

AN ABSTRACT OF THE THESIS OF

Patricia C. Allen-Spencer for the degree of Master of Arts in English presented on May 21, 2001. Title: Of Mice and Bunnies: Walt Disney, Hugh Hefner, and the Age of Consensus.

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Post World War II victory culture and its fallout—the consensus ideology—led to the creation of a middle class willing to conform to a prescribed set of ideals, safely removed from all danger, and enjoying the material benefits of a growing middle-class income bracket. Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner, two seemingly ideologically opposed businessmen, recognized this economic, political, and cultural shift and sought to capitalize on it financially.

A cultural-history study of both companies reveals many similarities in each company's design, development, and impact on American culture. To begin with, Disneyland and *Playboy* appeared in the mid-1950s as Americans were settling into postwar affluence and consumerism. Disney and Hefner each recognized the changes occurring within society and intended to design areas of reprieve. As such, Disneyland and *Playboy* were designed as areas of refuge where one could escape the stifling conformity of middle-class America and simultaneously forget Cold War fears. Instead, Disneyland and *Playboy* embraced the consensus and became reflections of society and culture rather than operatives of counter-culture.

To understand how each company could fail in its original intent but remain as an emblem of American culture, it is necessary to understand the era, the men behind the visions, and how each company absorbed and reacted to cultural attitudes and strains.

Disney and Hefner manipulated their way into the American cultural consciousness through a series of ironies and inconsistencies. Each sought to provide a haven of diversity as an alternative to the consensus conformity rampant within 1950s society. Ultimately, Disneyland and *Playboy* came to represent the homogeneity Disney and Hefner sought to escape.

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Of Mice And Bunnies: Walt Disney, Hugh Hefner, and the Age of Consensus

by
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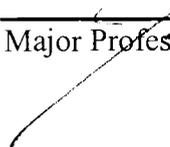
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When I embarked on this journey I had many goals set for myself and for this project. Those goals were quickly derailed when my father passed away three weeks into my first term. His passing forced me to reevaluate my goals, as well as what I intended to achieve through the completion of my education. I learned a lot about keeping things in perspective. This project would never have reached its culmination had it not been for the support of several people.

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**OF MICE AND BUNNIES:
WALT DISNEY, HUGH HEFNER, AND THE AGE OF CONSENSUS**

Practicing Consensus in America's Postwar Victory Society

Victory culture and its fallout, the consensus philosophy, led to the creation of a segment of a society willing to conform to a prescribed set of ideals, safely removed from all danger, and enjoying the material benefits of a growing middle-class income bracket. Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner recognized this consensus movement as a market and sought to capitalize on it, both financially and psychologically. Initially, each sought to create an escape from the choking compliance and atomic fear prevalent in postwar society. In the end, both created entertainment empires that not only embraced the tenets of consensus ideology but also altered the American cultural landscape by embracing images of homogeneity. Employing similar goals and tactics, Disney and Hefner created their own versions and visions of American culture.

Beginning in the 1950s Walt Disney transformed his corporation into a producer of mass-culture, theme parks, and television shows.¹ Walt recognized that his market audience had changed, and he manipulated the baby boom generation as a target audience to create an empire—Disneyland. Disney sought to create a place safe from Cold War fears that provided diversity, yet his theme park quickly began to reinforce societal conformity. Cultural critic Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto explained that Disney tried to create an autonomous utopian space cut off from the rest of society. In order to do so, any elements that reminded visitors of the outside world needed to be excluded.² Disney accomplished this goal by successfully capturing the essence of conformity in architecture – placelessness. Disney created a perfectly planned environment void of any

outside chaos or interference. Disneyland, or plastic land, would come to represent the best and the worst in planned environments.

With 1950s conservatism as a backdrop, Hugh Hefner transformed his home-start men's magazine into a national emblem of sexual liberation. Working from the foundation that the Kinsey report established in discussing the sexual process, Hefner sought to establish a male social sexual conscience void of postwar tensions and conservatism.

Preeminent in the first issue was Hefner's desire to provide relief from Cold War fears and anxieties for his male audience. Just as Disney desired Disneyland to provide escape from the outside world, Hefner designed *Playboy* with the same goal. Hefner's mission statement appeared in the first issue, telling male readers that "if we [*Playboy*] are able to give the American Male a few extra laughs and a little diversion from the anxieties of the atomic age, we'll feel we've justified our existence."³ Early issues dealt little with political and world concerns and focused on Hefner's opinion and definition of "healthy" male and female sexuality amidst the accepted conservatism and Puritanism of the time.

In *The Playboy Vision of America*, author Thomas Weyr argues that *Playboy* was just what a generation growing up in the shadow of the mushroom cloud and under Joseph McCarthy's claw needed. An increase in personal income and the establishment of a strong middle class contributed to the success of *Playboy* just as it did with Disneyland. Author David Halberstam attributes *Playboy*'s success to Americans' greater financial freedom, which resulted in the lessening of religious and moral restrictions. Hefner "preached pleasure. He touched the right chord at precisely the right

time,” explained Halberstam.⁴ *Playboy*’s success, according to Halberstam and Weyr, reflected the postwar decline of Puritanism in America due to the newfound affluence of society.

In *The Century of Sex: Playboy's History of the Sexual Revolution 1900-1999*, Hugh Hefner targets urbanization, advancements in transportation, and mass communications as the three major events of the twentieth century. Hugh, like Walt, manipulated these social changes to sell his own vision of American security. Targeting the young urban male of the mid 1950s, Hefner sought to instill a need for the gadgets, styles, and social status readily available to young men in the booming postwar victory economy. In addition, Hefner sought to relax the sexual conservatism ushered in with the broad consensus. Hefner would use television and the mass communication network to sell his own brand of theme park, the *Playboy* Empire.

During a period of remarkable prosperity, these two men redefined existing cultural perceptions in order to create entertainment empires. Through the co-modification of entertainment, Disney and Hefner achieved success and in doing so placed an indelible mark on the cultural landscape of the twentieth century. Disney and Hefner manipulated their way into our cultural consciousness through a series of ironies and inconsistencies. Each sought to provide refuge from a monochrome view of society, but in the end Disneyland and *Playboy* came to represent the homogeneity each was designed to escape.

Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner’s impact on American culture was pervasive. To fully understand the cultural ramifications of Disneyland and *Playboy*, it is necessary to understand the backdrop that Disney and Hefner were working with as well as against.

Their up brings, as well as the era, played a crucial role in the design and development of their respective empires.

Harry S. Truman's announcement of Japan's surrender on August 14, 1945, introduced a sense of collective relief, and the American populace and economy shifted from one of wartime to one of victory. American victory in World War II ushered in new feelings of optimism, reestablishing American faith and promise in the twentieth century. Postwar prosperity, argue historians Alan Brinkley and Ellen Fitzpatrick, produced a profound sense of national purpose and self-satisfaction.⁵

Postwar victory culture ushered in the formation of a generation and an era consumed by consensus thought. After WWII, Americans sought a return to the isolationist values of the 1930s. However, America's position as a superpower prohibited such an inward ideological shift; instead America rallied around a consensus ideology.

Cultural historians Walter LaFeber, Richard Polenberg, and Nancy Woloch identify the "Age of Consensus" by three primary characteristics: conformity, a non-ideological base—or containment, and the emergence of a middle class. Conformity seemed to overwhelm every aspect of American culture during the postwar years. LaFeber, Polenberg, and Woloch, described the postwar ideological shift as a national passion, a return to sexual and political conservatism. On the surface, Americans celebrated the conformity values of the 1950s while simultaneously harboring fears of mass atomic annihilation.

The Cold War and fear of the atomic bomb overshadowed feelings of prosperity.

Historian Paul Boyer describes the impact of the atomic bomb on postwar society:

It is as though the Bomb has become one of those categories of Being, like Space and Time, that . . . are built into the very structure of our minds, giving shape and meaning to all our perceptions. The narcissistic society of the 1950's is surely a result of the nuclear threat.⁶

The nuclear era burst into American culture with an unprecedented suddenness, forever changing history.

Feelings of anxiety defined postwar foreign policy agendas. Historians Randy Roberts and James Olson explain that America, in an effort not to revert to isolationism, adhered to the idea of a non-ideological base.⁷ In response to the rise of the Soviet Union as the nation's leading rival, the American government adopted the policy of containment. Containment, a strategy defensive in nature, was designed to react to Soviet global aggressions. After 1945, the United States politically and militarily committed to containing the expansion of Communism in the world. The Cold War, fear of the Bomb, and containment guided domestic and foreign affairs. Desiring a return to peacetime normalcy and wanting to focus on the material benefits of the nation's wartime victory, Americans adopted the idea of non-ideological base committed only to winning the Cold War as an alternative to the prewar isolationist policy.

The emergence of a middle class, the third characteristic of the Age of Consensus, had the most profound impact on the American economy as well as on the American landscape. Per capita wealth increased in the years immediately following World War II, creating a larger, more accessible middle-income bracket. Increased government spending for the military effort during the war resulted in a stronger postwar economy, and the nation as a whole benefited. LaFeber, et al, credit the new wealth to "war taxes

and general prosperity [that] redistributed incomes for the only time in the post-1900 era.”⁸ Before the 1929 financial crisis, barely one-third of Americans qualified for middle-class status, and after the war nearly two-thirds of the population qualified as middle class.

Historians Brinkley and Fitzpatrick continue LaFeber's theory to explain that a middle-class culture resulted from

the new prosperity of social groups previously living on the margins, the growing availability of and fascination with consumer goods, the use of television and perhaps above all, the massive population movement from the cities to the suburbs.⁹

Prosperity after the war led members of the newly created middle class to pursue material wants--namely the purchase of a new car and the ownership of a new home. Middle-class living rapidly became synonymous with the "American Dream." After years of sustaining rations and shortages, Americans had a long list of consumer needs. Materialism reigned supreme as the shift from wartime diverted the economy from a military-based economy to a consumer-based economy. Author David Halberstam explains in his book *The Fifties* that after years of sacrifice the consumer was not to be denied.¹⁰ The wide availability of new products and the ease of obtaining credit plans made consumerism accessible to all Americans, argue Brinkley and Fitzpatrick.¹¹

As a direct result of the emerging middle class, America in the 1950s witnessed dramatic population redistribution from the inner city to peripheral boundaries, creating a housing shortage. In *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States*, Kenneth T. Jackson attributes housing shortages to sixteen years of depression and war that resulted in squashing the residential construction industry. Coinciding with the decline in the number of new homes built was an unprecedented population growth,

beginning in 1946, which further strained the limited housing market. The first phase of the baby boom, 1946 to 1951, resulted in 22 million births.¹² The baby boom crested in 1957 when fertility reached an all-time high. The 1950s witnessed an overall population growth of 1.7%, the highest rate of change in forty years.¹³

The government responded to the housing crisis by providing funding for mortgage insurance through the Federal Housing Administration (FHA). In addition to the FHA, the federal government created the Veterans Administration (VA) mortgage program through the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, also known as the "GI Bill."¹⁴ In the rush to resolve housing demands, 3.75 million veterans purchased homes on the GI Bill. Jackson explains that "the assurance of federal mortgage guarantees--at whatever price the builder set--stimulated an unprecedented building boom." Residential construction erupted from 114,000 single-family housing starts in 1944 to 1,692,000 in 1950, and by 1953 subdivisions accounted for over three-quarters of all new metropolitan housing.¹⁵

Development of the suburbs depended upon the advancements of the auto industry and the expansion of the highway system. Auto manufacturers increased output from 2 million automobiles in 1946 to 8 million in 1955. By 1960, one-fifth of all suburbanites owned two cars. The passage of the Interstate Highway Act in 1956 expanded the American highway system with the construction of 41,000 miles of interstate at a cost of more than 100 billion dollars.¹⁶ Due to the increased availability of cars and the expanded highway system, middle-class Americans could live away from city centers.

The suburbanization movement resulted in part to the enormous postwar emphasis on families. Suburban living provided safety from the dangers of urban living, larger spaces in which to raise children, and space for the new consumer products marketed to the family--products that would not fit in the smaller urban living spaces. Most importantly, the suburbs provided families with privacy and community. The qualities that made suburban living appealing quickly became the qualities for which the suburbs were criticized—stifling conformity, homogeneity, and isolation.

As quickly as tract housing appeared on the suburban housing market, they came under criticism for creating and maintaining cultural conformity.¹⁷ Kenneth Jackson argues that this conformity arose as a consequence of the five characteristics that define both the suburbanization movement and postwar society: existence on the periphery, promotion of single-family occupancy, architectural similarity, a middle-class market, and economic and racial homogeneity.

The consensus ideals and attitudes of conformity and containment of Communism penetrated society via the new medium of television, resulting in the elevation of the middle class as the pinnacle of postwar American victory culture. Brinkley and Fitzpatrick describe the impact of television on American life as "rapid, pervasive, and profound."¹⁸ Technologically, television represented an important change in the manner in which Americans communicated. Television rapidly became a powerful medium, quickly replacing the radio and the magazine as the primary source of information for the suburban family.

Nineteen-fifties television re-enforced consensus conformity by depicting a predominantly white, middle-class, and suburban view of American culture. Karal Ann

Marling, in *As Seen on TV*, explains that television was the entertainment medium of choice for suburbia.¹⁹ Television reflected mainstream America, perpetuating and supporting consumption and consumerism as a tenet of the middle-class lifestyle, and further trumpeting consensus ideals.

As a result of television and marketing, baby boomers came to believe that they were special, different, the chosen ones, and the new and different generation--blessed as no other generation before them. Author Susan Douglas explains that baby boomers were targeted as a market audience with products and shows geared towards the age group.²⁰

One of the largest products marketed to the 1950s suburban family was Disneyland. Hollywood criticized Walt Disney for his use of television to market his vision of culture. Selling Disneyland to the American public via television, Walt made viewing families a part of the construction and development process of the theme park. As a result, the American family acquired an emotional stake in the success of Disneyland. Marling maintains that such an emotional investment led thousands of viewers to believe that Disneyland was just as safe, wholesome, and predictable as the living-room setting in which the family gathered every week to watch Uncle Walt talk about it.²¹

By the 1950s, America had been transformed from an economically depressed nation into a financial and military superpower. Rising birth rates coincided with the rise in the economy and created a new consumer culture. The new American family, financially more secure than the previous generation, began expanding the perimeters of culture. Desiring the good life, these young families fled the urban centers in droves for

the safe and uniform havens of the suburbs. As the new American family settled into their new tract home, a desire for convenience swept the nation. Fast food, television, home appliances, re-designed automobiles, new highways and a plethora of other technological advances appeared on the market to offer the much sought after convenience. In this atmosphere of change and growth two seemingly dissimilar men would succinctly and philosophically challenge the status quo to redefine the American cultural landscape and redirect consumer and cultural history.

Humble Beginnings

Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner mass-produced perfectly predictable landscapes—landscapes defined by the flawless ideal of a society enraptured by the postwar victory culture. As products of mid western, repressive upbringings, Disney and Hefner sought to re-invent themselves through the creation of entertainment empires that defined freedom and happiness for millions. Disney, like others, moved west to the southern California sunlight to redevelop his history and image. Hefner initially began his transformation in Chicago, but ultimately moved his empire headquarters west to infiltrate Hollywood with his airbrushed images of women and sex.²² Each rose from humble beginnings to forever alter the American cultural landscape.

Walter Elias Disney was born on December 5, 1901, in Chicago, Illinois, to Elias and Flora Disney. Disney's childhood was clouded by his father's eccentric and abusive behavior. Due to a lack of reliable and consistent biographical information, it is difficult to establish a clear picture of Walt's childhood. Unsanctioned biographer Marc Eliot explains in *Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince* that Walt's father Elias enjoyed the smoke filled saloons, the women who frequented them, and the poker games played in the back room.²³ As a result, the family moved frequently and existed on the fringes of poverty.

Conversely, Bob Thomas, in his authorized biography, counters Eliot's portrayal of an abusive childhood, explaining that religion played a crucial role in the Disney family. Elias and Flora Disney were devoted parents and faithful members of their church, who sought to instill in their children strong Christian morals.²⁴ According to

Thomas, Walt's childhood was idyllic. Eliot provides an alternative, and perhaps more realistic depiction of an abusive father who terrorized his sons, while their mother Flora watched in silent helplessness. Religion, when present in the family, functioned as an excuse for outrageous actions.

Due to a heavy debt load and excessive drinking, Elias relocated his family to Marceline, Missouri, in 1903. Thomas explains that despite his young age and the family's relatively short stay in Marceline, Disney remembered the town fondly. In fact, Disney's memories of his time spent in Marceline permeated his subconscious, serving as the source of many inspirations, which would manifest in the construction of Disneyland. Disney often romanticized his memories of the farm in Marceline, especially to biographer Bob Thomas. Too young to work in the fields with his father and older brothers, Walt tagged along behind his mother and in his spare time freely roamed the farm, absorbing the nature around him. The seasonal cycles of the farm introduced Walt to many interesting characters, characters that he tried to preserve in rough cartoon sketches and in his imagination. Walt's early fascination with anthropomorphism would later transfer into movie characters and cartoon figures.

While in Marceline young Walt became fascinated with trains. As a railroad town, Marceline retained much of its interesting and colorful past, which meshed with the present to create the sleepy farm community Disney would fondly immortalize years later in Main Street USA.

Eliot counters this idyllic vision with the reality of Disney's abusive childhood. Abuse and tyranny most likely filled his days in Marceline. Walt's older brothers Herb and Ray fled their father's abuse in 1909; afterward Elias forced eight-year-old Walt to

work the fields with older brother Roy to earn his keep. Elias "used corporal punishment to enforce maximum productivity," explains Eliot.²⁵ In addition, the boys were not allowed playtime, contrary to Walt's "Polyanna" portrayal of life in Marceline.

Unable to understand the brutality and forced labor, Walt often cried himself to sleep, questioning his parentage, a question that would grow into a life-long obsession for Walt. Roy provided comfort and reassurance to young Walt in the absence of parental love, but he soon fled Elias' abuse, shattering Walt's security. In Eliot's estimation, Walt believed himself to have been betrayed and deserted by Roy, emotions that Walt cultivated into a resentment that would permeate the two brother's relationship for the rest of Walt's life.

In 1910, Elias moved the family to Kansas City in yet another attempt at financial stability. Elias' harsh attitude towards life and his children intensified once the family arrived in Kansas City. In a vain effort to provide for his family, Elias purchased a thousand-customer newspaper route. Again, Elias relied on the forced labor of his sons to make his business succeed. Working in nearly unbearable conditions, delivering papers twice daily, seven days a week, the Disney boys received no pay for their labor. Elias believed his allowing the boys to live and eat in the family home served as payment for their hard work. Walt delivered papers for his father for six years, rising at 3:30 a.m. every morning to neatly roll each paper prior to delivery. Despite Flora's efforts, education took a secondary role to Elias's business ventures.

The family's financial difficulties did not ease, and Elias Disney again sought escape from the area as the solution. In 1917, Elias moved Flora and Walt's sister Ruth back to Chicago to operate the O-Zell Jelly Factory.²⁶ Walt remained in Kansas City to

finish high school and was soon joined by his brothers Herb and Roy. Seeking adventure and a way to avoid Elias, Walt enlisted in the army in 1917. Walt applied for a copy of his birth certificate only to discover none existed. This discovery fueled Walt's growing obsession that Elias and Flora were not his birth parents. The Disney family's preacher explained the lack of a birth certificate as a result of Walt's home birth. Nonetheless, the discovery increased Walt's insecurities and paranoia. Ultimately, the army rejected Walt's request due to his young age. Desiring an opportunity to serve his country, Walt joined the Red Cross and became an ambulance driver in France.

After Walt's short stay in France, he returned to Kansas City in 1919 and went to work for the Kansas City Ad Agency as a graphic designer, making ads for the theaters. At the Kansas City Ad Agency Walt met Ub Iwerks, a talented animator who became Walt's friend. While at the Ad Agency, Walt began cultivating and refining his interest in cartooning. In small increments he began pursuing a career as a cartoonist. Early in Walt's career it became evident that he possessed a talent for innovation and business, not drawing.

In the years following his employment at the Kansas City Ad Agency, Walt began building a career in animation that would culminate with his relocation to California. Ultimately, Walt would establish his own business with his brother Roy and persuade Iwerks, the talent behind Disney, to join the brothers in Los Angeles.²⁷

In October 1923, Walt and Roy formed the Disney Brothers Studio and began building a successful animation empire. Simultaneously, Walt began building a family. On July 13, 1925, Walt married Lillian Bounds, an inker and painter at the studio. The

newlyweds settled into the posh neighborhood of Holmby Hills, where Lillian raised daughters Diane and Sharon.

With the development of a new cartoon series, "Oswald the Lucky Rabbit," Walt hoped to earn a place in the animation industry. Upon Roy's successful negotiation of a contract deal for a series of shorts Walt was developing--the *Alice Shorts*--Walt began assembling a meager staff. In 1926, Walt, without input from Roy, renamed the studio "Walt Disney Studio." Eliot explains the decision as one of many Walt would make without his brother's consent or input. By 1926 Walt Disney Studios had grown, and Walt moved the business into a new facility on Hyperion Avenue.

On a trip to New York to meet with his distributor, Charles Mintz, disaster struck. "Oswald the Lucky Rabbit" found his way into the greedy hands of Mintz and away from Disney. Mintz basically stole Oswald for his own use and denied Disney's ownership of the cartoon. Sketchy and frustrating patent laws supported Mintz and left Disney without his top creation.

Angry and facing bankruptcy, Walt refused to give up on his pursuit of an animation career and a successful studio. On the train ride back to California Walt began sketching a cute little mouse with big ears and a long tail. Ironically, his doodling resembled the recently abducted Oswald. Mortimer Mouse, as Walt named him, quickly evolved—upon Lillian's insistence—into the lovable and nationally recognizable Mickey Mouse. Once back in California, Disney and Iwerks began collaborating on Mickey's development, each bestowing upon the small mouse his own specialties. Christopher Finch in *The Art of Walt Disney* explains that "it seems probable that Iwerks, easily the best animator of the day, was largely responsible for defining Mickey's physical

characteristics,” while “the gift of personality was probably Disney’s own contribution to Mickey.”²⁸ Eliot argues that Iwerks is solely responsible for the creation of Mickey Mouse. Twenty years after Mickey’s debut, Walt finally admitted publicly that he did not actually draw Mickey, but stubbornly refused to give Iwerks the proper public credit for Mickey’s creation.²⁹

Mickey’s arrival in Hollywood made Walt instantly recognizable and nationally known for his contributions to animation. Finch describes Walt with a movie star aura, “a trim mustache and a ready smile gave [Walt] a Clark Gable-ish charm.”³⁰ A sense of determination and purpose about his face, even in relaxed poses, set Walt apart from others. By the age of 30 he was a recognizable figure in America and around the world. By the dawn of the TV era, Walt had traded his sports coat and boldly-patterned sweaters for conservative-cut suits and neckties. Finch describes Disney as a man who believed absolutely in his own instincts and abilities. Other non-Disney sanctioned critics disagree, describing Walt as an insecure traitor with little artistic talent.

The birth of Mickey Mouse insured the success of Walt Disney Studios and Walt Disney. With the advent of the *Silly Symphonies* in 1929, his career in animation seemed secured. In distinct Disney fashion, he surrounded himself with talent and remained in control of each project from conception through completion. Finch explains, “The master plan was in Walt Disney’s head and remained unknowable until piece by piece, it was given concrete form and grafted onto the mythology of our century.”³¹ Disney’s success, posits Finch, rested in his keen awareness of talent and surrounding himself with such talent. Walt Disney was a perfectionist, and as Christopher Finch explains, perfection did not come cheaply in the fields of movies or theme parks. Walt believed in

hard work, perseverance, and determination, and he expected the same from his employees. Eliot attributes Walt's success to his obsessive control over every studio detail. Finch concurs with the assessment, explaining that product improvement occupied Walt's mind at all times.³² Disney often wandered the studio at night and on weekends to familiarize himself with the development of each project.

Judith Adams attributes Walt's unhealthy desire for control and order as an adult to the impact of a harsh and unhealthy childhood. Arguably, the violence and indifference in Walt's upbringing shaped the man "whose only passion was ceaseless work and who never stopped trying to create an idyllic, if illusory, eternal childhood free of anything threatening, including forces that contribute to growth."³³

On a train trip to the Chicago Railroad Fair in 1948, Walt spent a great deal of time with friend and studio employee Ward Kimball. During the cross-country trek, Kimball learned a great deal about his boss's obsession with work as well as Walt's tendency to take all criticism of the Studio personally. Kimball attributed the development of Walt's psychological "hang-ups" to a strict and abusive upbringing. Walt's "hang-ups" surfaced in a fascination with defecation and an aversion to sexuality. According to Kimball, Walt engaged in tasteless conversations regarding defecation while constantly avoiding all conversations or situations regarding sex and sexuality. Kimball concluded that Walt's endless chatter about

defecation represented a rebellion against the dominating moralism of his parents, while his aversion to sex represented its internalization . . . Moreover, both were ways for Disney to keep people at a distance, the former through embarrassment and the later through avoidance of any kind of intimate relationships.³⁴

Marc Eliot argues that years of psychological and physical abuse by Walt's alcoholic father created Walt's paranoia and hang-ups. Neither parent demonstrated affection, for one another or their children, and as a result Walt learned as a young child to detach himself emotionally.

Other psychological quirks included a dislike of pretense, resulting in Disney's insistence that everyone call him Walt. Kimball identified this as a subtle reinforcement of his desire to create a paternalistic image of himself to the nation. Walt's frequent bouts of depression, Kimball surmised, resulted in his tendency to retreat into his past. Kimball recalls that Walt related the events of his life "just like a plot of one of his stories."³⁵ In retelling his life story repetitively, Disney mythologized his life, blurring the lines between fantasy and reality, a characteristic Disney transferred onto the Disneyland landscape.

Disney received relatively no education or training, yet he sought to revolutionize the animation industry and did so rather quickly in his career. Walt is remembered not as a great draftsman, but for his great ability to conceive and develop ideas through to a successful conclusion. With the construction of Disneyland, he placed his indelible signature on the American cultural landscape.

Like Disney, Hefner's upbringing played a tremendous role in the development of his entertainment empire. Also the product of a religiously strict mid western household, Hefner's childhood left a lasting mark on the impressionable child, resulting in his desire to question social morals and attitudes. Unlike Disney, who controlled all press regarding his formative years, Hefner openly discussed his childhood as well as his upbringing. As in Walt Disney's case, biographies of Hefner include psychological

commentary and analysis of the impact his childhood had on his development and future career. Each version of Disney's and Hefner's lives includes a case for psychological determinacy; the probable impact of such determinacy depends on the biographer and their opinion of the subject.

Born in Chicago, Illinois, on April 9, 1926, Hugh Marston Hefner absorbed the atmosphere of his childhood. Hugh's parents, Glenn and Grace Hefner, strove to provide for their young family, and valued hard work over affection. As an accountant for a large corporation, Glenn retained his job during the Depression, managing to provide for his family a middle-class lifestyle. Responsibilities at Advance Aluminum kept Glenn away long hours six to seven days a week, and his relationship with his children suffered as a result. Glenn's absences, combined with the religious structure of the Hefner home, restricted emotional expression. Glenn and Grace provided a financially stable but emotionally frigid home for their children. Hugh's grandparents instilled in the family a strict Calvinist sense that permeated all family activities. Such a strict Christian upbringing dictated no alcohol, no smoking, no cursing, and absolutely no pleasure. As products of a restrictive upbringing, Glenn and Grace raised Hugh and younger brother Keith in a repressive atmosphere.

At a young age Hugh developed a vivid imagination, writing stories and drawing cartoons as a creative outlet. School did not interest Hugh, and he steadily withdrew into his world of creativity, increasingly limiting his social contacts. Hefner would later attribute his social awkwardness to his emotionally repressive upbringing.

By junior high, Hugh became involved with the school newspaper, *The Star*, and his first publishing effort provided an outlet for his writing talents. Over the course of the

next four years, Hugh wrote forty-two pieces: short stories, novelettes, radio scripts, and the fifteen-minute film, *The Return From the Dead*.”³⁶ Hefner carefully began cultivating an interest in writing and publishing and clearly possessed a talent in each area.

Hefner’s first mass publishing effort, *Play Bill*, in 1939 and 1940, consisted of captioned photographs of school events and fellow students. While in high school Hugh created his most ambitious periodical of the time, *Shudder*, based on his favorite subjects of horror and mystery. Distributed around his high school, *Shudder* included comic strips, sketches, advertisements, and reviews in magazine format. Similar to Walt’s early advertising shorts, Hefner imposed funny captions over photos of familiar people. Hugh transformed his readership into “an international membership society.” Shudder Club members joined for a nominal fee of five cents and received “a Shudder club badge and special decoder.”³⁷ Although Hefner produced only five issues of *Shudder*, he had established a desire for an even bigger project.

Gradually the topics of sex and girls replaced mystery and horror as Hugh’s favorite subjects. A product of 1930s puritan America, Hugh knew very little about sex, and he began to question the sexual morality of his generation. Hugh responded to his restlessness by re-inventing his image. Just in time for the start of his senior year, Hugh transformed himself into Hef—an identity he would retain for the remainder of his life. “Hef” was an easygoing man of creativity and mystery, a seemingly more outgoing Hugh. The new “Hef” became the official cartoonist of the school yearbook and president of the student council.

Graduation posed a new set of dilemmas for Hefner, namely how to incorporate his high school successes and passion for writing and cartooning into his adulthood. Like Disney, Hefner sought the military as an answer and at age 17 enlisted in the Army. Before Hefner left for the Army, he began a romantic relationship with classmate Mildred "Millie" Williams. The relationship continued throughout the two years of Hefner's service, and upon his discharge in 1946 he reunited with Millie.

After Hefner returned from the military, he once again faced uncertainty about his future. Hefner drifted in search of direction and purpose and failed to locate either. Hefner followed Millie to the University of Illinois, where he pursued a degree in psychology with minors in art and creative writing. While at U of I, Hefner cartooned for the campus paper and created *Shaft*, the campus comic paper. Biographer Frank Brady explains that Hefner's interest in magazine publication intensified during his college years, as he was always studying newsstands and magazine racks for new periodicals and buying as many as he could afford.³⁸ Exposure to various publications sparked in Hefner a desire to pursue his own publication ideas.

At twenty-two, Hefner decided to begin challenging the sexual establishment of American consensus thought by exploring his own repressed sexuality. Hefner and Millie dated for nearly five years before consummating their relationship. Shortly afterwards, Millie left Chicago for a teaching position in a nearby town, while Hefner completed his final year of college. While apart, Millie had an affair, which Hefner blamed on repressed societal moral values, rather than on Millie. Years later, Hefner commented that the moral values of the time celebrated virginity, but once that virginity was gone, nothing existed to prevent an affair from occurring.

Hefner married Millie on June 15, 1949. In later years, Hefner remarked that he felt his life had come to an end with the completion of his marital nuptials. Like Disney, Hefner was an avid cartoonist and he chronicled his life through a comic book—ironically or symbolically the book ended with his marriage. Still unsure of a career path, Hefner enrolled in graduate courses at Northwestern University. While at Northwestern Hefner revisited his interest with the Kinsey Report and wrote a paper concerning sexual behavior and US law, “That Toodlin’ Town.” The paper critiqued Chicago sexual morality and foreshadowed a future career. Eventually Hefner grew disillusioned with education and dropped out of school to pursue various stints in publishing.

Hefner began his career with a \$40 a week job as copywriter for Carson, Pirie, Scott and Co., a Chicago department store. Working in the fashion industry supplied Hefner with some exposure to the men’s fashion, an experience Hefner carried over into his own venture. Hefner left the glamorous world of men’s fashion for a short-lived position at the Leo P. Bott Advertising agency. Lacking the devotion and expertise the ad company demanded, Hefner left the company after just five weeks.

In an effort to save money the young newlyweds lived with Hefner’s parents. Continuing to drift from job to job, Hefner wanted to pursue cartooning professionally. Hefner loved to draw cartoons but, like Disney, lacked a strong talent for the art form. Nonetheless, he stopped looking for full-time employment and embarked on a dismal and doomed career as a freelance cartoonist. All Hefner managed to produce were pornographic reproductions of popular comic strips. Millie explained Hefner’s erotic sketching as “a rebellion of sorts against his family’s Calvinist roots and emotional and

sexual coldness of that household.”³⁹ Needless to say, Hefner failed to sell any of his work to the newspapers and once again began searching for full-time employment.

Failure as a cartoonist and the impending birth of his first child prompted Hefner to seek fulltime employment. In 1951, at age twenty-four, Hefner went to work as a copywriter for *Esquire* Magazine. Though Hefner viewed *Esquire* as his dream job, the young writer quickly became discouraged with his employer. *Esquire* failed to match up to Hefner’s expectations and proved to be just another nine-to-five job. Almost immediately the magazine began to undergo editorial changes that affected Hefner’s position. Shortly after Hefner joined *Esquire*, the magazine began relocating its headquarters to New York. In order to retain his position at the magazine, Hefner would have to leave Chicago. The company offered Hefner a wage increase of \$20 to relocate to New York. The \$80 a week salary tempted Hefner, but neither he nor Millie wished to leave their Midwestern roots. The magazine departed for New York and Hefner remained in the Windy City to pursue his own dreams.

Seeking to escape the sexual repression of his parents, Hefner and Millie moved into an apartment of their own in May 1952. The couple immediately set to the task of converting the apartment into a bright and cheery home. Abstract art, cartoons, photographs, and modern furniture adorned the apartment, turning the space into a “showpiece,” according to the Hefners’ friends. Hugh and Millie Hefner welcomed their daughter Christie Ann on November 8, 1952. Christie’s birth signaled the end of Millie’s teaching career and propelled Hugh into the role of provider for his family—a first for the restless young man. By 1952 Hefner had a desire to publish his own magazine—a magazine targeted at rebuking 1950s-consensus conservatism. Hefner intended *Playboy*

to be a response to the prudish 1950s. Both intended to produce a retreat from the practicing consensus of conformity, containment, and the middle class suburbanization movement.

Despite an age difference of twenty-five years, Disney and Hefner shared many similar childhood characteristics. Both were Midwesterners who came from religiously and emotionally repressive homes. Each retained an interest in cartooning, a desire to benefit from 1950s consumer culture, a propensity for surrounding themselves with talented men, and an eye for innovation. The two men from Chicago re-invented their images and transformed their humble beginnings into entertainment empires.

The Construction of Plasticland

Nineteen-fifty proved a turning point for Disney, as Walt Disney Productions reasserted itself as an innovative pioneer in entertainment. In this atmosphere of innovation, Disney's dream project took flight. Steven Watts, author of *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life*, explains the artistic resurgence at the Disney Studios and the public's response to Disney projects as a manifestation of Cold War pressures, reflecting both the anxieties and bravado of the time.⁴⁰ Watts credits Disney for recognizing the strains in America caused by Cold War fears and relaxing the tensions to create a culture of Americanism. Masterfully, Disney intertwined the social, political, and emotional tensions to create a Disney view of history free of threat, harm, and disorder.

Declining studio finances led Disney to recognize the need for television to finance the construction of his theme park. John M. Findlay, in *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940*, explains, "Disneyland truly was 'the playground television built.'"⁴¹ Without television to market his park, investment in the project promised to be slim.

Hollywood dismissed television as a passing fad, while some studios often referred to television as "the ultimate enemy."⁴² Walt disagreed with the other studios and instead embraced television as his ultimate friend. Richard Bright explains that Disney viewed television as a device through which he could sell his film products and as an essential vehicle for communicating his new Disneyland idea to the nation.⁴³ Disney refused to make a deal with any network unless the network agreed to financially support

his park. Arguably, Disney recognized the importance of television in postwar era and sought to manipulate the medium before it manipulated Disney Studios.

Disney began negotiating with the networks as early as 1951, but each network turned down the idea of Disneyland, despite immense interest in developing a television series with "Uncle Walt" as the host. In June 1951, Disney met with ABC for the first time and pitched the Disneyland idea to John Tatum.⁴⁴ He enthusiastically presented his idea, but without any visual aids the grandiose concept was lost on the ABC executives.

By September 1953, Disney's idea had developed enough to approach ABC once again for financial backing. Dick Irvine and Roy Disney scheduled a meeting with ABC network executives. Bright explains Disney's decision to send his brother Roy to meet with ABC as a result of his previous difficulties communicating the Disneyland concept effectively. To successfully sell the idea, Roy Disney needed visual aids and maps of the proposed concept. Walt called on artist Herb Ryman to produce the necessary aerial view of the Park. Ryman and Disney worked night and day to produce the first views of the Disneyland Dream.

Impressed with Disney's idea and vision as pictured in Ryman's drawings, ABC's Leonard Goldenson approved the deal with Disney and invested \$500,000 towards the construction and development of Disneyland. The contract stipulated that ABC held a one-third interest in the park and all profits from food concessions for the first ten years.⁴⁵ In return, Disney would produce a weekly television series for ABC. Success on television would mean visitors to the park, and that meant success for the determined Disney.

Walt Disney launched a twenty-nine year run on television with the debut of *Disneyland* in October 1954. In October 1955, Disney announced an afternoon series entitled *The Mickey Mouse Club*. Bright explains that television was exactly the medium Walt needed to tell the world about his new Park.⁴⁶ For Disney, television represented a means to an end. Sensing the national population growth in peacetime prosperity, Disney set out to create an amusement park for families secure from the hostile pressures of the Cold War.

The *Disneyland* television series, along with *The Mickey Mouse Club*, functioned as a weekly advertisement for the theme park. Originally divided into a four-part rotation, focusing on the original compartments of the Park--Frontierland, Fantasyland, Tomorrowland, and Adventureland--the television show expanded as the Park expanded. Each component of the Park, as well as the show, perfectly reinforced the consensus ideology, despite Walt's intentions to do otherwise. The children who grew up on *The Mickey Mouse Club*, the growing baby boom generation that was reaping the benefits of the rising middle-class economy, begged their parents to make the trip to Disneyland, ensuring the theme parks success.

Finding the perfect location to build Disneyland proved almost as difficult as obtaining the funding. Los Angeles expanded its city limits in the years immediately following the war, resulting in a sprawling layout accessible only through the newly constructed interstate system. The layout and growth of Los Angeles during the 1950s played a crucial role in Disney's search for the ideal location for his fantasyland. Ultimately, he selected a parcel of land thirty miles south of downtown Los Angeles that fulfilled his goal of fleeing the corrupt urban center while simultaneously supporting the

consensus, middle-class migration to suburban areas. Author James Ellroy, in his memoir *My Dark Places*, describes the urban sprawl of Southern California as the ultimate result of everyone's attempt to flee one thing or another and their ability to do so based upon the development of the Los Angeles freeway system. Ellroy explains, "Valley land was cheap. The flat topography was ideal for grid housing and potential freeway construction."⁴⁷ The development of the L.A. freeway system, especially the Santa Ana Freeway, was key component to the construction of Disneyland in Anaheim. Location and accessibility, for Disney, were directly related to the suburban audience that he sought to attract.

Besides the advent of suburban living and television, Karal Ann Marling argues that the American fascination with, and ownership of, the automobile made Disney's entertainment vision a reality. The Interstate Highway system and American's habit of commuting to work became key components in the realization of Disney's vision. The automobile offered freedom for a family fleeing the conformity of the suburb. Marling describes this flight as one from rows of nearly identical houses and rigid social rituals.⁴⁸ Rather than commuting to work, participants in Disney's vision commuted to a bygone era of happy memories and idyllic childhoods.

Disney desired a location for Disneyland that he could design, control, and manipulate; a location free from previous development, and government controls, and primed for financial success. Needing a minimum of one hundred acres of unshaped land and unsuccessful in locating real estate on his own, Walt hired the Los Angeles office of the Stanford Research Institute (SRI) to find the perfect location for the burgeoning vision. The SRI located one hundred forty acres of orange groves near Anaheim,

California in August 1953. The land near Anaheim fulfilled all of Disney's requests, especially the financial possibilities of the real estate. The property lay adjacent to the proposed route of the new Santa Ana Freeway. A major transportation corridor would allow customers easy access to the Park. Disney quickly purchased the land in Orange County, and groundbreaking ceremonies occurred in July 1954. Located two and half-hours south of Disney's Burbank Studio and the urban center of L.A., Disneyland ultimately would function as a suburb of L.A.

Discourse regarding Disney's plans for his Park differs from biographer to biographer. Disney-sanctioned biographer Bob Thomas depicts a Walt eager to please his audience, while Richard Bright writes of a Disney determined to control his Park but for the pleasure of his guests. Conversely, Marc Eliot portrays Walt as an irrational, hard-to-work-with control freak who dominated every aspect of the Park's design and construction. All three agree, however, that Walt's ultimate goal was to construct a fantasyland free from the chaos and sprawl of 1950s America, that would endure as his signature on the American cultural landscape.

To accomplish his goal of creating an intimate and friendly family park in a limited space, Disney employed experienced motion picture art directors to create atmosphere by forcing perspective and changing scale to provide the illusion of more space. Similar to a movie set, Disneyland's key features needed scaling down in order to appear believable and functional. Given the movie set design of Disneyland, Disney did not understand the need to conform to building codes and occupancy regulations. According to Richard Bright's account, Disney assumed the Park's construction would be similar to a motion picture set—temporary. To compensate for his lack of construction

savvy, Disney hired retired Admiral Joseph Fowler as general contractor for the Park's construction.

John Hench, a member of Disney's engineering staff, believed that the success of Disneyland depended upon Disney's ability to create a non-threatening atmosphere. In order to create a language of vision, or a unified vision of non-threatening landscapes, Walt developed an area where all visual images complemented one another rather than competed with one another, as they did in traditional urban settings.

The key concept separating Disney's dream park from other amusement parks is the "environmental entertainment experience," or theme design of the Park.⁴⁹ Disney desired Disneyland to be a place of harmony and fantasy, a place segregated from the outside world much as a suburb separated the middle class family from the urban setting. Disneyland is organized and developed around the key concept of "Main Street USA." Author and landscape artist Alexander Wilson explains the use of "Main Street" as "the spatial mediator between 'America' and all other cultures and landscapes in the park."⁵⁰ The message presented by this specific spatial arrangement is that America and its small-town, middle-class values can reconcile all other cultures and landscapes to the supposed "American Way." Disney believed that in order for Disneyland to succeed, he needed to eliminate the element of choice from the Park. In other words, the Park's layout reinforces the 1950s notion of a non-ideological base supported through containment of the "other." Anthony Haden-Guest extends this argument by describing "Main Street" as representing a time when progress reigned and Americans pursued a collective dream.⁵¹ In many respects, "Main Street USA" became emblematic of middle-class America.

Walt's desire to seclude Disneyland visitors from the outside world was fulfilled through the construction of a twenty-foot earthen berm around the periphery of the Park. Disney explained of the earthen berm, "I don't want the public to see the world they live in while they're in the park. I want them to feel they are in another world."⁵² Disney intended the berm to function as a segregator between the realities of postwar consensus culture and his vision of history; given that Disney targeted and designed his Park to attract the newly affluent middle class as his audience, the berm failed to prevent conformity, the Cold War, and suburban sprawl from invading Disneyland.

Disney further controlled movement through the Park by placing Sleeping Beauty's Castle as the focal point of Disneyland. Disneyland designers desired to keep guests moving in a logical pattern towards specified areas, with organized movement rewarded by the arrival in a themed area or attraction. To facilitate this concept, Disney's design team installed a hub in front of Sleeping Beauty's Castle designed to guide guests systematically to Frontierland, Adventureland, Tomorrowland, and Fantasyland. "The Hub gives people a sense of orientation. They know where they are at all times," explained Disney.⁵³

The construction of a hub facilitated Disney's desire to control movement through Disneyland. Author Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto in his essay, "Images of Empire," argues that Disneyland, in its organization and arrangement, is a narrative based upon three characteristics. First, Disneyland is an exclusionary space. Movement through the Park is structured as a linear narrative with "an opening, a development, and a resolution."⁵⁴ Disneyland's construction provides the guest with a guided journey through the Park, so as not to allow visitors to construct their own plots. Paradoxical to the narrative concept

is that Disneyland is subtle in its manipulation of the visitor, so that all movement appears to be self-sufficient on the part of the visitor--control is covert. "Disneyland constructs an autonomous, self-enclosed space, and moreover, carefully controls and manipulates visitors' experience by narrativizing that space," explains Yoshimoto.⁵⁵ In all locations, the visitor is reminded of the Disney Empire through decorations and merchandising that reflect Disney characters and scenes.

Yoshimoto's second narrativizing characteristic is based upon an understanding that the guests participate in the interactive game of narrativization by actively participating in the consumption of Disneyland's commodities. The rides, the souvenirs, the food, the guest's willingness to pay admission into the Park all insure participation in the narrative. Yoshimoto argues that visitors appear to have choice in consumption, as consumption is presented as a way to actively participate in the narrative. Realistically, all choice is eliminated when the guest pays the admission fee to enter Disneyland.

Controlled movement to each attraction supports one goal, the narrative of capital. Disney critic Alexander Wilson explains Disneyland's layout as Walt's attempt to control movement through specified areas to support the commodification of his entertainment. The planned layout of Disney's Dream Park supported and preyed upon the spending habits of its visitors, all of whom traveled a distance to celebrate the "disneyfication" of history. Wilson extends his argument, explaining that Disneyland reinforced the qualities of a rapidly urbanizing society, qualities of consumer consumption and consensus ideals.

Yoshimoto's third premise states that the process of narrativization is subsumed under the comprehensive commodification of visitors' experiences. Disneyland is an extension of Disney cinema. Each aspect of the Park is an advertisement for Disney

products, films, and television shows, and vice versa. The attractions, run by lively and exciting characters in full regalia, lead guests eager to participate in the adventure to the souvenir shop. Participation in a Disney adventure means purchasing reminders of the guest's experience. Yoshimoto explains the rationale for narrativizing is to "naturalize consumption activities, so that visitors consume without being aware of it."⁵⁶ This phenomenon is best exemplified through the commodification of the characters, the subtly given nature of the narrative. Disneyland's success is ensured through its manipulation of consumerism, a manipulation that is made possible through the transformation of Disney characters into commodities.

Another consequence of controlled movement at Disneyland is the removal of spontaneity. Disneyland's design represents a controlled or contrived spontaneity. Susan Willis contributes this deletion of spontaneity as a ramification of the built and themed environment that in her estimation could only result in the commodification of amusement.⁵⁷ In design and intention, Walt Disney successfully transformed amusement entertainment--play--into a commodity. All visitors to Disneyland are consumers, and every aspect of the Park's orientation demands monetary involvement. From admission fees, to souvenir costs, to food and snacks, no aspect of Disneyland is free. Essayists Michael Sorkin extends this list to include the Disney copyright and use of logos at the theme park. Disney's strict control over his copyright resulted in Disneyland becoming the first copyrighted urban environment.⁵⁸

By the early 1950s Walt Disney represented a symbol of postwar economic prosperity. As such, Disney assumed a new role as the "American icon of decency." The Disney Corporation quickly dedicated all projects to the "long, intense confrontation with

communism during the Cold War.”⁵⁹ Disney’s resurgence in popularity, after his and the Studio’s union troubles of the 1940s, is attributed to only one source, the pursuit and realization of a vision dependent upon Cold War consensus ideology--the construction of Disneyland.

The political and international tensions of the Cold War provided the necessary impetus to establish Walt Disney as “an influential architect of mainstream values.” Just as the Disney films of the 1930s smoothed the anxieties of depression-era Americans, the Disney films and projects of the 1950s “resonated with contemporary American hopes and fears.”⁶⁰ Designed to react against the status quo as counter-culture, Disneyland promised escape from the conformity of the era, fears of atomic annihilation, and the ills of urban sprawl. Ultimately, Disneyland succeeded in reassuring guests that American patriotism would succeed in eradicating Communism from the world by embracing and reflecting conformity and middle class suburban ideals.

As Walt Disney manipulated the landscape to construct Disneyland, Hugh Hefner was beginning to revolutionize the publishing world—along with the sexual mores of postwar America—with the publication of a magazine dedicated entirely to a male audience. The concept of a magazine targeting a male audience was not new, publications such as *Esquire* had been around for years, but Hefner intentionally designed *Playboy* as a reaction against the ills of the consensus ideology. Simultaneously, the magazine celebrated the benefits of postwar victory culture and its ensuing emphasis on consumerism. Hefner deliberately removed women from his readership, placing them as objects and not participants. Ultimately, the magazine became more a reflection not only of Hefner’s obsessive control but also the culture it sought to denounce.

Hefner failed to fit into the religious mold of his upbringing. Early in his young adulthood Hefner began questioning the moral double standard prevalent in postwar America. The published findings of biologist Alfred C. Kinsey reinforced Hefner's views and presented the necessary impetus for Hefner's desire to publish a magazine targeting the puritanical sexual perceptions of the early twentieth century. The publication of *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* in 1948 not only established a career path for the young Hefner, it quickly became "the most talked about book of the twentieth century," and influenced a generation of Americans frustrated with the conventional mores of American sexuality. *Sexual Behavior in the Human Male* sold 200,000 copies in the two months following its publication, and overnight the little known professor Kinsey "became a household word, his name forever embedded in popular culture."⁶¹ While studies and investigations into human sexual behavior had been conducted since before World War I, Kinsey's study proved unique in his unabashed and bold publication of results. Other professionals shielded their results from the mainstream public, whereas Kinsey believed the masses were overdue for a confrontation with their sexuality. To understand public reaction to Kinsey's report, and indeed the advent and success of *Playboy*, it is necessary to understand the sexual mores of early twentieth century America.

A taboo subject in the nineteenth and early twentieth century, sex and research into sexual behaviors received public and professional scorn. Those doctors and researchers brave enough to publicly address human sexual behavior were often met with professional chastisement and censorship. Strict Victorian moralism began to recede among members of the younger generation by the early years of the Progressive era.

Social and economic factors combined to create the somewhat less restrictive atmosphere surrounding sex, although research into sexual behavior remained controversial. Dr. Alfred Kinsey, a product of the era, sought to reform people's perceptions of sexuality by conducting in-depth studies into human sexual behavior. In order to accomplish this goal, Dr. Kinsey would need the support of his professional peers.

Recognizing the emergence of human sexual behavior as a field worthy of study, the 1921 meeting of the National Research Council created the Committee for Research on Problems in Sex to investigate the studies of human sexual behavior. Funded largely by the Rockefeller Foundation, the NRC selected Yale psychologist Robert Yerkes to head CRPS. CRPS believed scientists and doctors needed to conduct research into human sexuality, but such research must be regulated and monitored for the safety of the public. Kinsey applied to the CRPS for funding in 1939 and with the Committee's financial and professional support "opened the door to a new and controversial era in sex research."⁶² Kinsey's research delivered educational and biological research to every American for the first time in history.

Like Disney and Hefner, Kinsey was the product of a strict religious upbringing. Kinsey rejected his puritanical upbringing by turning to science, specifically Darwinism, to explain the larger questions in his life. Through the use of science, Kinsey became a moral crusader. Citing education and moral teachings as the source of confusion for inquisitive youth, Kinsey blamed marital sexual dysfunction on the social restrictions placed on a natural, biological process. Kinsey argued that the young needed to be left alone to explore their own developing sexuality in order for harmony to occur inside marriage.

The professional world of education and theology attacked Kinsey's report, labeling Kinsey a communist. Lambasting his radical views, Representative Louis B. Heller called for an investigation into Kinsey and his work. Heller also challenged the Postmaster General to bar the forthcoming *Female Human Sexual Behavior* from general mail delivery. As a result of public and political pressure the Rockefeller Foundation refused to renew Kinsey's research grant. Other critics began questioning the objectivity of Kinsey's investigation as well as how his research could solve fundamental questions of human existence. Regardless of criticism, Kinsey's research created public speculation into the rational and usefulness of Victorian morals and repression. In many ways Kinsey's research threatened to destroy American values and in doing so created a simultaneous fear and fascination with the report's findings.

Kinsey's report sided with sexual liberalism and concluded that male success coincided with early vigorous sexuality. Also revolutionary for his time, Kinsey questioned the hypocrisy of premarital petting as an alternative to premarital intercourse. Both, Kinsey argued, resulted in similar outcomes, but petting often required previously deemed perverse actions to achieve the same outcome. Kinsey concluded that acceptance of petting should include acceptance of premarital intercourse. Extending this argument, Kinsey reported women and men who experienced premarital sex experienced greater enjoyment of marital sex. Kinsey presented the act of sex as one of basic instinct, an outlet focused on achieving physical fulfillment, and he stripped sex of love and spiritual motivations. Morantz explains that the Kinsey report reassured readers that everyone had similar sexual impulses, a notion that contributed to a changing sexual climate.⁶³

The publication of Kinsey's volume on female sexuality was published in 1953, the same year *Playboy* debuted. Kinsey died in 1956 of a massive heart attack, and although incomplete, his research left an indelible mark on human sexual relations. *Time* magazine commented of Kinsey's importance that "no single event did more for open discussion of sex than the Kinsey report."⁶⁴ Given the repressive nature of postwar culture, it is easy to understand how and why Kinsey's research was so revolutionary.

The value and importance of Kinsey's research on the lifting of sexual conservatism in America is reflected in the work of Hugh M. Hefner. Hefner became fascinated with Kinsey's work while still a student at the University of Chicago. In an editorial published in the campus newspaper Hefner introduced the topic he would devote a lifetime to crusading for: human sexual freedom. Hefner's review of the recently published Kinsey Report questioned the sexual morals and hang-ups of the American legal system as well as the common individual:

Dr. Kinsey's book disturbs me. Not because I consider the American people overly immoral, but his study makes obvious the lack of understanding and realistic thinking gone into the formation of sex standards and laws. Our moral pretenses, our hypocrisy on matters of sex have led to incalculable frustration, delinquency and unhappiness.⁶⁵

Hefner argued that America was politically conservative and sexually repressive, and sexual abstinence encouraged marriage. He focused on Kinsey's conclusion that sexual intercourse was a natural act and a basic instinct, and could be fulfilling outside of marriage. Hefner began engineering a theory around this premise that would target young males seeking sexual fulfillment outside of marriage. In Hefner's estimation men and women could and should enjoy sex free of the constraints of marriage and societal limitations.

By 1952 Hefner had set his sights on his own publication. "I knew I wanted to start a magazine of my own. The only thing wrong with that dream was the money: I didn't have any."⁶⁶

Lacking Disney's financial prowess Hefner went about funding his magazine haphazardly. In order to obtain the necessary capital and more experience, Hefner went to work for the Publisher's Development Corporation. The \$80 a week job provided Hefner with exposure to many of the nude magazines of the time. Hefner quickly recognized that the genre sold, and did so in high volumes. As promotion manager, Hefner quickly learned how to market a magazine, no matter how sordid the content, to achieve financial gains. Hefner gained a tremendous amount of insight into how to sell magazines; he introduced himself to countless newsstand dealers, and determined the content of his own magazine.

Hefner changed jobs once again in December 1952, going to work as circulation promotion director of *Children's Activities* magazine. Specifically, Hefner's duties included implementing a direct mailing campaign to entice new subscribers, a skill Hefner successfully transferred into his own project. By this juncture Hefner was earning \$120 week.

Through the publication of a men's entertainment magazine, Hefner sought to address social attitudes toward sexuality, provide style and fashion tips, and incorporate nude photos of women along with the text. He clearly laid out his original goals, explaining his plans:

I'd like to produce an entertainment magazine for the city-bred guy— breezy, sophisticated. The girlie features would guarantee the initial sale, but the magazine would have quality too. Later, with some money in the bank, we'll begin increasing the quality—reducing the girlie features, going after advertisers—and really making it an *Esquire*-type magazine.⁶⁷

Esquire magazine played a key role in the formation of *Playboy*. *Playboy* borrowed its basic format from *Esquire*: bawdy jokes, cartoons, risqué humor, quality fiction, and fashion. But Hefner planned a gimmick that would ensure the magazines success, the centerfold. Drawing upon his various work experiences, Hefner devoted all of his efforts in April 1953 to designing a first class men's magazine.

Like Walt Disney, Hefner faced serious financial complications in getting his magazine started. In debt himself, Hefner could not invest in his own project, and most banks turned down his request for loans. Lake Shore National Bank approved a meager \$200 loan based on Hefner's full-time employment with *Children's Activities*, but denied his request for more money, citing his erratic employment history. Annoyed, Hefner applied for another loan at the Local Loan Company, using his furniture as collateral. The Local Loan Company approved a \$400 loan for Hefner's risky venture. Needing more capital, Hefner began approaching local distributors for assistance.

Many publishers shied away from nudity and other questionable material, due to the stringent obscenity laws of the time. Fearing penalties under the federal mail laws, no distributor would touch Hefner's magazine, seriously hindering Hefner's efforts to acquire financial support. Frustrated with the repressive legal system, Hefner invested the \$600 loan money and created his own distribution company, using his own name. Hugh M. Hefner, or HMMH Publishing Company, Incorporated, would market and

distribute Hefner's magazine. The creation of HMH, Inc. failed to provide the needed capital to publish the first issue.

Discouraged with the banking system, Hefner canvassed friends and family for investments in HMH Publishing Company, Inc. In exchange for investing capital in his gimmick, Hefner gave investors shares of stock in HMH. Hefner issued 18,000 shares of stock in his young company at a \$1.00 a share. Hefner explains that he sold the stock to anyone who would buy it. "I went to friends, relatives, friends of friends—anyone who'd listen."⁶⁸ Hefner managed to sell only 3000 shares, but the move earned Hefner an additional \$3,000, which he immediately applied to production costs. Ironically, the majority of Hefner's investment capital came from his religiously repressed family. His parents, not fully aware of the content of Hugh's proposed magazine, purchased \$1,000 worth of stock in HMH. His brother Keith put up \$500 for preferred stock, that Hugh agreed to buy back at twice its value within a year.⁶⁹ A few vendors received stock as payment for services provided to the first issue, a risk that made millionaires of those adventurous souls.

Lacking enough money to hire a model or a photographer, Hefner began searching for the desired nude photos for the first issue. Glancing through a trade magazine, Hefner read of the availability of Tom Kelley's nude photos of Marilyn Monroe. Fortunately for Hefner, the owner of the pictures lived in a nearby Chicago suburb. Hefner successfully secured the first nude photos of Marilyn Monroe, as well as a half dozen other photos, for \$500, a more than reasonable selling price but a large percentage of Hefner's initial start-up budget. The cost proved well worth the sacrifice of

finances as the centerfold of Marilyn Monroe in the first issue launched a sexual empire for the midwestern editor.

The nude photos of Marilyn Monroe, taken well before her acting career took off, generated massive interest in both the actress and in Hefner. In 1953, Monroe's career had just begun to skyrocket, and 20th Century Fox requested Miss Monroe deny that the pictures were of her. Monroe defied the Fox Studio order and refused to deny her participation in posing for nude photos, explaining she was hungry and needed the work. Hefner's use of her nude photo did nothing to tarnish her blooming career, nor did it harm the infant magazine. However, Marilyn Monroe never received any royalties from the sale of Kelley's photos or their use in *Playboy*.

Initially Hefner called his magazine *Stag Party*, reasoning that stag represented masculine connotations and a kinship to stag movies. With operating capital and a name secured, Hefner began approaching newsstand dealers with promotional material for his forthcoming magazine. Not only did Hefner wish to promote *Stag Party*, but he also hoped to receive advanced orders for the magazine from the national newsstand dealers. Creating stationary for the newly organized "Nationwide News Company," Hefner sent letters and reply cards to twenty-five of the largest magazine newsstand dealers in the nation. Hefner admits that the "Nationwide News Company" did not exist, but he believed distributors would be more impressed if his magazine held the prestige of being backed by what dealers believed to be a reliable company.⁷⁰ Hefner's letter promised the publication of a men's magazine put together by a group of former *Esquire* employees, featuring full-color and full-page nude photos of beautiful women. Marilyn Monroe,

Hefner told his prospective buyers, would grace the first issue, and subsequent issues would feature other male-pleasing female studies in natural color.

Pitching *Stag Party* with the gusto of an evangelical preacher, Hefner crusaded for the cause of more open sexuality, as his Calvinist grandparents had crusaded for religious salvation. The letter conveyed a belief on the part of Hefner that the time had come to rebuke previous sexual attitudes. The "Nationwide News Company" promised a sleek, glossy, upscale men's magazine of "male sexual fantasies that customers might not be embarrassed to be seen buying."⁷¹ Desiring advanced requests for only 20,000 copies, Hefner received requests from newsstand owners for 50,129 copies by May 1953.⁷² Obviously, Hefner's idea appealed to buyers and investors, and the magazine had not yet gone to print.

One roadblock remained to impede the release of the premiere issue of *Stag Party*, rights to the use of the title. As the first issue of *Stag Party* neared completion, lawyers from *Stag Magazine*, a hunting magazine, approached Hefner threatening a lawsuit based upon copyright infringement. Frustrated, Hefner agreed to drop the use of *Stag* citing personal reservations for the change in name. In the weeks preceding the magazine's release Hefner had begun to question the use of such an earthy name and its inability to convey the image he sought to create. Longtime friend and *Stag Party* employee Eldon Sellers suggested the name *Playboy* after an attractive but obsolete automobile his mother had once owned. Hefner immediately liked the idea of using the name of a sleek, stylish, and sophisticated car from the 1920s for the new men's entertainment magazine. Hefner believed *Playboy* conveyed the image he sought; the car

name suggested “high living, wild parties, wine, women, and song,” exactly the image Hefner wished to communicate with his publication.⁷³

Hefner immediately contacted former *Esquire* employee and *Stag Party* art director Art Paul and asked him to begin designing a logo to accompany the *Playboy* title. Not wanting to replicate the conservative motifs of *Esquire* or *The New Yorker*, Paul sought a more sophisticated and less human model for *Playboy*. The answer of course came in the format of the now famous rabbit. According to Paul, Hefner suggested the use of the rabbit because of its sexy reputation in the animal world. Dressing the furry animal in a tuxedo gave the debonair image Hefner sought in his logo. Paul spent a total of one half hour designing the rabbit head logo, completely unaware he was creating a cultural symbol and icon.

Late in the summer of 1953, Hefner began assembling the premier issue of *Playboy* on a card table in the living room of his small apartment. Little did Hefner know at this time, but this publication would become the “most successful magazine for men in history, influencing the sexual attitudes of a nation and introducing the concept of a new lifestyle to a world that sorely lacked one.”⁷⁴ Hefner associated sex with upward mobility and sought to create a guidebook for young men enjoying the advancements of the postwar victory culture. Using himself as a model, Hefner longed to enjoy the luxuries of the good life now attainable by the middle class thanks to the postwar economy. Hefner believed that he could appeal to young men who also felt awkward with their sexuality but desired a lifestyle not provided their fathers. His selection of the Midwest as *Playboy*'s home was not by accident. As a Midwesterner, Hefner recognized that the majority of young American males lacked the panache of New York's Madison

Avenue. Targeting this unaware and seemingly awkward audience, Hefner rebelled against moving his young magazine to the East Coast hub of publication. Writer Jack J. Kessie explained that *Playboy* "was written and edited for Hugh M. Hefner," a reasonable ploy given the perception that the magazines readership was largely like Hefner: introverted, sexually inquisitive, and in search of a more fulfilling life surrounded by beautiful women and luxury.⁷⁵

In format and content Hefner intended *Playboy* to serve as rebuke of 1950s conservative America. The magazine was to celebrate male sexuality without the presence of a wife or family. Just as Disneyland became a reflection of cultural norms rather than a counter-culture, so to did *Playboy*. From the onset, the magazine celebrated the growing consumerism available to the middle class, postwar society. Furthermore, *Playboy* not only celebrated conformity, it defined a new area of conformed ideals—the notion of the perfect female form.

By the early 1950s both Disney and Hefner stood on the verge of realizing their dream for an entertainment empire. Within the next five years, Walt would transform himself from a paranoid, nearly broke animator into a beloved television host, still paranoid, but ruling from the "Happiest Place on Earth." Hefner single-handedly would launch a magazine empire that would redefine societal sexual attitudes and change the course of men's entertainment. Each attained his goal through the successful manipulation of postwar social trends, namely the increase in material wealth and consumer consumption.

Grand Openings, Premieres, and Early Growth

The Elusive Dream:

To all who come to this happy place: Welcome. Disneyland is your land. Here, age relives fond memories of the past, and here youth may savor the challenge and promise of the future. Disneyland is dedicated to the hard facts that have created America—with the hope that it will be a source of joy and inspiration to all the world. (Disneyland Dedication Plaque, July 17, 1955.)⁷⁶

Opening day on July 17, 1955, proved a disaster caught on camera for a live TV audience. Disneyland's televised debut represented the culmination of a year's worth of weekly promotion on ABC's *Disneyland*. The grand opening also represented the first great premier in televised history, with the "greatest concentration of television equipment and operating personnel ever assembled in one place."⁷⁷ In an hour and a half of prime time coverage, Bob Cummings, Art Linkletter, and Ronald Reagan captured the opening day chaos live on twenty-two cameras. The new medium of live coverage captured the disorder honestly and spontaneously, televising every miscue perfectly, from the electrical breakdown of "Mr. Toad's Wild Ride" to "Davy Crockett's" un-timed entrance and subsequent drenching by the sprinkler system.

Murphy's law prevailed on "Black Sunday," as Disney staff fondly referred to the disastrous opening day. Thousands of people crashed the invitation-only event, making accurate attendance records impossible. Officials estimate 20-30,000 guests trampled the Park, with adults outnumbering children. Disneyland employees caught one man funneling people over a ladder into the back of the Park. Countless others counterfeited tickets to get into Disneyland.⁷⁸

Other problems stemmed from the incomplete construction of the Park. At the time of the grand opening, Disneyland was barely two-thirds complete. The Disneyland infrastructure failed to fulfill any grandiose promises. Parking lots and roads were either left incomplete or paved only hours before the Park opened, resulting in a huge mess for guests rushing to the main entrance. Problems compounded once inside the Park. The Main Street asphalt, still steaming, sucked in women's high heels as crowds rushed through the front gates. A plumbing strike prohibited the completion of water fountains and restrooms in time for the opening day ceremonies, resulting in a shortage of restrooms and no free drinking water. Given such a dismal opening, few critics believed that Disneyland would survive its first year.

On camera, "Uncle Walt" cheerfully escorted millions of viewers to the Opening Ceremony in each land and concluded with the opening of the most Disney land of all—Fantasyland. Off-camera, Disney barked in frustration at anyone around. Randy Bright, author of *Disneyland: Inside Story*, attributes Disney's uncontained frustrations on opening day to the fact that his dream for Disneyland was no longer just a dream, for with the opening of Disneyland the Dream had become realized.⁷⁹ Despite bad press after Disneyland's abysmal opening day, guests showed up in droves to explore the Park, and the guests kept coming to Disneyland as the Park attracted one million visitors in its first six months of operation.⁸⁰

"Uncle Walt" promised his television and his live audience that "as long as there is imagination left in the world, Disneyland will never be completed," prophetic, given the incompleteness of the Park at its grand opening.⁸¹ The continued growth at Disneyland throughout the first years fulfilled this promise. On opening day, Disney's

Dream represented a \$17 million, twenty-two-attraction Park. The original operating budget of \$4 million at ground breaking swelled to \$7 million by September 1954; by November 1954 the budget exceeded \$11 million.⁸² Over-budget costs severely impeded Disneyland's ability to grow rapidly. Low on capital, Disney could not offer vendors, entertainers, and employees long-term contracts.

But, of course, Disneyland became a success, and Walt immediately began expanding the Park. To begin with, he increased the Disneyland employee pool from 1,280 in 1955 to 6,200 within the first fifteen years. Secondly, Disney increased the number of attractions and adventures to entice more tourists to the new theme park. By 1967 the number of attractions had increased to fifty-two.⁸³

Disney frequently strolled through the Park, absorbing guest reaction to the attractions. If an adventure failed to meet guest expectations, he improved the ride. Disneyland attractions underwent several changes during the Park's first year. Most notably, the "Disneyland Freight Train" was replaced with a passenger train, after guests complained of being treated like cattle and mooing from the cars as the train traveled the track around the Park.

Surprise success of the December 1954 television airing of the "Davy Crockett" series made the Disney brothers rich men for the first time in the history of their partnership.⁸⁴ The "Ballad of Davy Crockett" became a pop hit, and baby boomers rushed to purchase Davy's trademark "coonskin cap" and other Davy Crockett paraphernalia. Disney sought to capitalize on the "Davy Crockett" craze at Disneyland and ordered the design and introduction of "Davy Crockett's Keelboat Race." To

involve guests in the race, the design team incorporated guest-powered canoes to accompany the attraction.

The “Davy Crockett” craze is the perfect example of Disney’s commodification of entertainment and manipulation of postwar attitudes. Disney introduced thousands of children, via his weekly television show, to American folk hero Davy Crockett. “Davy Crockett” inspired children, particularly young boys, to emulate his rugged individualism and single-handed rescue of American ideals. Games and play based on the Crockett series reinforced a reliance on weapons and the self to persevere over the evils of the “other.” Such “war play,” according to cultural critic Tom Engelhardt, gave character to generic war play.⁸⁵ The end result became a generation subconsciously raised on a fear of the “other” and a desire to defend, at any cost, the American ideal. Disney’s use of television, entertainment, and merchandise reinforced a message to young viewers that patriotism, upheld through the use of weapons, must be protected. Walt’s manipulation of the “Davy Crockett” image and message proved the most successful manipulation of a persona and ideology by the entertainment mogul up to that point. Disney’s run of “Davy Crockett” in 1954-55 created a multi-million dollar selling frenzy.⁸⁶

Douglas Gomery explains that the money earned on Disney merchandise nowhere matched the money coming in from the newly constructed theme Park. The 1950s and 60s saw the Disney Company move from “a simple niche movie maker to a corporate theme park giant.” The Disney Company had successfully completed the transition from a family business to “a core business in American Mass Culture.”⁸⁷

Walt expanded Disneyland to increase capital and profit margins first and foremost. Each improvement and added attraction increased attendance by ten percent

throughout the first year of operation. By the end of the decade, Disneyland had become one of the top vacation destinations in the country.

The last attraction Disney added to the Park before his death seriously challenged the innocent and sexless portrayal of America promoted by the rest of the Park. "The 33 Club" was an exclusive members-only, entertainment club for the employees of those companies that provided substantial financial support for Disneyland. David Koeing examines "The 33 Club" in his book *Mouse Tales: A Behind-the-Ears Look at Disneyland*, explaining that exclusive membership was restricted to four hundred members, and new members were admitted only when a member allowed his membership to lapse. Membership required an initial investment of \$5,000 for individuals and \$20,000 for corporations, with corporate membership being transferable to all executives within the company. Annual dues of \$2,000 ensured continued access to the exclusive Club. Soon after the Club's opening, five months after Walt's death, a waiting list developed, a list that according to Koeing remains several years long.⁸⁸

Desiring a behind-the-scenes location to entertain visiting dignitaries and Park investors, Disney began developing the idea for an elegant dining location away from the hustle and bustle of the Park. Preparations for the Club began in the mid-1960s while "New Orleans Square" was under construction. In conjunction with his wife and his personal interior decorator, Walt traveled to New Orleans to collect the antiques and furnishings used in the stylish club.

Existing under secrecy, the Club's entrance is cleverly tucked inconspicuously between the Blue Bayou Restaurant and Le Gourmet Specialty Shop. The only marker on the entrance is a small, gold-plated "33." The exclusive Club is even left off of

Disneyland maps. An evening at the Club, by reservation only, begins with a guided tour through the Park—admission is “free.” To enter the Club, either the guest or the guide presses a concealed red doorbell. A hostess asks for the guests’ name and verifies it against the reservation list. In the early years of the Club, members slipped their cards through a hole in the door to verify their reservation. “The 33 Club,” like the *Playboy* Club, operates with a Speakeasy aura and to an exclusive clientele.

Inside the seductive lobby a black-gowned hostess or tuxedoed host greets the visitors and escorts them to a lift that delivers them into a stylish club free of the famous Disney characters and Park motif. The décor of the Club is posh and elegant, a departure from the plastic and metal realities of the theme park below. Professional waitresses attired as French maids, in outfits not unlike their Playboy Bunny counterparts, provide guests with personalized service. Given the financial standing of the Club’s guests, tips are generous, and the Club experiences a low turnover in help. Fine food, alcohol, and a hint of the unmentionable make a dining experience at “The 33 Club” different from the Park’s themed dining areas.⁸⁹ “One might, in fact, almost forget that one was in the Magic Kingdom at all,” remarked Anthony Haden-Guest of his visit to this very un-Disney-like attraction, cleverly concealed from the throngs of unsuspecting visitors milling about below in “New Orleans Square.”⁹⁰

Despite attractions such as the “Pirates of the Caribbean” that hinted at “diversity,” Walt denied admittance into the Park to any guest whose appearance did not uphold the consensus ideals espoused by 1950s culture. Disneyland, the Park that Walt designed as a rebuke of the 1950s consensus, quickly came to reinforce the middle class values of the time. Any “diversity” present within the Park was based upon Walt’s

version and vision of culture—a white, middle class representation. In addition to eliminating culture from the themed areas of Disneyland, Walt restricted admittance based upon dress and physical appearance, a policy that carried over into the next decade. During the 1960s, Disneyland remained off-limits to men with long hair, or unorthodox attire, guests with no shoes, and anyone sporting a “different” appearance.⁹¹ Disney’s control did not stop with the appearance of his “guests.” He dictated appearance guidelines to his employees as well.

Training and control of employees at Disneyland mirrored the other-directed white collar, organization men and women discussed by social critics of the time. Handbooks full of quotations and directions from Disney told each cast member how to act, what to think, what to say, and how to look, stressing the organization over the individual.⁹² The handbook justified such strict control by explaining that “into each life some conformity must fall, and quite a bit falls into yours when it comes to your ‘stage’ appearance.”⁹³ Disney reigned over his theme park with lunacy and ironclad control. As a result, Disneyland replicated the status quo of the 1950s rather than served as a reaction against consensus ideals.

Disney was not alone in his failure to provide a reprieve from the conformity of the era, Hugh Hefner’s publication empire quickly failed in its original mission in much the same manner as Disneyland. Like Disney, Hefner ruled over his publication kingdom with obsessive control, resulting in *Playboy*’s becoming a magazine celebrating the conformity and homogeneity of society rather than providing its intended escape.

Unlike the disastrous opening day at Disneyland, *Playboy* hit the newsstands in November 1953 with immediate success, placing an indelible mark on the publishing

world and the American cultural landscape. For Hefner it was a dream come true.

Playboy initially challenged conservative America by offering a different way to look at life, and more importantly a different way to view male sexuality. Accordingly, Hefner explained the goal of his magazine to be a handbook for the young urban male.⁹⁴

Eventually the magazine expanded to incorporate social issues other than sexuality, and the magazine became a supposed statement of rebellion against many social cultural practices.

Playboy's sudden success surprised no one more than the twenty-seven year old Hefner. Risking bankruptcy and embarrassment, Hefner did not put his name or a date on the first issue. Hefner reasoned that without a date printed on the cover he could hold the magazine over another month if he failed to sell enough copies initially. Based on interest in Marilyn Monroe's nude photo, the first issue of *Playboy* sold 53,000 copies of the 70,000 Hefner printed. The first issue sold for a mere fifty cents.⁹⁵ By the second issue Hefner proudly placed his name on the masthead as editor and publisher and began enjoying the financial success and recognition of the magazine.

Despite the instant success of the magazine, Hefner cased several magazine stands to ensure optimum exposure. If other magazines blocked the cover of *Playboy*, Hefner slyly rearranged the setting in order to give his magazine prime exposure. Drawing from his experience in magazine promotion, Hefner promoted *Playboy* with an exaggerated gusto to guarantee proper distribution and success. Hefner's marketing efforts worked; by December 1954 *Playboy's* circulation reached 100,000, and by late 1956 *Playboy* enjoyed a circulation of 600,000.⁹⁶

At the front of the premier issue Hefner laid out the magazine's purpose and intent: *Playboy* was to be a magazine for the young urban male, but not for family consumption. Hefner promised that *Playboy*'s content would "form a pleasure primer styled for the masculine taste." Men's magazines of the time focused on outdoor recreation: *Playboy* focused on indoor recreation. Hefner clarified his mission in the first issue: "We like our apartment, we enjoy mixing up cocktails and an hors d'oeuvre or two, putting a little mood music on the phonograph and inviting in a female acquaintance for a quiet discussion on Picasso, Nietzsche, jazz, sex."⁹⁷ Hefner defended his mission statement by explaining that, according to him, sex was more of a social than a physical experience.

Early issues lacked the glossy and sleek images of today, but the magazine's concept won over readers. Hefner attributed *Playboy*'s early popularity to the magazine's concept that in his opinion was "so on target and right for the times."⁹⁸ Due to a small operating budget and other early bugs, Hefner could not hire a photographer for the first year; therefore, Hefner had to purchase the nude photos from trade magazines and photographers. Consequently, subsequent centerfolds lacked Marilyn Monroe's sex appeal. Nonetheless, readers loved the *Playboy* concept and requested more. *Playboy* provided an early tutorial on the new American lifestyle, explaining to men how to enjoy the gifts of a prosperous economy as well as pretty girls.

Ray Russell, one of *Playboy*'s early writers and editors, argues that *Playboy* appealed to the male public's desire for escaping the confines of postwar society. According to Russell, Hefner's immediate success can be attributed to the magazine's manipulation of postwar attitudes, "It was a matter of being the right magazine able to

take advantage of a rising economy more than any degree of conscious planning.”⁹⁹

Playboy's success promised growth for the small magazine. By early 1954, Hefner had moved *Playboy* from his apartment to its first office, ironically across the street from Chicago's Gothic Cathedral. In fact the entire neighborhood contained religious offices, churches, and a convent.

Manipulating the postwar victory culture and Cold War attitudes toward sex, Hefner developed the salient feature of his magazine, the "*Playboy Playmate*." The development of the "*Playboy Playmate*" became the major selling feature of the magazine and arguably the most potent symbol challenging American views of sexuality. The Playmate symbolized the nice girl next door, someone you would want to meet—she just happened to take her clothes off, explained Hefner in 1954. For the first Playmate, Hefner chose longtime friend and *Playboy* subscription manager, Charlene Karalus. Hefner changed her name to Janet Pilgrim, a ploy to reflect the Puritan values and lifestyle of 1950s America. Blond and blue-eyed, Charlene embodied the image of “the girl next door.” She was real, and more importantly explained Hefner, she was attainable.¹⁰⁰ Charlene's appearance in *Playboy* proclaimed that “nice girls like sex too!” and the quintessential Playboy himself appeared as a tuxedoed blur in her July 1955 photo.¹⁰¹

Hefner personally selected the monthly Playmate each month. The young women featured in *Playboy* represented not the erotic, sultry, or sensual women portrayed in other skin magazines of the time; rather, Hefner selected young, innocent, fresh-faced, bubbly, seemingly inexperienced women to grace the pages of *Playboy*. Working on the assumption that *Playboy* readers retained similar interests as Hefner himself, he selected

the Playmates based upon his own desires and fantasies. Often these girls became more than nude models for the magazine; many became the object of Hefner's advances, a habit that made the editor notorious.

Critic Frank Gibney viewed Hefner not as a sexual liberator but more as an exploiter of American Puritanism. In Gibney's opinion the more Hefner tried to be hip, the more he failed.¹⁰² Even after the magazine's insured success and popularity, Hefner remained on the outside looking in, and efforts to reinvent his lifestyle failed, further perpetuating Hefner's eccentric and reclusive behavior. Hugh Hefner appears much like F. Scott Fitzgerald's Jay Gatsby, throwing grand parties, opening his home to lavish social spectacles, and surrounding himself with luxury and beauty. Yet like Gatsby, Hefner failed to completely fit into his new surroundings.

Like Disney's obsessive reign over all things Disney, Hefner devoted all of his time to the development of future issues of *Playboy*, obsessively working twenty-four hours a day, three to four days a week. Production manager John Mastro left *Esquire* for *Playboy* in the spring of 1955 and remembers Hefner as a perfectionist, involved in every aspect of the magazine: "There was nothing he didn't look at, and he knew what he wanted."¹⁰³ Under the pressure of long hours and Hefner's reinvention of himself as bachelor and playboy, Hefner's marriage dissolved in 1959.

Thomas Weyr discusses the early contradictions present in the magazine, explaining that Hefner believed *Playboy* to be a crusading journal, waging war against censorship and leading the vanguard of the sexual revolution. While other *Playboy* employees described the magazine as a reflection of the times. Ray Russell discredited Hefner's view, explaining that though the young *Playboy* staff would have liked to fancy

themselves as “bold iconoclasts and shapers of public opinion,” but it simply was not the case. “We were not seriously involved in the larger scene,” explained Russell. Russell attributes *Playboy*’s organizational problems to the youth of the staff and their lack of connection to civic and public affairs, as well as the absence of intellectuals on the *Playboy* staff. All were intelligent and witty, Russell recalls, but none were intellectuals in his estimation. Jack Kessie extended Russell’s argument, explaining that, “we tried not to operate in a social-political vacuum, but sometimes we did.” Russell and Kessie blame Hefner for *Playboy*’s lack of social-political savvy in the early years. Countering Mastro’s description of Hefner’s involvement in the magazine, Kessie charges that “Hef never read any issue cover-to-cover,” and he vetoed repeated attempts to increase the value of literature and focus less on “tits and ass.” As Kessie recalls, Hefner defended his decision, explaining, “T&A tastefully done sold the magazine.”¹⁰⁴ Regardless of Hefner’s adamant position, he recognized the need to expand the growing magazine to ensure continued readership.

While Disney was expanding Disneyland to attract more members of the middle class, Hefner was also expanding his publication company to attract a larger middle class readership. In April 1956, Hefner recognized *Playboy*’s lack of panache and the magazine’s need to establish a smooth professional look in order to distance it from other seedier publications. Hefner approached this task on two fronts. To begin with, Hefner defined exactly what a Playboy was in the April 1956 edition. The early self-definition, penned by Hefner, appeared on the inside back cover and read:

WHAT IS A PLAYBOY? . . . he can be a sharp-minded young business executive, a worker in the arts, a university professor, an architect or engineer. He can be many things, providing he possesses a certain *point of view*. He must see life not as a vale of tears, but as a happy time; he must take joy in his work, without regarding it as the end and all of living; he must be an alert man, an aware man, a man of taste, a man sensitive to pleasure, a man who—without acquiring the stigma of the voluptuary or dilettante—can live life to the hilt. This is the sort of man we mean when we use the word *playboy*.¹⁰⁵

Secondly, Hefner sought someone with sophistication and experience to run his magazine. The search resulted in the hiring of Editorial Director Auguste Comte Spectorisky. Author of *The Exurbanites*, a social document exploring the changing social patterns brought about by the new affluence of the 1950s, Spectorisky's career was viewed both as tainted and distinguished due to suspected plagiarism. Spectorisky's career included stints at *The New Yorker*, 20th Century Fox, and the *Chicago Sun Times*; completing his resume was an impressive list of social and literary contacts in New York—an asset Hefner desired for his magazine. Hefner justified his decision to hire Spectorisky, stating, "I was looking for someone who had good editorial credentials and ideally came from the East."¹⁰⁶ *Playboy* had long been criticized for its lack of East Coast polish, and Hefner sought to impress cultural critics of his magazine.

Spectorisky immediately set about improving the literary and social-political aspects of the magazine. By the January 1957 issue, Hefner and Spectorisky put *Playboy's* new "commitments to quality" in print. Introducing the *Playbill*, Hefner promised, "We here highly resolve to give our readers even better fiction, cartoons, articles, photo features, humor, coverage of fashion, food and drink, better everything in 1957."¹⁰⁷ The January 1957 issue maintained its promise with the publication of a Ray Bradbury story, never before published artwork of Pablo Picasso, and the announcement

of a \$1,000 fiction award. In May 1957, articles of social commentary appeared with the publication of TV critic John Crosby's article, "It's Like This with TV." Crosby's article explored television's problems with sex and advertising. Targeting what he perceived as Madison Avenue's anti-sexual stance and TV's inability to use sex as entertainment, Crosby's groundbreaking article provided a scathing indictment of TV and advertising. Thomas Weyr explains the impact of Crosby's article on the magazine as well as on society: "For 1957 this was raw stuff, and few other popular magazines would have given Crosby space for making sex the focus of media analysis and advertising criticism."¹⁰⁸ The publication of Crosby's article established non-fiction as a salient feature of *Playboy*.

As Disneyland attractions expanded to attract more visitors, *Playboy*'s format expanded to attract more readers. By the magazine's fifth anniversary, Hefner's original publication formula had been expanded to include social commentary and literature features. *Playboy* published many important writers of the twentieth century, including Ernest Hemingway, Jack Kerouac, Allen Ginsburg, Timothy Leary, and Arthur Miller. To complement the award winning fiction, *Playboy* merged commercial art and fine art. Arthur Paul, founding Art Director at *Playboy*, used fine artists to illustrate the magazine's fiction and non-fiction pieces.¹⁰⁹ Under Spector's guidance as Editorial Director, the magazine paraded some big names of the literary world along with its newly developed journalistic quality and "marched them side by side with nudity, service features, and dreadful trivia."¹¹⁰

Like Disney, Hefner exploited the new medium of television to promote and expand his empire. In 1959, Hefner launched a television series designed to promote the magazine and to improve the image of *Playboy* by convincing would-be subscribers and

advertisers that it was not a dirty magazine. With a re-invented image, Hefner debuted “*Playboy’s Penthouse*” on October 24, 1959. A suave Hefner, complete with pipe and silk evening jacket, welcomed the television audience each week to his televised party. Set in a bachelor pad—much like ones featured in the magazine—the show reflected the atmosphere of the magazine while offering a glimpse into Hefner’s private life as a playboy.

The program showcased top performers of the era along with many of Hefner's "Playmates." In content, format, and appearance the televised “*Playboy’s Penthouse*,” challenged conservative tastes by showcasing controversial guests, both black and white, together socially. *Playboy’s Penthouse* was syndicated in thirty-one cities and Canada, but some stations in the South refused to air episodes because the show featured black performers in a racially integrated setting.¹¹¹ With production costs totaling a quarter of a million dollars, the show's run ended after twenty-six episodes.¹¹² Hefner’s inadequacies as a television host contributed to the show's demise. Under the scrutiny of the television lens, Hefner became terribly nervous and sucked loudly on a tobacco-less pipe, once again paralleling an uncomfortable Gatsby on the fringe of his great party. Despite Hefner's inadequacies as a host, the show succeeded in its goal of improving the magazine’s image.

The *Playboy* Empire expanded with the February 29, 1960, opening of the Chicago *Playboy* Club, which became the cornerstone of a second empire for the entertainment mogul. Like Disney’s “The 33 Club,” the *Playboy* Club was an exclusive members-only club aimed at high fashion, fine food, sexual freedom, and anti-establishment platforms. Within one year, membership topped 50,000 with anxious

would be members, or key holders as Hefner termed them, waiting in line to join. By 1963 *Playboy* Clubs had opened in Miami, New Orleans, New York, Phoenix, and Detroit. The *Playboy* Clubs became the largest and most successful nightclub chain in history, with two-dozen clubs and resorts spanning half the globe.¹¹³ By 1967, more than a million key holders belonged to the *Playboy* Clubs worldwide.

The main attraction of the *Playboy* Club's quickly became the famous "Playboy Bunnies." Beautiful women dressed in bunny suits, complete with ears and a tail, provided entertainment and refreshments for the Club's guests. Hefner's Bunnies, like Disney's Cast Members, were each bound to a strict set of rules regarding personal appearance and behavior while on duty. Despite criticisms of sexual exploitation by critics such as journalist Gloria Steinem, many former Bunnies argued that they enjoyed favorable working conditions and higher wages than other employers were willing to pay women at the time. Regardless of criticism by feminists and other critics, Hefner's Clubs and bunny clad employees challenged the morals of society and firmly established the *Playboy* Bunny as a pop culture icon for a quarter of a century.

In addition to the Bunny, the *Playboy* Clubs became famous for the top entertainment showcased at each Club. On January 13, 1961, *Playboy* broke the color barrier by allowing comedian Dick Gregory to perform at the Chicago club. Given the party atmosphere and the secluded and controlled setting, Gregory described the Club as a "Disneyland for adults."¹¹⁴

Hefner's success escalated by the end of 1960, selling over a million copies a month of the magazine, a television show, and a flourishing members-only exclusive Club. A home start magazine that was initially designed to be a rebuke of the times,

shifted from counter-culture to the mainstream as Hefner continued to push the boundaries of the magazine well into the 1970s. The explosive atmosphere of the 1960s propelled the growth of *Playboy* as Hefner changed direction with his magazine.

National and international events combined to create a turbulent atmosphere in America, and like Disney, Hefner cleverly responded to social tensions, charting new ground for the magazine. The 1960s provided the impetus for *Playboy* to expand its direction and scope.

In 1962, Hefner responded to what he perceived as misguided criticisms of the magazine with the *Playboy Philosophy*. Put simply, the *Playboy Philosophy* laid out the tenets of Hefner's goals to erase sexual oppression by focusing on personal pleasure and gratification. However, the *Philosophy* quickly took on a more activist approach, tackling social and political topics of the decade. An editorial denouncing uptight sexual attitudes quickly turned into the 150,000-word social commentary that ran for two and half years in twenty-five installments. The *Philosophy* touched off a heated public debate across the nation. Overwhelming reader response to the *Philosophy* led to the creation of the *Playboy Forum* in July 1963. The *Forum* provided an arena for reader-editor dialogue regarding issues raised in the *Philosophy*.

Promising diversity, the *Playboy Forum* led to the creation of the *Playboy Foundation*, the action arm of the *Playboy Philosophy*. Targeting such issues as censorship and restrictive sex laws, the *Foundation* led several successful legal battles aimed at the destroying the postwar status quo. The *Foundation* also supported financially a series of court battles that culminated in the Supreme Court's *Roe v. Wade* decision. Beyond court battles and legal pursuits, the *Foundation* funded sex research,

primarily by Masters and Johnson and the Kinsey Institute.¹¹⁵ At the point in which Hefner introduced the *Playboy Forum*, *Philosophy*, and *Foundation*, American culture was immersed in the counter-culture movement, fighting for civil rights, equal rights, and protesting America's growing involvement in Vietnam. No longer was Hefner reacting against the status quo, rather, he was responding to and reflecting social attitudes of the time.

A world famous Hugh Hefner appeared on the March 3, 1967, *Time* magazine cover just one year after he relocated *Playboy* Enterprises to a thirty-seven story skyscraper on Chicago's famed Michigan Avenue. By this juncture Hefner's eccentric and reclusive behavior had culminated in his conducting business from his lavish bedroom office in the infamous *Playboy* Mansion. By 1968 the sexual revolution was in full swing, and Hefner enjoyed a personal fortune of over \$200 million, making him one of the richest self-made men in the world.

As the conservative 1950s gave way to the turbulent 1960s, Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner transformed their entertainment empires to respond to the needs of their audience. Initially, Disneyland and *Playboy* answered the call for non-conformist entertainment, but early in each empire's development they became models of the consensus. Put simply, as the times changed, Disneyland and *Playboy* also changed. Instead of continuing to react against culture, each empire absorbed cultural changes to satisfy and attract audiences. By the end of the 1960s both Disney and Hefner were enjoying the benefits of success. Events and changes in the 1970s would seriously challenge both dynasties and change the direction of each empire. Disney's death in 1968 placed Disneyland under precarious leadership with an uncertain future.

Simultaneously, other editors who sought to challenge Hefner's reign over men's entertainment introduced bawdy publications that threatened the genre's format. The cultural impact of the 1950s on the development of Disneyland and *Playboy* is undeniable. The era provided the backdrop for their development as well as the impetus for growth, even if both entertainment empires transferred from areas of escape to models of the consensus ideology.

Plastic Reality in the American Consensus

Time correspondent Richard Corliss pinpointed the mid-1950s as the moment when “our physical as well as our social environment changed [and] the contemporary American landscape was born.”¹¹⁶ Corliss argues that television, rock & roll, and baby boomers contributed to the change in the cultural landscape as they mounted a takeover of American culture. Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner manipulated this newly constructed landscape by constructing plastic visions of America. Initially intended to be areas of escape from middle-class conformity, Disney and Hefner’s visions became reflections of the practicing consensus.

Kenneth Helphand explores the development of cultural landscapes in the postwar years and the impact those landscapes had on the development of late twentieth century culture. In theory, cultural landscapes represent the product of the aspirations of the previous generation—a generation that survived economic depression to enjoy the benefits of the postwar victory culture. Undeniably, the development of cultural landscapes arose out of postwar society’s quest for consumer convenience, a convenience that came at a price. Helphand targets seven key cultural landscapes that arose as products of the 1950s consensus: the interstate highway system, McDonalds, Disneyland, Victor Gruen’s architecture, the Boeing 707, the westward migration of the Giants and the Dodgers, and Suburbanization.¹¹⁷ In Helphand’s estimation, Disneyland exists as the key landscape representing modern America. Similarly, *Playboy* exists as the key landscape representing male views of the female physique—representations that permeated

Hollywood, the film industry, and popular culture to define the perfect female form for modern America.

Quickly these cultural landscapes became areas of escape for a society seeking convenience and safety from Cold War fears. The appearance of cultural landscapes challenged the physical landscape of America, further entrenching the nation in placelessness, or rather a non-unique landscape corrupted by urban sprawl and suburban conformity.

E. Relph argues in *Place and Placelessness* that “fantasylands,” or areas of escape, become destinations for people seeking to escape the drab, corrupt, inefficient reality of the urban center. Relph explains that the “disneyfication” of an area produces a synthetic reality based on a surrealistic combination of history, myth, reality and fantasy that have little or no relationship with the particular geographical location.¹¹⁸ The creation of tourist locations and fantasylands lends to the development of what E. Relph terms “other-directed architecture.” Other-directed architecture “is deliberately directed towards outsiders, spectators, passers-by, and above all consumers.”¹¹⁹

“Disneyfication,” or the creation of a fantasyland, lends to the creation of tourist locations as refuges from everyday reality and in the process destroys the local landscape. Richard Weinstein expands this argument further, explaining that eventually these “other” locations became areas of suspicion and threat as crime, violence, and decay invaded the secured landscapes.

Disney recognized the elemental changes in American culture that had occurred in the first half of the century and constructed Disneyland as an escape from those changes. Chaos, crime, and squalor, in Disney’s estimation, had invaded the urban scene,

and in response he “embraced control, exclusivity, minute planning, and fastidious sanitation to actualize a segregated promised land of perfection where technology solves all of civilization’s problems.”¹²⁰ Disney utilized order to eliminate chaos and technological wizardry to promote safety in an attempt to create the perfect model landscape. Ultimately, despite Walt’s efforts, the ills he sought to protect his guests from would invade his magic land.

The most striking difference between Disneyland and other amusement parks is Disneyland's relation to the outside environment. Elements of real, everyday life are eliminated in order to ensure a fantasy space, or more specifically a controlled environment. Yoshimoto explains that “the more successful Disneyland is in its creation of fantasy space, the less consciousness visitors are of its fantastic nature.”¹²¹ Design and construction ensure escape from the outside for all visitors to the “Happiest Place on Earth.” Disney’s earthen berm cradles guests into believing that evil does not exist, at least within the perimeters of the Park.

In his critique of urban development, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940*, John Findlay argues that through the construction of controlled areas within the chaotic city, westerners were able to “impart a sense of community and stability to an urban region characterized by explosive growth and rapid change.”¹²² Therefore, Disneyland came to represent and symbolize all of the perceived ills concentrated in the massive population redistribution and growth of the postwar era. Findlay examines the impact of Disneyland on the cultural landscape, stating that the construction of Disneyland significantly altered urban development, as the theme park quickly became a model for built urban environments.

Disney originally envisioned Disneyland as an antidote to the perceived malaise of the day. In other words, Disneyland was to be a place visitors could escape to, and while in the protective cocoon of the Park's earthen berm, drop their defenses and forget their fears.¹²³ Findlay attributes the success of Disneyland to the Park's designers who masterfully created an area in which all movement and contact is controlled. Walt believed his vision for Disneyland was the vision of an ideal world. As such, Disneyland promised to be more than a mere escape from the ills of the atomic society--but also a model for society to follow.¹²⁴

In 1954, leading Hollywood gossip columnist Hedda Hopper described Disney's goal as an attempt "to take people from this tense, nerve-killing world of today into a dream one of yesterday and tomorrow." John Hench extended Hopper's assessment, explaining, "Disneyland is symbolic that all is right in the world. There, the guest walks through an atmosphere of order and cleanliness and comes away feeling that things must be right, after all." Walt wanted his guests to feel better about themselves and the world in which they lived. One journalist reflected that "a visit to Disneyland will act like a tonic in restoring your faith in the things to come despite the threat of atom bombs and guided missiles and come-what-may."¹²⁵ Disneyland imagineers strove to create an atmosphere in which guests could forget the day-to-day while simultaneously being reassured that good would always prevail over evil. In some respects Walt accomplished this goal through the absence of the present at Disneyland.

In design and concept, Walt Disney intended his theme park to be timeless and placeless--segregated from the outside world. Findlay explains that Disney's attempt to create a timeless landscape is reinforced through the lack of the present within the Park.

At Disneyland only the past and the future exist, creating an atmosphere in which customers escaped from the present and visited a better world--the world of yesterday and the world of tomorrow.¹²⁶ This concept is reinforced through the names Walt gave each land in his park: Adventureland, Tomorrowland, Frontierland, and Fantasyland. Each suggests nostalgia for the mythical past, hope in future technology, the safety of tomorrow, and an absence of the present.

Extending his argument, Findlay explains that while Disneyland is a product of a specific place--the urban sprawl of postwar affluence--it is also the product of a specific time. Disneyland, in Findlay's opinion, embodied the optimism and the suburbanization that accompanied postwar affluence: "[Disneyland] succeeded not so much because it allowed people to escape from the present as because it capitalized so brilliantly on postwar tastes and trends. It enshrined the Cold War and all the things for which it stood."¹²⁷ Despite Disney's efforts, Disneyland simultaneously influenced and accurately expressed the mood of the 1950s American culture.

Disney desired that the 1950s suburban life, complete with the family car, be abandoned in the parking lot. However, Karal Ann Marling argues that in design and layout "Main Street USA" represented the uniformity and scale of a typical suburban residential street. Despite its movie set disguise, "Main Street USA" functions like a suburban shopping mall. Marling goes on to explain that "shopping became a key motif in the iconographic structure of Disneyland." Ultimately, Main Street celebrated and profited from postwar consumerism. Cultural geographer Richard Francaviglia described "Main Street USA" as the "allegorical touchstone for this 'Disneyized' history of Cold War America. It was what America was and provides the bedrock security for what is to

be."¹²⁸ Marling goes on to argue that in a pluralistic, rapidly changing society, Disneyland provided an outlet for worry-free consumption, coupled with technological optimism and nostalgia for the good old days.¹²⁹

By creating a planned environment Walt's vision was semi-fulfilled in that the Park provided relief from the outside ills and provided the visitor with a sense that all would be fine--that is until the phenomenon of urban sprawl invaded Disneyland. Despite the Park's financial success, it failed in its objective as a refuge. Rather than allowing visitors to forget the outside world, guests were met with the same problems at Disneyland. Design historian Reyner Banham commented in 1971 that "what happened inside Disneyland bore a direct relationship to what was going on outside the gates."¹³⁰ To begin with, Disneyland was conceptualized and designed to rely on the automobile as the primary means of access to the Park. Walt's Anaheim location for his Park provided the sought-after escape from the urbanization and unruly elements of Los Angeles, but isolated it from mass transit connections. Such isolation succeeded in ensuring a middle-class clientele, but it also simultaneously promised uncontrollable growth to meet the demands of millions of tourists visiting Disneyland via automobile on extended trips.¹³¹

As the Park grew in popularity, Walt expanded his vision to accommodate the growing number of visitors, creating a similar growth pattern to that of the Southern California landscape from which the Park was originally intended to provide refuge. Success begat growth, which begat sprawl within the Park, resulting in a significantly more urbanized Park than Disney originally desired.¹³²

Critics and cynics of Disneyland questioned Disney's ability to successfully align entertainment and corporate America. Cultural critics questioned his attempt to merge

well-known entertainment with the public domain at such a high cost. Criticized heavily for the Park's costs, Disney scorned those critics who accused him of providing "just another roadside tourist trap."¹³³ Novelist Julian Halevy condemned Disneyland's commercialism, arguing that "at Disneyland the whole world . . . has been reduced to a sickening blend of cheap commercial formulas packaged to sell." Halevy extended his argument further by targeting the conformist lifestyle that Disney sought to provide refuge from, explaining that Disneyland represents a "grim indictment of the way of life for which this feeble sham represented escape and adventure."¹³⁴ Arguably, Disneyland succeeded due to its creator's commodification of entertainment, which reflected the rise in middle class consumerism.

Despite such criticism, Walt did receive praise for his entertainment venture. Pro-Disney critics often celebrated Disneyland's plastic vision of America. Author Ray Bradbury loved Disneyland because of its use of safe, predictable, and tireless gimmicks. In Bradbury's estimation Disneyland "was utopian, perfected--or perfectible." Bradbury and other celebrants of the Park praised Disney's masterful "tension between perfection and reality, between the real and the more or less real, [as] the primary source of the visitor's delight."¹³⁵ Disneyland succeeded due to Walt's genius in regaining paradise lost, argues Judith Adams in her study of Disney's impact on the amusement park industry:

This place of fantasy [Disneyland], fortified against the intrusion of the real world by a massive barrier, actualizes a perfect world of pleasure where electronics, plastics, and psychology are harnessed for fun and escape from the fetters of adulthood. Its ingenious juxtaposition of advanced technologies with a nostalgic atmosphere of simpler times and locales preserves an ideal vision of American history. With phenomenal success it mirrors the desires of its 'guests' regarding the shape of the future.¹³⁶

Yet despite such public praise, intellectuals continued to discredit Disneyland and Walt for capitalizing on a society hopelessly corrupted by TV, suburbia, and tailfins.

Disney manipulated the postwar victory culture mentality to create the ultimate plastic vision of America. Relph argues that Disneyland embodied Cold War ideals in that "Disney[land] is a world without violence, confrontation, ideological or racial clashes, without politics . . . It is a world that is white, Anglo-Saxon and Puritan Protestant, often red-neck, void of ethnic cast."¹³⁷ Pro-Disney critics argue that Walt created the ideal personification of the American Dream in his plastic and safe land, a mirage reinforced by the presence of nostalgic "Main Street USA" at the Park's entrance. Further reinforcing this aura of safety is the manufactured and guided journey through the Park.

Steven Watts explains the impact of Disney's Cold War vision on American culture as the celebration of the individual, family loyalty, industriousness, competence, technological ingenuity, and religion in direct contrast to images of Soviet communal automaton. "In a subtle and entertaining fashion, [Disney] articulated a compelling American ideology for his fellow citizens which helped ground their opposition to their godless, collectivist foes in the international struggle."¹³⁸ Cold War liberals championed a pragmatic view of America as the exporter of democracy, capitalism, and peace throughout the world. Disney became a voice for American fears and ideals as well as a representative of its politics and ideologies. By depicting small town values and an interest in science and technology at Disneyland, Walt helped to cement the Cold War consensus through entertainment.

Disney projects throughout the Cold War focused on American individualism, trumpeting the ordinary, hardworking citizen as the heart of the country. Engaging Cold War issues and preoccupations in the venue of popular culture, Disney balanced his political agenda with entertainment to create a vision of America based upon “self-reliant individualism and the virtues of the folk [that] could converge to produce a utopian society.”¹³⁹ Disney’s professional goals and private ideologies blurred in the construction of Disneyland, his vision of America.

Americans turned to the past in an effort to comprehend the atomic age. Steven Watts posits that “‘Americanism’ came to connote a love of continuity and respect for the past. For Americans, history became an instrument of cultural nationalism in the struggle with an ideology of rootless radicalism.”¹⁴⁰ Walt accommodated this national turn inward through construction of a theme park that celebrated the American past as well as the American future.

Disney, according to Watts, Disney populated Disneyland with characters depicting ordinary citizens earning an honest living and pursuing the American Dream.¹⁴¹ Quickly, the American Way became synonymous with the Disney Way. As the Disney Studio rose in prominence in the early years of the Cold War, Disney rapidly became a symbol of Americanism. Indiana Senator Homer Capehart professed Walt Disney’s cultural importance before Congress, explaining that, Disney “epitomizes the creative spirit which has made America great.”¹⁴² Marc Eliot, in his scathing biography of Disney, *Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince*, disagrees with any positive assessment of Disney and his impact on American Culture. In Eliot's estimation, Disney manipulated the tensions of the time to secure a place he believed he deserved in American history:

Toward the end of his life, Disney's weekly hosting of the popular television series that bore his name reinforced his public image as everybody's kindly uncle. This image was further enhanced by the monument he built to his own legend, baptized "Disneyland," an amusement park dedicated to the memory of the happy childhood he never had. Disneyland confirmed Disney's place in the iconography of innocent indigenous American childhood, right alongside apple pie, summer vacations, baseball, ice cream, and, of course, Mickey Mouse.¹⁴³

Eliot argues that a paranoid Walt Disney built one of the most powerful symbols of postwar American culture based on lunacy and control. Walt imparted his sense of control onto the Disneyland landscape, but as Eliot argues, Walt's concept of control was defined and guided by his personal lunacy. In design, presentation, and conception Disneyland represents anything but the carefree days of childhood. Rather, Disneyland is representative of Disney's paranoia within the Hollywood film industry, the childhood memories he invented, and his unfaltering pursuit of control. Disneyland's continued popularity is proof that Disney did succeed in the manipulation of postwar victory culture. He created the "Happiest Place on Earth" as an escape from the ills of urban sprawl, suburbanization, and atomic threat, and despite his failure to control any of the ramifications of the consensus mentality, Disneyland flourished to represent the practicing consensus.

Like Disneyland, *Playboy* was a product of the postwar victory culture and a reaction to the consensus ideology of the time. Designed as a respite from the constricting moral views of the 1950s, *Playboy* ultimately became a celebration of conformity. In his biography of Hefner, Frank Brady concludes that *Playboy* came into being as a result of the Age of Consensus: "In many ways, *Playboy* was the inevitable result of the conformity of the Eisenhower-McCarthy era. America and the silent generation finally rebelled."¹⁴⁴ Troubled by stifling social norms, Hefner sought to

revolutionize American male sexuality and succeeded in bringing sexual topics and imagery into the cultural mainstream.

By the end of the 1950s, *Playboy* had become more than merely a men's entertainment magazine. Hefner's small home-start operation was in a position to take on more terrain and expand in quality and in doing so increased the magazine's influence on American society. Thomas Weyr appropriately concluded, "Like it or not, *Playboy* demanded to be taken seriously, and it had reached a level of quality where it so would be."¹⁴⁵ The images of women portrayed in the pages of *Playboy* would later come under fire by feminist groups and critics of the magazine as being unrealistic and harmful to the development of young girls self-esteem.

Hefner and his trusty investors became millionaires by 1960 as a result of the magazine's immediate success. Beyond a publishing phenomenon, *Playboy* represented a celebration of the young male with the overriding message of "celebrate your life."¹⁴⁶ *Playboy* instructed young males on what to eat, what cocktails to drink, what car to drive, what clothes to wear, what movies to see, what books to read, and most importantly, how to bring home women. Barbara Ehrenreich, author of the *The Hearts of Men*, explained that the magazine encouraged a sense of membership in a fraternity of male rebels, thus ensuring success of the publication.¹⁴⁷ The *Playboy* headquarters in Chicago quickly became the headquarters for young males in the newly waged battle of the sexes in 1950s America. Aimed at a male audience, *Playboy* made no apologies for excluding women from its readership. In fact, in the first issue Hefner encouraged women to pass on any issue of *Playboy* picked up to the men in their life.

With the publication of the first issue Hefner made his goal clear: to reclaim the indoors for the urban male forced outside by the sexually repressive atmosphere of the 1950s. Men, in Hefner's estimation, could reign over the domestic surroundings previously controlled by females and women would only be invited as guests into the domain of the sexually aloof male. "In 1953, the notion that the good life consisted of an apartment with mood music rather than a ranch house with barbecue pit was almost subversive," explains Ehrenreich.¹⁴⁸ *Playboy's* success in 1953 is due to the state of the nation.

To his readers, Hefner represented the pioneer rebel against conformity. *Playboy* provided an alternative lifestyle for the young urban male not yet ready for the status quo of the time. In 1950s America characterized by the Cold War and the consensus mentality, sex became a way for young men to express opposition to the formation of the family unit. Through *Playboy*, Hefner sought to embrace sex as a moral good as well as a moral imperative. Hefner recognized his role as challenger to the accepted values of the time, and he justified his vision in 1963, stating, "Americans had become increasingly concerned with security, the safe and the sure, the certain and the known . . . it was unwise to voice an unpopular opinion." But Hefner readily accepted the challenge.

While challenging men to depart from the established life path by remaining single and enjoying life, the magazine did emphasize and reinforce a strong work ethic. *Playboy* encouraged men to work harder and climb the ladder of success. *Playboy* often attacked the institution of marriage, encouraging men to remain single and "free"—a revolutionary message in the mid-1950s as the movement to the suburbs hit full stride, and society valued the family unit as the pinnacle of success.¹⁴⁹ Initially, *Playboy*

shamelessly scoffed at the conformity of the decade, challenging its readers to have fun. Hefner argues that *Playboy* allowed young males a way of opposing the elder establishment without endangering their future careers. Hefner—through the glossy pages of *Playboy*—told male readers that sex was natural and healthy, that sex the *Playboy* way was acceptable.

Nonetheless, Hefner and *Playboy* merely reinforced the deeper cultural values. Sociologist Martha Wolfenstein described the postwar economic shift as one of consumer ethic to fun morality, and Hefner's *Playboy* answered the call for entertainment for men. Recognizing that America was entering a promised land of unmatched prosperity and affluence, Hefner capitalized on the prosperity and affluence of the 1950s. In Hefner's estimation, the 1950s lacked a guidebook to the finer things in life now attainable by the growing middle class, and Hefner sought to fill that void with the publication of *Playboy*. Service features became a staple of *Playboy* from volume one, while editorials and articles covered everything from attire, to furnishings, to high-tech gadgetry. As a result, *Playboy* became the trendsetter for the young American male of the 1950s.

Forty years after the magazine's debut, Hefner explained the impact of the magazine on males in the postwar society: "In a time of repression and conformity, *Playboy* presented a revolutionary perception of life that was both sophisticated and playful."¹⁵⁰ Hefner and *Playboy* told men how to look, what to do, and what to value and in doing so supported the entrenched conformity of the status quo.

The practicing consensus invaded the pages of *Playboy* through Hefner's use of a supposed liberating rhetoric, as a trendsetter and style guide, and as a factor of commerce. Increasing the amount of advertisements in each issue, manufacturers began

targeting the new male consumer. The magazine's commercial influence was so great that Madison Avenue linked itself to *Playboy*, and as a result the magazine became a blazon of the consumer society. Products emerged on the consumer scene designed for the new and growing male market, a market created in part by *Playboy's* mass appeal. Products such as sports cars, imported liquors, stereo-systems, high-tech gadgets, sports and leisure clothing, and a plethora of other products tempted males from the glossy pages, seductively squashed between the voluptuous Playmates and "in-depth" articles.

The message, in Barbara Ehrenreich's estimation, was that for the first time a male could demonstrate his financial status without the family and location of his residence as his showpiece. According to Hefner's view, a man could earn money, flaunt his success, live well, and do so without the constraints of a wife and family. Ultimately, the message was that sex in the 1950s became "less a liberating revolutionary force than simply another aspect of America's consumer economy."¹⁵¹ Like Disney, Hefner marketed a specific form of entertainment and financially profited from the effort.

Historically, photographic depictions of sex or nudity often contained the overriding message that sex was foul and dirty. The women depicted in poses of seduction were unattractive and sent a message that sex with such women was on par with self-pleasure and relegated to locales outside of mainstream America. Hefner's *Playboy* countered this idea with glamorous women in seductive poses, in attainable and ordinary locations. Hefner justified the presence of the Playmates in his magazine as revolutionary to the feminist movement: "*PLAYBOY* presented an all-American dream come true, the girl next door transformed into an erotic icon. What this said about female sexuality-that nice girls like sex too-is as important as any feminist polemic."¹⁵²

Contemporaries applauded Hefner's chutzpah, while simultaneously questioning how long Hefner's magazine could survive in the sexually repressive 1950s. In fact, the United States Post Office attempted to deny Hefner a second-class mailing permit, citing violation of the censorship laws. Hefner took the issue to court in 1955 and won, paving the way for future publications of *Playboy* and similar works. In Hefner's opinion such legal maneuvers highlighted repressed social views of sexuality. Conversely, Hefner's vision of female sexual freedom represented only the male perspective, particularly Hefner's, and did not include female or feminist attitudes or perspectives.

Barbara Ehrenreich explains the impact of *Playboy* on the 1950s male as a program for rebellion through a critique of marriage, providing a strategy for rebellion and a utopian vision for the new male consumer.¹⁵³ Like Disney, Hefner commodified entertainment, providing an alternative lifestyle for a new market of readers. *Playboy* celebrated the exuberant heterosexual male, living the good life, free of familial responsibility, as a player in the capitalist game of 1950s America. *Playboy* ushered in the male rebellion of the 1950s: a rebellion lamenting the normalcy and sexuality of the young urban male at ease in his home without the presence of a wife to validate his sexuality. The air-brushed images of the perfect bodies of young women were not necessary to sell the magazine, but to protect it, argues Ehrenreich. Simply, the presence of the nude pictorials reassured the male readership those indoor pleasures such as enjoying liquor and fine music in solitude were indeed heterosexual and not at all amiss in a culture that valued marital union as sexual fulfillment. "In every issue, every month, there was a Playmate to prove that a playboy didn't have to be a husband to be a man," explains Ehrenreich.¹⁵⁴ Eventually, *Playboy's* air-brushed images of women came to

define the desired look of women in the status quo. These images of women permeated society to identify a homogenous view of the female form—a view celebrating conformity.

Disneyland and *Playboy* represent Disney and Hefner's mental maps of the world. Disney and Hefner shared their world vision with millions of consumers through the construction of a theme park and publishing empire. American studies professor Michael Steiner likens Disney's vision as one of Promethean audacity--Disney's imagined vision of the world is etched on the land and forever embedded in the public mind as the "Happiest Place on Earth." Steiner describes Disneyland as "a fabricated land of neatly packaged regions that would become the key symbolic landscape of modern America and the best known and most copied place on earth."¹⁵⁵ Likewise, with the same Promethean audacity, Hefner forever etched in the public mind the vision of the "perfect" female sex symbol. *Playboy*, in design and concept, became a model for other men's entertainment magazines.

Rarely compared to Disney, Hefner employed similar tactics to achieve the same goal—the creation of his own vision of America. Rather than building an amusement park, Hefner erected a publishing empire dedicated to sustaining his vision of American male sexuality. Thomas Weyr argues that *Playboy* succeeded because "Hefner's dreams were always concrete, affordable, within reach of the masses, limited, even a little narrow."¹⁵⁶

Walt Disney and Hugh Hefner sought to create fantasylands based upon an unattainable ideal--a plastic vision of America during a time of great tension and fear. Each manipulated the consensus ideology to target and manipulate their audience--with

overwhelming success. Through their manipulation of the postwar victory culture, Disney and Hefner left an indelible mark on American culture. Their empires remain as permanent markers on the cultural landscape, earning them a permanent place in the American consciousness.

ENDNOTES

¹ Douglas Gomery, "Disney's Business History: A Reinterpretation," *Disney Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 75.

² Mitsuhiro Yoshimoto, "Images of Empire: Tokyo Disneyland and Japanese Cultural Imperialism," *Disney Discourse* (New York: Routledge, 1994), p. 186.

³ Thomas Weyr, *Reaching for Paradise: The Playboy Vision of America* (New York: Times Books, 1978), p. 11-12.

⁴ David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Fawcett Columbine, 1993), p. 576.

⁵ Alan Brinkley and Ellen Fitzpatrick, "The Culture of Postwar Prosperity," *America In Modern Times Since 1941* (New York: The McGraw Hill Companies, 1997), p. 406.

⁶ Paul Boyer, *By the Bomb's Early Light* (North Carolina: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), p. xx-4.

⁷ Randy Roberts, James Olson, *American Experiences* (Illinois: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Education, 1987), p. 226-227.

⁸ Walter LaFeber, Richard Polenberg, and Nancy Woloch, *The American Century: A History of the United States Since the 1890s* (New York: McGraw-Hill, Inc., 1992), p. 327.

⁹ Brinkley and Fitzpatrick, "The Culture of Postwar Prosperity," p. 414.

¹⁰ Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 117-8.

¹¹ Between 1945 and 1957, consumer credit increased by 800 percent, propelling consumerism to the forefront of middle-class society. Brinkley and Fitzpatrick, "The Culture of Postwar Prosperity," p. 415.

¹² This rise is attributed to women marrying at a younger age and experiencing more live births than the previous generation, improved medical standards, and an increase in personal wealth. Women who came of age during the Cold War averaged 3.2 children, up from the two-children-per-couple average of the Depression era. Brinkley and Fitzpatrick, "The Culture of Postwar Prosperity," p. 407-408.

¹³ LaFeber, Polenberg, and Woloch, *The American Century*, p. 365-369.

¹⁴ Kenneth T. Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier: The Suburbanization of the United States* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), p. 233.

¹⁵ Jackson, *Crabgrass Frontier*, p. 233. David Halberstam explains that the majority of post-war population growth occurred away from the urban center, citing that 83 percent of the nation's growth from 1950 to 1980 occurred in the suburbs. Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 142.

¹⁶ LaFeber, Polenberg, and Woloch, *The American Century*, p. 364.

¹⁷ Suburbia quickly became known as Levittown's after Abraham Levitt's mass production method of constructing track homes at a profit. Levitt revolutionized the assembly line method of home construction.

¹⁸ Brinkley and Fitzpatrick, "The Culture of Postwar Prosperity," p. 419.

¹⁹ Karal Ann Marling, *As Seen On TV: The Visual Culture of Everyday Life in the 1950s* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1994), p. 121.

²⁰ Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (Times Books: Random House, 1995), p. 24.

²¹ Marling, *As Seen On TV*, p. 123.

²² Ironically, years later Hugh Hefner would establish his Playboy Mansion West in the same neighborhood the Disney's had selected for its wholesome--middle-class--conservative freshness.

²³ Marc Eliot, *Walt Disney: Hollywood's Dark Prince* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1993), p. 6.

²⁴ Bob Thomas, *Walt Disney: An American Success Story* (New York: Hyperion, 1994).

²⁵ Eliot, *Dark Prince*, p. 7. Judith Adams concurs with Eliot's assessment of an abusive upbringing in *The American Amusement Park Industry: A History of Thrills* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), p. 87-93.

²⁶ Ruth Flora Disney was born in 1903.

²⁷ For purpose of time and space I have compressed the details of Walt's career development.

²⁸ Christopher Finch, *The Art of Walt Disney: From Mickey Mouse to the Magic Kingdoms* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, 1995), p. 25.

²⁹ Eliot, *Dark Prince*, p. 37.

³⁰ Finch, *The Art of Walt Disney*, p. 11.

³¹ Finch, *The Art of Walt Disney*, p. 11.

³² Finch, *The Art of Walt Disney*, p. 12.

³³ Judith Adams, "The Disney Transformation; Disneyland Park: A Sanitized, Electronic Actualization of the American Dream," *The American Amusement Park Industry: A History of Technology and Thrills* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1991), p. 92.

³⁴ Steven Watts, *The Magic Kingdom: Walt Disney and the American Way of Life* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1997), p. 272.

³⁵ Watts, *The Magic Kingdom*, p. 273.

³⁶ Frank Brady, *Hefner: An Unauthorized Biography* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1974), p. 33.

³⁷ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 33.

³⁸ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 39. For more information of Hefner's life see: Stephen Byer, *Hefner's Gonna Kill Me When He Reads This*. (Chicago: Allen-Bennett, Inc., 1972).

³⁹ Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 573.

⁴⁰ Watts, *The Magic Kingdom*, p. 286-7.

⁴¹ John M. Findlay, *Magic Lands: Western Cityscapes and American Culture After 1940*, "Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth," (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1992), p. 61.

⁴² Randy Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, Inc., Publishers, 1987), 53.

⁴³ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 53.

⁴⁴ Tatum later joined the Disney staff and eventually became Chairman of the Board at Disney.

⁴⁵ Gomery, "Disney's Business History," p. 76.

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- ⁴⁶ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 57. In 1960 *Disneyland* moved from Wednesday nights to Sunday nights, where it remained a fixture for over 20 years.
- ⁴⁷ James Ellroy, *My Dark Places: An L.A. Crime Memoir* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996), p. 22.
- ⁴⁸ Marling, *As Seen On TV*, p. 96-7.
- ⁴⁹ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 61.
- ⁵⁰ Alexander Wilson, "Technological Utopias," *The South Atlantic Quarterly: The World According to Disney*, ed. Susan Willis (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 157.
- ⁵¹ Anthony Haden-Guest, "The Pixie-Dust Papers," *The Paradise Program: Travels through Muzak, Hilton, Coca-Cola, Texaco, Walt Disney and other World Empires* (New York: William Morrow & Company, Inc., 1973), p. 237.
- ⁵² Wilson, "Technological Utopias," p. 158.
- ⁵³ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 63.
- ⁵⁴ Yoshimoto, "Images of Empire," p. 186.
- ⁵⁵ Yoshimoto, "Images of Empire," p. 187.
- ⁵⁶ Yoshimoto, "Images of Empire," p. 187.
- ⁵⁷ Susan Willis, "Disney World: Public Use/Private State," *The South Atlantic Quarterly: The World According to Disney*, ed. Susan Willis (Durham: Duke University Press, 1993), p. 123.
- ⁵⁸ Willis, "Public Use/Private State," p. 131-132.
- ⁵⁹ Watts, *The Magic Kingdom*, p. 283.
- ⁶⁰ Watts, *The Magic Kingdom*, p. 284.
- ⁶¹ Regina Markell Morantz, "The Scientist As Sex Crusader: Alfred C. Kinsey and American Culture," *American Experiences* (Illinois: Scott, Foresman/Little, Brown Higher Education, 1987), p. 229.
- ⁶² Morantz, "The Scientist As Sex Crusader," p. 231.

⁶³ Morantz, "The Scientist As Sex Crusader," p. 236.

⁶⁴ Morantz, "The Scientist As Sex Crusader," p. 237.

⁶⁵ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 39.

⁶⁶ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 36.

⁶⁷ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 56.

⁶⁸ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 64.

⁶⁹ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 64.

⁷⁰ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 61.

⁷¹ Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 573.

⁷² Brady, *Hefner*, p. 65.

⁷³ Brady, *Hefner*, p. 73.

⁷⁴ Gretchen Edgren, *The Playboy Book: Forty Years* (Los Angeles: General Publishing Group, 1998), p. 14.

⁷⁵ Thomas Weyr, *Reaching for Paradise: The Playboy Vision of America* (New York: Crown Publishing Group, 1979), p. 33.

⁷⁶ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 31.

⁷⁷ Findlay, "Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth," p. 61.

⁷⁸ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 96.

⁷⁹ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 100.

⁸⁰ Findlay, "Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth," p. 62.

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- ⁸¹ Bright, *Disneyland: Inside Story*, p. 125.
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- ⁸³ Findlay, "Disneyland: The Happiest Place on Earth," p. 62.
- ⁸⁴ Gomery, "Disney's Business History," p. 76.
- ⁸⁵ Tom Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture: Cold War America and the Disillusioning of a Generation* (New York: BasicBooks, 1995), p. 86.
- ⁸⁶ Engelhardt, *The End of Victory Culture*, p. 148.
- ⁸⁷ Gomery, "Disney's Business History," p. 77.
- ⁸⁸ David Koeing, *Mouse Tales: A Behind-The-Ears Look At Disneyland* (California: Bonaventure Press, 1994), p. 53.
- ⁸⁹ Koeing, *Mouse Tales*, p. 57.
- ⁹⁰ Haden-Guest, "The Pixie-Dust Papers," p. 271-2.
- ⁹¹ Haden-Guest, "The Pixie-Dust Papers," p. 266.
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- ⁹⁴ *Hugh Hefner: American Playboy*, A&E Biography (New York: A&E Home Video, 1998).
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- ⁹⁶ Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 572.
- ⁹⁷ Weyr, *The Playboy Vision of America*, p. 11.
- ⁹⁸ Weyr, *The Playboy Vision of America*, p. 26.

⁹⁹ Halberstam, *the Fifties*, p. 573-74.

¹⁰⁰ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 16.

¹⁰¹ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 30.

¹⁰² Halberstam, *The Fifties*, p. 574.

¹⁰³ Weyr, *The Playboy Vision of America*, p. 33.

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¹⁰⁵ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 35.

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¹⁰⁷ Weyr, *The Playboy Vision of America*, p. 45.

¹⁰⁸ Weyr, *The Playboy Vision of America*, p. 46.

¹⁰⁹ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 7.

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¹¹¹ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 74.

¹¹² Brady, *Hefner*, p. 132.

¹¹³ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 78.

¹¹⁴ *Hugh Hefner: American Playboy*

¹¹⁵ Edgren, *The Playboy Book*, p. 93.

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