Do, Re, Media: The Image of the Journalist in the Broadway Musical

Kate Rooney
Master of Arts, Journalism
Annenberg School of Communication & Journalism
University of Southern California
Los Angeles, CA
katerooney4@gmail.com

Few Americans know journalists personally, yet most have definitive ideas about exactly what journalists do and how they act. Their perceived familiarity with the profession comes from the widely seen portrayals of journalists on screen and in literature. After nearly lifelong exposure to these images, the fictitious reporter becomes inextricable from the real in the mind of the viewer. As Joe Saltzman, director of the Image of the Journalist in Popular Culture Project, writes, “Larger-than-life fictional characters overwhelm their less vivid real-life counterparts. Real-life journalists become so immersed in legend and distortion that their images are as surrounded by fiction as any character in a novel, film or TV program.”¹

The Broadway musical also contributes to this phenomenon. While the most successful and critically acclaimed musicals are grounded in reality, the characters are always “larger than life” as a necessary means of grabbing and holding audience attention. The production of original Broadway musicals featuring journalists in prominent roles seems to have dwindled—there have been just three since 1998, compared with 12 earlier productions, which spanned 1945-1982.² But the content remains an important piece in the study of journalists in popular culture.

Musical theater itself is a unique art form, marrying the best of so many other mediums—music, poetry, visual art, literature, dance—and as such is instrumental in shaping the characters. These characters must adhere to some conventions mandated by the art form, and thus are
inevitably distinct from the journalists found in other forms of artistic expression. As Richard Kislan notes, “Simple characters in a musical book can be full and memorable because they have the richness of music, song, and dance to make them alive in a performance.”

At its core, musical theater takes the most romantic view possible of the world. Onstage, “intellectual attitudes give way to emotion, passion prevails over decorum, and above all, romantic love radiates from the center of all things.” For a musical to succeed, its characters must be the embodiment of such romance.

Journalists fit neatly into this prerequisite. The journalistic profession has been heavily romanticized in its fictionalization, from heroic reporters saving the day in the films of the 1930s and 1940s to the enduring love affair of Lois Lane and Clark Kent that began in comic books to the machinations of broadcasters in such television series as Murphy Brown. The “vigorous theatricality” of musicals lends itself naturally to the subject of journalism, and demands a grand, dramatic depiction of the journalist.

It follows that the types of journalists seen onstage run the gamut. They are investigative reporters, critics, seedy tabloid journalists, columnists, anonymous packs of reporters, and more. Without exception, the writers and actors create characters who perpetuate some of the same positive and negative stereotypes displayed in film and TV. Differences are to be found, sometimes subtle and sometimes more pronounced—but many journalists in Broadway musicals are devious, lazy fact checkers, who are willing to do almost anything for a story and who possess questionable journalistic ethics. What makes these Broadway journalists particularly interesting is that they sing and dance their way through these ethical lapses.

Literature Review

This is believed to be the first study about the image of journalists in the Broadway
musical. However, the study of journalists in other artistic media, such as film and novels, is exhaustive. This study focuses on the comparison of musical journalists to those in film. Several sources were useful in establishing the history of onscreen journalist archetypes.

Saltzman’s “Analyzing the Images of the Journalist in Popular Culture: A Unique Method of Studying the Public’s Perception of Its Journalists and the News Media” explores why the study of journalists in popular culture is important. Because few people know “real” journalists in everyday life, Saltzman says, the general population’s only exposure to working media is through art. Thus, the perception of fiction’s most iconic journalistic characters is inherent in shaping the way people view the media. Saltzman’s article was used to help establish why these musical characters were created the way they were.

Saltzman’s 2002 book, Frank Capra and the Image of the Journalist in American Film, examines the work of that iconic director who was instrumental in bringing the newsroom to the movies, shaping the stock images of various types of reporters in film and focusing primarily on males. Saltzman’s essay “Sob Sisters: The Image of the Female Journalist in Popular Culture” is a comprehensive look at the way female reporters have been portrayed, starting with the sob sister at the early part of the 20th century, up to modern representations of television journalists like Murphy Brown. These sources were used to compare the traditional gender-specific characteristics of fictional journalists in film and TV to those depicted in Broadway musicals.

Howard Good’s 1998 book, Girl Reporter: Gender, Journalism, and the Movies, was used as further research on the film portrayals of female journalists. Good’s book focuses on Torchy Blane, an onscreen heroine who preceded real women in the newsroom and was the subject of nine feature films in the 1930s. The Torchy Blane films remain the only original feature film series with a journalist as the protagonist, and the character shaped the way nearly
every female reporter has been written since, including some of the strongest female characters in musical theater. The book was used as a means of comparing onstage journalists with their counterparts in literature and onscreen.

Matthew Ehrlich’s “Facts, Truth, and Bad Journalists in the Movies” deals with the many onscreen journalists who abuse the privilege and position of their careers. Specifically, Ehrlich explores the importance of telling the truth in journalism, focusing on the film *Shattered Glass*, which is based on a true story about a writer who knowingly fabricates stories for years. Ehrlich compares notorious real-life journalism falsification scandals with the way such incidents have been immortalized in film. Amoral journalists are as ubiquitous as heroic ones in fiction, and musical theater also has its fair share. This essay helped shaped the analysis of the “bad” journalists in *Tenderloin*, *Sweet Smell of Success*, *What Makes Sammy Run?*, and *Parade*.

Ehrlich’s book *Journalism in the Movies* is a wider-reaching study chronicling the way journalists have been portrayed in film since “talkies” hit the big screen. Ehrlich makes the case that movies have a strong relationship to the public’s understanding of the journalistic profession, and that by-and-large they present reporters as devoted truth-tellers who serve the public interest. This book was used as a reference point in comparing the onstage journalists to those of film.

Three student research papers from the IJPC collection were instrumental in completing this study. Sarah Herman’s “Hacks, Heels and Hollywood: How Accurately Do Recent Film Portrayals of Women Journalists Reflect the Working World of Their Real-Life Counterparts?” is a study in the evolution of the female journalist on screen. Herman argues that the depiction of the female journalist in film, particularly the balance between work and affairs of the heart, is, and long has been, an inaccurate representation of the real women working the field. The essay was useful for the analysis of the female journalists of the stage.
Chad Sabadie discusses the portrayal of baseball writers in his essay “America’s Presstime: How Images of Baseball Reporters Have Shaped the Perception of Our National Sport and the Profession of Journalism.” Sabadie says that deception, arrogance, alcoholism, and annoying persistence are common themes among these fictional sportswriters, but that passion and building relationships were also key to understanding what drives these characters. Sabadie’s work was primarily useful in the analysis of Damn Yankees’ Gloria Thorpe.

Jessica Strait’s piece, “Popular Portrayals of Journalists and Their Personal Lives: Finding the Balance Between Love and the ‘Scoop’” was used a reference in writing about lovesick reporters. Strait’s piece explains why fictional works have so often failed to present journalists as capable of cultivating successful relationships. Even in those films that do let their journalists find love, Strait asserts that it is rarely, if ever, without a notable sacrifice on the part of the character. The piece was used primarily for this paper’s section on lovelorn journalists, featuring analysis of Wonderful Town and Miss Liberty.

Richard Kislan’s book, The Musical: A Look at the American Musical Theater, served as a point of analytic reference for understanding the musical as an art form, and how the medium itself shapes the characters. According to Kislan, the drama and emotional expression mandated by musicals can result in a more personal interaction with the audience than is possible in other artistic mediums. His work was cited primarily to convey the overall experience of musicals, and how journalism as a fictional subject fits so readily into the art form.

**Methodology**

For the purposes of this study, a journalist was defined as any reporter, editor, columnist, photographer, or newsroom employee currently working or aspiring to work with an established media outlet, who had a major or supporting role in the musical. While there are several musicals,
such as *Of Thee I Sing*, *Mr. President*, and *Bye, Bye, Birdie*, that feature packs of anonymous reporters out for press conferences or to scoop the hottest story, they generally provide only set dressing or are part of a dance ensemble. These musicals were not included in this study, which focused on leading characters as journalists. To ensure a comprehensive report on journalism in musical theater, this study relied on several sources. The IJPC Database of the Image of the Journalist in Popular Culture Project and the Internet Broadway Database were used to identify 15 Broadway musicals that have featured a journalist. The original production dates of these musicals spanned more than 65 years, from 1945 through 2012.

Fifteen musicals were identified. The analysis involved multiple close readings of musicals with commercially available scripts and thorough listening to the soundtracks of each musical. Nine musicals with commercially available scripts were analyzed: *Miss Liberty* (1949), *Wonderful Town* (1953), *Damn Yankees* (1955), *Tenderloin* (1960), *What Makes Sammy Run?* (1964), *Chicago* (1975), *Woman of the Year* (1981), *Parade* (1998), and *Sweet Smell of Success* (2002). Plot summaries of these musicals can be found in the separate Appendix under “The Major Players” in the order discussed in this paper.

Six of the 15 musicals identified as featuring journalists were omitted from analysis in this paper because their scripts were never made commercially available: *Up in Central Park* (1945), *The Nervous Set* (1959), *Subways Are for Sleeping* (1961), *It’s a Bird...It’s a Plane...It’s Superman* (1966), *Merrily We Roll Along* (1981), and *Newsies: The Musical* (2012). Brief summaries of these musicals can be found in the separate Appendix in production chronologial order, with oldest first, under “The Other Players.”

The analysis that follows looks first at musicals with female journalists in leading roles, followed by males.
Gloria Thorpe, Sportswriter

“After all these lean years we bring you a truly great ball player. A man for you all to be proud of and right away this Gloria Thorpe starts sniping at him.”\(^6\)

— Team owner Welch to reporters, *Damn Yankees* (1955)

Gloria Thorpe is the first well-known fictional incarnation of a female sports journalist. *Damn Yankees* was originally produced in 1955, eight years before Jane Chastain began her trailblazing sports journalism career at WAGA-TV in Atlanta.\(^7\) Gloria is the primary reporter for the fictional Yankees, and becomes entwined in the story of Joe, a mysterious new baseball player who suddenly becomes a star.

Aside from a pejorative description when she is first introduced, only Gloria and one other character make mention of her gender in relation to her profession. She is portrayed, for all intents and purposes, no differently than a male sports reporter would be. The other characters (except for the devil, who goes by the name Applegate)\(^8\) treat her no differently. An early conversation between Gloria and Benny Van Buren, manager of the Washington Senators, demonstrates this:

**Benny:** “We didn’t invite the press this morning, Gloria.”

**Gloria:** “Benny, you’re very foolish to have this prejudice against me just because I’m a woman. My paper gives you as much space as the others do.”

**Benny:** “I only wondered why you were here so early.”\(^9\)

It seems as though he is telling the truth. After this moment, the question of Gloria’s gender is dropped from the play.

Gloria is “the prototype of the professional woman—not bad looking if you ignore the fierce competitive manner.”\(^10\) Once that description is out of the way, Gloria is all business.
There is no further reference to her appearance and no explanation of her personal or professional background. She exists in the story primarily to move the plot along in dramatic fashion, and also serves as a foil to the athletes, manager, and team owner.

The relationship between sports journalists and the teams they cover is complicated and varied both in reality and fiction. “Most often, they are used as realistic dressing for biographies of sports personalities,” Saltzman states. But the relationship can be of a darker nature, argues Chad Sabadie in “America’s Presstime: How Images of Baseball Reporters Have Shaped the Perception of Our National Sport and the Profession of Journalism.” He says that in some films, “The writer serves as the villain to the heroic ballplayer. In some cases, the player or manager feels that the writer is actually out to get them.” On the spectrum of fictional sportswriters as merely window dressing or as the story’s villain, Gloria falls somewhere in between.

Gloria’s role in both the fall and resurrection of Joe, the protagonist, is crucial. Like many baseball writers depicted in film, her mission is to protect and grow the game. When a hearing committee asks Gloria why she pursued a potentially damaging story, she says, “Because I value the good name of baseball more than I do a victory for my own team.”

Like other fictional baseball writers, Gloria sees herself as part of the story. In the movie The Natural, baseball writer Max Mercy (played by Robert Duvall) proclaims, “I can do wonders for that boy,” referring to star player Roy Hobbs (Robert Redford). Gloria is similarly eager to be involved.

“I’ll give this club some publicity,” she declares. “Let’s make Joe famous.”

Those in management on Joe’s team, the Washington Senators, are impressed by Gloria’s creativity in coining a moniker for him: “Shoeless Joe from Hannibal Mo.”

“Gee, Miss Thorpe, you sure get some wonderful ideas,” says Smokey, one of Joe’s
Senators teammates. “Oh, I got lots of ideas,” Gloria responds.18

She does, and she isn’t afraid to pat herself on the back. Her self-confidence is a trait shared with many other fictitious baseball writers. As Sabadie observes, “A trademark character trait…is that the baseball writer is overly confident in status and ability.”19 Gloria, both in the stage version and as played by Rae Allen in the 1958 film, could certainly be described as overly confident—it is her haste in getting a scandalous story printed that leads to a hearing and thus further difficulty for Joe.

Still, Gloria’s motives remain mostly pure. She is committed to bringing the public the truth even if it disappoints the fans. “I’ve been jeered and abused since I wrote that story,” she says of the aforementioned piece.20 She knows the fans want to believe in Joe regardless of the truth, but she feels nonetheless that it’s her responsibility to keep them informed. The same is true of many baseball writers in film, says Sabadie: “Even though they know the public will be heartbroken, they continue to seek the truth.”21

It should be noted that while Gloria’s gender makes scant difference in Damn Yankees, women baseball writers as central characters are exceedingly rare in popular culture. In the original film version of Angels in the Outfield, the leading writer is a woman who struggles with the profession and eventually returns to a life of cooking and cleaning for her family.22 We don’t know what happens to Gloria after Damn Yankees, but it can be assumed she doesn’t share that fate. In no way does she resemble “the general run of girl reporters [who] sooner or later submitted to male authority and control.”23

With her nose for a story and commitment to delivering it to the public, Gloria has much more in common with the male baseball writers of film. Throughout the musical, her persona and actions hold true to the mold that has been set for depicting these journalists.
Mary Sunshine, Female Journalist

“There’ll be a whole bunch of photographers and reporters and that sob sister from the Evening Star is coming. I don’t figure we’ll have any trouble with her. She’ll swallow hook, line and sinker. Because it’s what she wants. Her name is Mary Sunshine.”

— Criminal Defense Lawyer Billy Flynn to Roxie Hart, Chicago (1975)

Chicago’s Mary Sunshine is far from a typical female journalist. According to Saltzman, the female journalist in films is characterized as an “aggressive, self-assured, independent female reporter,” who “more often than not outwits, outfoxes, and outreports every male reporter in sight.” These women work their hardest in hopes that they might earn the right to be called “a newspaperman.”

Mary does not outwardly possess any of these traits. On the contrary, she is naïve, sensitive, and guided primarily by emotion. She’s a Chicago crime reporter, focusing on an all-women’s prison filled with accused murderesses. Billy Flynn, a direct and aggressive major character in Chicago, calls her a “pushover.”

Even Mary’s name pays homage to a decidedly feminine representation of the female journalist. In the Frank Capra film Forbidden, about a sob sister named Lulu Smith who commits murder to keep a story out of print, Smith writes an advice-to-the-lovelorn column under the pseudonym “Mary Sunshine.”

In the Broadway musical Chicago, we are initially introduced to Mary by sound rather than sight. As Billy, a criminal defense lawyer, preps a client to meet with the media, he explains what to expect from Mary.

“There’ll be a whole bunch of photographers and reporters and that sob sister from the Evening Star is coming. (Off Stage from behind the Bandstand, we hear a coloratura trill.) I
don’t figure we’ll have any trouble with her. (Another trill.) She’ll swallow hook, line and sinker. Because it’s what she wants. (Another trill.) Her name is Mary Sunshine. (Mary Sunshine appears. She takes her place behind the microphone.)

Mary launches into the soprano aria, “A Little Bit of Good.” Her introduction is one of several devices cleverly employed by the writers to conceal the fact that Mary is being played by a man in drag. This fact isn’t revealed to the audience until close to show’s end, but it’s key to understanding why Mary is different from other depictions of female journalists.

Could the star quality of the play’s accused murderesses, Roxie, Velma, and others, exist without Mary Sunshine? Maybe, but she certainly helps it along. Mary paints a positive, relatable picture of the female killers in her newspaper and they become society darlings, however temporarily. In “Sob Sisters: The Image of the Female Journalist in Popular Culture,” Saltzman points out that editors frequently assigned female reporters to crime stories so that they could spin the story to tug at the reader’s heartstrings. In Chicago, that’s the primary role Mary plays. Lyricist Fred Ebb pokes fun at that idea with Mary’s song, “A Little Bit of Good,” but there are several examples in the dialogue as well.

“Oh, it’s too terrible. You poor, poor dear,” Mary exclaims at the press conference where Billy gives a false account of prisoner Roxie’s past.

When murder suspect Go-To-Hell Kitty is dragged into the jail biting, kicking, and cursing, Mary’s response is, “Oh, she’s very high spirited, isn’t she?”

In particular, Mary’s radio broadcast at Roxie’s trial is rife with positivity, if not editorializing: “Mrs. Hart’s behavior throughout this ordeal has been extraordinary…the poor child has had no relief. She looks around now, bewildered, seeming to want something. Oh, it’s a glass of water. The bailiff has brought her one. Mrs. Hart, her usual gracious self, thanks the
bailiff and he smiles at her. She looks simply radiant in her stylish blue lace dress and elegant silver shoes.”

For an editor looking for a human touch to a crime story, Mary Sunshine is certainly a dream come true.

Yet, the typical female journalist of film “is considered an equal by doing a man’s job, a career woman drinking and arguing toe-to-toe with any male in the shop, holding her own against everyone and anything, yet often showing her soft side and crying long and hard when the man she loves treats her like a sister instead of a lover.” Of these traits, the only one that Mary exhibits in *Chicago* is the “soft side.” We don’t know of her romantic pursuits or drinking habits, but we know definitively that she doesn’t argue and makes no attempt to “hold her own” against anyone. Mary is never seen fact checking or going to any lengths to uncover the truth in a story. She simply allows Billy to spoon-feed her whatever information he wishes, and she will regurgitate it in print.

The big “reveal” of Mary as a man begs the question, quite simply, of “Why?” First, it demonstrates an interesting dichotomy. The female journalist of film constantly struggles with the “masculine” nature and responsibilities of her profession versus her desire to find a good man and have a family. “Most sob sisters, no matter how tough or independent, would give up anything and everything for marriage, children and a life at home.” Again, we don’t know Mary’s personal situation, but throughout the play she seems to have found a way to be soft and feminine but still a successful journalist. When it’s revealed she’s a man, we know that on some level, this perception isn’t reality.

Secondly, it shows that Mary is perhaps the opposite of a traditional female journalist. Instead of being rough around the edges but sensitive and emotional on the inside, Mary displays
a soft, malleable exterior when she is actually a tough newspaperman.

But mostly, it serves as a physical manifestation of Chicago’s running theme, what the play is really all about, “that things are not always what they appear to be.” In that sense, Mary Sunshine’s role is perhaps the most pivotal in the production.

**Tess Harding, TV Newswoman**

“You don’t need any husband grinning from ear-to-ear to be woman of the year.”


When Tess Harding became *Woman of the Year* in the 1981 musical of that name, there weren’t many real-life models to draw from. Three years earlier Barbara Walters ended a short and unsuccessful run as the co-anchor on ABC’s evening news, where she was the first woman anchor in the prime-time spot for a major network. Still, there were already several existing stereotypes of the female TV journalist in popular culture, most circling around a career woman’s perceived inability to be professionally successful and still have a good home life.

As described in *Woman of the Year*, Tess possesses a winning combination of “intelligence and wit, skill and talent, charm and glamour.” She is the country’s most successful female broadcast journalist, having won “a Pulitzer Prize, two Peabody Awards and three Emmys.” More than once, other characters are completely taken aback by her good looks after meeting her in person. When her husband-to-be, Sam Craig, meets her for the first time, he stops short and says, “You know, you’re really better looking than you are on television—a lot better.”

But perhaps her most defining characteristic is her overt self-confidence. In the play’s second scene, Tess shows up for the morning show she anchors exactly 30 seconds before the
show goes on air. While everyone runs around maniacally, Tess seems blissfully unconcerned.

**Floor Manager:** “Thirty seconds—!”

**Director:** “Tess, are you doing an editorial? We don’t have any copy—”

**Tess:** “Don’t worry, I wrote it in the back of the car.”

It’s this innate belief that she can do it all that initially prevents Tess from having a successful relationship, which is the conflict at the crux of *Woman of the Year*. Tess shares this problem with many fictional female journalists. “For every positive image of a successful female journalist in film, TV, novels and short stories, there are a dozen stereotypical clichés…the ravishing female doing whatever it takes to get the story, the tough editor or publisher who is miserable because she has given up what she wants most—the love of a good man and children.” At times, Tess fits both of Saltzman’s profiles in *Woman of the Year*.

When the musical ends, Tess has both a first-rate career and a loving husband, luxuries few fictional female journalists are permitted. As Herman says in her dissertation, “Hacks, Heels and Hollywood: How Accurately Do Recent Film Portrayals of Women Journalists Reflect the Working World of Their Real-Life Counterparts?”, there exist many film characters who “serve the dominant argument that although women can achieve as journalists, their success comes at a sacrificial price.” One film exception is Katharine Hepburn’s portrayal of Tess in the 1942 film version of *Woman of the Year*. Both Hepburn’s Tess and the musical’s Tess, unlike so many of their female counterparts, find a man who understands that the domestic life isn’t enough for her.

Still, it isn’t exactly a ringing endorsement for the ability of newswomen to have a blissful relationship. Herman states, “There appears to be a silent agreement, that those women who chose a successful career, will not be able to sustain success in their personal life. The most common way this is illustrated is through failed relationships, or an inability to control a
Do, Re, Media

relationship formed during the film.” In the end, to make the marriage work, Tess’s husband Sam has to accept that he won’t be her first priority. The road to this decision is paved with many difficult battles.

The most telling example of her unwillingness to sacrifice any part of her career for the good of their relationship takes place after the award ceremony as they are attempting to patch things up. Tess asks Sam to go to dinner with her that night and he declines, saying he’s got an important cartoonist meeting. Tess asks him to “duck it or call in sick,” but he won’t, so she begs him to at least talk with her and he agrees.

Sam: “You want to talk? All right. Let’s talk.”

Tess: “Good. How about tonight? You can get out of your meeting—”

Sam: “What’s wrong with right now?”

Tess: “Now? Well, I can’t right now, Sam—I’m on a story. A big one.”

Sam: “Don’t suppose you could duck it—call in sick or something—”

Tess: “You know I can’t, Sam—it’s an exclusive.”

It’s after this point that Tess reassesses her life and realizes she would be willing to make some sacrifices to have Sam around. But the overall point of view expressed throughout the play, that her career trumps all, remains even after things have been resolved.

The fact that Tess lives happily ever after doesn’t change the fact that at her core she is a tough, go-getting career woman. She shares these traits with one of the most recognizable fictional female journalists of all time, the title character in the TV series Murphy Brown (played by Candice Bergen).

Like Tess, Murphy is “sharp-tongued” and “doesn’t give an inch in her fight to control the TV newsmagazine environment in which she works.” Like Tess, too, Murphy is able to
weather a variety of challenges to her personal life to remain at the top of her game. Neither makes any bones about attempting to cover up the bullish woman she is. The first time Tess and Sam meet, she calls him a “shit.” As myriad phone calls and work assignments interrupt their conversation, she tells him, “My life isn’t really like this all the time—usually it’s much more.”

Tess is a modern day Torchy Blane, the protagonist of a series of films from the 1930s. Both characters buck the trend in which “movies portrayed women reporters as gushy, homely old maids or sour, masculine looking feminists.” Torchy, too, had her share of struggles in love.

All told, Tess is a rare dichotomy as far as the picture of female journalists is painted. She possesses almost all of the stereotypical traits that usually prevent such characters from having successful personal lives, and still manages to have it all.

Broadway’s female journalists, while staying true to some characteristics, often buck the prototypical “women first, and journalists second” stereotype so regularly found in fictional portrayals. The males of the stage, however, mostly reinforce established stereotypes, and if anything, are sometimes more extreme than their onscreen counterparts.

**JJ Hunsecker, Gossip Columnist**

> “People check in with me everyday to find out what makes the world go ’round.”


Today’s gossip columns aren’t what they used to be. In the *New York Post*, readers famously flip all the way to Page Six for the goods. In most publications, gossip is relegated to the entertainment section, and the back of it at that. But in JJ Hunsecker’s New York City in 1952, the *Sweet Smell of Success* gossip columnist was the self-professed and universally accepted “heartbeat of America.”
JJ’s character is based on real-life gossip columnist Walter Winchell, who wrote a syndicated Broadway column for the now-defunct Daily Mirror for nearly 40 years. Winchell wielded a large amount of power—“a mention in his column could doom or make a Broadway show or personality.”

JJ’s column isn’t limited to Broadway, but his perceived power equals Winchell’s. The refrain of the show’s opening number is “Gotta get in the column, gotta get into JJ.”

JJ himself is an imposing figure. He lives in a “penthouse over Times Square.” Style is so important to JJ that when he befriends a young, poor press agent named Sidney Falcone, he immediately buys him a suit. Throughout the show, the stage directions describe JJ appearing from shadows or darkness.

But for all his showiness, and despite being worshiped by 60 million readers, JJ is alone. He’s a confirmed bachelor, and the only human he cares for in the world is his sister Susan, whom he treats as a cross between a daughter and a girlfriend.

Everyone but Susan is in awe of and terrified by JJ. Tim Dirks’ review of the film version of Sweet Smell of Success characterizes JJ as “stern, cold-blooded, morally corrupt, monomaniacal, and treacherous.” Broadway’s JJ possesses all of these characteristics. As a man, his actions render him almost inhuman. As a journalist, he is equally devoid of ethics.

As fictional journalists go, JJ is about as evil as they come. “In the movies, gossip columnists stop at nothing and hurt anyone to get that must read item. They are cocky and power mad, ready to sacrifice anyone and everyone to get ahead and then stay on top,” Saltzman says. Though we meet JJ after he’s already ascended the throne of his profession, the rest of the description fits him to a “T,” so it’s logical to imagine he stepped on more than a few people on his way up.
At the end of films, however, gossip columnists “usually redeem themselves by acting a bit human and doing the right thing.” J.J. does just the opposite, ending the play by ordering a hit on Sidney. It’s evident from the beginning of the play that J.J.’s a shady character, but instead of becoming more likable, he becomes increasingly despicable. Like other journalistic villains in film, “He is in it only for himself, exploiting innocent others just to get a scoop or make a buck.”

The one bit of humanity J.J possesses is reserved for Susan. She is the only thing he truly values in life. It’s clear from the beginning that he adores her, but the feeling is left unquestioned when he sings “For Susan.”

Bogie sends “Buckets of Love from Lucerne”
For Susan
Here’s a lucky star
Signed by F.D.R.
Groucho’s three dollar bill
Paw prints from Lassie and stills from DeMille
For Susan

(Spoken) When she went off to college I thought I’d suffocate. But now she’s home. Life is back.

This song is the first time in the play J.J. is recognizable as anything but a power-hungry social climber.

Later, as J.J.’s protégé Sidney concocts a plot to take down Susan’s boyfriend Dallas (whom J.J. despises), J.J. further articulates his love for Susan. “You don’t understand love, Sidney,” J.J. says. “Love means she must never see certain professional sides of J.J. Never. To her, I’m her brother. Her father. Her pal. Her life.”

We finally understand that it isn’t just Dallas that J.J. has a problem with; he’s terrified of being replaced by any other man in Susan’s life. Susan is his one vulnerable spot.
Throughout the play, JJ is assigned just one stage direction indicating genuine human emotion: rage (or other expressions of anger). The only exception is at the end of the play, when Susan tells him, “This is the last time you’ll ever see me.”67 The stage direction for JJ reads, “True anguish.”68 But JJ responds to weakness with aggression, even where Susan is concerned. His next direction reads, “His anguish becomes threat.”

“I’ll find you,” he tells Susan.69

It’s this JJ, the angry JJ, who lingers in memory after the play, and why not? There are myriad instances of his contemptible behavior throughout the show. Some are blatant—ordering multiple hits on people—and some less obvious. During JJ and Sidney’s first night out on the town, they pass a girl lying in a puddle of blood on the sidewalk. A man runs up to JJ and tries to attack him.

“Why did you keep writing about her?” the man asks. “You hounded her and hounded her and hounded her until there’s nothing left!”70 JJ, says the stage direction, bursts into laughter.

Saltzman notes, “The most indelible image may be that of the journalist as scoundrel, as evil, as the worst of villains because these journalists use the precious commodity of public confidence in the press for their own selfish ends.”71 JJ is perhaps the worst of all the gossip columnists, a category that serves to represent the worst of all fictional portrayals of journalists. Without a doubt, he is one of the most despicable characters ever to cross a Broadway stage.

**Bob Baker and Horace Miller, Lovelorn Journalists**

“*Much more could be said if I thought with my head, but I only can think with my heart.*”72

— Aspiring photojournalist Horace Miller, *Miss Liberty* (1949)

The journalist in love provides a fascinating dichotomy that has wooed filmmakers time
and again, and “most successful musicals pursue romance through sentiment.”

It follows, then, that lovelorn journalists should turn up on the Broadway boards. As Strait states in “Popular Portrayals of Journalists and Their Personal Lives: Finding the Balance Between Love and the ‘Scoop’”: “When [these journalists] do find love, [they] experience a tension between the relationship and the job—having both is usually presented as out of the question.”

Bob Baker in Wonderful Town (1953) is a rare male journalist who suddenly finds himself in this predicament. A New York City editor who has seen it all, Bob is a self-described “natural writer, published at seven—genius type.” Like typical editors found in film, he’s “gruff and sharp-tongued” but “soft under [his] bluster.” Hardened from years of watching bright-eyed transplants hawk their writing ability only to be eaten up by the city, he’s skeptical when he meets would-be writer Ruth Sherwood. But her talent wins him over, and they fall in love. When Bob’s senior editor refuses to print Ruth’s work, Bob quits.

Though a journalist leaving his or her job for love is no new plotline, it’s unusual for a male to be forced into this fate. Howard Good cites a study by Joan Mellen that explains, “Only weak men allow themselves to become entangled with women…heterosexual interaction feminizes, as if women and their ways were like a virus.” In film, it’s most often the women who, “no matter how tough or independent, would give up anything and everything for marriage, children, and a life at home.” They give it up simply because they cannot face the demands of the newsroom alongside the responsibilities of being a wife and mother, nor would they care to.

Bob’s predicament is based in much more masculine sentiment. He’s struggling with his own feelings of love, and not knowing how to face them, convinces himself that he’s fighting a battle of work-related principle. But his decision, however subconscious, to stand up for the woman he loves in the workplace is rooted in that same old classic theme—love and journalism.
are mutually exclusive. Good’s example is the “chronic postponement”\(^{80}\) of the wedding of Torchy Blane and her fiancé, who never actually marry.

*Miss Liberty*’s Horace Miller, however, finds a way to combine love and journalism against all odds. In some ways, Horace is similar to the typical cub reporters in films. Like the cubs, “with whom everyone in the audience can identify,”\(^{81}\) Horace knows next to nothing about the way journalism works and assumes his own enthusiasm and resourcefulness will carry him through. Horace, a would-be photojournalist, is relatable because of his idealism about the profession. He has none of Bob’s cynicism nor any desire to trample others on the way to the top.

Horace seeks his first job in journalism on the day the Statue of Liberty is to be erected just off Manhattan. A publisher sends Horace off to Paris for a scoop, and he meets Monique, a beautiful lady whom he mistakenly believes was the inspiration for the statue, and they quickly fall in love.

If Bob Baker represents the journalist who is forced to choose between love and his profession, then Horace Miller embodies the other stereotype of film. He ends up “succeeding both at the job and in love, but not without a struggle and some self-searching along the way.”\(^{82}\)

What both Bob and Horace learn along the way, and what the audience in turn learns, is that journalism is not nearly as important to them as finding and keeping love. Bob quits a good job for what he thinks is “principle,” but is really undiscovered feelings of love. Horace decides early on that he’s willing to risk his journalistic career, and even his freedom, for love.

“I’d do anything for you, Monique,” he says, upon finding out she didn’t pose for the statue. “I’d commit crimes for you.”\(^{83}\) The promise of money and a full time a job at a major newspaper drives Horace to Paris, but once he meets Monique, the job is just an afterthought.

In fact, neither plot is driven by journalistic pursuits. Love is the order of the day in both
musicals, and whether Bob or Horace possesses journalistic ethics isn’t called into question. Bob doesn’t do anything to compromise his journalistic integrity, but Horace does and suffers little to no consequence. Rather, his deception earns him favor in the eyes of Joseph Pulitzer, one of the most influential newspaper publishers of the time.

While Bob shows flashes of the typical editor and typical journalist lover, Horace is an amalgam of multiple stereotypes. His innocence and lack of experience mark him as a cub reporter. But when Miss Liberty starts, Horace, like stereotypical photojournalists in films, is willing to “do anything to get an exclusive picture of a hot news story.”84 Usually in movies, male journalists with flaws are “forgiven their trespasses [if] the end result favors the public rather than themselves.”85 Horace’s interests are purely self-serving, and though the public will be left with the disappointment of learning Monique wasn’t muse to Lady Liberty’s sculptor, Horace escapes blameless because the audience has already come to think of him as an innocent cub reporter. Horace and Bob are different types, but each serves as a unique example of the way Broadway interpreted journalists in love.

Britt Craig, Tommy Howatt, and Sammy Glick: Flawed Male Journalists

“You might never be sure if your motives are pure, but your profits are clear.”86

— Reporter Britt Craig, Parade (1998)

Perhaps the most ubiquitous representation of a newsperson in film is that of the flawed male journalist. That stock character also has been employed in a number of Broadway musicals. These characters, as Ehrlich says in “Facts, Truth, and Bad Journalists in the Movies,” “contradict the image of upstanding, ethical professionalism that the press tries to promote.”87

Britt Craig of Parade, Tommy Howatt of Tenderloin (1960), and Sammy Glick of What
"What Makes Sammy Run?" (1964) all embody this stereotype. But they are very different men, with different motives and different endings to their stories.

Of the three, Sammy Glick is least invested in his career as a journalist. As a copy boy at the New York Record, he tried his damndest to get out as quickly as possible. Sammy rivals only gossip columnist JJ Hunsecker in lack of moral grounding among Broadway’s leading men. But unlike JJ, Sammy does not wish to ascend the ranks in journalism nor impact the industry. Journalism is merely a stepping stone, a means to an end, an afterthought in his race to the top of the Hollywood totem pole. Of the 133 pages in the script of What Makes Sammy Run?, the title character is in the journalistic profession for 22. After that, he’s on to bigger and better things. But it’s still enough time to reinforce the image of the worst kind of journalist, those who “lie, cheat, distort, bribe, betray, or violate any ethical code.” Like JJ, though, and unlike his flawed onscreen counterparts, Sammy does nothing redemptive or reformative by the end of script.

A stark contrast can be provided in Tenderloin’s Tommy Howatt. Tommy is a young reporter who works for a tawdry New York tabloid called the Tatler. Raised on the wrong side of the class divide, Tommy is an uneducated but ambitious young man who dresses in “cheap and flashy” suits. Like Sammy, Tommy considers the journalistic profession a means to an end.

“You heard of Horatio Alger? That’s gonna be me,” Tommy says. “Right to the top, and I don’t care how. Nuttin’ can stop me—I mean nothing. See? I’m improvin’ already. Listen! I got a crummy job as a reporter on the Tatler magazine; and down in that joint in the Tenderloin, what am I? Just a four-bit singer. But you watch where I go. Cause this is the land of opportunity.”

The simple fact that Tommy, a rough-and-tumble kid with no experience, was able to land any job in journalism suggests a dismissal of the profession, or at least the publication that
employs him. Tommy may not be a saint, but he’s closer to one than Sammy Glick. Tommy’s initial drive to get to the top, regardless of casualties along the way, is halted by the relationships he makes with good people (for instance, a pastor and a girl with whom he falls in love). Tommy can be forgiven his earlier indiscretions because he performs the dramatic absolution of the flawed male journalist who “exposes corruption, solves a murder, catches a thief, or saves an innocent.”

Reporter Britt Craig of the more recent musical *Parade*, on the other hand, thinks he is solving a murder but does just the opposite. *Parade* tells the true story of Leo Frank, a Jewish Brooklynite living in Atlanta who is wrongly convicted of the murder of a young girl, then has his sentence commuted by the governor, only to be hanged by a lynch mob within days.

When the audience first meets Britt, a reporter at the *Atlanta Georgian* in his mid-twenties, he is “inebriated, disheveled and still good-looking and absolutely charming.” Unlike Sammy and Tommy, Britt is a serious journalist who hungers for real news and wants to make something of himself as a reporter. In 1913 Atlanta, where *Parade* is set, there isn’t enough hard news for Britt’s liking. He’s tired of covering administrative city news and weather and replaces the real investigative work he feels he’s lacking with drink. Britt’s big flaw is not a flagrant intent to disregard the ethical structure of the journalistic profession, but a fatal tendency to exaggerate and failure to check facts.

Of the three—Sammy, Tommy, and Britt—Britt best represents the typical flawed male journalist of film. He is “not all good and not all bad but simply trying to get the story at all costs.” Though Britt’s contribution to the hysteria and circus surrounding Leo’s trial is significant, it comes from a place we can all relate to—the desire to excel at one’s craft and do something meaningful. In the process, Britt unfortunately falls victim to the same stereotypes
that have been perpetuated in film for years and that have contributed to an overall public distrust of the media. Britt sensationalizes, avoids checking facts, and in shooing off the other reporters so he can have Leo’s wife Lucille as a source all to himself, resorts to trickery.

But in the end, Britt is somewhat redeemed. Most film journalists who have committed egregious acts can be forgiven “if the end result was in the public interest.” That doesn’t exactly apply in this case—many Atlantans wanted Leo hanged, but the murder of one person can’t be seen as a benefit for the greater good. No, the reason Britt becomes sympathetic is more basic. His final act in the closing scene of the show, bringing the widowed Lucille Frank her wedding ring, is deeply human. The audience can relate, though Lucille can’t forgive him. When Britt says, “Just leave word with me at the paper—or MacDaniel’s saloon,” it’s an acknowledgement that what he’s done has been for naught. In no time, he’ll be back drinking at the bar and reporting on local news. This revelation is his apology both to the audience and to Lucille.

Sammy, Tommy, and Britt each have a special place in the image of the flawed male journalist on Broadway. Sammy is as heartless as they come, Tommy sees the error of his ways and does the right thing, and Britt falls somewhere in between. Because Britt’s profession is of direct importance to the plot, Parade can perhaps be seen as the most influential to the public’s perception. The audience is apt to forget that Sammy and Tommy were even journalists in the first place. But together, these three characters exemplify the wide range in which a basic prototype of the journalist has been portrayed in musicals on the Great White Way.

**The Overall Impact of Broadway Journalists on Public Perception**

Quantifying the impact of Broadway musicals on the general public is difficult since Broadway shows, limited to New York productions and tours to major cities, don’t reach the
same large-scale audience as TV, film, or literature. But there is insight to be gained from the length of each show’s run (the longer the run, the more people reached) and the response of theater critics.

The original production of *Damn Yankees* in 1955 ran for 1,019 performances. The *New York Times* reviewer Lewis Funke loved the production, declaring, “Mr. Abbott has another pennant winner.” Funke’s review did not make mention of Gloria Thorpe or journalism as a profession. A subsequent revival in 1994 ran for 533 performances. *The New York Times* review of the revival by Vincent Canby praised the production as a whole, again without a mention of Gloria. Most of Canby’s review was spent raving about Jerry Lewis, who made his Broadway debut in March 1995 when he assumed the character of Applegate, replacing Victor Garber who had opened in the revival.

*Chicago* originally opened in 1975, and ran for two years and 936 performances. *The New York Times* reviewer Clive Barnes found the production unoriginal and noted a number of “disappointments,” but still called it “one of the best musicals of the season.” Mary Sunshine was not mentioned. A revival of *Chicago* opened in 1996 and is still on the boards, with 5,955 performances to date. A glowing review of the 1996 revival by Ben Brantley of *The New York Times* did not mention the character of Mary Sunshine.

*Woman of the Year* opened in 1981, running for just under two years and 770 performances. Frank Rich wrote a very positive review in *The New York Times*. Rich praised the decision to make Tess a TV journalist (versus the film version in which she’s a newspaper columnist) and lauded Lauren Bacall’s performance of the role, but gave no specific mention of her portrayal of Tess from a journalistic perspective.

Arguably the most in-depth and personal look at the life of a journalist, *Sweet Smell of
Success had a short life on the Great White Way. It opened in 2002 and closed just three months later after a total of 109 performances. Perhaps Brantley’s disparaging review in The New York Times contributed to the show’s lack of commercial success. Brantley complained that John Lithgow, an actor known for his comedic roles, seemed uncomfortable in the role of someone as “evil” as JJ Hunsecker. As a result, much of the show appeared campy and corny, rather than darkly nuanced (the mood, said Brantley, that was captured in the 1957 movie version).

Wonderful Town enjoyed two long runs, both when it premiered in 1953 and for a subsequent revival in 2003. The original production lasted 559 shows and 16 months. Brooks Atkinson of The New York Times called the show “the most uproarious and original musical carnival we have had since Guys and Dolls” and noted the performance of Bob Baker by actor George Gaynes “as a magazine editor with a fine baritone voice.” The revival also lasted for more than a year, with 497 performances. Brantley praised the revival, noting that “Richard Muenz [brought] an easygoing dignity to Robert Baker, the editor whose role is a male variation on the unwitting troublemaker usually known as the Girl in other vintage musicals.”

Miss Liberty hasn’t been revived on Broadway. The first and only production in 1949 ran for 10 months and 308 performances. The New York Times reviewer Brooks Atkinson wasn’t a fan, calling it “a disappointing musical comedy put together without sparkle or originality.” The book for the show, Atkinson said, was “a pedestrian tale,” and he called the score “not one of Mr. Berlin’s most memorable.”

What Makes Sammy Run? was a moderate hit in 1964, with a run of nearly a year and a half and 540 performances. But the critics weren’t kind. Howard Taubman of The New York Times said the only truth emerged in the second act, when the show “confronts its sleazy little hero with difficulties.” Taubman’s analysis strengthens the conclusion that Sammy’s career in
the newsroom was of little importance either to the plot or audience.

*Tenderloin* opened in 1960, running for six months and 216 performances. Taubman praised Ron Husmann’s portrayal of Tommy, and called the concept “full of promise,” but found the execution “faulty.” Journalism was not mentioned in the review. The musical briefly ran again in New York in 2000, as part of the Encores! revival series at Lincoln Center. Bruce Weber of *The New York Times* enjoyed the Encores! production, including Patrick Wilson’s “sexy” portrayal of Tommy, “a young man equally attracted by virtue and vice.” Weber made no mention of Tommy’s profession, but noted the theme of reform in the musical.

*Parade* had the shortest run of any of these musicals. It opened in December 1998 and closed two months later, running for just 85 performances. Brantley complained in *The New York Times* that the production was “often more podium-thumping screed than compelling story.” Audiences, evidently, agreed. Brantley made no mention of Britt Craig in his review.

It is worth noting that the pure dramas among these musicals—*Sweet Smell of Success* and *Parade*—were the least successful. This can at least partially be attributed to the idea that “comedy has always been the hallmark of popular American musical theater.” The most casual musical theater patron is most accustomed to the genre in its comedic form. But the subject matter and artistic quality of the production may also be called into question, for “great musical theater must envelop its audience. Should it fail, it is likely that the nature of the material proved unsuitable to it.”

**Conclusion**

Whether reaching tens of thousands of people like *Chicago* or scarcely more than several hundred, like *Parade*, Broadway has made a significant contribution to the study of journalists in popular culture. On the whole, the characters portrayed onstage share many traits and stereotypes
with their counterparts in film, TV, and literature. None of the Broadway characters presents a truly stark contrast from comparable incarnations in other media, although one noteworthy difference is present in almost every portrayal.

Gloria Thorpe defies the odds by being a female sports reporter whose gender is of no consequence. Still, she shares many traits with other fictional sportswriters—aggression and persistence, a strong desire to get the scoop no matter the cost, passion, and an emphasis on cultivating relationships with people to reach her goals.

Mary Sunshine displays none of the tough exterior of other fictional female journalists. But the revelation of her true gender can be seen as a commentary on women in journalism, to be viewed a couple of ways. Either even those female reporters who seem feminine and docile may possess underlying male characteristics such as aggression and arrogance, or journalism is still a man’s world that doesn’t fully welcome women, especially in a difficult beat like crime.

Tess Harding, unlike so many of her fictional counterparts in TV journalism, is ultimately able to balance work and marriage. But the road there is rocky, and along the way Tess is very much robbed of feminine sentiment and actions. Like the female journalists of film who find love, her final balancing act is not to be had without a certain amount of sacrifice.

JJ Hunsecker is the only fictional gossip columnist who still has not a shred of common decency when his story comes to an end. But the stark look at such a relentless villain shows by way of contrast what journalism is supposed to be: an industry of moral integrity, truth telling, and the pursuit of justice in the public interest.

Bob Baker and Horace Miller are the rare males who sacrifice journalism for love. But despite their gender, they, like Tess, perpetuate the stereotype that having a successful career and successful romantic relationship is impossible for journalists.
Sammy Glick, Tommy Howatt, and Britt Craig are all deeply flawed, without a grand redemption in the form of serving the public. But watching their deception or flagrant disregard for responsible journalism feels so uncomfortable, that, like JJ, they help reinforce the true purpose of journalism: protecting the public interest.

The stock characters of journalism, from bumbling novice reporters, to self-serving power players, to strong but confused women, all have their place in the Broadway catalogue. In many cases, the use of song allows more intimate access to characters’ thought processes, and more in-your-face, less nuanced portrayals of personality. This is because, in musical theater, “the song is the purpose of the scene.”115 Without the heightened emotion and expression found in song, a musical would be like any other play. “Rapture soars in the theater when it rides on the wings of music,”116 and thus connected to the character through music, an audience can see both flaws and positive attributes more readily and more clearly than in film or fiction. It’s this device that makes Broadway characters a little different from their counterparts in other artistic mediums.

These slight changes to the mold are part of what make them the most intriguing characters in each of their productions, and, it could be said, some of the most fascinating to come along in all of musical theater. The ability to better understand some characters that we have come to know in other mediums, through the benefit of song and heightened romance, provides a unique experience in the exploration of fictionalized journalism.

Future studies of this subject may wish to consider a more focused and specific analysis on one aspect of musical theater journalists, such as all the female journalists or all the journalists in love. Also interesting would be an examination of the musicals about journalists that have been made into films (or vice versa, in cases such as *Sweet Smell of Success* and *Woman of the Year*), and how the film and stage versions differ.
Endnotes


4 Ibid., 3.

5 Ibid., 6.


7 According to the American Sportscasters Association, there is no official record of just who the first female sports journalist is. In a 1999 essay about women in the field, then-ASA president Lou Schwartz cited Jane Chastain as the most widely accepted pioneer.

8 None of the players, managers, owners, or other reporters reference Gloria’s gender as it relates to her profession. The character of Applegate, who is the Devil masquerading as a man, tosses in a few disparaging comments about her being a woman.

9 Abbott and Wallop, Damn Yankees, 30.

10 Ibid., 28. This description of Gloria is listed in the writers’ stage notes. No further description is provided as to what is meant by “prototype of the professional woman.”


13 Ibid., 15.
14 Abbott and Wallop, *Damn Yankees*, 134.

15 *The Natural* was released in 1984, and based on the eponymous 1952 Bernard Malamud novel.


17 Abbott and Wallop, *Damn Yankees*, 134.

18 Ibid., 46-47.


20 Abbott and Wallop, *Damn Yankees*, 137.


22 Ibid., 14.


26 Ebb and Fosse, *Chicago*, 37.


31 Ibid., 53.

32 Ibid., 83-84.

34 Ibid., 40.


37 Stone, *Woman of the Year*, 11.

38 Ibid., 12.

39 Ibid., 29.

40 Ibid., 17-18.


43 Ibid., 28.

44 Stone, *Woman of the Year*, 81.


46 Ibid.

47 Stone, *Woman of the Year*, 33.

48 Ibid., 34.


50 Ibid., 51.


52 Ibid., 94.


55 Ibid., 52.
56 Ibid., 29.
57 Ibid., 38.
58 Ibid., 11.
61 Ibid., 34.
63 Guare, Sweet Smell of Success, 54.
64 The rest of the lyrics can be found in the separate Appendix on pages 15-16.
65 Guare, Sweet Smell of Success, 55.
66 Ibid., 69.
67 Ibid., 107.
68 Ibid.
69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., 33.
72 Robert E. Sherwood, Miss Liberty (New York: Samuel French, 1949), 47.

77 Good, *Girl Reporter*, 82.


80 Good, *Girl Reporter*, 78.

81 Saltzman, “Analyzing the Images of the Journalist in Popular Culture,” 34.


83 Sherwood, *Miss Liberty*, 49.


85 Ibid., 36.


89 Saltzman, *Frank Capra*, 146.


91 Ibid.

92 Saltzman, *Frank Capra*, 146.


95 Ibid., 29.

All figures on performance runs were culled from the Internet Broadway Database www.ibdb.com.


Ibid.


114 Ibid., 174.

115 Ibid., 171.

116 Ibid., 174.