath to fire Caudle, McGrath at first refused to cooperate. By the time he eventu-

ally informed Caudle of the president's decision, Truman had already publicized Caudle's resignation.

IMPACT

Five months after Caudle's ouster, Truman reluctantly ordered McGrath's dismissal, the latest casualty in a string of ousters that would prompt a thorough reform of the DOJ. Following McGrath's removal, a more cooperative atmosphere prevailed in the Justice Department, which paved the way for the president's reorganization plan.

Calling for an end to patronage, the president outlined a plan that would change the BIR to the IRS, replacing the sixty-four local collectors with twenty-five civil-service employees. In a message to the Senate in March, 1952, Truman emphasized his commitment to good, honest government. After a difficult battle in the Senate, the president's plan was signed into law in 1952. His victory on this front, however, did not erase the popular contention that his administration was scandal-ridden. While Truman was not solely responsible for the corruption in the BIR, since many of the problems existed before he became president, his insistence on rewarding political supporters with positions regardless of their qualifications only exacerbated the already troublesome situation in the DOJ.

For Caudle, his political future was destined for failure. Caudle's public display before the King Committee and his criticism of the administration after his ouster appeared foolish and exaggerated before the news cameras. Following a similar destructive pattern after he left office, Caudle was convicted of tax fixing by a federal grand jury in 1956, along with President Truman's trusted assistant, Matthew J. Connelly. Connelly was pardoned in 1962 by President John F. Kennedy, with Truman's full support. However, while Caudle was eventually exonerated three years later, on August 18, 1965, by President Lyndon B. Johnson, Truman refused to defend his former assistant attorney general.

In summation, Caudle had been unable to make the transition from North Carolina lawyer to high-profile Washington, D.C., bureaucrat. His poor

judgment and general ignorance of the Washington political scene led to his inevitable fall in 1951. While Caudle will forever be linked to the tax scandals in Truman's administration, his ouster inadvertently set off a chain reaction that led to a thorough reorganization of the Justice Department.

—Debra A. Mulligan

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September 19, 1952

ACTOR CHARLES CHAPLIN CANNOT REENTER THE UNITED STATES

*While Charles Chaplin and his family were traveling to London by ocean liner for the world premiere of his film *Limelight*, the U.S. attorney general issued a public order that Chaplin's reentry into the United States would not be allowed without satisfying immigration officials that the filmmaker was morally and politically "fit." After years of harassment by the FBI, the American Legion, and the press, Chaplin, a British citizen who had lived, worked, and paid taxes in the United States for decades, moved to Vevey, Switzerland.*

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Politics; civil rights and liberties; government; international relations

KEY FIGURES

Charles Chaplin (1889-1977), British film producer, director, and actor

J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1924-1972

Joan Barry (1920-1996), American actor who won a 1946 paternity suit against Chaplin

Oona O'Neill Chaplin (1926-1991), Chaplin's fourth wife

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In the years following World War II, the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) began investigating film actor and comedian Charles Chaplin. The agency looked into his sex life, ethnic origins, citizenship, political views, and the content of his films during a time of growing political paranoia in the United States. The hostility toward the once-beloved comedian-entertainer culminated in his banishment from the United States in 1952.

Even in the permissive world of Hollywood, Chaplin's sex life raised eyebrows. Mildred Harris

and Lita Gray—his first two wives—were only sixteen years old when they married Chaplin. His fourth wife, Oona O'Neill, with whom he had a lasting and deeply satisfying marriage, had just turned eighteen years old when she and the fifty-four-year-old Chaplin married in 1943. (Oona's father, playwright Eugene O'Neill, disowned his daughter for marrying Chaplin.) Also in 1943, a former lover of Chaplin, Joan Barry, sued Chaplin for paternity. Though a blood test demonstrated that Chaplin was not the infant's father, the evidence was not allowed in court. After a first trial at which Chaplin had the support of the majority of jurors, he was retried and found guilty. The verdict flamed public opinion against him.

When Chaplin's FBI file, which amounted to more than two thousand pages of documents, was later made public through the Freedom of Information Act of 1966, it became clear that these records erroneously listed Chaplin as a Jew. He was not Jewish but, in solidarity with Jews, especially after the Holocaust, he refused to contradict those who claimed he was Jewish. Although Chaplin had resided in the United States for thirty-eight years before he was exiled in 1952, he had never applied for U.S. citizenship. Consequently, the American Legion and other groups questioned the filmmaker's loyalty to the United States. Chaplin claimed to be an apolitical citizen of the world, proud that he had never joined a political party or voted. He described himself as an internationalist and a peace monger, which only intensified hostility toward the performer.

Because of Chaplin's fame, his public appearances attracted press attention. During the early 1940's, during which time the United States and Soviet Union were World War II allies, Chaplin delivered a series of speeches—in San Francisco, New York, and Chicago—in support of Soviet war relief. He appeared at Second Front rallies, and in 1943 he

NO TO THE UNITED STATES

Charles Chaplin decided against trying to reenter the United States after he was banished from the country by the U.S. government in 1952. In a Time magazine interview published on April 27, 1953, he explains why he did not seek reentry.

Since the end of the last world war, I have been the object of lies and propaganda by powerful reactionary groups who, by their influence and by the aid of America's yellow press, have created an unhealthy atmosphere in which liberal-minded individuals can be singled out and persecuted. Under these conditions I find it virtually impossible to continue my motion picture work, and I have therefore given up my residence in the United States.

recorded a speech at the Soviet consul's office to be sent to the Soviet Union. After the war, when relations between the United States and the Soviet Union became increasingly antagonistic, Chaplin bravely refused to disassociate himself from friends such as composer Hanns Eisler, who were linked to communist organizations; Eisler was blacklisted and deported.

In April, 1947, Chaplin described the atomic bomb as "the most horrible invention of mankind." Roman Catholic war veterans urged the U.S. State and Justice Departments to arrange for Chaplin's deportation. Later that year he accepted a subpoena to appear before the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HUAC), but was never called to appear, leading to speculation that HUAC feared Chaplin would arrive dressed as The Tramp (his best-known character) and make a mockery of the proceedings.

Long before the Cold War period, anticommunist rhetoric was part of U.S. political life and assessments of popular culture. Although usually present and sometimes noted, the class antagonism in Chaplin's silent narratives was overshadowed by the films' sentimentality and the tremendous popularity of The Tramp character. When Chaplin released *Modern Times* (1936), deep into the Depression, the film's satiric view of the machine age registered as anticapitalist to some. Such audiences took special notice of the

scene in which Chaplin, playing an assembly line worker, waves the red flag in a labor parade.

In 1941, two isolationist senators who called for hearings to investigate Hollywood propaganda that urged the United States into the war named Chaplin's *The Great Dictator* (1940) as a propaganda picture. Chaplin's satire on Adolf Hitler marked the start of a six-year creative dry period for Chaplin, who did not release his next film, *Monsieur Verdoux*, until 1947. During this period the United States had entered, and helped win, what was widely considered the good war; the Cold War had

begun. *Monsieur Verdoux*, a bitter (and brilliant) satire about a wife killer who claims that the world encourages mass killings but punishes small-time murderers, shocked many who expected sentimental optimism from Chaplin. His critics argued that the unflinching critique of the moral contradictions of capitalism in *Monsieur Verdoux* proved that Chaplin was procommunist. In contrast, film critic and writer James Agee applauded the chilling satire and defended Chaplin's right to free speech at a press conference the day after the film's American opening.

Chaplin's next film, *Limelight* (1952), was politically benign, but its very existence and its release in the United States shortly after Chaplin's exile to Europe caused American Legion members to picket its screenings and to influence three theater chains—Fox, Loews, and RKO—to withdraw the film soon after its opening. Various political action groups successfully pressured distributors to withdraw all of Chaplin's films from exhibition in the United States.

The FBI files demonstrate that its director, J. Edgar Hoover, had negotiated with the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) to revoke Chaplin's reentry permit so that he would not be allowed back in the United States after his trip to London for the world premiere of *Limelight*. U.S. attorney general James P. McGranery clearly had the support of other government officials when

he issued his order on September 19 to keep Chaplin out of the United States.

For two decades Chaplin lived quietly in Switzerland with Oona and their children (eventually numbering eight). In April, 1972, Chaplin finally returned to the United States to accept an award from the Lincoln Center Film Society in New York and an honorary Oscar (his second) from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in Los Angeles. He was issued a one-time entry visa valid for two months. At the Los Angeles award ceremony, the eighty-three-year-old filmmaker responded emotionally to a standing ovation by saying “I’m being born again.”

In 1975, British queen Elizabeth II knighted Chaplin. Two years later he died in his sleep at his villa in Vevey.

IMPACT

Although Chaplin produced and directed two films after his exile from the United States, his creative life was greatly diminished. *A King in New York* (1957) clearly reflected the filmmaker’s bitterness toward the United States. The controversial film was popular abroad but was not seen in the United States until 1976, shortly before Chaplin’s death. Even with stars such as Marlon Brando and Sophia Loren, Chaplin’s *A Countess from Hong Kong* (1967) was a disappointment and an anachronism amid the robust cinematic innovation of the late 1960’s.

Chaplin’s life demonstrates the startling reversal of fortune that can await celebrity, for the most beloved silent-film star in the world moved from darling to pariah in the United States to become the most famous victim of the infamous Red Scare. One positive outcome of this sad story, however, is that the notorious and unjust decision against Chaplin in the Barry paternity case led to the admissibility of blood tests in paternity trials in California and elsewhere.

—Carolyn Anderson

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Charles Chaplin Cannot Reenter the United States

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September 23, 1952

RICHARD NIXON DENIES TAKING ILLEGAL CAMPAIGN CONTRIBUTIONS

When Richard Nixon was the running mate of Republican presidential candidate Dwight D. Eisenhower in 1952, he was accused of accepting \$18,235 in illegal campaign contributions. Nixon went on television to defend himself. In the speech, he said that the only contribution he had received was a cocker spaniel puppy named Checkers, whom he would keep for his children.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Checkers speech

LOCALE: Los Angeles, California

CATEGORIES: Government; politics; radio and television; communications and media

KEY FIGURES

Richard Nixon (1913-1994), U.S. senator, 1950-1953, vice president, 1953-1961, and president, 1969-1974

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), president of the United States, 1953-1961

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The United States presidential election of 1952 came at a time when Cold War tensions ran high and the American people were losing faith in their leadership. Disenchantment over U.S. involvement in the Korean War and accusations of communist spies within the federal government led Americans to seek stability. The Republican presidential candidate, Dwight D. Eisenhower, and his running mate, Senator Richard Nixon from California, capitalized on America's desire for change. Together they launched the Republican drive for the White House by declaring a "great crusade" for honest, efficient government at home and freedom abroad. The Republican platform in 1952 was framed around the dual theme of fighting both corruption and communism.

Attacking the alleged corruption of the Harry S. Truman administration, Eisenhower vowed to clean up the "mess in Washington." The campaign

pledged to restore confidence in and respect for the government. The case made a great impact on the public. In September, however, an obstacle threatened to jeopardize the Republican campaign. Reporters accused Senator Nixon of maintaining a secret fund to supplement his salary. This disclosure was at odds with the principles being emphasized in the Republican campaign. Thus, the party that had launched a moral crusade against its allegedly scandal-plagued opposition suddenly had a scandal of its own.

On September 18, the *New York Post* revealed that Nixon had been the beneficiary of an \$18,235 slush fund raised by a group of his California supporters. It was alleged that Nixon personally benefited from this special fund, allowing him and his family to live beyond his salary as a senator. In the days to follow, newspapers responded with editorials. Some papers, such as *The Washington Post*, called for Nixon's immediate withdrawal from the race. Regarding the vice presidential candidate as a political liability, several of Eisenhower's advisers also demanded Nixon's resignation.

Eisenhower himself, however, was particularly cautious in reaching a decision. He understood the risks involved. On the one hand, to drop Nixon from the ticket would jeopardize his hopes of being elected on the grounds that his own choice of running mate was as corrupt as the Democrats he had been criticizing in his campaign speeches. On the other hand, keeping Nixon on the ticket would appear to condone the practice of raising secret funds for public officials. Aware of the potential political repercussions, Eisenhower remained uncommitted. He neither publicly nor privately issued any statements of support for his running mate.

On the evening of September 21, three days after the story broke, Eisenhower finally phoned the senator to discuss the case. During the conversation, he encouraged Nixon to explain the political fund before a nationally televised audience. The public, he

insisted, was entitled to the facts. By presenting his complete financial record, Nixon could overcome the rumors of moral reprobation and regain the trust of the American people. Ultimately, Eisenhower asserted, the decision to remain on the ticket was Nixon's alone.

In an attempt to save his candidacy and, moreover, his political career, Nixon went on national television and radio to defend himself against the charges. On September 23, from the El Capitan Theatre in Hollywood, California, Nixon delivered what later became known as the Checkers speech, denying any wrongdoing. Reiterating several of the lines he had been using on the campaign trail, he responded to the charges of impropriety by providing a detailed account of his personal finances, including his assets and debts. Such a full financial disclosure was unprecedented in American politics. A fund did exist, explained Nixon, although it was used strictly to help defray the costs inherent in holding an elected office. Pleading personal poverty, Nixon attempted to identify with the average American family. The speech contained familial references, including the "Republican cloth coat" worn by his wife and a cocker spaniel puppy that was offered to him from a supporter in Texas; his young daughter named the puppy Checkers. It was the only gift his family had received. His children loved the little dog, and Nixon insisted that the family would keep him.

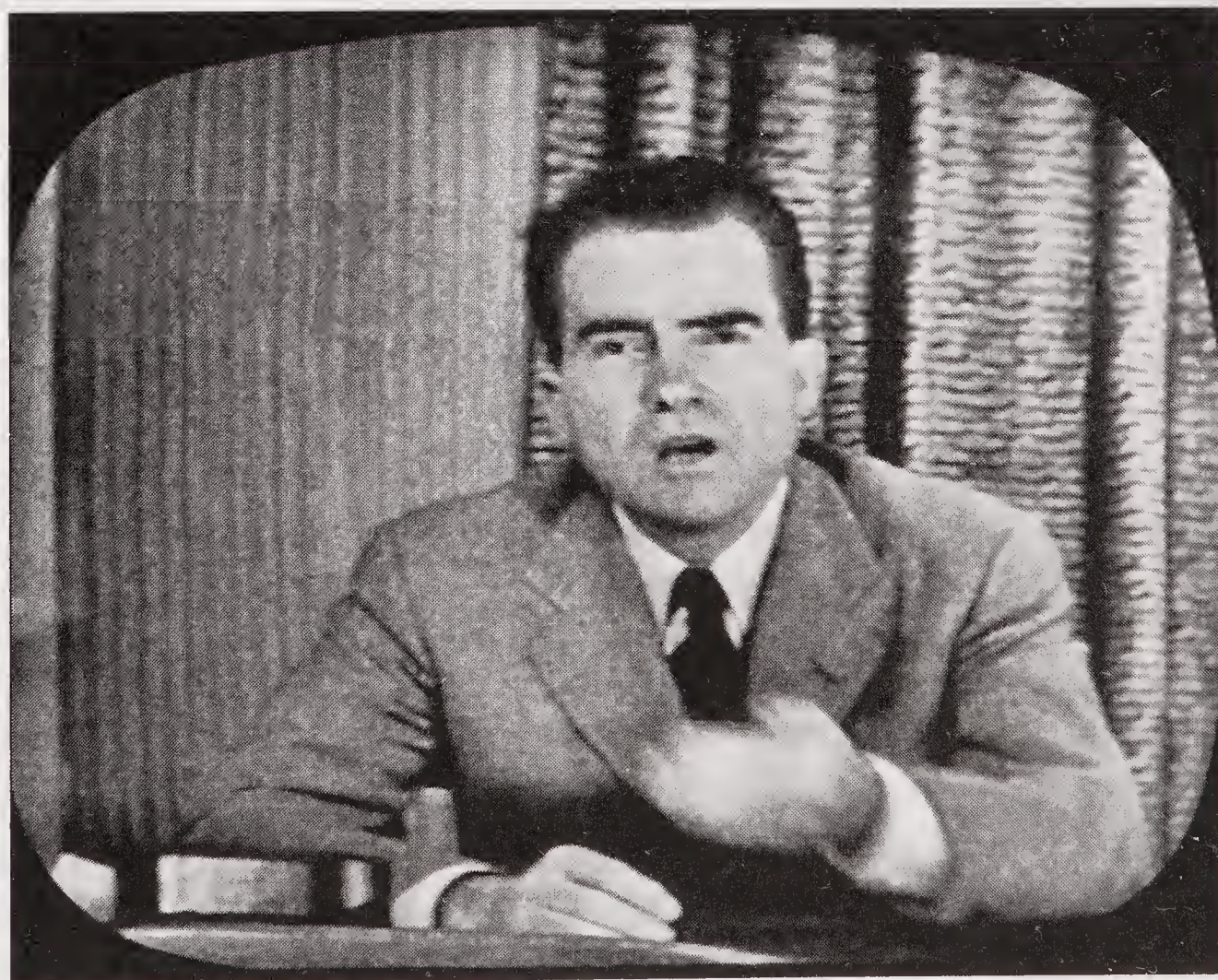
The speech proved to be dramatic. Nixon not only assumed the defensive but also used the speech as an opportunity to gain an edge in the campaign. He denounced communism and launched a counterattack against the Democratic presidential nominee, Adlai E. Stevenson, revealing that he, too, had a similar political expense fund while he served as governor of Illinois. At the end of the broadcast, Nixon offered an emotional plea

by instructing viewers to wire and write the Republican National Committee (RNC) and assist them in deciding whether to keep Nixon on the ticket. Following his performance, Nixon was convinced that he had failed. In fact, the outcome was quite different.

Shortly after the program, tens of thousands of telegrams were sent through the wires offering messages of support. Nixon had successfully defended himself before the bar of public opinion. The speech was a great success. It won the unanimous support of the RNC, and Eisenhower ended the uncertainty. The following day, Eisenhower summoned Nixon to Wheeling, West Virginia, where he had been campaigning, and announced his decision to keep his running mate on the ticket. With the Checkers speech, Nixon became a national figure overnight, drawing larger-than-ever crowds.

IMPACT

The speech was unique in the annals of American history. It was one of the first major events of presidential politics to reach a national audience at home. A record-breaking fifty-eight million voters



Senator Richard Nixon, the Republican candidate for vice president, speaks to a national television audience. (AP/Wide World Photos)

tuned in to Nixon's broadcast, making it the largest audience ever, to that point in American history, to hear the speech of a politician. In fact, *Entertainment Weekly* magazine ranked the Checkers speech number twenty-nine in its top one hundred moments in television history.

Although the speech provoked disdain among certain sectors of society for Nixon's disclosure of the most intimate details of his private life as well as his theatrics in exploiting his wife and his children's dog to garner votes, most of the feedback was decidedly positive. During his performance, Nixon connected with the viewers, convincing most of his televised audience that he had not broken the law. With his apparent unrehearsed explanation, Nixon endeared himself to the American public. His sincerity and openness won him the admiration of many. The speech outmaneuvered the Democrats and turned a potential disaster for the Republican Party into a political advantage. Nixon remained on the ticket, and on election day, the Republicans won in a landslide victory.

It proved ironic that at the end of his political career, resigning from the presidency in 1974, Nixon stood for the corruption of power that he sought to combat in his campaign for vice president. However, in 1952, Nixon managed to save his candidacy, and ultimately his political career, and went on to serve two terms as vice president of the United States. He was inaugurated on January 20, 1953, the second youngest vice president in the history of the United States.

—Heather L. Shaffer

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SEE ALSO: 1904: Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds; May 30, 1923: U.S. Attorney General Harry M. Daugherty's Aide Commits Suicide; Sept. 22, 1958: President Eisenhower's Chief of Staff Resigns for Influence Selling; Mar. 1, 1967: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Is Excluded from Congress; June 23, 1967: Senator Thomas J. Dodd Is Censured for Misappropriating Funds; June 17, 1972-Aug. 9, 1974: Watergate Break-in Leads to President Nixon's Resignation; July 31, 1972: Thomas F. Eagleton Withdraws from Vice Presidential Race; Oct. 10, 1973: Spiro T. Agnew Resigns Vice Presidency in Disgrace; May 14, 1974: *Washington Post* Reveals That the Nixons Received Jewelry Gifts; Sept., 1976: Jimmy Carter Admits Committing Adultery in His Heart; Aug. 5, 1994: Kenneth Starr Is Appointed to the Whitewater Investigation.

December 1, 1952

GEORGE JORGENSEN BECOMES CHRISTINE JORGENSEN

The New York Daily News reported that Christine Jorgensen had changed her gender from that of a man to a woman at a medical clinic in Denmark. The story initiated a media frenzy, fueling Jorgensen's career as a public personality and spokeswoman for the developing transsexual and transgender movements.

LOCALES: Copenhagen, Denmark; New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Medicine and health care; publishing and journalism; social issues and reform; women's issues

KEY FIGURES

Christine Jorgensen (George William Jorgensen, Jr.; 1926-1989), American entertainer
Christian Hamburger (fl. 1950's), Danish endocrinologist

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On December 1, 1952, Christine Jorgensen became an overnight media sensation. Americans were fascinated by her story. After living twenty-six years as George William Jorgensen, Jr., she dramatically changed her physical appearance through a combination of surgery and hormones. Public interest was sustained because Jorgensen displayed considerable panache with reporters, and photographers highlighted her attractive face and voluptuous feminine figure. Jorgensen passed as a woman with tremendous success, showing considerable flair for fashionable attire, and she had a command of humorous sound bites for reporters.

The *New York Daily News*, a popular American newspaper with a high circulation and dating from 1919, published the news that Jorgensen had reassigned her gender through surgery in Copenhagen, Denmark, and was on her way back to the United States. That such a prestigious publication released the account likely increased the likelihood that the story would be further developed by other journal-

ists across the United States. Also favorable for Jorgensen (and the media) was that the United States at this time was heavily embroiled in the Korean War, and Americans were content to focus on "lighter" news.

Jorgensen's gender reassignment became a huge media event. In no time, weekly periodicals such as *Time* magazine also featured the story. The first paragraph in the *Time* article of December 15, 1952, explored Jorgensen's experience in the military and discussed her bodily changes from the hormonal treatments and the number of surgeries she had endured.

The public learned about Jorgensen's long-standing desire to change her gender, a desire that led her to Europe. Readers discovered that she had begun life as George, the son of Danish American parents (George and Florence Jorgensen), and that she had one older sister. These mundane facts were easier for the public to digest than was the news that George always had been unhappy as a boy. He believed that he had been born into a wrongly sexed, or gendered, body (a condition now termed "gender dysphoria") and was meant to be a girl. Jorgensen's feelings persisted even while he served in the U.S. Army for a brief period during the mid-1940's, which, as many agree, would have severely challenged and rejected his femininity.

Jorgensen's military service, especially, piqued widespread interest. The headline for the *New York Daily News* article was "Ex-GI Becomes Blonde Beauty: Operations Transform Bronx Youth." Published photographs also highlighted the extreme disjunction between George's career choice prior to his gender reassignment and between Christine's appearance after surgery and hormone treatments. Additionally, the U.S. Congress had just instituted the Uniform Code of Military Justice in 1950, which created official policy for the U.S. military regarding homosexual service members. Jorgensen, however, did not identify as homosexual nor was he considered gay by the military; rather, he

identified as wrongly gendered. To most Americans during the 1950's, though, gays and male-to-female transgender persons (and transsexuals and cross-dressers) most often were considered one and the same.

Although the media presented brief details about Jorgensen's childhood and early career as an adult, it focused on what it believed was most scintillating and sensational: her reassigned gender. The media first reported on Jorgensen's decision to change her gender in 1950, when she traveled to Denmark and met endocrinologist Christian Hamburger, who was practicing medicine at the Statens Serum Institut in Copenhagen. Jorgensen became his patient within a few months of arriving in Denmark.

Reporters eventually discovered that Jorgensen had her first surgical procedure for genital reconstruction in September, 1951, after many months of tests, hormone treatments, and medical consultations. After this initial surgery, she continued to live in Copenhagen, developing an increasingly feminine appearance and lifestyle. Then, in November,

1952, Jorgensen underwent a penectomy, the surgery that led to the revelatory *New York Daily News* article of December 1.

The support Jorgensen received from her family contrasted dramatically with the chaotic media reception that greeted her when her flight landed in the United States on December 1. While the sudden media attention must have alarmed her initially, Jorgensen soon rose to the occasion. She was an attractive woman, which appealed to the media, and she used their attention to assist her move into a career in entertainment. She began to perform in nightclubs across the country and was even banned from some venues, which probably helped her in the long run.

More media attention came when Jorgensen was engaged to Howard J. Knox. Jorgensen and Knox attempted to get a marriage license but were denied in April, 1959. Under civil law, Jorgensen was considered a man (despite having undergone a vaginoplasty in 1954). Her birth certificate said she was born male, so she could not marry a man.



Christine Jorgensen. (AP/Wide World Photos)

IMPACT

Beginning during the 1960's, the media began to pay less attention to Jorgensen, for several reasons. Gender reassignment and different gender expressions became more normalized and accepted (or tolerated) in the context of a growing gay and lesbian rights movement, gender activism, and changing social attitudes. Indeed, social stigma against gender reassignment had been waning when Jorgensen died in 1989 at the age of sixty-two. Her death was barely noted by the press and by, perhaps surprisingly, transgender communities. Later histories have given her more prominence in their records of transgender and transsexual experience.

The *New York Daily News* article eventually had a positive im-

pact on how transgender people came to be received. Jorgensen, a media-appointed spokesperson for transgenderism, represented her constituency with flair, which likely helped to diminish negative public reaction to the topic of gender reassignment.

Certainly, many other individuals had transformative genital surgeries before Jorgensen, but through a combination of circumstances, Jorgensen sustained people's interest in a way that earlier individuals had not. She seems to have enjoyed her status as an icon for change. She was charismatic and confident in her interactions with the media, and she met many famous people as her career in entertainment progressed. While her influence on the public lessened during the later years of her life, she once again moved into the limelight with the growth of transgender and gender studies in academia and with increased interest in the early histories of the transgender and transsexual movements.

—Susan J. Wurtzburg

FURTHER READING

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George Jorgensen Becomes Christine Jorgensen

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Stryker, Susan, and Stephen Whittle, eds. *The Transgender Studies Reader*. New York: Routledge, 2006. A broad survey that includes extensive references. Helps place the transgender movement in its historic context.

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November 21, 1953

PILTDOWN MAN IS REVEALED TO BE A HOAX

The skull and jawbone of a prehistoric human was found in 1912 at a rock quarry. Long accepted as evidence of an evolutionary link between humans and apelike creatures, evidence came to light forty years later that human and orangutan bones and fossilized chimpanzee teeth had been combined to create a fake. Revelation of the hoax encouraged public skepticism about subsequent paleontological discoveries.

LOCALE: London, England**CATEGORIES:** Forgery; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; science and technology; literature; education**KEY FIGURES**

Charles Dawson (1864-1916), English attorney and amateur archaeologist

Arthur Smith Woodward (1864-1944), English paleontologist and museum curator

Franz Weidenreich (1873-1948), German anatomist

Kenneth Oakley (1911-1981), English anthropologist

Joseph Weiner (1915-1982), English biologist

Wilfrid Le Gros Clark (1895-1971), English anthropologist

SUMMARY OF EVENT

At a meeting of the London Geological Society held on December 18, 1912, Charles Dawson, an attorney and amateur archaeologist from Lewes in Sussex, announced the finding of a skull at Piltdown quarry (the skull had been broken up by workers) in 1908. He then told his audience that he brought the skull fragments to Arthur Smith Woodward, the curator responsible for geological specimens at the British Museum. Woodward then accompanied Dawson to Piltdown in the summer of 1912, and they recovered more fragments, including part of a lower jawbone. After reconstructing the skull to the best of his ability, Woodward proclaimed that it was

a new species intermediate between apelike beings and humans.

The find was extremely important in the context of the enduring controversy between evolutionists and creationists, whose arguments often crystallized around the notion of the so-called missing link that might prove the evolutionary descent of human beings from apelike ancestors. The skull of Piltdown man, as the find came to be known, became the subject of immediate controversy. Woodward's reconstruction was challenged by the Royal College of Surgeons, a challenge later dismissed by enthusiasts as mere quibble. By the time more serious criticisms were made during the 1920's, Dawson was dead and could no longer be called upon to answer criticism. In his absence, the evolving doubts about the skull's nature and provenance seemed incapable of resolution.

In 1920, anatomist Franz Weidenreich asserted that the Piltdown fragments came from two different skulls: the cranium from a modern human being and the jaw from an orangutan. The following decade saw a series of further discoveries of early hominid skeletal remains, including Peking man in China and the Taung child in Africa. These remains indicated an evolutionary descent incompatible with the Piltdown skull, but that only caused Piltdown man's supporters to be skeptical of the import of the new discoveries.

In 1948, Kenneth Oakley, Woodward's successor as keeper of geological specimens at the British Museum, used recently developed carbon-dating techniques on a considerable number of proto-human specimens. Oakley found that the Piltdown skull, unlike the others, showed no evidence of antiquity, but the authority and accuracy of carbon dating were still viewed with some suspicion, so the publication of Oakley's data in 1950 was thought insufficient to prove that the skull was a fake.

In June, 1953, Oakley mentioned his findings to Oxford University biologist Joseph Weiner, who then reexamined the skull in collaboration with his

colleague, anthropologist Wilfrid Le Gros Clark. They found that the skull was a composite of three sources, as chimpanzee teeth had been added to the orangutan jaw and human cranium. More crucially, however, they found definite evidence that the teeth had been reshaped with a file and that the bones had been artificially stained to make them seem old.

On November 21, 1953, the *Bulletin of the British Museum* published the findings of Weiner and Le Gros Clark, who used Oakley's data, and *The Times of London* broke the story to the public the same day. *The Times* news story, "Piltdown Man Forgery, Jaw and Tooth of Modern Ape [an] 'Elaborate Hoax,'" would lead to a global scandal. Other British and European newspapers picked up the story on subsequent days, as did newspapers in the United States. The public outcry was sufficient to provoke a motion to the House of Commons that proposed a vote of no confidence in the British Mu-

seum's trustees; the motion, however, was not carried. It is likely that the lasting effects of the 1925 Scopes trial in Tennessee brought the conflicts of evolutionary theory to the fore once again, even a quarter century later. Theories of human evolution could still stir the public.

Although it seemed likely that Dawson had been the faker and Woodward his victim, the lapse of time since the alleged discovery of Piltdown man made that conclusion difficult to prove. Hypotheses regarding alternative culprits and a wider conspiracy were soon proposed. Arthur Conan Doyle, who had taken an interest in the find because of its relevance to his 1912 scientific romance novel *The Lost World*, was soon a suspect.

More attention was focused, however, on Pierre Teilhard de Chardin, a French Jesuit and a paleontologist who had reportedly visited the Piltdown site with Dawson. Teilhard had been forbidden by



The Piltdown quarry excavation site in England in 1911, three years after the skull of a prehistoric man was allegedly found in 1908.

THE PILTDOWN HOAX

British scientists Joseph Weiner, Kenneth Oakley, and Wilfrid Le Gros Clark announced their findings in the case of the Piltdown Man, claiming the Piltdown skull and jawbone are fakes.

From the evidence which we have obtained, it is now clear that the distinguished palaeontologists and archaeologists who took part in the excavations at Piltdown were the victims of a most elaborate and carefully prepared hoax. Let it be said . . . that the problem was not capable of solution on the available evidence, that the faking of the mandible and canine is so extraordinarily skillful, and the perpetuation of the hoax appears to have been so entirely unscrupulous and inexplicable, as to find no parallel in the history of paleontology discovery.

Source: "The Solution of the Piltdown Problem." *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History) Geology* 2, no. 3 (November, 1953).

the Society of Jesus to publish his own theories regarding human evolution—theories that were equally unorthodox from the scientific and Roman Catholic viewpoints—and the posthumous publication of his ideas in *Le Phénomène humaine* (1955; *The Phenomenon of Man*, 1959) caused a mild sensation not long after the revelation of the Piltdown hoax. The argument for Teilhard's involvement won support from the successful popularizer of science Stephen Jay Gould.

The nagging enigma of the hoaxer's identity was resolved beyond all reasonable doubt when abundant evidence was uncovered of Dawson's inveterate habit of faking archaeological and fossil finds, apparently as a mere matter of attention-seeking. Piltdown man had been by far his most daring contrivance and Woodward his most prestigious victim, but he probably had no idea of the fuss that his hoax would cause so long after his death. He would doubtless have been delighted to know that the hoax would eventually win him an entry in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. The argument lasted long enough to maintain the public profile of the scandal, which was still simmering at the end of the

twentieth century. In 2003, the British Broadcasting Company produced a television documentary to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the revelation, in which the presentation of detailed and cogent arguments proving Dawson's culpability was still deemed necessary and newsworthy.

IMPACT

The Piltdown hoax of 1953 was generated by the discomfiting suggestion that there had been ready, willing, and able scientists who perpetrated gross deceptions to support the theories in which they believed. In a purely scientific context, the *Bulletin of the British Museum* merely supplied a coup de grâce to an awkward embarrassment. That such a significant scientific fraud had been perpetrated, and its fakery accepted as truth—at least by some observers—for forty years seemed scandalous to many of the newspaper reporters who commented on the revelation, and to their readers. The hoax undermined the trust to which the entire scientific community laid claim.

Sincere evolutionists were upset because the Piltdown hoax provided useful argumentative ammunition to creationists. As creationism enjoyed a remarkable resurgence in the second half of the twentieth century, its adherents continued to point to the Piltdown hoax as evidence of the lengths to which their opponents were prepared to go. That Dawson was an amateur and a habitual trickster rather than a professional scientist could not detract from the fact that many of his dedicated supporters were professionals, whose commitment to evolutionary theory swayed their judgment of what was very poor evidence.

—Brian Stableford

FURTHER READING

Lewin, Roger. *Bones of Contention: Controversies in the Search for Human Origins*. 2d ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997. Although primarily concerned with the history of archaeological discovery in Africa and with how researchers struggled for acceptance, this work provides a good overview of the quest for human origins.

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Weiner, Joseph S. *The Piltdown Forgery*. New ed. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003. A new edition of Weiner's popular account of the revelation of the hoax, initially published in

1955. The new introduction and afterword by Chris Stringer provide additional context and an update on the techniques employed.

Weiner, Joseph S., with Kenneth P. Oakley and Wilfrid E. Le Gros Clark. "The Solution of the Piltdown Problem." *Bulletin of the British Museum (Natural History) Geology* 2, no. 3 (November, 1953). The article that sparked the scandal. Remains a classic item of closely argued scientific discourse.

SEE ALSO: Apr. 25, 1983: German Magazine Publishes Faked Hitler Diaries; Spring, 1996: Physicist Publishes a Deliberately Fraudulent Article; Nov. 5, 2000: Japanese Amateur Archaeologist's "Discoveries" Are Proven Fakes; Aug., 2002: Immunologist Resigns After Being Accused of Falsifying Research; Sept. 25, 2002: Inquiry Reveals That Physicist Jan Hendrik Schön Faked His Research.

May, 1955

SCANDAL MAGAZINE REVEALS ACTOR RORY CALHOUN'S CRIMINAL PAST

Confidential magazine published a cover story about film star Rory Calhoun's juvenile criminal past that was based on information provided by his own agent, Henry Willson. Willson made a deal with the magazine so that it would not publish a story about actor Rock Hudson being gay.

LOCALE: Hollywood, California

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; Hollywood; public morals

KEY FIGURES

Rory Calhoun (1922-1999), American film actor
Henry Willson (1911-1978), Hudson's and Calhoun's agent

Rock Hudson (1925-1985), American film star

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1955, film star Rory Calhoun, who had been born in Los Angeles in 1922, was at the peak of his career. His agent was Henry Willson, who also represented film star Rock Hudson, whose career was rising faster than that of Calhoun. Willson found out that *Confidential* magazine was on the verge of publishing an article claiming that Hudson was gay. Willson, who was himself also gay, approached the magazine to attempt to make a deal: If *Confidential* would cancel the Hudson story, he would give editors information about Calhoun's juvenile criminal past. The deal went through. The cover story, "Movie Star Rory Calhoun: But for the Grace of God, Still a Convict," ran in the May, 1955, issue of *Confidential* with a photograph of film-star Calhoun featured next to a smaller mug shot of Calhoun



Rory Calhoun. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

from 1940, when he had been arrested as a teenager for second-degree burglary.

Calhoun had begun appearing as an uncredited actor in films during the early 1940's, with the backing of actor Alan Ladd and agent Sue Carol (who had also discovered Ladd). By the late 1940's, Calhoun was starring in low-budget films and, with *Massacre River* (1949), began working in Westerns, the genre for which he would become best known. During the 1950's, he added romantic comedies such as *How to Marry a Millionaire* (1953) and *Ain't Misbehavin'* (1955) to his credits. Then his past caught up with him.

The Calhoun exposé, written by Howard Rushmore, describes the actor as being "Tall for his age with heavy shoulders and a wicked punch, a kid of 19 with an Irish grin and an Irish name." It continues, "You know him as Rory Calhoun!" The five-page article shows that his arrest record as a teenager included Calhoun's use of several names (Timothy Durgin, Francis Norton, Francis Mc-

Cown, and Jack Raine). His record shows that he had been in juvenile court three times at the age of thirteen for burglary and possession of firearms. His rap sheet includes car theft at the age of fourteen, robbery at fifteen, and transporting a stolen car across a state line, a federal charge, at seventeen. He escaped several times from incarceration and was deemed incorrigible by authorities. He was sentenced to a juvenile facility, where he was to stay until he was twenty-one years old; he was then sent to San Quentin as an adult to serve twenty years on the federal charge.

Confidential's real target had been Rock Hudson. The magazine had even offered a bounty for evidence that Hudson was gay. Hudson had been discovered by Willson, who was well known for turning good-looking young men into beefcake film stars, matinee idols, and sex symbols. He also represented Troy Donahue, Tab Hunter, John Saxon, Robert Wagner, Guy Madison, and other leading men of the 1950's. Willson had a talent for using the fan press to promote his clients. When it seemed that Hudson's homosexuality was about to surface, Willson arranged a marriage between Hudson and Phyllis Gates, Willson's secretary. At this time in Hollywood, accusations of homosexuality would doom any leading man's acting career.

Calhoun's longest time behind bars, more than three years, had been at El Reno Federal Reformatory in Oklahoma. "At El Reno," Rushmore writes in his exposé, Calhoun had "slugged a gangster [and] sent him to the hospital." Calhoun, "the 'agitator,' was sent to the 'hole' for eight days. From here he went to the 'lockup'—no smokes and half rations for 42 days. . . . And then he met Father John J. Kanaly."

John J. Kanaly, the reformatory priest, told Calhoun that he was not as tough as he looked, but he invited the nineteen-year-old prisoner to accompany him to the boxing ring in the reformatory's gymnasium. "That day Rory learned there was a man who could lick him," the article continues. "He also learned enough about boxing to win 10 out of 12 bouts against professional fighters who were serving time in El Reno, bouts staged by the priest."

Eventually, the priest helped turn Calhoun's outlook around. The future actor was facing a longer sentence at San Quentin for previous convictions once he completed his juvenile sentence, but California court officials eventually dropped the charges. According to the article, Calhoun felt that his own prayers, inspired by the priest, had something to do with the charges being dropped. At the age of twenty-one, Calhoun walked out of prison. He went to work at an ironworks plant, worked at a logging camp, and then became a forest ranger after he was offered the job the head ranger. Calhoun had even told the ranger about his criminal past. A few years later, while horseback riding in a Los Angeles park, he became acquainted with Ladd—and the rest was history.

As it turned out, the Calhoun exposé proved not to be greatly damaging to the young actor-to-be. Rather, the article told the story of a youth who had befriended the wrong people and made bad choices but who nevertheless managed to turn his life around. The *Confidential* article included a photo of Calhoun with his wife, actor Lita Baron, whom he married in 1948. The article reveals that Calhoun had confided his past to Baron before their wedding, and then quoted her as saying, "You were a bad boy, weren't you? . . . When do we get married?" The magazine even tracked down Father Kanaly, who is quoted as well.

Tim Durgin [Calhoun's name as a prisoner] was good with his fists, all right. But, more important, goodness emanated from him. I had faith in Tim—Rory Calhoun, that is. His transformation to a respected place in the world is a great personal satisfaction to me.

Calhoun divorced Baron in 1970. In 1971, he married Sue Rhodes, with whom he remained until his death in 1999, at the age of seventy-six.

IMPACT

Because the *Confidential* exposé had no ill effect on Calhoun's career—some say that it solidified his "bad-boy" image—the impact of its publication is more about its "failure" as a scandal piece than

about its revelations of an actor's criminal past. The impact of the *Confidential* piece, and the story of how it came to be published, also reveals the amount of fear that existed among agents and actors in Hollywood that an actor's homosexuality or bisexuality would become public knowledge and would, thus, end his or her career.

Calhoun survived the story. He continued making films—more than eighty—and appeared in about one thousand television shows, including his own series *The Texan*, which ran on CBS in 1957 and 1960. He also produced and wrote screenplays and diversified into other businesses as his acting career wound down. He was awarded two stars, one for film and the other for television, on the Hollywood Walk of Fame.

Calhoun's final film was *Pure Country* (1992), the story of a country music star (played by George Strait) who opts out of the bright lights to return to his roots. He was listed sixth in the cast by that time. He also made a number of Westerns, some horror movies, and two films about a high school girl who moonlights as a prostitute (*Angel*, 1984, and *Avenging Angel*, 1985), in which he played an old-time cowboy actor called Kit Carson who comes through with unexpected heroics in both pictures.

Willson, who had been one of the most powerful agents in Hollywood, began to lose his reputation after the deal with *Confidential* leaked out. He spent himself into bankruptcy and ended up in a home for indigent entertainment-industry folks. He died there at the age of sixty-seven.

Hudson's career, unlike Willson's, moved forward. The "secret" that *Confidential* did not expose in 1955 came out three decades later, during the 1980's, when Hudson became the first public figure to announce that he was suffering from acquired immunodeficiency syndrome (AIDS). He took a leading role in bringing attention to and raising money to fight the disease. He died from AIDS-related complications in 1985.

—Paul Dellinger

FURTHER READING

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stage play. He also wrote several screenplays, including *The Domino Kid* (1957), which he adapted as a paperback novel, and wrote for his television series, *The Texan* (1957-1960).

Hofler, Robert. *The Man Who Invented Rock Hudson: The Pretty Boys and Dirty Deals of Henry Willson*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2005. An inside look at the workings of the Hollywood star system of the 1950's, focusing on Willson's activities as an agent developing such stars as Hudson, Calhoun, Hunter, and Donahue.

Hudson, Rock, and Sara Davidson. *Rock Hudson: His Story*. New York: Carroll & Graf, 2007. Written at Hudson's request and with his cooperation. Discusses his image as a masculine actor who also was gay and closeted.

SEE ALSO: June 25, 1906: Millionaire Heir Murders Architect Stanford White; Feb. 1, 1922: Director Taylor's Murder Ruins Mabel Normand's Acting Career; Apr. 12, 1922: Film Star Fatty Arbuckle Is Acquitted of Manslaughter; Jan. 18, 1923: Actor Wallace Reid's Death in Drug Rehab Shakes Film Industry; Dec. 16, 1935: Film Star Thelma Todd's Death Cannot Be Explained; Feb. 6, 1942: Film Star Errol Flynn Is Acquitted of Rape; Jan. 14, 1943: Film Star Frances Farmer Is Jailed and Institutionalized; Aug. 31, 1948: Film Star Robert Mitchum Is Arrested for Drug Possession; Feb. 25, 1977: Film Producer David Begelman Is Found to Have Forged Checks; July 28, 2006: Actor Mel Gibson Is Caught Making Anti-Semitic Remarks.

Late 1955

BRITISH ATROCITIES IN KENYA'S MAU MAU REBELLION ARE REVEALED

A state of emergency had been declared in colonial Kenya in 1952 to combat an indigenous uprising known as Mau Mau. The British security forces were largely successful in this campaign but evidence of their brutal methods became known to the British public by late 1955. This created a political scandal that led to Kenyan independence in 1963.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Hola massacre

LOCALE: Kenya

CATEGORIES: Atrocities and war crimes; government; racism; colonialism and imperialism; social issues and reform; violence; human rights; military

KEY FIGURES

Sir Evelyn Baring (1903-1973), governor of colonial Kenya, 1952-1959

Barbara Castle (1910-2002), member of Parliament and a leading critic of security forces in Kenya

Ian Henderson (b. 1927), colonial police officer and key Mau Mau leader

Jomo Kenyatta (c. 1894-1978), populist African politician and first president of Kenya, 1964-1978

Oliver Lyttleton (1893-1972), colonial secretary, 1951-1954

Iain Macleod (1913-1970), colonial secretary, 1959-1961

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The British colony of Kenya during the 1950's saw a rise in tension over a land policy that reserved much of its richest acreage for white settlers. Thousands of the Kikuyu people participated in an oath-taking campaign in which they pledged to resist European agricultural encroachment. The movement gradually became known as Mau Mau, a word of unknown origin that could have developed from the Kikuyu *muma*, or oath, or perhaps from the name of the Mau escarpment, a geographic region in the area with some guerrilla activity. By November of 1952,

scattered violence associated with Mau Mau led Kenya's colonial governor, Sir Evelyn Baring, to declare a state of emergency.

The colonial government reacted to the instability with several initiatives. Jomo Kenyatta, a populist Kikuyu political figure, was incarcerated even though he had publicly denounced Mau Mau activities. Thousands of troops were deployed in Kenya, including British army regulars, African soldiers of the King's African Rifles, white Kenyan settlers of the Kenya Regiment, and nearly ten thousand local home guards. Security forces gained the upper hand by detaining tens of thousands of Kikuyu suspects and forcing 300,000 more into fortified villages. Special counterinsurgent pseudogangs made up of former Mau Mau fighters led by Ian Henderson were particularly effective. By the end of 1956, all of the major guerrilla leaders, including the elusive Dedan Kimathi, had been captured or killed.

At the beginning of the crisis, public opinion in Great Britain was decidedly against the rebels, who were portrayed as bloodthirsty, barbaric savages inspired by dark and superstitious rituals. Gruesome photographs of murdered Kenyans, particularly victims of a notorious massacre at Lari in March of 1953, graphically reinforced this image. Sensationalized stories of advanced oath-taking ceremonies similarly emphasized the role of black magic and hinted at the menace of African sexuality. Colonial secretary Oliver Lyttleton seemed to believe that the devil himself was at work behind the chaos.

Perhaps it is unsurprising that once the Mau Mau threat began to seriously recede there was a corresponding surge in humanitarian opposition to the conduct of the war. In December of 1954, concerns were raised by the trial of loyalist leader Muriu Wamai, who confessed to murdering two suspected insurgents, thus contradicting earlier testimony by several officials who had tried to cover up for their local ally's crime. Several days later, Arthur Young, who had been sent to Kenya specifically to clean up abuses on the part of some security forces, resigned his position as commissioner of police in protest against the brutal methods he claimed were being condoned by the state. A little over a month later, Governor Baring announced a general am-



Jomo Kenyatta returns home in 1961 after being imprisoned. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

nesty for crimes that had been committed during the crisis. The program applied in theory to rebels and security forces alike, but its primary thrust was to safeguard the latter from prosecution. One of the immediate beneficiaries was Wamai, who received a quick pardon for his actions.

All of this added fuel to the growing fire of criticism being directed at the situation in Kenya, beginning in late 1955. Religious groups, in particular the venerable Church Missionary Society, expressed concern over the growing reports of brutality and abuse. A faction of the Labour Party in Parliament led by Barbara Castle also had begun to campaign against the Tory government's heavy-handed response to the crisis. Castle conducted a personal investigation in Kenya and began contributing to the emerging storm of criticism appearing in left-

leaning newspapers such as the *Daily Mirror*. Conservative publications shot back by continuing to emphasize the purported savagery and backwardness of the Mau Mau fighters. Throughout 1956 and 1957, the tide of public opinion gradually shifted against the government, especially after two former security personnel, Eileen Fletcher and Philip Meldon, went public with their insider information about abuses.

The major blow did not come, however, until the so-called Hola camp incident, also known as the Hola massacre. Early in the crisis, the colonial government had created a so-called pipeline system through which detainees could be rehabilitated. In this system, suspects were classified as “white,” “grey,” or “black” according to their presumed loyalty to Mau Mau. Whites were considered eligible for release while greys were subjected to a forced rehabilitation program structured around Christian morality. Blacks were considered to be hardcore prisoners who would be the toughest to crack. This color-classification system was clearly racially based and was later changed to a letter system. Detainees could move through the pipeline from the more severe categories to the more moderate ones if they responded to rehabilitation. By 1959, most detainees had been released but several thousand hardcore prisoners were still being held, including more than one hundred twenty people at the Hola camp. In accord with the Geneva Convention's prohibition on forced labor, these particular prisoners had been refusing to work.

On March 3, the camp commandant tried to break the impasse by having the resisters beaten until they started working. The technique was not called off until eleven prisoners were dead. Feeble and contradictory attempts were made to blame the deaths on the prisoners themselves (they drank water on a hot day, drank bad water, or drowned after being sprayed with water during a riot). A storm of controversy broke out, culminating in a debate in Parliament on July 27. The government narrowly avoided an embarrassing defeat on the issue, but the episode persuaded the conservatives that it was time for a change in direction in Kenya.

IMPACT

The Hola camp incident convinced Iain Macleod, the new colonial secretary, to end the state of emergency in Kenya in 1959. While the security forces succeeded, their brutal actions had called into question the very idea of a British “civilizing” mission. Close to twelve thousand Mau Mau and their presumed supporters had died during the uprising (more than one thousand were hanged), along with about two thousand loyalists. The Crown also had spent nearly sixty million pounds in suppressing the uprising. Retaining the colony was no longer considered worth the cost in blood or treasure.

Kenyatta was released after reiterating his opposition to Mau Mau, and negotiations were held for a one-million-acre land transfer to further reduce tensions. National elections were held in May of 1963, and after a few months of transitional government, independence was granted to Kenya on December 12. Kenyatta became Kenya's first president.

The legacy of Mau Mau has been a mixed one. Although most Africans in the colony eventually denounced the rebellion, independent Kenya retroactively embraced Mau Mau and used its legacy to justify Kikuyu political domination. Leftist opposition politicians likewise tried to interpret the movement as a classic communist insurgency, even though these leaders likely had never read the foundational works of Karl Marx, Vladimir Ilich Lenin, or Mao Zedong.

For Britain, the aggressive manner in which it crushed the uprising created a domestic scandal that made continued political domination of the colony impossible. The British had managed to defeat both Mau Mau and themselves.

—Roger Pauly

FURTHER READING

Anderson, David. *Histories of the Hanged: The Dirty War in Kenya and the End of Empire*. New York: W. W. Norton, 2005. An impressive study of the state of emergency. Highlights the issue of brutality in a logical and sobering manner.

Edgerton, Robert. *Mau Mau: An African Crucible*. London: Collier Macmillan, 1989. A readable,

insightful, and interesting study of the Mau Mau crisis.

Elkins, Caroline. *Imperial Reckoning: The Untold Story of Britain's Gulag in Kenya*. New York: Henry Holt, 2005. Contains intriguing anecdotal evidence but lacks balanced scholarship. The author's extraordinary claims of genocide created a media stir and won for her a Pulitzer Prize but have been heavily criticized by academics.

Lonsdale, John. "Mau Maus of the Mind: Making Mau Mau and Remaking Kenya." *Journal of African History* 31, no. 3 (1990): 393-421. Argues that of all colonial factions the military best understood the political motivations of Mau Mau fighters.

Prescription Thalidomide Causes Birth Disorders

Maloba, Wunyabari. *Mau-Mau and Kenya: An Analysis of a Peasant Revolt*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993. A respected scholarly book on the subject, this work comprehensively examines the social and economic structure of Mau Mau.

SEE ALSO: Nov. 15, 1908: Belgium Confiscates Congo Free State from King Leopold II; 1930: Liberia Is Accused of Selling Its Own Citizens into Slavery; June 4, 1979: South African President B. J. Vorster Resigns in Muldergate Scandal; Nov. 17, 2005: Liberian Workers Sue Bridgestone Firestone Over Slave Labor.

1956-1962

PRESCRIPTION THALIDOMIDE CAUSES WIDESPREAD BIRTH DISORDERS

The widespread use of thalidomide, a drug that had been prescribed to pregnant women during the 1950's as a sleep aid and as relief from morning sickness, led to birth disorders among thousands of children around the globe. Inadequate, although standard, testing for the time, along with aggressive marketing, produced an epidemic. The U.S. Food and Drug Administration, which disallowed the drug's use in the United States, would increase its regulations on drug testing and approval soon after the scandal.

LOCALE: Worldwide

CATEGORIES: Drugs; families and children; medicine and health care; science and technology

KEY FIGURES

Frances Oldham Kelsey (b. 1914), American pharmacologist

Widukind Lenz (1919-1995), German pediatrician

SUMMARY OF EVENT

During the early 1950's, a Swiss pharmaceutical company had synthesized the drug thalidomide. Thalidomide was first marketed and sold under the brand name Contergan in West Germany in 1957 by the German drug company Grünenthal. The company advertised the drug as a nontoxic medication with no side effects, helpful for a variety of ailments, including sleeplessness. Soon, the drug was prescribed to pregnant women to help with morning sickness, and its use was extended to Australia, Africa, Asia, and the Americas. The drug's effect on human fetuses never was established because drug tests were not required by German law at the time.

The first so-called thalidomide baby was born in 1956, one year before the drug's initial widespread marketing. The years that followed witnessed a dramatic increase in the number of babies born with birth disorders, including deafness, cleft palate, blindness, and, characteristic of thalidomide babies, torsos without arms, legs, or both. Some babies also had "flipperlike" limbs that grew from the

shoulder or hip. Eventually, physicians and researchers were able to link these birth disorders to the thalidomide taken by women while they were pregnant.

No accurate census of children that had been affected by the drug exists, but approximately five thousand thalidomide cases have been documented. It is known that thalidomide affected thousands of children worldwide. There also may have been thousands of stillborn or miscarried fetuses, and an estimated 40 percent of those born with the disorders died before their first birthday.

Grünenthal continued research and development during 1954 and for the next few years. The company marketed the drug as an anticonvulsant for epilepsy, but it was subsequently proved ineffective. However, thalidomide was found to be effective as a sedative or sleep aid. In particular, those targeted for its use were women experiencing nausea and morning sickness during pregnancy. Three years later, in October, 1957, thalidomide was marketed for morning sickness and nausea and soon became the drug of choice to help pregnant women with

these symptoms. Thalidomide went into general use by 1958 and was widely prescribed around the world.

An American pharmacologist, Frances Oldham Kelsey, looked into the effects of the drug. As a U.S. Food and Drug Administration (FDA) drug evaluator, she repeatedly held off numerous efforts by a U.S.-based licensee of Grünenthal, Richardson-Merrell, to market thalidomide in the United States. Kelsey had serious doubts about the safety of the drug, even though it was being used in Europe. She also noted that the drug affected animals differently from humans and doubted the efficacy of the drug testing that had taken place. Kelsey withstood the pressure of the drug manufacturers to push through its approval.

Because thalidomide did not receive FDA approval in the United States, fewer American women gave birth to thalidomide babies. Women in the United States who were affected had obtained the drug while living abroad or had participated in earlier studies. In recognition of her critical work, Kelsey was awarded the President's Award for Distinguished Civilian Service by U.S. president John F. Kennedy in 1962.

Widukind Lenz, a German pediatrician, established a firm connection between the use of the drug by pregnant women and the birth disorders in November, 1961. He demanded that the drug be taken off the market in Germany; it was removed beginning November 27. Soon, other countries followed. Criminal indictments of nine Grünenthal employees came in 1968, and the criminal case settled two years later with a monetary settlement for those affected by the drug.

In 1972, following the criminal trial, the German government enacted a law that formed the *Hilfswerk für Behinderte Kinder* (disabled children's relief foun-



A child born with a disability caused by the prescription drug thalidomide writes with the aid of a pencil-holding device. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

dation) to support disabled children, including children born with birth disorders. Grünenthal contributed more than 100 million marks to the fund, absolving it of further legal claims.

Thalidomide was produced by Grünenthal until 2003, but, according to the company, it was made for humanitarian purposes only. However, the drug—made by drug companies other than Grünenthal—remains available in some countries, especially in the developing world, both legally and illegally. It is available in the United States to treat certain forms of leukemia.

Given the scandal of the 1950's and 1960's, the drug's continued use remains controversial. Thalidomide was approved by the FDA in 1998 for use in the United States as a treatment for leprosy, but with very strict controls. Modern research shows that it might be effective in some cases of macular degeneration, HIV-AIDS, and multiple myeloma. FDA controls on thalidomide include the following: Doctors prescribing and pharmacists dispensing thalidomide are required to participate in a program sponsored by the drug's manufacturer, and patients also must be educated about the drug's effects; women must be tested for pregnancy before beginning use of the drug and tested again after use; women who use the drug must use two forms of birth control if sexually active; men taking thalidomide also must use birth control, such as a condom, because it is not known if thalidomide can produce disorders in the children they help to conceive; and donating blood or semen, as well as breast feeding, are prohibited while taking the drug.

IMPACT

There are several ways to measure the impact of the thalidomide scandal. To those persons and their families directly affected by the drug, the economic and emotional effects have been severe and long lasting. Many thalidomide babies who have survived into middle age and beyond have suffered further medical problems, possibly due to initial exposure to the drug in the womb.

Even more devastating has been the knowledge that the disorders could have been prevented had the drug been tested before being placed on the mar-

Prescription Thalidomide Causes Birth Disorders

ket. As a consequence of the scandal, the U.S. Congress in 1962 passed the Kefauver-Harris Amendment to the Food, Drug, and Cosmetic Act of 1938, which strengthened the FDA's control of the pharmaceutical industry. Germany produced guidelines for drug testing in 1964.

—Mary C. Ware

FURTHER READING

Hilts, Philip J. *Protecting America's Health: The FDA, Business, and One Hundred Years of Regulation*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003. Documents the history of the U.S. Food and Drug Administration from its establishment during Theodore Roosevelt's presidency to the beginning of the twenty-first century. Emphasizes the FDA's regulatory role and its battles against entrenched business interests.

Knightley, Phillip, et al. *Suffer the Children: The Story of Thalidomide*. New York: Viking Press, 1979. Dramatic and well-written account of the development of thalidomide by Grünenthal, its medical testing, and the massive international repercussions of the thalidomide controversy. Includes appendix summarizing applicable scientific research.

McCredie, Janet. *Beyond Thalidomide: Birth Defects Explained*. London: Royal Society of Medicine Press, 2007. Explores drug-induced birth disorders, with a focus on thalidomide use and its ramifications for pregnant women.

Pray, W. Steven. *A History of Nonprescription Product Regulation*. Binghamton, N.Y.: Pharmaceutical Products Press, 2003. Study of over-the-counter drug regulation in the United States. Includes a chapter on the Kefauver-Harris Amendment of 1962.

Stephens, Trent, and Rock Brynner. *Dark Remedy: The Impact of Thalidomide and Its Revival as a Vital Medicine*. New York: Perseus, 2001. This book was prompted by the return of the use of thalidomide in the United States. A collaboration by a scientist (Stephens) and a novelist-historian (Brynner) carefully relates the history of the drug's development, early uses, and later research and development.

Wallace, Marjorie, and Michael Robson. *On Giant's Shoulders: The Story of Terry Wiles*. London: Times Books, 1976. This book, later made into a film with the same title, chronicles the life of Terry Wiles, a New Zealander who was born disabled as a result of his mother taking thalidomide during pregnancy.

SEE ALSO: Mar. 21, 1928: Alberta Government Sterilizes Thousands Deemed Genetically and Mentally Unfit; Sept.-Oct., 1937: Prescription Elixir Causes More than One Hundred Deaths; Summer, 1974: Dalkon Shield Contraceptive Is Removed from the Market; Sept. 26, 1979: Love

Canal Residents Sue Chemical Company; Sept. 19, 1988: Stephen Breuning Pleads Guilty to Medical Research Fraud; Nov. 26, 1997: Canadian Health Commissioner Releases Report on Tainted Blood; Mar. 4, 1999: Quebec Offers Support for Abused Duplessis Orphans; Sept., 2000: American Scientists Are Accused of Starting a Measles Epidemic in the Amazon; Jan. 30, 2001: Liverpool Children's Hospital Collects Body Parts Without Authorization; Aug., 2002: Immunologist Resigns After Being Accused of Falsifying Research; Summer, 2006-Mar. 16, 2007: Manufacturer Recalls Pet Food That Killed Thousands of American Pets.

March 9, 1956

BRITISH CONDUCTOR-COMPOSER IS ARRESTED FOR POSSESSING PORNOGRAPHY

Sir Eugène Goossens, conductor of Australia's Sydney Symphony Orchestra, had been having a romantic affair with Australian occultist Rosaleen Norton, a controversial artist whose illustrated book of erotica was deemed obscene by the courts. After Goossens's home was raided, he was arrested after police found pornographic materials in his luggage upon his return from a trip abroad. The ensuing scandal damaged Goossens's career and forced him to return to his native England.

LOCALE: Sydney, New South Wales, Australia

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; music and performing arts; public morals; publishing and journalism; sex crimes

KEY FIGURES

Eugène Goossens (1893-1962), British composer and conductor

Rosaleen Norton (1917-1979), Australian occultist and artist

Bert Trevenar (d. 2003), detective with the New South Wales vice squad

Joe Morris (d. 1991), crime reporter for the *Sydney Sun*

Pamela Main (fl. 1950's), Australian pianist

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Eugène Goossens established himself as a leading conductor in Great Britain and the United States and enjoyed a reputation as an accomplished composer. In 1946, with his third wife, wealthy socialite Marjorie Foulkrod, he moved to Australia to become conductor of the Sydney Symphony Orchestra and director of the New South Wales Conservatorium. A lifelong student of the occult, he bought the book *The Art of Rosaleen Norton* (1952), which illustrated the erotic art of Australian occultist Rosaleen Norton, and began an affair with her the following year. Goossens and his wife were apparently emotionally estranged, and those who knew him claimed that he found both emotional release and artistic inspiration in Norton's company. At about the same time, however, Goossens also began an affair with a young pianist, Pamela Main.

During the 1950's, Australia was extremely conservative on issues of sex and sexuality. Whether

Goossens knew it or not, he was leaving himself open to both legal action and blackmail after he bought Norton's book. The book had been the object of a successful obscenity prosecution in 1953, the year after Goossens bought his copy. Furthermore, a sexually explicit film involving Norton and another of her lovers, Gavin Greenlees, had been stolen and offered to various newspapers. The editor of the Sydney *Sun* alerted the New South Wales vice squad, and Chief Ron Walden sent Detective Bert Trevenar to confiscate the photographs and to open an investigation. Trevenar allowed *Sun* reporter Joe Morris to accompany the vice squad on a raid of Norton's property in the Sydney suburb of Kings Cross. During the raid, Morris found a packet of incriminating letters from Goossens to Norton. It was later revealed that the conductor had urged Norton to destroy the letters. However, she did not do so, and Morris got a hold of them. He turned them over to Trevenar.

Trevenar was on the verge of arresting Goossens for "scandalous conduct" when the conductor left Australia for a concert tour of Europe. Goossens received a knighthood while in Britain but used his visit for other purposes as well, purchasing large quantities of material from London sex shops. Without his knowledge, he was being followed by an agent for the *Sun*, who witnessed the purchases and notified Morris. In turn, Morris shared the information with Trevenar. Goossens returned to Australia and was met by police officials at Mascot Airport in Sydney on the morning of March 9, 1956. Trevenar, Chief Walden, and a senior customs investigator, Nat Craig, were at the airport when he arrived; a photographer for the *Sun* was there as well.

Authorities confiscated from Goossens seven packages wrapped in brown paper and labeled with the names of composers. The packages, containing more than one thousand items, included sexually explicit books and photographs, a roll of film, and items considered pornographic at the time: sticks of incense and several rubber masks. Upon being questioned by Trevenar, Goossens admitted his relationship with Norton and described in explicit detail the "sex magic" rituals involving oral stimula-

tion that the two had participated in. In doing so, he left himself open to charges that could have resulted in a sentence of several years in prison.

The *Sun* and other Australian newspapers treated the incident as a major event and suggested breathlessly that many more cultural and financial figures were implicated in the satanic rites. With his house under siege by the media, Goossens now realized the gravity of the situation. On March 12, he requested a temporary leave from his directorial duties, and the homecoming reception that had been planned for him was canceled. On the following day, March 13, two customs officials served Goossens with a summons, charging him with violating the Customs Act (1901, 1954).

Goossens, who had suffered from heart problems for some time, braved reporters to consult with his medical specialist. The latter declared him unfit to appear in court the next day, so the case was adjourned until March 21. On that day, however, Goossens was still too ill to appear, but he pleaded guilty through his lawyer to the customs charges. He was convicted and fined £100, the maximum allowed by law. Despite the considerable evidence of Goossens's involvement with Norton, however, the New South Wales attorney general chose not to pursue further legal action, a decision that clearly disappointed Trevenar.

Apparently, Goossens hoped that his position with the Sydney Symphony Orchestra might be salvaged, but public opinion and the leaders of the orchestra were against him. He wrote a letter of resignation on March 26, and his resignation was accepted on April 1 by the Australian Broadcasting Commission (ABC). The orchestra further refused to take part in a public farewell. Soon afterward, Goossens wrote a letter to friends hinting at threats that had induced him to buy and smuggle the explicit materials, but no further details were forthcoming. In any case, Goossens left Australia for Britain by way of Rome, Italy, on May 26, flying under the name of E. Gray. He never returned to Australia.

Goossens's lover, Main, eventually followed him by ship and was reunited with him in London. Although the two hoped to marry after Goossens

obtained a divorce, his health was in decline, and he died on June 13, 1962. Shortly before his death he made out a new will and left his estate to Main.

IMPACT

Goossens was the dominant figure in Australian musical life, but despite (or perhaps because of) his position, his downfall was swift. Although sex was the ostensible reason for the scandal, anti-intellectualism, xenophobia, and class antagonism also played important roles.

The Australia of the 1950's was sexually and intellectually conservative, and Australian law prohibited not only the depiction of sexual acts but also many of the acts themselves. Goossens's admission regarding the exact nature of his relationship with Norton left him open to a legal charge of scandalous conduct, and although authorities had detained him for bringing prohibited material into Australia, Detective Trevenar clearly anticipated arresting him on the more serious charge. In the decades following the scandal, prosecutions for scandalous conduct would become uncommon, although the law remained on the books.

Goossens himself deserves much of the blame for his predicament. His patrician attitudes led to many enemies in media circles, and his open disregard for contemporary Australian mores fueled resentment among the native-born, working-class members of the police force and the civil service in general.

What Goossens planned to do with the materials he was carrying remains unclear, and although he hinted to friends that he was acting under duress by bringing the materials into Australia, he apparently never elaborated. His behavior at the airport is also puzzling. He may have thought that his position would shield him, or he may simply have been tired after his flight. Had he called in his lawyer, he might have escaped prosecution, for he had not been charged or arrested and was under no obligation to submit to questioning.

One incident suggests that not all those who knew about the impending arrest of Goossens at the airport were sympathetic to the trap being laid.

Years later, ABC general manager Charles Moses revealed that he had received an anonymous telephone call on March 8 that urged him to warn Goossens about unspecified trouble brewing at the Mascot Airport, but he had dismissed the caller as a crank.

—Grove Koger

FURTHER READING

Drury, Nevill. *The Witch of Kings Cross: The Life and Magic of Rosaleen Norton*. Alexandria, N.S.W.: Kingsclear Books, 2002. Biography of the artist and occultist whose involvement with Goossens drew the attention of authorities. Includes her letters to British writer and theologian C. S. Lewis, illustrations, and a bibliography.

Goossens, Renée. *Belonging: A Memoir*. Sydney: ABC Books, 2003. Autobiography by the daughter of Goossens and his second wife, Janet Lewis. Discusses not only the scandal in which her father was involved but also her mother's assertion, which she does not accept, that Goossens was not her birth father. Illustrations.

Norton, Rosaleen. *The Art of Rosaleen Norton*. 2d ed. Sydney: Walter Glover, 1982. Updated edition of the 1952 work that led to Goossens's involvement with Norton. Includes poems by Norton's lover Gavin Greenlees, an introduction by Norton's biographer Nevill Drury, and a bibliography.

Rosen, Carole. *The Goossens: A Musical Century*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1993. Comprehensive study of the Goossens family, including a full account of the scandal and its aftermath. Numerous black-and-white illustrations, a select bibliography, a list of compositions, and a discography.

SEE ALSO: Mar. 26, 1922: Hindemith's Opera *Sancta Susanna* Depicts a Nun's Sexual Desires; May 20, 1974: French Cardinal Daniélou Dies in a Prostitute's House; Nov. 20, 1974: British Politician John Stonehouse Fakes His Suicide; Jan. 12 and May 11, 1987: Media Reports Spark Investigation of Australian Police Corruption.

June, 1956

GEORGE F. KENNAN PROVES RUSSIAN SISSON DOCUMENTS ARE FAKES

The Sisson documents, a compilation of Russian reports, letters, and memoranda allegedly demonstrating that Bolshevik leaders at the time of the Russian Revolution were paid agents of the German government, were found to be fakes by noted scholar George F. Kennan. The papers, purchased in 1918 by Edgar Sisson, a special representative of the U.S. Committee on Public Information in Petrograd, were first declared genuine by a prominent historian and a language professor but determined to be fakes by another historian, and foreign policy expert, in 1956.

LOCALE: Princeton, New Jersey

CATEGORIES: Espionage; forgery; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; government; politics; military

KEY FIGURES

George F. Kennan (1904-2005), historian who exposed the Sisson documents as fraudulent
Edgar Sisson (fl. early twentieth century), American diplomat who acquired the Sisson documents

Evgeni Petrovich Semenov (fl. early twentieth century), Petrograd journalist who sold the documents to Sisson

Anton Martynovich Ossendowski (fl. early twentieth century), probable forger of many of the documents

J. Franklin Jameson (1859-1937), historian who pronounced the documents authentic

Samuel N. Harper (fl. early twentieth century), professor of Russian who vouched for the documents

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Sisson documents, which some claimed proved that communist leader Vladimir Ilich Lenin and the Bolsheviks were financed by the Germans, can be divided into two groups. The first group contained

papers in Russian that U.S. diplomat Edgar Sisson purchased in Petrograd, Russia, in February, 1918. Fifty-four of the papers were published that fall by Sisson's employer, U.S. president Woodrow Wilson's Committee on Public Information (CPI), in the pamphlet *The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy*.

The fifty-four documents published in the main body of the pamphlet included eighteen communications from the German Great General Staff, fifteen documents from the counterespionage bureau at Russian army field headquarters, eight documents from a "central division" of the General Staff, and thirteen miscellaneous documents from various German offices. All these documents were written in Russian and spanned the period October 27, 1917, to March 9, 1918. Readers were apparently meant to infer that these papers originated in Petrograd. The second group of documents, included as appendix I of the pamphlet, consisted of eight German government circulars from 1914-1916 and six letters from 1917, supposedly written by individuals in Scandinavia, Switzerland, and Germany. Appendix II included only the transcripts of several telegrams between Petrograd and Brest-Litovsk.

Sisson's source for these papers was the Petrograd journalist Evgeni Petrovich Semenov, who brought to David R. Francis, the American ambassador, one of the communications between Petrograd and Brest-Litovsk included in appendix II of the pamphlet. Petrovich Semenov soon gave Francis photographs of two or three other documents, also supposedly dating to a time before the Bolshevik Revolution. Sisson accepted this bait and purchased from Petrovich Semenov additional documents, fourteen purporting to be originals, dated after the revolution and showing the Bolshevik hierarchy accepting orders from secret offices maintained in Russia by the German military.

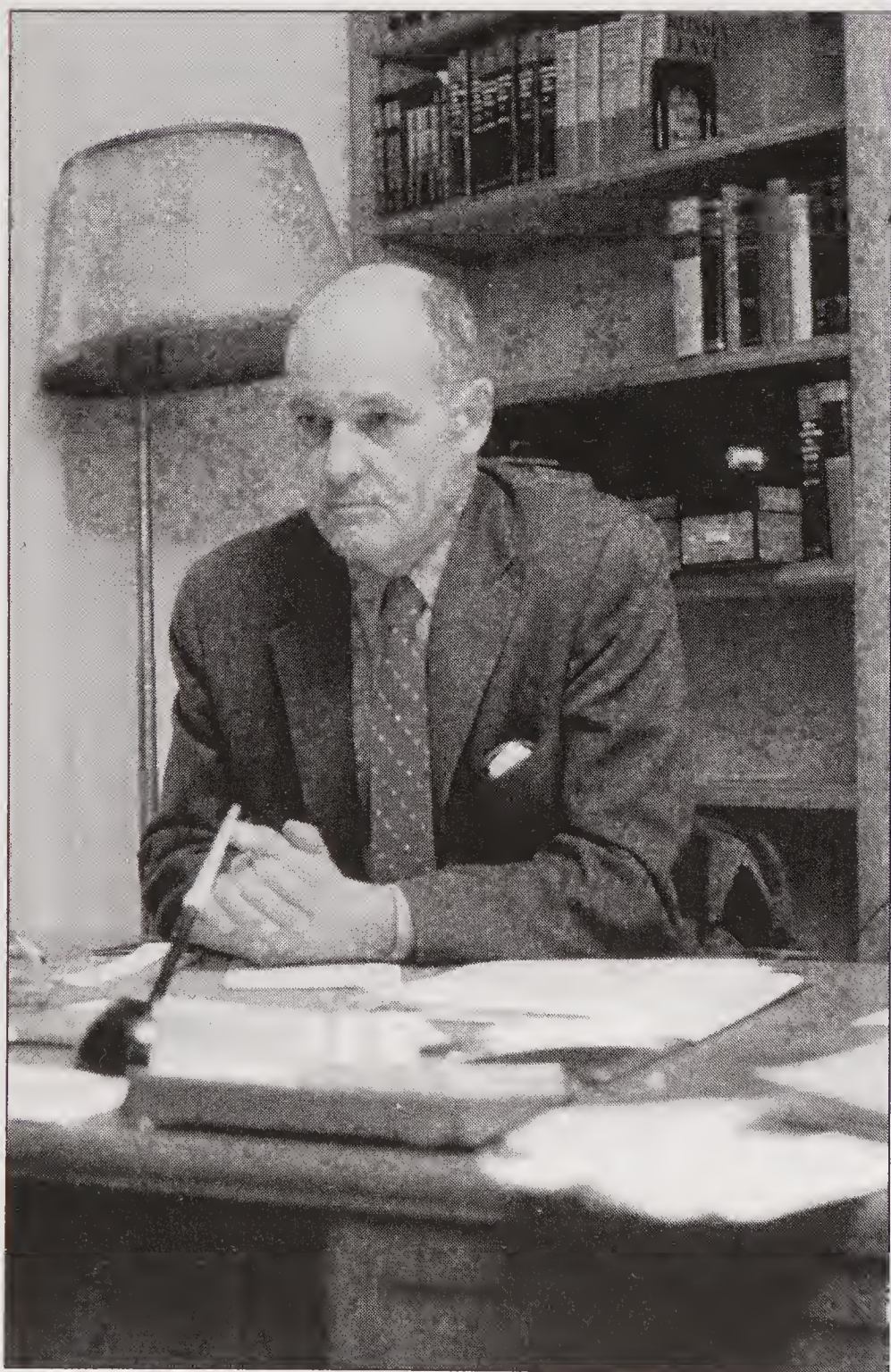
Impressed by this material, Sisson returned to Washington, D.C., in May and found little interest

in his purchase. That fall, however, CPI began releasing the documents to the press, where they were generally accepted, except by the New York *Evening Post*. It was then that CPI chose to publish all the materials in a pamphlet after appointing two eminent scholars—J. Franklin Jameson, director of historical research at the Carnegie Institution, and Samuel N. Harper, a professor of Russian at the University of Chicago—to evaluate their authenticity. Jameson knew no Russian so the responsibility for the verdict on whether the papers were real rested upon Harper. The two scholars said, “we have no hesitation in declaring that we see no reason to doubt the genuineness or authenticity of these 53 [out of 68] documents.” Harper later lamented in his

memoirs that for patriotic and political reasons he allowed himself to be used by not denouncing the papers from the start.

Most of the attention devoted to these documents has focused on the fifty-four specimens in group one. Another historian, Cold War expert George F. Kennan of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey, observed in a June, 1956, journal article that they are of such “extreme historical implausibility” as to be obviously fraudulent. He noted four absurdities: First, that the German General Staff could exercise such power over the Soviet leaders in the period following the revolution and keep this power concealed for decades; second, that the German General Staff could have controlled the January, 1918, elections of communist leaders; third, that the German General Staff could have secretly maintained two fully staffed offices in Petrograd with such “fantastic security of operation”; and fourth, that the Brest-Litovsk negotiations, and those in Petrograd, could have been “an elaborate sham” to fool the public—an impossible conclusion. “Lenin,” Kennan argued, “whatever one thinks of him, was not a conspirator against the Russian Communist movement.” Kennan also noted that there is no shred of evidence in any German files of such a conspiracy.

Kennan lists a dozen “random selections” from Sisson’s papers that conflict with historical fact. For example, the statement in document 5 that Lenin was in Kronstadt in July, 1917, is false. Identifying certain German agents in Vladivostok—as in document 9—was erroneous because those particular agents had left years earlier. Furthermore, document 19 makes no sense because an “occupational detachment” did not exist in Siberia. Numerous technical “imperfections” also pointed to the fraudulence of the paper, as did the German army’s denial of the existence of many of the German officers named in the documents. The German pamphlet noted that the supposed German letterhead had many mistakes, and that the letters from German officers are written in perfect Russian. The dating system used was inconsistent with the Soviet system of using a double date when changing from the Julian calendar to the Gregorian. Finally, close



George F. Kennan in his office in 1960 at the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton, New Jersey. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

analysis of the handwriting and the typing revealed numerous discrepancies.

Petrovich Semenov, the peddler of these papers, was a journalist who wrote for one of the anti-German and anti-Semitic newspapers printed by influential journalist and publisher Aleksey Suvorin. Petrovich Semenov appears to have participated in the provisional government’s attempt after the July, 1917, troubles to smear the Bolsheviks as German agents, and it was probably he who took to the Cossack region the documents that eventually made up appendix I of the pamphlet. Hoping to stimulate allied interest in these documents, Petrovich Semenov contrived on his return from Cossack country for sets of them to turn up at the allied embassies in early 1918. Petrovich Semenov later admitted that he had worked with two anti-Bolshevik groups to gather and distribute the documents. To the head of Scotland Yard he identified a journalist colleague, Anton Martynovich Ossendowski, as his source.

Ossendowski had a long and complicated biography, but he was born in Poland in 1876 and surfaced in Vladivostok in 1903 as an antigovernment agitator. When World War I began, Ossendowski apparently lent his pen to Russian business interests in a series of attacks on German competitors in the Russian Far East. By 1917, Ossendowski and Petrovich Semenov were conniving with the provisional government to show a connection between the Bolsheviks and the Germans. A curious sidebar to Ossendowski’s story is his prolonged campaign to defame Adolph Dattan, the German consul at Vladivostok and head of the prominent firm of Kunst and Albers. The retired Russian naval officer V. A. Panov, mentioned in document 9, was so enraged by being called a German agent that he did his own handwriting study that claimed all the signatures and marginal notes in the main body of papers (but none of those in appendix I) were written by Ossendowski. Kennan agreed, and concluded that “The evidences, direct and indirect, of Ossendowski’s leading complicity in the concoction of these documents are thus, in their entirety, powerful and persuasive.”

U.S. PROPAGANDA

The U.S. Committee on Public Information published a pamphlet The German-Bolshevik Conspiracy (1918), which contained what it claimed were authentic Russian documents, known as the Sisson documents. The documents, excerpted here, allegedly proved that the Bolshevik Revolution was actually an attempt by Germany to dominate Russia.

[T]he Bolshevik revolution was arranged for by the German Great General Staff, and financed by the German Imperial Bank and other German financial institutions. . . . They [the Sisson documents] show, in short, that the present Bolshevik government is not a Russian government at all, but a German government acting solely in the interests of Germany and betraying the Russian people, as it betrays Russia’s allies, for the benefit of the Imperial German Government alone.

IMPACT

The release of the government pamphlet at the end of October, 1918, had only minimal impact. Kennan said that “Its effect on public opinion seems to have been largely lost in the excitement over the simultaneous ending of World War I.” In 1920 and 1921, the U.S. Department of State was thwarted in its attempt to learn more about the documents by President Woodrow Wilson, and when he left the White House the originals all disappeared. In 1952, they were discovered in a safe as President Harry S. Truman was preparing to leave office. All the documents, including the materials gathered during the Department of State’s futile attempt to study the originals, were sent to the National Archives.

Ossendowski’s lies hurt several individuals. The suspicion surrounding Dattan led to his forced exile to Tomsk, and his company was damaged by Ossendowski’s repeated smears. Panov also suffered from his name showing up in document 9, but the U.S. government ignored his pleas for access to the original. Given these facts, perhaps the greatest result of Kennan’s definitive study was the vindication of those individuals implicated by Ossendowski’s slanders.

—Frank Day

1950's

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June 25, 1956

PRESIDENT TRUMAN'S APPOINTMENTS SECRETARY IS CONVICTED OF TAX CONSPIRACY

Matthew J. Connelly, a close associate of U.S. president Harry S. Truman, was serving as Truman's appointments secretary when he conspired to fix a tax case. Also involved in the conspiracy was T. Lamar Caudle, the head of the Justice Department's tax division.

Harry S. Truman (1884-1972), president of the United States, 1945-1953

Irving Sachs (fl. 1950's), businessman

Harry I. Schwimmer (fl. 1950's), attorney

Charles Oliphant (fl. 1950's), attorney with the Bureau of Internal Revenue

LOCALES: Kansas City and St. Louis, Missouri; Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; politics; business

KEY FIGURES

Matthew J. Connelly (1907-1976), appointments secretary of U.S. president Harry S. Truman, 1945-1953

T. Lamar Caudle (1904-1969), assistant U.S. attorney general, 1947-1949, 1949-1951

SUMMARY OF EVENT

After being sworn in as commander in chief following the death of U.S. president Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, the humble man from Missouri, said, "I felt like the moon, the stars, and all the planets had fallen on me." However, history has been kind to the unassuming Truman. He has been looked upon favorably for his leadership in such critical matters as World War II, the containment of communism, and the racial integration of the armed forces.

One of Truman's legacies, to which modern political leaders often make reference, is the aura of complete honesty and integrity that he brought to the White House. This reputation was well earned nationally by his famous Truman Committee, which oversaw World War II military contracts, as well as by his straight talk with the American public. However, such a reputation belies that Truman used to be known as the "senator from Pendergast" rather than as the "senator from Missouri." This derisive moniker reflects how young Truman's political career was developed, perhaps nefariously, by political-machine boss Thomas Pendergast of Kansas City, Missouri.

During the 1940's political world of party bosses, machine politics, and patronage appointments, a conspiracy unfolded within the high reaches of executive power. Though Truman was never directly implicated in the conspiracy, it certainly happened on his watch by those at least somewhat close to him personally.

Irving Sachs owned a sizable shoe manufacturing company in St. Louis, Missouri, called Shu-Stiles, Inc. Sachs was guilty of flagrant tax fraud and was investigated by agents from the Bureau of Internal Revenue (BIR; later called the Internal Revenue Service, or IRS). The agents concluded that Sachs should be prosecuted in federal criminal court for failure to pay taxes.

Sachs turned to Kansas City lawyer Harry I. Schwimmer to avoid prosecution for this crime. Before resorting to more sinister measures, the attorney tried two defenses. First, he claimed that Sachs had made full disclosure to the government agents. This was false, as Sachs had repeatedly lied to federal representatives. Second, Schwimmer argued that Sachs could not stand the ordeal of being prosecuted for this crime, as he was an epileptic and it would kill him. However, a physician appointed by the courts to look at Sachs concluded that the odds of Sachs dying from a prosecution were sufficiently "remote."

Now that Schwimmer had exhausted the usual paths to protect his client, he took an ill-advised turn into illegalities. Conspiracies, by their very nature, are secretive affairs. In this instance however, crim-

inal proceedings have shed at least some light on what happened next. Schwimmer was a business associate of Tom L. Evans, who happened to be an old friend of President Truman. Evans also was a friend of the president's appointments secretary, Matthew J. Connelly. Whether Evans introduced Schwimmer to Connelly, or whether Schwimmer made the connection himself, the Missouri roots of this scandal are apparent.

Schwimmer was paid forty-six thousand dollars by Sachs to assist him in this matter. Though ostensibly the money was for legal fees, during the 1940's this sum was a gross overpayment for such a service. By late 1949, the Sachs case had made its way from the BIR to the Department of Justice (DOJ). Now, Schwimmer's goal was to secure letters from both of the government agencies involved that there would be no prosecution of his client.

Connelly, though not formally a high-ranking official, had great informal power within Washington, D.C. As Truman's confidant and appointments secretary, he served as a gatekeeper to the chief executive. In politics, such face time with the boss is sought by many. Consequently, the bargaining power that Connelly brought to bear on executive department officials was strong indeed.

Connelly first contacted Charles Oliphant, the chief counsel of the BIR. Oliphant would have been in charge of overseeing Sachs's prosecution from the BIR's side. Oliphant cooperated with Connelly in thwarting Sachs's prosecution, as he is thought to have also done in the cases of many large corporations that were able to go through his boss, Secretary of the Treasury John W. Snyder.

With one-half of the deal sealed, the urgency now lay with getting the DOJ's assistant attorney general for tax cases, T. Lamar Caudle, to conspire as well. This group of Schwimmer, Connelly, Oliphant, and now Caudle spoke many times on the phone together and colluded to protect the heavily connected and well-bankrolled Sachs. In hindsight, the zeal with which they approached their task cannot be explained away simply as working for a bribe. They also were no doubt helping a genuine friend and partner in arms. Their actions also repre-

sented the status quo in Washington, D.C., for disputed matters such as this.

Several pieces of evidence provide insight into the conspiracy, and the conspirators' ultimately short-lived victory in obtaining a DOJ letter promising Sachs a "get-out-of-jail-free card." First, during the 1940's, the official phone calls of high-ranking officials were transcribed by federally employed secretaries. These officials were foolish enough to work out a portion of their misdeeds on official phone lines rather than on their private office lines.

Written accounting records from Sachs and Schwimmer also gave prosecuting attorneys evidence for use in the courtroom. Conspiracies are hard to prosecute without such evidence, but in this case that hard evidence was readily at hand. Connelly was the chief beneficiary of the illegal payments, as would not be surprising given his place of power outside the Oval Office. Connelly, at minimum, received an oil royalty worth about thirty-six hundred dollars, cash in the amount of twenty-five hundred dollars, two custom suits, and a top hat. Caudle received a thirty-three hundred dollar oil royalty as well.

The group's prosecution would wait until Republican president Dwight D. Eisenhower was firmly in power in 1956. At that point there would be no Oval Office shield for the shadow operators. Connelly, Caudle, and Schwimmer would be indicted on twenty-four separate counts, ranging from conspiring to defraud the government to perjury. Sachs pleaded guilty and paid forty-thousand dollars in fines for tax evasion, thus ending up losing considerably more money than the taxes that were assessed against him in the first place. Caudle was sentenced to two years in a federal correctional institution in Tallahassee, Florida. He served six months and was later pardoned in 1965 by Democratic president Lyndon B. Johnson.

Connelly, convicted on June 25, also was sentenced to two years in prison, for which he served six months, but only after a four-year delay for appeals. He served his time in 1960 and was pardoned in 1962, "fully and unconditionally," by Democratic president John F. Kennedy.

IMPACT

This criminal tax-evasion case in many ways pales in comparison to later White House scandals. Ordeals such as the 1972 Watergate break-in, supported by President Richard Nixon, as well as President Bill Clinton's sexual trysts with intern Monica Lewinsky and President Ronald Reagan's Iran-Contra debacle, were characterized by both direct presidential involvement and legal repercussions during each respective administration, and not afterward.

The Connelly scandal was, however, considered a serious one during the 1950's. Truman-era scandals were used as campaign fodder by Eisenhower and, ironically, his nominee for vice president, Nixon. At the time these scandals occurred, during the 1940's, they were representative of the old way of doing business within politics. Patronage appointments of old friends and "cronies" were commonplace. Major General Harry Vaughan, Truman's military aide, was a longtime poker buddy. Truman's Jewish business partner in Kansas City, Eddie Jacobson, played a little recognized role in the creation of modern-day Israel. Jacobson had urged his old friend to support the creation of Israel and speak with pro-Zionist lobbyists. The urging worked, and Truman ultimately backed the post-World War II formation of Israel.

Similarly, the BIR had been run by political appointees who were chosen for their loyalties rather than for their knowledge of tax code. In turn, these high-level appointees chose their own lower level political appointees. This type of intimate system was begging for an incident like that involving Connelly. In the end, Truman remained loyal to Connelly but fired Caudle for this case as well as other misdeeds.

The Connelly tax scandal serves as an example of what can happen if power is left unchecked. Since the time of Truman, so-called sunshine disclosure laws have been passed, and the federal bureaucracy has become increasingly complex and professionalized. In sum, fixing a tax case is no longer like fixing a traffic ticket.

—*R. Matthew Beverlin*

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December 12, 1957

ROCK STAR JERRY LEE LEWIS MARRIES THIRTEEN-YEAR-OLD COUSIN

The career of rock music star Jerry Lee Lewis was nearly ruined after revelations that he married his young second cousin, Myra Brown. The marriage led to a widespread boycott of Lewis by radio and television and by concert venues, which effectively stalled a career that might otherwise have rivaled that of Elvis Presley. The incident made him as infamous for his behavior offstage as he was for his musical performances.

LOCALE: Hernando, Mississippi

CATEGORIES: Families and children; music and performing arts; public morals

KEY FIGURES

Jerry Lee Lewis (b. 1935), American rock singer
Myra Brown Lewis (b. 1944), Lewis's second cousin and third wife

Jane Mitcham Lewis (b. 1936), Lewis's second wife

Jud Phillips (fl. 1950's), Lewis's promoter

Oscar Davis (fl. 1950's), Lewis's manager

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The popularity of rock-and-roll singer Jerry Lee Lewis was on the rise when the London press learned of his secret marriage to Myra Brown, his thirteen-year-old second cousin. Myra's youth, the secrecy of the marriage, and the discovery that Jerry Lee's second marriage had not yet ended created a media sensation. Despite attempts to keep the marriage secret, Myra admitted her relationship to the press on the first day of her new husband's 1958 concert tour in England, which was overshadowed by news of the marriage. The tour was canceled and the couple returned to the United States to find that Jerry Lee had been blacklisted by the entertainment industry. The incident would contribute to his reputation for reckless impropriety and reinforce the public's association of rock music with immorality.



Jerry Lee Lewis and Myra Brown Lewis in London in 1958.
(AP/Wide World Photos)

Though Jerry Lee and Myra realized their marriage would be controversial when discovered, they never suspected that the negative publicity would interfere with the tour's success. This miscalculation reflected their rural southern background. In Mississippi and Louisiana, marriage at a young age was frowned upon but acceptable. Jerry Lee was sixteen years old when he married Dorothy Barton, the seventeen-year-old daughter of a local preacher; they had lied about their ages to obtain the marriage license. Their marriage lasted one year before Dorothy discovered an extramarital affair between Jerry Lee and a seventeen-year-old, Jane Mitcham. When Dorothy petitioned for divorce, Jerry Lee refused to appear in court. Deciding his marriage to Dorothy was over and that the divorce proceedings were a formality, he married Jane, providing false birth dates for their marriage license. Jerry Lee and Jane married on September 15, 1953, twenty-three days before Jerry Lee's first marriage legally ended.

Jerry Lee met Myra in 1957 through another cousin—Myra's father, Jay Brown. Jay was a bass player with contacts in the recording industry, and Myra was his twelve-year-old daughter. Jay helped Jerry Lee secure his first contract with Sun Records, eventually becoming the bass player of the Jerry Lee Lewis Trio. Jerry Lee lived at the Brown residence during this time and did not allow Jane to live with him. When he petitioned for divorce, she answered with a cross-petition that claimed he had not been supporting her or their two children. When it was discovered that their marriage had been illegal, Jerry Lee convinced Jane to drop the lawsuit but neglected to have the marriage annulled.

Jerry Lee then began to secretly date Myra, reasoning that he and Jane were never married. That December, an older-looking female friend accompanied him to the courthouse to pose as Myra, so he could register Myra as an eighteen-year-old on a marriage license. Myra and Jerry Lee married on December 12; Myra was thirteen years old and Jerry Lee was twenty-two years old. Jane learned of the

Jerry Lee-Myra marriage the following March and divorced Jerry Lee in April.

Between September, 1956, and April, 1958, Jerry Lee had progressed from anonymity to national fame, with three major television appearances and record sales numbering in the millions. However, the public knew nothing about his personal life. Sun Records promoter Jud Phillips and manager Oscar Davis struggled to keep the marriage a secret. The tour in England was arranged with a warning to Jerry Lee: to keep the marriage a secret. However, they could not keep him from taking Myra to England with him.

Jerry Lee and Myra arrived in London on May 22 to find a crowd of reporters waiting for them at the airport, but none knew that Jerry Lee was married. That changed when after one reporter asked Myra who she was; she replied that she was Jerry Lee's wife. Davis pulled Myra into a waiting limousine before the reporter could ask more questions. Two more reporters showed up at the hotel suite and interviewed Jerry Lee and Myra briefly before Davis arrived and forced the reporters to leave. Questions about Myra continued at Jerry Lee's promotional press conference. Reporters were told that Myra was fifteen years old and a grown woman.

Newspapers the following day ran articles that focused more on Jerry Lee's underage bride than on his concert tour. After some research, London's *Daily Mirror* learned that Myra was actually thirteen years old and her husband's cousin, and that Jerry Lee had not divorced his previous wife. On May 25, London police visited the couple at their hotel, inspected their passports, and questioned them on the validity of their marriage. The Home Office secretary briefly investigated the possibility of deporting the couple as "undesirable aliens."

The unresolved legal issues and questionable morality of the relationship dominated press coverage. Some editorials called for the couple to be deported, accusing Jerry Lee of bigamy, incest, and pedophilia. In an attempt to quell the controversy over the marriage's questionable legality, Davis tried to have the couple marry again, but the American embassy in England refused, citing conflicts

with British law. Poor concert attendance and constant heckling led to the tour's cancellation after only three shows. The Lewises left England a few days after they had arrived.

In the United States, Jerry Lee's latest single peaked at number twenty-one on the pop charts before it abruptly stopped selling. Radio stations stopped playing his songs and he was turned down for appearances on television. In response, he published an open letter to the music industry, apologizing for his bigamy, characterizing it as a misunderstanding of his legal status with Jane.

Jerry Lee and Myra held another marriage ceremony on June 4, which did little to allay criticism. Myra's age and her blood relation to Jerry Lee remained controversial, and the reaffirmation of their relationship demonstrated Jerry Lee's disregard for those issues. A lawsuit by British tour promoters cost Sun Records \$100,000. Sun tried unsuccessfully to restart Jerry Lee's career, investing personal money and enlisting private investments to continue promoting its former star—but Jerry Lee had been blacklisted by the entertainment industry. He continued to play in small venues for a fraction of his former salary and eventually became a successful country singer during the 1970's. However, he never approached the level of success he had anticipated in 1958.

IMPACT

Jerry Lee Lewis became a symbol of rock's threat to traditional morality. Before the scandal, he had been a controversial figure because of his music. Opponents of rock music during the 1950's associated it with lewdness and obscenity. Rock and roll was also associated with African American culture, leading some adults to worry about its popularity among white teenagers, especially girls. Indeed, some stations refused to play Jerry Lee's early records on the radio because they thought he was black. "Whole Lotta Shakin' Goin' On" (1957), one of Jerry's Lee's first hits, had once been banned from radio stations because of perceived sexual innuendos. The sexually charged performances of male rock stars and the adulation of their fans made singers like Jerry Lee especially threatening.

Jerry Lee's marriage to Myra Brown shifted media attention from his professional accomplishments to his personal life. Though he was used to controversy over his music, the singer was unprepared for the reaction to his marriage. His grandfather had married a fifteen-year-old first cousin, and his mother had married at the age of sixteen. He had not been close to the Brown family until his adulthood. Myra later claimed that the couple had never thought of each other as cousins.

Financial and emotional strain would lead to the deterioration of the marriage, which ended in divorce in 1971. Subsequent arrests and hospitalizations for problems related to substance abuse merely added to his already poor reputation for impulsive and amoral behavior. By the time he was inducted into the Rock and Roll Hall of Fame in 1986, Jerry Lee had become a symbol of everything the public associates with rock, the good as well as the bad.

—Shaun Horton

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April 4, 1958

ACTOR LANA TURNER'S DAUGHTER KILLS TURNER'S GANGSTER LOVER

A beautiful and popular film actor who made headlines for her many marriages and romances as often as for her films, Lana Turner became romantically involved with violent gangster Johnny Stompanato. Turner's daughter, Cheryl Crane, stabbed him to death one night when he was threatening them both. Some continue to suspect that Turner killed Stompanato, who was known for abusing women.

LOCALE: Beverly Hills, California

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; organized crime and racketeering; Hollywood

KEY FIGURES

Lana Turner (1921-1995), American film star
Cheryl Crane (b. 1943), daughter of Turner
Johnny Stompanato (1925-1958), American gangster

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Lana Turner could easily serve as the archetype of the American movie star of the first half of the twentieth century: modestly talented but gorgeous, stylish, photogenic, sexy, and shamelessly profligate in her love life. In the Hollywood rags-to-riches tradition reflected in a number of her films, Turner was discovered as a high school student from a working-class family when a reporter saw her in a drugstore in Los Angeles and was impressed by her beauty.

Within months, the teenager was a professional actor, working steadily for the next twenty years for two of the most prestigious studios in the film industry at the time, first Warner Bros. and then Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer, appearing opposite superstars such as Clark Gable and Spencer Tracy. Her costars most often received the critical acclaim, however. Before the Stompanato scandal, she had given only two thoroughly effective performances in leading roles, first as the unfaithful and murder-

ous young wife in *The Postman Always Rings Twice* (1946) and as the harried mother in the screen version of Grace Metalious's best seller, *Peyton Place* (1957), for which she received an Oscar nomination for Best Actress.

Instead, most of Turner's fame was based on her glamorous face and figure and on her many marriages and romantic escapades. Dubbed the Sweater Girl, she became a popular pin-up among soldiers during World War II. By the time she got involved with Johnny Stompanato in 1957, she had had four husbands: bandleader Artie Shaw, restaurateur Stephen Crane (Cheryl Crane's father), millionaire Henry Topping, and actor Lex Barker, whom she divorced after Cheryl accused him of molesting her. Her list of other lovers was rumored to include Gable.

Stompanato came from a middle-class family in Woodstock, Illinois, where it seems he had been something of a problem child. His father sent him to a military school, where he spent most of his high school years. He enlisted in the U.S. Marine Corps during World War II and served honorably in the Pacific. His activities between the time he left the military at the end of the war and his emergence in Hollywood are uncertain. He likely traveled in Asia and the Middle East, married at least once, and worked in night clubs. Arriving in Hollywood during the mid-1950's, he became part of the entourage of infamous California mobster Mickey Cohen, serving as his bodyguard and operating a gift shop that sold bric-a-brac as a cover for a number of Cohen's criminal activities. He and Turner met in 1957 soon after her separation from Barker. They had been together slightly more than one year when he was killed by Turner's daughter.

Stompanato had a reputation for being temperamental, violent, and insanely jealous. According to both Turner and Crane—at the time of the killing and later in interviews and autobiographies—he of-



Lana Turner, left, Johnny Stompanato, and Cheryl Crane at Los Angeles International Airport, fifteen days before Stompanato's murder. (AP/Wide World Photos)

ten was abusive, flying into rages over trivialities and striking Turner, sometimes beating her viciously. A public demonstration of Stompanato's temper and jealousy had occurred earlier in 1958 when Turner was in England making a film called *Another Time, Another Place* opposite Sean Connery. Stompanato brandished a gun in Connery's face, and the two men fought. It was a similar fit of anger and jealousy that allegedly led to Stompanato's death in April of 1958.

As in many such cases, what really went on during the early hours of Good Friday in 1958 in Turner's Beverly Hills home remains uncertain. According to Turner and Crane, Stompanato was infuriated because Turner wanted to end the abusive relationship and insisted that he move out of

the house at once. Crane at first tried to talk the couple into calming down, but Stompanato's wrath only increased, and he began to threaten to kill not only Turner but also Crane and Turner's mother. In a panic, Crane raced to the kitchen, grabbed a butcher knife, and returned to her mother's bedroom. Minutes later, Stompanato lay dying from a stab wound. Turner later testified that she had not actually seen her daughter stab her lover, as he was standing in front of her, blocking her view of Crane.

Years later, Crane suggested that she had not intentionally stabbed Stompanato; instead, she brandished the knife only as a warning to make him back away from her mother. In a rage, however, he thrust himself forward to disarm her and ended up impaling himself on the knife when she held it out to protect herself. Turner summoned first a doctor, who tried but failed to revive Stompanato, and then Jerry Geisler, the most renowned show-business lawyer of the time. Crane spent the Easter weekend in juvenile detention.

One week later, a coroner's inquest was held. Unsurprisingly, the inquest quickly became a spectacle. Reporters swamped the small hearing room, and the public lined up at dawn to get into the court. When Turner herself testified, minutiae pertaining to her clothes, makeup, vocal inflections, and emotional breakdowns on the stand appeared in newspapers across the United States. Debate erupted about whether Turner's distraught behavior and appearance in court were authentic or merely histrionics aimed at getting herself and her only child out of a desperate situation. Numerous rumors arose, the two most prominent being that Turner had actually killed Stompanato and that both mother and daughter had been in love with him. At one point, a mentally disturbed man disrupted the proceedings and had to be removed. Eventually, the jury deliberated for half an hour and

found that Crane's killing of Stompanato had been justifiable homicide.

IMPACT

Because of the scandal, Turner's career surged again: Sales of tickets to *Peyton Place*, which was still in theaters, skyrocketed. Soon afterward, famed cult-film director Douglas Sirk offered Turner the lead in *Imitation of Life* (1959), which dealt with mother-daughter conflicts, and it was a box-office hit. She continued to act through the 1980's, dying of cancer in 1995. However, the effects on Crane's life were wholly negative. The court investigated Turner as an unfit mother, and Crane was sent to stay with her grandmother. Her adolescence was troubled, and she spent time in reform school. As an adult, however, she became a successful businesswoman and wrote a well-received autobiography.

The Stompanato scandal maintains a place in American popular literature, films, and music. In 1962, Harold Robbins's best seller, *Where Love Has Gone*, was inspired by the scandal, especially the unfounded rumor that both mother and daughter had been in love with Stompanato. In 1964, a film version of Robbins's novel was a financial success and earned several Oscar nominations. In 1987, Woody Allen wrote and directed *September*, the focal characters of which are a mother and daughter based on Turner and Crane. Allen drew on the other common rumor from the 1950's: that Turner had actually slain her lover and then let her daughter take the blame. James Ellroy's 1990 crime thriller *L.A. Confidential* and its 1997 film adaptation feature Cohen, Stompanato, and Turner as characters, though the latter two are minor.

Furthermore, much of Turner's makeup, hairstyle, and public persona were appropriated by pop singers of the 1980's and 1990's, including Madonna (who refers to Turner in her hit song "Vogue") and Gwen Stefani. In 2003, urban folk-singer Tom Russell included the song "Tijuana Bi-

ble" on his album *Modern Art*. The song encapsulates in a few lines the story of the Turner-Crane-Stompanato scandal.

—Thomas Du Bose

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September 22, 1958

PRESIDENT EISENHOWER'S CHIEF OF STAFF RESIGNS FOR INFLUENCE SELLING

In 1958, U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower's chief of staff, Sherman Adams, faced charges that he had attempted to influence the Securities and Exchange Commission and the Federal Trade Commission on behalf of a textile manufacturer, who had paid some of Adams's bills and given him expensive gifts. The scandal forced Adams, a former U.S. representative and governor of New Hampshire, to resign.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; government; politics; business

KEY FIGURES

Sherman Adams (1899-1986), Republican governor of New Hampshire, 1949-1953, and President Dwight D. Eisenhower's chief of staff, 1953-1958

Dwight D. Eisenhower (1890-1969), president of the United States, 1953-1961

Bernard Goldfine (1889-1967), New England textile manufacturer

Meade Alcorn (1907-1992), chairman of the Republican National Committee

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Sherman Adams, a popular Republican governor of New Hampshire, helped Dwight D. Eisenhower win the Republican nomination for U.S. president in 1952. For his campaign skills, Eisenhower asked him to serve as chief of staff in 1953, although Adams was never given a specific job title or description. Adams was among the most publicly visible members of the Eisenhower administration and one of the most visible chiefs of staff in modern presidential history.

Adams became well known for his colorful character. A terse man with a notorious lack of tact, he did not hold press conferences but, on many occasions, spoke to groups of reporters or presented the

administration's point of view in public forums. In January, 1958, he famously delivered a blistering attack on the Democratic Party, blaming it for the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor in 1941 and for the loss of the space race with the Soviet Union.

Stories abounded about Adams's supposed influence with Eisenhower. As chief of staff, Adams helped the president by serving as a buffer. He played gatekeeper, determining who and what got access to Eisenhower, as well as coordinating policy making and serving as a spokesperson. In his memoirs, Adams described his routine work as resolving differences between cabinet secretaries and agency heads before a given issue was submitted to Eisenhower.

By including some people while excluding others, chiefs of staff inevitably create ill-feeling on the part of those who feel that their message has been excluded. For his part, Adams acquired the nicknames great stone face and abominable no-man. He apparently relished this gruff, autocratic image, but it did not help him when he came under attack for ethical lapses. Given that hostility to chiefs of staff often arises from within the president's own party and administration, chiefs of staff who fall from grace are typically with few allies and many intense enemies. Both the Republicans and the Democrats strongly disliked Adams. He essentially had a constituency of one: Eisenhower.

In early June, 1958, a subcommittee of the House Interstate and Foreign Commerce Committee claimed that Adams had allowed a New England industrialist, Bernard Goldfine, to pay some of the chief of staff's hotel bills in Boston. Goldfine also had given Adams an expensive vicuña coat and an oriental carpet worth \$2,400. In return, Adams allegedly lobbied for Goldfine, who was having tax and regulatory problems with the Securities and Exchange Commission (SEC). In his memoirs, Adams explained that he had also given gifts to Goldfine and that the hotel accommodations he used at the

Sheraton Plaza in Boston were maintained by Goldfine for the convenience of his friends and business associates. Goldfine often gifted the prominent people of New England with the products of his mills, including vicuña coats. Adams contended that he did not see any strings attached to the gifts.

A Russian immigrant, Goldfine owned textile mills in four New England states, with his base in Lebanon, New Hampshire. As many other textile manufacturers moved out of New England in search of cheaper labor and low-cost power, Goldfine stayed put and paid his employees well. He was well-respected in the region. To further his business interests, Goldfine had wine and dined New England governors, including Adams. The Adams and Goldfine families had spent weekends together.

In 1953, the Federal Trade Commission (FTC) accused Goldfine of mislabeling his textiles. Goldfine took his problem to Adams, who called the chairman of the FTC, Edward F. Howrey. When the mislabeling continued, Adams set up a meeting between Goldfine and Howrey that resulted in the charges being dropped. Adams intervened again, in 1955, when Goldfine faced SEC charges for failing to find annual financial reports for one of his companies. The relationship between Goldfine and Adams raised suspicions.

Adams could have cited Eisenhower's blanket protection for White House employees against testifying before committees, policy that was enacted in 1954 during the U.S. Army-McCarthy hearings. Instead, Adams faced his accusers. He later stated that he did so because he believed that the congressional committee intended to criticize his conduct as an aide to Eisenhower. Under the circumstances, Adams held that the usual restrictions against testimony by a White House staff member did not apply.

Adams declared in his memoirs that he felt a personal responsibility to make a public disclosure of every bit of information that he knew about the Goldfine case. Accordingly, on June 17, Adams appeared before the committee. He said that Goldfine had been a personal friend for eighteen years but that he knew little about his business dealings. Adams admitted to a lack of prudence with Goldfine, but also insisted that he had placed only one phone

call to the SEC, asking the agency to expedite its Goldfine hearings.

Eisenhower also spoke publicly on Adams's behalf at a news conference during the hearings. The president said that he had accepted gifts from friends that far exceeded the value of items accepted by Adams from Goldfine. Eisenhower also had accepted several yards of vicuña material from Goldfine. Privately, he noted that gift-giving was a worldwide custom and difficult to refuse without giving offense to the donor. Publicly, Eisenhower stated that no one could doubt Adams's personal integrity and honesty. He described his aide as effective and dedicated.

Nevertheless, Democrats calling for Adams's resignation were joined by such Republican stalwarts as Barry Goldwater and Bill Knowland. In July, Eisenhower sent Vice President Richard Nixon to advise Adams that he had become a political liability for the upcoming congressional elections. A sweep by Democrats appeared certain, especially in the wake of the crisis surrounding the racial integration of Little Rock High School in Arkansas and the debacle of Sputnik, the first satellite in space and a Soviet accomplishment. Adams refused to resign.

By early September, the demands for Adams to resign had become irresistible. Still, Eisenhower, loyal to the person who had served him well, hated to let his chief of staff go. Meade Alcorn, chairman of the Republican National Committee, forced Eisenhower's hand by advising him that the Adams scandal made it difficult to raise money. Eisenhower asked Alcorn to join with Nixon in speaking to Adams. However, Adams still refused to resign, then spoke personally with Eisenhower. At this meeting, on September 17, Adams indicated that he was willing to resign but that he wanted to wait a month or so to get the personnel situation straightened out. Eisenhower initially agreed but then telephoned Adams to say that the situation could not continue for another month. On September 22, Adams announced his resignation. Eisenhower accepted it "with deepest regret."

Adams returned to New Hampshire and opened a successful ski resort on Loon Mountain. He continued to play an active role in state government, serv-

ing on commissions devoted to road building and to conserving the state's resources. Adams also privately advised state and national Republican politicians until his death in 1986.

IMPACT

In the 1958 congressional elections, Democrats reminded voters of the Adams scandal as well as a weakening U.S. economy. On election day, the Republicans suffered their worst defeat since the 1930's. While Adams is not the sole cause for the losses, he certainly did not help the Republican Party.

After Eisenhower left office, the U.S. Justice Department, under President John F. Kennedy, received information that Adams had received more than \$150,000 in cash from Goldfine over a period of about five years, an amount far higher than previously known. The Kennedy administration considered prosecuting Adams, but Eisenhower argued that he had suffered enough.

Scholars have been kind to Adams, with the consensus holding him to be the most effective presidential chief of staff of his era and essentially defining the position. Goldfine did not do as well. He received three prison sentences for contempt of Congress and for tax evasion.

—Caryn E. Neumann

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May, 1959**TEAMSTERS LEADER DAVE BECK IS CONVICTED OF TAX FRAUD**

The leader of the powerful Teamsters Union, Dave Beck, came before the U.S. Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in Labor or Management and eventually was convicted for tax fraud and embezzlement. He was imprisoned, paroled in 1964, and pardoned by U.S. president Gerald R. Ford in 1975.

LOCALE: Seattle, Washington**CATEGORIES:** Labor; law and the courts; organized crime and racketeering; corruption**KEY FIGURES**

Dave Beck (1894-1993), leader of the Teamsters Union, 1952-1957

Robert F. Kennedy (1925-1968), U.S. attorney general, 1961-1964

John McClellan (1896-1977), U.S. senator from Arkansas, 1943-1977

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In 1956, the McClellan Committee, formally known as the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor-Management Field, began investigating charges of corruption in American labor unions, particularly in the largest and most influential union of the time, the Teamsters. The McClellan Committee, named for its chairman, Senator John McClellan, included U.S. attorney general Robert F. Kennedy as its counsel. Of the figures the committee questioned, one of the most powerful and prominent was Teamsters Union leader Dave Beck.

After returning from service in the U.S. Navy during World War I and after a job as a laundry-truck driver, Beck became secretary treasurer of the Laundry Drivers Union in 1924. In 1927, he became a full-time organizer for the West Coast Teamster's Union, which he would lead for more than forty years. Charismatic and intelligent, Beck had realized early on as he rose in prominence in the

Teamsters Union that unions would not succeed without regional organization. Accordingly, he set up the Western Conference of Teamsters over the opposition of other Teamster leaders. Beck's vision proved crucial to the organization's success, and he became the union leader and one of the most popular and powerful figures in Seattle. In Seattle, he served as a member of the Washington state parole board, the Seattle Civil Service Commission, and the University of Washington Board of Regents. Beck supported other unions. Indeed, his support of the Newspaper Guild strike in 1936 is believed to have been a major factor in its success.

Beck's policy in running the union reflected his business background. He opposed radicals and union democracy of the type espoused by leftist union leaders, such as Harry Bridges, who represented the Longshoremen and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO). Beck himself did not believe that rank-and-file workers could make informed decisions. He once noted, "I'm paid \$25,000 a year to run this outfit. . . . Why should truck drivers and bottle washers be allowed to make decisions affecting policy? No corporation would allow it." Beck's organization, the American Federation of Labor (AFL), split from the CIO in the most intense struggle witnessed between the two labor organizations.

With time, Beck had acquired a name for success, but also for strong-arm tactics and blackmail. Teamsters would not deliver supplies to businesses that did not support the union, and in 1934, restraining orders were filed against Beck and fellow union leader Frank Brewster after a brawl in which several members of the Brewery Worker's Union, which the Teamsters were attempting to absorb, were dragged from their vehicles and beaten with lead pipes.

Despite this reputation, Beck's success was impressive enough to induce U.S. presidents Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, and Dwight D. Ei-

senhower to offer him the position of U.S. secretary of labor during their respective administrations. Beck turned each offer down, saying he preferred to remain part of the labor movement. His career continued to carry him up the ladder of command, and he appeared on the covers of both *Time* and *Newsweek* magazines. In 1940, he joined the Teamsters International executive board as an international vice president. In 1952, he was elected general president of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. Under his strong leadership, the membership swelled, growing from seventy-eight thousand to close to six million members by the time he faced the McClellan Committee.

In 1956, Kennedy began investigating corruption in the Teamsters Union. The investigation would prove the greatest challenge of Beck's career. Two previous investigations of the union had found nothing (later historians would claim that this was due to cover-ups). Kennedy was surprised to find abundant evidence of Beck's corruption, including interest-free loans for more than \$320,000 and a home that had been purchased for him by the Teamsters; the Teamsters had bought the home from him and then allowed him to live in it rent free. Beck was brought before the McClellan Committee on March 26, 1957, to answer questions about misappropriation of funds, but he refused to testify, using his Fifth Amendment rights sixty-five times. The tactic of refusing to testify was used by many other members of the Teamsters who appeared before the committee.

In May, Beck testified before the AFL-CIO Ethical Practices Committee, led by AFL-CIO president George Meany. Because the committee could not guarantee he would not be subpoenaed by the McClellan Committee if he answered questions, Beck refused to testify, invoking the Fifth Amendment more than one hundred times in this case. His membership on the AFL-CIO executive council was withdrawn and the Teamsters were expelled from the organization. Beck, who had intended to seek the presidency of the Teamsters, declined in the end, however, because of the growing scandal and threat of indictment. He was succeeded by his former assistant Jimmy Hoffa, who Senator Mc-

Clellan had called "a fountainhead of union corruption."

Kennedy and the McClellan Committee continued to investigate Beck. They discovered additional illegalities, including defrauding the widow of his best friend. Eventually, Beck faced state embezzlement charges and federal indictments for income tax evasion for failing to pay \$240,000 in back taxes. He was convicted on the state charge in 1957 and convicted of federal income tax evasion in 1958. The federal conviction was later dropped on appeal. In May, 1959, he was convicted for filing a fraudulent federal tax return. He was sentenced to five years in prison but appealed the sentence. The court cut his sentence in half, and he entered federal prison at McNeil Island in Washington State and served thirty months.

Beck stayed out of the public eye after his parole in 1964. He was pardoned by U.S. president Gerald R. Ford in 1975 and lived the rest of his life in Seattle. He retained his Teamsters president pension and parleyed the funds with his existing holdings into a multimillion dollar business in parking lots. He died in 1993 at the age of ninety-nine.

IMPACT

The trial and the media attention focused on crime and illegal tactics within the Teamsters Union influenced public opinion for years to come, and the Teamsters retained its reputation for corruption long after Beck's departure.

The Labor-Management Reporting and Disclosure Act, which owed its success to the prominence of the McClellan Committee's investigations into the Teamsters and Beck, was passed. It guaranteed that union members had a voice in running unions as well as freedom from intimidation when reporting corrupt practices.

Beck's conservative approach influenced the organization's leadership for years, perhaps because of the similar strong personality of his successor, Hoffa. The Teamsters developed strong ties to organized crime under Hoffa's leadership, eventually leading the U.S. government to sue the union in 1988 to impose federal supervision of the union's daily operations and its internal election process.

Hoffa's leadership lasted until the mid-1960's, and one of his chief accomplishments was the 1964 implementation of a single, national, master freight agreement. Like Beck, Hoffa faced close surveillance from Kennedy and his office and was convicted in 1964 of attempting to bribe a grand juror. Hoffa vanished in 1975 under mysterious circumstances, and his death remains unsolved. Popular theory holds that the Mafia was responsible for his disappearance.

—Catherine Rambo

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November 2, 1959

CHARLES VAN DOREN ADMITS TO BEING FED ANSWERS ON TELEVISION QUIZ SHOW

*Charles Van Doren testified before a U.S. Senate subcommittee that he received answers to questions beforehand as a contestant on the popular television quiz show *Twenty-One*. Van Doren came to symbolize blatant corruption in the quiz-show industry. As a direct result of the scandal, most quiz shows in the United States were canceled and Van Doren lost his academic position, a promising career in television, and the adulation of thousands of disenchanted viewers. By 1960, federal law made it a crime to fix a game show.*

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; corruption; radio and television; government; business

KEY FIGURES

Charles Van Doren (b. 1926), contestant on the television quiz show *Twenty-One*

Herb Stempel (b. 1926), contestant on *Twenty-One*

Dan Enright (1917-1992), lead producer of *Twenty-One*

Albert Freedman (1920-1965), coproducer of *Twenty-One*

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Television in the United States during the 1950's emerged as a pervasive new source of information and entertainment that reached a large audience. To tap into this vast audience, television executives adapted the popular radio quiz-show format of the 1940's. Televised quiz shows offered an attractive combination of low production costs, high entertainment value, and great appeal to commercial sponsors. Two or more contestants would contend for modest prizes of cash or merchandise by answering questions of varying difficulty posed by a moderator. The limited size of the rewards gave lit-

tle incentive for television executives to manipulate the results.

A turning point came in 1955 when quiz shows began to provide large cash prizes. The most successful of these new shows was *Twenty-One*, a weekly show that was launched in October, 1956, by the National Broadcasting Company (NBC). Two contestants stood on a studio stage in adjoining soundproof glass booths. A correct answer earned points according to its difficulty. The first contestant to reach 21 points was the victor and could return as champion the following week to face a new challenger. However, the first few programs, played straight, failed dismally in viewer ratings. Contestants proved so inept at times that the show's sponsor urged changes to boost ratings. The producers, Dan Enright and Albert Freedman, decided to intervene directly in all the main aspects of the production. They had no problem with fixing the outcome of each show because they regarded the shows simply as entertainment. From that point, each contestant was given the questions—and the answers—in advance and was carefully coached on how to dress and, especially, how to achieve the maximum suspense in responding. As *Twenty-One* rose steadily in the ratings, Enright and Freedman sharpened the image of contestants to increase viewer interest.

The producers found a particularly promising candidate in twenty-nine-year-old military veteran Herb Stempel. He had been attending a local public college under the GI Bill while supporting a wife and child. He eagerly accepted Enright's offer of a twenty-five thousand dollar advance for appearing on a "managed" episode of *Twenty-One*. To underscore Stempel's persona as a struggling former soldier, Enright selected from Stempel's own closet a blue shirt with a frayed collar and an ill-fitting suit given Stempel by a relative. As an added touch, Stempel was instructed to get a Marine-style "white-wall" haircut. Thus attired and coiffed, Stempel,

who was stocky and supremely confident, initially did well on *Twenty-One*. However, when Stempel's sometimes arrogant manner began to wear on viewers, the producers decided that he should be "removed" from the show. He had won nearly fifty thousand dollars, a bonanza for the time.

Enright and Freedman found their new champion in another twenty-nine-year-old: Columbia University English instructor Charles Van Doren. His father and uncle had won Pulitzer Prizes in literature, and he himself was completing a doctorate in English literature. However, the severe constraints of a meager instructor's salary at Columbia made Van Doren vulnerable to Freedman's blandishments. Furthermore, Freedman intimated that Van Doren would have a unique opportunity to convey to the show's forty million viewers a heightened respect for education and the life of the mind. Despite initial qualms about participating in a crooked scheme, Van Doren agreed to perform.

Stempel's departure was quickly arranged, and in early December, 1956, Van Doren became the new champion. As Enright had done with Stempel, Freedman rehearsed Van Doren and instructed him on how to behave on camera. Van Doren learned to furrow his brow, squeeze his eyes shut, and bite his lip as he agonized for the correct answer to a question that he, of course, already knew. For viewers, the suspense could be excruciating.

As the new champion of *Twenty-One*, Van Doren projected an image in sharp contrast to Stempel. Van Doren was tall and pleasant-looking, and he appeared intelligent, modest, and congenial. Viewers were captivated by his charming manner and command of obscure facts. He vanquished challenger after challenger. He received thousands of letters praising his performance, and he received gratitude (especially from parents) for being such a good role model for the values of education and intellectual achievement. Van Doren made

the cover of *Time* and joined NBC's *Today* program. He had become something of a folk hero.

Van Doren, however, was never comfortable as part of a systematic scam. Despite pleas that he continue with the show, he departed after fourteen weeks with total winnings of \$129,000. Ratings sagged, but the show survived until October, 1958, mortally wounded by the corruption charges that would be leveled by Stempel.

Stempel detested Van Doren for his privileged Ivy League background and high public esteem. He also deeply resented the crude manner of his own dismissal from *Twenty-One*. Through bad investments, he had quickly lost his winnings from the show, and when Enright refused his request for financial help, Stempel vengefully determined to expose the show as a fraud.

Initially, Stempel approached two New York City newspapers with his accusations but was rebuffed because he had no corroborating witnesses. However, by early 1958, rumors and revelations of corruption on other quiz shows gave his claims a new credibility. A New York County grand jury, after taking sworn testimony from about one hundred fifty witnesses, recommended a number of indict-



Charles Van Doren, far right, with contestant Vivienne Nearing and *Twenty-One* host Jack Barry during a taping of the quiz show. (Library of Congress)

ments. For reasons not clear, however, the presiding judge sealed the jury report and dissolved the investigation. Van Doren was among those who had denied under oath any knowledge of quiz-show fraud.

Nonetheless, by early 1959, public outcry led to an investigation by the U.S. Senate. In November, 1959, the House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight convened in Washington to examine charges of fraud and deceit lodged against various quiz shows. Stempel was the first to testify. After admitting his own complicity, he angrily denounced *Twenty-One* producers Enright and Freedman and strongly implied the collusion of Van Doren, who had continued to plead his innocence.

Van Doren had anguished about having so long deceived the *Twenty-One* audience. On November 2, he appeared under subpoena before the subcommittee in a packed room that included Stempel. Van Doren delivered an impassioned confession of guilt and apologized to all he had deceived. Both Columbia University and the *Today* program fired him, and he was charged with perjury before the New York grand jury. However, Van Doren and others found guilty in the quiz-show scandals received suspended sentences because there was no federal statute that made the manipulation of television quiz shows a criminal offense. To prove fraud, a prosecutor would have to demonstrate how quiz-show scams caused serious monetary loss to viewers. Cheating viewers was not illegal.

Meanwhile, public anger and plunging ratings forced the cancellation of nearly all television quiz shows. Despite their central roles, *Twenty-One* producers Enright and Freedman also received suspended sentences. Van Doren fled New York City for a private life in Chicago, working as an editor for the publishers of *Encyclopedia Britannica*.

OUTLAWING GAME-SHOW FIXING

On September 13, 1960, Congress passed an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934, making it a crime to fix a game show. The act is excerpted here.

Deceptive Contests

Section 9, Title V, of the Communications Act of 1934, is further amended by adding at the end thereof the following section:

PROHIBITED PRACTICES IN CASE OF CONTESTS OF INTELLECTUAL KNOWLEDGE, INTELLECTUAL SKILL, OR CHANCE

- (a) It shall be unlawful for any person, with intent to deceive the listening or viewing public:
 - 1. To supply to any contestant in a purportedly bona fide contest of intellectual knowledge or intellectual skill any special and secret assistance whereby the outcome of such contest will be in whole or in part prearranged or predetermined.
 - 2. By means of persuasion, bribery, intimidation, or otherwise, to induce or cause any contestant in a purportedly bona fide contest of intellectual knowledge or intellectual skill to refrain in any manner from using or displaying his knowledge or skill in such contest, whereby the outcome thereof will be in whole or in part prearranged or predetermined.
 - 3. To engage in any artifice or scheme for the purpose of prearranging or predetermining in whole or in part the outcome of a purportedly bona fide contest of intellectual knowledge, intellectual skill, or chance.

IMPACT

Several significant changes resulted from the quiz-show scandals. First, television networks regained control of programming from the producers, which made fraud more difficult to conceal. A kind of innocent trust was clearly lost after the scandal. Some condemned the entire television industry; others tempered harsh criticism of the scandals with sympathy for appealing participants such as Van Doren. Others, finally, remained detached or cynically indifferent to the whole mess.

The Senate hearings put a national spotlight on the rigged programs. Everyone from editorial writers to religious leaders argued that American society had lost its moral compass. Most agreed that the quantum jump in prize money in 1955 brought greed to center stage. With so much more at stake,

producers tried to maximize profits regardless of the ethical implications. Again, *Twenty-One*'s producers regarded what they did as pure entertainment, having nothing to do with right or wrong. For contestants, finally, there was the exciting lure of what a sudden fortune could mean for achieving the good life. They also dreamed of overnight fame.

The big-money television shows did gradually return but only in a much sobered and regulated environment. The Communications Act of 1934 was amended in 1960, making it a crime to fix a game show. The tawdry scams of the 1950's became a fading memory, as did Van Doren, the scandal's human face.

—Donald Sullivan

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Kennedy Romance Links Him to Organized Crime

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February 7, 1960

PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S ROMANTIC AFFAIR LINKS HIM TO ORGANIZED CRIME

U.S. president John F. Kennedy was tied to organized crime through his romantic relationship with Judith Campbell. The crisis, which threatened to undermine the credibility of the Kennedy administration, was stalled through the intervention of the director of the FBI, who convinced Kennedy to end his relationship with Campbell. Nevertheless, Kennedy was plagued by controversy even after his assassination, as the cause of his death was blamed on Campbell, the mob, and even Fidel Castro, among others.

LOCALES: Las Vegas, Nevada; Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Public morals; government; politics; sex; organized crime and racketeering

KEY FIGURES

John F. Kennedy (1917-1963), president of the United States, 1961-1963

Judith Campbell (1934-1999), John F. Kennedy's lover

J. Edgar Hoover (1895-1972), director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1924-1972

Robert F. Kennedy (1925-1968), U.S. attorney general, 1961-1964

Frank Sinatra (1915-1998), American entertainer

Sam Giancana (1908-1975), Chicago mob boss
John Roselli (1905-1976), Los Angeles mob boss

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The romantic relationship between Judith Campbell, who was linked with two organized-crime leaders, and U.S. president John F. Kennedy, remains one of the controversial legacies of the Kennedy administration. Kennedy met Campbell through singer Frank Sinatra and a group of Hollywood entertainers known as the Rat Pack. She had been introduced to Kennedy on February 7, 1960, in Las Vegas, Nevada, just a few weeks after Kennedy announced his candidacy for the presidency of the United States.

Campbell had a long association with the Rat Pack as well, and she had long-term friendships with key members of organized crime, namely Sam Giancana of Chicago, Illinois, and John Roselli of Los Angeles, California. The scandalous relationship that developed between Kennedy and Campbell was closely monitored by the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI). The FBI began surveillance of Kennedy during his association with the Rat Pack and intensified as his relationship with Campbell

deepened. Members of the White House staff facilitated the liaisons between Kennedy and Campbell.

In 1961, at the time Campbell and Kennedy were having their affair, the United States was facing increasing tension with the Soviet Union. In May, President Kennedy met with Soviet leader Nikita S. Khrushchev in Vienna, Austria, but the meeting was not successful. Profound disagreements on a host of international questions produced a stormy series of meetings between the two leaders. It was during this time of potential international crisis that Campbell's relationship with Kennedy was at its high point.

The crisis that was brewing for Kennedy at home included the FBI surveillance. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover was concerned about Campbell's access to President Kennedy, especially considering her ties to Giancana and Roselli. This easy access led the FBI director to request a private meeting with the president.

Prior to meeting with Kennedy, Hoover had a memorandum delivered to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, the president's brother, about the evidence he had on the president, Campbell, Giancana, and Roselli. As Robert already knew, Hoover

had material on his brother's previous sexual encounters with women, including one with an alleged German spy twenty years earlier. Undoubtedly, the memo was meant to intimidate the attorney general, who did apparently speak with his brother about the Campbell affair. The contents of that conversation, if it did take place, remain unknown, however. What is known is that Robert recommended that his brother end his relationship with Campbell and with Sinatra, who had been the president's friend. Sinatra had gone to great lengths to solidify his relationship with President Kennedy. He had invested in upgrades to his own residence, upgrades that included a helicopter



Judith Campbell at a 1975 press conference in which she said she had a "close, personal relationship" with former president John F. Kennedy. (AP/Wide World Photos)

pad for the president's use and facilities for presidential staff members and secret service agents.

The Hoover memorandum was upsetting to Robert. It implied that his brother had connections with organized crime. During the late 1950's, Robert had helped to investigate the influence of organized crime in the United States. He carried this zeal for investigatory activities from the 1950's into his job as attorney general, leading the Kennedy administration into pursuing organized crime at the same time the president was involved with Campbell.

A clear dichotomy existed between the Kennedy administration and organized crime, but a paradox existed as well: The Kennedys had relied upon the support of organized crime in winning the endorsements of several unions during the 1960 presidential campaign. Sinatra had acted as a go-between who contacted Giancana to secure the political support of unions for John Kennedy. It was during this time that Sinatra introduced Giancana's girlfriend, Campbell, to the presidential candidate. Robert knew that the Hoover memo was a threat to his brother's presidency.

IMPACT

On March 22, 1962, Hoover met with the president, but no minutes of the meeting exist. The only other person in attendance was Kennedy's aide, Kenny O'Donnell, who later denied that anything of significance happened during the meeting. Kennedy ended his affair with Campbell soon after the meeting with Hoover, and he also severed his ties with Sinatra. So significant was Kennedy's break with Sinatra that when the president traveled to California the day after his meeting with Hoover, he stayed at the home of entertainer Bing Crosby, a Republican, rather than with Sinatra.

In 1977, Campbell published her own account of the affair in her autobiography *My Story*. (Campbell had remarried in 1975 and taken the name of her new husband, golfer Dan Exner.) Despite O'Donnell's denial of a romantic relationship between Campbell and the president, the revelations in Campbell's memoir contain enough detail to confirm otherwise.

The assassination of John F. Kennedy on No-

Kennedy Romance Links Him to Organized Crime

vember 23, 1963, led to several conspiracy theories about why he was murdered. The Campbell-Kennedy relationship lends credence to the claim that organized crime was involved in his assassination. Through her ties with Giancana and Roselli, Campbell did establish a linkage, although much of the evidence remains circumstantial. Campbell's relationship with the president also links him to Cuba and Fidel Castro, as Giancana and other elements of organized crime reportedly were involved in assassination plots against Castro.

The sexual relationship between Kennedy and Campbell highlights the shadow overhanging the Kennedy legacy. In the immediate aftermath of the assassination, Americans were positive about the legacy of the Kennedy administration. During the 1970's, several new works appeared that cast doubt on his legacy. Many of these new studies focused on Kennedy's propensity to engage in reckless sexual behavior. Without question these revelations damaged his standing with many Americans. Other sexual liaisons have been difficult to prove, but Kennedy's affair with Campbell has been more verifiable, and given the FBI's involvement, it has been deemed much more serious.

—Michael E. Meagher

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February 8, 1960

U.S. CONGRESS INVESTIGATES PAYOLA IN POP MUSIC INDUSTRY

With the rising popularity of rock and roll during the late 1950’s, establishment critics of the new music form sought to curtail its influence, especially on young people. The revelation that radio disc jockeys often received payments in return for playing rock records on the air provided those critics with a rationale to take their concerns to the U.S. Congress. This led to the dismissals of many deejays, compelled radio stations to rethink the inclusion of rock in their programming, and led to federal legislation outlawing the clandestine practice of playing music for pay.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Payola scandal

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; music and performing arts; radio and television; government; business

KEY FIGURES

Alan Freed (1921-1965), disc jockey credited with coining the term “rock and roll”

Dick Clark (b. 1929), pop-music entrepreneur and host of *American Bandstand*

Oren Harris (1903-1997), U.S. representative from Arkansas, 1941-1966, and chairman of the congressional subcommittee investigating the scandal

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Rock-and-roll music burst onto the scene during the 1950’s and challenged mainstream American social and cultural traditions. The new music was loud, rebellious, sexy, and widely embraced by white youth, even though it was initially created by and for African American listeners. Radio disc jockeys became the prime purveyors of the new music, establishing themselves as celebrities and

garnering intensely loyal listeners for their programs.

Record companies soon sought influential deejays to play their new releases, and the companies often provided incentives, ranging from composition credits to cash, in return for airplay. This practice was termed “payola” by the trade press during the 1930’s and actually had a long history in the popular-music industry, having been used to support virtually every style of music since the late nineteenth century.

With the arrival of rock and roll during the early 1950’s, opponents denounced the music for both social and aesthetic reasons. It was considered crass and offensive, and its growth in popularity was seen by some as representative of a general decline in American culture, especially for its effect on young people and its blurring of longstanding racial dividing lines. Having failed to curb the music through attacks in the press, rock and roll’s enemies, the churches and schools, turned their attention to the deejays, hoping to publicly discredit them and thereby destroy their influence as tastemakers. Payola provided the needed cudgel. Although payola was not illegal, the practice certainly led to charges of bribery, extortion, and other unethical or immoral practices.

In November, 1959, the U.S. Congress began investigating television quiz shows, which had been accused of rigging the outcomes of their contests. In the course of that investigation, Congress also learned that several prominent New York music publishers bribed television producers into using their music as themes during broadcasts. The payola hearings would begin on February 8, 1960.

The publishers affected were affiliated with the American Society of Composers, Authors, and Publishers (ASCAP), a licensing organization that collected royalties for the use of material produced by its members. ASCAP primarily represented mainstream music, with most members tied to traditional Tin Pan Alley pop. The group actively op-



Disc jockey Alan Freed, center, with his wife, Inga, outside the district attorney’s office in New York City in November, 1959. (AP/Wide World Photos)

posed the spread of rock and roll, most of which was licensed by the rival group Broadcast Music, Inc. (BMI). Apparently in an effort to deflect attention from their own transgressions, members of ASCAP made countercharges against BMI, submitting a letter to Congress alleging numerous cases of payola in the promotion of BMI-licensed rhythm and blues and rock and roll. With the public already stirred to indignation over the quiz show scandal, these new charges gained immediate significance with both Congress and the media.

The House Subcommittee on Legislative Oversight, chaired by Representative Oren Harris of Arkansas, took the accusations seriously enough to shift its attention to the deejays once they were finished with investigating the quiz shows. The mood against deejays was exacerbated by tales of wild times at a deejay convention earlier that year in Miami, Florida. News reports of the event made copious mention of “babes, booze, and bribes,” as rec-

ord promoters saw a golden opportunity to line up influential deejays to play their records. Such stories marred the reputation of disc jockeys generally, and it spurred the congressional subcommittee to send investigators across the United States to collect additional evidence. It turned out that payola not only was widespread but also was considered an acceptable way to do business. That view was not shared by the public, many of whom took the revelations as confirmation that rock and roll was a scam perpetrated on innocent young people by a crooked system.

As the investigation progressed, broadcasters scrambled to protect themselves. A number of prominent deejays lost their jobs, including Alan Freed, who was arguably the most famous and powerful deejay in the country, broadcasting with radio station WINS in New York. Freed had been instrumental in promoting the rise of rock and roll and even credited with coining the term itself while broadcasting in Cleveland decades earlier. Freed freely acknowledged to investigators that he had a financial stake in some of the music he played, but he would not admit this practice was unethical. His refusal to sign an affidavit claiming he never accepted payola led to his termination, essentially ending his career.

Some deejays tried to deny that payola existed, and others admitted knowledge of the practice while they themselves were innocent. The most forthright shrugged it off as just part of the system. However, even in conceding the existence of payola, many deejays argued that it was irrelevant to the rise of rock and roll: They argued that if they allowed pay-for-play to dictate their programming, especially if it led to playing so-called bad music, they not only would lose the trust of their listeners but also their popularity and the clout they had in making hits.

In addition to Freed, the most famous figure caught up in the investigation was Dick Clark. A Philadelphia disc jockey who attained national prominence as the host of the television show *American Bandstand*, Clark had parlayed his success into a number of lucrative music- and broadcasting-related enterprises. While not entirely denying the charges against him and speaking favorably of rock and roll and the young people who were his primary

audience, Clark portrayed himself as a canny capitalist, freely admitting that he seized opportunities as they presented themselves. That approach, along with divesting his most incriminating investments, saved him from sharing the fate of his more rebellious counterparts, including Freed.

IMPACT

The congressional investigation led to an amendment to the Communications Act of 1934, outlawing the practice of playing music for pay without notifying listeners; offenders would be hit with significant penalties. The subcommittee's final report made it clear that the intent of the new law was to help reopen the airwaves to "good" music.

Several states, notably New York, invoked local commercial bribery statutes to prosecute disc jockeys. At the federal level, the Internal Revenue Service would begin to use information gathered by the Federal Communications Commission about payola cases to pursue tax-evasion charges against those guilty of accepting kickbacks.

More deejays lost their jobs, and many radio stations ended or significantly curtailed their rock-and-roll programming. Interestingly, the record companies that initiated payola agreed to abide by the new federal regulations and, thus, faced limited prosecution and minimal public opprobrium.

Neither payola nor rock died with the scandal of 1959-1960, though the attention and new laws forced payola to become more clandestine. Rock's popularity did wane for a couple of years before it reclaimed its central place in American popular culture. The true effect of the payola scandal, especially coming on the heels of the quiz show scandal, was perhaps more subtle. Payola represented another blow to the public's trust in mass media, which became a major contributing factor to the protest movements of the 1960's.

—John C. Hajduk

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March 14, 1960

FCC CHAIRMAN JOHN C. DOERFER RESIGNS FOR ACCEPTING GIFTS FROM NETWORKS

After the quiz show scandal of 1959 demonstrated that several of the popular television programs had been rigged, the Federal Communication Commission's oversight of television networks came under close scrutiny. Chairman John C. Doerfer was forced to resign after it was discovered that he had accepted gifts from the networks and relied too heavily on the networks' own reassurances of honesty without thorough independent investigation.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Government; radio and television; corruption; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; communications and media

KEY FIGURES

John C. Doerfer (1904-1992), chairman of the FCC, 1957-1960, who was forced to resign for his role in the quiz show scandal

George Storer (d. 1973), media magnate and president of Storer Broadcasting, Inc.

Newton Minow (b. 1926), Democratic chairman of the FCC, who pledged stricter oversight of networks by the FCC following Doerfer's resignation

SUMMARY OF EVENT

During the 1950's, as television in the United States was growing in popularity, networks and advertisers sought ever-higher viewer shares. Amazingly popular quiz shows featured outrageous prizes. Whereas radio quiz shows had never offered more than about one hundred dollars (and often much less) in prize money, television quiz shows gave high monetary awards from the very start. However, after the infamous quiz show scandal exposed widespread network rigging of the shows, the government stepped in, trying to learn how the networks were able to pull off the deception for so long. The U.S. Congress focused on the poor oversight of the networks by the Federal Communications Commission (FCC) and its chairman, John C. Doerfer, who should have been censuring the net-



John C. Doerfer, center. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

works but were, instead, ignoring the problem.

U.S. president Dwight D. Eisenhower appointed Doerfer chairman of the FCC in 1957, a time when the television industry was coming under intense public scrutiny. Complaints about advertisers controlling station content bombarded the agency throughout Doerfer's tenure. The public felt cheated by the amount of time stations devoted to advertising, and many felt networks were broadcasting too much fluff. Because intellectual and educational programming was less popular, however, advertisers paid less to sponsor such programs. Networks justified their behavior by citing the need to pay off their operating expenses.

Doerfer and the FCC were slow to respond to these critics. Under increasing pressure, Doerfer did force networks to add a weekly hour of educational programming to their schedules, but his actions appeased few. Critics wanted far more educational content, and they wanted far less advertiser

control. Doerfer maintained that FCC monitoring would inevitably lead to censorship, a practice he wanted to keep the FCC well clear of. He argued that if the FCC regulated program content, the agency would be in violation of the 1934 Communications Act. In November of 1959, when Charles Van Doren testified before Congress that he had, in fact, been told what answers to give on NBC's quiz show *Twenty One*, Doerfer's attitude and policies came under congressional fire.

The quiz show scandal originated a year earlier, in 1958, when Herbert Stempel, Van Doren's chief rival on NBC's popular program, claimed, after Van Doren defeated him, that *Twenty One* was rigged. He also claimed the network instructed him to give a wrong answer so that the huge prize would go to the more popular Van Doren. Stempel also said the two contestants were coached throughout their run on the air. Of course, the networks denied any wrongdoing, as did Van Doren, and Stempel was portrayed as a sore loser. The FCC barely investigated, with Doerfer taking network claims of innocence at face value. More contestants, from a variety of networks, started coming forward with similar stories, but the FCC still refused to investigate. In particular, Doerfer trusted NBC's assurances too blithely. Finally, Congress called a series of hearings to investigate the scandal, and the FCC's failure to oversee the networks came under as much scrutiny as did the networks' quiz shows themselves.

Only under this pressure did Van Doren finally decide to tell the truth, bringing the quiz show industry to a screeching halt, recovering only after many years. Equally significant, the FCC's role in the scandal forced changes in the oversight of television programs. As Congress examined the agency and its chairman, more compromising details were revealed. Congress believed Doerfer's attitude was part of the deception, and evidence seemed to support this opinion.

Doerfer was accused of accepting favors from media magnate George Storer, president of Storer Broadcasting, Inc. Storer lived large and feted his friends. In 1958, he took Doerfer on a plane ride to Florida and then Bimini. Congressional hearings

wrapped up in December of 1959. Then, in early 1960, even with the quiz show scandal still a highly publicized nightmare for his agency, Doerfer maintained a close relationship with Storer. Doerfer flew with his wife to Miami on Storer's planes and took a cruise from there to the Florida Keys on Storer's yacht. Though he claimed to have paid for the plane tickets himself and said the event was purely social, few believed him. Indeed, his former outspoken defense of network freedom marked him as a hypocrite, and most believed he had been bribed. At best, he had displayed a sincere conflict of interest in continuing to spend extended time with Storer. His behavior highlighted to the public the increasing advertiser control of network programming, starkly displaying the FCC's ineffective oversight.

President Eisenhower requested Doerfer's resignation and received it on March 14, 1960, though Doerfer insisted he had done no wrong. Doerfer went into private law practice in the Washington, D.C., area, having completed a law degree in 1934. However, in 1963, he moved to Florida to work for Storer as a legal consultant until 1974.

IMPACT

Doerfer was replaced briefly by fellow Republican Frederick W. Ford. In 1961, when Democrat John F. Kennedy assumed the presidency, he appointed Newton Minow to the FCC chairman position. Minow took an immediate reform stance, making the now-famous "Vast Wasteland" speech, in which he targeted the mindless nature of much television programming. Minow suggested that the FCC would take action against the control exerted by advertisers over programming. Pledging that broadcaster licenses would no longer be renewed without scrutiny, he refused to relicense Melody Music, whose owners had been involved in the quiz show scandal. However, NBC, the best-known guilty player in the scandal, had its license renewed even after the courts required heavy scrutiny of its FCC application. Courts ruled that the FCC treated larger corporate entities, such as NBC, as though they were less prone to corruption than those owned by individuals, such as Melody Music.

Minow was replaced by the time the federal

courts finally forced the FCC to review its inconsistent decisions and relicense Melody Music in 1965. Thus, Doerfer's turbulent chairship of the FCC came at a critical time in television history, and his compromised position with regard to the networks who he should have been overseeing drew legal and public scrutiny to the agency.

—Jessie Bishop Powell

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SEE ALSO: Nov. 2, 1959: Charles Van Doren Admits Being Given Answers on Television Quiz Show; Feb. 8, 1960: U.S. Congress Investigates Payola in Pop Music Industry; Apr. 11, 2007: Shock Jock Don Imus Loses His Radio Show over Sexist and Racist Remarks.

July, 1961

PSYCHOLOGIST STANLEY MILGRAM BEGINS OBEDIENCE-TO-AUTHORITY EXPERIMENTS

Social psychologist Stanley Milgram designed a controversial experiment in which one subject was ordered to give increasingly strong electric shocks to another. His goal was to see how long the subject administering the shocks would comply in the face of the recipient's discomfort. He found a universally high degree of compliance. The experiment raised ethical questions because those persons administering shocks were not told the real purpose of the experiment.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Milgram experiments

LOCALE: New Haven, Connecticut

CATEGORIES: Psychology and psychiatry; science and technology; education; cultural and intellectual history

KEY FIGURE

Stanley Milgram (1933-1984), social psychologist

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In July of 1961, psychologist Stanley Milgram began a series of about twenty social psychology experiments designed to test the way people comply with authority. Milgram wanted to know the number of “normal” people who would continue to inflict pain on another person when directed to do so by an authority figure. His interest in this question was stimulated, in part, by the atrocities committed during World War II by seemingly average German citizens who were following the orders of their leaders.

Milgram was an excellent student with wide-ranging interests in both the arts and sciences. For his doctoral dissertation, he studied the effects of group opinion on conformity. He was interested in the degree to which group consensus could influence the opinion of a new, naïve group member. His research showed that about one-third of the time the naïve individual would agree with the group's opin-

ion, even when that opinion was demonstrably wrong about a concrete event such as which of two musical tones was played for a longer time period or which of two written lines on a piece of paper was longer.

As a young professor at Yale University, Milgram expanded his interests to include research on how authority influences obedience. His 1961 experiments, later known as the Milgram experiments, were designed to see how much pain an average person would inflict on another person simply because he or she was directed to do so by an authority figure. Milgram soon was criticized for withholding the purpose of the studies; he told subjects that they were participating in an experiment on learning and memory. Had he attempted to conduct these experiments during the early twenty-first century, Milgram likely would have faced resistance. During the 1960's, however, informed consent in studies involving humans lacked many of the rules that were instituted in later decades, and the time in which he worked saw much less institutional oversight of human experimentation.

Milgram designed his first experiment as follows. A stern, unemotional adult acted as the authority figure. A trained actor played the role of the learner, and the experimental subjects, all men in the first experiments, were cast in the role of the teacher. The teacher was presented with a bank of switches that administered electric shocks to the learner. The teacher was told that every time the learner made an error he should deliver an increasingly strong jolt of electricity to the learner. The shocks began with 15 volts of electricity (a mild stimulus) and increased in 15-volt increments up to 450 volts (an extremely painful shock). The shocks were supposed to be administered in strict order of increasing voltage. The teacher was given a shock of 45 volts before the experiment began as a reference point for what the learner would feel.

In the initial experiment, the learner and teacher

met each other and then were sent to separate rooms; they could hear but not see each other. The teacher began the “instruction” by reading a word. He then asked the learner to choose a word from a list of four read out loud by the teacher that would pair with the first word. The authority figure reminded the teacher to shock the learner with an increasingly strong shock every time the learner made a mistake.

What the teacher was not told was that the learner was an actor and that no shocks were actually being delivered. Instead, each time the teacher shocked the learner, the learner played a tape-recording of his supposed vocal reaction to the shock. The taped reactions became increasingly anguished as the shocks got stronger. At high voltages, the actor would bang on the wall that separated him from the teacher and would become silent, as if injured. If the teacher expressed concern about the learner’s well-being or asked to stop the experiment, the authority figure prodded the teacher to continue, using four increasingly strong verbal commands. The experiment ended only if the teacher requested that the experiment stop following a fourth authority figure command.

Before he began the experiments, Milgram polled Yale psychology graduate students and faculty about what percentage of people they predicted would administer the highest level, 450-volt, shock. The consensus of these academics was that fewer than two people out of one hundred would intentionally continue to inflict pain on another person simply because he or she was told to do so by the experimenter. The results of this first experiment, however, astounded Milgram. His published results in the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* in 1963 generated headlines and newspaper editorials across the United States. No one wanted to believe what Milgram had found: Of the forty men who participated as teachers in the first experiment, twenty-six of them, or 65 percent, administered the full range of shocks up to 450 volts

when told to do so. They had continued the shocks even though they were visibly uncomfortable doing so. They often had asked the authority figure about stopping the experiment. Not one of the forty participants refused to shock the learner until the shocks reached an agonizing 300 volts. In addition, the teachers who refused to administer the final shocks did not complain that the experiment was inappropriate or insist that it should be discontinued.

Milgram went on to design about twenty variations of this experiment. He found that women were slightly more likely than men to complete the shock series, that more teachers completed the shock series when the authority figure remained in the room, that fewer teachers completed the shock series when they had to physically place the learner’s arm on the shock device, and that about two-thirds of teachers completed the shock series regardless of their nationality or cultural background. He concluded that in a structured society, an innate need exists that causes one to obey authority, regardless of one’s cultural background and gender. Furthermore, he concluded that when people have little information about a situation, they tend to comply thoughtlessly to the demands of authority. Milgram

AGENTS OF PAIN AND SUFFERING

Stanley Milgram’s 1961 experiments showed that seemingly ordinary people could turn into obedient agents of torture, simply at the urging of someone deemed an authority figure. An excerpt from his 1974 book Obedience to Authority shows Milgram’s own dismay at the outcome of the experiments.

Many subjects will obey the experimenter no matter how vehement the pleading of the person being shocked, no matter how painful the shocks seem to be, and no matter how much the victim pleads to be let out. This was seen time and time again in our studies and has been observed in several universities where the experiment was repeated. It is the extreme willingness of adults to go to almost any lengths on the command of an authority that constitutes the chief finding of the study and the fact that most urgently demanded explanation. . . .

[O]rdinary people, simply doing their jobs, and without any particular hostility on their part, can become agents in a terrible destructive process.

wrote about his extended experiments in his book *Obedience to Authority* (1974). Several films, including the documentary *The Human Behavior Experiments* (2006) and the fictional television movie *The Tenth Level* (1975), addressed the experiments as well.

Milgram was strongly criticized for the psychological discomfort he allowed his teacher-subjects to feel during the experiments. He was denied tenure at Harvard, at least in part because of the controversy, and spent the remainder of his career at the Graduate Center of the City University of New York. He went on to study what he called the “small world” phenomenon. This research produced the concept of “six degrees of separation,” meaning that every person can connect with every other person around the globe through a small number (the average is six) of intermediaries. Milgram died of a heart attack at the age of fifty-one.

IMPACT

The Milgram experiments showed that under certain conditions, normal, average people (the teachers) were inclined to abdicate personal responsibility when obeying an authority figure, even when the actions demanded of them made them stressed and uncomfortable. In following the instructions of an authority figure, the individual (the teacher) came to see himself as blameless for inflicting pain upon another human being (the learner).

Milgram’s findings, which led to changes in the way military leaders are trained, also helped to explain how ordinary persons could commit atrocities such as the Holocaust; the My Lai massacre during the Vietnam War, in which many civilians were murdered; and the abuse and torture at Abu Ghraib prison during the Iraq War. In each case, the perpetrators excused their actions by saying that they were simply following orders.

—Martiscia S. Davidson

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March 29, 1962

BILLIE SOL ESTES IS ARRESTED FOR CORPORATE FRAUD

1960's

Billie Sol Estes was one of the most successful businessmen in Texas during the middle of the twentieth century. However, his business was based on selling nonexistent fertilizer tanks to farmers and on defrauding lenders. The investigation became a major scandal especially because Estes claimed that Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson and other politicians benefited financially from his scheme.

LOCALE: Pecos, Texas**CATEGORIES:** Hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; banking and finance; business; corruption; government; politics**KEY FIGURES**

Billie Sol Estes (b. 1925), American businessman
John Dunn (b. 1926), doctor and newspaper owner

Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-1973), vice president, 1961-1963, and president of the United States, 1963-1969

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The arrest of Billie Sol Estes in 1962 was the culmination of a long period of fraud perpetration, first through a federal cotton subsidy program and then through borrowing on fertilizer tanks that did not exist. Estes defrauded lending institutions of millions of dollars by using the nonexistent tanks as collateral for multiple loans.

His scam was to sell tanks to farmers on an installment basis. The farmers, in turn, signed installment notes to pay for the tanks. Estes would take the notes to financial institutions and use them as security for loans. However, he used each note several times for several loans and ended up with more loans than notes from farmers. By the time his scheme was uncovered, Estes had obtained more than thirty thousand loans on eighteen hundred tanks of fertilizer.

Estes grew up in West Texas. His early life was

perhaps an indicator of how he would live his life as an older child and an adult. By the time he was sixteen years old, he had a reputation as a shrewd manipulator. By his thirtieth birthday he was a millionaire. Before his fortieth birthday he was in Leavenworth Federal Penitentiary.

Estes amassed his early fortune through the federal surplus-cotton program. His business ethics were questionable even as a youth. As a boy, he sold a cow to a farmer with the promise that the cow would produce four gallons of milk. The farmer later complained that the cow was not producing the expected quantity of milk. Estes shrewdly replied that he never stated how long it would take the cow to produce four gallons.

By the 1960's, Estes was the leading citizen of Pecos, Texas, and an active member of the local Church of Christ. He owned two airplanes and the most elegant mansion in town with a swimming pool and two tennis courts. He was so religious that when he invited guests to swim in his pool, men and women were not allowed to swim together. Men would swim first, followed by women, as prescribed by the precepts of the Church of Christ. In 1961, he ran for a position on the Pecos School Board with a platform that called for the elimination of dancing at all school functions and the requirement that cheerleaders wear longer skirts. He lost the election. He had been named one of the outstanding men of Texas, one of the ten most outstanding young men in the United States, and was a friend of former president Harry S. Truman and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. Estes's daughter, Pam, later wrote that her father had occasionally supplied Johnson with great wads of money.

Estes apparently was generous, always ready to help out those in need, but his generosity came with a price: recognition. A friend stated that Estes often supplied an airplane and pilot, at no expense, to take the sick to distant cities for specialized medical care. However, Estes made sure that the public

knew about such benevolence. Democratic politicians also were his beneficiaries.

Estes's fraud scheme was exposed by a former friend, John Dunn, a doctor and a member of the conservative John Birch Society. Dunn had purchased part interest in the local newspaper, a newspaper that did not support the liberal beliefs of Estes and his friends. Estes tried to defame the doctor and drive the newspaper out of business. Dunn began an investigation of Estes's activities and turned over his evidence to the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Internal Revenue Service. Those records, some of which were stolen from Estes's own office, showed evidence of fraud totaling more than forty million dollars. The U.S. Department of Agriculture already knew of the accusations against Estes and had begun an undercover investigation in 1961.

On June 3, 1961, an investigator from the Agricultural Stabilization and Conservation Service, Henry Marshall, was found dead in his car. Despite the presence of five gunshot wounds in Marshall's body, the local justice of the peace attributed Marshall's death to carbon monoxide poisoning because a hose, attached to the exhaust pipe, was in the car along with the body. Marshall's body was buried without an autopsy. The suicide verdict was later overturned in 1979, when Estes testified that Johnson had ordered Marshall's murder out of fear that Marshall was close to uncovering the fraud. On March 29, 1962, Estes was arrested by federal officials.

Before Estes went to trial, a congressional investigation had been formed to determine whether Estes had received favored treatment from government officials. In the spring of 1963, Estes received a fifteen-year sentence following his conviction for fraud. He was paroled eight years later. As to why Estes perpetrated his fraud, one friend described him as a scared little boy with an inferiority complex. Estes's early motivation was a contempt for wealth. In the end, this contempt was reversed; he now glorified personal wealth and power.

Following his release from prison in 1971, Estes



Billie Sol Estes on the cover of Time magazine in 1962. (Courtesy, Time, Inc.)

was in trouble again. In 1979, he was convicted of tax fraud and concealment of assets and sentenced to another ten years in prison. He was paroled in November, 1983. His 1979 tax-fraud trial was related to the unreported profits from his sale of fertilizer tanks. Estes also claimed to have paid ten million dollars to Johnson as business expenses, but he had no proof of the payments. The result was conviction and another prison sentence. The relationship between Estes and Johnson might have been corroborated, or denied, by three men: George Krutilek, Harold Orr, and Howard Pratt. However, all three were found dead of carbon monoxide poisoning. Although never accused of murder, Estes left a trail of bodies. One person summarized Estes as a "scandal magnet extraordinaire"; he was often in trouble in some form or another.

In 1984, after having been out of prison for a few months, Estes approached the U.S. attorney general and offered to provide information on past crimes if he could be exonerated from liability on those crimes and receive a pardon for his past convictions. He claimed to have direct evidence of seven murders, including that of President John F. Kennedy, and claimed the murders were ordered by Johnson. In fact, Estes claimed there had been eighteen such murders, but he had evidence on only seven of them. He said that he, too, would have been killed were it not for certain audiotapes in his possession. The tapes allegedly included conversations in which the killings were ordered. However, the government did not pursue the matter, and the purported tapes have never surfaced.

IMPACT

Estes's fraud scheme led many to believe that big business in the United States was shady business. Accountants and auditors were affected because the case led to changes in auditing procedures. Both auditors and lenders had been misled by Estes with a shell game of switching identification plates on fertilizer tanks.

The fraud scheme and Estes's conviction affected politics as well. Estes claimed he made payoffs to many prominent politicians, including Johnson. The immediate political consequences included the election of a Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives from west Texas in 1962. Democratic incumbent J. T. Rutherford was defeated because of his ties to Estes.

—Dale L. Flesher

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SEE ALSO: 1919-1920: Ponzi Schemes Are Revealed as Investment Frauds; 1932: Insull Utilities Trusts Collapse Prompts New Federal Regulation; Nov. 28, 1967: Investor Louis Wolfson Is Convicted of Selling Stock Illegally; May 2, 1984: E. F. Hutton Executives Plead Guilty to Fraud; May 7, 1985: Banker Jake Butcher Pleads Guilty to Fraud; Jan. 15, 1988: ZZZZ Best Founder Is Indicted on Federal Fraud Charges; Mar. 29, 1989: Financier Michael Milken Is Indicted for Racketeering and Fraud; Dec. 2, 2001: Enron Bankruptcy Reveals Massive Financial Fraud; June 25, 2002: Internal Corruption Forces Adelphia Communications to Declare Bankruptcy; Sept. 12, 2005: Westar Energy Executives Are Found Guilty of Looting Their Company.

May 19, 1962

MARILYN MONROE SINGS “HAPPY BIRTHDAY, MR. PRESIDENT”

Film star Marilyn Monroe sang “Happy Birthday, Mr. President” to John F. Kennedy for his forty-fifth birthday celebration at Madison Square Garden in New York. Wearing a gown of sheer silk with shimmering beads and pearls, and singing in a sexy voice, Monroe’s rendition gave credence to rumors of a sexual relationship between her and the president, rumors that marred Kennedy’s legacy. The performance also led to added speculation about Monroe’s death from an overdose of barbiturates less than three months later.

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Drugs; Hollywood; music and performing arts; politics; publishing and journalism; sex

KEY FIGURES

Marilyn Monroe (1926-1962), American film star and entertainer

John F. Kennedy (1917-1963), president of the United States, 1960-1963

Robert F. Kennedy (1925-1968), U.S. attorney general, 1961-1964

Peter Lawford (1923-1984), American actor, brother-in-law of President Kennedy

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On Saturday evening, May 19, 1962, glamorous film star Marilyn Monroe entered New York City’s Madison Square Garden dressed in a sheer, form-fitting gown with sparkling beads. She was running late, which was her habit, and she came on stage in a rush. Despite being congested and running a fever of 102 degrees from a sinus infection, she was radiant and smiling as she began to sing “Happy Birthday, Mr. President” to John F. Kennedy, the president of the United States. Her rendition has been described as breathless and sexually charged. The audience cheered as she began to sing and contin-

ued to do so throughout her performance.

Following the birthday song, Monroe sang a verse she had written to “Thanks for the Memory,” which lauded some of Kennedy’s victories in office. Then, raising her arms, she invited the audience to join in with their own verse of “Happy Birthday.” Kennedy thanked her after her performance, saying that he could finally retire from politics after hearing such a sweet song, sung in such a wholesome manner. Gossip columnists suggested that after a private party following the gala, Kennedy had spent the night with her.

The planning for this event had begun in the spring of 1962, as the Democratic Party needed to raise funds to pay back debts incurred during the 1960 presidential campaign as well as to raise more money for an even bigger campaign in 1963 for the next presidential election. Members of the Kennedy family, including the president, Robert, and actor Peter Lawford, the husband of their sister, Jean, held a number of planning meetings with Hollywood friends, ultimately deciding to hold a gala birthday party at Madison Square Garden for the president in May. The event would be a gathering of music and song and culminate with Monroe’s singing of “Happy Birthday.”

Monroe had been making plans to be part of the president’s birthday party since early in 1962, when she had been invited to meet the president and First Lady Jacqueline Kennedy at a party given by Peter and Jean Lawford in California. The Lawfords were close to the president, as were all the Kennedys. A second planning meeting was held in New York, with the final meeting in Palm Springs, California, at the home of entertainer Bing Crosby. In addition to Monroe, a number of celebrities had promised to attend, including Ella Fitzgerald, Henry Fonda, Jack Benny, and Harry Belafonte.

At the time of the scheduled party, Monroe had been in the middle of filming *Something’s Got to Give* at Twentieth Century-Fox Studios in Los An-

geles. Speculation and disagreement about Monroe's relationship with the studio had existed in the months and weeks before and immediately following her trip to New York. Some commentators said that Monroe thought she had permission from the studio to fly to New York; others said that studio executives let her know a few days before she was scheduled to leave that they objected to her leaving California. Indeed, they reportedly told Monroe that if she left Hollywood, she would be fired. Others suggested that both Peter Lawford and Robert Kennedy tried to negotiate with the studio executives on her behalf, but that her bosses were determined to keep her in Hollywood.

Filming started without Monroe, who missed a few weeks of work because of a bad cold that became worse. The film was nine days behind schedule at the time she flew to New York, desperate to attend the birthday celebration. Although she was in New York for just three days, she found a letter upon her return to Hollywood. The letter, from studio executives, expressed the studio's displeasure with her actions and warned her about further infractions of company rules. Still sick and unhappy over the threatened firing, it is possible that Monroe then called Robert Kennedy to intercede for her. She also might have called Peter Lawford.

Monroe had returned to work at the studio that Monday and was greeted by negative comments about her appearance, an exchange that had been televised, and by rumors that executives planned to fire her. By the beginning of June, she was sick again, her sinus infection perhaps exacerbated by stress and her increasing use of barbiturates and alcohol. By June 4, the studio told her she was being replaced; the film, though, was shelved after her departure and, given its ties to the chaos of Monroe's life that year, remains one of the most notorious unfinished films in Hollywood history.

Much has been written about what really happened in the days and months both before and after Monroe's New York birthday performance for Kennedy. Rumors included everything from sexual liaisons with the Kennedys to theories about Robert Kennedy being involved in Monroe's alleged suicide on August 5, 1962; gossip about the weekend of the gala was rife with innuendo as well.

Nevertheless, a few facts can be ascertained from a number of sources. The first is that the presidential birthday gala had been planned for several months and Monroe had always planned to attend. Second, her firing from the film could have come from the desires of a studio wanting to get rid of an actor who was becoming too expensive and too unreliable—and not from the studio's anger that she left Los An-



Marilyn Monroe singing "Happy Birthday" to President John F. Kennedy at Madison Square Garden. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

geles, and the film's production, for the party in New York. Third, her involvement with the president may have consisted of as few as four meetings, three of those meetings in the company of his family members. Also, she reportedly told confidants that her relationship with the president went no further than friendship.

IMPACT

Monroe's scandal-provoking Madison Square Garden performance also marked her final public appearance. The events of that summer were chaotic for Monroe: Hints of a physical and mental breakdown brought on by alcohol and drugs surrounded her before her death on August 5 at her home in Brentwood, California.

For Kennedy, the gala and its aftermath reinforced the public's perception of him as a flawed person willing to risk his marriage, reputation, and health by engaging in risky sexual liaisons. Most critics agree that he refused further contact with Monroe after the gala. His political life was very important to him, as was his image as a family man. Whatever the truth, within eighteen months of his birthday party, Kennedy was dead from an assassin's bullet.

—Julia Meyers

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September 12, 1962

BRITISH CIVIL SERVANT IS ARRESTED FOR SPYING

John Vassall became a spy for the Soviet Union after he was photographed having sex with other men and was subsequently blackmailed. On returning to London, he worked in the Admiralty, the government department in charge of all naval affairs, and also for a government minister, while continuing to supply the Soviets with classified naval documents. He was arrested, tried, and sentenced to eighteen years in prison, amid allegations of a more senior naval spy within the Admiralty.

LOCALES: Moscow, Soviet Union (now in Russia); London, England

CATEGORIES: Espionage; law and the courts; international relations; sex; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

John Vassall (1924-1996), civil servant in the British Admiralty and Scottish Office

Sigmund Mikhailsky (fl. 1960's), KGB agent

Sir William Hayter (1906-1995), British ambassador in Moscow, 1953-1957

T. G. D. Galbraith (1917-1982), conservative politician and government minister, 1957-1964

Cyril Radcliffe (1899-1977), attorney, who was chairman of the Radcliffe tribunal

Anatoli Golitsin (b. 1926), KGB agent working in Finland, who defected to the West

Yuri Nosenko (b. 1927), KGB agent working in Switzerland, who defected to the West

SUMMARY OF EVENT

John Vassall came from a family of Church of England clergy. After attending a succession of private schools, he worked in an office in London until volunteering for the Royal Air Force during World War II. He was trained as a photographer. After the war, in 1945, he joined the British civil service and was assigned to the Admiralty, the government department in charge of all naval affairs. He also was

gay, living in a society in which homosexuality was still deeply taboo and homosexual acts were punishable by law.

Vassall applied for a two-year post in the British embassy in Moscow, Soviet Union, and worked as a civilian clerk under the naval attaché. He often was lonely, and he was housed in an apartment block reserved for diplomats, closely observed by the Russian secret police, the KGB. Several of the Soviet employees at the embassy, including Sigmund Mikhailsky, were KGB agents as well. Vassall was later to confide in Mikhailsky. It was not long until Vassall received mysterious invitations to meet various Russians and received warm hospitality from people who turned out later to be KGB agents. He also enjoyed the capital's diplomatic social and cultural life and became increasingly detached from what he thought of as the very formal, cold life of the embassy. Even after a poor first work report there, he became increasingly trusted as a reliable clerk.

The KGB used Vassall's sexuality as a means for blackmail. They set up a compromising situation in which Vassall was reportedly drugged, given alcohol to make him drunk, and encouraged to act out certain sexual acts, which were photographed. On March 19, 1955, the trap was sprung. The KGB showed him the damaging photographs and proceeded to blackmail him, threatening him with exposure and prosecution. Vassall felt he could not go to the British ambassador, Sir William Hayter, a formal, traditional diplomat, nor to any senior embassy staff member.

Vassall became a pawn in the experienced and manipulative hands of the KGB. Under his Soviet minder, or supervisor, he was persuaded to give more and more information about the British embassy to the KGB. In return, agents arranged various vacations and trips for him. He naively believed that his return to London at the end of his tenure in Moscow would mark the end of the KGB's hold on him. This was not to be the case.

Vassall returned to London in March, 1956. It became clear to him that Soviet intelligence still desired his services, leading him to believe there was no escape. His British superiors gave him a job in naval intelligence in the Admiralty, an ideal post for KGB intelligence. Vassall supplied his Soviet minder with classified documents concerning naval defense, radar, torpedoes, and antisubmarine defense development. He would meet his minder every few weeks and give him documents that were photographed and returned. Later, Vassall photographed the material for the KGB himself. He then shifted jobs and began working for the Scottish Office under Conservative Party government minister T. G. D. Galbraith, giving him wide access to the House of Commons.

Russian diplomat Nikolai Karpekov became Vassall's new minder. Vassall returned to an Admiralty that was embroiled in another scandal, the Portland spy case, in which five Soviet agents had been caught spying on the British prototype nuclear submarine at the Portland Harbour naval base on the southern coast of England. The newest scandal at Portland brought orders for Vassall to cease operations early in 1961. However, he was ordered to resume operations later that year.

By the middle of 1962, the British authorities were alerted to Vassall's activities. A KGB defector, Anatoli Golitsin, had given MI5, the British counterintelligence department, names of British spies (and possible spies) working for the Soviets. Another defector, Yuri Nosenko, had both confirmed and contradicted this information. It was believed there were up to two Soviet agents in the Admiralty, and both defectors named Vassall as one of them. Some later suggested that the Soviets deliberately engineered the defection of Nosenko to protect a more senior Soviet spy in the Admiralty. This claim was made after a full confession by Vassall to the British police.

Vassall was closely observed and arrested on September 12. He pleaded guilty at his trial, which began in October, and was sentenced to eighteen years in prison. The Conservative government of Prime Minister Harold Macmillan was happy to let the details remain hidden, but under pressure from

the media and Labour opposition leader Hugh Gaitskell, Macmillan was forced to set up an official inquiry. The Radcliffe tribunal, as it was called, began in March, 1963, and was led by Cyril (Viscount) Radcliffe, a distinguished attorney. Vassall gave evidence to a limited range of questions, though he had to pay his own costs. The tribunal excoriated Vassall as lustful and greedy, but it left unanswered the question of just why Vassall was allowed into such dangerous political waters and why he had gone undetected for so long.

Vassall was released from prison after serving ten years of his sentence. He wrote his autobiography, *Vassall: The Autobiography of a Spy* (1975), adopted another name, and became an office clerk at the British Records Association. He died in 1996.

IMPACT

For Vassall, the spy scandal was a disaster. He was a weak person who craved society, friends, and the good life, and he had become a pawn in the Cold War games played by intelligence-gathering forces of the East and West. He was apolitical and a loyal convert to Roman Catholicism, and he was paralyzed by fear of exposure. His own account suggests he received only minor financial reward.

For the British government, the Vassall case marked another dent in its counterintelligence work, coming so soon after the Portland spy case. Golitsin had confirmed the existence of spies in high places in the British diplomatic service. Unlike previous Soviet spies, many of whom were covert communists, Vassall worked on his own and had no sympathy for the Soviet cause.

The Vassall scandal was soon followed by the Profumo affair, in which a British cabinet minister was implicated in a spy case that damaged the reputation of British security. The Profumo affair led to the resignation of Macmillan. In the end, British security was shown to be at the mercy of the extremely efficient KGB machine. In all this, Vassall suffered disproportionately. Other spies had escaped to Russia or were exchanged through diplomacy. In Vassall's case, the Soviets detached themselves completely from him after his arrest and conviction.

—David Barratt

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SEE ALSO: Oct. 26, 1962: West German Police Raid *Der Spiegel* Magazine Offices; Mar. 2–Sept. 25, 1963: John Profumo Affair Rocks British Government; Mar. 4, 1966: Munsinger Sex and Spy Scandal Rocks Canada; 1980: Biographer Claims Actor Errol Flynn Was a Nazi Spy; Aug. 19, 1985: West German Counterintelligence Chief Defects to East Germany; Feb. 18, 2001: CIA Agent Robert Hanssen Is Arrested for Spying for the Russians; Mar. 2, 2003: U.S. National Security Agency Is Found to Have Spied on U.N. Officials; July 14, 2003: Columnist Robert Novak Leaks the Name of CIA Operative Valerie Plame; Jan. 21, 2006: British Politician Resigns After Gay-Sex Orgy; Nov. 23, 2006: Former Russian Security Service Officer Dies from Radiation Poisoning.

October 26, 1962

WEST GERMAN POLICE RAID *DER SPIEGEL* MAGAZINE OFFICES

Commonly described as one of the most serious domestic crises to confront West Germany, the unconstitutional occupation of the offices of the magazine Der Spiegel and the arrests of its publisher and several editors for publishing an article critical of the government attracted worldwide attention and prompted widespread protests. The affair damaged the careers and reputations of its chief government instigators but also demonstrated that the rule of law and respect for civil liberties had taken hold in West Germany's young democracy.

ALSO KNOWN AS: *Spiegel* affair

LOCALE: Hamburg, Federal Republic of Germany (now in Germany)

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; publishing and journalism; civil rights and liberties; politics; communications and media

KEY FIGURES

Franz Josef Strauss (1915–1988), West Germany's minister of defense, 1957–1962
Conrad Ahlers (1922–1980), *Der Spiegel* magazine's defense editor, 1954–1966
Rudolf Augstein (1923–2002), *Der Spiegel* magazine's founder and publisher, 1947–2002
Konrad Adenauer (1876–1967), chancellor of West Germany, 1949–1963
Wolfgang Stammberger (1920–1982), West Germany's minister of justice, 1961–1962

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On October 8, 1962, *Der Spiegel* (the mirror), a highly popular West German newsmagazine with a reputation for reporting government abuses, published an extensive critique of the Federal Republic's military preparedness in the event of an attack by the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies. Written by Conrad Ahlers, *Der Spiegel*'s editor of

defense-related stories, and based on secret military documents apparently provided by a colonel in the West German army, the article reported on the poor performance of the Bundeswehr (the German army) at a North Atlantic Treaty Organization military exercise, Fallex 62. The article, “Conditionally Prepared for Defense,” questioned West Germany’s overreliance on U.S. nuclear forces, which in *Der Spiegel*’s estimation had led those responsible for the Federal Republic’s defenses to neglect conventional forces despite the enormous sums spent for military purposes.

Almost three weeks later, on October 26, federal police forces launched a midnight raid on *Der Spiegel* offices in Hamburg, Dusseldorf, and Bonn. Police confiscated files and proofs of the next issue of the magazine, and arrested six editors and executives, including Rudolf Augstein, *Der Spiegel*’s esteemed founder and publisher. All were charged with high treason. Simultaneously, Spanish authorities, at the request of the West German military attaché, arrested Ahlers, who was vacationing with his wife at Malaga on the Spanish coast. Jailed for twenty-eight hours, Ahlers was returned to West Germany, though no extradition agreement for political crimes existed between the latter and Spain.

West German federal police also searched private residences of *Der Spiegel* staffers, ransacking them in an attempt to uncover incriminating evidence. Thus began the *Spiegel* affair, one of the most serious domestic political crises in West Germany’s forty-year history.

The instigator of the raid was Franz Josef Strauss, the controversial minister of defense since 1957. Born in Munich in 1915, Strauss rose from humble origins to achieve prominence and power in post-World War II West Germany. He was a founding member of the Christian Social Union (CSU), a conservative Bavarian party that had been in alliance with Chancellor Konrad Adenauer’s Christian Democratic Union (CDU) since the establishment of the Federal Republic in 1949. Ambitious and arrogant, Strauss’s authoritarian proclivities and questionable behavior made him a frequent target—as was the Adenauer government as a whole—of *Der Spiegel* criticisms. Strauss interpreted “Condi-

tionally Prepared for Defense” as yet another unwarranted political attack by Augstein and thus ordered, with Adenauer’s blessing, the raids, confiscations, and arrests that commenced on October 26. Strauss did not, however, inform Wolfgang Stammberger, the minister of justice. According to West Germany’s constitution of May, 1949, Stammberger enjoyed exclusive authority to issue federal indictments, and he controlled the federal police.

The heavy-handed, highly unconstitutional actions of October 26, ominously reminiscent of the Nazi era, were perceived as exclusively political and therefore provoked a widespread public outcry. Sensing that the relatively new constitutional democracy and the civil liberties upon which it rested were in danger, West German newspapers lambasted the Adenauer government, declaring that it had humiliated itself and questioning whether a coup d’état had occurred. The intellectual community, especially university professors and students, also criticized the government and engaged in various protest activities, including demonstrations and sit-ins. In one location, Hamburg, seven to eight thousand university students gathered on successive nights outside the jail where Augstein was incarcerated to hear protest speeches.

Within the Bundestag, West Germany’s parliament, angry elected deputies greeted Strauss, Adenauer, and Minister of the Interior Hermann Hocherl with cries of “Gestapo!” and “Neofascist!” and subjected them to three days of intense questioning (November 7-9). Government accusers not only failed to prove the charge of high treason leveled against Augstein and his *Der Spiegel* colleagues, but the minister of defense, after initially denying involvement, finally acknowledged his complicity by admitting that he had personally telephoned the Federal Republic’s military attaché in Madrid and thereby set in motion the process that produced Ahlers’s detention. Adenauer exacerbated the situation and damaged his own prestige even further when, while defending the government’s actions, he accused Augstein of profiting by committing treason and downplayed the illegality of Ahlers’s arrest and extradition from Spain.



University students in Munich call for the resignation of Defense Minister Franz Josef Strauss for his actions against *Der Spiegel*. The signs read, from left, "calls for Strauss's resignation" and "please sign here." (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

IMPACT

On February 7, 1963, after 103 days in jail, Augstein was released, making him the last of those arrested to be freed. Prosecutors, however, would go after Augstein, and two other editors, with formal charges of treason in October, 1964, but those charges were dismissed in May, 1965, by West Germany's federal supreme court. The court cited insufficient evidence that *Der Spiegel* had published military secrets. Later, in August, 1966, the federal constitutional court, by a vote of 4-4, rejected the magazine's claim that the arrests and searches had violated the constitution. Even with this rejection, the federal court's ruling in the case led to increased press freedom in West Germany.

For Strauss and Adenauer, the *Spiegel* scandal did grave damage to their political careers and reputations. On November 19, 1962, in the wake of the initial Bundestag hearings, the Free Democratic Party (FDP) withdrew its five ministers, including Stammberger, from Adenauer's cabinet and announced its intention to go into opposition unless the elderly chancellor dismissed Strauss. Faced with the prospect of losing power, Adenauer agreed to replace Strauss and promised he would not remain in office beyond 1963. The *Spiegel* affair sullied irredeemably Strauss's reputation and effectively ended any chance he had to become chancellor, a position for which he had been frequently mentioned prior to the scandal. Adenauer, West

Germany's first chancellor and the person who had done so much to shape the Federal Republic's development, both domestically and internationally during the first decade-plus of its existence, resigned on October 15, 1963, the *Spiegel* scandal obscuring much of what he had accomplished since 1949.

Beyond the immediate political crisis it produced, and the damage done to Strauss and Adenauer, the *Spiegel* affair represented a telling moment in the history of West Germany. Founded in May, 1949, a child of allied occupation and the Cold War, the Federal Republic was twentieth century Germany's second experiment in political democracy and representative government, the first being the Weimar Republic of 1919 to 1933, which had never achieved a consensus among the German population and had thus been destroyed easily by Adolf Hitler and the Nazi movement.

The illegal and unconstitutional actions against *Der Spiegel* initiated by Strauss and approved by Adenauer constituted a direct violation of the rule of law and the basic civil liberties, freedom of the press in particular, upon which the Federal Republic was theoretically based. That these actions had engendered a hue and cry throughout West Germany, that the intellectual community and elected delegates to the Bundestag had rallied in support of the rule of law and basic civil liberties and thereby forced Strauss and Adenauer, for all intents and purposes, to admit their guilt, and that the federal supreme court ultimately exonerated all those falsely accused of treason demonstrated conclusively that Bonn (capital of the Federal Republic) was not Weimar.

—Bruce J. DeHart

FURTHER READING

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February 23, 1963

PLAY ACCUSES POPE PIUS XII OF COMPLICITY IN THE HOLOCAUST

*At the height of the Cold War, Rolf Hochhuth's play *The Deputy* accused Catholic pope Pius XII of complicity in Nazi Germany's extermination of Jews during World War II. The play's thesis was widely accepted and resulted in the publication of numerous anti-Catholic polemics. The validity of Hochhuth's claims was undermined by the release of numerous Vatican documents and the revelation of the play's links to a Soviet disinformation campaign against the Catholic Church.*

LOCALE: Berlin, Germany

CATEGORIES: Performing arts; publishing and journalism; religion

KEY FIGURES

Rolf Hochhuth (b. 1931), German playwright
Pius XII (Eugenio Maria Giuseppe Giovanni Pacelli; 1876-1958), Roman Catholic pope, 1939-1958

SUMMARY OF EVENT

German playwright Rolf Hochhuth's *The Deputy: A Christian Tragedy* debuted in Berlin on February 23, 1963. The five-hour play, originally written and published as *Der Stellvertreter: Ein Christliches Trauerspiel* (1963), was staged in English in Great Britain at the Royal Shakespeare Theatre later that year. It was staged (in an abridged form) on Broadway in New York in 1964. *The Deputy* accused Roman Catholic pope Pius XII of acquiescing to Nazi Germany's murder of Europe's Jews during World War II to protect the Catholic Church's financial interests.

Although a work of fiction, the play's thesis is that the pope, the central figure of Western Christian civilization, kept silent about one of human history's greatest crimes—the Holocaust. Hochhuth attributes such indifference to the pope's cold per-

sonality, German sympathies, and fears about the future of the Church. The play's thesis was accepted by most left-leaning intellectuals and artists in Europe and the United States, many of whom condemned the Church for other reasons as well. Indeed, many of the play's supporters were themselves liberal Catholics or former Catholics.

The play inspired a debate among historians regarding the role of the Vatican during the Holocaust and World War II. A variety of historians point out that Pius XII personally intervened to save Jews in Italy, hid Jews in the Vatican itself, directed others to aid Jews, was perceived by Nazi leaders as pro-Jewish, and was widely praised by Jews in the years immediately after the war for his assistance.

Even more damaging to the reputation of Hochhuth's play was the revelation by a former Romanian communist spymaster, Ion Mihai Pacepa, of the play's close links to a Soviet disinformation campaign against the Vatican. The campaign was designed to undercut the Church's moral standing in Western Europe and the United States in the context of Cold War propaganda. Following the failed effort to frame Hungary's cardinal and the fiasco surrounding the arrest of Poland's cardinal, the Catholic Church had enjoyed significant public sympathy as a victim of communist persecution. In 1960, the KGB began a major effort to create propaganda in the West portraying Catholics in general and Pius XII in particular as Nazi sympathizers who had remained silent in the face of the Holocaust or even aided the Nazi regime. The effort to write and promote *The Deputy* was part of a much larger effort, but was overseen at a high level by the KGB and Eastern bloc intelligence agencies.

Prior to the play's debut, Hochhuth was virtually unknown as a literary figure. He claimed to have taken a leave of absence from his job, traveled to Rome, interviewed bishops, and viewed otherwise

secret Vatican archives to which no other scholar or member of the public had had access. Instead, it is likely that Hochhuth was given the general outline of the play and routine documents stolen from Vatican archives by Romanian agents at the behest of the KGB that had little incriminating value but which might seem suggestive to average readers. The play was brought to the Berlin stage by director Erwin Piscator, a long-time communist who had spent the war years in the Soviet Union before emigrating to the United States under mysterious circumstances.

The most popular work supporting Hochhuth's thesis about Pius XII was John Cornwell's 1999 book *Hitler's Pope*. Cornwell and others critical of the Catholic Church adopted approaches and language directly from Hochhuth's play. At the heart of their case were two main items: the Concordat signed between Germany and the Vatican while Eugenio Pacelli, the future Pius XII, was papal nuncio in Germany, and the history of anti-Jewish polemics by various Christian leaders over the centuries.

Although widely acclaimed by Pius XII's detractors, Cornwell's book was attacked in numerous scholarly reviews for false and misleading claims, inaccurate use of primary documents, selective reading of secondary literature, and misquoting of both living and deceased witnesses. Reviewers also pointed out that Cornwell's claims of using previously unknown documents were false, as all the documents he cited were previously published and known to scholars.

IMPACT

Despite its fundamentally unscholarly character, *The Deputy* significantly shaped both scholarly and popular perceptions of the Catholic Church's role during World War II. The play has done so for Catholics as well as non-Catholics. To this day, the general public perception is that Pius XII either remained silent or aided the Nazis, conclusions strongly at variance with the historical record. Many scholars, particularly those unversed in the actual Vatican documents, have accepted this view at face value, supported by a few works such

Cornwell's heavily criticized book, *Hitler's Pope*. Indeed, as Rabbi David Dalin points out in his book *The Myth of Hitler's Pope* (2005), the continuing salience of the issue has much to do with the rancor felt by many former Catholics, such as Cornwell, toward the allegedly conservative papacy of John Paul II (1978-2005) and its unwillingness to loosen Church teaching on priestly celibacy, the ordination of women, abortion, and other issues in the manner they would have liked.

At the same time, scandal created by Hochhuth's play resulted in a massive publishing effort and forced the Vatican to release large quantities of documents that would have otherwise remained secret for many years. As a result, the papacy of Pius XII is one of the best documented of modern times.

Finally, the popularity of the play made Hochhuth something of a celebrity. Although his later plays, including one based on the work of Holocaust revisionist David Irving, have had far less acclaim, *The Deputy* has been published in some twenty languages and remains one of the best known German plays of the postwar era.

—John Radzilowski

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Calif.: Salem Press, 2008. An extensive review and analysis of *The Deputy* and its place in the context of literature on the Holocaust. Part of a two-volume set in the Magill's Choice series.

SEE ALSO: Mar. 26, 1922: Hindemith's Opera *Sancta Susanna* Depicts a Nun's Sexual Desires; 1927: Mae West's Play About Gays Is Banned on Broadway; Aug. 14, 1945: French War Hero Pétain Is Convicted of Nazi Collaboration; Dec. 1, 1987: Yale Scholar's Wartime Anti-Semitic Writings Are Revealed; Jan. 6, 2002: *Boston Globe* Reports on Child Sexual Abuse by Roman Catholic Priests; Sept. 30, 2005: Danish Newspaper's Prophet Muhammad Cartoons Stir Violent Protests; Aug. 12, 2006: Novelist Günter Grass Admits to Youthful Nazi Ties.

March 2-September 25, 1963

JOHN PROFUMO AFFAIR ROCKS BRITISH GOVERNMENT

A high-ranking government official, a beautiful show girl, a whiff of communist espionage, concerns over breached national security, and the fall of the mighty defined a scandal in the British government that became sensational tabloid news in 1963. In the end, the Conservative Party lost its hold on government, a doctor committed suicide, and John Profumo, secretary of state for war, lost his job.

LOCALE: London, England

CATEGORIES: Espionage; government; politics; public morals; sex

KEY FIGURES

John Profumo (1915-2006), British secretary of state for war

Christine Keeler (b. 1942), model

Stephen Ward (1912-1963), osteopath

Harold Macmillan (1894-1986), British prime minister, 1957-1963

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The actual drama that would unfold as the Profumo affair involved beautiful women, adultery, sex for hire, and the fall from power of the rich and blessed. It also included a prominent London doctor who may or may not have been a Soviet spy but who was surely something of a pimp, and it included gunplay by a minor actor, a flight from the law, suicide, and redemption.

By most accounts the story began in January of 1961 when John Profumo, secretary of state for war and on the fast track to leadership of the British Conservative Party, met aspiring London model-actor Christine Keeler at a gathering at the home of Viscount William Astor. Keeler, who maintained that she had shared a drink with Profumo at an earlier party, was present as one of the companions of Stephen Ward. Ward was a prominent London osteopath who was known for giving grand parties and surrounding himself with young and glamorous women whom he often introduced to

his friends in Britain's ruling class.

Although Profumo was married at the time to an established actor, Valerie Hobson, he began a brief but torrid affair with Keeler. The affair ended in less than one month, and—given the discretion with which the British press then treated rumors involving the private lives of the politically influential—the story would have ended before it really began had it not been for the fanfare that soon engulfed the lives of both Keeler and Ward.

From the moment that the story broke across the front pages of the British tabloids and serious press alike, the affair had the ingredients of a miniseries or feature film. Keeler's life at the time of the affair was crisscrossed with contacts, sexual and otherwise, and with abusive and violent characters, including an acquaintance who fired a bullet into the door of Keeler's residence. The incident drew a significant amount of public attention to her private life. That life also included—at the same time that she was having an affair with Profumo—a sexual relationship with Yevgeny Ivanov, the senior naval attache at the Soviet embassy in London who was later confirmed to have been involved in espionage activities while in England. Ivanov's acquaintanceship with Keeler, like that of Profumo, was the product of an introduction by Ward.

On March 2, 1963, a member of the Labour Party expressed his fears of a possible compromise of British national security. He asked Profumo to answer a variety of charges, including whether he had compromised state secrets or assisted Keeler in an escape to Spain to avoid testifying against her acquaintance in the shooting case. On March 22, Profumo answered the charges, categorically denying he had revealed state secrets or abetted anyone in evading the law. In both instances he was telling the truth, but his statement also included a denial of any "impropriety" in his relationship with Keeler, a lie shortly ferreted out by the press. Caught in his



John Profumo. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

fabrication, on June 5 Profumo submitted his resignation to Prime Minister Harold Macmillan.

Three days after Profumo's resignation, Ward was arrested by British authorities and charged, but not with espionage. He had been living on the earnings of his stable of "friends," Keeler and Marilyn "Mandy" Rice-Davies, who were nineteen and sixteen years old, respectively. In what amounted to pimping, Ward had demanded money from the "dates" he arranged for the young women. Publicly disgraced and abandoned by his influential contacts, Ward took his own life on August 3, the last day of his trial before the jury was to deliberate on the case against him.

Keeler continued as a quasi-celebrity for some time, and she occasionally resurfaced. In 1989, she appeared in public when *Scandal*, a film about the affair that was based on her 1989 book of the same title, made the rounds of theaters in Britain and North America and, in 2001, she published her autobiography *The Truth at Last: My Story*. In 2007, the play *Keeler*, based on the autobiography and authorized by Keeler, opened in London.

Profumo's political career ended in June of 1963, but his public service career remained intact. Although he still had powerful friends within Britain's establishment and the career options of the indepen-

dently wealthy, Profumo began to literally clean toilets at Toynbee Hall, a charitable organization located in London's poor, east end district. Eventually he was persuaded, and it was evidently a hard sell, to move from that job into the organization's administration, where he spent the rest of his active life helping Toynbee Hall function and raising funds for its work.

In 1975, Queen Elizabeth II recognized Profumo's good works by making him a Commander of the Order of the British Empire, and shortly before his death he received an even greater honor: In 2003, he was awarded the prestigious Beacon Fellowship Prize for his work at Toynbee Hall in combating the social deprivation of London's working classes and poor.

IMPACT

The Profumo affair had no direct effect on the Cold War or the ceaseless game of espionage and counterespionage during that period in world history. Even if Ward was an agent of the Kremlin seeking intelligence relating to the operations of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, no vital information was compromised. An exhaustive investigation led by Lord Alfred Denning and including the participation of Federal Bureau of Investigation director J. Edgar Hoover, made that clear when it released its report on September 25, 1963. The scandal nonetheless affected the British system of government.

In the short term, the Profumo affair tainted the Conservative Party's image and was at least partially responsible for the loss of the conservatives'



Christine Keeler, right, and Mandy Rice-Davies after the first day of court in the criminal trial of Stephen Ward. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

power in government. Health problems caused Macmillan to step aside as prime minister in favor of Alec Douglas-Home in October of 1963, and the Conservative Party was defeated by Harold Wilson's Labour Party in Britain's 1964 general election.

The long-term impact of the Profumo affair is more elusive and difficult to pinpoint. Unlike the U.S. political system, there is no written constitution to limit the powers of the British government, nor is there a federal division of power between the central government in London and the lower levels of government in the realm; nor is there a separation of powers between the executive and legislative branches to help keep that central government in check. Indeed, until the United Kingdom joined the European Community (now the European Union) during the early 1970's, the majority in the House of Commons could do what it desired. What confers legitimacy on this system in Britain is thus not a system of checks and balances designed to discourage abuses of government power but the bond of trust between the government and the governed. The lynchpin of that trust is the unwritten rule of British politics that the country's political leaders will not lie to the public. In asserting that there was no impropriety in his relationship with Keeler, Profumo broke that cardinal rule. In resigning, he validated the rule's continuing vitality as a fact of British political life.

—Joseph R. Rudolph, Jr.

FURTHER READING

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Irving, Clive, Ron Hall, and Jeremy Wallington. *Anatomy of a Scandal: A Study of the Profumo Affair*. New York: M. S. Mill, 1963. Published quickly to capitalize on the publicity still being generated by the scandal, this widely available (in libraries) book remains a useful starting point for further studies of the affair.

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Woodhouse, Diana. *Ministers and Parliament: Accountability in Theory and Practice*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1994. Woodhouse examines the resignation scandals of modern British politics, seeing patterns of responsibility and accountability.

SEE ALSO: June 22, 1922: British Prime Minister David Lloyd George Is Accused of Selling Honors; Dec. 10, 1936: King Edward VIII Abdicates to Marry an American Divorcée; Jan. 21, 1950: Alger Hiss Is Convicted of Perjury; Sept. 12, 1962: British Civil Servant Is Arrested for Spying; Nov. 20, 1974: British Politician John Stonehouse Fakes His Suicide; Oct. 14, 1983: British Cabinet Secretary Parkinson Resigns After His Secretary Becomes Pregnant; 1985-1986: Westland Affair Shakes Prime Minister Thatcher's Government; Sept. 24, 1992: British Cabinet Member David Mellor Resigns over Romantic Affair; Jan. 5, 1994: British Cabinet Member Resigns After Fathering a Child Out of Wedlock; Sept. 28, 2002: British Politician Reveals Her Affair with Prime Minister John Major; Jan. 21, 2006: British Politician Resigns After Gay-Sex Orgy; Apr. 26, 2006: Britain's Deputy Prime Minister Admits Affair with Secretary.

July 2, 1963**MUSLIM LEADER ELIJAH MUHAMMAD IS SUED FOR PATERNITY**

Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Nation of Islam, the major Black Muslim organization in the United States, was sued by two of his young secretaries for paternity, beginning a national scandal. Muhammad and second-in-command Malcolm X severed their personal and professional relationship over major disagreements about how to handle the lawsuit and other related issues. Some believe that this rift led to the assassination of Malcolm X in 1965.

LOCALES: Los Angeles, California; New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; social issues and reform; women's issues; murder and suicide; religion

KEY FIGURES

Elijah Muhammad (1897-1975), leader of the Nation of Islam

Malcolm X (1925-1965), future leader of the Nation of Islam

Wallace Dodd Fard (1891-1934), founder of the Nation of Islam

SUMMARY OF EVENT

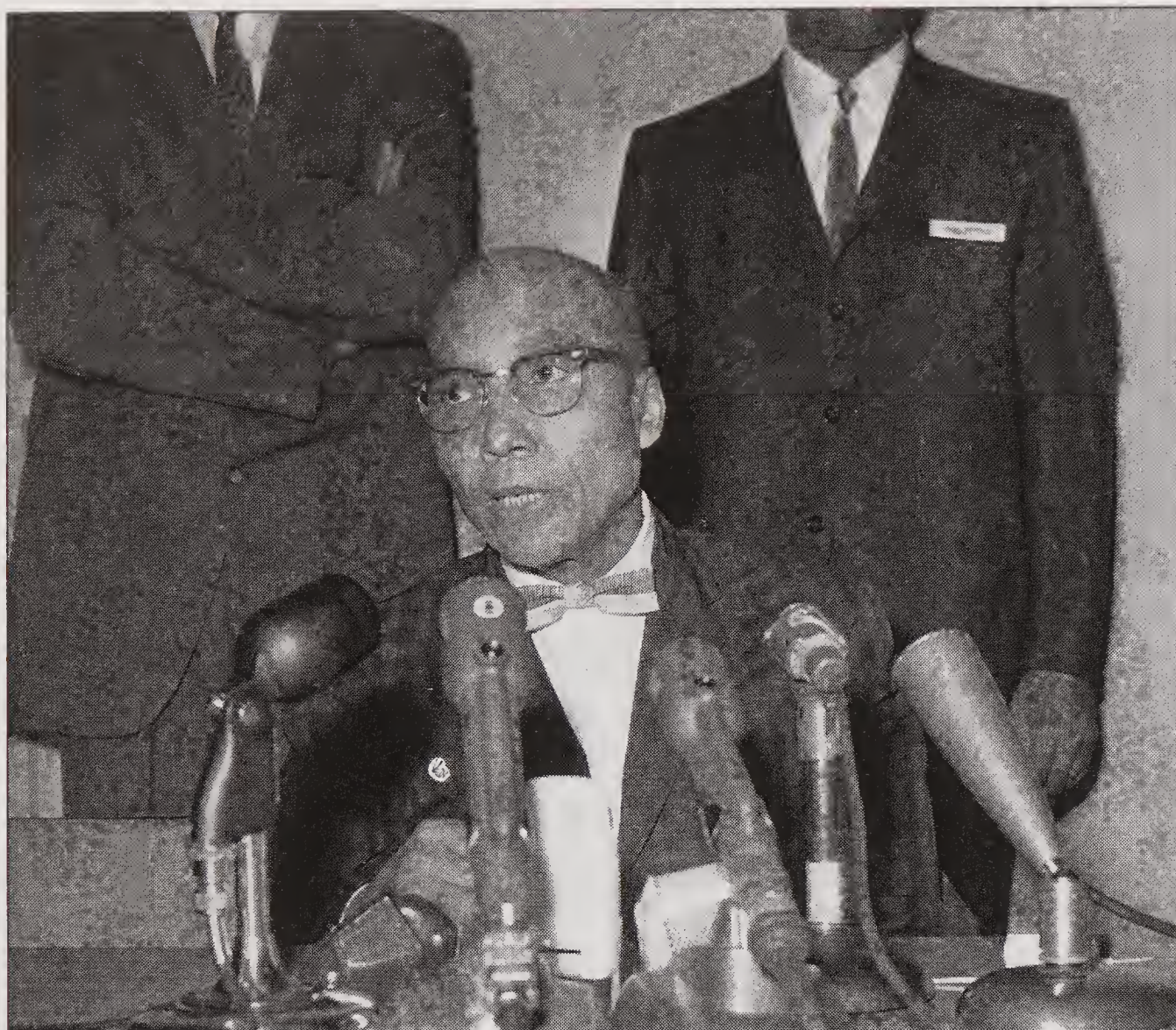
During the early 1930's, Elijah Muhammad was overcome by the teachings of Wallace Dodd Fard, preacher of the Allah Temple of Islam in Detroit, Michigan. Fard's message was that it was time for blacks to return to the religion of Islam and work for the social, economic, and spiritual betterment of African Americans. Muhammad, formerly known as Elijah Poole and later named Elijah Muhammad by Fard, embraced the faith and convinced his family, which included eight children, to do so as well. Fard, who founded the Nation of Islam in 1930, taught that blacks were on Earth before whites but had been tricked and subjugated by whites. Fard's words continued to influence the teachings of the

Nation of Islam, which Muhammad would lead when his mentor disappeared in 1934.

Future Black Muslim leader Malcolm X, formerly Malcolm Little, first encountered Elijah Muhammad's teachings while in prison during the early 1940's. He became a convert to the church, changed his name to signify his new allegiance, and was befriended by Muhammad, who also became his mentor. Eventually, Malcolm X became second in command in the Nation of Islam leadership. The dynamic young leader worshiped Muhammad unquestioningly at first, believing his mentor had been chosen by God to lead the Nation of Islam.

During the mid-1950's, Muhammad came under suspicion for adultery. During the next dozen years, several of his underage and unmarried secretaries became pregnant. During the early 1960's, speculation began about who had been getting the girls pregnant. Many believed that Malcolm X was the father. One of the girls was notified that she must face "trial" for her violation of the principles of the Nation of Islam. Malcolm X remained unaware of his reputed part in her pregnancy. Worried about the young woman's lost reputation and thinking she had been seduced by an outsider, Malcolm X was shocked to find out that rumors held him to be the father.

Malcolm X began an investigation. Many Nation of Islam secretaries were friends of his, and he had recommended them for their jobs. He even found that his wife was offered a secretarial job by Muhammad two days before she and Malcolm X eloped. He was horrified to think of the number of girls and young women he had exposed to an adulterer—he even considered himself little better than a procurer for Muhammad. He confronted Muhammad, suggesting that the congregation be told about the pregnancies so that faults could be acknowledged and addressed. Muhammad was sympathetic to Malcolm X's suggestions but said that he was



Elijah Muhammad. (AP/Wide World Photos)

conforming to prophecies that allowed for sexual transgressions, such as those of the biblical figures David, Noah, and Lot. Muhammad declared that he was following in the path of other biblical prophets. In the end, Muhammad did nothing to calm the rumors, continuing to visit two of his mistresses and former secretaries regularly.

Malcolm X found that the more he discovered about the rumors, the more complicated the problems became. The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), which had a strong interest in investigating and discrediting Muhammad, had been conducting its own investigation of Muhammad since early 1960. FBI agents visited Lucille Rosary, one of Muhammad's former secretaries, who had had more than one child with her employer, to attempt to get more information on Muhammad. Rosary told Malcolm X of the visit, and Malcolm grew alarmed, rightly fearing that the FBI intended to use Muhammad's transgressions as a chance to discredit the Nation of Islam as a whole.

In April, 1963, Warith Deen Muhammad, one of Muhammad's sons, told Malcolm X that his father

had made six of his secretaries pregnant and that two were filing paternity suits against him. The two women, whose lawsuits were filed in a Los Angeles court on July 2, 1963, told Malcolm X later that Muhammad had frequently derided and spoken against him in their presence.

Heartbroken at the betrayal, Malcolm X believed he had no choice but to acknowledge the scandal, before the congregation as well as the press, and to withdraw from the daily happenings of the church. When Muhammad heard of Malcolm X's break from the church, he barred him from preaching for ninety days. On March 8, 1964, Malcolm X formally announced his resignation from the Nation of Islam. Days later he formed his own group,

Muslim Mosque, Incorporated, then formed the more secular Organization of Afro-American Unity, which stayed close to some of the tenets of the Nation of Islam but modified others, such as advocating the politics and economics of Black Nationalism.

Angered by Malcolm X's actions and words, Muhammad began to speak out against his former friend and colleague. A member of the Seventh Temple of the Nation of Islam then confirmed to Malcolm X what he already knew—that his life was in danger because of his break from Muhammad. FBI investigations continued to plague Malcolm X as well. In January, 1965, he visited the two young women who had filed paternity suits against Muhammad. The women eventually would drop their suits out of frustration; they had been unable to secure subpoenas on Muhammad.

On February 14, Malcolm X's house was firebombed. One week later, on February 21, he was shot to death by multiple assassins, all affiliated with the Nation of Islam. One of the assailants had rushed toward him at a gathering at the Audubon

Ballroom in Harlem and shot him in the chest with a sawed-off shotgun, and two others shot him with handguns. In all, he had been shot sixteen times and died by the time he arrived at New York's Columbia Presbyterian Hospital.

Malcolm X's funeral at the Faith Temple Church of God in Christ in Harlem, New York, on February 27 was attended by more than one thousand mourners. The rumor that Muhammad had ordered the assassination plagued him until his death in 1975. Perhaps exacerbating the rumor were his words to his congregation at its annual Saviours' Day convention, also in February. Muhammad said, "Malcolm X got just what he preached." Later testimony suggested, however, that an FBI agent named John Ali, who had infiltrated the Nation of Islam and acted as its secretary, also had played a part in arranging the assassination. Any direct connection between Muhammad and Malcolm X's assassination was never proved.

IMPACT

Muhammad was not a stranger to scandal. In 1942, he had been arrested under charges of sedition and violation of the Selective Services Act and sentenced to four years in a federal prison. It was in this prison that he met Malcolm X. In later life, one of Muhammad's sons was arrested and convicted on a drug charge while another, Wallace Muhammad, succeeded his father in running the organization. Louis Farrakhan, a member of the Nation of Islam who had initially called for Malcolm X's death, broke from the younger Muhammad when he instituted some of the reforms Malcolm X had suggested.

Even after Muhammad's death, scandal would continue to plague the Nation of Islam. Under the guidance of his son, Warith Deen Muhammad (who died in September, 2008), the Nation of Islam moved closer to the model of Sunni Islam and even accepted white people into its congregations, changing its name to the Muslim American Society. Numerous splinter groups, such as the Five Percenters, whose beliefs were even more radical

than those of the original group, arose as a result of the mainstream move of the Nation of Islam.

—Catherine Rambo

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August 14, 1963

MADAME NHU DERIDES SELF-IMMOLATION OF VIETNAMESE BUDDHISTS

With rising American criticism of the war in Vietnam tied to the insensitivity of the South Vietnamese government to Buddhist protests against government repression, national assembly member Madame Nhu scandalized readers in the United States when she defiantly called the self-immolation of protesting Buddhist monks a “monk barbecue show.” Her words, published in a letter to the editor in The New York Times, contributed to U.S. support for a coup against President Ngo Dinh Diem, Madame Nhu’s brother-in-law.

LOCALES: New York, New York; Saigon, South Vietnam (now Ho Chi Minh City, Republic of Vietnam)

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; politics; international relations; social issues and reform; government; violence

KEY FIGURES

Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu (Tran Le Xuan; b. 1924), member of the national assembly of South Vietnam, 1956-1963

Ngo Dinh Nhu (1906-1963), member of the national assembly of South Vietnam, 1956-1963, and key adviser to President Ngo Dinh Diem

Ngo Dinh Le Thuy (1945-1967), daughter of Madame Nhu

Ngo Dinh Diem (1901-1963), president of South Vietnam, 1955-1963

Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr. (1902-1985), U.S. ambassador to South Vietnam, 1963-1964, 1965-1967

David Halberstam (1934-2007), Saigon-based reporter for *The New York Times*

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Vietnam gained independence from France but was divided into a communist-ruled North Vietnam and

a republican South Vietnam in 1954. Since that time the United States supported South Vietnam and its Roman Catholic president, Ngo Dinh Diem. By early 1963, Diem faced increasing Communist Party aggression in his country. On May 8, in the South Vietnamese city of Hue, republican forces clashed with Buddhist protesters—six Buddhists and two Catholics were killed. The U.S. government, along with President John F. Kennedy, was displeased with Diem’s stubborn decision to blame the communists—who were likely not involved—for the violence, and by Diem’s ensuing lack of reconciliation with Buddhist protesters. U.S. diplomats feared that Diem was unnecessarily adding new enemies and fueling conflict between his country’s Catholic minority and Buddhist majority.

The most outspoken defender of the shaky thesis of a communist-Buddhist link was Madame Ngo Dinh Nhu, a national assembly member who was married to President Diem’s brother and senior adviser, Ngo Dinh Nhu. As self-styled First Lady of South Vietnam, the beautiful Madame Nhu, fluent in French and with serviceable English, was admired by fellow Vietnamese for speaking with Americans as her equals. Self-confident and blunt, Madame Nhu fascinated, exacerbated, and antagonized U.S. diplomats. She had the same effect on young American reporters such as David Halberstam of *The New York Times*. Indeed, Halberstam had developed a visceral hatred of Madame Nhu.

On June 8, Madame Nhu denounced the Buddhist protesters as dupes of the communists, leading Halberstam to call her comment a disastrous escalation of antagonism. A top U.S. diplomat, William Trueheart, complained to President Diem about Madame Nhu. The stage was set for Americans to now consider her the “dragon lady” of South Vietnam, an epithet also misogynistic and stereotypical. On June 11, Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc, who was seventy-three years old, burned himself to death on a busy street in Saigon (now Ho Chi Minh

City). Americans began to look at Madame Nhu's hardline approach, shared by her husband, as a severe impediment to the war effort against the communists.

A second Buddhist monk burned himself to death on August 5. Around this time, Madame Nhu's eldest daughter, seventeen-year-old Ngo Dinh Le Thuy, who was fluent in English, overheard American reporters at a bar in Saigon referring to the immolations as "monk barbecues." Hearing about this from Le Thuy, Madame Nhu made the catastrophic decision, as she later told her American audiences on October 11 and 12 at Fordham and Columbia Universities, to use this same words as ridicule to stop the monk suicides.

In a letter to the editor of *The New York Times*, written August 11 and published August 14, Madame Nhu acknowledged that she had said, "I would clap hands at seeing another monk barbecue show." She defended her caustic words as necessary to "electroshock" the world so that it would "come better to understand the reality of the situation." Madame Nhu's letter had the opposite effect. Americans were infuriated, and *The New York Times* ran an editorial in the same issue that condemned her as "callous and self-defeating." *Newsweek* magazine included the quotation in its August 19 issue, and other American print media picked up on her caustic words, reporting, also, that she had said that the unpatriotic monks had used imported gasoline and that she would gladly provide gasoline if the monks wanted to hold another barbecue.

The repressive nature of the South Vietnamese government became even more clear to Americans when two more monks burned themselves to death, on August 13 and 18. After Ngo Dinh Nhu's special forces raided Buddhist pagodas on the night of August 21, the new U.S. ambassador, Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr., advised Diem to get rid of the Nhus, Madame Nhu included. Adding to the scandal was the

August 22 resignation of her protesting father, Tran Van Chuong, as South Vietnam's ambassador to the United States. He subsequently lashed out in public against his daughter.

On September 9, Madame Nhu left Saigon for a tour abroad, ostensibly to attend the fifty-second Inter-Parliamentary Union meeting in Belgrade, Yugoslavia (now in Serbia). In a pattern that would repeat itself throughout her European and American goodwill tours, Madame Nhu was alternately contrite and infuriatingly outspoken.

In Belgrade on September 11, Madame Nhu angered Americans again by calling President Kennedy an appeaser of the political left. A day later, Madame Nhu showed how deeply wounded she

OBSERVATIONS ON SELF-IMMOLATION

On June 11, 1963, Buddhist monk Thich Quang Duc protested the Diem administration's killing of several South Vietnamese monks in May of that year by setting himself on fire. Reporter David Halberstam witnessed the scene, documenting it for The New York Times. Madame Nhu's crass commentary on the self-immolation follows.

Flames were coming from a human being; his body was slowly withering and shriveling up, his head blackening and charring. In the air was the smell of burning human flesh; human beings burn surprisingly quickly. Behind me I could hear the sobbing of the Vietnamese who were now gathering. I was too shocked to cry, too confused to take notes or ask questions, too bewildered to even think. . . . As he burned he never moved a muscle, never uttered a sound, his outward composure in sharp contrast to the wailing people around him.

Madame Nhu, in response:

What have the Buddhist leaders done comparatively . . . the only thing they have done, they have barbecued one of their monks whom they have intoxicated, whom they have abused the confidence, and even that barbecuing was done not even with self-sufficient means because they used imported gasoline.

Source: Halberstam, *The Making of a Quagmire* (New York: Random House, 1965). Madame Nhu quoted in "Vietnam: A Television History," on the PBS television series *The American Experience* (Boston: WGBH Educational Foundation, 1963).



Madame Nhu. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

was by the personal criticism leveled at her and how resentful she was of U.S. interference in her country. Asked later if she would visit the United States, she likened herself to a Vietnamese dragonfly who would only stay where she was happy.

It appeared that Madame Nhu was gaining some support in Belgrade. Upon the invitation of U.S. representative Katherine St. George, she had lunch with a group including U.S. senator Edward M. Kennedy. In Rome on September 22, however, she made another fateful public relations gaffe. Interviewed by the American Broadcasting Company, she referred to junior U.S. military officers in Vietnam as “little soldiers of fortune” who “don’t know what is going on.” This comment so infuriated Ambassador Lodge that he came to call it an incomprehensible, cruelly, shocking statement in light of the sacrifices, including deaths, made by Americans for South Vietnam. Somewhat chastened, Madame Nhu claimed she did not make the statement, which was caught on tape, and insisted she had been misinterpreted.

Madame Nhu attracted immense media attention when she arrived in New York City on October 7. Traveling from east to west, Madame Nhu and her daughter, Le Thuy, made the cover of the Octo-

ber 11 issue of *Life* magazine. When news of the November 1-2 coup in Saigon reached her in Los Angeles, she angrily denounced U.S. complicity in the coup. Grieving for her husband, Ngo, and her brother-in-law, Diem, who were killed in the coup, she nevertheless remained in a fighting spirit. She left the United States on November 13 and went into exile in Paris.

IMPACT

The scandal around the “monk barbecue” appellation by Madame Nhu took off so powerfully in the United States in part because she had picked a phrase coined by an American in a hotel bar in Saigon. She was publicly vilified precisely because she gave public utterance to American words that were ta-

boo for the times. Meant to stop the immolations through ridicule, her words instead fueled the belief that she was a cruel and heartless Asian dictator.

Madame Nhu, considered a public liability in the U.S. effort to win the war in Vietnam, was so disliked that Americans became even more disillusioned with the government of her brother-in-law. Ironically, Madame Nhu was right when she lambasted covert U.S. support for plots in October, 1963, when Ambassador Lodge was doing exactly this.

Madame Nhu’s outspoken, misplaced, and scandalizing words helped bring down Diem’s government in 1963. However, U.S. relief at the coup was short-lived, and the Buddhist self-immolations continued. An imminent Communist Party victory persuaded U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson to send U.S. combat troops to Vietnam in March, 1965. A bitter and ultimately lost war ensued, leading to the deaths of fifty-eight thousand Americans in battle. Historians continue to debate whether President Diem could have saved South Vietnam. His downfall, however, aided by the scandal aroused by his sister-in-law, Madame Nhu, was a prelude to Communist Party triumph in 1975.

—R. C. Lutz

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Johnson Aide Resigns over Crime Connections

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October 7, 1963

VICE PRESIDENT LYNDON B. JOHNSON AIDE RESIGNS OVER CRIME CONNECTIONS

Bobby Baker, a close associate of U.S. vice president Lyndon B. Johnson, was accused of using his personal and business contacts—which included organized crime figures—to make money illegally. He also provided Congress members and lobbyists with the companionship of young women. In 1967, Baker was convicted and sentenced to federal prison. The scandal, particularly Baker's ties to the mob, became a political embarrassment that tarnished Johnson's presidency.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Organized crime and racketeering; corruption; government; politics; sex

KEY FIGURES

Bobby Baker (b. 1928), Johnson associate and former secretary to the U.S. Senate

Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-1973), vice president of the United States, 1961-1963

Robert S. Kerr (1896-1963), U.S. senator from Oklahoma, 1949-1963

Don Reynolds (fl. 1960's), insurance agent

Nancy Carole Tyler (1939-1965), Baker's secretary, who became his mistress

Edward Bennett Williams (1920-1988), Baker's lawyer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Bobby Baker served as a page from the time he was fourteen years old and then became secretary to the

U.S. Senate, where he served until 1963. During his tenure with the Senate, he became close friends with a number of influential senators, including Lyndon B. Johnson and Robert S. Kerr. In his capacities in the Senate, Baker provided a number of services for the senators and lobbyists, ranging from writing the text of bills to procuring young women as companions.

Baker also used his position in the Senate to make deals, open a motel, obtain a vending-machine contract, and associate with a number of organized crime figures such as Ed Levenson and Benny Siegelbaum, both of whom had connections to controversial union leader Jimmy Hoffa. In the end, Baker's deals crashed down on him, and he was investigated by the Senate. He then was indicted by a federal grand jury, tried, found guilty, and sentenced to more than sixteen months in prison.

Born November 12, 1928, Baker was the eldest of eight children. His father, Ernest, started out as a mill hand and eventually became the postmaster of Pickens, South Carolina, where Baker grew up. The young Baker's first introduction to the Senate came in 1942, when he moved to Washington, D.C. to work as a Senate page. A few years later, in 1948, Baker met Johnson, with whom he would be associated the rest of his career. In the Senate, Baker climbed the ladder of success and eventually became secretary to the Senate. By his twenties, he was a well-known individual among congressmen and lobbyists.

Always hustling and looking for opportunities, Baker got involved in a number of projects, such as setting up a law firm with Ernest Tucker, who paid him fees for "referrals," even though Baker never did practice law. During the 1950's, he got involved in establishing casinos in the Dominican Republic



Bobby Baker (right) is seated with his attorney during Senate hearings. (AP/Wide World Photos)

through the InterContinental Hotels Group, and he brought Levenson and Siegelbaum to the deal. Baker also was closely involved with Senator Kerr of Oklahoma and his moneyed projects. Baker's other ventures included establishing the Serv-U-Corporation. Through this company, Baker and his cohorts secured a vending-machine contract for companies working on federally sponsored programs. Finally, Baker invested in the Mortgage Guaranty Insurance Company (MGIC) on the advice of its chairman. These investments contributed to Baker's downfall.

It was Baker's connections with the Quorum Club, however, that led to the most serious problems. The Quorum Club, located in a hotel across the street from the Senate office building, was an elite club, whose members included lobbyists and politicians. Baker was a club cofounder and served on its board. It was at the Quorum that he conducted many of his illegal dealings. Baker reportedly introduced John F. Kennedy to Ellen Rometsch, a host at the club, who was later accused of being a spy.

From this point on, Baker's troubles escalated. Through loans, favorable investments in MGIC, and other favors, he was able to set up his Carousel Motel. Many of the best known senatorial figures, such as Johnson, were invited to its grand opening. Few people realized that the Carousel was a financial drain on Baker, who obtained financial help for the venture from Senator Kerr.

Johnson, by the time of his vice presidency, had dealings with insurance agent Don Reynolds, whom Baker had introduced to Johnson. In 1955, Johnson had suffered a massive heart attack, which made it difficult for him to get health insurance. Reynolds put together a large life insurance policy for Johnson on two conditions: that Reynolds could buy air time on Johnson's television station in Austin, Texas, and that he would give Reynolds and his wife an expensive stereo set. Johnson later denied any wrongdoing and simply wrote off the transactions as gifts given and received.

Baker's troubles with federal investigators began because of his involvement with Reynolds and because of his associations with Senator Kerr. Ac-

cording to Baker, Kerr consistently demanded money from corporate executives of companies such as savings and loans as payoffs to avoid regulatory legislation or investigations. In many ways, Baker brought much of this attention upon himself, given that his senatorial job earnings did not match his millionaire lifestyle. Closely identified with Vice President Johnson, Baker failed to realize that this connection did not make him invincible. Baker already had run-ins with Republicans who seemed intent on "getting him." He even had strained relations with prominent Democrats, who blamed him for the problems President Kennedy had with Medicare. Baker decided it was time to leave the Senate. He resigned on October 7, 1963.

Baker described the beginning of the end for him as the time Ralph Hill, president of Capitol Vending Company, caused him trouble over his vending-machine contracts. Instead of settling a dispute with Hill, Baker ignored it until it was too late. Hill sued Baker in November, 1963, and told investigators that Baker demanded monthly payments of \$1,000 for any deal to go through for Hill. Hill actually did pay Baker some money, approximately \$600 per month for a short period of time.

To make matters worse, and despite his hiring of attorney Abe Fortas (later associate justice of the United States, who resigned his position after an unrelated scandal) to represent him, the bottom fell out for Baker. The floodgates were open for an investigation. Married with five children, Baker also was having an affair with his secretary, Nancy Carole Tyler. Nothing was left untouched by investigators, even the fact that Baker filled out the application form for Tyler's apartment. (Tyler was a roommate of Mary Jo Kopechne, who was killed in a crash of a car driven by Massachusetts senator Ted Kennedy in 1969.) Although U.S. attorney general Robert F. Kennedy reportedly told Baker that he did not start the investigation against him, Johnson believed otherwise.

IMPACT

The so-called Bobby Baker investigation bill went to the Senate Rules Committee, chaired by Everett Jordan of North Carolina. Baker's attorney, Fortas,

was replaced by Edward Bennett Williams. The hearings were devastating to Baker's reputation. In its final report, the Senate committee said that Baker had abused his position of trust. His problems worsened as he was the focus of investigations by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the Internal Revenue Service. During this time, Baker did everything he could to raise money, even becoming a full-time innkeeper at the Carousel Hotel.

Baker soon faced the death of his mistress, Tyler, who was killed in a plane crash in May, 1965. On January 5, 1966, he was indicted by a federal grand jury in Washington, D.C., on nine counts of income tax evasion and fraud. His trial took place in January, 1967. Baker was found guilty and sentenced to one to three years in prison. He served more than sixteen months.

The Baker scandal was one of the most significant events of the Johnson vice presidency and his early presidential years. Although Baker was the target of the investigations and trial, Johnson figured prominently in the background. More important, the Baker scandal caused the already strained relationship between Johnson and the attorney general, Robert F. Kennedy, to deteriorate even further.

—Michael V. Namorato

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March 13, 1964**KITTY GENOVESE DIES AS HER CRIES FOR HELP ARE IGNORED**

The rape and murder of Kitty Genovese as several witnesses ignored her cries for help raised serious questions about public indifference, the psychology and ethics of responsibility, and the so-called bystander effect. The case also inspired the formation of the 9-1-1 emergency phone system and the successful Neighborhood Watch groups around the United States.

LOCALE: Queens, New York**CATEGORIES:** Murder and suicide; psychology and psychiatry; social issues and reform; women's issues**KEY FIGURES***Kitty Genovese* (1935-1964), sports-bar manager*Winston Moseley* (b. 1935), business-machine operator*Karl Ross* (b. 1933), witness who called police**SUMMARY OF EVENT**

Kitty Genovese was a manager at a sports bar in the New York City borough of Queens. In the early hours of March 13, 1964, she left work and drove home to her apartment in the Kew Gardens neighborhood. As she was walking from the building's parking lot to the door of her apartment, she was approached by Winston Moseley, a young business-machine operator who, by his own subsequent sworn testimony, had decided to go on the "prowl" and kill an unaccompanied woman.

In his initial attack, Moseley stabbed Genovese several times with a knife. She cried out for help. According to later testimony, several of her neighbors turned on lights to see what was happening, and one person even opened his window and shouted for Moseley to leave Genovese alone. Moseley retreated to his car. One witness would later claim that his father had called the police to re-

port the attack, but the dispatcher considered the call of no import.

What is known for certain is that no one helped Genovese. Instead, she was left to stagger toward her own apartment, bleeding and rapidly becoming weaker. Her attempt to get to her own apartment took her out of view of people who might have otherwise been convinced that she was in need of assistance. Eventually, she got to a hallway, where she collapsed from blood loss.

In the meantime, Moseley, who had initially fled the scene in his car, returned to the parking lot after about ten minutes and made a thorough search of the area. He finally located Genovese, who was still alive but barely conscious. He stabbed her several more times before raping her and leaving her to die.

Shortly after the second attack, Karl Ross, a witness, called police, who finally responded to the plea for help. They arrived with medical personnel only minutes later. However, Genovese's wounds were too severe, and she died in the ambulance while on her way to a nearby hospital emergency room. Her family had her buried in Lakeview Cemetery in New Canaan, Connecticut, and to protect the family's privacy from curiosity seekers, they had to keep secret the location of her grave.

Moseley was found guilty of killing and raping Genovese, and two others, and was sentenced to death. However, because there was evidence of necrophilia (a sexual attraction to dying persons and corpses) and other mental instabilities presented in court, it was later ruled that he should have been allowed to plead insanity. As a result, his sentence was reduced to life imprisonment, but his parole hearings have been repeatedly denied.

Even as Genovese's body was being laid to rest, outrage began to mount that a woman could be killed not in some dark and hidden basement room but in a common passageway with several witnesses. Many of the witnesses, when confronted

about their inaction, answered that they did not want to get involved. These responses squared with the experiences of people in large cities, who carefully distance themselves from the crowds in which they move, avoiding eye contact with anyone except actual acquaintances, never meeting or becoming acquainted with neighbors, and otherwise moving anonymously through the masses of humanity around them.

Harlan Ellison, a science-fiction writer turned political commentator, wrote about the incident with particular fury. He claimed that one witness had even turned up a radio to avoid having to listen to Genovese's screams and, thus, to evade his own sense of responsibility to aid her. Ellison also was the first to settle upon the number thirty-eight for the number of witnesses who had refused to get involved. (The exact number of witnesses, and other facts in the case, remain disputed.) Even after his initial articles, he continued to discuss the subject. His book *The Other Glass Teat* (1972), a collection of essays, explores the social effects of television, most of which he considers to be negative.

However, later studies showed that simplistic earlier accounts of the witnesses' indifference were misleading. It turns out that no single person was able to see the entire sequence of events from the initial attack to Genovese's final collapse and death. A number of the witnesses saw or heard only portions of the attack and did not realize that they were witnessing a crime in progress rather than a particularly noisy domestic fight. As a result, claims about the deliberate inaction of witnesses become more understandable. It is likely that those who thought they were only hearing a couple quarreling did not want to intrude upon a dispute that was none of their business. Others have argued that it is just as likely that the witnesses were not indifferent or uncaring but instead, according to writer Jim Rasenberger, were feeling "confusion, fear, misapprehension, [and] uncertainty."

IMPACT

Genovese's brutal murder quickly became a symbol of the phenomenon by which people in a crowd feel a reduced responsibility to respond to an emer-

gency situation. A number of leading psychologists performed studies after the attack on Genovese in which various kinds of emergencies were staged in the presence of volunteers and their responses were analyzed. It was found that a person alone was far more likely to respond to an apparent emergency, whether by direct action or by summoning appropriate authorities, than was a person sitting in a room with two or three of the experimenter's assistants posing as other volunteers for the study. However, if even one of the assistants were to take initiative, the chance that the actual volunteer would act went up considerably. The phenomenon was given a formal name, the "bystander effect," leading to several major academic papers on the subject. Others have called it "bystander apathy" and "Genovese syndrome."

On a more practical level, New Yorkers and people in other large cities across the United States began taking action to change the type of situation that led to Genovese's death. Many neighborhoods organized neighborhood groups—precursors to the Neighborhood Watch system that began in 1972—in which residents pledged to consciously keep an eye on one another and on suspicious activities in their neighborhood. The New York Police Department reformed its telephone reporting system to ensure that early reports of a crime in progress would not be dismissed by careless or overworked dispatchers. Also, many agree that the Genovese case helped convince law enforcement and government officials to implement the national 9-1-1 emergency phone system in 1967.

Nearly eleven years later, however, on Christmas morning, 1974, twenty-five-year-old Sandra Zahler was attacked and beaten to death within a block of the apartment complex where Genovese had been killed in 1964. Again, neighbors had reported hearing her struggles and cries for help but had done nothing. Social commentators were particularly frustrated that despite hopes to the contrary, people did not learn; public outrage at one attack did not lead to long-term behavior change but, instead, to the old habit of indifference.

—Leigh Husband Kimmel

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October 7, 1964

PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON'S AIDE IS ARRESTED IN GAY-SEX STING

President Lyndon B. Johnson was surprised to learn that Walter Jenkins—his friend, longtime aide, and confidant since 1939—was gay.

Immediately after Johnson learned about Jenkins's 1964 arrest in a YMCA restroom known as a place for gay sex, he secured Jenkins's resignation because of his concern about the possible impact of the arrest on his campaign for the presidency.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Sex; sex crimes; government; politics; public morals; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Walter Jenkins (1918-1985), long-time political aide and confidant of Johnson

Lyndon B. Johnson (1908-1973), president of the United States, 1963-1969

Abe Fortas (1910-1982), attorney and legal adviser to Johnson, associate justice of the United States, 1965-1969

Barry Goldwater (1909-1998), Republican presidential nominee, 1964, and U.S. senator from Arizona, 1953-1965, 1969-1987

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On the evening of October 7, 1964, Walter Jenkins attended a party at the new office building of *Newsweek* magazine. After drinking several martinis there, he walked to the YMCA near the White House. The YMCA men's room was well known to local police as a meeting place for men seeking sex with other men. Jenkins and Andy Choka were arrested by undercover police shortly after they entered a restroom stall. Jenkins pleaded guilty to a charge of disorderly conduct and paid a fifty dollar fine.

Jenkins, born in Jolly, Texas, on March 23, 1918, was raised in Wichita Falls, Texas. While attending the University of Texas, John Connally, a classmate and future governor of Texas, suggested that Jenkins work for Democratic congressman Lyndon B. Johnson. Except for his World War II service in the U.S. Army and a brief, unsuccessful congressional campaign in 1951, Jenkins worked for Johnson from 1939 until his resignation in 1964. Jenkins was known for his quiet and placid demeanor, long work hours, and complete devotion to Johnson.

Jenkins also managed Johnson's business interests. After Johnson became president, Jenkins received top security clearance to access national security documents. He also was authorized to attend all cabinet meetings and sign Johnson's name on letters.

Jenkins's arrest on October 7 did not become public knowledge and was not known to Johnson until October 14. Abe Fortas, a prestigious Washington attorney and also a confidant of Johnson, informed the president that Jenkins had just confessed his arrest to Fortas and seemed emotionally distraught. Fortas also informed Johnson that Jenkins had been arrested in 1959 in the same men's restroom for soliciting sex from an undercover police officer.

On the evening of October 14, news wire services reported Jenkins's arrest; George Reedy, White House press secretary, confirmed the story. Meanwhile, Jenkins checked himself into a local hospital, and Johnson had Fortas secure Jenkins's resignation. Against her husband's advice, Lady Bird Johnson issued a statement expressing concern

for Jenkins's health and family. The official White House message at this time was that Jenkins needed to be hospitalized and would resign because of overwork and nervous exhaustion. Privately, Johnson was surprised to learn that Jenkins was gay.

Johnson, however, suspected that Jenkins had been entrapped by local police as part of an unscrupulous Republican campaign trick a few weeks before the 1964 presidential election. The rhetoric and television commercials of Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona, the Republican presidential nominee, emphasized the moral decline of American society and questioned Johnson's personal ethics. Dean Burch, the Republican national chairman, publicly implied that Johnson was trying to suppress the news of Jenkins's arrest because it affected national security. It was commonly assumed that homosexuals were security risks because they could be blackmailed into violating national security.

Goldwater, who had been the commanding officer of the Air Force Reserve unit in which Jenkins served, chose not to make Jenkins's arrest a campaign issue. Nevertheless, Johnson was determined to learn if Jenkins's arrest was a Republican campaign trick and if his sexuality ever threatened national security. Thus, on October 15, the U.S. Congress directed J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to investigate Jenkins and issue a report. In less than two weeks, the FBI interviewed Jenkins and more than five hundred people. To the FBI, Jenkins admitted to earlier, occasional homosexual encounters. On October 22, the FBI issued its report, concluding that Jenkins did not violate or endanger national security and that there was no connection between Jenkins's arrest and the Republican presidential campaign.

Despite the favorable FBI report, Johnson remained concerned about how the scandal might affect the presidential election and the reputation of his presidency. Johnson made sure that while Jenkins was in the hospital, he remained heavily sedated, had no telephone, and had only White House-approved visitors. Besides praising Jenkins as a dedicated public servant who needed to be hospitalized and to resign because of overwork, White

House statements also implicitly reinforced a widespread public assumption that a married Roman Catholic man with a large family could not also be a homosexual.

Johnson's machinations and manipulation of the media and public opinion were soon overshadowed by major international events, minimizing the significance and public awareness of the Jenkins scandal. During the two weeks following the White House's confirmation of Jenkins's arrest, the attention of the media and public focused on China's detonation of a nuclear bomb, the election of a Labour Party government in Great Britain, and the forced retirement of Soviet premier Nikita S. Khrushchev.

After his release from the hospital, Jenkins moved to Texas and was quickly forgotten. He quietly worked as an accountant and management consultant. He died on November 23, 1985. Former White House press secretary Reedy, in his 1982 book on Johnson, claims that the president's political judgment during the remainder of his tenure was negatively affected by the absence of Jenkins from Johnson's staff.

IMPACT

Although polls showed that most Americans knew about Jenkins's arrest and resignation by the end of October, 1964, they also indicated that the Jenkins scandal had no measurable influence on voting behavior in the 1964 presidential election. Johnson easily won the election by a landslide, receiving more than 60 percent of the popular vote and carrying all states except Arizona and a few states in the South.

There were several reasons for this scandal's lack of impact on voting behavior, media coverage, and public opinion. First, many Americans, including those who voted for Johnson, already perceived Johnson as an ethically questionable politician and were accustomed to learning about actual or alleged scandals involving the president. Second, the media, especially the broadcast media, were reluctant to investigate and emphasize a scandal on homosexuality. Third, Goldwater refused to exploit the Jenkins's scandal as a campaign issue. Finally, the story of Jenkins's arrest was replaced by news of

major world events, including nuclear weapons, the continuing Cold War, and the effects of change in British politics.

—Sean J. Savage

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Aug. 19, 2004: Blog “Outs” Antigay Congressman Edward Schrock; Dec. 6, 2005: Spokane, Washington, Mayor Recalled in Gay-Sex Scandal; Nov. 2, 2006: Male Escort Reveals Sexual Liaisons with Evangelist Ted Haggard.

October 29, 1965

MOROCCAN POLITICIAN MEHDI BEN BARKA DISAPPEARS IN PARIS

Mehdi Ben Barka was a Moroccan politician opposed to the dictatorial rule of Morocco’s King Hassan II. He was a key leader in the movement for bettering the developing world and the major organizer of a conference of global revolutionary leaders and supporters. In 1965, he disappeared while in Paris. He was never again seen and was presumed to have been murdered. The French police, the French and Moroccan secret services, the CIA, and Mossad, the Israeli secret service, have all been implicated in the scandal.

LOCALE: Paris, France

CATEGORIES: Politics; murder and suicide; international relations; government

KEY FIGURES

Mehdi Ben Barka (1920-c. 1965), Moroccan politician and opponent of Hassan II

Hassan II (1929-1999), king of Morocco, 1961-1999

Mohammad Oufkir (1920-1972), adviser to Hassan II

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Mehdi Ben Barka, the son of a civil servant, was born in Rabat, Morocco, in 1920. He was an intelligent and studious individual who became involved in politics by the age of fourteen as a member of a group seeking Moroccan independence from France. In 1950, he received a degree in mathemat-

ics and served as tutor to Hassan II when Hassan was a child. Ben Barka was a member of the Istiqlal (freedom) Party during the period of French rule in Morocco and was one of the most dedicated of the Moroccans working to free the country from France. He hoped for freedom and openness in the newly independent country.

Morocco regained its independence in 1956. Ben Barka soon realized that King Mohammad V was intent on maintaining an absolute monarchy as the form of government in Morocco; Ben Barka responded by moving further to the left in politics. When Hassan II came to power as king in 1961, Ben Barka and the king drifted apart and were no longer friends or political allies.

Ben Barka had founded the National Union of Popular Forces in 1959 and led a strong opposition to the dictatorial Hassan. In 1962, he was accused of fomenting plots against Hassan and was exiled. The following year when Morocco invaded Algeria in what was known as the Sand Wars, Ben Barka supported Algeria and allegedly was involved in more plots against Hassan. Consequently, he was sentenced to death in absentia.

From the time of his exile in 1962, Ben Barka traveled from one country to another attempting to unite the various revolutionary movements of those countries. He met with revolutionary leaders Che Guevara, Amilcar Cabral, and Malcolm X. It was his goal to bring the revolutionary groups together at the Tricontinental Conference, scheduled for Ha-

vana, Cuba, in January of 1966. His objectives for the conference included support for all revolutionary movements; help for Cuba, which was under an embargo by the United States; and the elimination of military bases and apartheid in South Africa. On October 29, 1965, Ben Barka disappeared while in Paris. The case of his disappearance has never been concluded but it has instigated an enormous amount of investigation and speculation.

Ben Barka was in Paris to meet with a film director, identified by many as Georges Franju, a scriptwriter and journalist. The purpose of the meeting was to arrange for the making of a film, documenting national liberation movements in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The film was to be shown at the Tricontinental Conference. The meeting was to take place at the Brasserie Lipp on the Boulevard Saint Germain. Investigations and interviews have revealed that the meeting was an apparent trap. As Ben Barka walked toward the restaurant, he was approached by two French police officers who identified themselves and asked him to get into their car. Ben Barka, accustomed to being followed by the police, apparently entered the car without hesitation. The car then drove to a villa in Fontenay-le-Vicomte that was owned by French gangster Georges Bouchseiche, who had connections with French intelligence, the Service de Documentation Extérieure et de Contre-Espionnage (SDECE). Ben Barka was never seen again, either alive or dead. He had simply disappeared.

Also in 1965, the family of Ben Barka filed a lawsuit in France for his kidnapping. In 1967, two French police officers were brought to trial, convicted of his kidnapping, and sent to prison. Georges Fignon, a known criminal, testified at the trial that he had seen General Mohammad Oufkir, Hassan's adviser and a former interior minister, kill Ben Barka by stabbing him. Fignon was later found



Mehdi Ben Barka in 1959. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

dead. Maurice Papon, the prefect of police at the time, was forced to resign.

In 1975, Ben Barka's family filed another lawsuit, this time for his murder. In 1982, Prime Minister Pierre Mauroy directed the SDECE to turn over its Ben Barka files to the investigating judge, but the judge was given access to only one-third of the files. In 2001, more files were released and still more in 2004, but Ben Barka's son, Bachir, insisted that critical files have yet to be made public.

Allegations about who was involved in the disappearance of Ben Barka and how he likely died reached far beyond the two French police officers and Oufkir. Some claim that Amhed Dlimi, deputy for intelligence operations for Oufkir, was in Paris when Ben Barka disappeared and that he had immediately notified Oufkir of Ben Barka's abduction. At this time, Oufkir made a sudden trip to visit his children in school in Switzerland.

Furthermore, unidentified sources reported the presence of two other Moroccan officials at the villa where Ben Barka was last seen. These individuals, along with Oufkir, allegedly argued with Ben Barka, reminded him that he had been sentenced to death in Morocco, and told him that they were serving King Hassan before Oufkir shot him. Dlimi

eventually was brought to trial in France and acquitted. Oufkir and a Moroccan intelligence agent were tried in absentia and convicted of illegal arrest and confinement. They received life sentences in absentia. Oufkir died in his failed coup against King Hassan in 1975. He either committed suicide or was shot by Hassan. Mystery surrounds his death as it does the death of Ben Barka.

The U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), the SDECE, and Mossad, the Israeli secret service, have all been implicated in Ben Barka's disappearance. In 1976, the U.S. government acknowledged that the CIA had approximately eighteen hundred documents relating to Ben Barka but refused to release them.

Ben Barka's body has never been found. A number of stories, some quite sordid, exist about what was done with his remains. In an article dated December 29, 1975, *Time* magazine reported that the body was first buried at Bouchseiche's villa, then later moved to the Île de la Grande Jatte by two Moroccan agents who returned to France expressly for the purpose of moving the body. A former member of the Moroccan secret service claimed that the body was taken to Morocco and destroyed in a vat of acid. A Moroccan French dissident recounts that while he was imprisoned in Morocco he heard a different account from a former agent. This account claims that Ben Barka's body was sealed in cement and buried outside Paris. The head was cut off, taken to King Hassan so that he could be sure Ben Barka was dead, and then buried on the prison grounds where the dissident was detained.

IMPACT

The disappearance of Ben Barka strongly impacted revolutionary movements throughout the world. Although the Tricontinental Conference took place in January of 1966, it did so without its key organizer. Ben Barka's dream of unity of all revolutionary movements ended with his disappearance. Forever unknown is the effect of his influence on the

rule of King Hassan. Ben Barka remains one of the important heroes for global movements for freedom and human rights. Ben Barka's mysterious, unsolved disappearance also led to increased attention to the intelligence activities of governments throughout the world. His fate has elicited questions of the morality and ethics of such intelligence activities.

—Shawncey Webb

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March 4, 1966

MUNSINGER SEX AND SPY SCANDAL ROCKS CANADA

Gerda Munsinger, a call girl in Ottawa, Canada, was born in East Germany. She was a former Soviet spy and became involved with members of the Canadian government during the late 1950's, the most important of whom was Pierre Sévigny, associate minister of national defense. The affair was silent for a time but became a matter of public attention in 1966, when Justice Minister Lucien Cardin revealed the case in the House of Commons during debate.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Monseigneur affair**LOCALE:** Ottawa, Ontario, Canada**CATEGORIES:** Espionage; government; politics; prostitution; sex; publishing and journalism**KEY FIGURES**

Gerda Munsinger (1926-1998), East German prostitute

Pierre Sévigny (1917-2004), Canadian associate minister of national defense, 1958-1963

John G. Diefenbaker (1895-1979), Canadian prime minister, 1957-1963

Lucien Cardin (1919-1988), Canadian justice minister, 1965-1967

Lester B. Pearson (1897-1972), Canadian prime minister, 1963-1968

Robert Reguly (fl. 1960's), reporter for the *Toronto Daily Star*

Wishart Spence (1904-1998), Canadian supreme court justice, 1963-1978

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Gerda Munsinger, a German citizen, was investigated by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) when she applied for Canadian citizenship in 1960. In its routine background check, the RCMP discovered that Munsinger not only had a checkered past and questionable acquaintances in the Montreal underworld but also was closely connected to a number of Progressive Conservative (PC) cabinet ministers, most notably the associate

minister of national defense, Pierre Sévigny. Prime Minister John G. Diefenbaker took care of the affair quietly in early 1961, only to have it brought into public scrutiny in 1966.

Liberal justice minister Lucien Cardin brought the so-called 1960-1961 Monseigneur affair to the surface in the House of Commons. This led to great public interest in what was to become Canada's first sex scandal. Liberal prime minister Lester B. Pearson ordered a royal commission of inquiry into the affair. The affair was brought to the public's attention once again in 1992, when Brenda Longfellow produced a feature-length independent film on the subject called *Gerda*.

Munsinger had been refused immigration into Canada in 1952 because she was a spy in East Germany during the late 1940's. Her espionage work apparently consisted of seducing West German and U.S. soldiers and, while they slept, riffling their pockets and stealing items such as currency and transportation passes. She then gave those stolen items to Soviet intelligence agents. In 1952, after her application for Canadian citizenship was rejected, she married Michael Munsinger, a U.S. Army sergeant. Munsinger could not gain entry for his wife into the United States and divorced her in 1954.

Using her married name, Gerda Munsinger entered Canada in 1955, working as a secretary, host, and call girl in Montreal. She reapplied for Canadian citizenship in 1960. During this time, she socialized with a number of prominent Canadians, including Frank Petrulla, a well-known Montreal gangster. In February of 1961, Munsinger was arrested at Morgan's Department Store for passing bad checks. Upon her release, allegedly facilitated by an unnamed high-ranking Canadian politician, she left Canada permanently and returned to East Germany.

The RCMP interview with Munsinger led investigators to suspect that she was Sévigny's mistress and that, further, her prostitute friends were aware

of the affair. She claimed that she was socially acquainted with not only Sévigny but also two other members of the PC cabinet: the minister of transport and the minister of citizenship and immigration, each of whom apparently supported her application.

The RCMP's report on Munsinger identified three items that made her a danger to national security. First, she may have been in Canada on behalf of Russian intelligence. Second, if she was in Canada on her own, her previous connections with communist espionage put her at risk of being recruited again by Russian intelligence. Third, those associating with her, especially Sévigny, would be at risk of blackmail by her unsavory Montreal underworld associates. The RCMP report was released in December, 1960, to the minister of security, E. David Fulton, who set an immediate meeting with Prime Minister Diefenbaker. Diefenbaker called in Sévigny, who denied that Munsinger was his mistress; they agreed that Sévigny would not see her again, and the matter appeared to be resolved by Munsinger's voluntary departure from Canada a few months later.

On March 4, 1966, the Commons was debating the treatment of George Victor Spencer, a Vancouver postal clerk who was caught performing minor acts of espionage for the Soviets. The Liberal government now in power fired Spencer but did not prosecute him because he was dying of cancer. When attacked by Progressive Conservatives for this gentle treatment of an espionage agent, Justice Minister Cardin blurted out something surprising about Diefenbaker's mishandling of what he called the Monseigneur case. After a brief flurry of public speculation about a scandal in the Roman Catholic Church, Cardin explained in a press conference that high-placed members of the PC cabinet had been known to fraternize with "Olga" Munsinger five years earlier, and that this East German spy had been allowed to leave the country unchecked. Cardin characterized the affair not only as more scandalous than the Spencer case but also worse than the Profumo case, a 1963 spy scandal in which John Profumo, then secretary of state for war in Great Britain, had an affair with Christine Keeler,

who also had sexual relations with a high-ranking Soviet politician. Cardin also claimed in this press conference that Munsinger had since died of leukemia in East Germany.

Robert Reguly, a reporter for the *Toronto Daily Star*, found that Munsinger not only was alive and well in Munich but also willing to sell her story to the Canadian press. Reguly and other newspaper reporters from around the world, as well as a number of television news personalities, flooded the Canadian media with a plethora of reports, interviews, and cartoons about the affair throughout the spring of 1966. In response to public interest in the matter, Prime Minister Pearson called for the commission of inquiry.

The commission, headed by Canadian Supreme Court justice Wishart Spence, made its inquiry in the spring of 1966. Canadians lined up outside government stores for copies of the report when it was issued in September of the same year. The goal of this commission was to ensure that the case had been appropriately handled by government officials, given the classified nature of the information and the possible threat to national security. Spence found Sévigny's claim that she had not slept with Munsinger entirely lacking in credibility. Sévigny had asserted that Munsinger had been tired and ill throughout November, 1960 (during which he spent a night at her apartment), but statements from other witnesses indicate that Munsinger at the time traveled extensively with male friends and was able to meet her professional obligations as a prostitute. Nonetheless, the commission concluded that although Diefenbaker and Sévigny reacted poorly, there had been no breach of national security.

Sévigny reacted angrily to press questions about his relationship with Munsinger. He eventually admitted in the official inquiry that they had had a physical relationship. Shortly after the scandal broke in the spring of 1966, Sévigny and his friend Marcel Gagnon were approached by a camera crew while eating breakfast, a confrontation that led to an eight-minute brawl. In the fight, the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) lost sound equipment during the fight, and one reporter's glasses

were smashed. Sévigny declared on air that this encounter should be considered a lesson to the media about respecting people's privacy.

In a 1973 CBC interview, Sévigny claimed that the Munsinger affair was a frame-up engineered to victimize him, but he was unwilling—or unable—to provide further details. He said the truth would be revealed, probably by historians. Sévigny left politics and taught public finance at Concordia University in Montreal for more than twenty years.

Munsinger lived the rest of her life in Europe and married twice more, dying in 1998 in Munich as Gerda Merkt. In a 1974 retrospective interview with CBC journalist Barbara Frum, Munsinger agreed that the scandal named after her had provided sex appeal to Canada's otherwise dour Parliament. She speculated that the events of the decade before would not have been allowed to turn into a scandal by the young and sophisticated Pierre Trudeau who followed Pearson as Canadian prime minister. This seems a likely analysis, given Trudeau's well-known belief that the state did not belong in the bedrooms, or the sexual affairs, of Canadians, politicians or otherwise.

IMPACT

The Munsinger affair was Canada's first and arguably most prominent political sex scandal. The Canadian media covered it extensively, with numerous analyses following each of Munsinger's interviews with the Canada press. Furthermore, Canada became the subject of international media scrutiny in 1966, perhaps because the Munsinger affair so closely resembled the Profumo case, which had attracted much attention a few years earlier to another seemingly dour institution: British parliament. The key players in the case remained of interest to the Canadian press until their deaths, with regular retrospectives on the affair airing on Canadian television for years following the scandal.

—Pamela Bedore

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March 1, 1967

ADAM CLAYTON POWELL, JR., IS EXCLUDED FROM CONGRESS

In 1967, the U.S. House of Representative voted to exclude African American representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., for misuse of public funds. Two years later the U.S. Supreme Court held that the exclusion was unconstitutional in part because Congress had no authority to exclude an elected representative who met all qualifications for membership.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Government; politics; racism; law and the courts

KEY FIGURES

Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (1908-1972), U.S. representative from New York, 1945-1967, 1969-1971

Earl Warren (1891-1974), chief justice of the United States, 1953-1969

John W. McCormack (1891-1980), Speaker of the House

Emanuel Celler (1888-1981), chairman of the Select Committee of the House

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Reverend Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., a handsome and charismatic personality, succeeded his father as pastor of the large Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, New York, in 1937. In this influential position, Powell, Jr., was an important civil rights leader during the Great Depression. As chairman of the New York Coordinating Committee for Employment, he organized mass meetings and boycotts to increase African Americans' opportunities for jobs and housing. He was the first African American to serve on the New York City Council (he served two terms) and, in 1944, was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives, the first black congressperson from the state of New York. As one of only two African Americans in the U.S. Congress at the time (the other representative was William L.

Dawson from Illinois), he ignored the informal segregationist practices at the Capitol and frequently clashed with conservative Democratic representatives from the South on civil rights issues.

Powell was the first African American to rise to a position of high leadership in the U.S. Congress. In 1961, because of his seniority, he became chairman of the House's powerful Education and Labor Committee. In this position, he was instrumental in the passage of much of the legislation passed in President John F. Kennedy's New Frontier and President Lyndon B. Johnson's Great Society. Recognized as one of the most skillful legislators in U.S. history, Powell used a combination of moral persuasion, threats, and deal making. He played a key role in steering more than fifty bills through Congress.

Throughout his controversial career, however, Powell was often accused of financial corruption. In 1958, he was indicted for tax invasion, although two years later he was acquitted of the charges. In 1963, after a jury found him guilty of slandering a woman in Harlem, he ignored the judgment, and arrest warrants for contempt of court were issued against him. He often exchanged travel tickets and used taxpayers' money to make numerous trips to his personal retreat on the Bahamian island of Bimini. Newspapers reported that he had taken a tour of Europe with his twenty-one-year-old secretary, a former Miss Ohio. As he spent less and less time in Washington, D.C., his congressional colleagues grew to resent his record of absences. He kept a former wife on his office payroll, even though she lived in Latin America. In addition, his growing support for the radical Black Power movement of the 1960's drew criticisms. Democrats began to view him as a liability. In the summer of 1966, House investigators concluded that he had misused his committee's budget.

Later that year, despite much negative publicity in the press, Powell easily won reelection. Before the Ninetieth Congress met, however, House Dem-

ocratic leaders met in caucus and voted to take away his seniority and chairmanship. In February, 1967, a Select Committee of the House, chaired by Emanuel Celler, concluded that Powell was guilty of serious improprieties, including the misappropriation of funds for personal use. The committee recommended that he should be censored, fined forty thousand dollars, and deprived of his seniority. His political opponents—mostly Republicans and southern Democrats—insisted that the committee's recommendations were too lenient.

On March 1, when the full House debated the Celler committee's recommendations, Powell's critics introduced and passed an amendment to exclude him from the House and to declare his seat vacant. Speaker of the House John W. McCormack advised the House members that although the U.S. Constitution required a two-thirds vote to *expel* a member of Congress for misbehavior, the vote in this instance was simply to *exclude* Powell. Therefore, only a majority vote was needed. The House then voted 307-116 to approve the amended motion. In effect, the House had "rewritten" the qualifications for congressional membership by voting to exclude Powell, who had been duly elected and who met all qualifications for the job.

Despite his exclusion, Powell continued to be extremely popular in his district. Many African Americans and civil rights leaders, including Martin Luther King, Jr., alleged that the House's action was motivated by racial prejudice. In April, Powell won the special election to fill the vacancy left by his exclusion, but he did not attempt to take his seat. He then filed suit against the Speaker of the House in federal court. Powell's lawyers argued that the only constitutional qualifications for congressional membership were citizenship, age, and residency, which Powell met. They further asserted that his exclusion unfairly deprived voters of their right to choose a representative. In the election of 1968, Powell again was reelected by a large majority. The next year, he was permitted to take his seat while his legal case was pending, but he was stripped of his seniority and chairmanship.

On June 16, 1969, the U.S. Supreme Court, which now had the Powell case, issued a 7-1 deci-

sion in *Powell v. McCormack*, ruling that the exclusion violated the Constitution (Justice Abe Fortas did not vote on the case). Writing a complex opinion for the majority, Chief Justice Earl Warren agreed with Powell's contention that Congress had no power to add to the three constitutional qualifications for membership. The House could exclude him only if it found he failed to meet the standing requirements for membership. Warren also concluded that the vote to exclude rather than expel could not be considered equivalent to a vote explicitly for *expulsion*. Warren added that it did not matter that the two-thirds requirement for expulsion had been met on the vote for *exclusion*. Warren also said that House rules specified that a member should not be expelled for actions taken during a previous congressional session. Refuting the government's contention that the decision of exclusion was a "nonjusticiable political controversy," or an



Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. (Library of Congress)

EXPULSION OR EXCLUSION?

In its decision supporting Representative Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., the U.S. Supreme Court made clear that the House of Representatives erred by insisting that "exclusion" was the same as "expulsion" in cases of reprimanding House members. Two justices, Earl Warren and William O. Douglas, elaborated on the distinction.

Although respondents repeatedly urge this Court not to speculate as to the reasons for Powell's exclusion, their attempt to equate exclusion with expulsion would require a similar speculation that the House would have voted to expel Powell had it been faced with that question. Powell had not been seated at the time House Resolution No. 278 [on Clayton's exclusion] was debated and passed. After a motion to bring the Select Committee's proposed resolution to an immediate vote had been defeated, an amendment was offered which mandated Powell's exclusion.

Mr. [Emanuel] Celler, chairman of the Select Committee, then posed a parliamentary inquiry to determine whether a two-thirds vote was necessary to pass the resolution if so amended "in the sense that it might amount to an expulsion." The Speaker replied that "action by a majority vote would be in accordance with the rules." Had the amendment been regarded as an attempt to expel Powell, a two-thirds vote would have been constitutionally required. The Speaker ruled that the House was voting to exclude Powell, and we will not speculate what the result might have been if Powell had been seated and expulsion proceedings subsequently instituted.

Justice Douglas, in his concurring opinion, added the following:

By Art. I, 5 [of the U.S. Constitution], the House may "expel a Member" by a vote of two-thirds. And if this were an expulsion case I would think that no justiciable controversy would be presented, the vote of the House being two-thirds or more. But it is not an expulsion case. Whether it could have been won as an expulsion case, no one knows. Expulsion for "misconduct" may well raise different questions, different considerations. Policing the conduct of members, a recurring problem in the Senate and House as well, is quite different from the initial decision whether an elected official should be seated. It well might be easier to bar admission than to expel one already seated.

issue outside the Court's jurisdiction, Warren argued that the political controversy exemption applied only to congressional powers specifically delegated in the Constitution, and that the issues in this case were limited to interpretations of the Constitution.

Although Powell continued to represent his district, both his influence and popularity were greatly diminished. In the Democratic primary election of

1970, Charles Rangel barely defeated him by one hundred fifty votes. Powell tried but failed to prove voter fraud, and after failing to get on the ballot as an independent candidate, he resigned from his pulpit at the Abyssinian Baptist Church and moved to Bimini. In 1972, he became gravely ill from the reoccurrence of prostate cancer and was flown to Miami, Florida, for emergency surgery. Soon thereafter, on April 4, he died at the age of sixty-three.

IMPACT

African Americans and whites at the time of Powell's exclusion from the House tended to disagree about the motivations for the action. African Americans commonly interpreted the House's action as blatant racism. They argued that white politicians misused their budgets without facing disciplinary action, and many even charged that whites would try to destroy any African American who reached a position of power and influence. In contrast, most whites assumed that the exclusion was justified and that it had nothing to do with race. Nevertheless, the vote of exclusion only increased the public's interest in Powell's colorful life and career. He was the subject of the 2002 Showtime film *Keep the Faith, Baby*,

starring Harry Lennix and Vanessa Williams, a film that won numerous awards.

As a consequence of the House's vote to exclude Powell, the Supreme Court's landmark decision in *Powell v. McCormack* placed significant limits on the longstanding rule that the courts should not intervene in political disputes. The opinion made it appear that the Court encouraged greater judicial intrusion into the internal processes of the other two

branches of government. In subsequent decisions, however, the Court has been cautious about such interventions. Indeed, Justice Warren's opinion did not directly answer the question of whether the Court would have reviewed the case if the House had formally voted to expel, instead of exclude, Powell for misconduct, although Justice William O. Douglas suggested in a footnote that the Court would consider such a vote to be a political dispute outside its authority.

—Thomas Tandy Lewis

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June 23, 1967

SENATOR THOMAS J. DODD IS CENSURED FOR MISAPPROPRIATING FUNDS

U.S. senator Thomas J. Dodd was censured by his colleagues for misappropriating more than \$100,000 in campaign funds and for double billing the government for travel expenses, all for personal use. In the year after Dodd's censure, the Senate strengthened its rules governing the conduct of public officials.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Government; corruption; politics

KEY FIGURES

Thomas J. Dodd (1907-1971), U.S. senator from Connecticut, 1963-1971

James Boyd (b. 1929), Dodd's long-time aide

Drew Pearson (1897-1969), investigative reporter and syndicated columnist

Jack Anderson (1922-2005), investigative reporter and syndicated columnist

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On June 23, 1967, the U.S. Senate, for only the seventh time in its existence, censured one of its members. Thomas J. Dodd, a second term senator from Connecticut and a prosecutor at the Nuremberg Trials following World War II, was the first U.S. senator to be censured specifically for financial wrongdoing. He was accused of using more than \$100,000 in campaign contributions for personal expenditures and double billing the government for travel expenses already reimbursed by organizations that paid him for speaking engagements.

After more than one year of dealing with the accusations against Dodd, the Senate Committee on Standards and Conduct, through its chairman, John Stennis of Mississippi, announced its findings and placed the matter before the Senate for a vote. The Senate committee had been reluctant to tamper with the reputation of a fellow senator, but as substantial documented evidence against Dodd accumulated, the senator himself called for the investigation, per-

haps hoping to succeed in minimizing his misdeeds by acting as a victim betrayed by his staff.

On June 23, the full Senate voted on whether to accept the committee's recommendations for censure. On the first charge, misappropriating campaign contributions for personal use, the vote was 92-5 in favor of censure. One of the five votes favoring Dodd was his own, with dissenting votes cast by Senators John Tower of Texas, Strom Thurmond of South Carolina, Abraham A. Ribicoff of Connecticut, and Russell Long of Louisiana. Long had supported Dodd throughout the proceedings. The vote on the second charge, double-billing, failed to find Dodd guilty, but the vote of 51-45 proved controversial. The press and the public suspected that Dodd was not the only senator who double-billed for travel expenses, and that his fellow senators voted in his favor so that the matter would not be further scrutinized.

The censure did not threaten Dodd's remaining two and a half years as a senator. He had been duly elected by the voters of Connecticut and only his constituents could unseat him; they did so in 1970 by failing to reelect him. He had entered the Senate race as an independent and split the Democratic vote, which put Lowell Weicker, a Republican, in Dodd's vacant Senate seat.

An articulate anticommunist, Dodd was a hard-working politician who was devoted to his constituents. As he gained power, however, he increasingly became involved in questionable activities, many inappropriate and some patently illegal. He accepted large cash payments from lobbyists and other representatives of special interests, making it clear that he preferred cash contributions to checks or other traceable financial vehicles. Fund-raising activities in support of Dodd's political campaigns were held regularly, but there was little documentation of how much money was raised and how these funds were distributed and spent. Furthermore, Dodd kept on his payroll a number of people who

did no work and seldom, if ever, appeared in his offices. He accepted the use of a new automobile every year from an affluent and powerful constituent, David Dunbar, in whose name the automobiles were registered. The Dodd family had exclusive use of these cars, for which Dunbar also paid insurance.

Dodd had constructed a fragile network of deceptive practices, presumably to conceal his misappropriation of funds. These deceptions troubled four of Dodd's conscientious aides. He dismissed James Boyd, an aide who had served him for twelve years, on a trumped-up charge of sexual improprieties with another staff member, Marjorie Carpenter, who was Dodd's secretary for a number of years. The senator fired both of them, although he later tried to rehire them.

Michael O'Hare, Dodd's bookkeeper, was troubled by many of the senator's duplicitous financial practices as well. O'Hare could contest them only at his own risk. In the end, Dodd blamed him for the double billing, falsely claiming that O'Hare's accounting practices were sloppy. A fourth aide, Terry Golden—O'Hare's girlfriend—cooperated with the other dismissed aides to document their claims that Dodd had engaged in many unethical or illegal activities, or both, for his personal enrichment.

The four former aides gained access to Dodd's files by raiding his office clandestinely on a weekend, removing damaging files of documents and photocopying thousands of pages to build the case against Dodd. Before the weekend ended, the four had returned the files but they shared what they had photocopied with newspaper columnist Jack Anderson. Anderson, in collaboration with Drew Pearson, wrote the well-known syndicated column *Washington Merry-Go-Round*.

Anderson and Pearson wrote a series of shattering columns that revealed a laundry list of infractions allegedly committed by Dodd. All of the revelations were supported by solid evidence. Fearing lawsuits, *The Washington Post*, the local newspaper of record, initially declined to publish the accusatory columns, but they were published nonetheless in other papers that syndicated *Washington Merry-Go-Round*. Dodd did what he could to control the

Dodd Is Censured for Misappropriating Funds

situation and tried to discredit the aides who had turned against him. In the end, however, public outcry forced the Senate to act.

Dodd declared his innocence and completed his term, serving actively on some key committees—ironically on those committees investigating crime and delinquency—in his final Senate years. His health began to fail, and his financial infractions were brought to the attention of the Internal Revenue Service, which subsequently investigated his finances extensively. Initially, Dodd did not anticipate running for a third term in the Senate, but well into the campaign, he declared his candidacy as an independent. He received about one-quarter of the popular vote and his Senate seat was ceded to the Republican candidate, Weicker. Dodd died in 1971, six months after the election.

IMPACT

The repercussions of the Dodd hearing and censure were profound. Voting on his censure was unsettling to the senators who had engaged in similar unethical practices, and many became suspicious of their aides. Furthermore, had all the facts documented in the photocopies made by Dodd's former aides been made public, the effects would have been even more devastating.

Some senators were unsullied by the Dodd affair because they had been meticulously honest in managing their political affairs and thus had little to fear. However, even these senators realized that materials stored in their offices were not sacrosanct, and no person in government was off limits to possible investigation and prosecution. Dodd's censure led the Senate to strengthen its rules governing the conduct of public officials. More rigorous standards for senators and their employees went into effect as well. The violation of senatorial offices and official files became a high federal crime and a substantial breach of ethics.

—R. Baird Shuman

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September 5, 1967

SOCIALITE NANCY WAKEMAN SHOOTS HER POLITICIAN-HUSBAND

William T. Wakeman, an influential Florida Republican Party politician, was shot by his socialite wife, Nancy Wakeman, reportedly because of his extramarital affairs. He spent the rest of his life in a wheelchair and she got five years probation. After he died from complications of an operation in 1969, she married another millionaire.

LOCALE: Palm Beach, Florida

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; sex

KEY FIGURES

Nancy Wakeman (1942-1996), heir and socialite
William T. Wakeman (1932-1969), Florida
Republican committee chair

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Nancy Wakeman was born an heir to the fortune of her grandfather, John Deere, who had invented the

steel plow. Her father, Dwight Deere Wiman, was a successful producer of Broadway shows. Early in her life, she married an actor, but she soon divorced him. She cited his adultery with women, some of them unknown and identified only as Jane Doe.

After she divorced, Nancy attracted the eye of William T. Wakeman, a former model who had grown rich in the oil industry. The two were luminaries in the Palm Beach, Florida, social scene, and they lived to be seen and to throw lavish parties. William also participated in the local political scene and was particularly active in the presidential campaign of Republican senator Barry Goldwater. Goldwater, an Arizona senator, was a right-wing politician whose platform depended heavily on abolishing social-service programs. He was easily defeated by Lyndon B. Johnson, who had come to office after John F. Kennedy's assassination and made the most of his association with Kennedy. William was dispirited by his candidate's defeat.

Both of the Wakemans were socially prominent. William had originally been a social fixture during his career as a model, but as he built his wealth, his social circle had shifted to the monied and socially prominent. This circle was one where Nancy was prominent—her family and fortune established her as one of Palm Beach's notables. Similarly, both were prone to drinking and public fights, in which details of their love life were aired before friends and neighbors. At times the fights got physical to the point of pushing and shoving, but no one felt the handsome couple would ever really hurt each other. The certainty of their friends and neighbors would be shattered with a well-publicized act of violence and subsequent legal matters.

On September 5, 1967, during a fight at their mansion on El Brillo Way, a drunken Nancy accused William of having an affair with a model. Their tumultuous love life had been complicated for some time by William's infidelities, and his habit of trolling for new lovers among his contacts in the fashion world infuriated Nancy. Although apparently guilty of the infidelity he was being accused of, William denied the claims. An angry Nancy took out a .22 revolver when she felt that he had moved to attack her. The gun, usually kept in a bedside night stand, was William's, and was intended for emergencies. Equally angry as well as drunk, William sneeringly told his furious wife that she did not "have the guts" to shoot him. In the face of such a challenge, there was little else that the stubborn and strong-spirited Nancy could do. She proceeded to prove him wrong, shooting him once before putting the gun down and calling for emergency assistance.

When medical assistance and the police arrived on the scene of the crime, Nancy freely admitted to them what she had done and surrendered to them the gun that she had used to shoot her husband. The bloody and injured William was rushed to the emergency room for treatment while the apparently calm and unshaken Nancy was taken into police custody. Upon examination and treatment by medical personnel, it was discovered that the bullet Nancy had fired had injured William's spine as it passed through him. The severe injury left him a paraplegic, and he was told that even after full recovery, he

would be unable to move about without the assistance of a wheelchair. Nancy continued to freely admit to the police and media that she had shot him, but William steadfastly refused to testify against her, taking the Fifth Amendment whenever he was asked about her actions of the night of the shooting. Nancy was permitted to visit him daily in the hospital, and she did so, sitting by his bed for hours while a fascinated media struggled for glimpses of the socialite shooter.

In the course of the trial, Nancy was defended by Joseph D. Farish, Jr., a West Palm Beach lawyer who was no stranger to celebrity trials. He later served in the Herbert and Roxanne Pulitzer divorce. Farish struggled in vain to keep his client out of the public eye, but the heat of the scandal, coupled with Nancy's patrician good looks and connections to Palm Beach's wealthiest and most notable families, kept the media focus on the trial, making it one of the most high-profile cases of the year. In court, however, William continued to refuse to testify against his wife despite the obvious frustration of the prosecution.

Despite this refusal to testify to his wife's guilt, William was despondent at the loss of his lower limbs and worried what his life as a disabled person would involve. When Michael DeBakey, a cardiologist and specialist in spinal injuries, offered William the chance to restore his mobility with a risky spinal operation, it took him only moments to make the choice—the benefits were worth the risk. The operation progressed normally, and all seemed well on the operating table. However, moments after the operation, William's heart gave out, unable to cope with the trauma of the operation. He died that evening in his bed with Nancy beside him, holding his hand.

A six-person jury found Nancy guilty of aggravated assault and she was sentenced to five years of probation, a sentence that was light because she had no criminal record. Even though the sentence was relatively light, her conviction was reversed a few years later on appeal by Judge David McCain; she served no prison time at all. She returned to the Palm Beach social scene but steadfastly refused to speak of William or the manner in which he had died.

Nancy continued to act as a philanthropist and social leader. In 1972, she established the Wakeman Award for Research in the Neurosciences, presented biennially at Duke University and focused on research on spinal cord injuries. Other donations to medical institutions reflected her concern over the injuries suffered by her former husband, the one whose death she refused to discuss throughout her later years.

IMPACT

During the mid-1970's, the upholding of Nancy's appeal by Judge McCain would come into question when scandals boiled over surrounding the ways in which the justice had used his influence and power. Nancy had made a financial contribution of one thousand dollars to McCain at the suggestion of her lawyer, Farish. Embroiled in turmoil and media attention, McCain ended up resigning.

Evidence of further corruption was uncovered when Nancy testified that in 1970 she had been approached by two men who identified themselves as top aides to Claude Kirk, the governor of Florida at the time. They told her that if she paid them thirty thousand dollars, they would ensure that her earlier court conviction would be overturned. Again, media attention erupted when Nancy attempted to drop out of sight to avoid controversy. She left for the Bahamas, but she was found by the media after a private investigator had tracked her there to serve notice of a ten-million-dollar lawsuit against her in a case involving her testimony against Governor Kirk and his aides.

Nancy's legal troubles continued to surface from time to time. After William's death, she married

Winthrop J. Gardiner. Their later divorce would make headlines when Gardiner was one of the first divorced husband's to ask for substantial alimony from a wealthy former wife.

—Catherine Rambo

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Owen, Jack. *Palm Beach Scandals: An Intimate Guide (The First One Hundred Years)*. Miami, Fla.: Rainbow Books, 1992. A compendium of brief overviews of the major scandals of the Palm Beach community.

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November 28, 1967

INVESTOR LOUIS WOLFSON IS CONVICTED OF SELLING STOCK ILLEGALLY

Louis Wolfson was a risk-taking businessman and one of Wall Street's most successful investors when he was convicted of conspiring to sell shares of stock in Continental Enterprise, a company he controlled. These shares had not been registered with the Securities and Exchange Commission as required by the Securities Act of 1933. The case also led to the resignation of U.S. Supreme Court associate justice Abe Fortas.

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; corruption; banking and finance; business; trade and commerce

KEY FIGURES

Louis Wolfson (1912-2007), financier and businessman

Elkin B. Gerbert (fl. 1960's), Wolfson's business partner

John J. Morley (fl. 1960's), Wolfson's broker

Abe Fortas (1910-1982), associate justice of the United States, 1965-1969

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On November 28, 1967, after a short trial, Louis Wolfson, Elkin B. Gerbert, and two others, were convicted of violating section 5 of the Securities Act of 1933, which prohibits the sale of unregistered shares of stock to the public. Wolfson was convicted largely on the basis of testimony provided by his broker, John J. Morley. All parties agreed that Wolfson sold shares in Continental Enterprises, a company he controlled. These shares had not been registered with the U.S. Securities and Exchange Commission as required by federal law.

Wolfson claimed that he was unaware of the legal requirement to register shares before selling them to investors. Morley testified that he had informed Wolfson of the requirement and that Wolf-

son had chosen to disregard his advice. Both Wolfson and Gerbert were convicted of securities fraud. Wolfson served ten months in a federal minimum-security facility at Elgin Air Force Base in Florida. He also paid a substantial fine.

Wolfson had always been a risk-taking businessman who preferred to play by his own set of rules. Even while attending the University of Georgia, he had demanded and received money to play on the university's football team, a direct violation of rules pertaining to amateur athletes. He left the university before earning a degree.

Quick to spot and act on lucrative opportunities, Wolfson raised \$10,000 and entered the business world. He made his first million dollars by the age of twenty-eight, when he purchased deeply discounted plumbing supplies and fixtures from the son of J. C. Penney, the department-store magnate. Wolfson then sold those fixtures at full price, earning a hefty profit. Such entrepreneurial talent allowed him to grow his small plumbing supply company, Florida Pipe and Supply, into shipyards in Jacksonville and Tampa, Florida.

Wolfson's early financial success inspired him to acquire or take controlling interest in other companies, including Merritt-Chapman & Scott, a huge bridge-building company, and Universal Marion Company, which owned newspapers throughout Florida, as well as a film production unit. He tried but failed to gain control of the mail-order company and later department-store chain Montgomery Ward. Ward's chief executive officer, Sewell Avery, accused Wolfson of making the move to enrich himself and his associates at the expense of all other shareholders.

Wolfson's legal problems involving Continental Enterprises might have had their beginnings years beforehand, when he and a number of associates bought Capital Transit Company of Washington, D.C., the sole provider of bus and streetcar trans-

portation into and within the city. When Wolfson took over control of Capital Transit in 1950, the company had a \$6 million surplus, stable earnings, and a 50-cents-per-share annual dividend. Wolfson raised the annual dividend to \$2 per share, which meant a \$480,000 payment to himself, even though the company showed a net profit for the year of only \$332,000. The following year, 1951, Wolfson raised the annual dividend to \$4 per share. The D.C. Public Utilities Commission denied Wolfson's request for a fourth rate increase to generate additional funds. Wolfson then denied his employees a 25-cent-per-hour pay raise. The workers went on strike as a result of his refusal.

The congressional committee responsible for overseeing public transportation in Washington, D.C., responding to vocal criticism from people forced to walk to work for several weeks, issued Wolfson a subpoena, to which he declined to respond. Enraged members of the U.S. Congress called Wolfson an "economic carpetbagger" and threatened to force him to relinquish the city's public transportation franchise. Wolfson eventually complied with the subpoena, but he had made powerful enemies in Congress as a result of his initial refusal.

When Wolfson was indicted on securities fraud charges, some of these same angry members of Congress applied pressure to have Wolfson prosecuted to the fullest extent possible. Wolfson repeatedly claimed the securities law was misapplied in his case and that his prison sentence was unduly harsh for a first-time offense. His accusations may have had some validity.

Wolfson's sale of unregistered shares of Continental Enterprises was not his only securities-related crime. Also in 1966, he was charged, along with others, with fraud in the purchase of stock in Merritt-Chapman & Scott and for perjury in filing false reports to the SEC (about this stock purchase). Just prior to the beginning of the two criminal cases against him, Wolfson had started a charitable foundation and hired Abe Fortas, a U.S. Supreme Court associate justice, as a consultant, for which he was paid \$20,000 annually.

The legal proceedings did not end favorably for

Wolfson, and he was sent to prison. Upon his release from prison, Wolfson appealed his convictions on a number of counts. One appeal reached as high as the Supreme Court. It was at this time that Justice Fortas's business arrangement with Wolfson was discovered. Although the Court declined to hear Wolfson's appeal and even though Fortas returned the money he received from Wolfson, public outcry over the retainer fee eventually led Fortas to resign from the Court in disgrace, the only Supreme Court justice in modern history to have done so.

Wolfson also reportedly tried to bribe President Richard Nixon's attorney general, John Mitchell, to get him to review his conviction by giving radio personality (and now television talk-show host) Larry King \$48,500 to pass on to Mitchell. As late as 1994, Wolfson continued to appeal his conviction. He unsuccessfully sued his former broker, Morley, in 1975, and sued to have documents from his original trial unsealed. Wolfson wanted his biographer to have access to all the court documents so he could write an accurate account of Wolfson's life. The biography, official or otherwise, was never written. Wolfson was unsuccessful in getting these court documents unsealed and also was unsuccessful in having his conviction overturned.

Part of Wolfson's sentence was a prohibition against working in the securities industry. Instead of securities, he became involved in horse racing through Harbor View Farm, his estate in Marion County, Florida. In 1978, one of his horses, Affirmed, won the elite Triple Crown. In 1985, Wolfson offered to buy Churchill Downs in Louisville, Kentucky, for \$46 million, but his offer was declined.

Wolfson died on December 30, 2007, due to complications from Alzheimer's disease and colon cancer. He was ninety-five years old. His philanthropic legacy includes the Wolfson Children's Hospital and the Wolfson Student Center, as well as various community health facilities in Jacksonville, Florida.

IMPACT

While neither the courts nor the SEC agreed to unseal documents related to Wolfson's trials on secu-

rities fraud charges, the SEC did eventually change its classification policies to make some legal documents more accessible to defendants. A defendant facing trial no longer had to sue to obtain access to documents to be used for his or her defense.

Despite being sentenced to a minimum-security facility and serving less than one year, Wolfson found the experience of incarceration horrible and humiliating. He began public advocacy for prison reform upon his release.

—Victoria Erhart

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May 9, 1969

SUPREME COURT JUSTICE ABE FORTAS IS ACCUSED OF BRIBERY

Abe Fortas had been appointed associate justice of the United States by President Lyndon B. Johnson in 1965 and in 1968 was nominated for chief justice. The following year, a Life magazine article accused him of questionable associations with financier Louis Wolfson, who was under investigation for stock manipulation. Days later, the liberal Fortas resigned, opening the door to a conservative-leaning Court, which dominated Court rulings into the twenty-first century.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Corruption; law and the courts; publishing and journalism; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Abe Fortas (1910-1982), associate justice of the United States, 1965-1969

Louis Wolfson (1912-2007), American financier

William G. Lambert (1920-1998), reporter

John Mitchell (1913-1988), U.S. attorney general

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On May 9, 1969, *Life* magazine, a leading American periodical of the time, published the article “The Justice . . . and the Stock Manipulator” by Pulitzer Prize-winning reporter William G. Lambert. Lambert revealed that a relationship had developed between the controversial financier Louis Wolfson and Abe Fortas, an associate justice of the United

States. Lambert wrote that their dealings began after Fortas was selected for the U.S. Supreme Court. In 1966, under signed contract between Wolfson and Fortas, Wolfson was to pay Fortas twenty thousand dollars per year, ostensibly to serve as a consultant to a foundation established by Wolfson.

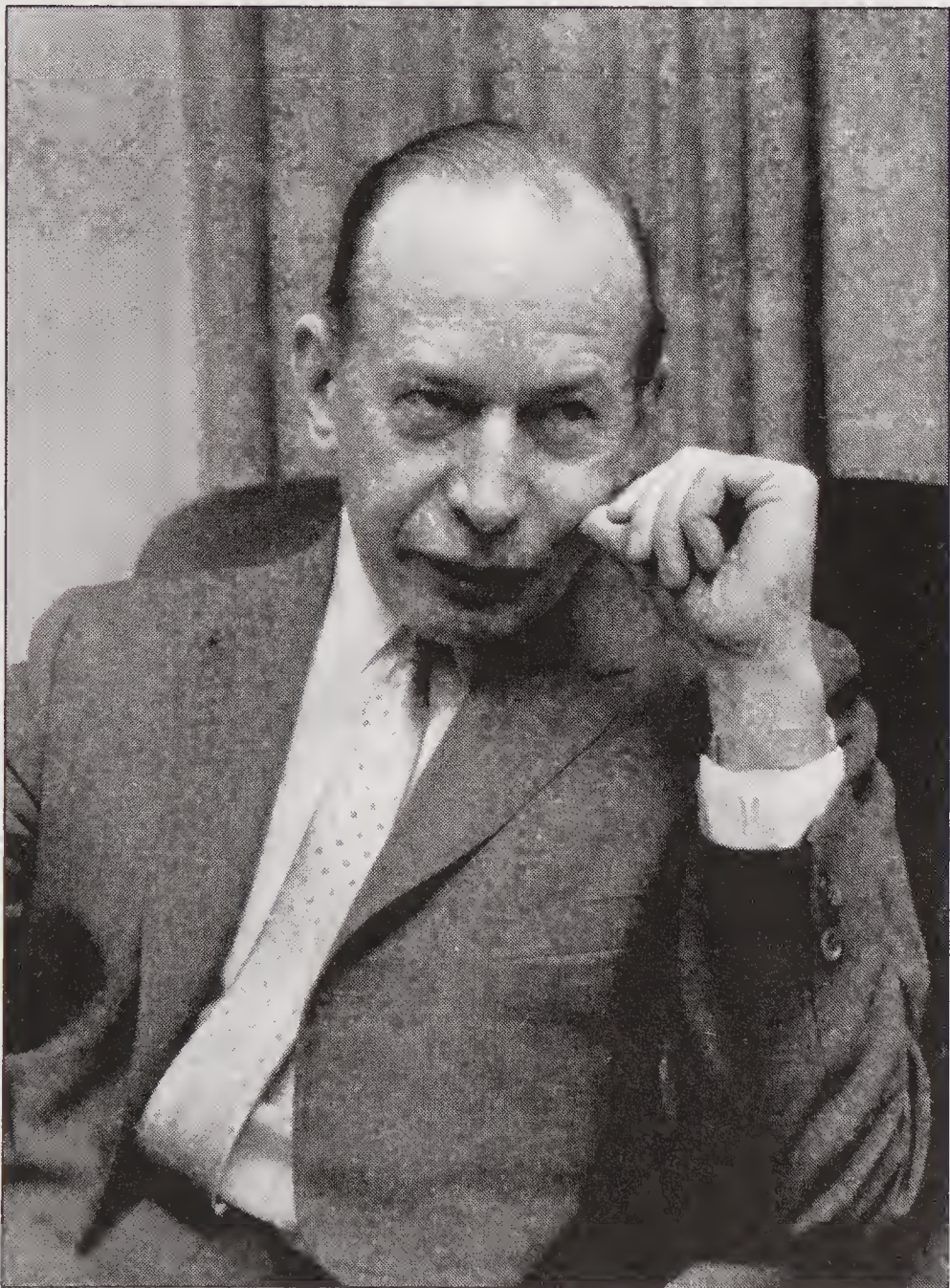
Lambert said that Wolfson and Fortas had conversed even after Wolfson was facing federal charges of illegal stock manipulation. Furthermore, Wolfson had been dropping Fortas's name in certain circles, implying that his relationship with the justice would lead to the cessation of charges (it did not). The article did note that after Wolfson's indictment (and eleven months after receiving payment), Fortas returned the money and withdrew from his position as adviser. Lambert added that *Life* had uncovered no evidence that Fortas had intervened in Wolfson's criminal case. Indeed, Fortas had recused himself from the Court's consideration of whether to accept an appeal of Wolfson's convic-

tion. Caveats aside, Lambert wrote that their relationship was "questionable."

The article's impact may not have been as serious had it not been for other concerns that would magnify its importance. In the previous year, Fortas, a sitting justice at the time, was nominated for the position of chief justice by U.S. president Lyndon B. Johnson. Because Johnson was a lame duck president, and because many senators were hopeful that the next president would be more conservative, hearings surrounding the nomination of the liberal Fortas were extensive. Moreover, the hearings uncovered evidence that could raise questions about Fortas's judgment and character. While still a justice, Fortas continued to serve as a behind-the-scenes adviser to President Johnson on many issues, including the very unpopular Vietnam War. Many considered this a violation of the separation of powers doctrine, and indeed it was, regardless of Fortas and Johnson being long-time friends and political allies. In addition, while on the Court, Fortas had conducted a seminar at American University Law School for fifteen thousand dollars, a sizeable sum that had been raised from former clients through a partner in his former law firm. Both of these activities suggested to many that Fortas, who had been a powerful Washington, D.C., attorney and political insider, did not have the purity of character associated with a Supreme Court justice.

A number of conservative senators also used these hearings to attack many of the rulings (only some of which Fortas had joined) made by the Warren Court. Fortas's nomination for chief justice stalled on the floor of the U.S. Senate, and he ultimately asked that this nomination be withdrawn. However, he still retained his position on the Court as an associate justice.

After Richard Nixon had become president—with John Mitchell as Nixon's attorney general—the Department of Justice (DOJ) stepped up its investigation of Wolfson and his relationship with Fortas. According to a leak from Mitchell to the press, the DOJ also investigated Fortas's wife, Carolyn Agger, a distinguished Washington tax attorney. That investigation uncovered the original contract between Wolfson and Fortas, showing a clause



Abe Fortas. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

that the twenty thousand dollars would be paid to Fortas over his lifetime and to Agger in case of her husband's death, a fact unknown to *Life* reporter Lambert. After obtaining this information and after conferring with top DOJ advisers, Mitchell made an appointment with Chief Justice Earl Warren and informed him, in early May, of the damaging allegations and evidence against Fortas. Warren was appalled by the revelations.

In no time news of the secret meeting between the chief justice and the attorney general became public. In what appeared to be a concerted effort by the Nixon administration to increase the pressure on Fortas, hints of further questionable dealings also were leaked to the media. Soon, many in the press were calling for Fortas's resignation, as were a number of elected officials, including many prominent Democratic senators. Fortas conferred with friends and colleagues, including Justice Hugo L. Black, who suggested to Fortas he resign, for his own good and for the good of the Court. Another person who apparently had a strong impact on Fortas was Clark Clifford, a friend, fellow Johnson intimate, and fellow Washington insider. Clifford, according to one source, told Fortas the attacks would continue and that it would be in his best interest to resign.

On May 14, Fortas submitted a four-page letter of resignation to Warren, detailing the nature of his relationship with Wolfson but admitting no wrongdoing. He was resigning, he asserted, because he wanted to protect the image of the Court. His letter of resignation to Nixon, in stark contrast, was only two sentences long.

After resigning, Fortas reentered private law practice, though he did not rejoin the prestigious firm of Arnold, Fortas, & Porter, which he co-founded. In March, 1982, he argued a case before the very Court from which he had resigned. Shortly thereafter, on April 5, he suffered a severe heart attack and died.

IMPACT

Fortas's resignation created a vacancy on the Court that was filled by a conservative jurist. In the

FORTAS RESIGNS

In his May 14, 1969, letter of resignation to Chief Justice Earl Warren, Abe Fortas, in this excerpt from the letter, reveals his concern that the controversy involving his dealings with Louis Wolfson will continue if he does not resign, but he also says that he has done nothing wrong.

It is my opinion, however, that the public controversy relating to my association with the [Wolfson] Foundation is likely to continue and adversely affect the work and position of the Court, absent my resignation. In these circumstances, it seems clear to me that it is not my duty to remain on the Court, but rather to resign in the hope that this will enable the Court to proceed with its vital work free from extraneous stress.

There has been no wrongdoing on my part. There has been no default in the performance of my judicial duties in accordance with the high standards of the office I hold.

closely divided Court of 1969, this change in its ideological makeup affected its later decisions. President Nixon sought to fill the vacancy by nominating Clement F. Haynsworth, a relative conservative from South Carolina, who at the time was serving as a judge on the Fourth Circuit Court of Appeals. Haynsworth's nomination was turned down by the Democrat-controlled Senate, ostensibly because of his participation in a case where he had a conflict of interest. After his defeat, the president nominated another southerner, G. Harold Carswell, who also was not confirmed. These battles over the nominations added to an already low trust in government held by the American people at the time and increased the high levels of rancor existing in the nation's capital.

It was Nixon's third nominee, Harry A. Blackmun of Minnesota, who was confirmed, and he served from 1970 to 1994. Although considered a moderate, it is likely that Blackmun had more conservative rulings than Fortas would have if he had remained on the Court. Blackmun's tenure, along with that of Warren E. Burger, who served as chief justice from 1969 to 1986 and took the position that Johnson hoped would go to his friend, Fortas, marked the beginning of a more conservative trend in Court rulings, one that extended into the twenty-

first century. Fortas's resignation opened the door to this trend.

—David M. Jones

FURTHER READING

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July 18, 1969

SENATOR EDWARD KENNEDY'S DRIVING ACCIDENT KILLS MARY JO KOPECHNE

Following a party on Chappaquiddick Island, Massachusetts, U.S. senator Edward M. Kennedy accidentally drove his vehicle off a narrow bridge and into several feet of water. The car overturned and trapped passenger Mary Jo Kopechne underwater. She drowned, and Kennedy failed to report the accident immediately to police. The accident not only ended the life of a young woman but also raised questions about Kennedy's character and judgment, thus defeating any hopes he could become president of the United States.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Chappaquiddick incident

LOCALE: Chappaquiddick Island, Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts

CATEGORIES: Public morals; law and the courts; government; politics

KEY FIGURES

Edward (Ted) Kennedy (b. 1932), U.S. senator from Massachusetts, 1962-

Mary Jo Kopechne (1940-1969), former administrative assistant to Senator Robert F. Kennedy

Joseph F. Gargan (b. 1930), Kennedy cousin and an attorney

Paul F. Markham (fl. 1960's), U.S. attorney
Dominick James Arena (fl. 1960's), police chief
 of Edgartown, Massachusetts
Edmund S. Dinis (b. 1924), district attorney,
 southern district of Massachusetts

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The annual Edgartown Yacht Club Regatta has been an event eagerly awaited by sailors and sailing enthusiasts since 1924. U.S. senator Ted Kennedy had missed the regatta in 1968 because of the assassination of his brother, Senator Robert F. Kennedy, in June. The regatta features racing for different classes of boats and also social events, and it has many long-term participants, including the Kennedys, who have sailed in the regatta for years.

In the Wianno senior division, Kennedy would be racing the *Victura*, which had been sailed over from Hyannis Port by Joseph F. Gargan, Kennedy's cousin and an attorney, and Paul F. Markham, a U.S. attorney. On August 18, Kennedy was picked up at the Martha's Vineyard airport by his chauffeur, John Crimmins. Crimmins brought Kennedy's 1967 car, an Oldsmobile Delmont 88, to the island on the ferry. Along with racing, the weekend was marked as a celebration of thanks for a group of young women who had worked for Robert Kennedy. For the Friday evening cookout, Gargan had rented a cottage on the small island of Chappaquiddick, one hundred fifty yards across the channel from Edgartown.

The Wianno senior division started mid-afternoon, and Kennedy came in ninth. Following a small party to congratulate the winner, Kennedy returned to his room at the Shiretown Inn. After changing from sailing togs, he took the two-car ferry, the *On Time*, for the four-minute crossing to Chappaquiddick. There he joined the party. At approximately 11:15 P.M., Kennedy left the party with Mary Jo Kopechne, Robert's former administrative assistant, in his car. He had hoped to catch the ferry before it closed for the evening, but he took a wrong turn after leaving the drive to the cottage. Instead of heading toward the ferry, he found himself on Dike Road, a dirt road leading to Dike Bridge over Poucha Pond. Kennedy drove off the narrow bridge

into six to eight feet of water and blacked out briefly but was able to swim to the surface. According to his testimony, he dove down into the water repeatedly to try to rescue Kopechne, who was trapped in the overturned car. The water's current, though, kept him from reaching her. Some time later, he walked back to the cottage to get help, inexplicably passing cottages that were obviously occupied.

When Kennedy reached the cottage where the party had been held that night, he asked Gargan and Markham to help him attempt another search for Kopechne; they tried but failed to find her. Subsequently, Gargan and Markham advised Kennedy to immediately contact the police; Kennedy said he would do so from Edgartown. Because the ferry was no longer running, he dove into the channel and swam to Edgartown. He spent the rest of the night at the Shiretown Inn.

The following morning, Kennedy's demeanor made it seem that nothing unusual had happened. He took the ferry to Chappaquiddick, found a telephone, and made a series of calls. Again urged by Gargan and Markham, he crossed back to Edgartown to report the accident at police headquarters, almost ten hours after he drove off the bridge with Kopechne. Police Chief Dominick James Arena was not at the station: He was at Dyke Bridge, investigating a car (Kennedy's) spotted in the water by two fishermen. Arena tried but could not inspect the car's interior because of the water's powerful current, so he contacted John Farrar, a skin diver, who found Kopechne's body in the car. Her hands had been gripping the car seat and her body had been arched as if trying to get air. Deputy medical examiner David R. Mills would later determine that she had died from drowning.

Arena contacted the state vehicle registry to find the car's owner. After learning the owner was Ted Kennedy, he tried to find the senator and was surprised to discover him in his office at police headquarters. Kennedy informed Arena that he was the driver of the car and that the only other occupant was Kopechne. With Markham's help, Kennedy prepared a statement, but by this time, rumors had been circulating and the press was beginning to gather.



Officials pull Senator Ted Kennedy's car out of the water off Chappaquiddick Island. Mary Jo Kopechne drowned in the accident. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Kennedy called Kopechne's parents, Joseph and Gwen Kopechne, and told them of the accident, failing to mention that he was the one who had been driving the car. He gave instructions to Gargen and Markham to recover Kopechne's body. It was then embalmed and flown off the island on July 20. Kopechne's friends were told about her death and encouraged to return home. Kennedy relocated to Hyannis Port and went into seclusion. On July 22, with his wife, Joan, his sister-in-law, Ethel Kennedy, and others, he flew to Pennsylvania to attend Kopechne's burial service at St. Vincent's Church in Plymouth. In Edgartown, on July 25, he pleaded guilty to the charge of leaving the scene of an accident.

Following Kennedy's initial statement, Arena continued his investigation of the accident and consulted Walter Steele, special prosecutor for Dukes County District Court, concerning the appropriate charge. Unable to prove that Kennedy had been

driving to endanger or driving drunk, Steele could not justify a charge of manslaughter; consequently, Kennedy was charged with leaving the scene of an accident. At the hearing, Steele suggested Kennedy be incarcerated for two months and that this sentence be suspended. Edgartown District Court judge James A. Boyle, unaware of Kennedy's three previous driving convictions, followed Steele's suggestion but added one year of probation, citing Kennedy's supposed unblemished record. The hearing lasted seven minutes.

The following evening, on national television, Kennedy addressed the citizens of Massachusetts and explained the circumstances of the accident, his actions, and his inexplicable failure to immediately report the accident. He also asked the people of Massachusetts whether he should remain their senator or step down. The fourteen-minute speech, written by John F. Kennedy's speech writer, Ted Sorenson, led to much support from Massachusetts

voters. The voters would support Kennedy, even though there remained several unanswered questions. Why did Kennedy delay in reporting the accident? Why did he not mention the party on Chappaquiddick in his initial statement? Why was an autopsy not ordered?

The state's Southern District attorney Edmund S. Dinis requested an inquest into Kopechne's death and petitioned for the exhumation and autopsy of her body. However, the Kopechne family, with the spiritual guidance of Cardinal Richard Cushing of Boston, filed their own petition to bar the autopsy. Judge Bernard C. Brominski of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, upheld their petition. Between January 5 and 8, 1970, the inquest, barred to the public, was held in Edgartown, with Judge Boyle presiding. Kennedy and twenty-six witnesses testified. Boyle found no reason to issue an arrest warrant or recommend further action. In March, Leslie H. Leland, the foreman for the Edgartown grand jury, requested that a special session be convened to investigate Kopechne's death. At this session on April 6-7, four witnesses were called. No indictments were issued, however, and Dinis declared the case closed.

IMPACT

The accident and its aftermath put the media into a frenzy. At one point, more than four hundred fifty journalists had arrived on the overcrowded island, demanding information. Although Kennedy pleaded guilty to leaving the scene of an accident and then addressed the people of Massachusetts to explain his behavior, many felt the whole truth was not being told. Some were astounded that Kennedy's only penalty was the loss of his driver license for six months. Others were sure various authorities had been paid off to keep silent about the matter.

Voters of Massachusetts continued to support Kennedy and the mystique he represented. Some of his advisers felt time would lessen the impact of his failure to report the accident and that the incident would fade from the public consciousness. This did not happen. An important figure in the Democratic Party, Kennedy had been slated to be the next brother of the family to seek the Oval Office. How-

ever, each time he came close to getting the Democratic nomination for the presidency (such as in 1976 and 1980), Chappaquiddick awakened. The American public could not forget that Kennedy had left a young woman in his car. Kopechne would die alone, in the darkness.

—Marcia B. Dinneen

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Jimmy Carter Admits Committing Adultery in His Heart; Jan. 26, 1979: Former Vice President Nelson Rockefeller Dies Mysteriously; Mar. 30, 1991: William Kennedy Smith Is Accused of

Rape; Jan. 17, 1998: President Bill Clinton Denies Sexual Affair with a White House Intern; Dec. 5, 2002: Senator Trent Lott Praises Strom Thurmond's 1948 Presidential Campaign.

Fall, 1969-Winter, 1971

JAPANESE BASEBALL PLAYERS ARE IMPLICATED IN GAME FIXING

A number of Japanese baseball players were found to have been taking money from organized crime figures in Japan to intentionally lose baseball games. Those involved, many in the prime of their careers, faced pay cuts, long-term suspensions, and, in some cases, lifetime bans from the sport.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Black Mist scandal

LOCALE: Japan

CATEGORIES: Corruption; gambling; organized crime and racketeering; sports

KEY FIGURES

Masayuki Nagayasu (b. 1942), pitcher for the Toei Flyers and Nishitetsu Lions

Masaaki Ikenaga (b. 1946), pitcher for the Nishitetsu Lions

Kentaro Ogawa, (1934-1995), pitcher for the Chunichi Dragons

Tsutomu Tanaka (b. 1939), pitcher for the Nishitetsu Lions and Chunichi Dragons

SUMMARY OF EVENT

In October, 1969, late in the Japanese baseball season, Masayuki Nagayasu, a pitcher for the Nishitetsu Lions, was sent to the minor leagues. Nagayasu was not a star but he was having a solid, successful year. A puzzled journalist asked a Lions official why the apparently uninjured, reasonably effective Nagayasu was sent to the minor leagues during the season. The official told him that Nagayasu was suspected of associating with gam-

blers in a game-fixing scheme. It is likely the team official did not try to hide the suspicion, despite its potential for embarrassing the Lions, because he believed that the reporter already was aware of the rumors and would do as most Japanese sports reporters did in those times: hold the story and possibly publish later. However, this would not be the case with the Nagayasu story.

Traditionally, in Japan, sports reporters needed the cooperation of team officials to do their job, so they seldom reported embarrassing news about the teams or their players. However, in the case of Nagayasu, protocol was broken, and the newspaper published news of the pitcher's gambling connection. Reporters began probing for other culprits. However, some believe the story was published not to report on the gambling but to compromise the integrity of the Lions so that the Yomiuri Giants, owned by the newspaper for which the reporter worked, could annex the Lions' home ground.

The Lions claimed Nagayasu was the only team member involved with gambling, and later that fall, league officials banned him from the league for life. It appeared the saga was finished. However, in April, 1970, Nagayasu revealed the names of several other Lions players who had taken money in the scheme. Game throwing for money in Japan was not new. An official with the Kintetsu Buffaloes admitted that he had unwillingly participated in game fixing as a player during the early 1960's.

Sports gamblers tend to concentrate their efforts on the players with greatest control of a game's outcome, so they deal primarily with pitchers. Several

Lions pitchers were under suspicion, including Nagayasu, Masaaki Ikenaga, and Tsutomu Tanaka. A Lions catcher and two infielders also were questioned. The investigation did not stop with the Lions; two Toei Flyers pitchers were questioned as well.

Ikenaga, one of the league's best pitchers, who was looking forward to a bright future in baseball, was the premier player involved in the scandal. He was the league's rookie of the year in 1965 and, at the age of twenty-three, had already won twenty or more games in three different years. At the time he was banned from the sport, his career record was one hundred three wins and sixty-five losses.

In the spring of 1970, a race-car driver who had been under investigation for fixing races turned informant and exposed the participation of baseball players in fixing car races. Other pitchers were apprehended, including Tanaka of the Lions and Kentaro Ogawa of the Dragons. In 1967, Ogawa won the Sawamura Award, the Cy Young Award of Japanese baseball, given to the best starting pitcher in Nippon Professional Baseball (NPB) each year. The award was named for Eiji Sawamura. As a teenage amateur player facing a team of major leaguers from the United States in 1934, Sawamura struck out four future Hall of Fame players (Charley Gehring, Babe Ruth, Jimmy Foxx, and Lou Gehrig) in succession. Ogawa won twenty-nine games, lost twelve, and had an earned run average of 2.51 the year he won the award. At the time of the scandal, he was well established as one of the NPB's best pitchers.

A Hanshin Tiger infielder also was suspected of having a role in race fixing. The gambling schemes all had a central criminal element, the *yakuza*, or Japanese mafia, and became so widespread that they were given the same collective name as the post-World War II Japanese political scandal called Black Mist.

Into February, 1971, the convicted ballplayers received varying degrees of punishment. Punishments depended on the depth of a player's involvement in game fixing. Some received severe warnings, others were suspended for a season, and at least six were suspended from NPB for life. The life

suspensions may have followed the example set by American baseball commissioner Kenesaw Mountain Landis, who punished the eight Chicago White Sox players accused of throwing the 1919 World Series. They were banned for life even though they were not criminally convicted.

Other interesting similarities exist between the game-fixing scandals in Japan in 1969 and the United States in 1919. First, in Japan, Ikenaga and Ogawa were among the group banned for life, and their suspensions were perhaps the most tragic. Ikenaga's expected great career came to an abrupt end, paralleling the fate of Shoeless Joe Jackson, one of the best players in the history of American baseball. Jackson's career was truncated near its peak by his part in the Black Sox scandal.

Ikenaga appealed the decision to ban him for life, declaring that he never played to lose. In his defense, it should be noted that he won eighteen games in 1969, an excellent achievement for one season. However, he kept the one million yen given to him by Tanaka to participate in the scheme. For that reason he was banned from Japanese baseball. In the 1919 scandal, Jackson had sworn that he played his best in the 1919 World Series, in which he batted .375, an exceptionally high average. However, like Ikenaga, he kept the money he was given to participate in the fix, and he was held accountable for doing so.

In 2005, the rules of professional baseball in Japan were amended to make lifetime bans revocable for players who showed remorse and exemplary behavior for a minimum of fifteen years. Also in 2005, thirty-five years after his banishment from the sport, Ikenaga was reinstated. Long past his playing prime, Ikenaga planned to use his reinstatement to coach college baseball.

IMPACT

The scandal was far reaching, affecting players, teams, and the whole of Japanese baseball. The financial loss to the players who were banned for life, though appreciable, probably came second in a society that considers the loss of one's reputation and losing the respect of others far more significant than the loss of money.

After the scandal came to light, a number of teams were sold and relocated. The Nishitetsu Lions moved and became the Seibu Lions and the Toei Flyers became the Hokkaido Nippon Ham Fighters. Also, many fans stayed away from baseball altogether, leading to plummeting attendance after the disclosures. However, baseball in Japan eventually recovered. Just as Babe Ruth and his home runs are credited with bringing American baseball fans back to the game after the Black Sox scandal, Sadaharu Oh's pursuit of professional baseball's home-run record through the 1970's helped draw fans back to Japanese ballparks.

One anticipated outcome of the scandal, learning from the mistakes of others, failed to materialize. In 1990, several Yomiuri Giant coaches and players were convicted of accepting inappropriate gifts, some from persons with gambling connections. The team was fined the equivalent of \$125,000 for the infractions. American player Pete Rose, who had 4,256 career base hits, a record, was found to have bet on baseball games and was banned from baseball in 1989 for life and excluded from Hall of Fame consideration.

—Carl W. Hoagstrom

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November 13, 1969

AMERICAN MASSACRE OF VIETNAMESE CIVILIANS AT MY LAI IS REVEALED

In 1968, U.S. Army soldiers, led by Second Lieutenant William Calley, marched into the small Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai in search of Viet Cong guerrilla fighters and summarily killed hundreds of civilian men, women, and children. Word of the massacre quickly spread in the U.S. media and led to an intense public scandal. Calley was tried for the killings. Because he was a junior officer, many claimed he was used as a scapegoat.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Song My massacre

LOCALES: My Lai and My Khe hamlets, South Vietnam (now in Vietnam)

CATEGORIES: Military; atrocities and war crimes; violence; publishing and journalism; government

KEY FIGURES

William Calley (b. 1943), U.S. Army second lieutenant commanding first platoon, Charlie Company

Ernest Medina (b. 1936), U.S. Army captain commanding Charlie Company

Frank A. Barker (1928-1968), U.S. Army lieutenant colonel, who ordered assault on My Lai village

Hugh Thompson, Jr. (1943-2006), U.S. Navy warrant officer and combat helicopter pilot

Ronald Ridenhour (1946-1998), U.S. Army soldier who alerted military and political leaders about the massacre

Seymour Hersh (b. 1937), newspaper reporter who broke the story

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The My Lai Massacre occurred on March 16, 1968, as three companies of the first battalion, Twenty-third Infantry Division, marched into the small Vietnamese hamlet of My Lai on a search-and-destroy mission. The soldiers were looking for

guerrillas, referred to as Viet Cong, associated with the National Front for Liberation of South Vietnam.

The company of twenty-five soldiers, led by Second Lieutenant William Calley, was on a mission coordinated by Lieutenant Colonel Frank A. Barker with instructions from their commanding officer to aggressively seek out Viet Cong and engage the enemy. The battalion-sized U.S. Army unit was code-named Task Force Barker and comprised three infantry companies (A, B, and C). Barker ordered commanders of the first battalion to burn houses, kill livestock, and destroy foodstuffs to keep supplies out of enemy hands.

Charlie Company moved first through the hamlet's south section; Lieutenant Stephen K. Brooks's second platoon went through the north. Lieutenant Larry LaCroix's third platoon remained in reserve close by. The soldiers of Charlie Company expected to encounter two armed Viet Cong companies. Captain Ernest Medina, commander of Charlie Company, had instructed his officers to burn the houses and destroy the livestock, crops, and foodstuffs in My Lai. Several men from Company C later testified that Medina had instructed them to kill civilians found in the hamlets. Medina later denied such statements.

Soldiers from first platoon, Charlie Company, entered the village after a barrage of artillery and helicopter gunfire but could not find any Viet Cong or other enemy combatants. The U.S. soldiers suspected Viet Cong guerrillas were hiding in the village homes or storehouses. The U.S. soldiers began a brutal spree of violence against the unarmed villagers that included murder, gang rape, sexual molestation, mutilation, and beatings. In what remains perhaps the most remembered atrocity at My Lai, soldiers herded villagers into an irrigation ditch and then shot and killed them. According to reports, first platoon leader Calley took a weapon from one of his subordinates—a soldier who had refused further involvement in the killing spree—and shot a



William Calley at his court-martial at Fort Benning, Georgia. (AP/Wide World Photos)

group of approximately seventy to eighty people in the center of the village.

As the first platoon made its way through the village, soldiers of second platoon were just beginning their sweep through the northern portions of My Lai and the small hamlet of My Khe. Here too, U.S. soldiers raped, shot, and burned their way through the area. The villagers who survived the massacre by hiding beneath dead bodies later testified that they saw the American soldiers rape women, kill women who were pregnant, shoot small children and babies, and mutilate villagers. These accounts were later supported with images snapped by American war photographers.

The third platoon, led by Lieutenant Larry LaCroix, was charged with managing any remaining resistance by enemy combatants. The American soldiers killed civilians who had been wounded and all remaining livestock. Evidence would later show that third platoon massacred a group of seven to twelve women and children who had been hiding in the village.

The massacres in My Lai and My Khe were halted after a U.S. Navy helicopter pilot, Warrant Officer Hugh Thompson, Jr., noticed a large number of dead and dying civilians as he flew over the villages. He landed his aircraft by a ditch full of bodies and asked a nearby soldier to assist with retrieving the survivors from the ditch. Thompson returned to his helicopter and took off to continue his scouting assignment. He would later recount that as he took off he saw soldiers firing into the ditch to kill off the survivors.

After a few flyovers of the village, Thompson saw a group of civilians, comprising old men, women, and children, being approached by soldiers. He landed his helicopter, instructing his men to open fire on any soldier firing at the villagers, and proceeded to coax the villagers into his helicopter. Thompson rescued more than one dozen people and flew them to safety. He returned and rescued a small girl from a ditch full of dead bodies. His testimony would later be supported by other pilots and crew.

The Army chose not to conduct a definitive body count. Most eyewitnesses estimate the body count to have been between 350 and 500. The memorial currently standing at the site of the massacre is engraved with the names of 504 persons, ranging in age from one to eighty-two years. The official death count by the U.S. Army is 347.

Initial investigations into the My Lai massacre were brief, despite letters and complaints by soldiers that brutality against Vietnamese civilians was common. Critics claimed incidents had been whitewashed to avoid public outcry. However, the atrocities at My Lai would first come to light outside the military through a March, 1969, letter written by Ronald Ridenhour—a veteran of Charlie Company—to U.S. president Richard Nixon, the Pentagon, the U.S. State Department, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and several U.S. Congress members. Most authorities who received Ridenhour's letter, which stated that "something very black indeed" had occurred at My Lai, chose to ignore the note. One person who paid attention was investigative reporter Seymour Hersh. He broke the story of My Lai in a three-part news report that began on November 13, 1969, in the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*.

with the article “Lieutenant Accused of Murdering 109 Civilians.” Hersh was awarded the Pulitzer Prize in 1970 for the investigative series.

After numerous assertions that the atrocities were covered up, the U.S. Army began court-martial proceedings against thirty—mostly enlisted—soldiers, including two generals and three colonels. Ultimately, charges were dropped for those who already had been discharged from military service. The remaining nine enlisted soldiers and four officers faced courts-martial on March 17, 1970, in an inquiry headed by Lieutenant General William R. Peers.

Initially, seven enlisted soldiers from Charlie Company were charged by the Army with crimes including murder, rape, and assault. Charges against five were dropped and two soldiers were tried; Calley was one of them. On March 29, 1971, he was found guilty on three counts of murder and sentenced to life imprisonment, but President Nixon intervened and released the officer pending appeal. In August, the Army reduced Calley’s sentence to twenty years, and in April, 1974, further reduced it to ten years. He was paroled in the fall of 1974.

IMPACT

The massacre at My Lai raised serious questions both within and beyond the armed services. First, at the social and cultural level, the massacre reinvigorated the antiwar movement. Many antiwar activists seized upon this single event to increase their demands for the removal of U.S. troops from Vietnam. Also, there was an increase in filings for conscientious-objector status by potential draftees.

Second, at the military level, some experts maintained that the My Lai massacre demonstrated that there was a need for better recruits and stronger leadership. The military had been experiencing a dearth of bright, intelligent recruits during the Vietnam War, as many young men were able to avoid the draft through attending college or a university. The massacre, they argued, showed a system gone wrong because of recruitment concerns and a lack of conscientious soldiering.

The massacre also led to debate over the military’s insistence on unconditional obedience to or-

ders. Most of the soldiers tried for their deeds at My Lai testified that they simply had been following orders and were, therefore, not guilty of any wrongdoing. The massacre also led to debate over the military’s emphasis on kill ratios and body counts. Soldiers and their commanders were routinely rewarded for having high kill ratios, or body counts, in combat zones. Finally, the cover-up of evidence and witness reports from the massacre prompted critics to call for a change of official policy on handling complaints that allege brutality against civilian noncombatants.

—Wendy L. Hicks

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1963: Madame Nhu Derides Self-Immolation of Vietnamese Buddhists; May 4, 1970: National Guardsmen Kill Protesting Kent State Students; June 13, 1971: *New York Times* Publishes the Pentagon Papers; July 8-22, 1972: Jane Fonda's

Visit to North Vietnam Outrages Many Americans; June 18, 2001: Historian Joseph J. Ellis Is Accused of Lying; Apr. 28, 2004: CBS Broadcasts Photos of Abused and Tortured Prisoners at Abu Ghraib.

December 30, 1969

UNITED MINE WORKERS LEADER JOSEPH YABLONSKI IS MURDERED

Joseph Yablonski, an activist with the United Mine Workers of America, ran against UMWA president W. A. Boyle in the 1969 union election but was defeated. Yablonski challenged the election results and shortly thereafter was murdered, along with his wife and daughter. The murders provoked outrage and a federal investigation, leading to Boyle's imprisonment and to union reform.

LOCALE: Clarksville, Pennsylvania

CATEGORIES: Murder and suicide; labor; organized crime and racketeering

KEY FIGURES

Joseph Yablonski (1910-1969), reform activist with United Mine Workers of America (UMWA)

W. A. Boyle (1904-1985), president of UMWA
Joseph L. Rauh, Jr. (1911-1999), lawyer and labor activist

Albert Pass (fl. 1960's), UMWA official and leader of murder plot

Silous Huddleston (fl. 1960's), UMWA official and assassin

Richard Sprague (fl. 1960's), assistant district attorney in Philadelphia

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On the night of December 30, 1969, United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) reform activist Joseph Yablonski, along with his wife, Margaret, and

their daughter, Charlotte, were shot to death in their beds in their Clarksville, Pennsylvania, home. Joseph Yablonski, who was born in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, on March 3, 1910, was part of a coal-mining family and had been a miner since the age of fifteen. From 1934 onward, he had been active with UMWA, serving on its executive board between 1934 and 1942 and as president of the union's Local 5 from 1955 to 1968.

As Yablonski rose in the ranks, he attracted the ire of UMWA president W. A. Boyle, who had forced him out of office in 1968 because Yablonski supported reform candidates for union office. Boyle, in contrast, led a corrupt and autocratic regime. In 1968, Yablonski sought to challenge Boyle for the UMWA presidency, but Boyle managed to defeat him through questionable electoral practices that included a lack of independent oversight of the election. Yablonski then attempted to challenge the results of the election, calling for an investigation by U.S. secretary of labor George P. Shultz. Shultz first chose to ignore the matter but intervened after the murders of Yablonski and his wife and daughter.

Boyle denied any involvement in the murders, either by himself or the union. He offered a reward for bringing the perpetrators to justice. However, the widespread publicity led to his arrest and conviction for having authorized the crime. As shocking as the premeditated murders had been in themselves (the perpetrators had previously broken into the Yablonski home to plan their crime), the crime

also exposed serious problems of corruption and lack of democracy within the UMWA.

Although corruption and authoritarian leadership had been present since the time of the renowned UMWA president John L. Lewis, the problems had become more pronounced and severe by the time Boyle, one of Lewis's handpicked successors who attempted to assume Lewis's mantle of power, took office. Additionally, when the UMWA began to shift its stance from labor militancy to business unionism and close cooperation with management during the 1960's, the union became less and less responsive to the needs of rank-and-file workers. Even Lewis, by the end of his life, had begun to support the management view that greater productivity would lead to more jobs, and so he failed to address health and safety concerns.

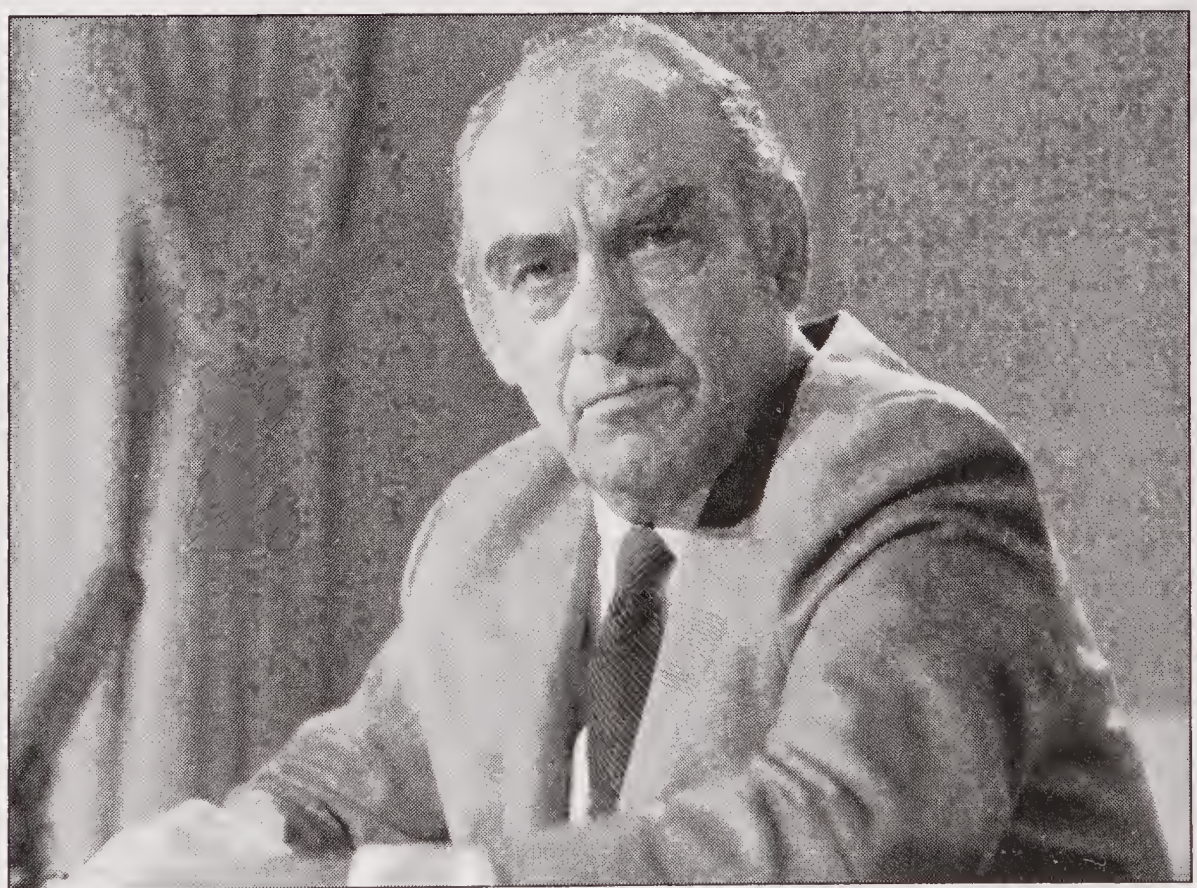
The growth of rank-and-file opposition to the unquestioned authority of the UMWA's leadership increased following Lewis's death, and opposition was spurred by the growing awareness of black-lung disease (pneumoconiosis), a debilitating and potentially deadly condition resulting from too much exposure to coal dust. There also was increasing anger over Boyle's reluctance to address the disease, which was first brought to public attention by activists such as Ralph Nader from outside the union. Opposition to Boyle further increased after he was exposed for mismanaging the miners' pension funds. His ineptitude led to retired miners having to pay additional dues money, and he was subsequently accused of embezzlement. Finally, Boyle's lack of public concern over a 1968 mine explosion that killed seventy-eight miners cost him further public support.

Yablonski was in many ways uniquely positioned to challenge Boyle for the national leadership of the union. As one of the few local presidents who had been elected by the membership, he enjoyed much popular support, especially among the growing movement for a democratic leadership. He also had the support of labor activists outside the union, including Nader and Joseph L. Rauh, Jr., a lawyer

with Americans for Democratic Action. However, Yablonski, who also had worked closely with labor's Non-Partisan League, was aware of the risks of opposing Boyle.

From the moment his campaign began, Yablonski found himself in physical danger and even suffered a blow to his neck on June 28, 1968, which nearly left him paralyzed. Additionally, he and his supporters struggled continuously against the Boyle machine, first to achieve his nomination and then to successfully campaign against Boyle. Yablonski and his supporters persisted, filing a lawsuit for the right to have the union distribute his campaign literature through the mail, following the provisions of the Landrum-Griffin Act (1959). Rauh also appealed on repeated occasions, but in vain, for Labor Secretary Shultz to investigate Boyle's campaign practices. Boyle won the election, largely through bribery, voter intimidation, and other illegal means, funding his campaign with union dues. Yablonski, Rauh, and Yablonski's two sons, Kenneth and Joseph, who were lawyers, attempted to challenge the legality of the election.

As the Department of Labor stalled and the suits wound their way through the courts, Silous Huddleston, a minor official with the UMWA, confessed in court that he had been seeking conspirators to murder Yablonski. The organizer of the



Joseph Yablonski. (AP/Wide World Photos)

murder plot was UMWA official Albert Pass. Huddleston testified that Boyle had plotted the murder even before the election, shortly after Yablonski announced his intentions to run against him. He added that the murder was delayed, however, to prevent accusations that Boyle arranged his opponent's death to ensure his own win.

By December 30, the day of the murders, Pass had become impatient with Huddleston, telling him to get the job done. That night, Huddleston, along with his hired hit men, cut local telephone wires, broke into the Yablonski home, and shot Yablonski and his wife and daughter, stealing money they found along the way. Kenneth Yablonski found the bodies of his mother, father, and sister three days later. The murders made headlines around the world. Huddleston, his henchmen, and the other known coconspirators were quickly caught and then brought to justice by noted prosecutor Richard Sprague, an assistant district attorney in Philadelphia. Boyle also became the focus of public scrutiny and suspicion as the authority behind the murders.

Amid the adverse publicity, Boyle lost his presidency in 1972. A rank-and-file dissident group, Miners for Union Democracy, unseated him in the election, one of the first in the union's history that had been run fairly, and replaced him with Yablonski supporter Arnold Miller. Boyle was arrested in 1973, following a coconspirator's confession, and convicted of illegal use of pension funds and, in 1974, was convicted for his role in the Yablonski murders. Boyle died in prison in 1985.

IMPACT

The Yablonski murders took on a legendary status, becoming the subject of books and a film, *Act of Vengeance* (1986). More than a particularly shocking crime, the murders underscored what can happen when union leadership becomes too powerful and forgets about democratic principles, which are vital to the continued relevance of any union. In particular, the case revealed how high a price the revered union leader Lewis had exacted from the union's rank and file to build a once-struggling organization and bring it to the position of power it achieved after World War II.

Although the publicity and investigation into the murders were harmful to the reputation of the UMWA and, by extension, the organized-labor movement, the publicity led to much needed reform and the revival of union democracy. Change began during Boyle's administration, but it moved at a faster pace under the leadership of Miller (president from 1972 to 1979) and, later, Richard Trumka, who served as union president from 1982 to 1985 and became secretary treasurer of the AFL-CIO. It is true that corruption led to the murders of the Yablonskis, but it is also the case that the murders served as the catalyst for significant and needed reform within the UMWA.

—Susan Roth Breitzer

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1970

STUDY OF ANONYMOUS GAY SEX LEADS TO ETHICS SCANDAL

Laud Humphreys' book Tearroom Trade, a groundbreaking look at anonymous sex among men in public restrooms, led to scandal because Humphreys used questionable methods in conducting his study. Nevertheless, he found that men having sex with other men, including those who are married, have children, and are politically and socially conservative, often lead contradictory lives. Also, his study is used as a case example in the ethics of human-behavior research.

LOCALE: St. Louis, Missouri

CATEGORIES: Publishing and journalism; sex; education

KEY FIGURE

Laud Humphreys (1930-1988), American sociologist and Episcopalian minister

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Laud Humphreys, an Episcopalian minister and a sociologist, had been intrigued by his parishioners who sought counseling from him for their homosexuality. His interest led to his groundbreaking ethnographic study of anonymous gay sex (known as “tea-rooming”) in public restrooms. The topic—fellatio between men—was highly taboo. His research turned out to be taboo as well, requiring that he observe what were criminal acts at the time. Still, he believed that the only way he could gain insight into the impersonal sex among married and unmarried men was to watch them having sex, that is, to participate as a “watchqueen,” or voyeur.

Humphreys’ participant-observation, a common research method in field studies, would lead to scandal, in part because he watched as crimes were being committed but also because of the way he gathered information about his subjects. He defended his method of participant-observation because it was conducted in a public place, adding that the acts he observed were consensual. Therefore, he

also believed the participants should not be prosecuted for their encounters. However, he was heavily criticized for secretly recording the license-plate numbers of the cars driven by the men in his study, and he used that information to locate and interview them one year later. He had disguised himself as a survey researcher and deliberately misrepresented his identity (first at the study restroom and then at the residences of the subjects).

On October 16, 1930, Humphreys was born to Ira and Stella Humphreys. He graduated from college in 1952 and was ordained an Episcopalian priest in 1955. Beginning his new profession, Humphreys worked in a few parishes in Kansas and then entered graduate school at Washington University in Saint Louis, Missouri, in 1965. He completed his controversial doctoral dissertation in 1968 under the supervision of Lee Rainwater. The dissertation, published in 1970 as *Tearoom Trade: Impersonal Sex in Public Places*, won the C. Wright Mills Award for best work on a critical social issue. The annual award is presented by the Society for the Study of Social Problems. The chancellor of Washington University attempted to revoke Humphreys’ doctorate.

Tearoom Trade reveals what had been a little-known subculture. The book details the ritualized steps and signals in tearoom transactions, where men not seeking sex do not have to worry about being mistaken for a tearoom participant. If one does not know tearoom “code,” then one apparently is not seeking sex there. In tearooms, men use specific techniques to determine how to approach another man, and they use subtle body language as a way to communicate their intentions. Tearoom code includes toe-tapping, waving and placement of the hands, and body positioning. Codes also help determine who will perform fellatio, who will receive it, and whether reciprocation is expected.

Humphreys also argues that many married men participate in tea-rooming because they are simply looking for a way to have casual sex without attach-

ments and obligations. Tearooms are places where an exchange is made between consenting adults, an exchange of impersonal sex in a public place with no strings attached.

Furthermore, through his research, Humphreys was able to discern why men chose a particular location and when the activities were most likely to occur. For example, he notes how ease of access to a rest-stop restroom, which is most often right off a highway, allows for tea-rooming during lunch hours or during the commute time home. (The tearoom is busiest between noon and 1:00 P.M. and again around 5:00 P.M.) Because the participants can stop by the tearoom for impersonal sex during their lunch hours, or after work, they can hide their behavior from their spouses. They can quickly get back on the highway and be home in time for dinner.

In 1972, Humphreys published another book, *Out of the Closets: The Sociology of Homosexual Liberation*, which failed to garner as much attention as *Tearoom Trade*. Although Humphreys taught at numerous colleges and universities around the United States, in 1975 he became a full professor at Pitzer College and a professor of criminal justice at Claremont Graduate School (now University), both in Claremont, California. In 1980, he left his wife and children to live with his protégé and lover, Brian Miller, almost thirty years his junior. Miller was a psychotherapist who coauthored with Humphreys the articles “Identities in the Emerging Gay Culture” (1980), “A Scholarly Taxi to the Toilets” (1982), and “Lifestyles and Violence: Homosexual Victims of Assault and Murder” (1980). Humphreys, who came out as gay in 1974 at the annual meeting of the American Sociological Association, died on August 23, 1988, after developing lung cancer.

IMPACT

Humphreys’ research was risky, and many claimed that the data he obtained was so sensitive that it could have been used to harm the participants

ANATOMY OF A TEAROOM

Laud Humphreys describes the ideal places for anonymous sex between men in this excerpt from the first chapter of his 1970 book Tearoom Trade.

Public restrooms are chosen by those who want homoerotic activity without commitment for a number of reasons. They are accessible, easily recognizable by the initiate, and provide little public visibility. Tearooms thus offer the advantages of both public and private settings. They are available and recognizable enough to attract a large volume of potential sexual partners, providing an opportunity for rapid action with a variety of men. When added to the relative privacy of these settings, such features enhance the impersonality of the sheltered interaction.

through blackmail. Others claimed that tea-rooming is criminal behavior. However, Humphreys argued in *Tearoom Trade* that the true harm comes from police crackdowns on tearoom sex; no harm comes from the “crime” of sex between men. “The only harmful effects of these encounters, either direct or indirect,” he wrote, “result from police activity. . . . Blackmail, payoffs, the destruction of reputations and families. . . .” *Tearoom Trade* placed great emphasis on the consensual nature of tearoom sex. Although Humphreys’ methods were unorthodox, and many argued that his means did not justify the ends to which he arrived, it cannot be denied that his work dispelled many myths about clandestine sexual behavior and revealed a subculture of escape and freedom for many.

Tearoom Trade is especially revealing for noting that most of the tearoom participants in his study were family men who were well-educated and well-respected members of their communities. About 50 percent of the participants claimed to be heterosexual, and many were politically and socially conservative as well. These findings led Humphreys to conclude that the men of the trade lived incongruous lives.

Finally, Humphreys’ controversial study intensified debate and discussion about the need for professional codes of ethics in the social sciences. His work also was a factor in the development of institutional review boards in academia. These campus

boards determine the appropriateness of proposed studies by scholars and graduate students that involve research with human subjects.

—Gina Robertiello

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May 4, 1970

NATIONAL GUARDSMEN KILL PROTESTING KENT STATE STUDENTS

After several days of protests against the Vietnam War on the campus of Kent State University, more than two dozen Ohio National Guard soldiers opened fire on students, killing four and wounding many others. The protest was followed by months of demonstrations at other campuses around the United States and included the killing of two students by police and the wounding of other students at Jackson State College in Mississippi ten days after Kent State.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Kent State massacre**LOCALE:** Kent, Ohio**CATEGORIES:** Murder and suicide; social issues and reform; military; education; civil rights and liberties**KEY FIGURES***Allison Krause* (1951-1970), student protester*William Schroeder* (1950-1970), ROTC cadet and bystander*Jeffrey Miller* (1950-1970), student protester*Sandra Scheuer* (1949-1970), student and bystander*James A. Rhodes* (1901-2001), governor of Ohio, 1963-1971, 1975-1983**SUMMARY OF EVENT**

In the spring of 1970, American universities were places of discontent with the U.S. government's policies in Vietnam. For the past decade, college and university students had been at the forefront of the movement to redress numerous social ills. Groups such as Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) had campaigned for civil rights in the South, often risking injury or even death at the hands of hardened racists who resented the perceived interference of outsiders in their communities. The earliest Freedom Riders who had canvassed the South to register African Americans to vote and to integrate public facilities had been clean-cut young people

not notably different in their dress and grooming from the young people of the 1950's.

As the 1960's progressed, student culture became increasingly radicalized. Although significant victories were won for African Americans, these victories made student activists increasingly aware of just how many injustices remained, some so deeply institutionalized they would defy any simple fixes. Worse, the increasing involvement of the United States in the Vietnam War was seen not as an effort to spread liberty and protect people from communist tyranny but as the United States acting as a bully in the international arena, imposing its will upon a small and helpless peasant country. This disaffection, combined with the development of a youth culture characterized by styles of dress and patterns of behavior markedly at variance with the majority culture, led to a widening gulf of misunderstanding and hostility between the generations.

The immediate flashpoint for the confrontations at Kent State University in Kent, Ohio, was the United States' invasion of Cambodia in an effort to cut off North Vietnamese supply lines. On May 1, angered at what they saw as an unwarranted act of aggression against a peaceable country, Kent State students held a mock funeral and buried a copy of the U.S. Constitution as a symbolic protest against its "murder." Subsequently, the crowd drifted onto Water Street, Kent's business district, and broke windows until police arrived. Kent's mayor regarded the events with alarm, considering them evidence of a sinister radical plot, and declared a state of emergency.

The following evening, a crowd surrounded the Reserve Officers' Training Corps (ROTC) barracks. Many protestors considered the ROTC a visible symbol of U.S. militarism, which was ironic because the ROTC program actually had the greatest likelihood of producing citizen-soldiers with a firm connection to the civilian populace. However, the service academies, with their distinctive military

culture, were distant from protestors, while the ROTC program was a reachable target.

During the demonstration, the ROTC building, which had been boarded up and was slated for demolition, was set on fire. When firefighters arrived on the scene, protesters slit their hoses to prevent them from saving the building. After the firefighters abandoned efforts to fight the fire, Ohio National Guard troops, sent in by the governor, James A. Rhodes, forcibly cleared the campus and chased the students into the dormitories.

The following day began with apparent calm. In fact, there was a dangerous undercurrent of anger. Several meetings were held among state, local, and university officials, but the meetings were plagued by misunderstandings that would soon have deadly

results. Worse, the news of the destruction of the ROTC barracks brought a number of sightseers, who further confused the situation on campus.

In the evening, a crowd of student protesters gathered on the Commons, a large greensward often used for informal assemblies. When the students refused to disperse, they were told to disperse and tear gassed. Although the demonstrators fled the Commons, they subsequently reassembled at the intersection of East Main and Lincoln Streets, hoping to compel officials to respond to their demands. However, no one arrived, and by 11 P.M. the crowd had grown increasingly restless. At that point police warned the crowd once again and forcibly dispersed them with tear gas. In the confusion, several people, both National Guard and civilian, were injured, set-



Kent State University students tend to a wounded youth as Ohio National Guard soldiers gather with rifles in the background. Soldiers killed four students and injured many more during an antiwar demonstration on campus. (AP/World Wide Photos)

ting the stage for the final confrontation the next day.

On May 4, two thousand people gathered on the Commons, determined to hold their rally in the face of the prohibition. However, many students, particularly commuters who had not been on campus over the weekend, had no idea that public assemblies had been banned as part of the mayor's state of emergency declaration. The National Guard troops, numbering about one thousand by this time, were equally determined to disperse any demonstrations and restore order at all costs. Taunts and verbal abuse were exchanged, and the students began throwing rocks. The troops fired tear gas in an effort to force the students to disperse, but some of the bolder students grabbed the canisters and threw them back at the soldiers. Some soldiers eventually fired their weapons upon the students. More than sixty rounds were shot by twenty-eight soldiers in about thirteen seconds.

When the melee was over, four students—Allison Krause, Jeffrey Miller, William Schroeder, and Sandra Scheuer—were dead or near death. Krause and Miller had been active participants in the protest, and Schroeder and Scheuer were bystanders who were passing the edges of the demonstration area. Nine others had suffered less severe wounds, ranging from flesh wounds to permanent paralysis. The injured students were treated with disregard by emergency personnel, and at least two of the fatalities apparently reached the hospital alive but were not given life-saving aid. On campus, shock and grief quickly turned to anger at the brutality.

IMPACT

Kent State University was closed for the rest of the term. Shock waves rippled across the country as students at other universities called for their own schools to be closed so they could attend protests. At Jackson State College (now University) in Mississippi, a demonstration turned confrontational just ten days after the Kent State massacre, leading to the deaths of two students, shot by police, and injuries to more than a dozen others. This case did not make national headlines, however, largely because

the students were African American and from poor families. However, the specter of continued violence led many university administrations to end classes early for the term to defuse the anger and sorrow.

At the same time, there was a powerful backlash from adults, many of whom condemned the slain students as having brought about their own destruction. Rumors proliferated that the victims were disease-ridden drug addicts who nauseated medical personnel. Some parents even told their own children it would be fitting for them to be shot down if they failed to obey the orders of authorities.

The President's Commission on Campus Unrest, formed on June 13, 1970, by U.S. president Richard Nixon, condemned the shootings and the protestors, but concluded that "the indiscriminate firing of rifles into a crowd of students and the deaths that followed were unnecessary, unwarranted, and inexcusable." Its report, which included its findings on the shootings at Jackson State and the unrest at campuses around the United States, was released in October.

For a time there was a real possibility that many colleges and universities would be closed altogether, particularly if there had been renewed violence during the fall term. The event soon faded into a name, an annual memorialization of the four killed at Kent State, and a now-classic song, "Ohio," written by Neil Young.

—Leigh Husband Kimmel

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Irish Politicians Are Tried for Importing Weapons

the future of America's university culture and higher education.

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SEE ALSO: July 28, 1932: U.S. Troops Drive World War I Veterans from Washington; Nov. 13, 1969: American Massacre of Vietnamese Civilians at My Lai Is Revealed; June 13, 1971: *New York Times* Publishes the Pentagon Papers; July 8-22, 1972: Jane Fonda's Visit to North Vietnam Outrages Many Americans.

May 28, 1970

IRISH POLITICIANS ARE TRIED FOR CONSPIRING TO IMPORT WEAPONS

Charles James Haughey and Neil Blaney were charged with attempting to import weapons to Northern Ireland for the use of the Irish Republican Army. Both ministers were acquitted and, although they were dismissed from their government posts, they later returned to politics.

LOCALE: Dublin, Ireland

CATEGORIES: Law and the courts; corruption; government; politics; atrocities and war crimes

KEY FIGURES

Charles James Haughey (1925-2006), Irish minister for finance, 1966-1970, and prime minister, 1979-1981, 1982, 1987-1992

Neil Blaney (1922-1995), Irish minister for agriculture and fisheries, 1966-1970

Jack Lynch (1917-1999), leader of Fianna Fáil Party and Irish prime minister, 1966-1973, 1977-1979

Kevin Boland (1917-2001), Irish minister for local government, 1965-1970

Michael O'Morain (1912-1983), Irish minister for justice, 1968-1970

John Kelly (1936-2007), leader in the Provisional Irish Republican Army

James Kelly (1929-2003), Irish army intelligence officer

Liam Cosgrave (b. 1920), leader of the Fine Gael party

SUMMARY OF EVENT

On April 28, 1969, the moderate reformist prime minister of Northern Ireland, Terence O'Neill, resigned under intense pressure, and the conflict in the Six Counties rapidly dissolved into open sectarian warfare between Roman Catholics and Protestants. Provocative commemorative marches by militant Protestants on July 12 through 16 and again from August 12 through 14 ignited a violent reaction in the Catholic Bogside neighborhood in Derry. The authorities were unable to contain the situation, and Irish Republic prime minister Jack Lynch, impassioned by militant elements within his

ruling Fianna Fáil party, delivered a stern, inflammatory speech during which he threatened to send the Irish army across the border to protect the North's Catholic minority. Shortly thereafter, however, the British army moved to attempt to restore order and soon faced a guerrilla war of their own against the newly revived IRA (Irish Republican Army).

Lynch, a moderate at heart, then backed down from his tough stance, particularly angering two influential politicians within his own cabinet: Finance Minister Charles James Haughey and Agriculture and Fisheries Minister Neil Blaney. Haughey and Blaney had each contended against Lynch in 1966 over the party leadership and considered him to be weak and vacillating, especially on the issue of Irish nationalism. Lynch, for his part, did nothing more dramatic than establish a cabinet subcommittee to organize and disburse relief funds for Catholic families who had been forced from their homes because of the Troubles (as the nearly thirty-year guerrilla struggle in Northern Ireland was later to be called). However, Lynch's supervision over the subcommittee was lax and he thus allowed effective control to pass to its two domineering members, his arch-rivals Blaney and Haughey.

On October 4, Irish intelligence officer James Kelly, a captain, attended a meeting in Baileboro, County Cavan, Ireland, at which he conferred with ranking members of the IRA. From talking to these IRA leaders, who may have included John Kelly, James Kelly then established contact between the IRA on one hand and with Blaney and Haughey on the other to formulate a plan to smuggle arms from Belgium into Dublin Airport. The sale was to be paid for by subcommittee funds, and the arms were to go to the North to provide the IRA with weapons for the defense of Catholic neighborhoods.

In its hazy and often tortuous outlines, a plot emerged through the winter and into the spring of 1969-1970. James Kelly, working with contacts in Germany and Belgium (one of whom may have been a Belgian-born businessman, Albert Luykx, who had taken residence in Ireland), was to procure the guns and have them shipped aboard the cargo vessel *City of Dublin* to Dublin in March of 1970.

Haughey had issued orders to Irish customs (which fell under his finance ministry portfolio) to let the shipment through. However, a glitch in the paperwork (a required end-user's certificate could not be as readily procured as expected) brought about a change in plans. Instead, James Kelly was to see that the arms were conveyed via Trieste, Italy, and Vienna, Austria, and thence by plane to Dublin. At the last minute, Haughey aborted the flight because he discovered that the justice ministry had ordered police to seize the cargo as soon as the plane landed.

The scheme rapidly unraveled. Justice Minister Michael O'Morain, acting primarily through his chief secretary and special branch head Peter Berry, was informed of most of the details of the shipment, details that were funneled up to Lynch. Likewise, Defense Minister Jim Gibbons gleaned information that he passed on to the prime minister. Apprehensive, perhaps, of the potential political fallout, Lynch was slow to act.

Two events, occurring in quick succession, forced Lynch's hand. First, with O'Morain becoming increasingly ill over the stress of events and increasingly escaping into alcohol abuse, Berry took the initiative of informing President Eamon de Valera and then letting Lynch know that he had done so. Second, Fine Gael opposition leader Liam Cosgrave found out about the scandal. After unsuccessfully trying to interest the Irish media in the story, he had a private interview with Lynch, wherein he threatened to make a public revelation unless the prime minister acted decisively.

Lynch asked Haughey and Blaney to resign their ministerial offices. When they refused, Lynch turned to De Valera, who on May 6, 1970, ordered their dismissals. Almost immediately, local government minister Kevin Boland and others resigned in protest. Two days earlier, O'Morain had tendered his resignation from his hospital sickbed. The Irish government brought charges against Haughey, Blaney, Luykx, James Kelly, and John Kelly, and the arms trial began on May 28 in Dublin.

Blaney was acquitted on July 2, when it became obvious that prosecutors did not have evidence indicating he had a direct link to and actual knowl-

edge of the arms importation plan. For the other defendants, proceedings went on until July 7. Then, after a pointed exchange between defense counsel and the judge, the cases were terminated in a mistrial. After a lengthy hiatus, the trial resumed on October 6 and ran until October 23, when the jury acquitted all of the accused. The crux of the defense's argument lay in doubts as to how much Defense Minister Gibbons knew of the affair, and whether or not he had given it his blessing. Because Haughey's testimony ran counter to that of Gibbons, and the evidence indicated ambiguity as to whether or not the ministry for defense had originally approved the arms importation, jury members concluded that the prosecution had not established the defendants' guilt.

IMPACT

In the fallout surrounding the arms crisis, the main beneficiary was Cosgrave. The trial had further weakened Lynch's leadership, splitting the Fianna Fáil party between those who adhered to the prime minister and supporters of Blaney, Haughey, and Boland. Cosgrave's Fine Gael party was able to draw political capital from this scandal and, in 1973, formed a coalition with the Irish Labour Party to oust Fianna Fáil from power; Cosgrave became prime minister and served until 1977.

Both Blaney and Haughey recovered from the scandal to serve in politics for the remainder of their lives. Haughey was prime minister three times. Luykx faded back into obscurity. John Kelly carved out a short-lived political career for himself in Northern Ireland as a member of the Sinn Féin party, but James Kelly had to retire from the army and devoted much of the remainder of his days trying to clear his reputation.

The arms crisis and its revelations did much to heighten suspicion among the Ulster Unionists and in British intelligence circles of the involvement of Lynch's government in the Nationalist movement, acting to sharpen attitudes on both sides in what was even then degenerating into a bloody, drawn-out conflict in Northern Ireland.

—Raymond Pierre Hylton

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SEE ALSO: Oct. 25, 1924: Forged Communist Letter Brings Down British Government; Nov. 13, 1986-May 4, 1989: Iran-Contra Weapons Scandal Taints Reagan's Administration; 2001: Clearstream Financial Clearinghouse Is Accused of Fraud and Money Laundering.

June 13, 1971**NEW YORK TIMES PUBLISHES THE PENTAGON PAPERS**

The publication of the Pentagon Papers, excerpts from classified documents outlining the history of U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War, scandalized the administration of U.S. president Richard Nixon and led to a series of court battles that challenged the rights of a free press to criticize the government.

LOCALE: New York, New York**CATEGORIES:** Publishing and journalism; espionage; government; politics; law and the courts; military; ethics**KEY FIGURES**

Daniel Ellsberg (b. 1931), RAND analyst
Neil Sheehan (b. 1936), reporter for *The New York Times*

Richard Nixon (1913-1994), president of the United States, 1969-1974

Robert McNamara (b. 1916), U.S. secretary of defense, 1961-1968

Mike Gravel (b. 1930), U.S. senator from Alaska, 1969-1981

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The publication of the Pentagon Papers was the culmination of a long-term effort by Daniel Ellsberg, an analyst at RAND, to expose the U.S. government's mishandling of the Vietnam War and efforts by a series of government officials to mislead the American public about the conduct of the war. Ellsberg was part of a team working on a top-secret report commissioned by U.S. secretary of defense Robert McNamara in 1967. The report would provide a historical record of U.S. involvement in Vietnam from the early 1950's through 1968. As Ellsberg read the various reports that exposed mismanagement, ineptitude, and outright deception on the part of federal officials and presidential administrations, he came to believe the course of the war might be changed if these documents became public.

During 1970 and 1971, Ellsberg and a friend, RAND employee Anthony J. Russo, smuggled most of the report's forty-seven volumes (about seven thousand pages) from top-secret safes at RAND and made photocopies of them. After several unsuccessful attempts to have congressional opponents of the war release the information, he convinced *New York Times* reporter Neil Sheehan, of the paper's Washington bureau, to take the papers to his editors in New York. Sheehan did this, and the paper decided to run a series of articles based on the report. *New York Times* editors planned a ten-part series and set up a secret operation to have reporters prepare the series before anyone in the Richard Nixon administration learned the documents, which came to be known as the Pentagon Papers, were outside government control.

The first article in the Pentagon Papers series, "The Covert War," ran on Sunday, June 13. The initial response by the national news media and the public was muted, however. President Nixon thought it might be best to ignore the matter but key aides thought otherwise. Both Henry Kissinger, his national security adviser, and Alexander Haig, Kissinger's chief assistant, recommended immediate action to stop publication of future installments. Haig, in particular, thought the publication of these documents was a criminal offense, claiming national security had been breached in a time of war. The two lobbied Nixon to have the U.S. Justice Department gain an injunction against the newspaper to stop further publication of the series.

Nixon also was encouraged to launch an investigation to determine who had provided the documents to the newspaper. Convinced that the series posed a threat to national security and to his administration's ability to continue the conduct of the war in secret, Nixon directed Attorney General John Mitchell to move aggressively against *The New York Times* and other news outlets that were already beginning their own series based on the same documents. Nixon also directed an immediate investiga-

tion to find the person responsible for leaking the information.

Nixon's reaction may seem to have been disproportionately harsh, but there were reasons he reacted as strongly as he did. Although the information in the Pentagon Papers did not reveal anything that could directly embarrass his administration, through their publication many Americans learned for the first time about the pattern of mismanagement and deception that placed the United States in an unwinnable conflict in Southeast Asia. By 1971, the Vietnam War was already unpopular, and although Nixon had run in 1968 on a platform promising to end the conflict, little had been done to de-escalate hostilities when the Pentagon Papers appeared. Their appearance simply confirmed what many Americans had suspected for some time: They had been systematically lied to by their elected officials, and the federal government that had for years been considered both trustworthy and honorable had squandered lives and resources in an effort to resolve an increasingly untenable political and military conflict. Although nothing in the Pentagon Papers pointed a finger at the present administration, Nixon's operation was equally discredited by implication. Unable to deal with such a blow to his reputation, the president was easily convinced that immediate and drastic action was necessary.

From Nixon's point of view, the situation began spiraling out of control almost immediately. Several days after the first article appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and other newspapers across the country began to report on the Pentagon Papers as well. Although the Justice Department was able to gain temporary injunctions to halt publication in several cities, it soon became clear that the damage to the administration's effort to manage the war in secret was already done. Federal

New York Times Publishes the Pentagon Papers

judges in several jurisdictions delivered different rulings on the government's petitions for suppression. In these cases, the government insisted that national security was threatened by publication of the Pentagon Papers. Attorneys for the newspapers argued that their clients were protected from prior restraint of publication by the First Amendment. The matter quickly reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which agreed to expedite its deliberations by holding an emergency session beginning June 26.

U.S. senator Mike Gravel of Alaska, an outspoken critic of the war, obtained a copy of the Pentagon Papers from Ellsberg and read some of the papers at a congressional subcommittee meeting, thus entering forty-one hundred pages of the papers into the *Congressional Record* on June 29 because they were now public record. It was now almost impossible to claim the documents should—or could—remain secret. The Nixon administration lost its battle to have publication suppressed on June 30, when the Supreme Court, in *New York Times Co. v. United States*, ruled that prior restraint from publi-



Daniel Ellsberg (left), pictured here at a news conference during the U.S. Supreme Court case involving *The New York Times* and its publishing of the Pentagon Papers. (AP/Wide World Photos)

IN DEFENSE OF THE FIRST AMENDMENT

In his opinion in the case of New York Times Co. v. United States, Supreme Court justice Hugo L. Black expressed his unwavering view of First Amendment rights.

I adhere to the view that the Government's case against the *Washington Post* should have been dismissed and that the injunction against the *New York Times* should have been vacated without oral argument when the cases were first presented to this Court. I believe that every moment's continuance of the injunctions against these newspapers amounts to a flagrant, indefensible, and continuing violation of the First Amendment. . . . In my view it is unfortunate that some of my Brethren are apparently willing to hold that the publication of news may sometimes be enjoined. Such a holding would make a shambles of the First Amendment. . . .

In the First Amendment the Founding Fathers gave the free press the protection it must have to fulfill its essential role in our democracy. The press was to serve the governed, not the governors. The Government's power to censor the press was abolished so that the press would remain forever free to censure the Government. The press was protected so that it could bare the secrets of government and inform the people. Only a free and unrestrained press can effectively expose deception in government. And paramount among the responsibilities of a free press is the duty to prevent any part of the government from deceiving the people and sending them off to distant lands to die of foreign fevers and foreign shot and shell. In my view, far from deserving condemnation for their courageous reporting, the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and other newspapers should be commended for serving the purpose that the Founding Fathers saw so clearly. In revealing the workings of government that led to the Vietnam war, the newspapers nobly did precisely that which the Founders hoped and trusted they would do. . . .

To find that the President has "inherent power" to halt the publication of news by resort to the courts would wipe out the First Amendment and destroy the fundamental liberty and security of the very people the Government hopes to make "secure." No one can read the history of the adoption of the First Amendment without being convinced beyond any doubt that it was injunctions like those sought here that Madison and his collaborators intended to outlaw in this Nation for all time.

their release. Sources inside the government had quickly narrowed the list of individuals who might have carried out such an initiative, and Ellsberg was considered the most likely suspect. Ellsberg had gone into hiding when the first *New York Times* article appeared. When he finally surfaced at the end of June, 1971, he was arrested and charged with theft, conspiracy, and espionage. Russo, too, was arrested.

The Nixon administration moved aggressively to build a case against Ellsberg. After officials learned Ellsberg had been under the care of a psychiatrist, they organized a break-in at the doctor's office to steal documents they thought might be used to incriminate Ellsberg. For Nixon, these criminal activities came to light sometime later, when the U.S. Congress began investigating the administration's role in the break-in at the Watergate Hotel complex in 1972. As a result, the Pentagon Papers case was once again in the news, and the exposure of governmental misconduct led to the dropping of charges against Ellsberg.

IMPACT

The immediate impact of the publication of the Pentagon Papers, which would earn the paper a Pulitzer Prize in 1972, was to fuel the already growing sentiment of distrust felt by many Americans toward the federal government, especially with respect

to its handling of the war in Vietnam. Much more insidious and ultimately more devastating was the impact of the case on the Nixon administration and for the president personally.

Although he could no longer keep information in the Pentagon Papers a secret, Nixon decided he could still pursue the individual responsible for

Another significant impact of the case was a legal one. The Supreme Court's ruling in favor of *The New York Times* permitted American newspapers to

continue publishing information from the Pentagon Papers. Legally, the justices actually upheld the principle that prior restraint of publication is sometimes permissible, but by refusing to stop publication of the Pentagon Papers they set a high standard for the government to meet for requests of prior restraint.

One further impact was the effect of Nixon's attempt to gain information that could be used to discredit Ellsberg. The president authorized the creation of a special team of operatives who would work clandestinely to obtain damaging materials. The larger mission of this group was to find ways to stop leaks of information from the government. Within White House circles, the group became known as the Plumbers, and it staged a raid on the offices of Ellsberg's psychiatrist in 1971. A year later, working with the Committee to Re-Elect the President, the Plumbers conducted an infamous attempt to obtain materials from the Democratic National Committee's offices in the Watergate complex in Washington, D.C. The arrest of some of these intruders eventually exposed the dark underside of the Nixon administration's attempts to manipulate public opinion, discredit those who opposed the administration, and conduct illegal operations under the cloak of national security. The ultimate result of relentless congressional pressure on the White House led to Nixon's resignation from the presidency on August 8, 1974.

—Laurence W. Mazzeno

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New York Times *Publishes the Pentagon Papers*

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August 20, 1971

ABUSIVE ROLE-PLAYING ENDS STANFORD PRISON EXPERIMENT

In an attempt to discover whether human nature is inherently good or evil, Philip Zimbardo and his team of researchers conducted an experiment in which two dozen young men played roles as prisoners and guards in a mock prison. The actions of the participants shocked not only researchers but also the participants themselves. The experiment, which was to last fourteen days, ended after only six days because of prisoner abuse and dehumanization.

LOCALE: Stanford, California

CATEGORIES: Psychology and psychiatry; ethics; violence; science and technology; education

KEY FIGURE

Philip Zimbardo (b. 1933), American psychologist and professor

SUMMARY OF EVENT

The Stanford prison experiment was a psychological study in role-playing that divided subject-volunteers into incarcerated prisoners and working guards in a mock prison. Within the first few days of the experiment, the guards became physically abusive, even sadistic, toward the prisoners. After a planned prison break and the emotional breakdown of more than one participant, the experiment was ended. Although originally designed to last two weeks, the research was terminated prematurely, after only six days.

Twenty-four healthy, middle-class young men were selected from those who responded to a newspaper advertisement asking for volunteers for a prison-simulation experiment. By a flip of a coin the twenty-four volunteers were divided into two groups, comprising twelve prisoners and twelve prison guards. Nine guards and nine prisoners started the experiment and the others were held on reserve in case their services were needed. Those

who were designated prisoners were “arrested” by real police officers, fingerprinted, booked, and then brought to a simulated prison built in the basement of the psychology building at Stanford University. They then were stripped, deloused, and issued a smock to wear as part of their prison uniform. Prisoners were given numbers in place of names and were forced to wear a ball and chain at all times to remind them they could not escape. To further add to the anonymity, the prisoners’ heads were covered with nylon-stocking caps to simulate shaven heads.

The prison guards were given a khaki uniform, a whistle, a nightstick, and a pair of mirrored sunglasses that prevented the prisoners from seeing his eyes. Guards were expected to work one of three eight-hour shifts throughout the day but were otherwise given very little guidance as to how to fulfill their roles. The warden and guards prepared a list of rules for their prison that included the decrees that prisoners were to address each other by their numbers only and that the guards were always to be referred to as Mr. Correctional Officer or Mr. Chief Correctional Officer. To help prisoners accept their situation as reality, they were forbidden to make reference to the experiment or simulation.

The guards were quick to tell the prisoners that they would be punished if they did not obey the rules. In no time, the guards learned to assert their authority over the prisoners. For example, they forced them to do push-ups, sometimes with the weight of other prisoners on their backs, and denied them basic privileges, such as using the toilet.

On the morning of the second day the prisoners had had enough of the experiment. They barricaded themselves in their cells, removed their stocking caps, and removed the numbers from their smocks. The guards responded by calling in the three reserve guards, ending the prisoner rebellion. They stripped the prisoners, removed their cots, and began to taunt them. To prevent future outbreaks the guards de-

cided to design a special-privilege cell, in which certain prisoners were allowed to eat while the others, temporarily denied food, watched. This privilege decreased the solidarity among the prisoners and increased the prison guards' bond for keeping control.

Hence, the experiment began to affect the prison guards as well, and the prisoners seemed more willing to submit to the guards' abuse. The guards started to believe that the prisoners were a threat to their authority. Throughout the six days of the experiment, the guards steadily became more aggressive in their punishment, dehumanization, and humiliation of the prisoners. One prisoner was released after only thirty-six hours because he began to suffer from an acute emotional disturbance, or breakdown.

The prisoners had responded to their situation in a variety of ways. Some tried to obey all the rules and do exactly as the guards told them. Others rebelled and fought the system. One prisoner acquired what he said was a rash after learning that his request for parole had been denied. More and more prisoners began to suffer emotionally, and some cried.

In a period of five days, the prison witnessed several other incidents, including the following: Prison guards had neutralized the threat of a prison break twice; all the prisoners had come before a parole board and were denied parole; the prison had a parents' visitation day; and a clergyman was brought in to talk to the prisoners. Guards who had never been late for a shift had become sadistic in their attempts to control the prisoners, and the prisoners themselves were withdrawing and experiencing mental and emotional trauma. It was on the fifth day that researchers were clear that the study had to end.

On the sixth and final day of the experiment, prisoners, guards, and staff met to discuss the simulation. Many said they were startled by how quickly prisoners were dehumanized, and the guards told researchers that their sense of human value was destroyed—if just temporarily. The power each guard was given transformed that guard from a benign Dr. Jekyll to an evil Mr. Hyde.

IMPACT

As might be expected, the volunteer prisoners expected to be harassed, receive a minimally adequate diet, and lose some of their rights. Indeed, the volunteers were informed of these consequences in the consent agreements they signed before the start of the experiment. However, no one could predict how rapidly and how considerably the guards and prisoners would adjust to the roles expected of them and to internalize their power, or lack thereof. Zimbardo would attribute three underlying conditions that led to the extreme internalization of those prescribed roles: indistinguishable prisoners, lack of accountability, and anonymity among guards.

In his later work, Zimbardo continued to study how good people become wicked when put in positions of authority. Although the Stanford prison experiment has never been replicated, by Zimbardo or any other researchers, parallels have been drawn between this study and real-life incidents of the abuse of power, such as in Nazi Germany or at Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq. Zimbardo has asserted that even though some students in his prison simulation showed symptoms of mental or emotional breakdown, none suffered any long-term harm.

The true impact of this study has been debated in academic circles. Some argued that the experiment proves human nature is not as benign as society wishes to believe. Others note the lack of an independent variable and believe that the experiment was fatally flawed. Similarly, the morality of this experiment has sparked controversy. Finally, modern consent laws and erring on the side of protecting research subjects in academic studies likely would prevent a replication of the Stanford experiment.

—Kathryn A. Cochran

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January 28, 1972

CLIFFORD IRVING ADMITS FAKING HOWARD HUGHES MEMOIRS

Author Clifford Irving sold the manuscript of a fabricated memoir of Howard Hughes to McGraw-Hill and Life magazine. Media frenzy followed announcement of the book’s publication, and Hughes reportedly came out of seclusion to refute the work. Irving, his wife, Edith, and author Richard Suskind were imprisoned for their roles in the fraud. Edith Irving served additional time in Switzerland for embezzlement and forgery.

ALSO KNOWN AS: Hughes-Irving hoax

LOCALE: New York, New York

CATEGORIES: Forgery; hoaxes, frauds, and charlatanism; publishing and journalism; literature; plagiarism

KEY FIGURES

Clifford Irving (b. 1930), American novelist

Edith Irving (fl. 1970’s), artist, married to Clifford Irving

Howard Hughes (1905-1976), industrialist, aviator, and film producer

Richard Suskind (1925-1999), children’s-book author and friend of the Irvings

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Howard Hughes, the infamous film producer, aviator, and billionaire industrialist, was an eccentric recluse by 1971. Clifford Irving, an American novelist, was eking out a living in Spain with his fourth wife, Edith. Irving had enjoyed some success writing *Fake* (1969), a book about Hungarian art forger Elmyr de Hory, when he got the idea to write a book about Hughes.

Calling upon his publisher McGraw-Hill, Irving claimed he had been in contact with Hughes and wanted permission to tell Hughes that McGraw-Hill was his publisher and that he would be interested in working with Hughes as his biographer. In his book about the experience, *Hoax* (1981), Irving noted that because Hughes was such a recluse, possibly even dead, he believed he would not come out of seclusion after the book’s publication. Furthermore, Irving thought that Hughes’s eccentricities would help him cover any of the more implausible aspects of his story. He further believed that if he were caught, he could simply give the money back.

Irving told Beverly Loo, his editor, and other executives at McGraw-Hill and *Life* magazine—who

had bought the serial rights to the book—that Hughes required total secrecy for the project. Irving provided McGraw-Hill and *Life* with letters he reportedly received from Hughes; however, Irving had forged the letters from copies of letters he had seen in a magazine article about Hughes. Knowing of Hughes's eccentricities, including that he had not been seen in public for more than a decade, McGraw-Hill and *Life* believed Irving and agreed to absolute secrecy. On March 23, 1971, Irving signed a contract with McGraw-Hill to write the autobiography. The publisher paid Irving a monetary advance, the bulk of which was to go to Hughes. Using an altered passport, Edith Irving would deposit the advances, in the form of checks, in the name of Helga R. Hughes (checks that were signed “H. R. Hughes”) in a Swiss bank account.

Irving claimed to have interviewed Hughes in Mexico, Puerto Rico, Florida, Los Angeles, and the Bahamas during meetings that were always arranged by Hughes. In his book, Irving notes that he wanted to have his first meeting with Hughes in the Bahamas, but all flights for the weekend in question were booked, so he and his lover, singer Nina van Pallandt, instead went to Oaxaca, Mexico, for the meeting. When the hoax unraveled, van Pallandt came out with her story about being with Irving in Mexico, which also led to a career boost for the singer.

Irving and Richard Suskind, who had been hired as Irving's researcher, were given access to the Hughes files of Time-Life (publisher of *Life* magazine). In addition, Irving and Suskind interviewed several people who knew Hughes, and in a stroke of luck, they were secretly given a manuscript of the ghostwritten memoirs of Noah Dietrich, a former business manager for Hughes. Irving and Suskind made a copy of this manuscript and used some of the details for their own fabricated autobiography.



Edith and Clifford Irving at their home in Ibiza, Spain, days before Clifford admitted his fraud. (Hulton Archive/Getty Images)

On September 12, 1971, Irving brought a manuscript of close to one thousand pages to the Elysee Hotel in New York City for executives from *Life* and McGraw-Hill to read. They were impressed with the material and convinced it was in Hughes's own words. McGraw-Hill went on to sell paperback rights to Dell and Book-of-the-Month Club, Inc., for a large profit. Irving added that Hughes had demanded one million dollars before he would authorize its publication. At this time, rumors had begun to circulate that another authorized Hughes biography was slated for publishing. Quickly, McGraw-Hill agreed to pay Hughes the extra money for permission to publish the work. On December 7, the company announced the book's March, 1972, release date; also, the story would be serialized in *Life* magazine. Representatives of Hughes Tool Company announced, in turn, that the soon-to-be-published book was a fraud.

On December 14, Hughes company attorney Chester Davis called a meeting at Time-Life with Irving, several executives, and reporter Frank McCulloch and then called Hughes on the phone. He put McCulloch on the line to speak with him.

(McCulloch reportedly was the last journalist to have spoken to Hughes before he went into seclusion.) McCulloch, who confirmed that Hughes was indeed on the phone, said that Hughes insisted the manuscript was a fake.

To refute the claims against him, Irving appeared on the CBS news show *60 Minutes* with Mike Wallace to say that the manuscript was authentic. McGraw-Hill representatives countered claims that the planned book was a fake by saying they had handwritten notes from Hughes, as well as a cashed check. Experts later indicated that the handwriting, including the signature on the check, was indeed that of Hughes. Hughes himself held a rare teleconference on January 9 with several reporters he knew. He said that he had never met Irving and reiterated that the book was a forgery. Davis filed suit against McGraw-Hill, *Life*, Dell, and Irving.

On January 19, 1972, investigators revealed that the H. R. Hughes who had been depositing the checks in Switzerland was not Howard Hughes but Edith Irving. On January 28, the Irvings admitted that the memoir was a hoax. The following day, McGraw-Hill announced that it was postponing the memoir's publication.

On March 13, Irving pleaded guilty to fraud and was sentenced to seventeen months in prison. Edith Irving received a light sentence in the United States, but in Switzerland, where she deposited the forged Hughes checks in a Swiss bank account, she was found guilty of forgery and embezzlement and was sentenced to two years in prison. Suskind, for his role in the scam, served five months of a six-month sentence. The Irvings later divorced, and *The Autobiography of Howard Hughes* was published in a private edition in 1999. In 2008, the work was released as *Howard Hughes: My Story* by British publisher John Blake.

IMPACT

The Irvings succeeded in creating one of the greatest hoaxes in American history. Although the Hughes autobiography was never formally published as authentic, the scandal surrounding its near publication, as well as the extent to which the Irvings duped publishing executives, editors, and

others, made it one of the first fake memoirs to be exposed in the press. Indeed, the *International Herald Tribune* called the book “the most famous unpublished book of the 20th century.”

In the immediate aftermath of the hoax, journalists began looking for similar fakes, and unluckily for McGraw-Hill, they found them: One plagiarized work was *The Memoirs of Chief Red Fox* (1971). McGraw-Hill announced that it would be more careful in its fact-checking. Modern publishing is now more cautious, but while it is likely that no one could produce an autobiography of another living person in today's more skeptical publishing climate, people still write their own fabricated memoirs, which continue to appear in print. The popular memoirs of James Frey and J. T. LeRoy (Laura Albert), to take just two examples, were revealed to be fabrications after they were published. Some credit the Irving hoax for inspiring those fakes.

—Julie Elliott

FURTHER READING

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SEE ALSO: June 5, 1944: Australian Poets Claim Responsibility for a Literary Hoax; 1978: *Roots* Author Alex Haley Is Sued for Plagiarism; Dec. 3, 1989: Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, Doctoral-Thesis Plagiarism Is Revealed; Mar. 12, 1997: Prize-Winning Aborigine Novelist Revealed as a Fraud; Apr., 1998: Scottish Historian Is Charged with Plagiarism; May 11, 1998: Journalist Stephen Glass Is Exposed as a Fraud; June 18, 2001:

Historian Joseph J. Ellis Is Accused of Lying; Jan. 4, 2002: Historian Stephen E. Ambrose Is Accused of Plagiarism; Jan. 18, 2002: Historian Doris Kearns Goodwin Is Accused of Plagiarism; Oct. 25, 2002: Historian Michael A. Bellesiles Resigns After Academic Fraud Accusations; July 24, 2007: University of Colorado Fires Professor for Plagiarism and Research Falsification.

June 17, 1972-August 9, 1974

WATERGATE BREAK-IN LEADS TO PRESIDENT NIXON'S RESIGNATION

A burglary of the Democratic Party's national headquarters in Washington, D.C., was directly linked to the reelection campaign of Republican U.S. president Richard Nixon. The president tried to cover up the linkage, thereby making him an accessory to a crime. Nixon resigned in 1974, the first U.S. president to have done so, and several others were sent to prison for their roles in the scandal.

LOCALE: Washington, D.C.

CATEGORIES: Espionage; corruption; government; politics; organized crime and racketeering; publishing and journalism

KEY FIGURES

Richard Nixon (1913-1994), president of the United States, 1969-1974

John Mitchell (1913-1988), U.S. attorney general, 1969-1972, and chairman of the Committee to Re-Elect the President

James W. McCord, Jr. (b. 1924), head of security for the Committee to Re-Elect the President

John W. Dean (b. 1938), counsel to the president, 1969-1974

Carl Bernstein (b. 1944), reporter for *The Washington Post*

Bob Woodward (b. 1943), reporter for *The Washington Post*

E. Howard Hunt (1918-2007), White House employee, 1971-1973

G. Gordon Liddy (b. 1930), White House employee, 1969-1971, and member of the Committee to Re-Elect the President

W. Mark Felt (1913-2008), associate director, Federal Bureau of Investigation, 1971-1973

Frank Wills (1948-2000), Watergate Hotel security officer

SUMMARY OF EVENT

U.S. president Richard Nixon, a Republican, was running for reelection in 1972. His opponent, Democrat George McGovern, favored a rapid withdrawal of U.S. military forces in Vietnam. Believing that McGovern's election would have catastrophic consequences for the United States, Nixon urged his staff of the Committee to Re-Elect the President (CRP) to discredit his opponent. Often upset that information was leaked to the press to discredit him, Nixon had authorized the establishment of a "plumbers" unit, called the Special Investigations Unit, not only to fix the "leaks" but also obtain derogatory information about McGovern and others.

Accordingly, on May 28, 1972, James McCord, Jr., head of security for CRP, broke into the Democratic National Committee (DNC) headquarters at the Watergate Hotel to plant electronic eavesdrop-

ping devices. Two more break-ins occurred at the DNC offices.

During the early morning hours of June 17, after a briefing by CRP member G. Gordon Liddy, five persons broke into the DNC headquarters to photograph and steal documents. McCord, in command, was assisted by Bernard Barker, Virgilio Gonzales, Eugenio Martínez, and Frank Sturgis, all of whom were from Miami, Florida, and were connected in one way or another with the Central Intelligence Agency. Also, all were committed to the overthrow of the Cuban government of Fidel Castro. Most acted under the assumption that they were trying to prove that Castro gave money to the Democratic Party. Afterward, they burglarized the McGovern campaign headquarters as well.

Hotel security officer Frank Wills found and then removed tape on interior doors leading to the base-

ment garage that morning (June 17). The door was then retaped by one of the burglars, who had returned to the hotel complex. Wills, in turn, found the retaped doors ten minutes later and summoned District of Columbia police. Three plainclothes officers, who arrived in an unmarked car that failed to catch the attention of a lookout on the street outside the hotel, caught the five burglars in the act of breaking into the headquarters. In their arraignment the following afternoon, the accused pleaded not guilty to charges of attempted burglary and attempted interception of telephone and other communications. The prosecutor then obtained a warrant to search the rooms of the burglars who had been staying at the hotel; the search uncovered bugging equipment, tools, and forty-two hundred dollars in one hundred dollar bills.

Bob Woodward, a reporter for *The Washington*



Carl Bernstein, left, and Bob Woodward in 1973. The two Washington Post reporters broke the story of the Watergate break-in and conspiracy in the summer of 1972. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Post who covered the break-in story from the time of the first arraignment, checked out the names of the five accused burglars and discovered that one of them, McCord, was CRP's top security expert. With *Washington Post* veteran reporter Carl Bernstein, Woodward reported McCord's affiliation along with a denial by CRP chairman John Mitchell, later proved false, that he had any connection with the break-in. Bernstein and Woodward had a hunch, supported by *Washington Post* city editor Barry Sussman, that several persons would not have committed such a crime without a more sinister motive, so they began asking questions around town. So did other reporters.

Next, Bernstein flew to Miami, where the Dade County district attorney had launched its own investigation of the break-in. Martin Dardis, investigator on the case, had obtained a twenty-five thousand dollar cashier's check written on the CRP bank account to Kenneth Dahlberg, top CRP Midwest fund-raiser, which had been deposited into the real estate firm of one of the accused burglars, Barker. (During World War II, Dardis rescued Dahlberg during a battle, so they remained close friends.) The check was an anonymous donation to CRP by a Midwest business executive who was not connected to Watergate. Dahlberg had exchanged the check for cash, leaving the uncashed check at CRP headquarters in Washington, D.C. The check was a payment to Barker for his role in "dirty tricks" operations.

On August 1, Woodward and Bernstein elevated the break-in from a mere burglary to a conspiracy when they reported the link between the CRP check and one of the burglars. They had identified a money-laundering scheme for illegal operations, in which the Watergate burglary was only one operation.

As a reporter for local District of Columbia news, Woodward had established few contacts inside government. Bernstein also lacked relevant contacts. When their further inquiries led nowhere, the associate director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), W. Mark Felt, volunteered information on Nixon but only on condition of anonymity and through clandestine meetings in a basement

garage. Felt was labeled Deep Throat by *Washington Post* managing editor Howard Simons. The identity of Deep Throat, although much speculated on, was not revealed until 2005.

Rather than placing the five on trial as ordinary burglars, prosecutors probed deeper and referred the matter to a federal grand jury to determine who had ordered them to commit the crime. As a result, the five were indicted on September 15 with CRP employees Liddy and E. Howard Hunt, Jr., for conspiracy, burglary, and violation of federal wiretapping laws.

On September 29, Bernstein and Woodward reported that CRP chairman Mitchell, while attorney general, controlled a secret fund to conduct intelligence-gathering activities against the Democrats. The FBI also was investigating, and it corroborated the reporters' suspicion that the break-in was part of CRP spying. The two reporters, on October 10, published their news story, linking the break-in to CRP and making a connection to Nixon.

The trial of the seven conspirators was delayed until after the 1972 election, when Nixon defeated McGovern by a landslide. On January 11, 1973, three days after the trial began, Hunt pleaded guilty, as did four of the original burglars on January 15. On January 30, in the court of Judge John J. Sirica, Liddy and McCord were convicted of burglary, conspiracy to commit burglary, and illegal wiretapping. Sentencing was delayed while Sirica sought additional information from those found guilty.

On February 7, based mostly on the August 1, 1972, news story, the U.S. Senate voted 77-0 to authorize a special committee to investigate the matter, which appeared to involve high-ranking officials of the Nixon administration. The committee chairman, Senator Sam Ervin, then issued subpoenas to various officials in preparation for hearings.

On March 19, McCord, one of the original five burglars, responded to various questions from Sirica. He intimated that efforts had been undertaken to cover up the connection between the burglars and those who hired them, who were much higher up in CRP and even in the White House. He said that perjury had been committed during the trial and that those who pleaded guilty had been

pressured to do so. On April 17, the White House denied prior knowledge of the Watergate break-in. Nixon, however, did know and had discussed how to cover up his role in discussions with his White House lawyer, John W. Dean III. Meanwhile, Dean privately informed the Senate committee of Nixon’s culpability. On April 30, Nixon announced the firing of Dean and the resignations of White House advisers Bob Haldeman and John Ehrlichman. His aim was to appear to punish those implicated in the Watergate affair and thereby to suggest that he had no connection with or prior knowledge of the break-in or the cover-up.

Senate hearings began May 17. What eventually emerged from testimony before the Senate was the knowledge that Nixon was intimately involved in

the Watergate break-in, the cover-up, and a domestic espionage program beyond the Watergate affair. There were many calls for an investigation by the Department of Justice (DOJ), but there also were suspicions that an independent inquiry by subordinates of Nixon could not be objective. On May 19, accordingly, Attorney General Elliot Richardson named Archibald Cox as a special prosecutor for the DOJ to investigate.

During testimony before Senator Ervin’s committee on July 16, the deputy assistant to the president, Alexander Butterfield, confirmed that Nixon had been taping his conversations. Cox, Ervin, and Sirica subpoenaed the tapes. Nixon initially refused, but district and appeals courts ordered him to hand over the tapes; he agreed to release some.

NIXON TAPES

On Friday, June 23, 1972, White House chief of staff Bob Haldeman and President Richard M. Nixon discussed the progress of the FBI’s investigation into the Watergate break-in, in particular the tracing of the source of the money found on the burglars. Nixon and Haldeman proposed having the CIA tell the FBI to halt its investigation by claiming that the break-in was a national security operation. The following is an excerpt from the transcript of the recorded conversation:

HALDEMAN: Now, on the investigation, you know, the Democratic break-in thing, we’re back to the . . . problem area because the FBI is not under control, because [FBI director L. Patrick] Gray doesn’t exactly know how to control them, and . . . their investigation is now leading into some productive areas, because they’ve been able to trace the money, not through the money itself, but through the bank, you know, sources—the banker himself. And, and it goes in some directions we don’t want it to go. Ah, also there have been some things, like an informant came in off the street to the FBI in Miami, who was a photographer or has a friend who is a photographer who developed some films through this guy, Barker, and the films had pictures of Democratic National Committee letterhead documents and things. So I guess, so it’s things like that that are gonna, that are filtering in. . . .

PRESIDENT: Right.

HALDEMAN: That the way to handle this now is for us to have Walters call Pat Gray and just say, “Stay the hell out of this . . . this is ah, business here we don’t want you to go any further on it.” That’s not an unusual development . . .

PRESIDENT: Um huh.

HALDEMAN: . . . and, uh, that would take care of it.

PRESIDENT: What about Pat Gray, ah, you mean he doesn’t want to?

HALDEMAN: Pat does want to. He doesn’t know how to, and he doesn’t have, he doesn’t have any basis for doing it. Given this, he will then have the basis. He’ll call Mark Felt in, and the two of them . . . and Mark Felt wants to cooperate because . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: He’s ambitious . . .

PRESIDENT: Yeah.

HALDEMAN: Ah, he’ll call him in and say, “We’ve got the signal from across the river to, to put the hold on this.” And that will fit rather well because the FBI agents who are working the case, at this point, feel that’s what it is. This is CIA.

PRESIDENT: But they’ve traced the money to ’em.

HALDEMAN: Well they have, they’ve traced to a name, but they haven’t gotten to the guy yet.

PRESIDENT: Would it be somebody here?

However, eighteen and one-half minutes of one tape had been erased on five separate occasions, suggesting yet another effort by Nixon to cover up his role. Nixon then tried to avoid handing over the rest of the tapes, instead offering to release edited transcripts. The transcripts, released in installments up to April 30, 1974, revealed a Machiavellian president using foul language. The U.S. Supreme Court, by a vote of 8-0, ordered the tapes released on July 24.

Meanwhile, the House Judiciary Committee began impeachment hearings against the president on May 9. By the end of July, the committee adopted three articles of impeachment (for obstruction of justice, abuse of power, and refusal to abide by lawful congressional subpoenas). On August 5, Nixon released tapes proving that he ordered the cover-up of the break-in, whereupon Republican Party members of Congress who had been loyal to him indicated that they would vote to remove him from office. On August 8, Nixon announced his resignation, effective at noon the following day. Vice President Gerald R. Ford was sworn in as the next U.S. president.

IMPACT

Nixon's misconduct remained under investigation after his resignation. On September 8, Ford issued a "full free and absolute" pardon of Nixon for "all offenses against the United States" committed from January 20, 1969, to August 9, 1974. Forty senior government officials were indicted for various crimes. Eighteen, including Dean, Ehrlichman, Haldeman, Hunt, Liddy, McCord, and Mitchell, served time in prison.

Subsequently, Congress and reporters probed more deeply into government operations, finding scandals of various sorts. Congress passed many laws, including the Privacy Act of 1974 and the Government in the Sunshine Act of 1976 (both amendments to the Freedom of Information Act of 1966), to restrict presidential power and to make executive operations more accountable and transparent.



Richard Nixon leaves the White House on August 9, 1974, his final day as president of the United States. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Nixon later tried to redeem his reputation by writing insightful books about politics, appearing as an elder statesman providing wisdom to those in power. However, more than two hundred hours of additional tapes were released as late as 1996 and 1997, revealing Nixon as an anti-Semite who had an intense desire to demonstrate that his "enemies" were disreputable by informing the press of real or manufactured derogatory information. His many accomplishments as president remain overshadowed by an unflattering image in some quarters that he was manipulative, paranoid, and vindictive, while his defenders still believe that he was unjustifiably persecuted.

As a result of the Watergate scandal, a pattern emerged among public officials inside U.S. government. Those who disagree with policy are now

more inclined to leak secrets to the press to sabotage unpopular policy making. The scandal also led to public cynicism in government, producing a distrust that remains a part of the political environment in the United States. Finally, later scandals—notably Irangate, Koreagate, and Monicagate—have been ascribed the suffix “gate,” which testifies to the legacy of Watergate.

—Michael Haas

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SEE ALSO: 1904: Theodore Roosevelt Is Accused of Accepting Corporate Funds; Sept. 23, 1952: Richard Nixon Denies Taking Illegal Campaign Contributions; Mar. 1, 1967: Adam Clayton Powell, Jr., Is Excluded from Congress; May 9, 1969: Supreme Court Justice Abe Fortas Is Ac-

cused of Bribery; June 13, 1971: *New York Times* Publishes the Pentagon Papers; July 31, 1972: Thomas F. Eagleton Withdraws from Vice Presidential Race; Oct. 10, 1973: Spiro T. Agnew Resigns Vice Presidency in Disgrace; May 14, 1974: *Washington Post* Reveals That the Nixons Received Jewelry Gifts; Oct. 7, 1974: Congress-

man Wilbur D. Mills's Stripper Affair Leads to His Downfall; Oct. 11, 1979: Senate Denounces Herman E. Talmadge for Money Laundering; Aug. 5, 1994: Kenneth Starr Is Appointed to the Whitewater Investigation; Jan. 17, 1998: President Bill Clinton Denies Sexual Affair with a White House Intern.

June 22, 1972

POLICE ARREST ARCHITECT JOHN POULSON FOR BRIBERY AND FRAUD

John Poulson, a third-rate modernist architect, bribed public officials to gain business contracts in the United Kingdom and around the globe. When his empire collapsed, his bankruptcy case revealed massive corruption that involved politicians from both political parties and at all levels of government.

LOCALES: Leeds and London, England

CATEGORIES: Business; law and the courts; corruption; government

KEY FIGURES

John Poulson (1910-1993), British architect

Thomas Daniel Smith (1915-1993), Labour Party politician who helped Poulson by bribing officials

Sir Herbert Butcher (1901-1966), friend and adviser to Poulson

George Pottinger (1916-1997), Scottish civil servant

Reginald Maudling (1917-1979), former Chancellor of the Exchequer who directed several Poulson-owned companies

Frank Thomas (fl. 1970's), head of Poulson's London office

SUMMARY OF EVENT

John Poulson was not a gifted architect, but he had drive and the ability to recognize talent, seek out the weaknesses of others, and exploit them fully to his

benefit. Shortly after he left school as a youth in 1927, his father obtained a job for him with the architectural firm of Garside and Pennington in his hometown of Pontefract. The firm sent him to Leeds University to take classes part-time, but after three years he failed his exams. This did not impress the new owner of the business, and Poulson was fired.

In 1932, Poulson's father gave him £50 and with it he established his own firm, eking out a living until World War II. Timing became the key to his success. If he had attempted to establish himself as an architect without credentials a few years later, the Royal Institute of British Architects (RIBA) would have required him to pass his examinations to become a licensed architect. A medical deferment meant that he had less competition during the war, which in turn helped his business grow and allowed him to secure government contacts. His lack of skill led him to embrace the International Style of architecture, which used industrial and prefabricated materials. After 1945, traditional architecture was whole-heartedly rejected in favor of this new type of design.

Following World War II, the new Labour Party government sought to direct Great Britain's limited resources to rebuilding, particularly in areas of high unemployment. Poulson began to make friends with members of the Labour Party and, through them, government officials. He had an uncanny ability to "invest" in individuals. George Pottinger

was a good example of such an individual. A civil servant, he rose quickly through the ranks to become private secretary to the secretary of state of Scotland. Poulson lavished him with money, a home, suits, and multiple vacations. Graham Tunbridge was another contact. A surveyor for the eastern division of the new British Rail, he gave Poulson a few contracts for railwaymen's cottages. Ten years later, Tunbridge oversaw 270,000 acres of land in the southern region and was more than willing to help the Yorkshire architect get railway contracts. While some of these schemes were never realized, Poulson still profited through commissions.

During the 1950's, Poulson turned to the lucrative fields of town planning and urban revitalization. With the help of Thomas Daniel Smith, a Labour Party power broker, Poulson was able to bribe local politicians to secure contracts for schools, public housing, and town centers. Poulson earned a reputation for delivering on time and under budget. To do this, he worked his staff beyond reasonable limits, micromanaged each job site, and when he could, used the cheapest materials. In 1958, on the advice of his friend, Sir Herbert Butcher, Poulson established a servicing company to reduce his taxes and created an inclusive firm that covered every aspect of construction.

While Poulson's power only seemed to grow, a series of events during the mid-1960's led to his ruin. Every time the Yorkshire architect began a new venture, he seemed to start a new company. By the middle of the decade, he had more than six hundred employees, and it became increasingly impossible to keep track of quality control. He also was working with too many other firms at once, and on several occasions found two of his allies competing for the same project. While Poulson still won the bid, it did not endear him to others. Smith helped get him on a short list to redo the city center of Belfast, but the architect's brusque manner cost him the contract. Afterward, Smith began to distance himself from Poulson. That same year, Labour won the general election and Butcher encouraged his friend to start building overseas. Unfortunately for Poulson, his mentor died in 1965, so he turned to former

Chancellor of the Exchequer Reginald Maudling as a replacement.

In 1966, Poulson became obsessed with building a hospital on Gozo, an island belonging to Malta. Many of his contacts were losing their usefulness, but he used this problem to attract new attention to himself. The RIBA, already concerned by Poulson's business ethics, tried to prevent the deal, so the architect turned to Maudling. The Conservative member of Parliament (MP) succeeded in pressing his benefactor's case, but it cost Poulson more than £30,000. He was now spending more than his profits just to win contracts. He had invested in a prefabricated design, the Open System Building, with Smith, which cost more than its competitors to construct.

In 1967, a civil war in Nigeria cost Poulson his most lucrative overseas contract. The next year, he lost roughly £150,000 in a failed hospital deal in Mexico. At this stage, Britain's tax agency began to demand £234,000 in back taxes. Poulson was all but bankrupt, and by the end of 1969 the chief shareholders in his firms forced him out in a reorganization plan.

Poulson might have disappeared into obscurity if it had not been for £1,300. Frank Thomas had run Poulson's London office and, like many others, sued his former employer. Poulson had kept meticulous files. He could have blackmailed all those he bribed. Instead, to avoid paying Thomas, Poulson decided in January, 1972, to seek bankruptcy for £1,300. It took six months to go through his papers. He survived the first hearing in June intact, but midway through the second hearing on July 3, he implicated Smith, Pottinger, and Maudling, who was now the British home secretary.

In the fall of 1972, Granada TV began an investigative piece about Poulson for its series *World in Action*. The episode, "Friends and Influence of John L. Poulson," was scheduled to air January 29, 1973, but the Independent Broadcasting Authority pulled the program for fear of a libel suit. The episode was rescheduled for February 5 but was pulled again. Out of frustration, the staff at Granada showed a blank screen in its place. Under mounting pressure from all sides, the show finally aired as "The Rise

and Fall of John Poulson” on April 30. Two months later, on June 22, the architect was arrested and charged with corruption.

IMPACT

Poulson was convicted on February 11, 1974. The case had taken fifty-two days, relied on the testimony of one hundred witnesses, and led to the conviction of twenty other individuals (nine councilors, four officials in national industries, three civil servants, two local government officers, a journalist, and a builder). Poulson received a sentence of seven years in prison; Smith got six years and Pottinger five.

For two years, Maudling succeeded in distancing himself from Poulson. Finally, the House of Commons launched an investigation in 1976. Maudling kept his seat but lost his position within the Conservative hierarchy. Until his death in 1979, he fought in the courts to prevent anything about the case or his involvement appearing in book form. Smith, Labour’s deputy prime minister, also lost his position. MP Albert Roberts successfully defended himself before the house, but another MP, John Cordle, chose to avoid more publicity and thus resigned. With Poulson, Smith, and Maudling dead by 1993, Peter Flannery wrote a fictionalized version of the architect’s career, which aired on British television as a nine-episode series in 1996.

—*Edmund D. Potter*

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July 8-22, 1972

JANE FONDA'S VISIT TO NORTH VIETNAM OUTRAGES MANY AMERICANS

American film star Jane Fonda became a political activist during the late 1960's. In 1972, she sparked great controversy when she visited Hanoi, North Vietnam, during the Vietnam War. Fonda's critics considered her visit and public actions in Hanoi to be a deep betrayal, even treasonous. Fonda, dubbed Hanoi Jane by her detractors, never could shake the controversy, which would follow her through her career.

LOCALE: Hanoi, North Vietnam (now in Vietnam)

CATEGORIES: Public morals; politics; social issues and reform

KEY FIGURES

Jane Fonda (b. 1937), American film star, social and political activist, and entrepreneur

Tom Hayden (b. 1939), American social and political activist, second husband of Fonda, California state politician

Nguyen Duy Trinh (1910-1985), foreign minister of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, 1965-1975

SUMMARY OF EVENT

Jane Fonda, daughter of actor Henry Fonda, began her career as a model, began acting on the Broadway stage during the 1950's, and then moved into film. During the 1960's, she acted in seventeen movies, including the role of an erotic queen in the cult classic *Barbarella* (1968), which was directed by her first husband, Roger Vadim. In 1969, Fonda took on a new role as a political activist. She joined American Indian protestors in their occupation of Alcatraz Island in San Francisco Bay and was arrested. It was the first of many social and political stands for Fonda. In an era of social unrest and growing opposition to the Vietnam War, Fonda's onscreen and personal life became much more politically charged.

In 1972, Fonda received an invitation to visit Hanoi in North Vietnam (now Vietnam). Her activist friend and future husband, Tom Hayden, encouraged her to accept the offer and helped make arrangements for the visit. A strong opponent of war and of U.S. president Richard Nixon, Fonda hoped her presence in North Vietnam would intensify public debate and anger over the war and help refute Nixon's claim that U.S. involvement in the conflict was scaling back. Although other antiwar activists had visited North Vietnam without much ado, Fonda's trip provoked decades of controversy and affected her public image.

On July 8, Fonda journeyed from the United States to Paris, France, where her husband, Vadim, resided. She then flew to Moscow in the Soviet Union and then traveled via Aeroflot Russian Airlines to Hanoi. She journeyed incognito, simply dressed and alone, without companionship from Hayden, who could not travel at that time. Upon her arrival, Fonda was greeted by five uniformed North Vietnamese servicemen representing the Vietnam Committee for Solidarity with the American People. They welcomed the famous actor, who was now well known for voicing strong criticism of U.S. involvement in war in Southeast Asia. Accompanied by her hosts, Fonda began an escorted two-week tour of North Vietnam.

During her first few days in Hanoi, Fonda visited three hospitals: the Vietnam-Soviet Friendship Hospital, where she reported experiencing air raids while being treated for a foot injury; Bach Mai Hospital, where she noted damage from bombs; and Viet Duc Hospital, which allegedly had been doing research on babies with birth disorders attributed to chemicals used in warfare. Over the next few days, Fonda also visited schools, factories, towns, and dikes that the North Vietnamese had chosen as examples of sites reportedly bombed by Americans. She also toured Hanoi's War Crimes Museum, a collection of war relics apparently left in the coun-

try by American servicemembers. Fonda was horrified by the visible destruction of the region and by the artillery at the museum. The friendliness of the people she met during her tour confirmed what she already believed: It was wrong for the United States to be involved in North Vietnam. Her beliefs proved to be opportune for North Vietnam, but they stirred controversy in the United States, a controversy unabated into the twenty-first century.

Fonda soon agreed to produce ten Radio Hanoi propaganda broadcasts expressing her view of what she had been witnessing. These broadcasts, including both live and taped performances, were aired from July 14 to July 22 to U.S. military personnel, South Vietnamese soldiers, and local citizens. The broadcasts portrayed the people of North Vietnam as victims. They were described as simple folk who merely wished to return to their former calm lives and to run their own government. Fonda's radio broadcasts also criticized U.S. involvement in the conflict, lashed out at Nixon and U.S. military leaders, called American prisoners of war (POWs) "war criminals," and pleaded for U.S. pilots and servicemembers to return home. Fonda soon earned the nickname Hanoi Jane, and her radio addresses are now compared to those of Mildred Gillars, otherwise known as Axis Sally, who conducted German propaganda broadcasts during World War II.

Near the end of her stay in North Vietnam, Fonda was invited to a press conference with several American POWs. The meeting took place under the surveillance of North Vietnamese officials. During her interview, Fonda introduced herself as a war protestor and then asked the POWs about their health and feelings of safety. Because the POWs responded positively, Fonda considered all to be well with them and reported this when she returned to the United States. Her conviction that the POWs were treated humanely proved detrimental later in her career. After POWs returned home, many reported maltreatment, but Fonda insisted that what she saw was the only truth.

On her last day in Hanoi, Fonda's hosts guided her to a military site. Dressed in Vietnamese-made clothing and a military helmet, Fonda exchanged songs with the Vietnamese soldiers. Afterward she

Fonda's Visit to North Vietnam Outrages Americans

sat in the gunner's seat of a North Vietnamese anti-aircraft gun and, still smiling, viewed anti-aircraft military shells. She posed and laughed while seated on an instrument used to destroy U.S. aircraft. On that same day, Fonda also met with several senior North Vietnamese officials, including Foreign Minister Nguyen Duy Trinh. She was allowed to leave the country carrying a twenty-minute film of her visit.

IMPACT

After returning from North Vietnam, Fonda joined Hayden and others in creating the national antiwar organization Indochina Peace Campaign (IPC), which included a two-month tour that raised funds for and supported their war protests. This campaign became the roots of IPC Productions, later known as Jane Fonda Films (which produced films such as

1970's



Jane Fonda speaks to reporters in New York City after her trip to North Vietnam. (AP/Wide World Photos)

Coming Home in 1978, *The China Syndrome* in 1979, *Nine to Five* in 1980, and *On Golden Pond* in 1982). Fonda continued her antiwar activities and returned to Vietnam in 1974 with Hayden. While there they created the documentary *Introduction to the Enemy* (1974).

Over the next sixteen years, Fonda was variously described as a poorly educated but talented actor caught up in the moment, a victim of circumstance, a seductress with a cause, and a traitor to the United States. While some people applauded her actions and honored her for her bravery, the vast majority of people believed that her dealings in Hanoi were inappropriate, even treasonous. The scandal followed Fonda wherever she went. In 1984, she was forced to cancel appearances scheduled to promote her new line of exercise products. Conservatives attempted to bar her from filming *Stanley & Iris* (1990) in Waterbury, Connecticut.

Under unyielding pressure, Fonda chose to make a public statement regarding her actions in Hanoi in 1972. On June 17, 1988, ABC's 20/20 broadcast Barbara Walter's interview "Healing Wounds," in which Fonda expressed some regrets. Some people consider this interview to mark the end of the Vietnam era for Fonda, but many veterans and military supporters believe that her acknowledgment of having some misgivings was too little, too late, and less than apologetic. Many felt betrayed by Fonda; in 1962, she had posed as Miss Army Recruiting for a military advertising campaign. On March 31, 2005, Fonda reiterated in an interview with Lesley Stahl for CBS's *60 Minutes* that she did have some regrets about her visit, and that the image of her sitting atop the antiaircraft gun was "a betrayal."

Through the years, Fonda continued to make films and oppose war. After the Vietnam War, she raised money to help rebuild the Bach Mai Hospital and became active with the Campaign for Economic Development, women's rights, and social justice issues.

—Cynthia J. W. Svoboda

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