

FALL 2006



Rhode Island
Historical Society

Rhode Island History

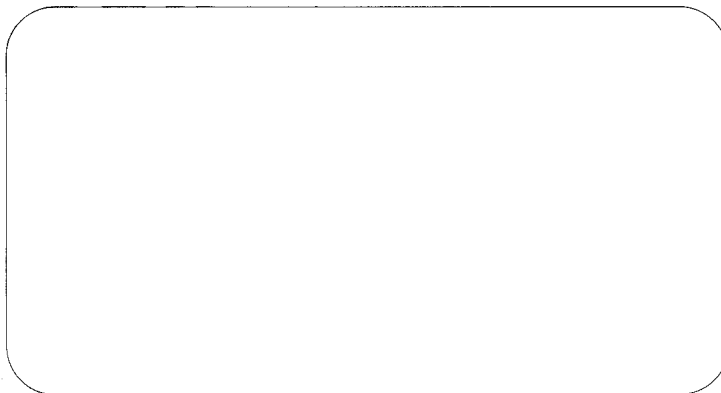
A RHODE ISLAND HISTORICAL SOCIETY PUBLICATION

Volume 64, Number 3

an in
tande
m be
31,
s) posed in erotic manner
e sexual interests illicit
ologue, drawings, prints,
vies.
ions made attractive; abno
or pictured favorably, se
cted or described favorab
ch as stag party movies),
knives, guns, brass knuc
ive

Rhode Island Historical Society
110 Benevolent Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152

NON-PROFIT ORG.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PROVIDENCE, RI
PERMIT NO. 617



Cover

*Operating from 1956 to 1964, the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage **M**orality in Youth strove to protect young people from **m**aterials **i**t considered morally objectionable. Commission records, Rhode Island State Archives.*

FALL 2006

Rhode Island History



Volume 64, Number 3

Published by
The Rhode Island Historical Society
110 Benevolent Street
Providence, Rhode Island 02906-3152

Roger N. Begin, *president*
Robert J. Manning, *first vice president*
Bradford B. Kopp, *second vice president*
Barbara J. Thornton, *treasurer*
Robert G. Flanders Jr., *secretary*
Bernard P. Fishman, *director*

FELLOW OF THE SOCIETY
Glenn W. LaFantasie

PUBLICATIONS COMMITTEE
Luther Spoehr, *chair*
James Findlay
Robert Allen Greene
Robert W. Hayman
Jane Lancaster
J. Stanley Lemons
James P. Marusak
William McKenzie Woodward

STAFF
Elizabeth C. Stevens, *editor*
Hilliard Beller, *copy editor*
Elizabeth Delmage, *publications assistant*

The Rhode Island Historical Society
assumes no responsibility for the
opinions of contributors.

CONTENTS

- Books behind Bars:
The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage
Morality in Youth, 1956-1964 63
SARAH Y. FELDMAN
- Index to Volume 64 82

**SUGGESTED CODE FOR JUDGING
PUBLICATIONS- MOVIES- TV- PLAYS**

If the dominant theme, taken in its entirety, according to average community standards, appeals to prurient interests the work can then be considered contrary to Rhode Island law, Chapter 31, sections 11-31-1, 11-31-10.

1. Female or male form(s) posed in erotic manner or dressed to stimulate sexual interests illicitly.
2. Lewd, salacious dialogue, drawings, prints, pictures, still or movies.
3. Illicit sex relations made attractive; abnormal sex actions drawn or pictured favorably, seduction or rape depicted or described favorably.
4. Illegal ads (such as Stag Party movies), unendorsed health articles, knives, guns, brass knuckles, whipping chains.
5. Depiction of sadistic crimes, excessive description of cruel behavior or punishment.
6. Marriage ridiculed, police officials demeaned constantly, concepts of justice and honor perverted either in stories or illustrations.

Books behind Bars: The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, 1956-1964

SARAH Y. FELDMAN

The guardians of morality in the United States have often banded together in their endless struggle with the perceived forces of corruption and evil. For example, the New York Society for the Suppression of Vice was founded in 1873 by Anthony Comstock, the author of the well-known Comstock Law, and lasted at least until 1947, when it changed its name to the Society to Maintain Public Decency. In 1918 another such organization, the Watch and Ward Society, began its campaigns of censorship against books, plays, and movies, campaigns that resulted in works being “banned in Boston.” From 1934 to the 1960s the Legion of Decency directed its formidable efforts toward the censorship of movies.¹

To those concerned about the preservation of traditional morality, especially among youth, the post-World War II era in America was a dangerous time. During those years the media were filled with alarming reports of the rise of a new teenage culture and juvenile delinquency, and youth were popularly depicted in ways that many Americans found frightening. Films such as *High School Confidential* and *Blackboard Jungle* showed scary and seemingly immoral/amoral youngsters who flouted society’s rules.²

Attributing these disturbing trends to a number of causes, some observers warned that the family, society, and even (in that era of Cold War anxiety) the American Way of Life were in jeopardy. The mass media and the educational system, with its lack of discipline, were charged with being the two worst influences on children, and urgent calls were sounded for the strengthening of home life and male parental authority. Various experts warned of the evil effects of comic books, movies, and obscene books and magazines. Comic books and movies, they said, were having an increasing and undesirable effect on children. Parents and politicians alike concerned themselves with how comic books were subverting familial and social authority and influence, and how they were corrupting the nation’s youth. One result of such concern was the introduction in 1954 of the Comic Book Code, which led to the demise of such comics as *Tales of the Crypt*, *Weird Science*, and *Weird Fantasy*.

Fears about such cultural changes and juvenile delinquency permeated Rhode Island. Conducting its own investigation, the state’s House of Representatives reported in 1956 on the deleterious effects of what it styled “‘comic’ books.”³ This House report and another on delinquency in Providence caused Democratic governor Dennis Roberts to sponsor bills restricting the sale of “trash literature” and brought about the creation of a permanent commission to study the problem of adolescent morality.⁴ The result was the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth. Created in April 1956, the commission sought to achieve the objective stated in its name by attacking what it perceived to be the most easily managed problem: the assault of obscene images and text funneled through books and magazines. As its major effort, the commission distributed a list of publications that it considered “objectionable”—a tactic that immediately drew criticism from those concerned about civil liberties and censorship, and that ultimately brought about the commission’s demise.

Sarah Feldman is a graduate of American University, with bachelor’s degrees in history and political science. She grew up in Rhode Island and now resides in Massachusetts.

These guidelines were drawn up by the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth for the compilation of its lists of “objectionable” materials. Commission records, Rhode Island State Archives.





Governor Dennis J. Roberts appointed the commission's first five members and supported its work to the end of his term in office in 1959. RIHS Collection (RH: X3 7910).

The first five members of the commission, appointed by Governor Roberts, were Joseph A. Sullivan, the commission's chairman, a resident of Newport and the owner of a hardware store there; Abraham Chill, the rabbi of Temple Beth El in Providence; the Reverend Edward Flannery, a Catholic priest and the editor of the Catholic newspaper *Providence Visitor*; Clarence T. Sherman, a retired Providence Public Library librarian who had served on various youth commissions before his appointment; and the Reverend Howard Olsen, the pastor of St. Barnabas Episcopal Church in Warwick. The commission's first official meeting, held in December 1956, was devoted to planning logistical details for the next year and talking about general goals. An executive secretary, Albert McAloon, was also appointed at the December meeting.⁵

In pursuance of the task it undertook—to “educate the public concerning any book . . . considered obscene or indecent” and to “investigate and recommend the prosecution” of those violating Rhode Island's state obscenity law⁶—the commission soon began work on its principal and most controversial program: the preparation and distribution of a list of publications for local police to use as a guide for removing “objectionable” materials from newsstands and bookstores. Focusing on such publications as men's magazines and racy paperback novels, the commission examined and voted on each suspect publication; then it issued notices to local police and book and magazine distributors informing them that certain materials were unsuitable for those under the age of eighteen. The commission also recommended that distributors who sold materials that a majority of its members deemed objectionable should be prosecuted.

Throughout 1957 the commission also discussed the possibility of using radio and television to better fulfill the legislature's instruction to “educate” the populace. Executive Secretary McAloon informed the *Providence Journal* that the commission intended to follow the national Parent-Teacher Association's model in creating a reading code for children and young adults. The commission also planned to study the alleged moral hazards of drive-in movie theaters, a riot at the Newport Jazz Festival, and such educational issues as those involving teenage school dropouts. But few of these projects ever got beyond the planning stage, as the commission devoted most of its efforts to compiling and distributing its Guide List of objectionable publications. Both the Rhode Island attorney general's office and local community groups such as the Rhode Island Congress of Parents and Teachers came out in support of the effort to educate the public about the material at newsstands and bookstores, but Attorney General William E. Powers noted that his office was “not anxious to prosecute” offenders and viewed the commission's duties as a community service, not an arm of the law.⁷

By July 1957 the commission had purchased, read, and voted on its first group of materials: three men's magazines, *Cabaret*, *Modern Man*, and *Gent*. All three were found “objectionable” by a majority vote.⁸ The commission reported its findings to the attorney general's office and sent letters to local police departments, informing them of its decision, reminding them that the display or sale of these materials to minors violated Rhode Island's obscenity law, and insisting that the distributors could and should be prosecuted. Acting on this letter, on 20 July the Newport Police Department seized all thirty copies of the three magazines from a local newsstand and locked the magazines in a jail cell at the local precinct for safekeeping. Commission chairman Joseph Sullivan, quoted in the next morning's *Providence Journal*, hailed the action as the “first step in the crackdown,” adding, “We are not trying to take away anything that has any literary value whatsoever.” The *Journal* reported that the letter to the Newport Police Department requesting enforcement of the law had been sent by the commission's executive secretary, Albert McAloon.⁹

July 19, 1957

Mr. Harry Settle
44 Pelham Street
Newport, R. I.

Dear Mr. Settle:

This agency was established by legislative order in 1956 with the immediate charge to prevent the sale, distribution or display of indecent and obscene publications to youths under eighteen years of age.

The Commissioners have reviewed the following publications and by majority vote have declared they are completely objectionable for sale, distribution or display for youths under eighteen years of age.

Cabaret - Published monthly at 8150 North Central Park Avenue, Skokie, Illinois, July 1957 issue.

Modern Man - Published monthly at 8150 North Central Park Avenue, Skokie, Illinois, July 1957 issue.

Gent - Published bi-monthly by Excellent Publications, 48 West 48th Street, New York 36, N. Y., August 1957 issue.

The Chiefs of Police have been given the names of the aforementioned magazines with the order that they are not to be sold, distributed or displayed to youths under eighteen years of age.

The Attorney General will act for us in cases of non-compliance.

The Commissioners trust that you will cooperate with this agency in their work. They fully realize the complexity of this problem but believe, in view of the need of strengthening our youths, improving family life and preventing un-social behavior, that the above-named publications are definitely objectionable under Chapter 510 of the general laws as amended.

Another list will follow shortly.

Thanking you for your anticipated cooperation, I am,

Sincerely yours,

Albert J. McAloon
Executive Secretary

nlw
cc: Same letter to: Mr. Harry Settle, Newport, R. I., 44 Pelham St.
Mr. Curry, Thomas - Newport, R. I., 4 Morin St.
Mr. ... 38 Church St., Eastwick, R. I.

On 24 July the *Journal* launched its opposition to the commission and its Guide List with its lead editorial, "Star Chamber Censorship Plagues RI." Asserting that only the judiciary has the power to declare something obscene, the editorial charged that the commission's five unelected members had usurped this power and were engaging in clandestine censorship behind closed doors. Were Rhode Islanders willing to abandon due process in this attempt to protect the state's youth against indecent literature? the editorial asked.

Attorney General Powers immediately came to the commission's defense, saying that it had not overstepped its authority, as the *Journal's* editorial charged, but he also noted that the letter the commission had sent to local police departments was misleading. That letter suggested that his office would prosecute every case, said Powers, when, in fact, the commission could only advise his office of violations, and prosecutions would not necessarily follow. Powers explained that his office would seek prosecution only in the case of distributors who did not cooperate in restricting objectionable materials after being directed to do so by officials.¹⁰

The battle lines were drawn. Within days the local American Civil Liberties Union offered to help anyone who wished to bring a test case against the commission, and the *Journal* reported that the list of objectionable publications was to be expanded.¹¹

On 6 August the commission met with Attorney General Powers to clarify their respective responsibilities and options. Powers told the commissioners that they could advise distributors and the local police that objectionable publications were in violation of the law if displayed or sold to minors. He also suggested that the commission work with local community groups, but the commissioners raised doubts about sending out information to such groups, with Father Flannery worrying about vigilante action by parents and citizens. Agreeing to work more closely with the commission, Powers offered to send a representative from his office to regular meetings. The meeting ended with the approval of a statement for local newspapers, a statement noting that the General Assembly had given the commission the power to educate the public concerning materials deemed obscene, that the commission could recommend prosecution to the attorney general, although prosecution would not automatically follow, and that the commission's list of objectionable publications was to be expanded and was in the best interest of the community.¹²

Meanwhile, community organizations from all over the state wrote letters thanking the Newport Police Department for its help in keeping obscene materials out of the hands

This letter, from the commission's executive secretary, informed a Newport bookseller that three magazines were "not to be sold, distributed or displayed to youths under eighteen years of age." Commission records, Rhode Island State Archives.

of teenagers. On 5 August a *Journal* editorial declared that no one at the paper condoned the materials in question, but many were concerned about the commission's "extra-legal methods." The editorial urged the commission to focus on the most vulnerable youths, those who were "warped or without a home life," instead of casting so wide a net. Simply put, the *Journal* supported the idea of protecting youth, but it asked that the commission keep within the letter of the law and allow the judiciary to make determinations about obscenity.¹³

The *Journal* continued to attack the commission's Guide List through the summer and fall of 1957, calling it a blacklist for removing materials from children and adults alike, without any accountability or legal authority.¹⁴ When the newspaper attempted in late August to arrange interviews with each commissioner, the commission held a special meeting, at which it was concluded that the interviews were undoubtedly designed to make the commission appear less cohesive by revealing differences of opinion among its members. Father Flannery argued that the *Journal* had a long history of hypersensitivity about censorship and could not "assume a rational approach" to the matter. Both he and Rabbi Chill felt that no amount of cooperation would satisfy the *Journal*, and that it would go on painting the commission in a poor light. Believing that public opinion was on their side, the majority of the members agreed that the commission should speak with one voice and refuse to allow individual interviews.¹⁵

Father Olsen, however, had accepted the *Journal's* initial request for an interview. He argued that the *Journal's* stance was against censorship, and he initiated a discussion at the meeting as to how the commissioners felt about that issue. The discussion was apparently inconclusive. When the commissioners voted on a motion to keep their procedure for identifying objectionable materials confidential, only Olsen objected, but he agreed to cooperate with the majority when the vote went against him. The commission then unanimously decided to request, in a spirit of cooperation, that distributors provide them with copies of specific materials prior to their sale.¹⁶

In September 1957 the commission named five magazines that it considered "objectionable for youths under 18." One of these magazines was the December 1957 issue of *Paris Life*. Commission records, Rhode Island State Archives.

September 23, 1957

Mr. William E. Powers, Attorney General
Providence County Court House
250 Benefit Street
Providence, Rhode Island

Dear Mr. Powers:

The following five (5) magazines, by a majority vote of the Commissioners, have been found objectionable for youths under 18:

Scamp - Vol. I, No. 4, November 1957.

Adam - Vol. I, No. 10.

Paris Life - Vol. I, No. 31, December 1957.

Modern Man - Vol. VII, September 1957.

After Hours - Vol. I, No. 3.

The magazines were simply named and the distributors and police advised of the vote.

Sincerely yours,

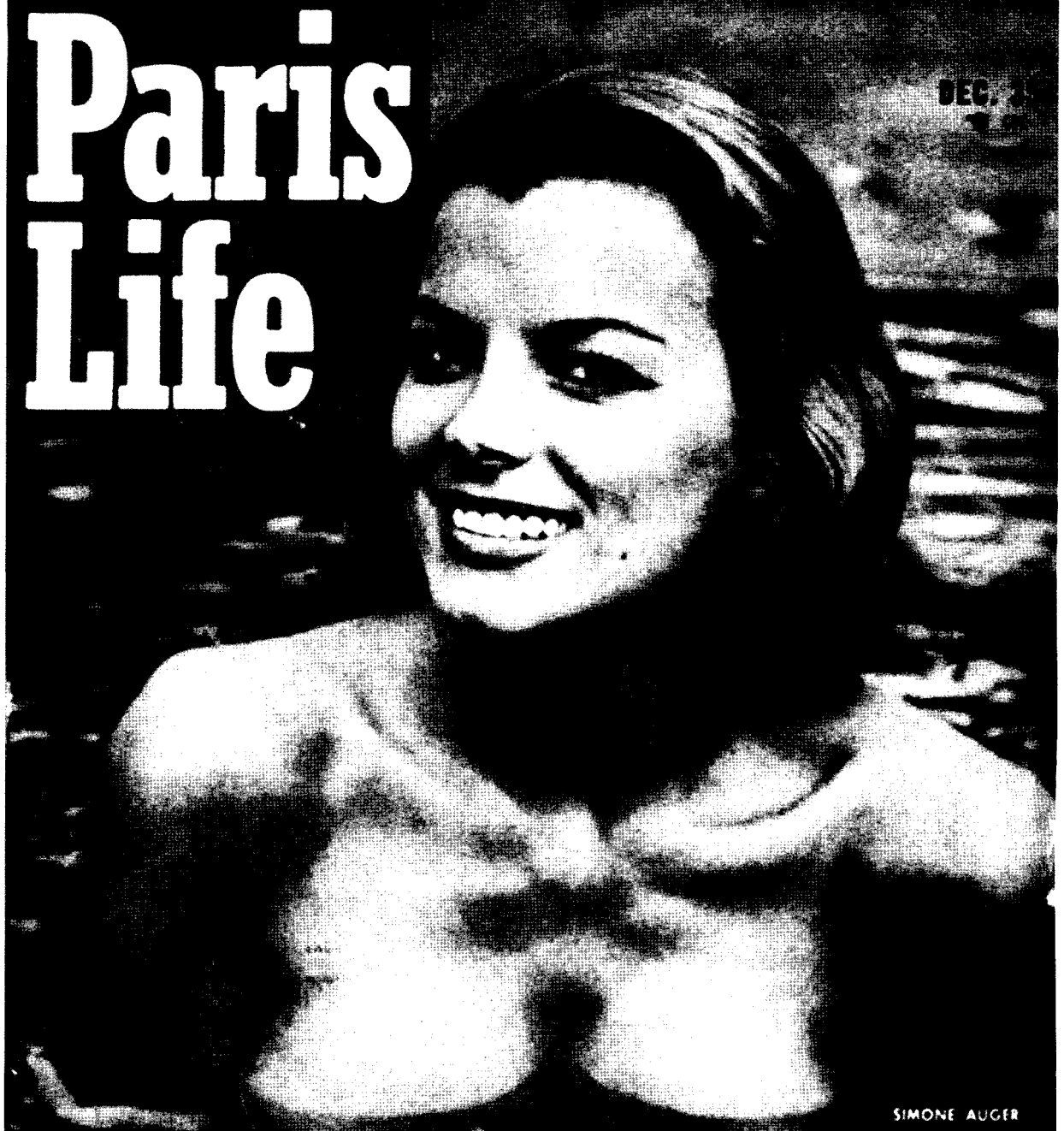
Albert J. McAloon
Executive Secretary

Perhaps seeking clearer direction, on 4 September 1957 McAloon proposed a number of principles to guide the commission in its work. He recommended the continuation of the Guide List program, but he also suggested that surveys be made and long-range goals formulated to determine the needs of youth and to improve the state's services for children and parents. He also recommended that public-service announcements and printed materials be designed to educate parents about youth and teenage problems. Further, he called for coordination between the commission and such local groups as religious organizations, police, and libraries; the commission, he argued, should not act as a "service organization, but as a coordinating organization."¹⁷ However, throughout its existence the commission would concentrate on preventing the distribution of publications it considered objectionable rather than on implementing efforts such as these, which probably would have proven to be far less controversial. Aside from the Guide List, the only program that attracted much attention was the commission's round of speaking engagements, most often by McAloon.

With the commission continuing to fret about its lack of police power and feeling that its authority should be enlarged,¹⁸ McAloon traveled to Washington, where he met with members of the Churchmen's Council on Decent Literature and representatives of the United States Post Office and the Army Chaplains Corps to discuss the need for safeguarding the morality of youth.

THE TRUTH ABOUT SEX ON THE FRENCH RIVIERA

Paris Life



SIMONE AUGER

**IS CUT-RATE LOVE CLEANED UP IN PARIS?
PARIS AFTER DARK • SIN DANCE OF THE APACHES!**

He also visited the Comic Book Code Office in New York to learn how its code affected the publication and distribution of "problem" comic books. Reporting back to the commission on 25 September, McAloon told the commissioners that publishing houses would not regulate themselves without a coordinated effort by the various concerned groups. He then presented a code to the commission, one that listed eight separate offenses that

could render a publication “objectionable.” Among these offenses were the “depiction of excessive cruelty, sadistic crimes, or abnormal criminal behavior,” the ridicule of marriage or law, and the perversion of concepts of “Justice, Love, and Honor.”¹⁹

This code—which the commission adopted—was significantly different from the definition of obscenity prescribed by the United States Supreme Court just three months earlier in its decision in the case of *Roth v. United States*. According to that decision, the test for obscenity was “whether to the average person, applying contemporary community standards, the dominant theme of the material taken as a whole appeals to prurient interest.” The *Roth* decision would play a crucial part in the legal difficulties that would eventually bring down the commission.²⁰



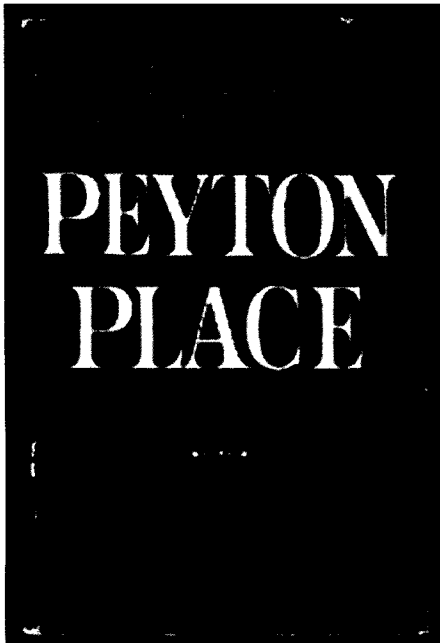
Continuing to send out notices about objectionable men’s magazines during the summer and fall of 1957, by a 3-2 vote the commission placed the first novel on its Guide List—*Peyton Place*, by Grace Metalious.²¹ At the 23 October meeting Chairman Sullivan noted that the book was still on sale at a store in Cranston, even after the commission had warned booksellers about it; although it was an adult who had purchased a copy there, the book remained on display for anyone to see.

Again critical of the commission, the *Providence Journal* maintained that placing *Peyton Place* on the Guide List only served to publicize the book and create demand for it, while at the same time denying it to adults.²² The following week the paper reported that store owners and police were removing copies of *Peyton Place* and putting them aside for sale only to those over the age of eighteen. Providence legally banned the sale of the book to minors altogether, causing most booksellers to make it inaccessible for adults as well.²³

Though asked specifically not to discuss the voting process or other details with the *Journal*, Father Olsen expressed his views in an article published in the 9 November *Rhode Island Churchman*. He did not find *Peyton Place* to be “a particularly worthy book,” he wrote, but he did not believe that it glorified sin or was dangerous to youth, and he did not vote to include it on the Guide List. Censorship was “a terribly dangerous thing,” said Olsen. “I do not say that censorship of a book should never happen, but as yet I have not seen a novel worthy of such dire action.”²⁴ Thus the commission’s internal differences in opinion were publicly revealed.

Seeking more cooperation from distributors, on 4 December the commission held a meeting with several local distributors and Assistant Attorney General Francis Fezzano. When some of the distributors claimed that the threat of obscene literature was lessening, commissioner Clarence Sherman disagreed, arguing that the problem was actually getting worse. Although the distributors attending the meeting agreed to help the commission preview publications, they otherwise generally expressed their hostility to censorship and to the commission itself. Nevertheless the commission reported to the *Journal* that the distributors supported the commission and would strengthen their cooperation with it.²⁵

In fact, Harry Settle, a bookseller from Newport who attended the meeting accompanied by his attorney, had been arrested the previous week for selling a copy of *Peyton Place* to a minor. In the weeks following the meeting, Settle’s lawyer demanded to know the specific passages in the book that were deemed “obscene” and challenged the state’s obscenity law on constitutional grounds. He argued not only that the commission unconstitutionally judged the book on particular passages rather than in its entirety but also that the boy who purchased the book was acting as part of an entrapment scheme.²⁶



Peyton Place, by Grace Metalious, was the first novel placed on the commission’s Guide List.

Meanwhile, McAloon was busily giving speeches at women's clubs, Rotary clubs, and other venues, claiming that obscene publications were flooding into Rhode Island mainly because of a lack of self-regulation among publishers. He also attacked the *Providence Journal*, calling the charges of censorship that it was leveling against the commission "hysterical."²⁷ In response to this attack, the *Journal* insisted that it was doing no more than recommending personal and family involvement rather than government action in matters involving indecent literature.²⁸



A flurry of activity marked the early days of 1958. Seeking greater support and legitimacy, the commission sought to expand its membership in order to include a lawyer, a psychiatrist, an art professor from the Rhode Island School of Design, and a woman. The General Assembly approved the expansion, but the RISD faculty opposed the commission's activities and declined to make any appointment from the school. The four new members named to the commission by Governor Roberts were Ruth Thomas, a member of the Newport Citizen's Committee on Literature; Omer Sutherland, a lawyer from Woonsocket; David Coughlin of Pawtucket; and Raymond Pettine, a Providence attorney.²⁹

The commission now put yet another novel, *Dark Quarters*, on its Guide List.³⁰ The *Journal* immediately attacked this move, saying that it served only to publicize an obscure book and thereby give some teenagers a reason to read it. The commission should "encourage instead of enforce morality on youth," said the paper.³¹ Speaking on a radio show that same week, Rabbi Chill declared that the commission's members were against censorship and had no desire to act in the place of parents. Control of what children may read is ultimately the responsibility of their parents, he argued; the commission's opinion should not be taken as the final word on any publication.³²

Some members of the General Assembly were now beginning to question the commission's activities. In January Republicans introduced a resolution calling upon the commission to replace its negative programs with more positive ones. Most Democrats generally supported the commission. Defending themselves, the commissioners maintained that they were, indeed, formulating positive programs, but that their efforts were hindered by a lack of funding. They also complained that the hostile press (and particularly the editorial writers of the *Journal*) were stirring up unjust animosity toward the commission.³³

Continuing its opposition to the commission's activities, the *Journal* highlighted the divisions among the commissioners by covering Howard Olsen's speaking engagements. In a speech in early January, Olsen maintained that the commission could not judge what was obscene for youths but not for adults, and he claimed that the readers of most of the publications judged objectionable by the commission were "adult loungers." Noting that differences existed between moral and religious codes and civil law, he insisted that it was up to parents to take control of what their children were reading.³⁴ This latter assertion drew a response from Sullivan a few days later: parents needed an arm of the state to assist in protecting their children, said Sullivan, as the problem was too large for them to fight themselves.³⁵

Speaking from a historical perspective the following month, Father Olsen noted that fears of juvenile delinquency dated back to the 1800s, and he contended that just as Prohibition failed to prevent the consumption of alcohol, so too would government censorship fail to protect young people from indecent literature. Emphasizing the difficulties inherent in censorship, he pointed to differences in opinion between Roman Catholics and evangelical Protestants on the one hand and most Protestants on the

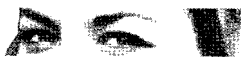
other, claiming that Protestants generally had more secular and liberal opinions on matters of morality and censorship than Catholics and evangelicals did.³⁶

Olsen received support from some other clergy, including local Unitarian minister I. Gregg Carter. Reminding his congregation that the commissioners were not accountable to the voters of Rhode Island, Carter maintained that censorship was more dangerous to society than obscene literature itself. "If totalitarianism ever comes to this country," he warned, "it will come in the name of morality." A Cranston Congregational minister, the Reverend William Thompson, attacked the commission's activities as "extremist" and praised the *Providence Journal* for its opposition to them. The Social Action Committee of the Congregational Church Conference of Rhode Island also denounced the commission's actions, characterizing them as "threat, intimidation, coercion, and blacklisting," and expressed its concern that such extralegal activity might set an undesirable precedent.³⁷

Criticism of the commission continued to come from the media and from politicians. The manager of WJAR-TV attacked the commission as a "book burning society"; Rhode Island Republicans, including future governor John Chafee, assailed the commission for failing to implement any positive programs and for actually contributing to the sales of the books on its Guide List.³⁸ The *Journal* meanwhile went on with its close coverage of the "Morality Unit," as it called the commission.

With various secular and religious opponents criticizing the commission's work and its negative approach, Father Flannery responded in the *Journal* and in the *Providence Visitor*. Those who sought an "excess of liberty," he said, suffered from "infantile thinking," and he blamed female domination of home life for juvenile delinquency.³⁹ The commission was working only to keep pornography out of the hands of children, Flannery would argue in early 1959. Its work would in fact lead to more freedom, he said, for by restricting only the worst items, it was helping to expand the minds of all children.⁴⁰

Meanwhile, convinced that the people of Rhode Island supported the commission's work, most of the commissioners viewed their opponents as unrepresentative media elite and political enemies and were confident that the commission would prevail in any legal cases that might materialize. Commissioners spent much of the latter half of 1958 talking to local psychology and sociology professors in an effort to undertake and fund a study about the effect of obscene literature on local youth. While all of the professors declined, for various reasons, to participate in such a study, commission members, and especially Executive Secretary McAloon, went on attending national meetings on obscenity and studying published material on the effects of obscenity on children.



With the backing of Senate Majority Leader John McSweeney and others, in 1959 the General Assembly expanded the commission's authority to investigate, educate, and make legislative recommendations.⁴¹ Although the commission made plans to study teenage drinking and attendance at drive-in theaters, and several commissioners, including Flannery and Sullivan, suggested creating a list of objectionable movies,⁴² the commission did little beyond compiling and distributing their Guide List of objectionable publications.

When the Rhode Island Superior Court ruled that sections of the state's current obscenity law were unconstitutional in the light of the *Roth* decision of the United States Supreme Court, the General Assembly passed an act that gave the attorney general the power to seek court injunctions on sworn complaints against those who were distributing works *legally* deemed obscene. Explaining the law to distributors, Assistant Attorney General Raymond Pettine—who had left the commission to accept a position in the state attorney

general's office—said that dealers could be held responsible if they displayed works that the commission or other legal authority thought obscene, and he urged that common sense be used when items were chosen for display.⁴³ But a crucial question remained: Who was actually authorized to declare works obscene?

What Are the Youth Commission's Plans?

There is a mystifying hesitancy in the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth to answer questions on how it would operate under an extension of authority being sought in the General Assembly. Is it possible the commission has no firm plans to assess the achievements promised if the bill is passed?

On March 20, Joseph A. Sullivan of Newport, commission chairman, said the commission has "tremendous ideas" to put into action if the nine-member group is granted the power to operate in the field of juvenile delinquency. Mr. Sullivan offered no bill of particulars on March 20, nor has the commission done any better since then.

On several occasions in recent weeks, Albert J. McAloon, the commission's executive secretary, has urged passage of the bill, saying that with added powers outlined in it, the commission "would bring about a great reduction in juvenile delinquency in the state

within five years." No bill of particulars ever has been submitted.

For some time, these newspapers have sought to get answers to a series of questions which were written out because Mr. Sullivan said he would submit them in that form to the commission at its March 24 meeting. Mr. Sullivan further promised that the questions would be answered that same night right after the meeting.

The questions have not yet been answered. Mr. Sullivan now says the answers will be forthcoming, but he does not say when. A spokesman for the commission has said there would be a statement as to the questions after a meeting next Tuesday. And there, for the moment, rest the questions.

Let it be said here and now that the issue isn't whether a state commission is being dilatory in answering questions asked by a newspaper. The questions relate to the public's right to know what the commission has in mind, how it proposes to

operate, and whether more money will be needed by it.

The commission's performance in censoring magazines and books offers no grounds for confidence that its performance in combating juvenile delinquency will be meaningful in terms of the dimensions of the problem. As we have said before, juvenile delinquency demands the thoughtful attention of the whole community and the mobilization of every available skill in social relations. The basic problems cannot and will not be solved through superficial activity such as the blacklisting of publications with extra-legal help of the police.

In any event, if the commission does have "tremendous ideas" and does own a plan which will bring a "great reduction" in juvenile delinquency in only five years, why doesn't it tell the community about its program? Continued silence inevitably will breed suspicions that the commission hasn't the foggiest notion what it's doing.

Blacklisting Books Is Dangerous and Self-Defeating

The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth has placed the titles of four more books on its blacklist. The public is to assume the books are obscene because the commission says they are obscene. Copies of the blacklist are distributed to local police with implicit, if not precise, intention to see that the proscribed books are removed from display and kept from juveniles.

Police action generated by the commission blacklist is not uniform in all communities. In Providence, police will let a bookseller keep the proscribed publications under his counter, to be sold to any inquiring adult. In Warwick, however, booksellers are asked to remove the books from their stores altogether. In Warwick, then, extra-legal police powers are enlisted to ban books to adults and juveniles alike,

without court determination as to their obscenity, indecency or impurity.

Moreover, the chairman of the commission, Joseph A. Sullivan, has declined to specify on what grounds one of the blacklisted books, *The Bramble Bush*, has been blacklisted. The commission, as far as we know, never has defined standards applied in determining the obscenity of a publication deserving proscription.

The blacklist technique, as we have said many times, is censorship of a most dangerous sort. It is dangerous because it can become a creeping thing. Yesterday, the commission blacklisted *Pepton Place*; today it bans *The Bramble Bush*, *Out of Darkness*, *One Violent Year*, *Love Starved Wife*; tomorrow, what will it ban? And on the basis of no standards established in law or by the court, or—as far as the public knows—even by the commission. If the commission thinks a book is smutty, it goes on the blacklist!

How much more refreshing would be if the commission abandoned its sub rosa, unostentatious approach and battled obscenity literature in the open. The law enables the commission to recommend prosecution for the sale of obscene books. The way to stop peddling filth covered between paper or cloth covers is to hail the bookseller before a judge, get a determination as to the obscenity of the book, and fine the bookseller if the book is judged obscene. One or two court judgments should be enough to rid the booksellers' shelves of literary filth.

As long as the commission goes about its present ways, filthy literature will not be suppressed. Placing a book on the blacklist only whets the appetite of a class of readers who would not give it a passing glance otherwise. In the long run, the commission is defeating its own purpose.

The *Providence Journal* continued to criticize the commission in 1959, editorially questioning the commission's vague plans to combat juvenile delinquency and arguing that the Guide List was still nothing more than a blacklist that publicized lackluster publications and ignored due process of law. Although approving of the commission's decision to begin seeking injunctions through the attorney general's office in accordance with the new obscenity law, it suggested that the legality of the commission itself should be put under judicial scrutiny next.⁴⁴

In September the *Journal's* hostility to the commission drew criticism from Superior Court judge Arthur Carrellas, who attacked the paper and all who opposed the commission as "anti-religious." This charge was vigorously denied by the *Journal's* editorial board, which argued that the paper was opposed not to those who practiced religion but to the commission's "invasion of personal liberties." It was the courts, not the commission, who should declare works obscene, and thus illegal, said the *Journal*.⁴⁵

With its budget increased in 1960, the commission had a study done of a disturbance that had occurred at the Newport Jazz Festival, claiming that it fell within its purview because the incident involved juveniles.⁴⁶ The commission was also concerned about the situation at newsstands,

The Providence Journal was a persistent critic of the commission and its work, as in these editorials of 10 April and 25 August 1959. Courtesy of the Providence Journal.

which seemed worse than ever, and it was convinced that the public opposition it was facing, including several op-ed pieces in the *Journal*, was hindering its work.⁴⁷

But in July the commissioners' attention was diverted from these concerns to another matter: the forced resignation of their executive secretary, Albert McAloon, the chief architect of the concept of the Guide List and the commission's most prominent public voice. In what appears to have been a simple miscommunication, but might in fact have been something more political, state officials informed Chairman Sullivan that McAloon would have to be released because he had failed to take the state civil service exam required for the job. McAloon insisted that he had never been told of this obligation and appealed the ruling, but he had to resign pending the result of his appeal. In his place, the commission chose M. David Bell, a former manager of the Brown University Bookstore.⁴⁸

The views that Bell brought to the commission differed from those of most of its members. Within a month he had taken over McAloon's speaking engagements, but unlike McAloon, he emphasized the importance of parents in directing their children's reading, and he discussed the decline of reading of all sorts. Although claiming that "real pornography" was rare in the state, he urged parents to monitor what their children were reading, and he worried that booksellers were removing worthwhile publications for fear of prosecution.⁴⁹

Meanwhile, McAloon's appeal moved forward. Maintaining that he had been told by a state official that he did not have to take the exam, McAloon now found himself charged also with having two titles while working for the commission, an unacceptable circumstance: he was both an executive secretary and a "senior publicity specialist." McAloon argued that the latter was merely the official civil service job title for his position. Evidently accepting his arguments, by the end of 1960 the appeals board ordered him reinstated to his former position, provided the commission wanted him back.⁵⁰

At a closed meeting, the commissioners voted 5 to 3 to reinstate McAloon. With Rabbi Chill abstaining, the three votes against reinstatement were cast by Father Olsen, lawyer Eustace Pliakas (Raymond Pettine's replacement on the commission), and Dr. Charles Goodman (a mental health specialist who had replaced the perennially absent Ruth Thomas).⁵¹ Clearly the more moderate members of the commission did not want McAloon reinstated, hoping instead to retain Bell as executive secretary. Bell appealed the commission's decision shortly after the vote. During the ensuing hearings he accused the commissioners of frequently holding meetings without a quorum present, and he insisted that while he may have disagreed with some of the commission's tactics, he fulfilled his duties to the best of his abilities. In response, Chairman Sullivan blamed Bell for the poor attendance, though he provided no reasons for this claim. Bell charged that McAloon had failed to report to Sullivan for nearly six months at one point, and he presented evidence that some members of the commission deliberately changed the job qualifications in order to accommodate McAloon. In May 1961 the appeals board ruled that Bell was not as qualified as McAloon and was properly dismissed.⁵²



By the end of 1960, publishers from both Rhode Island and New York had brought the commission into Rhode Island Superior Court over its distribution of notices to local police and book and magazine distributors. In February 1961 the court ruled that the commission's Guide List and notice program were unconstitutional because they suppressed the sale of publications without any judicial determination that they were obscene. The commission's notices were not simply requests for voluntary compliance, the court found, but amounted to threats to the booksellers. Although it declined to rule the statute that created the commission unconstitutional, the court called that statute (in the words of Associate Justice William Mackenzie, who wrote the opinion) into "considerable doubt." Unsurprisingly, the *Providence Journal* hailed the court's decision, but it suggested that the commission should take the case to the state Supreme Court in order to rule out any possible doubt as to the legal process for controlling obscenity. The decision was in fact appealed by the New York publishers, who objected to the court's failure to declare the commission itself unconstitutional.⁵³

Membership problems and disputes with public officials continued for the commission as the case moved up to the state's highest court. Father Flannery, one of the commission's most active members, departed, as did Dr. Charles Goodman. Although Flannery never provided an explanation for leaving, it appears both that the Superior Court decision discouraged him and that he wanted to explore other interests, including writing a

book on Christian-Jewish relations.⁵⁴ To fill the two vacancies, Democratic governor John Notte appointed another Catholic priest, the Reverend Edward Mullen, and Dr. John McGauran to the commission.⁵⁵

As if such changes in membership were not enough distraction for the commission, McAloon and Attorney General J. Joseph Nugent began a rather public disagreement. In one of his speeches McAloon claimed that Rhode Island was the worst state in New England for pornography. Nugent called on McAloon to provide evidence for the charge. (Nugent himself was then embroiled in a controversy over his bypassing the courts in an attempt to ban the novel *Tropic of Cancer*.)⁵⁶ McAloon accused Nugent of communist tactics in ignoring the fact that the obscenity law was not being enforced. Then, in a meeting with Providence officials, McAloon and Sullivan raged about the availability of obscene books and magazines in the city, but the officials countered that few works had been found to be obscene by any court in the state. According to the *Journal*, the meeting became a shouting match, another instance of commissioners making a spectacle of themselves.⁵⁷ While the commission had some local support from community groups, it was increasingly alienating public officials.

In December 1961, in a 3-to-1 decision, the Rhode Island Supreme Court overturned the Superior Court's ruling and declared that the commission's methods of operation were, in fact, constitutional. In determining which publications were objectionable for those under eighteen for inclusion in its Guide List, the high court said, the commission was performing a function comparable to a court review. Moreover, the notifications, however threatening, were declared to be only "steps" leading to prosecution, not legal action itself.⁵⁸

The New York publishers involved in the case thereupon decided to take the fight to the United States Supreme Court. The publishers' local counsel, Milton Stanzler, announced the planned appeal in January 1962. The case would be argued before the Supreme Court in early December.⁵⁹



In late February 1962 McAloon and Stanzler, the chairman of the Rhode Island chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, publicly debated at a meeting in Newport. McAloon maintained that the commission was doing a great deal of good, sending local libraries book lists and opposing "hard-core pornography" even in the face of the "conspiracy of silence" in the local papers, whose staffs, he charged, had a secular and unphilosophical view of things. Stanzler retorted that only the courts should decide what was obscene. He also contended that publications could not be kept from youth without infringing on the rights of adults as well, and that young people should be guided in their reading by their families and by their own intellectual development. He finished by saying that education and independent youth organizations would provide a better understanding of the problem of delinquent youth than a state commission.⁶⁰

McAloon felt that the problem with combating obscenity in the state was not just that local papers were thwarting the commission's efforts. In a series of talks he gave in mid-March 1962, he blamed Attorney General Nugent for a lack of necessary prosecutions; obscenity in Rhode Island could be wiped out in three months, said McAloon, if the attorney general's office took appropriate legal action. Clearly frustrated, McAloon publicly requested that Woonsocket police "take action" on newsstand materials that the commission deemed obscene and unsuitable for those under eighteen.⁶¹ Nugent remained unimpressed by these reproaches. While not referring to McAloon by name, he criticized his tactics, noting that "the fellow who is executive secretary . . . he's back hitting the pavements, going into bookstores and flashing his badge. I'm getting complaints about this. . . . it's not with my approval."⁶²

The summer and early fall of 1962 were rather quiet for the commission, with commissioners distributing pamphlets and discussing how best to aid in the arguments to be presented in the upcoming Supreme Court case.⁶³ Things began to heat up again in October. Presented with a request by McAloon to ban objectionable magazines from Newport newsstands, City Solicitor James O'Brien refused, calling the materials simply "girlie stuff" that was not written for prurient interests alone.⁶⁴ Sullivan and McAloon then charged that O'Brien was "failing to uphold his oath of office in face of obscene facts."⁶⁵

This and similar statements led Newport city officials to ask Governor Notte to remove McAloon from the commission; McAloon's allegations, advanced without any supporting proof, diminished public confidence in law enforcement, the officials contended. "Others on the commission were also disturbed by the executive secretary's pronouncements. In a November meeting the commissioners approved a motion for a statement to be composed distancing themselves from what they labeled as McAloon's "intemperate language."⁶⁷ Yet in an attempt to apply pressure against Newport officials, the commission decided to present the offending magazines to a grand jury.⁶⁸

Shortly thereafter, arguments in the case of *Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan* began before the United States Supreme Court.

The Supreme Court's decision in the case of *Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan* was front-page news in Rhode Island. Courtesy of the Providence Journal.



VOLUME CXXXV. NO. 44

R.I. Book Ban Is Ruled Out by Supreme Court

Board Is Mum; Nationality Act Is Overturned

ACLU Head Hails Ruling

The U.S. Supreme Court ruled yesterday that the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth overstepped its constitutional limits in pressuring dealers not to distribute "objectionable" publications.

"Censorship in the raw" was the phrase used by Justice William O. Douglas in joining the eight-man majority. Only Justice John M. Harlan dissented.

Majority decision text Page 21

The high court declared unconstitutional the activities of the commission in disseminating lists of material found by the commission to be objectionable for sale, distribution or display to youths under 18.

It upheld the statute creating the commission. Four New York book publishers, who brought the original suit had contended that the statute itself violated the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

Commission officials had no comment on the case yesterday.

Albert J. McAloon, executive secretary, said he preferred to withhold comment until Joseph A. Sullivan, commission chairman, makes a public statement.

Mrs. John W. Lenz, chairman of the Rhode Island Liberties Union, said the organization was "glad that the Supreme Court has confirmed for Rhode Islanders their right to freedom from governmental censorship."

Washington — (AP) — The Supreme Court, dividing 5 to 4, yesterday struck down two acts intended to strip American citizenship from persons who leave this country to avoid military service.

Justice Arthur J. Goldberg, who spoke for the majority, said the two sections of the Nationality Act failed to provide safeguards guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

Justice Goldberg's opinion did not pass upon the question of whether Congress has the power to enact similar laws provided they contain such safeguards.

Justices Hugo L. Black and William O. Douglas, who concurred in the majority opinion, took the position that Congress cannot enact valid laws stripping away citizenship.

Justice Goldberg said the statutes were essentially penal in character and provided for taking away citizenship without due process of law and without "any" rights guaranteed by the 5th and 14th Amendments. These include, he said, notice, confrontation, compulsory process for obtaining witnesses, trial by jury and protection of counsel.

Chief Justice Earl Warren and Justice William J. Brennan, along with Justices Goldberg, Black and Douglas, concurred in the majority.

Justice John M. Harlan dissented.

Justice William O. Douglas called the commission's methods "censorship in the raw" and said the actions amounted to a system of prior restraint, unconstitutional by definition.

The Court further observed that the commission was depriving adults of material that might not be inappropriate for them.

While rejecting the challenge to the statute that created the commission, the Court noted that the commission was an arm of the state, and thus its actions were subject to review under the Fourteenth Amendment.

This decision destroyed what had always been the commission's major effort, the Guide List and the system of notices, and the commissioners now found themselves at an impasse. At their first meeting following the decision, they pondered what to do. After Sullivan read a letter from former commissioner Ruth Thomas, offering to contribute one hundred dollars toward the expenses of obtaining another hearing before the United States Supreme Court, there ensued a lengthy discussion (not detailed in the meeting's minutes), after which Father Mullen moved that the commission not seek another hearing of the case. Father Olsen seconded the motion, which carried by a vote of 5 to 1.

Mullen moved, with Olsen's second, that all commission activities in the area of obscenity be suspended until the General Assembly could re-define the group's mission, but this motion failed, 2 votes to 4.

Before the meeting adjourned, Sullivan expressed regret at the

The case was argued in early December 1962, and the Court handed down its decision on 18 February 1963. By a vote of 8 to 1, with Justice John Marshall Harlan dissenting, the Court ruled that the commission's methods—which Justice William O. Douglas called "censorship in the raw"—were unconstitutional. While obscenity was not a protected form of speech, said the Court, the commission's actions amounted to a system of prior restraint, unconstitutional by definition, censoring material that might be constitutionally protected and that was never, or might never be, ruled legally obscene in judicial proceedings. The Court further observed that the commission was depriving adults of material that might not be inappropriate for them. While rejecting the challenge to the statute that created the commission, the Court noted that the commission was an arm of the state, and thus its actions were subject to review under the Fourteenth Amendment.⁶⁹

This decision destroyed what had always been the commission's major effort, the Guide List and the system of notices, and the commissioners now found themselves at an impasse. At their first meeting following the decision, they pondered what to do. After Sullivan read a letter from former commissioner Ruth Thomas, offering to contribute one hundred dollars toward the expenses of obtaining another hearing before the United States Supreme Court, there ensued a lengthy discussion (not detailed in the meeting's minutes), after which Father Mullen moved that the commission not seek another hearing of the case. Father Olsen seconded the motion, which carried by a vote of 5 to 1.⁷⁰ Mullen moved, with Olsen's second, that all commission activities in the area of obscenity be suspended until the General Assembly could re-define the group's mission, but this motion failed, 2 votes to 4. Before the meeting adjourned, Sullivan expressed regret at the

resignation of Rabbi Chill, who had written in a letter to Governor John Chafee that the commission needed “new blood, new thinking, and new approaches.”⁷¹

The *Journal* proclaimed the Supreme Court decision as a “victory for those who believe in freedom of expression, and for those who adhere to the principle that due process is the only method of suppressing printed obscenities.” The paper further noted that while the Court upheld the statute that created the commission, it gave no suggestions as to what methods the commission could use to encourage morality in youth. Obscene materials were entering the state, but only the courts could determine what was obscene under the *Roth* standard, said the *Journal*. While reaffirming the paper’s position that Rhode Island was better off without a blacklist, the editorial also called for passage of a new bill before the General Assembly, one that would allow the attorney general to request a judicial review of materials that were possibly obscene. If the books or magazines were, in fact, deemed to be obscene by a court (rather than through extralegal proceedings, such as those of the commission), they could be removed from bookstore shelves and newsstands and their sale—even to adults—declared illegal.⁷²

As the *Journal* celebrated and the commission reeled in the wake of the decision, Raymond Pettine, now a United States district attorney, stated in a radio interview that he believed the commission should be abolished. Endorsing the Supreme Court decision, he told audiences that he supported the pending bill, which aimed at placing suspect materials themselves on trial rather than at prosecuting those who sold them. At St. Barnabas Church, Father Olsen told his congregation that a “more sensitive approach . . . might have made it possible for the Commission to have accomplished its purpose of encouraging morality in youth” and prevented court action in the first place. The central problem with the Guide List, he said, was that it represented an attempt by a religious group to “enforce its moral principles . . . upon all people in the state, in spite of constitutional provisions against the use of such force by a non-judicial body.”⁷³

Meanwhile, the state government was attempting to deal with the new circumstances created by the Court’s decision. Expressing his agreement with the decision, Attorney General Nugent insisted that the notices the Supreme Court specifically ruled unconstitutional were sent without his knowledge, and that McAloon acted far beyond his legal authority in threatening distributors with prosecution. Yet noting that the Court upheld the legality of the commission itself, Nugent declared his belief that the commission could still be effective, but that it should operate independently and not—as was then being considered—within his department.⁷⁴

After meeting with McAloon and Omer Sutherland, the commission’s attorney, Governor Chafee submitted legislation to the General Assembly that would, indeed, place the commission in the attorney general’s department. No action was taken on the bill before the Rhode Island Superior Court issued an injunction preventing the commission from directly or indirectly notifying publishers and distributors of “objectionable” materials. By simply putting the Supreme Court’s decision into effect, the injunction in fact rendered the commission impotent, since none of its other, more positive programs had been very successful. The commissioners considered the injunction overly broad in scope, but they voted 3 to 1 against undertaking an appeal.⁷⁵



For a while the commission drifted along, doing little more than issuing occasional statements of support for specific legislation that seemed to have some connection with morality in youth.⁷⁶ Members of the commission were questioning its usefulness and purpose.⁷⁷ With the Supreme Court’s decision and the Superior Court’s injunction

effectively ending its principal activity, the group appeared to have outlived its reason for existing. At its meeting on 19 March 1964, after McAloon had delivered his customary report, Eustace Pliakas requested that the chairman allow him to make an important formal motion. Without further objection, Pliakas moved that a recommendation be made to the General Assembly to abolish the commission. Another commissioner, Adams, seconded the motion immediately.

The debate, such as it was, proceeded in what appears to have been a gentlemanly manner. Abolishing the commission was not a new topic, Pliakas noted; commissioners had spoken of it for over a year. Questioning whether it was providing a service that justified the expenditure of fifteen to twenty thousand dollars a year, he argued that the commission was floundering without a purpose. Without a new statute redefining its mission and without adequate staff to accomplish positive activities, the commission would be doing the proper thing in recommending its own abolition. Four of the other commissioners—Father Mullen, Father Olsen, Adams, and Cohen—all spoke in agreement with what Pliakas had said.

David Coughlin rose against the motion, saying that abolishing the commission was a matter for the state to decide, and pointing out that the statute creating the commission had been upheld by the United States Supreme Court. Citing a few anecdotal complaints, he argued that the moral conditions of youth in Rhode Island were “very bad”; and while acknowledging that he was in the minority on the matter, he promised to do his best to block any attempt to have the commission abolished. Sutherland, too, did not want to see the commission abolished, but he believed that it should obtain a new charge from the legislature. The commission had almost no cooperation from the attorney general or from other state agencies, particularly after Governor Roberts left office, Sutherland complained; Governor Chafee had been recommending for over a year that it be terminated. Although agreeing with Sutherland that the commission’s role needed to be redefined, Sullivan argued that the commission had actually accomplished quite a lot, and that its present lack of focus was really more a result of public image problems than anything else.

When Sullivan put the motion to a vote, it carried, 6 to 2, with Sullivan and Coughlin voting against it. Sutherland agreed to draw up a letter informing the governor and the General Assembly of the commission’s recommendation. Sullivan asked him not to distribute copies of the letter to the press. Olsen then moved to have the story released if the legislature did not do so within a week, and the motion passed, with only Coughlin opposed.

McAloon, the commission’s executive secretary, could not vote in the proceedings, but he made his opinion abundantly clear during a meeting of the House Finance Committee a month later. He recommended that those in favor of abolishing the commission should resign to make way for other, more cooperative members. Coughlin, who also attended the meeting, declared that the commissioner who made the motion to abolish, Eustace Pliakas, did not believe in such a thing as public morality. Agreeing with McAloon, Coughlin insisted that those who voted for dissolving the commission should be replaced as members, since they “do not reflect the thinking of the people of Rhode Island.” He further asserted that it was the press, which had infiltrated the commission through the governor’s office, that was to blame for the call for abolishment. Coughlin went on to say that the commission’s core problem was “unfair press reporting, what I call yellow journalism.” Maintaining that the commission had worked well and was effective under other governors, he blamed the Chafee administration for its lack of cooperation.⁷⁸

Members of the Finance Committee informed Coughlin and McAloon that there was not enough time remaining in the current legislative session for the sort of public hearing that the two men wanted. Representative Eleanor Slater, a Democrat from Warwick,



John H. Chafee was a longtime critic of the commission, which was abolished during his first term as governor. RIHS Collection (RH X3 4864).

RHODE ISLAND
COMMISSION TO ENCOURAGE MORALITY IN YOUTH
BUDGET ALLOTMENTS
1957 - 1964

<u>Year</u>	<u>Allotment</u>	<u>Expended</u>
1957	\$ 10,000.00	\$ 4,775.75
1957-58	13,518.00	13,431.00
1958-59	14,235.00	13,998.26
1959-60	14,800.66	14,798.89
1960-61	17,009.54	17,009.54
1961-62	19,561.26	19,486.26
1962-63	17,011.00	16,978.01
1963-64	<u>16,311.00</u>	<u>6,680.13</u> (to 11/30/63)
Totals	\$122,466.46	\$107,157.84

SALARIES PER YEAR - 1957-64

<u>Year</u>	<u>Allotment</u>	<u>Expended</u>
1957	\$ 1,966.90	\$ 1,966.90
1957-58	8,053.00	7,929.82
1958-59	8,635.00	8,270.00
1959-60	9,900.66	8,693.00
1960-61	10,166.00	8,804.87
1961-62	11,374.00	11,308.80
1962-63	10,946.00	10,979.95
1963-64	<u>10,946.00</u>	<u>5,171.76</u>
Totals	\$ 72,017.56	\$ 63,125.10

SALARY BREAKDOWN - 1957-64

<u>Year</u>	<u>Executive Secretary</u>	<u>Sr. Clerk Stenographer</u>
1957	\$5100 - \$6720	\$2100 - \$2700
1957-58	\$5330 - \$6786	\$2600 - \$3302
1958-59	\$5330 - \$6786	\$2600 - 3302
1959-60	\$5330 - \$6786	\$2600 - \$3302
1960-61	\$5746 - \$7306	\$2860 - \$3640
1961-62	\$5746 - \$7306	\$2860 - \$3640
1962-63	\$5746 - \$7306	\$2860 - \$3640
1963-64	\$5746 - \$7306	\$2860 - \$3640

Before disbanding, the commission prepared a summary of its budget during eight years of its operation. Commission records, Rhode Island State Archives.

more complex matter. One such work, Harry Shulman's *Juvenile Delinquency in American Society*, examined many factors in its search for the root causes of delinquency. Citing the way the Amish shielded and sheltered children from harmful social and cultural influences, Shulman argued that delinquency was ultimately the responsibility of all members of society, and he recommended both individual and governmental remedies, such as counseling, improved socialization within schools, community projects designed to occupy youth, and truancy controls, as well as "control of the mass communication media." While acknowledging the value of the comic book industry's self-regulation, he nonetheless claimed that more state and federal intervention was needed if the nation was to begin correcting the problem of juvenile delinquency.⁸³

The popularity and influence of the mass media made them obvious targets for censorship and control. Censoring popular culture seemed to many a logical and legal response to an unchecked entertainment industry that was weakening the morals of the next generation of Americans and encouraging an adolescent culture that was already changing in undesirable ways. A paternalistic state was seen as having legitimate power to assist parents who were

observed that members of the commission appeared to have startlingly different philosophies, and that the group simply "can't work together."⁷⁹ Six days later, with a bill passing the Senate with no debate, the General Assembly formally abolished the commission as of 15 May 1964, putting an end to it after eight years of operation.⁸⁰



The concerns of the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth were by no mean unique among Americans of its time. A troubled awareness of juvenile delinquency and the decay of the family was pervasive in America in the 1950s. Those years have been examined and analyzed by a number of observers. One of these, James Gilbert, found that people were reacting not only to substantial changes in American society but also to the changing character of the American teenager.⁸¹ Worried parents, spurred by warnings from politicians and psychologists, fretted over their inability to protect their children from the malign influences that seemed to be emanating from movies, television, popular music, magazines, and comic books.

Some contemporary analyses, such as Frederic Wertham's *Seduction of the Innocent*, singled out comic books as a reason for the moral decline of children,⁸² whereas others viewed the problem as a

troubled about the films, books, and music that their teenagers were exposed to. The Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth regarded itself as providing such assistance.

Although many commission meetings included broad discussions of juvenile delinquency, which commissioners generally considered not as an isolated matter but rather as a systemic breakdown in culture and morality, the commission's tangible efforts were largely restricted to combating what it perceived as obscenity through the compilation and distribution of its Guide List. The Guide List eventually became the major element in the commission's downfall. Fears over juvenile delinquency and a changing teenage culture continued throughout the early 1960s, but the commission's focus on one possible cause—obscene literature—raised a powerful alarm among opponents of censorship while producing few measurable results.

Philosophical-religious differences over how best to protect the young split the commission and hampered its more positive programs, such as its radio shows, as well as its cooperation with community groups. Albert McAloon's departure and rehiring spotlighted some of the internal problems. Wielding a tremendous amount of influence, not simply over the commission's day-to-day activities but also over its direction and goals, McAloon was frequently the public voice and face of the commission. Yet McAloon's views were contrary to those of Father Olsen, who publicly stated his opposition to the commission's efforts at censorship and, throughout its existence, urged the group to undertake more positive programs. Olsen's liberal Protestant leanings also contrasted with the more conservative Catholic Father Flannery's wholehearted support of the Guide List.

The religious overtones of the commission's moral crusade, which were never far below the surface, became more apparent when Father Flannery or McAloon spoke to the press. Moreover, when commission supporters, such as Superior Court judge Arthur Carrellas, described opponents as "anti-Christian," the religious dimension was evident. While religious issues were rarely referred to in either the commission's records or the *Providence Journal*, the underlying moral issues regarding censorship had a strong religious element. Given the religious undertones of movie codes, censorship, and rising conservative activism in the late 1950s and early 1960s, this is hardly surprising.⁸⁴

Finally, it should be emphasized that the commission encountered spirited opposition from the *Providence Journal*, book distributors, and civil libertarians. The *Journal's* opposition was a source of endless consternation for many commissioners, particularly the commission's chairman, Joseph Sullivan. Book distributors and the ACLU fought the commission all the way to the United States Supreme Court. Moreover, the Republican minority in the General Assembly attacked proposed increases in the commission's budget, and the state attorney general's office and the governors gave the commission little support. Only Governor Roberts was a vocal supporter of the commission; Governors Christopher Del Sesto and John Notte mostly ignored it, and John Chafee publicly spoke out against its activities, especially after the Supreme Court ruling in 1963. With its principal efforts prohibited by that ruling, the Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, born in a climate of fear over changing social mores and juvenile delinquency, became little more than a footnote, if that, in Rhode Island history.

Notes

1. Paul Boyer, *Purity in Print: Book Censorship in American from the Gilded Age to the Computer Age* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 2002), and David Pivar, *Purity Crusade: Sexual Morality and Social Control, 1868-1900* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1973), are both good overviews of censorship and obscenity control prior to the Cold War.
2. The subject of American society and its complex relationship with teenagers and morality is dealt with in Boyer, *Purity in Print*; Mike A. Males, *The Scapegoat Generation: America's War on Adolescents* (Monroe, Maine: Common Courage, 1996); and Grace Palladino, *Teenagers: An American History* (New York: Basic Books, 1996).
3. Rhode Island House of Representatives, *Report of the Special Commission of the State of Rhode Island to Study "Comic" Books, Their Publication and Distribution, etc., with Particular Reference to Their Effect upon Minors* (Providence, 1956).
4. During the brief debate in the state Senate before a voice vote was taken, only William Davies Jr., a Democrat representing Lincoln, spoke against the bill creating the commission. Davies said that he opposed the measure because "you can't legislate morality." "Senate Approves Youth Morality Commission Bill," *Providence Journal*, 25 Apr. 1956.
5. Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth [hereafter cited as Commission], minutes and letter to Rabbi Chill, Dec. 1956. The commission's records are at the Rhode Island State Archives.
6. "Senate Approves Youth Morality Commission Bill," *Providence Journal*, 25 Apr. 1956. The commission frequently harked back to the latter phrase when defending its right to recommend prosecutions. The phrase was used in many commission documents and was mentioned in several meetings by commission members.
7. "Reading Code Proposed," *Providence Journal*, 6 June 1957.
8. Commissioners cast their ballots on a scale from "objectionable" through "partly" to "dubious," with only a majority of "objectionable" votes able to declare a work officially objectionable. *Cabaret* had 4 "objectionable" votes and 1 "dubious" vote; *Modern Man* had 3 "objectionable" votes and 2 "partly" votes; *Gent* had 3 "objectionable" votes, 1 "partly" vote, and 1 "dubious" vote. Commission, minutes, 10 July 1957, 2.
9. "3 Magazines Seized by Newport Police," *Providence Journal*, 21 July 1957.
10. "Powers Says Youth Group Did Not Exceed Authority," *Providence Journal*, 27 July 1957.
11. "Liberties Union Offers Help in Magazines Case," *Providence Journal*, 31 July 1957; "List of 'Objectionable Publications' to Be Expanded in R.I. Soon," *Providence Journal*, 1 Aug. 1957. According to the latter article, Sullivan claimed that the commission was only in the business of protecting youth; it had no authority to limit the sale of any publications to adults. In fact, many distributors stopped selling the objectionable materials and removed them from the shelves to appear cooperative and avoid prosecution. "Police Help Found in Magazine Drive," *Providence Journal*, 8 Aug. 1957.
12. "Police Help Found in Magazine Drive."
13. "Police Are Thanked for Help in Removing 'Obscene' Magazines," *Providence Journal*, 3 Aug. 1957; "Nobody Is Condoning Obscene Literature" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 5 Aug. 1957.
14. See, e.g., "How Can a Blacklist Serve as a 'Guide'?" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 12 Aug. 1957.
15. Commission, minutes of special meeting, 26 Aug. 1957.
16. *Ibid.*
17. Commission, Proposed Program, 4 Sept. 1957. Among the topics proposed by McAloon for educating parents were "Why do they act that way?," "Warning signs of delinquency," and "How parents can help."
18. See, e.g., Commission, minutes, 11 Sept. 1957.
19. Commission, Suggested Code, 25 Sept. 1957.
20. Marjorie Heins, *Not in Front of the Children: "Indecency," Censorship, and the Innocence of Youth* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2001).
21. "Commission Adds Three Names to Magazine Ban Listing," *Providence Journal*, 30 Aug. 1957; "Six Magazines Added to R.I. Blacklist," *Providence Journal*, 8 Nov. 1957. The vote on *Peyton Place* may have come at the commission's 9 October meeting; it was reported in the *Providence Journal*—"1st Novel on Blacklist; Police Warn Dealers on 'Peyton Place,'" 25 Oct. 1957—but does not appear in the commission's records.
22. "1st Novel on Blacklist." Adults were actually allowed to "view" the listed materials at the commission's offices. The commission described those that did as "lawyers and family men." "Adults May See Magazines on R.I. Blacklist," *Providence Journal*, 13 Sept. 1957.
23. "Remove Copies from Shelves," *Providence Journal*, 26 Oct. 1957; "Providence Bans 'Peyton Place' Sale to Youths," *Providence Journal*, 27 Oct. 1957.

Notes continued

24. A report on Olsen's article in the *Rhode Island Churchman* appeared in the *Providence Journal* the same day: "Sin Not Glorified in 'Peyton Place,' Says Clergyman," *Providence Journal*, 9 Nov. 1957. The report was located next to an announcement of the premiere of the movie based on the novel in question.
25. "Top Publication Dealers Back Morality Board," *Providence Journal*, 6 Dec. 1957.
26. "Newport News Dealer Seeks 'Particulars,'" *Providence Journal*, 11 Dec. 1957; "Obscenity Law Is Challenged," *Providence Journal*, 13 Dec. 1957; "Motion Ok'd in 'Peyton Place' Case," *Providence Journal*, 14 Dec. 1957; "Judge to Read 'Peyton Place,'" *Providence Journal*, 19 Dec. 1957.
27. "R.I. Magazine Problem Seen," *Providence Journal*, 27 Dec. 1957. McAloon also attacked men's magazines that he believed gave "healthy young men" distorted images of courtship, though he stopped short of claiming such images caused delinquency directly.
28. "Let's Look at the Record on Censorship, Mr. McAloon" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 29 Dec. 1957.
29. Commission, minutes, 22 Jan. 1958; "Would Fill Out Morality Unit," *Providence Journal*, 5 Mar. 1958; "RISD Paper Opposes Morality Group Idea," *Providence Journal*, 27 Feb. 1958; "Unannounced Choice to R.I. Youth Morality Panel Bared," *Providence Journal*, 18 Feb. 1959. Clarence Sherman resigned from the commission in January 1958; "Sherman Resigns Friday from Youth Committee," *Providence Journal*, 28 Jan. 1958. The commission gained and lost members frequently. Of the new appointees, Ruth Thomas rarely attended two meetings in a row, and Raymond Pettine left the commission when he was named assistant attorney general by the end of 1959. Pettine later became a federal district judge who was well known for his protection of civil liberties and civil rights.
30. "Second Novel Blacklisted by Morality Commission," *Providence Journal*, 3 Jan. 1958.
31. "Censorship Only Serves to Advertise Bad Literature" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 4 Jan. 1958.
32. "Second Novel Blacklisted."
33. "Ask Morality Board to Stop Censorship," *Providence Journal*, 17 Jan. 1958; "Morality Unit's Acts Defended," *Providence Journal*, 14 Feb. 1958.
34. "'Youth Only' Censors Protested by Minister," *Providence Journal*, 7 Jan. 1958. Olsen also spoke of how "sin" did not triumph in *Peyton Place*, giving that as his reason for not voting the novel as "objectionable."
35. "Youth Morality Board Calls Self the 'Protecting Arm' of Society," *Providence Journal*, 12 Jan. 1958.
36. "Censorship Useless, Father Olsen Feels," *Providence Journal*, 21 Feb. 1958.
37. "Pastor Assails Book Banning," *Providence Journal*, 24 Feb. 1958; "Pastor Assails Morality Unit," *Providence Journal*, 3 Mar. 1958; "Morals Unit Uses Threats, Church Committee Says," *Providence Journal*, 4 Mar. 1958.
38. "WJAR-TV Manager Attacks Morality Unit's Attitude," *Providence Journal*, 10 Apr. 1958; "Republicans Criticize Morality, Bias Panels," *Providence Journal*, 12 Apr. 1958.
39. "Editor Defines Work of Youth Morality Board," *Providence Journal*, 4 May 1958. Flannery continued this theme on Mother's Day of 1958, noting in a talk at the Pawtucket Elks Club that women should not "trespass any farther into the world of men," and that by leaving the home they risk destroying the natural order of life and of society. "Two Clergymen Voice Words of Caution on Mother's Day," *Providence Journal*, 12 May 1958.
40. "War on Pornography Termed Sole Target," *Providence Journal*, 8 Jan. 1959.
41. "Wider Powers Proposed for Morality Board," *Providence Journal*, 20 Mar. 1959; "Senate Votes Probe Power for Youth Morality Body," *Providence Journal*, 10 Apr. 1959; "House Approves Broader Role for Morality Group," *Providence Journal*, 22 May 1959.
42. "Morality Board Eyes Drinking, Drive-Ins," *Providence Journal*, 14 July 1959. Such concerns appear in the minutes of the commission's meetings throughout 1959.
43. "Obscenity Act Changes Explained," *Providence Journal*, 10 June 1959; "R.I. Obscenity Laws Explained to Newsdealers," *Providence Journal*, 2 Dec. 1959.
44. "What Are the Youth Commission's Plans?," *Providence Journal*, (editorial), 10 Apr. 1959; "Blacklisting Books is Dangerous and Self-Defeating" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 25 Aug. 1959; "At Last, the Morality Commission Goes to Court," (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 2 Dec. 1959.
45. "The Youth Commission Ignores Due Process of Law" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 19 Sept. 1959. The *Journal* reported in yet another editorial that Governor Christopher Del Sesto, a Republican who was also somewhat critical of the commission, objected to the negative coverage the commission was receiving in the paper. However, like Attorney General J. Joseph Nugent, Del Sesto believed that the judgment of whether a publication was obscene should lie with the courts, not with the commission.
- "The Press Must Report the Facts on Censorship" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 23 Sept. 1959.
46. Commission, *Newport Jazz Festival Report, 1959-60*. The report spoke of teenagers drinking, partying with members of the opposite sex, and sleeping on the beach.
47. See, e.g., Orlando Potter, "State's Group on Morality Criticized," *Providence Journal*, 26 Mar. 1960, and Nancy Potter, "The Censor's Task," *Providence Journal*, 4 Apr. 1960.
48. "Morality Official Loses Job; Failed to Take State Exam," *Providence Journal*, 15 July 1960. The meeting minutes for Bell's hiring and later firing are missing from the State Archives.
49. "Adults Urged to Lead Way for Children to Read Books," *Providence Journal*, 19 Aug. 1960; "Real Pornography Scarce, Morality Secretary Says," *Providence Journal*, 11 Oct. 1960.
50. "Appeal Board Ends Hearing on McAloon," *Providence Journal*, 14 Oct. 1960.
51. "McAloon Gets Vote of 5 to 3," *Providence Journal*, 1 Dec. 1960.
52. "Appeals Ouster as Secretary of Morality Body," *Providence Journal*, 16 Dec. 1960; "Begin Hearing of Bell Appeal," *Providence Journal*, 19 Apr. 1961; "Says Morality Board Often Shy Quorum," *Providence Journal*, 6 May 1961; "Morality Group Secretary Accused as Hearing Ends," *Providence Journal*, 13 May 1961; "Personnel Board Refuses to Reinstate Bell," *Providence Journal*, 25 May 1961. Bell said that the only meeting he attended which had a quorum was the one in which the group fired him. "Says Morality Board Often Shy Quorum."
53. "Morality Group Charged as Violating Constitution," *Providence Journal*, 6 Dec. 1960; "Voids Book Blacklisting by R.I. Panel," *Providence Journal*, 15 Feb. 1961; "The Decision Banning Book Blacklists" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 17 Feb. 1961; "Top R.I. Court Ruling Asked on Morality Group's Validity," *Providence Journal*, 5 Apr. 1961.
54. Well known as an expert on Catholic/Christian-Jewish relations, Flannery published *The Anguish of the Jews: Twenty-Three Centuries of Anti-Semitism* in 1965.
55. "2 Named to Commission on Morality," *Providence Journal*, 12 Nov. 1961.
56. In 1961 Nugent tried to ban Henry Miller's *Tropic of Cancer* following concerns raised by the Westerly town solicitor. Explaining his actions later, he noted that he was "chief legal officer of the state" at the time, and that he did not follow up with any prosecutions because he was waiting for the Supreme Court to rule on a similar case involving D. H. Lawrence's *Lady Chatterley's Lover*. When that case failed to go his way, he abandoned the project. He

- later said that he actually had booksellers approach him with controversial works to ask if they complied with state obscenity laws. Elliot Krieger, "Nugent Explains Book Ban," *Providence Journal*, 24 Mar. 1985.
57. "Nugent Hits Obscenity Charge," *Providence Journal*, 21 Nov. 1961; "Shameful Tactics by the Morality Unit" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 27 Nov. 1961. Some of the commissioners who were not present at the meeting expressed their displeasure at not being invited to attend and at the events that had occurred. Sullivan apologized, while McAloon defended the failure to invite the other commissioners and his and Sullivan's conduct at the meeting.
 58. "The Court and the Morality Commission" (editorial), *Providence Journal*, 24 Dec. 1961.
 59. "Fight Planned by Publishers," *Providence Journal*, 5 Jan. 1962; "Appeal Set on Books Decree," *Providence Journal*, 9 Jan. 1962; "U.S. High Court Decision Being Sought on Books," *Providence Journal*, 18 Mar. 1962; Orlando Potter, "Publishers Challenge R.I. Morality Group," *Providence Journal*, 16 May 1962; "U.S. Supreme Court Will Hear R.I. Case," *Providence Journal*, 26 June 1962; "U.S. High Court to Sit Today; R.I. Censorship Case on Docket," *Providence Journal*, 1 Oct. 1962; "U.S. Supreme Court Cases of Special Interest to R.I.," *Providence Journal*, 2 Oct. 1962.
 60. "Morality Unit and ACLU Debate Right to Read," *Providence Journal*, 28 Feb. 1962. The debate was held at Newport's Sullivan School before an audience of thirty-two people.
 61. "Board 'Got Nowhere' for Action on Smut," *Providence Journal*, 14 Mar. 1962; "McAloon Asks Police Action on Publications," *Providence Journal*, 4 Apr. 1962.
 62. "Nugent Criticizes McAloon Tactics on Censorship," *Providence Journal*, 3 May 1962. Later in the article, however, Nugent is quoted as saying that he would be happy to prosecute anyone, child or adult, who was in possession of the novel *Tropic of Cancer*.
 63. Commission, minutes, 27 June and 12 Sept. 1962.
 64. McAloon himself purchased the magazines and took them to the local police chief. "Refuses to Ban Magazines From Newport Stands," *Providence Journal*, 18 Oct. 1962.
 65. "Solicitor Scored for Failure to Ban 'Girlie' Magazines," *Providence Journal*, 20 Oct. 1962.
 66. McAloon (who was a resident of Newport at the time) also charged that twelve- and thirteen-year-old boys were "being corrupted in bars along what he labeled as the Thames Street 'Yellow Light' district while the city's policemen spend their time leaning on bars and talking to 'floosies.'" "Ouster of Morality Board Official Asked in Newport," *Providence Journal*, 21 Oct. 1962.
 67. Commission, minutes, 13 Nov. 1962. Sullivan asked to go on record as opposed to the motion.
 68. "Morality Panel Chief to Submit Magazines to Jury," *Providence Journal*, 23 Oct. 1962.
 69. "R.I. Book Ban Is Ruled Out by Supreme Court," *Providence Journal*, 19 Feb. 1963; *Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan*, 372 U.S. 58 (1963).
 70. Commission, minutes, 27 Feb. 1963. The minutes record a 5-1 vote, even though eight commissioners attended the meeting. Rabbi Chill had resigned from the commission as of this meeting, and Sullivan voted only in case of a tie. It is not recorded who abstained from this vote.
 71. "Rabbi Quitting Morality Unit," *Providence Journal*, 20 Feb. 1963; "Rabbi Chill Resigning from Board Accepted," *Providence Journal*, 21 Feb. 1963. During meetings Rabbi Chill frequently questioned the legality of the commission's actions, which suggests that his resignation was more likely due to the Supreme Court's ruling.
 72. "The Supreme Court Ends Blacklisting," *Providence Journal*, 20 Feb. 1963. McAloon came out strongly against the bill, declaring it a "bad bill in law . . . not simple and not clear." Flannery supported the bill, noting that there was little enforcement of the present obscenity statute. "Anti-Obscenity Bill Called Bad Measure," *Providence Journal*, 29 Jan. 1963; "Anti-Obscenity Bill Is Given Priest's Okay," *Providence Journal*, 30 Jan. 1963.
 73. "Pettine for Ending Morality Commission," *Providence Journal*, 21 Feb. 1963; "Too Much Force Seen by Cleric In Morality Unit," *Providence Journal*, 25 Feb. 1963.
 74. "Nugent Agrees with U.S. Decision on Morality Board," *Providence Journal*, 26 Feb. 1963.
 75. "Chafee Plans to Place Youth Morality Unit under Nugent," *Providence Journal*, 1 Mar. 1963; "Court Bars Morality Unit's Notifications," *Providence Journal*, 30 May 1963; Commission, minutes, 5 June 1963. The commission's radio programs were discontinued in June 1963 because of a lack of guests to appear on them. The commissioners voted to create a summer counseling program for youth, but there was no subsequent discussion of it and no indication that it was implemented.
 76. The commission came out in favor of a fair housing bill, arguing that depressed social and economic living conditions contributed to delinquency and other youth problems. Commission, minutes, 5 June 1963; "Youth Commission Board Favors Fair Housing Bill," *Providence Journal*, 7 June 1963.
 77. See, e.g., Commission, minutes, 11 Sept. 1963.
 78. "Would Retain Morality Unit," *Providence Journal*, 24 Apr. 1964.
 79. *Ibid.*
 80. "Morality Unit Abolished by Assembly," *Providence Journal*, 30 Apr. 1964; Commission, Annual Report, 1963-64. The report's account of 15 May 1964 reads: "Commission office closed. Job well done. All in order."
 81. James Gilbert, *Cycle of Outrage* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
 82. Fredric Wertham, *Seduction of the Innocent* (New York: Rinehart, 1954).
 83. Harry Shulman, *Juvenile Delinquency in American Society* (New York: Harper & Row, 1961). Shulman was by no means alone in his attack on the mass media; see Ronald Cohen, "The Delinquents: Censorship and Youth Culture in Recent U.S. History," *History of Education Quarterly* 37 (autumn 1997): 251-70.
 84. For information on film censorship and the Catholic Legion/League of Decency, see Francis Couvares, ed., *Movie Censorship and American Culture* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian, 1996); Gregory Black, *The Catholic Crusade against the Movies, 1940-1975* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1996); and Frank Walsh, *Sin and Censorship: The Catholic Church and the Motion Picture Industry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1996). For information on community conservative activists during the Cold War, see Lisa McGirr, *Suburban Warriors: The Origin of the New American Right* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001).

Index to Volume 64

- Abolitionist movement, 51, 52, 53, 54
Adams, John, 19
Adams (Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth member), 76
African Americans, 53-54, 57, 58
Allen, Zachariah, 57
American Antiquarian Society, 18, 27
American Civil Liberties Union, 65, 73, 78
American Philosophical Society, 21
American Revolution, *The Nathanael Greene Papers*, 3-28; 56, 58
Anthony, Susannah, 51
Army Chaplains Corps, 66
Association for Documentary Editing, 23
Atlas of Early American History (Cappon), 25
Avery, Ephraim K., 52
- Babits, Lawrence E., 25
Baker, Richard A., Jr., and Alice Starr, 22
Baldwin House, Christopher Columbus (Newport), 41-42
Bancroft, George, 17
Banks, John, 13
Bannister, Christiana and Edward Mitchell, 54
Bantam Books, Inc. v. Sullivan (U.S. Supreme Court case), 74-75
Baptists, 50-51
Bates, Rev. Barnabas, 42
Bell, M. David, 71-72
Bell House, Isaac (Newport), 47
Bennett, James Gordon, 57
Bibliographies of New England History series, 27
Bibliography, "Reconsidering Rhode Island History," 49-60
Biddle, Clement, 8
Biddle, Owen, 8
Black Regiment, 58
Blackboard Jungle (film), 63
Blacks, 53-54, 57, 58
Blackstone Canal, 57
Blanchard, Claude, 5
Block Island, 58
Boudinot, Elias, 19
Boulind, Joyce, 27
Bowler, Susan, 27
Boyden, Elbridge, & Son, 42
Bradford, Seth C., 45
Brandywine, battle of, 7
Breakers, The (Newport), 16
Breckenridge, Mary Eliza, 31
Bristol, 47, 52
British Public Records Office, 19
Brown & Sharpe, 57
- Brown University, 20, 25, 44, 49, 71
Brown, John and Moses, 54
Brown, Mercy Lena, 58
Brown, William J., 54
Brownell, Kady, 56
- Cabaret* (magazine), 64
Caldwell, Charles, 21
Caldwell, Mary Guendaline Byrd ("Mamie") and Mary Eliza Breckenridge (Lina), 31-36
Caldwell, William Shakespeare, 31-32, 35
Cappon, Lester, 25
Carrellas, Arthur, 71, 78
Carter, Rev. I. Gregg, 70
Casey Farm (Saunders town), 54
Casino Theatre (Newport), 57
Cassidy, Bishop James Edwin, 35
Catalogue Raisonné of the Works of John La Farge, 38
Catholic University (Washington, D.C.), 32, 35
Catholics, 31, 32, 33, 35, 51, 64, 69-70, 73, 78
Censorship, "Books behind Bars: The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, 1956-1964," 63-81
Chace, Elizabeth Buffum, 52
Chafee, John, 70, 75, 76, 78
Channing Memorial Church, 42
Charter, Rhode Island's royal (1663), 51
Château-Nooga (Newport), 41
Chateau-sur-Mer (Newport), 47
Chill, Rabbi Abraham, 64, 66, 69, 72, 74-75
Christ Church (Lincoln), 44-45
Churchmen's Council on Decent Literature, 66
Church of the Ascension (South Kingstown), 47
Church of the Blessed Sacrament (Providence), 46-47
Civil War, 56
Clarke, John, 50-51
Clark University, 25
Clements, William L., 20
Clements Library (University of Michigan), 17, 20, 23, 27
Club Babyhead (Providence), 58
Cobb, Margaret, 27
Cohen (Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth member), 76
Columbia University, 27
Comic Book Code, 63, 67
Comic books, 63, 67, 77
Comstock, Anthony, 63
Congregationalists, 70
Connecticut Farms, N.J., battle at, 9
Conrad, Dennis M., 3; "Nathanael Greene: An Appreciation," 5-15; 27
Continental Congress, 9, 12, 18, 19, 23, 24
Cook, Joseph B., 53
- Cornell, Rebecca, 52
Cornell, Sarah Maria, 52-53
Cornwallis, Lord, 10-11, 12, 18
Cottier, Daniel, 38
Coughlin, David, 69, 76
Coventry, 5
Cowpens, S.C., battle at, 10
Cranston, 68, 70
Cuffe, Paul, 54
- Dark Quarters* (novel), 69
David Library of the American Revolution, 27
Del Sesto, Christopher, 78
DeSilver, Robert, 21
Detroit Public Library, 17
Dorr Rebellion, 55
Double Doctrine of the Church of Rome, The (Caldwell), 35
Douglas, William O., 74
Draper, Lyman, 17
Duke University, 27
Du Ponceau, Pierre, 6
- East Carolina State University, 25
Edison, Thomas, papers of, 27
Eutaw Springs, S.C., battle at, 7, 12
Exeter, 58
- Fall River, Mass., 31, 35-36, 46, 52
Fall River: An Authentic Narrative (Williams), 52-53
Feldman, Sarah Y., "Books behind Bars: The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, 1956-1964," 63-81
Ferguson, James, 23
Fezzano, Francis, 68
Films, 63, 64, 70, 77-78
First Congregational Church (Newport), 51
First Rhode Island Regiment, 58
First Rhode Island Volunteer Infantry, 56
Flannery, Rev. Edward, 64, 65, 66, 70, 72-73, 78
Force, Peter, 17
Fort Washington (New York), 7
Foster, Theodore, 18
Franklin, Benjamin, papers of, 23
Furman, Moore, 8
- General Assembly, Rhode Island. *See* Rhode Island General Assembly
General Nathanael Greene Memorial Association, 23, 27
Gent (magazine), 64
Germantown, Pa., battle at, 7
Gibson, Anne E., 25
Gilbert, James, 77

- Gilbreth, Frank and Lillian, 56
 Gill, Irving, 45
 Goddard House, Robert Hale Ives (Providence), 44
 Goddard House, William Ives (Providence), 44
 Goodman, Charles, 72
 Gould, Stephen, 54
 Grace Episcopal Church (Providence), 47
 Greene, Catharine, 13, 18, 19-20
 Greene, Christopher, 5, 19
 Greene, George Washington, 17, 20, 21, 24
 Greene, Jacob, 6, 18
 Greene, Nathanael, *The Nathanael Greene Papers*, 3-28; 56
 Greene River, 5
 Grenada, West Indies, 5
 Guilford Court House, N.C., battle at, 11
- Hamilton, Alexander, 13, 23, 27
 Hanson, Juliette, 34
 Harlan, John Marshall, 74
 Harlem Heights, N.Y., battle at, 7
 Harvard College Library, 17
Harvard Guide to American History, 23
 Harvard University, 26
 Hay, Udney, 8
 Heins & La Farge, 46, 47
 Hibbert, James, 56
 Higginbotham, Don, 8, 26
High School Confidential (film), 63
 Hobkirk's Hill, battle of, 11
 Hopkins, Samuel, 51
 House Finance Committee, Rhode Island General Assembly, 76.
 Hubbard, Nehemiah, 8
 Hunt, Richard Morris, 41, 46
 Huntington Library (San Marino, Calif.), 17
 Hunts River, 5
- Idzerda, Stanley, 6
 Ifkovic, John, 27
 Immigrants, 51
 Indians, American, 50, 53, 54
 Industrialization in Rhode Island, 51, 56-57
Iridescent Universe of John La Farge, The (Yarnall and Sloan), 38
 Irish, 51
 Italians, 56
- Jameson, J. Frankliln, 20
 Jamestown, 47, 57
 Jefferson, Thomas, 50
 Jewelry industry, 56
 Jews, 51, 64, 72-73
 John Nicholas Brown Center, Brown University, 49
 Johnson, William, 20
 Johnston, John Dixon, 32, 46
Journal of American History, 26
 Joyce, William, 18
 Juvenile delinquency, 63, 69, 70, 71, 77, 78
Juvenile Delinquency in American Society (Shulman), 77
- Karp, Wayne, 27
 Kay Chapel (Newport), 47
 Kellenberger Historical Foundation, 7
 Kentish Guards, 6
Key into the Language of America, A (Williams), 50
- King, Edward, tomb, (Newport), 39
 King, Martha, 27
 King Philip (Metacomet), 53
 Kingscote (Newport), 47
 Klyberg, Albert T., 23, 25
 Knox, Henry, 11
 Kosciuszko Foundation, 27
- Labaree, Leonard W., 17
 Labor activism, 51, 52
 La Farge, Bancel, 47
 La Farge, Christopher Grant, 47
 La Farge, Henry A., 38
 La Farge, John, "John La Farge's Windows for the Caldwell Sisters of Newport," 31-47
 La Farge, Mary A., 38, 39
 La Farge House, Margaret Mason Perry (Newport), 39
 Langley House, Walter S. (Newport), 45-46
 Lathrop, Francis Augustus, 46
 Laurens, Henry, papers of, 27
 Lawrence, Amos, 56
 Lee, Henry "Light Horse Harry," 7, 11, 18
 Legal institutions in colonial Rhode Island, 55
 Legion of Decency, 63
 Lewis, Morgan, 8
 Library of Congress, 17, 18, 20, 21, 24, 26
 Linden Gate (Newport), 41
 Locke, John, 50
 Lonsdale Company, 44
- Mackenzie, William, 72
 Maddock Alumni Center, Brown University, 44
 Madison, James, 50
 Marion, Francis, 18
 Marquand House, Henry Gurdon (Newport), 41
 Mason, Robert Means, 45
 Mason House, Ellen Frances and Ida Means (Newport), 45
 McAloon, Albert, 64, 66-68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 78
 McCarthy, Robert, 26-27
 McGauran, John, 73
 McPherson, William J. (Boston firm), 38, 39
 McSweeney, John, 70
 Melish, Joanne Pope, "Reconsidering Rhode Island History," 49-60
 Mérinville, Marquis Jean des Monstiers, 35
 Metalious, Grace, 68
 Middletown, 40, 47
 Miller, Phineas, 19-20
 Minkins, John Carter, 54
Modern Man (magazine), 64
 Morgan, Daniel, 10-11
 Morris, Robert, papers of, 23
 Movies, 63, 64, 70, 77-78
 Mullen, Rev. Edward, 73, 74, 76
 Murat, Prince Joachim Napoleon, 35
 Museum of Art, Rhode Island School of Design, 47
- Nancy* (ship), 53
 Narragansett Country, 53, 58
 Narragansett Indians, 50
 Nathanael Greene Papers project, Introduction, 3; "The Nathanael Greene Papers Project, 1972-2005," 23-28
 National Archives, 17, 18
 National Endowment for the Humanities, 27
- National Historical Publications and Records Commission, 18, 26, 27
 Native Americans, 50, 53, 54
 Naval Historical Center, 27
 Naval War College (Newport), 56
 Newberry Library of Chicago, 25
 New England Butt Company, 56
 New Jersey Department of Defense, 17
 Newport, "John La Farge's Windows for the Caldwell Sisters of Newport," 31-47; 50-51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 64, 65, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74
 Newport Art Museum, 47
 Newport Citizens' Committee on Literature, 69
 Newport Congregational Church, 39-40
 Newport Historical Society, 46
Newport History, 49
 Newport Jazz Festival, 64, 71
Newport Mercury, 32
 Newport Police Department, 64, 65
 New York Public Library, 17
 New York Society for the Suppression of Vice, 63
 Nightingale, Bernard, 17
 Nightingale, Phineas Miller and Mrs. Phineas Miller, 20
 Ninety-Six (British Revolutionary War fort), 11-12
 North Carolina Press, University of, 26
 North Carolina Society of the Cincinnati, 27
 North Kingstown, Saunderstown, 54
 Notte, John, 73, 74, 78
 Nugent, J. Joseph, 73, 75
- O'Brien, James, 74
 Olsen, Rev. Howard, 64, 66, 68, 69-70, 72, 74, 75, 76, 78
 Osborn, Sarah, 51
- Paine, Mary Mackie, 43
Papers of General Nathanael Greene, The, 3, 6, 12, 26, 28
 Parent-Teacher Association (national), 64
 Parks, Roger N., 27
 Pawtucket, 52, 54, 56, 69
 Pawtuxet River, 5
 Peace Dale Congregational Church (South Kingstown), 47
 Pell, Claiborne, 27
 Pequot War, 53
 Pettine, Raymond, 69, 70-71, 72, 75
 Pettit, Charles, 6, 8, 19, 21
Peyton Place (Metalious), 68
 Pinckney, Charles Cotesworth, 20
 Pliakas, Eustace, 72, 76
 Polish Museum of Chicago, 17
 Political institutions in colonial Rhode Island, 55
 Portsmouth, 52
 Post, George Browne, 41, 42, 46
 Potowomut (Warwick), 5, 6
 Potter, William A., 44
 Poverty in Rhode Island, 54-55
 Powers, William E., 64, 65
 Preservation Society of Newport County, 38, 39, 46, 47
 Princeton, N.J., 7, 19
 Prohibition, 58
 Protestants, 69-70, 78
 Providence, 39, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 63, 64, 68, 69, 73

- Providence City Hall, 39
 Providence College, 27
Providence Journal, 45, 64, 65, 66, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 78
 Providence Marine Corps of Artillery, 56
 Providence Public Library, 64
Providence Visitor, 64
 Publications Committee, Rhode Island Historical Society, 3, 23
- Quakers (Society of Friends), 3, 5, 6, 54
 Quartermaster Department, Continental army, 7-9, 25
 Quilts, 56, 57-58
- Race to the Dan (Revolutionary War), 11
 Railroads, 56-57
 Rawdon, Lord, 11
 Religious liberty, 50
 Religious revival of 1820, 51
 Resorts in Newport and Jamestown, 57
 Rhode Island Bicentennial Commission, 23
Rhode Island Churchman, 68
 Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, "Books behind Bars: The Rhode Island Commission to Encourage Morality in Youth, 1956-1964," 63-81
 Rhode Island Committee for the Humanities, 27
 Rhode Island Congress of Parents and Teachers, 64
Rhode Island Examiner, 54
 Rhode Island General Assembly, 5, 6, 27, 65, 69, 70, 74, 75, 76-77, 78
 Rhode Island Historical Society, 3, 18, 20; "The Nathanael Greene Papers Project, 1972-2005," 23-28
Rhode Island History, 49
Rhode Island Jewish Historical Notes, 49-50
 "Rhode Island Reconsidered" (conference), 49
 Rhode Island School of Design, 47, 69
 Rhode Island Society of the Cincinnati, 23, 27
 Rhode Island Superior Court, 70, 71, 72, 73, 75, 78
 Rhode Island Supreme Court, 72, 73
 Richardson, Henry Hobson, 38, 45
 R. J. Taylor Jr. Foundation, 27
 Roberts, Dennis (governor), 63, 64, 69, 76, 78
 Rochambeau, Count, 56
 Roman Catholics, 31, 32, 33, 35, 51, 64, 69-70, 73, 78
Roth v. United States (U.S. Supreme Court Decision), 68, 70, 75
 Rutledge, Edward, 19-20
 Rutledge, Henry, 20
- St. Barnabas Episcopal Church (Warwick), 64, 75
 St. Columba's—The Berkeley Memorial (Middletown), 47
 Saint-Gaudens, Augustus, 39
 St. George's School (Middletown), 47
 St. John's Episcopal Cathedral (Providence), 43-44
 St. John's Lodge (Newport), 47
 St. Mark's Church (Jamestown), 47
 St. Michael's Church (Bristol), 47
 St. Michael's Country Day School (Newport), 45
 St. Patrick's Church (Fall River, Mass.), 35, 46
 St. Peter's by the Sea Episcopal Church (Narragansett), 47
 Salve Regina University, 31, 36, 38, 46
- Saunders town (North Kingstown), 54
 Savitz Library of Glassboro (N.J.) State College, 17
 Scalia, Antonin, 50
Seduction of the Innocent (Wertham), 77
 Settle, Harry, 68
 Shaw, Louisa, 20
 Sherman, Clarence T., 64, 68
 Sherman House, William Watts (Newport), 38
 Shipton, Nathaniel, 27
 Showman, Mary "Mac," 23
 Showman, Richard K., 3, 6, 7; "The History of the Nathanael Greene Papers," 17-21; 23, 24, 25, 26, 27
 Shulman, Harry, 77
 Skipwith, Cornelia, 20-21
 Skipwith, Peyton, 21
 Slam-dancing, 58
 Slater, Eleanor, 76-77
 Slater, Samuel, 56
 Slavery and the slave trade, 51, 52, 53-54
 Smith, Al, 56
 Smith, Venture, 54
 Smithfield, 55
 Sons of the American Revolution (John Peck Rathbun Chapter), 27
 Sons of the Revolution in the State of Rhode Island, 27
 South Carolina Humanities Council, 27
 Spalding, John Lancaster, 33, 35
 Sparks, Jared, 17
 Springfield, N.J., battle at, 9
 Stained glass, "John La Farge's Windows for the Caldwell Sisters of Newport," 31-47
 Stanzler, Milton, 73
 Stevens, Elizabeth C., Introduction, 3; "The Nathanael Greene Papers Project, 1972-2005," 23-28
 Stone and Carpenter, 44
 Sturgis, Russell, 39
 Sullivan, Joseph A., 64, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 76, 78
 Sumter, Thomas, 18
 Susquehanna Company Papers, 27
 Sutherland, Omer, 69, 75, 76
 Syrett, Howard, 23
- Tales of the Crypt* (comic book), 63
 Tarleton, Banastre, 10
 Taylor, R. J., Jr., Foundation, 27
 Tefft, Samuel and Joshua, 58
 Temple Beth El (Providence), 64
 Textile industry, 56
 Thayer, Samuel F. J., 39
 Thayer, Theodore, 5, 6
 Thomas, Ruth, 69, 72, 74
 Thompson, Rev. William, 70
 Thomson (congressional secretary), 19
 Tilton House, Samuel (Newport), 47
 Trenton, N.J., battle at, 7
Tropic of Cancer (Miller), 73
- Unitarians, 70
 United Congregational Church (Middletown), 40
 United Congregational Church (Newport), 39
 United States Post Office, 66
 United States Supreme Court, 68, 70, 73, 74-75, 76, 78
- Vanderbilt House, Cornelius, II (Newport), 46
 Vareika, William, Fine Arts (Newport), 47
 Virginia Society of the Cincinnati, 27
- Waern, Cecelia, 44
Wampanoag (magazine), 52
 War of the Posts (Revolutionary War), 11
 Ward, Samuel, 55
 Ware and Van Brunt, 44
 Washington, George, 3, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 20, 24
 Washington, Martha, 19
 Watch and Ward Society (Boston), 63
 Weedon, George, 6
Weird Fantasy (comic book), 63
Weird Science (comic book), 63
 Wells, Joseph Collins, 39
 Wertham, Frederic, 77
 Western Reserve Historical Society (Cleveland), 17
 Whipple, Frances, 52
 Willcox, William, 23
 William J. McPherson (Boston firm), 38, 39
 Williams, Catharine, 52-53
 Williams, Otho, 11
 Williams, Roger, 50
 William Vareika Fine Arts (Newport), 47
 Wisconsin, State Historical Society of, 17
 WJAR-TV, 70
 Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 58
 Women and the antislavery movement, 51, 52
 Women and the economy, 52
 Women and marriage, 52
 Women and the military, 56
 Women and Narragansett Indian culture, 50
 Women and teaching, 51, 52
 Woonasquatucket River, 57
 Woonsocket, 51, 69, 73
 World War II, 56
 Wright, Thomas, 47
 Wyman, Lillie Chase, 52
- Yale University, 38, 39
 Yarnall, James L., "John La Farge's Windows for the Caldwell Sisters of Newport," 31-47
 Yorktown, Va., battle at, 12
- Zedtwitz, Baron Moritz Curt von, 35
 Zedtwitz, Waldemar Conrad von, 35