Milo and Pablo jamming in Jack Kerouac's "Pull My Daisy."
Added to the National Film Registry in 1996.

"*Oh, Those Happy* 'Pull My Daisy' *Days*"

By Blaine Allan

The silver anniversary of "On the Road" was celebrated in 1982 in Boulder, Colorado. After the opening ceremonies the audience waited to see two videos – two traces of memory. The first was a fragment of "The Tonight Show," an episode from 1959 in which Jack Kerouac tricked host Steve Allen and the national television audience. In the clip, he began reading a segment of his breakthrough best-selling novel, but surreptitiously slipped in passages from the then-unpublished "Visions of Cody." The second film was "Pull My Daisy," produced by Robert Frank and Alfred Leslie, and narrated by Kerouac.

The purpose behind the two films was obviously to revive in the memories of all the image and voice of the person whose spirit and influence continues to live. The whole conference testified to that purpose. I happened to be sitting behind Allen Ginsberg during the screening. He had played himself in the movie, and though he reacted to his twenty-three-year younger image when it appeared on screen, I noticed that he also responded to the appearance of others in the film. He identified for the person seated next to him his friends who were playing the parts.

Although I had devoted several years of study to the relationship between the Beat generation and contemporary film culture, and especially to this particular film, the most obvious choice for this type of research, what had eluded me up until this point was the extent to which "Pull My Daisy" also possesses characteristics of a home movie. And this is fitting for a film that is told in the voice of someone who, as John Clellon Holmes reminds us, thought of himself as "a great rememberer redeeming light from darkness."

When first released in 1959, “Pull My Daisy” was widely recognized and regularly cited as an influential film. Since that time, it has suffered the pain of neglect. Film history generally grants it a formative role in the avant-garde cinema of the United States but then accords it little attention. In studies of Kerouac's work and particularly his life, “Pull My Daisy” is little more than mentioned, appearing most often as a sidebar. Typically, such sins of omission bear their own kinds of truth. In relation to avant-garde cinema, the film was perhaps too difficult to manage because as a comedy, as a narrative work with the earmarks of the mainstream, it was too easy. Kerouac's literary biographers and explicators have acknowledged its existence, if not its worth, and after all, it's not a literary work. Also, despite the fact that the story, the plot and the words were his, the film is not wholly Kerouac's.

The Kerouac legend has grown partly from his idea of using spontaneous prose, and is shored up by the story of his writing “On the Road” in a continual stream on a roll of teletype paper so he wouldn't have to stop to change pages in the typewriter. When researching Kerouac, however, Dennis McNally and Gerald Nicosia each found when they returned to the original manuscript that in fact Kerouac had taped together sheets of art paper to form one long scroll. In other words, he had not simply discovered the materials appropriate for the aesthetics and his methods but had deliberately made them. He had set the stage in which spontaneity of a particular kind could take place.

“Pull My Daisy” has endured a similar legend as a prime example of what Jonas Mekas once called "a spontaneous cinema." Discussion of “Pull My Daisy” has rested upon the concept of improvisation. However, the term improvisation may confuse more than it illuminates. The term can connote a scattershot approach, the abandon or lack of control, or it can suggest the preparation and breadth of control that permits and encourages creativity within known limitations. The impression that “Pull My Daisy” was produced in a context of total confusion has persisted. Film Forum promoted the film for its New York revival this past winter as "the quintessential Beat movie - a freewheeling improv of Kerouac's 'Beat Generation.'"

Just as Kerouac carefully prepared to write “On the Road,” so did the filmmakers of “Pull My Daisy” try to design the circumstances that would encourage a specific kind of spontaneity. One of the starting points - though not the actual origin of “Pull My Daisy”- was the Kerouac manuscript “The Beat Generation,” a stage play, which he outlined in a 1957 letter to Neal Cassady:

“... it's the story of ACT ONE: You and Al Hinkle walk in Al Sublette’s kitchen play chess while Al and I toast Khayyam tokay and Charley Mew figures horses, Connie standing around, finally you and Charley and me play flute solos straight off that Visions of Neal tape of 1952 ... crazy scene. Second ACT: You and me alone at races, playing third choice, Pulido, dreams, talk, Cayce, girls, beer in cartons, etc. including the horse that spilled in the backstretch and nobody cared. ACT THREE: The night of the Bishop with Donovan, Bev, Carolyn, Allen, Peter, you, me, Bishop, Bishop's mother and aunt but all of it changed to Lynbrook L.I. to New York Scene and the Bishop is "of the New Aramean church"- Nothing incriminating - I mean only greyfaces wont like it.”

The third act-the root-of “Pull My Daisy” was drawn from an incident two years earlier, when Kerouac was staying with Cassady, Neal's wife Carolyn and their children at their house in Los Gatos, California, sleeping in a tent he had pitched in their backyard. Described by Allen Ginsberg as "a priest from some kind of psychosis sect, somebody from the coastal nut belt," and variously elsewhere as "a young Swiss Bishop at the Liberal Church" and "a local bishop of the Unification Church," a clergyman delivered a public address and was invited back to the Cassady house. He brought with him his mother and aunt, and there they encountered Kerouac, the Cassadys, Allen Ginsberg, and Peter Orlovsky (the latter two having only recently met), Bev Burford (a longtime friend of Kerouac from Denver and New York), and Pat Donovan (a friend of Neal). Details of the evening remain inconclusive, although it is clear that the occasion involved a clash of sensibilities as much as a meeting of minds interested in the spirit. Ginsberg talked about sex, Kerouac got drunk, and Cassady held forth. The bishop, according to Ann Charters, quoting Carolyn Cassady, remained "mystical," though Dennis McNally, also using Carolyn Cassady as his source, reports that, excited by the argument," the bishop "changed from an effete milquetoast into a man possessed."

Kerouac's script underlines the participation of the bishop and the confrontation of the bishop's and the Beat's systems of thought. Early in the drama, Kerouac and the bishop exchange ideas on the emptiness of the universe, stages of being, and the opportunities for forgiveness. When Jack recalls a recent incident when Carolyn delighted in forgiving some boys who had tossed eggs at her window, the bishop has no reply. In Kerouac's recollection and transformation of the incident for the stage, the bishop certainly does match the poets in rhetoric but fails to follow their logic, particularly when Peter starts asking nonsense questions about dreams, masturbation, and women. In the play, Kerouac views himself circumspectly, and, as with all his narrative works, “The Beat Generation” incorporates its place in his own life history. It concludes when Jack tells Allen and Peter that he is returning east (despite Kerouac's own report to Cassady that he had transplanted the action to Long Island), then retires to the backyard and can be heard playing a flute.

Kerouac wrote the play shortly after the release and immediate success of “On the Road,” and movies were on his mind. In the letter that described the play to Neal Cassady, Kerouac also wrote that the novel had become a hot property for Hollywood, with Warner Bros. and Paramount bidding on the film rights, and that Marlon Brando was interested in the project. Kerouac also reported Ginsberg's prescient suggestion that the three of them play their respective characters in the film adaptation.

The cultural and social communities of U.S. cities during the late 1940s and 1950s brought together young artists of all types. At about the time “On the Road” was published, Kerouac met photographer Robert Frank. Frank had immigrated to the United States from Switzerland in the late 1940s and eked out a living as a commercial photographer until he received a Guggenheim Foundation grant that permitted him to travel the United States by car and gather the photographs that would later comprise his landmark book, “The Americans,” which included an introduction by Kerouac. At the apartment of Robert Frank and his then-wife, sculptor Mary Frank, Kerouac met and became smitten with painter Dody Muller. He had met her classmate, Alfred Leslie, in

the late 1940s, but they had little contact until later. By the late 1950s, Leslie arid Frank had known each other for several years and were, in fact, neighbors on the Lower East Side. Leslie had started making films as a teenager, during the years of World War II, but had abandoned the camera when his career as a painter began to gain momentum. Frank had experimented with a sixteen-millimeter camera and, soon after meeting Kerouac, suggested the idea of a film based upon Kerouac's writing.

Frank and Leslie decided to collaborate on a motion picture in 1958. The notion of adapting "On the Road" naturally arose but seemed unlikely. Apart from the fact that the bids to option the novel were in a range over one hundred thousand dollars, as well as the geographical scope of such a production, the artists had also decided to make a feature-length film that would include three stories, each running thirty minutes. They had selected Isaac Babel's "The Sin of]esus" for part one and a story inspired by Frank's recollection of a Parisian man who lived in a flat among dozens of mannequins. The second part, which was to have starred Zero Mostel, was to be called "Mr. Z." Kerouac had shown Leslie and Frank pages of published and unpublished material, including the script for "The Beat Generation," but it was only when they accompanied Dody Muller on one of her regular trips to the house in Northport that Kerouac shared with his mother that they saw the story - or, more accurately, heard the story - anew.

Kerouac had read "The Beat Generation" into his tape recorder while listening to Symphony Sid Torin on the radio. With jazz in the background and Kerouac's distinctive delivery of all the parts and the stage directions, the rhythms and colors of the prose lifted from the page. The story took on a different character and offered exciting new possibilities. Leslie, for example, first considered using the tape in its entirety, as it existed, and shooting the film to a playback with actors lip-synching Kerouac's reading.

Although "The Beat Generation" was the last of the three properties Frank and Leslie had chosen, they decided to work on it first. Not the least of the reasons was Kerouac's own current popularity. As untested film producers, they would have a hard enough time raising funding for the project. The cooperation of one of the United States' most popular writers and the proposal to make the first screen adaptation of a Kerouac story would certainly work in their favor. And once this film was completed and a certified hit, they reasoned, financing the other two, more obscure parts of the trilogy would prove much easier.

Unfortunately, the filmmakers found prospective investors less willing than they had hoped. Patrons who had supported them as painter and photographer remained skeptical about this new venture, perhaps not only because of the filmmakers' lack of a track record but also because the process of investing in a film remained more mysterious than purchasing art. The production process started only when Leslie decided to invest one thousand dollars from the sale of a painting. Later, Frank put an equal amount into the film's account when he received a payment for a still photography job. Together, Leslie, Frank, and Kerouac formed a limited partnership and gave it the naughty name "G-String Enterprises," which still raises a chuckle whenever it appears onscreen. Wary about money, Kerouac had reservations about making a personal financial commitment to the project and never matched his partners' financial shares.

Even in 1958 in the context of New York's avant-garde cinema, two thousand dollars was not nearly enough to produce a half-hour film of the scope planned for “The Beat Generation.” While many short films in the pre-underground films employed casts and crews with deferred or non-payments, Frank and Leslie decided that they would pay all their employees, even if it was only a modest rate. Allen Ginsberg claimed that he was earning eighteen dollars a day for five days work - the first money he had earned since leaving San Francisco. The financial angel of the production was Walter Gutman. An iconoclastic stock market analyst, Gutman was also a painter and, in Leslie's words, "the trembling libertine behind the scenes of Wall Street." He invested fifteen hundred dollars, as he repeatedly asserted, simply because he was infatuated with Mary Frank and she asked him to. However, he also raised enough from associates in his office to increase the production account to about seven thousand dollars and then convinced Jack Dreyfus of the Dreyfus fund to invest seventy-five hundred dollars.

The filmmakers agreed, at least in part with Kerouac's first inclination when he wrote the play, that the cast should include the actual principals. They wanted Ginsberg and Orlovsky to play themselves. Though they also wanted to retain Kerouac's voice, they decided to keep him offscreen and cast Gregory Corso in his part. There was no question of having to find someone to play Neal Cassady; not only was he still in California, but he was also in San Quentin on a drug conviction. The final cast reflects the variety of the contemporary cultural community, though it is heavily weighted toward the visual arts. It included painter Larry Rivers as the Neal Cassady character, Milo; art dealer Richard Bellamy as the young bespectacled bishop (Bellamy decided to credit himself with a name he had used when working in radio, "Mooney Peebles," as a joke); and painter Alice Neel as the bishop's imperious mother. Both professional actors in the company - Denise Parker and Delphine Seyrig - were themselves married to painters.

The artistic community was driven by an activism, a powerful consciousness of its own significance, an element that runs through Beat literature. “Pull My Daisy” developed in part from this sense of cultural self-importance. Moreover, during the 1950s, Hollywood was making fewer films and making a place in the theaters of the United States for an art cinema composed of foreign films and small-scale, independent, domestic productions. So, although the film has an aspect of the home movie, it was conceived both for its value as a cultural work and as a film for a modern commercial cinema - just as Kerouac's novels, at the same time they document his life and times and are important works of imaginative literature, inserted themselves into the established system of book publication.

Kerouac had adapted the events of his life for the playscript of “The Beat Generation,” but the responsibility for adapting his stage-play for the screen belonged to Frank and Leslie. And an opening sequence - for which test footage was shot but which was ultimately deleted from the film - demonstrates the uniquely filmic sensibility that was brought to the original material. They had planned to open the film with a prologue featuring a toy bus that responded to the sound of a whistle. The bus moved in silence until someone offscreen blew the whistle, breaking the silence and causing the toy to change direction. The unseen figure was Denise Parker, who had originally been cast in the part of Carolyn. At the end of the sequence, over which the credits

would run, she crossed to a kitchen sink, and the scene, until now shot in closeup, expanded to show the space of the film's loft location.

The results of their first shooting caused the filmmakers to rethink both the look of the film and the casting. They decided to replace Parker as Carolyn but keep her as an inexplicable woman whose presence no one acknowledges throughout the film. One candidate declined the part of Carolyn but suggested a young French woman, Delphine Seyrig, who was married to painter Jack Youngerman. The relations between her, a trained actor, and a cast and crew of nonprofessionals caused some tension, and she is credited as "Beltiane," which might suggest that at the time she did not want her name associated with such an unconventional production. But ten years later, she remembered the film with affection.

The original plans for the production echoed elements of Kerouac's writing processes: the original scheme was to shoot in sequence and, perhaps, to shoot long sequences from different camera positions. Although Frank and Leslie abandoned these plans, they did tend to make three repeated takes of each shot to give them multiple options while editing. Like Kerouac's construction of a scroll of uninterrupted typewriting, this plan suggests the measures that the filmmakers took to achieve their own form of spontaneity. By providing a place for repetition, they provided their actors with the opportunity to change their performances - usually only moderately, it turned out - while reserving the editorial right to choose among the different takes. They had also abandoned the plan to shoot to Kerouac's taped reading. Instead, they shot the film silent and planned to add music by David Amram (who, in addition to being the film's musical director, had been cast in the Pat Donovan role, renamed Mezz McGillicuddy) and a newly recorded track by Kerouac. Unbound by dialogue and line readings, the actors gained another degree of liberty during shooting.

To prepare for each shooting day, Leslie took Kerouac's script, which he typed for the cast and crew, numbered it by segment, and paced out and timed the action. (The loft that served as the set was Leslie's own studio and residence at 108 Fourth Avenue.) Some of the professional actors' fears about the nonactors came true. In his memoir, “Vibrations,” Amram remembers the production for the craziness, claiming that Robert Frank was laughing so hard that he found it difficult to hold the camera still. Most of the performers, who knew even less about the professional practices of filmmaking than Leslie or Frank, had little patience for the hurry-up-and-wait methods required in making a dramatic film and found other ways of amusing themselves. At one point, Allen Ginsberg dropped his trousers to distract Gregory Corso while Frank was shooting a closeup. For another scene, Leslie planned to surprise the cast by dressing Amram in a cowboy suit and concealing him in the bathroom. When Amram burst through the door, the other actors burst into laughter and started tossing prop fruit around. On the whole, though, the company had two weeks of uninterrupted and orderly shooting.

Kerouac remained uninvolved and watched little of the production. One day, he and Dody Muller did oversee the proceedings, literally from Leslie's elevated loft bed, a moment recorded by G-String Enterprises' official photographer John Cohen and reproduced to illustrate Paul O'Neil's “Life” article, "The Only Rebellion Around.”

Kerouac was not barred from the set, as some accounts maintain, for interrupting the shooting by barging in drunk with a couple of Bowery bum friends, although Leslie does remember Kerouac angering him by inviting some derelict strangers to the loft before the production began.

The film was edited over the rest of the winter and spring of 1959, and a young graduate student at New York University, Leon Prochnik, was brought in to help. Also a part of the artistic community, Prochnik lived downstairs from Joyce Glassman and through her met Kerouac a couple of years earlier (and claims to have been the owner of the plaid shirt that Kerouac wore in the photograph that accompanied Gilbert Millstein's famous “New York Times” review of “On the Road”). After the first assembly of the film, the filmmakers decided the film was still incomplete. Among other problems, they needed a beginning and an ending; they had discarded the opening toy bus sequence and eliminated the original idea for the ending in which the poets would have left the loft and begun to speak in their own voices.

Frank and Leslie gathered the necessary cast and crew and scheduled a few more days of production. The third additional sequence that they shot, the unheard sermon the bishop delivers while the flag waves in his face, became the effective center of the film. Moreover, all three sequences formed connections between the action in the loft and the outside world -from the evocative and magical "Early morning in the universe" opening when the wife opens the shutters to let in the morning light, to the conclusion when the men rush down the stairs and out the door into the late night.

Kerouac first saw footage of the production when Leslie and Frank drove out to Northport with Dody Muller to show him the film and prepare him to record the commentary. His initial reaction was disappointment. Unaccustomed to imagining in sound and moving pictures, he could not conceive of the filmmakers’ plans until he had recorded a commentary and heard it played back with the film.

Jerry Newman had been recording jazz long before he and Kerouac met and became good friends in 1944. Newman had also recorded Kerouac’s readings, so it made sense to record Kerouac's verbal rap and David Amram's musical track at Newman's studio. Kerouac was drunk when he arrived and was met at the studio by reefer and more alcohol, which made him cantankerous and disagreeable. Kerouac listened through headphones while Amram played piano to set the mood and rhythm for the film. He used the “Beat Generation” script as a basis for his commentary, but, according to plan, took off from his prepared text. The first take was hesitant. Barely familiar with the film as it unspooled, Kerouac made his way through the story and identified the characters as though he were commenting on a home movie he had not shot. For Kerouac, though, the first take was enough. He was ready to go when, as David Amram remembers, Alfred Leslie stopped him:

“‘Well, Jack, you 're getting close. That was very amazing for the first time.’ And Jack said, ‘That's it. I believe in spontaneous prose .... one time is plenty.’ ‘But Jack, we have to get-’ ‘No, I'm touched by the hand of God.’ And that was the first time that Alfred had been quiet in years.”

Nevertheless, Kerouac did watch the film and record the track two more times. Initially convinced that the session was, in Prochnik's words, "an unmitigated disaster," the filmmakers

had no alternative and took the three tracks. Then, instead of using one in its entirety, they cut and spliced pieces from all three takes, including some of Kerouac's marginal comments and errors. At one point, Kerouac refers to the David Amram character, Mezz McGillicuddy, as "Pat" - remembering Pat Donovan, the person, and Pat McGillicuddy, the name he used in his playscript; then he corrects himself. Similarly, in the "Holy, Holy" sequence that brings the film to a climax of questions about whether this or that is holy, the filmmakers matched a shot of Milo, the Neal Cassady character played by Larry Rivers, with Kerouac's question, "Is Neal holy?"

One of the best examples of the film's creative treatment of sound originated in Kerouac's fascination during the recording session with smoke wafting up from his cigarette. The phrase, "Up you go, little smoke," for example, refers in the film first to smoke rising from an ashtray. It then makes for one of the single most touching moments in the film as it repeats, in Kerouac's singsong voice, when Milo lifts up his little boy Pablo.

Only days after recording Kerouac's commentary, Amram wrote the music track over a three-day period. He arranged the score for a Renaissance-style ensemble that included viola, English horn, oboe, and bassoon, as well as the bass, drums, tenor saxophone, piano, and French horn customary to Amram's jazz work. Sahib Shihab sat in on alto sax for the jam session sequence and had to match the hand movements of Larry Rivers, himself a skilled horn player. For theme music, Amram set to music a piece of suggestive poetry that Kerouac, Ginsberg, and Cassady had composed, and which had been published as "Fie My Fum." Both Leslie and Frank were friends with singer Anita Ellis, who had dubbed singing voices for Rita Hayworth and Vera-Ellen in Hollywood, and who was well known for radio and television appearances. Ellis agreed to record the tune, although she had virtually no time to learn it. She was surprised enough that one line, "Hop my heart on," had to be changed to "Hop my heart song" because, Alfred Leslie reported, "Anita Ellis broke up every time she had to sing it."

In the latter stages of production, Leslie and Emile de Antonio, who had become involved in the role of distributor for the film, approached Kerouac and asked him if he could reconstruct his commentary for a French-language version. They tried their idea by setting up a tape recorder in Leslie's studio and a projector on the fire escape. Jack Kerouac's consciousness of his Francophone Canadian heritage is well known, but evidently he was less fluent in the language than he believed. He was reeling as much for this session as he had been for the first. Andy Warhol, whom de Antonio had invited to the session, claimed in his memoir of the 1960s, "Popism," that Kerouac started, "'Ju swee Jacques Ker-ou-ac' - and then something about his family being French nobility in the fourteenth century, which had nothing to do with this movie set on the Bowery, of course, so it was very funny." Unfortunately, it was not funny - or good enough - so the idea of a French version was quickly discarded.

The film was completed and first reviewed still under the title of Kerouac's play. An advertisement in the April 15, 1959, issue of "Variety" announced the imminent release of "The Beat Generation": "At all times a splendid entertainment for the entire family - no sex - no violence," a phrase Leslie had spotted on a theater marquee. However, Metro Goldwyn Mayer owned the rights to that title, which the studio would use that year for an Albert Zugsmith-

produced thriller about a murderer loose in the bohemia of Southern California. Presumably MGM felt proprietary about Kerouac, too, because it was preparing to make “The Subterraneans,” the first and thus far only Hollywood adaptation of a Kerouac novel. In fact, in the autumn of 1959, while in California to attend the San Francisco Film Festival and a showing of the film, which by now had been retitled “Pull My Daisy,” Kerouac toured the MGM set for “The Subterraneans.” (This was also the trip on which he played his trick on Steve Allen and his "Tonight Show" audience.)

Frank and Leslie first showed their finished work privately at the Museum of Modern Art at 11:30 in the morning, Tuesday, May 12, 1959. John Clellon Holmes accompanied Kerouac to the screening. Kerouac's immediate reaction to the completed film is not clearly recorded; though after he saw the first cut of the film, he had written to Al Aronowitz that he disliked the moment when Milo points his finger at Gregory's forehead and says, "Pow!" which he thought introduced violence and "played into the hands of literary snobs." According to Dennis McNally, Kerouac also objected to the editorial strategy of combining his soundtracks, presumably just as he disliked seeing his spontaneous prose edited and revised for publication. Kerouac valued the tape recorder as an instrument, principally to achieve results in print - for example, “Visions of Cody.” Sound recording, to Kerouac, was not a constructive medium but a means of gathering words and sounds or documenting an integral work. By Gerald Nicosia's account, the remainder of that day in May was filled with drinking, dissatisfaction, and despair. He and Holmes attended the premiere of “The Nervous Set,” a musical by Jay Landesman, and Nicosia attributes Kerouac's laughter throughout the production to something other than the play. Instead, Kerouac "was thinking about his unproduced play 'The Beat Generation’ and his unsold movie rights to ‘On the Road’ and wondering at the curious fact that his life was no longer his."

Amos Vogel billed “Pull My Daisy” with the other contemporary hallmark of independent filmmaking in New York - John Cassavetes's first film “Shadows” - as a Cinema 16 program called "The Cinema of Improvisation." After that screening for New York's largest film society on November 11, 1959, the film had to wait until the first week of April 1960 for its New York theatrical premiere at the newly opened New Yorker Theatre, where it preceded a revival of Orson Welles's “The Magnificent Ambersons,” the first week and Morris Engel's “The Little Fugitive” the next.

Unfortunately, “Pull My Daisy” ran for only those two weeks at the nine-hundred-seat theater. The film has continuously proved difficult to program in conventional cinemas; after all, it was intended as only one-third of a larger presentation. At just under a half hour, it was too long for a short subject and too short for a feature presentation. Distributed by de Antonio - whose interest in the film was provoked partly by his love of the film itself and partly by the urge to begin his own filmmaking career – “Pull My Daisy” did not benefit from marketing experience and efficient circulation. In addition, the flurry of anticipation that had accompanied the production of the film had waned by the time it was in general release.

Kerouac's publishing career was peaking, at least, in volume. In the spring of 1959, he read the galleys for five volumes of prose and poetry, including “Maggie Cassidy” and “Mexico City Blues,” which would all be published over the next fifteen months. (Grove Press published a

transcript of the film, illustrated with photographs by set photographer John Cohen and frame enlargements, in 1961.)

But, like "Pull My Daisy," they failed to make the mark that Kerouac's previous novels had made. The initial interest in the Beat culture that had fueled the movie production and seemed to be its strongest selling point had been diffused and defused and was now transforming into a cliche of mass culture. The "'Pull My Daisy' days" that Walter Gutman would later look to nostalgically were changing.

The views expressed are those of the author and do not always reflect those of the Library of Congress.

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