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Forgotten audiences in the passion pits: Drive-in theatres and changing spectator practices in post-war America

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In 1947, Reverend J. Virgil Lilly drafted an ordinance limiting the operation of drive-in theatres in Montgomery County, Maryland, claiming that they had 'a demoralizing influence leading to promiscuous relationships'. Co-author Mrs. Thomas M. Bartram, of the League of Women Voters, warned that the 'invasion of such amusements into the country would increase juvenile delinquency'. The ordinance imposed a $1,000.00 license fee and set an 11.00 p.m. curfew on the theatre being built by the aptly named exhibitor, Sidney Lust[1]. Lilly's concerns were echoed in many popular magazines and trade journals, and the reputation of drive-ins as 'passion pits' remains to this day.

Drive-in theatres have always occupied a marginal position in relation to other more 'legitimate' places of film exhibition, and they have been viewed with suspicion by the film industry and critics alike. Throughout the post-war years until the late 1950s, mainstream distributors avoided renting first-run films to drive-ins, arguing that these theatres would 'cheapen' films shown in them and lower earnings in subsequent runs. Even cinema historians have overlooked outdoor theatres as a serious object of study, viewing them more as an anomalous part of 1950s popular culture – a humorous novelty and not much more. Those who have written about drive-ins tend to underestimate their importance. Douglas Gomery, one of the few scholars to include them in exhibition history, for example, argues that 'The lone attraction of the drive-in seemed to be that it was cheap entertainment for baby boom families wanting the occasional night out'[2]. Another writer attributes its popularity to conservative attitudes to-

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ward sex, saying, 'Things are so much more wide-open sexually today that who needs a drive-in'[3]? Such an analysis simply re-circulates the stereotype of drive-ins as 'passion pits'.

However, drive-in theatres cannot be discarded as mere novelties nor can their enormous popularity be explained adequately by their appeal to families or amorous couples. As this essay will argue, drive-ins represent an overlooked but pivotal institutional stage in cinema's development. They therefore provide rich material for rethinking the trajectory of film history as it is currently conceived. For example, drive-in theatres developed a hybrid mode of exhibition that does not fit neatly into current historical periods. Specifically, the post-World War II explosion of drive-in construction occurs somewhere between the period of so-called 'classical' cinema and that of current or post-classical film practice. Taking advantage of this relatively unregulated transitional moment, drive-in theatre owners drew upon the traditions of early cinema and amusement parks as well as the privatized, media-generated entertainment of the emerging television industry. The many activities available at the drive-in reflect an understanding that film audiences have a variety of needs and interests that cannot always be distilled into a single product. During the post-war years, then, drive-in theatres helped to challenge and expand the industry's conception of the movie-going public by moving away from the fiction of a homogeneous, easily defined, urban audience. Drive-ins were among the first theatres in the South to desegregate, and in some areas they were the only non-segregated public spaces. In addition, drive-in theatre owners actively solicited audience members forgotten or deliberately overlooked by mainstream theatres, such as children, housewives, people with disabilities, labouring men and teenagers. Drive-in theatres, then, are indispensable to a thorough understanding of the ways in which exhibition, audiences and the film industry itself changed during the decade following World War II.

Drive-in spectatorship: attractions and distractions

The period just after World War II was a watershed in American film history. The five major Hollywood companies that had dominated the film industry in the 1930s and 1940s were gradually losing their monopoly of distribution and exhibition[4], and film audiences were moving away from urban centres to the rapidly expanding suburbs, trading picture palaces for television and, significantly, drive-in theatres. Because the drive-in thrived during this period of transition, it provides important insight into the ways in which spectator practices changed.

Drive-in theatres challenged classical conceptions of spectatorship that dominated film practice during the so called 'golden age' of Hollywood of the 1930s and 1940s. Many critics have observed that classical cinema imposes middle-class standards of consumption, preventing audiences from interacting with each other and reacting collectively to the film. It imposes a 'discipline of silence' whereby audience members are asked to sit politely in the darkened theatre and are discouraged from talking or commenting aloud on the film. Far from demanding this type of genteel spectator, drive-in theatres encouraged their audience to do all the things proscribed in conventional theatres. At the drive-in, spectators could smoke, eat, talk, and make out, and many ads and programmes encouraged them to do so. In 1951, *Hollywood Quarterly* maintained that the typical outdoor theatre had a 'special sense of informality' and that this relaxed atmosphere attracted an altogether different audience from that of downtown picture palaces[5].

Drive-in theatres altered the prevailing system of spectatorship primarily by re-introducing spectator practices common during the pre-classical period, when films were shown in industrial expositions, vaudeville theatres, nickelodeons, dime museums and fairgrounds. Like these older sites of film exhibition, drive-in theatres were 'entertainment centres' where patrons could choose among a variety of activities, only one of which was the film. The Walter Reade drive-in circuit, for example, offered a playground, pony rides, a dance floor, shuffleboard and horseshoe pitching tournaments, cartoon carnivals, midnight spook shows, baby parades and 'beautiful child' contests, dare-devil car rides, circus acts, high-tower dives, anniversary and birthday celebrations (with special ceremonies and cake available for all patrons), fireworks, a picnic and play area open free of charge for community use during the day, potato-sack races and television[6]. The Reade theatres and other deluxe drive-ins made use of a style of programming known in early cinema as

Fig. 1. A typical Walter Reade Drive-In: The Woodbridge Theater, Woodbridge, NJ, ca. 1960. Something for the whole family: a Disney cartoon, *Eyes in Outer Space* (1960) for the kids and *Psycho* (1960) for teens and grown-ups.

the variety format[7]. This loosely-structured format supplied disconnected attractions and allowed theatre owners to mix as many styles, moods and traditions as possible. As Tom Gunning has observed, 'Such viewing experiences relate more to the attractions of the fairground than to the traditions of the legitimate theater'[8]. In other words, the variety format encouraged a mobilized, discontinuous mode of reception that Siegfried Kracauer and Walter Benjamin have called 'distraction'[9], which is contrary to the rapt attention demanded by the structure of classically conceived films.

This exhibition context was often so distracting that many observers worried that audiences didn't come to outdoor theatres to see the films at all. Suspecting this, Herbert Ochs, owner of an Ohio drive-in periodically omitted the name of films being shown and advertised the theatre only. On these occasions, apparently, few people bothered calling to find out what movie was showing. In fact, when Ochs asked his customers why they came to the theatre, he discovered that 'in almost every instance, they said they did not know what picture was being shown when they drove into the parking space'[10]. The film, then, was very often secondary to the theatre's many other attractions.

Another attraction of the drive-in was the opportunity to meet and play with other spectators. The Reade Theaters' potato sack and three-legged races, for example, encouraged both bodily and social contact among the audience. In addition, with its anniversary and birthday celebrations for patrons, the Reade Theater attempted to recreate what Alexander Kluge has called 'the village principle' which is 'characterized by the absolute predominance of intimacy'. In a village, 'everyone cares for each other; everyone keeps an eye on each other'[11]. The Reade Theaters created this sense of

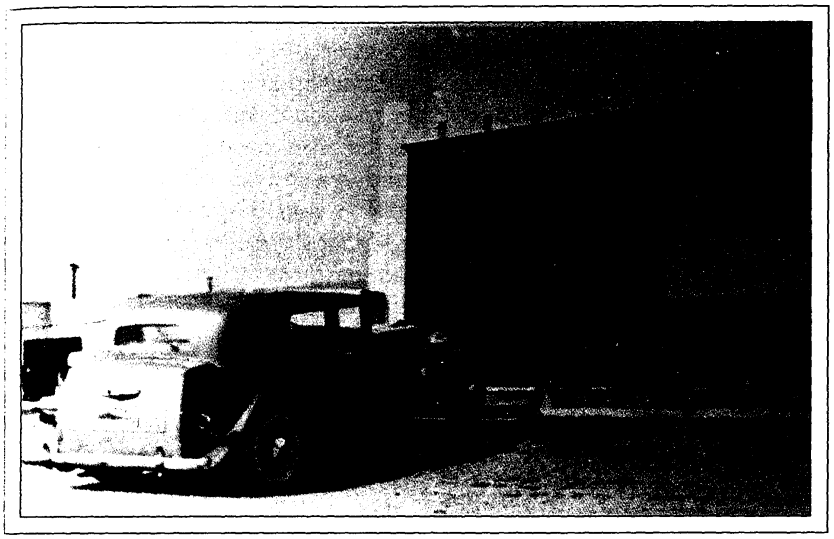

Fig. 2. The car becomes a private box at the theatre. The San Val Drive-In, Burbank, CA, ca. 1945. [Photo by Malcolm Keele.]

intimate community by inviting all patrons to share one's birthday cake. Many other theatres tried to foster reputations as community gathering places by renting out space to local religious groups. Three drive-ins in Jacksonville, Florida, for example, rented their theatres to area churches, which conducted services on top of the projection booth while parishioners listened on their in-car speakers[12]. While this may not have been a typical practice, most outdoor theatres had a playground and full-service snack bar where audience members could meet before and during the show. This highly sociable atmosphere was quite different from sitting quietly in a darkened, indoor theatre.

But if drive-in theatres had the atmosphere of villages, they were at best post-modern versions in which the community was often fragmented into small, isolated groups. The whole concept of the auto-theatre is, clearly, based on the premise of watching a film from the enclosed and private space of one's car. As Richard Hollingshead, the inventor of these theatres, describes it, 'The Drive-In theater idea virtually transforms an ordinary motor car into a private theater box'. During the post-war period, when television or 'home theatre' inspired interest and curiosity, this concept was especially appealing. Like television, drive-ins allowed spectators to be 'at home' – to relax and ignore the conventions and constraints of public behaviour. Writing in 1933, Richard Hollingshead boasted that the privacy of one's car would liberate the audience. 'Inveterate smokers, for example, who were prohibited from smoking in downtown theatres, were free to smoke in their own cars. 'People may chat', he continued, 'or even partake of refreshments. ... without disturbing those who prefer silence ... Here the whole family is welcome, regardless of how noisy the children are apt to be'. A more recent article on drive-in viewing habits shows that the privacy of the drive-in allows audience members to interact with each other to a much greater degree than in conventional theatres. 'At a walk-in theatre you can't analyse the movie ... You have to wait till you get home. Here, you can analyse it while you're watching'. Not only did drive-in theatres take advantage of television's form of spectatorship, many also exhibited early television. At the Reade theatres, for example, a television was set up at the foot of the screen for curious patrons who did not yet have one. Of course, this was not the thoroughly privatized experience of home viewing, but it did provide a transition to what was to become the media-generated entertainment of the future. At the Reade Drive-In, the audience was introduced to television spectatorship in the more familiar and public context of the movie theatre[15].

However, comparing drive-in spectatorship to that of television does not fully describe the unique experience of attending an outdoor theatre. The car was not merely a private space, but was a medium through which people saw their environment in a new way. The car helped create a new spectator whose awareness of street life alternated with the intensely private space of the car's interior. Driving

down a highway with the radio on, for example, one is simultaneously cognisant of the world outside and the cocoon-like space of the car. As Roland Barthes describes this phenomenon, driving frames and de-realizes the scenes that speed by the window:

> If I am in a car and I look at the scenery through the window, I can at will focus on the scenery or on the window-pane. At one moment I grasp the presence of the glass and the distance of the landscape; at another, on the contrary, the transparency of the glass and the depth of the landscape; but the result of this alternation is constant: the glass is at once present and empty to me and the landscape unreal and full[16].

In this description, the landscape becomes de-realized and appears as a projection on a screen. Jean Baudrillard takes this same concept and links it more overtly to film and television spectatorship: 'the vehicle ... becomes a bubble, the dashboard a console, and the landscape all around unfolds as a television screen'[17]. In the car, then, not only the distinction between public and private spaces but also between simulation and reality gets blurred.

One's experience as a driver-spectator was manipulated and heightened at the drive-in theatre. First, as one drives to the theatre, the landscape through which he or she passes is de-realized and appears to be a projection. This sensation becomes literal once one has parked in front of the drive-in screen and begins to watch the movie, to 'travel' through its diegetic space. Drive-in theatres thus literalized the cinema's illusion of mobility by addressing its spectators as voyagers. Even the names of many drive-in theatres reinforced this illusion of travel and adventure: El Rancho, Prairie, Go West. The Oasis in Bensenville, Illinois carried the travel theme one step further. It was designed around a desert motif: 'a turbaned "Arab" directs traffic under a neo-Taj Mahal archway and past waving palms and burbling waterfalls'[18]. Here one could travel to India (or Saudi Arabia, it doesn't matter which) in the familiar space of one's automobile. These and other drive-in theatres harnessed the mobility of the car and allowed spectators to 'travel' to distant places in cinemas near their homes.

Although I have suggested that drive-in theatres were the first theatres to conceive of their spectators as travellers, in fact, they were adapting a long tradition of film practice. Hale's Tours, for example, was a common attraction at many amusement parks and expositions from 1905 through 1907. It was a chain of movie theatres designed to look like a railway car, and created the illusion of moving through space on a train. These theatres featured railroad and trolley 'trips' through Ted Rock Canyon, Pike's Peak, Niagara Falls, Chicago, Palm Beach and the Black Hills, among other tours[19]. These travelogues, shot primarily from the cow-catcher of a moving train, were projected on to a screen at the front of the theatre/car and were accompanied by the grinding sound of railway wheels regulated to match the speed, stops and starts of the film. An artificial rush of air was provided, and the entire car jolted from side to side during the ride[20]. Although the cars in drive-in theatres were not so literally tied to the content of the film, they, like Hale's Tours, took advantage of the spectator's desire for the increased mobility that each mode of transportation offered. At the turn of the century, the train offered the possibility of a new mobility and opportunities to see distant places, opportunities which were also satisfied, at one remove, by the cinema. Hale's Tours epitomized and literalized the thrill of travel while remaining within the scope of one's home town and limited leisure time. Similarly, the automobile, which was quickly becoming the dominant vehicle of post World War II America, offered the means for greater personal mobility. And both exhibition practices appropriated the desire for personal mobility and travel.

However similar they may appear, though, there is an important difference between Hale's Tours and drive-in theatres. In the former, the site of exhibition, the train car, served to reinforce the reality-effect of the film and to bind spectators psychologically and physiologically to the film. In the latter, the car served to distance one from the events unfolding on the screen. This distanciation occurs on several levels. First of all, films shown at drive-ins were not literally tied to the exhibition site in the same way as Hale's Tours[21]. In addition, the car placed drive-in spectators at a physical remove from the screen, and the windshield created, in effect, a second screen on which a distorted version of the image played. This experience of distance was reinforced by the drive-in's sound system. Rather

than emanating from the screen, the sound was displaced into the car, and if one opened the car windows, the sound echoed from the other cars at different rates and created an eerie and very unrealistic effect. Finally, because of the relaxed attitude of most drive-in audiences, one's view of the screen was often obscured by people walking in front of the car or turning on their headlights to wash out the film image.

Drive-in theatres, then, revised and adapted an early spectator practice that ended around 1907; however, their particular version of spectator-as-traveller also made use of the 'atmospheric' aesthetics of the picture palaces. Like the Oasis Drive-In, the theatres of the 1920s also evoked themes of exotic travel. The lobbies were often decorated with tropical palm trees, water fountains, and elaborate neo-Grecian archways. Even the moon, stars and clouds above the drive-in theatre may have evoked memories of the elaborately painted ceilings of the picture palaces. Douglas Gomery has gone so far as to say that 'from a design standpoint, the "interior" of the drive-in represented an extension of the stars-and-clouds atmospheric theatres of John Eberson'[22]. Drive-ins therefore adapted and mixed as many spectator practices and traditions as possible.

The variety format allowed the Reade Theaters and other drive-ins to draw upon older, newer and transitional forms of entertainment and provided a context for the configuration of different and competing modes of spectatorship. Drive-in theatres, then, functioned as heterotopias – in Foucault's sense – as 'spaces apart' or 'counter-sites' within which established social rules and institutions are mixed, inverted or contested[23]. For example, these theatres juxtaposed several spaces (the private space of one's car, public space of the theatre, and diegetic space of the film) in a single place. Drive-ins also jumbled time by mixing elements of the pastoral village, turn of the Century amusement parks, early cinema, picture palaces of the 1920s, and the very current television entertainment. These temporal and spatial transitions were not always smooth. In fact, they allowed radically different attractions to compete with and critique each other. Thus, the pony ride highlighted the mechanization of the merry-go-round; the desire for face-to-face contact on the dance floor provided a counterpoint to the privatized consumption of films; the need to go to a drive-in to find people with whom to celebrate one's birthday betrayed the impossibility of creating a true community at the theatre; and, finally, going to church in the same place where one watched a B-movie the night before redefined the experience of both church- and movie-going.

Context: creating a 'cinema without walls'

It's difficult to know what to do with the many odd and competing discourses present in the post-war drive-in, which is why so many critics tend to discard the theatres as anomalous and absurd; but, in fact, if one studies these theatres in the context of a culture in transition, they make more sense. Although the first drive-in theatre was invented in 1933, the industry did not take root until the years just after World War II, when America underwent massive changes in spatial, social and temporal coordinates. The rise of the automobile and the concurrent explosion of highways cutting through the landscape broke down older spatial and temporal barriers; television both theatricalized domestic space and brought public entertainment into the home; and picture windows, glass doors, and other alterations in domestic architecture pointed to a blurring of the boundaries between public and private space. Drive-in theatres participated in these cultural transformations by bringing cars into the theatre space, replicating the private reception of television, and manipulating the tension between the private, interior space of the car and the public, outdoor space on the other side of the windshield.

All of these changes point to a revaluation of public and private parameters in the late 1940s and 1950s. Perhaps the best way to understand the post-war years is to consider that many Americans, soldier and civilian alike, had to re-orient themselves from being part of a communal war effort to settling back down to being private citizens. In other words, the period can be characterized by the overt preoccupation with privacy. Lynn Spigel has observed that middle-class families during the postwar period had 'a new stake in the ideology of privacy and property rights', which was expressed most profoundly in the massive migration to the suburbs. Spigel characterizes this departure as an expression of postwar isolationism and xenophobia, in which the home functioned as 'a kind of fall-out shelter from the

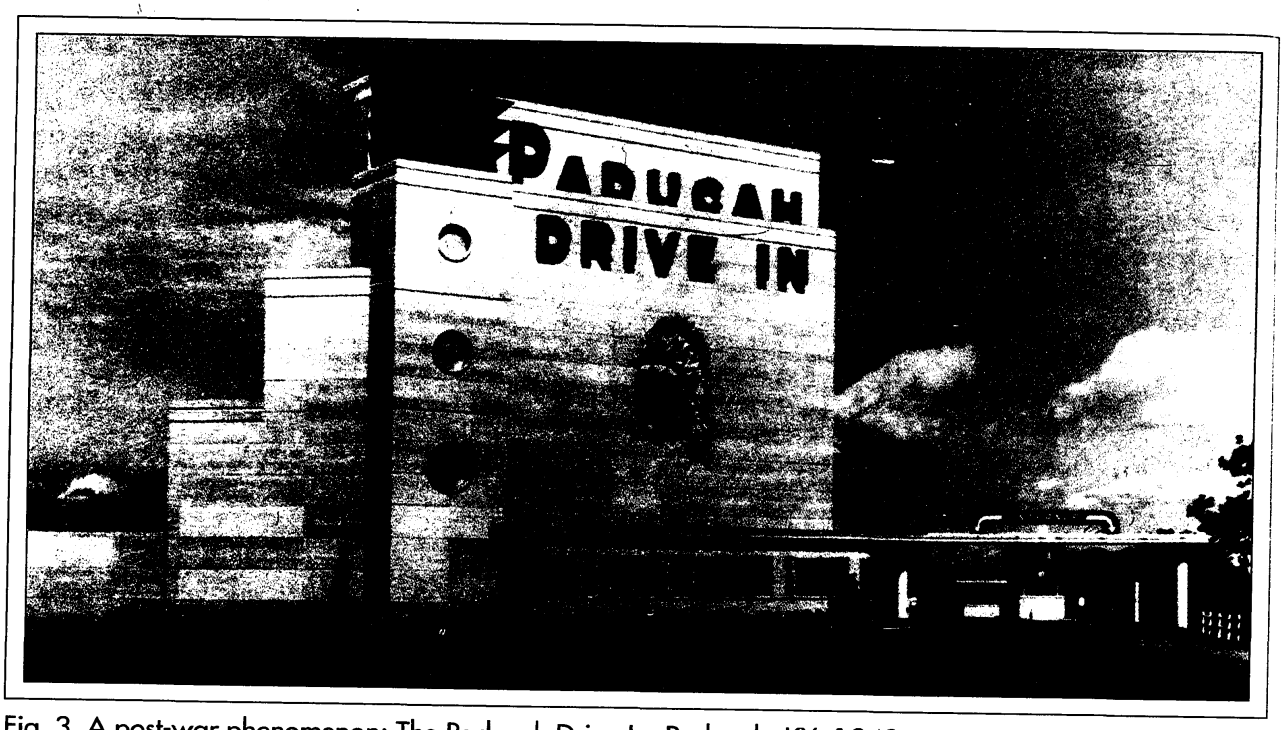

Fig. 3. A post-war phenomenon: The Paducah Drive-In, Paducah, KY, 1949. [Courtesy of the American Museum of the Moving Image.]

anxieties and uncertainties of public life'[24]. The 1949 Housing Act encouraged contractors to build single-family homes, and the GI Bill and low interest VA loans made it easier for families to buy a home in the suburbs. During this time, the Federal Housing Administration established red-lining practices which were ostensibly designed to stabilize property values, but which also prevented African-Americans from joining the suburban migration. Thus, as Spigel points out, 'in the postwar years, the white middle-class family, living in a suburban tract home, was a government-sanctioned ideal'[25]. As I will soon show, the ideology of suburban living was central to discussions of drive-in audiences at the time.

With the rise of the suburbs, domesticity became a primary preoccupation. The popular media encouraged women to stay at home on a full-time basis, and the home became an important site for leisure time activities for the whole family[26]. As Sydnie Greenbie recommended in his book *Leisure for Living*, the home should be 'a nook for personal living and intimate self-amusement, a kind of miniature clubhouse for a little family group'[27]. Families became preoccupied with new appliances and labour-saving devices, and Americans spent more time at home barbecuing, gardening, and doing home repairs[28]. Television played an important role in these cultural transformations by shifting spectator amusements from public theatres into the private sphere of the home.

The postwar retreat to the suburbs, however, did not prevent public contact; it did, however, help create a radically new form of publicity. During the period of migration to the suburbs, for example, community groups such as the PTA grew. Spigel describes the suburbanites as securing 'a position of meaning in the *public* sphere through their new-found social identities as *private* land owners'[29]. Even their position as private land owners was slightly ambiguous due to the pre-fabricated, mass-produced nature of their houses, making it difficult to tell one family's home from another. So, the private spheres were joined to one another by their similarity. And because these homes were not isolated, the suburbanites' privacy was enjoyed in the company of their neighbours. Television further offered people the opportunity to become linked from the private space of their homes – to an electronic community or network of spectators across the country. According to Daniel Boorstin, 'the normal way to enjoy a community experience was at home in your living room at your TV set'[30]. In other words,

elevision gave audiences a private way o participate in a community.

The growth of the suburbs, the via-ility of the detached, single family home, nd the development of the drive-in indus-y were all dependent on the rise of car ulture and with it the possibility of greater nobility. In 1945, 69,500 people ought new cars; in 1950, the number umped to 6.7 million; and by 1957, ver 7.9 million Americans bought new ars[31]. On the one hand, these cars were erceived to be part of one's property – s an extension of the home and its pri-ate space. As the drive-in industry de-cribed it, the car was one's 'domain on wheels'[32]. On the other hand, as the population became more mobile, Ameri-cans gained greater access to recreation outside the home. Family outings to public recreation areas, beaches, parks, etc. in-creased, and vacations to national parks nearly doubled[33]. Also, outdoor recre-ation industries, such as hunting, fishing, and boating surged. This meant that in the 1950s, the ideology of suburban home ownership and privacy often clashed with Americans' impulse to get out of the house and engage in outdoor entertainment.

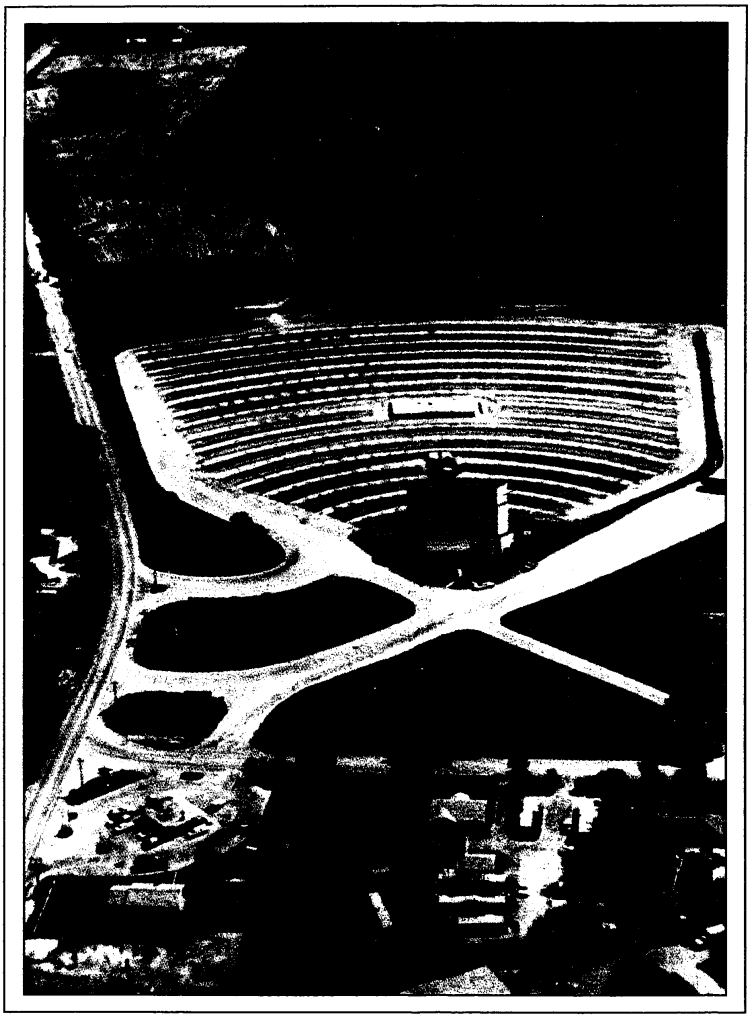

Fig. 4. Located on the borderline between suburban (bottom centre) and rural (top centre) communities, drive-ins drew audiences from both groups. [Author's collection.]

One important issue raised by the public/private tension in the expanding car culture was social control. In other words, while cars allowed greater personal mobility, they also brought previously isolated communities together and allowed others to flee from each other. In his book entitled *America and the Automobile*, Peter Ling discusses the tremendous class anxiety precipitated by the car. It broke down spatial barriers between the city and urban farm communities, which were considered 'ignorant, economically uncompetitive, [and] socially back-ward'. Ling describes middle-class motorists who were 'disgruntled at the inconvenience of sharing road space with the low-income motorist' while at the same time fearing that their own expensive car might fuel class hatred[34]. Social reformers, on the other hand, viewed the automobile as a means by which they could 'extend middle-class standards of hygiene and morality to lower-class, frequently immigrant, Americans' by dispersing them to 'detached single-family residences located further out from the city's core'[35]. While this impulse to better the conditions of the city appears to be altruistic, it did not always have a positive result. Cars could dispatch undesirable elements of the community to the outskirts of the city. And as later became the case, cars allowed the middle class to escape from the rabble of the city to the suburbs. So, the car functioned both to bring people into contact and to protect them from each other.

This rather long digression was necessary, I believe, in order to show that drive-ins were not an isolated or freakish phenomenon, but were part of larger cultural changes, including the blurring of the distinction between public and private experience.

Drive-in theatres participated in, reflected, and at times subverted this societal reorganization. Outdoor theatres, for example, tended to be built on the fringe of suburban developments and drew a portion of their audience from the suburbs. At the same time, the open-door policies and sociable atmosphere of most drive-ins stood in sharp contrast to the redlining and other xenophobic practices of suburban communities. But then again, like the PTA, this sociability was based on one's identity as a private home- or car-owner. And like the car itself, drive-ins could bring people together and keep them apart.

The 'forgotten audience'

The unique combination of attractions at drive-in theatres allowed theatre owners to expand their markets beyond that of the bourgeois picture palace and appeal to audiences that would not normally attend the cinema. Instead of providing one product for an audience conceived of as having uniform desires, drive-in theatres aggressively solicited a diverse audience with widely different interests. Also, by virtue of their location on the edges of towns, drive-ins drew an audience which cut across class and social lines, a mixture of people from rural, urban and suburban locations. This rather heterogeneous audience posed a significant challenge to standards of cultural consumption based on the model of the picture palace in the city's centre.

The great majority of journalistic articles I came across talk about drive-in theatres as special sites of mixing, where people encountered new populations:

> To the amazement of even the drive-in theatre owners, in came a type of patronage rarely seen at indoor theatres; the physically handicapped, invalids, convalescents, the aged, deaf people, expectant mothers, parents with infants and small children – whole families, dressed as they pleased in the privacy and comfort of their own domain on wheels. They are continuing to come in increasing numbers from rural, suburban, and city areas – a new clientele representing a long neglected but highly important segment of some 30,000,000 people of the 'Forgotten Audience ...'[36]

This and other articles describe drive-in audiences as a sort of side show where one could see strange aberrations in the human species. In general, drive-ins became sites in which the excitement and anxiety surrounding new social formations were played out.

'Negroes flock to the open air theatres', announced one *Variety* writer[37]. Because the private space of one's car already segregated audience members from one another, many drive-ins overlooked Jim Crow laws. Articles on the Southern drive-ins suggest that they were completely desegregated, meaning that the restaurants and amusement parks in the drive-in may have been the only places in certain areas where a black and white public could mix. At a time when segregation was still strictly enforced in many cinemas, particularly in the South[38], the drive-in theatre policy would have seemed quite radical. Whether or not African-American audiences 'flocked' there as a result is debatable; this rhetoric may well be a symptom of surprise at black and white audiences coming together for the first time; it may also have been part of the strategy to discredit drive-ins. Finally, although drive-ins were not considered to be as reputable as the downtown movie palaces, they were often superior to the theatres generally available to African-Americans at the time[39], so they may well have been attractive to these audience members.

Drive-in theatres also actively solicited obese people and people with disabilities, although, again, it is not clear to what extent this potential audience actually attended. Early advertisements for the Camden, New Jersey Drive-In, for example, showed a drawing of a rotund woman squeezing through a conventional theater aisle, disturbing patrons along the way. The caption reads: 'Even Kate Smith would have no trouble getting a seat in the world's first automobile movie theatre[,] where you see and hear talkies without leaving your car'[40]. Drive-in theatres were accessible to anyone who could get into a car. This was not true of conventional theatres, as one would have to park and use a wheel chair to get to the theatre door. The stairs, dark theatre aisles, and seats were rarely accessible. Drive-ins also offered an in-car speaker system with individual volume-control so that patrons with impaired hearing could turn up the sound without disturbing their neighbours. The ways in which

drive-in theatres accommodated people with disabilities was of particular interest to Americans after 1945, many of whom were disabled – or knew someone who was – as a result of the war.

Another 'new' audience the drive-in theatre attracted was housewives and their families. The two entertainment forms in direct competition with the drive-in, television and movie theatres, were in many ways unsuited to this constituency. Although television was convenient, it did not show current movies and was located in the same space in which the housewife worked all day. It therefore did not provide an escape. And although indoor movie theatres would have provided a social arena outside her experience of domestic isolation, most did not provide entertainment for both adults and children. Drive-in theatres, then, offered the perfect solution. Kids could go to the playground or sleep in the back seat while their parents enjoyed the film, and parents could bring even very young children without worrying about disturbing their neighbours.

Drive-in theatres also appealed to working-class families, primarily because they were more affordable and informal. Many articles placed special emphasis on the fact that men would not have to shower or change their clothes after a day of manual labour in order to go to the drive-in, and they could 'avoid a second struggle with the razor'[41]. Because of the private space of one's car, one could act as he or she would at home and overlook the rules of etiquette for most other public spaces. In this respect, drive-in spectatorship was very similar to that of television. Indeed, the private interior of one's car was not unlike the living room at home, where spectators could take off their shoes, put up their feet, and nod off to sleep in front of the screen.

Finally, the most infamous of the new audience was teenage couples. Nearly every popular article mentions them, but not one gives an adequate explanation as to why young lovers might be drawn to these theatres. Most articles assume that privacy of the car was the main incentive; however, if they had a car, there were countless other places couples could go which were much more private. Home may not have been an option, but a quiet country road certainly was an option – cheaper and much more private. If drive-in theatres were 'passion pits', they were also very well lit, and many had bouncers who patrolled the parking lots with flashlights to prevent any inappropriate behaviour[42]. On the other hand, exhibitionism had a certain appeal, and some couples enjoyed being seen and the danger of being caught. Drive-in theatres thus encouraged a form of sociable narcissism and gave a new twist to what Laura Mulvey calls the contradictory pleasures of cinema: scopophilia and narcissism. Whereas cinemas usually 'appropriate all motion and sound to themselves, allowing only the furtive, private rendezvous of lovers or of autoeroticism'[43], drive-ins allowed spectators to enact their arousal in the open[44].

The anxiety that spectators and theatre owners may have experienced upon seeing 'forgotten audiences' in public for the first time was reflected in their hyperbolic accounts of the audience in general: 'a familiar sight in many Drive-Ins is a car driven by an adult and crammed with happy children '... Fat persons and cripples, who find it inconvenient to attend indoor movies, flock to Drive-Ins'[45]. Such descriptions reveal an attempt to come to terms with the diverse population seen at the drive-in, coupled with the tendency to code this population as strange or other.

Drive-in theatres appealed to this diverse audience for very different reasons, some of which were contradictory. On one hand, the drive-in theatre offered the informal, private, segregated space of home. On the other hand, it offered an escape from home and the opportunity to interact with people in a social environment – while at the same time offering a certain protection from the effects of this interaction. So the experience of attending a drive-in combined watching television and attending an amusement park, and this mixing of public and private reception often had odd results. Since patrons by no means had to remain in their cars, unshaven men were seen standing in a concession-stand line, and children were often seen running around the theatre in their pajamas. It is this element of forbidden mixing which, I believe, led to the perception of drive-ins as 'passion pits', places of illicit contact.

As a site for testing relationships created by social changes and by the shifting distinctions between public and private, drive-in theatres became sites of intense battles to determine by whom and how their public would be controlled. Because the fiction of a homogeneous American audience was

Fig. 5. Privacy in public: a newspaper ad emphasizes privacy, comfort, and multiple attractions. Ad from *The McHenry Plaindealer* (23 September 1948).

eroding, there was much anxiety among cultural, moral and business leaders and the film industry itself over how to monitor private and potentially subversive reception of 'public' entertainment. Throughout their history, drive-in theatres occupied a liminal position in relation to the film industry as a whole. Despite their immense popularity, they were never able to overcome the perception that they were unsavoury, uncivilized theatres unworthy of claiming first-run status.

The battle for recognition

The combination of the drive-in's unique mode of spectatorship and its appeal to a highly diverse audience proved to be a very successful strategy at a time when attendance was dropping at conventional theatres. According to one survey, 4,000 indoor theatres closed between 1948 and 1958. Approximately 3,200 drive-ins opened and thrived during the same period[46]. Alarmed by the success of the drive-in, many conventional theatre owners made concerted efforts to discredit them. In Minneapolis, for example, Minnesota Entertainment Enterprises (MEE) provided financial and other support to residents' efforts to keep out drive-in theatres 'on the grounds that they create traffic hazards, cause juvenile delinquency and lower property valuations'[47]. It was later discovered that several members of the MEE themselves owned drive-in theatres, which significantly weakened their moral position against them and made it clear that they were merely trying to limit competitors. This was the only article I came across which admitted the financial motivation behind the efforts to discredit drive-ins. Most reports simply reiterated allegations of indecent behaviour.

Seemingly concerned by these negative reports, mainstream distributors carefully scrutinized drive-ins to determine if they met with Hollywood standards. They conducted elaborate studies of outdoor theatres before they even considered releasing films to them. These studies were conducted 'not only to check on the efficiency of the management of different theatres, but to show theatre officials how their own place looks to an *unbiased* paying customer'[48]. Of course, this 'unbiased' hypothetical spectator imposed certain normative restrictions. These studies, then, allowed distributors to rate drive-ins according to the standards of indoor picture palaces. Not surprisingly, one such study argued that 'the new drive-in theatres have created some questions in the minds of distributors and theatre operators who have been confronted with conflicting statements concerning the audiences of this new form of exhibition'. The study concluded that drive-in

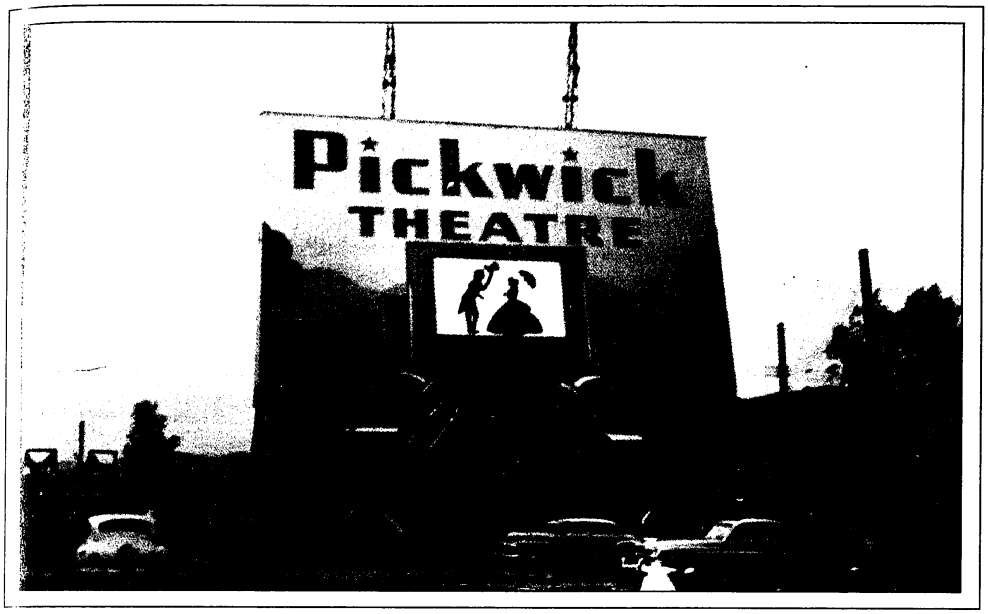

Fig. 6. Regulating relations between the sexes with a Dickensian respectability: the Pickwick Theater, Burbank, CA, 1948. [Photo by Malcolm Keele.]

theatres did not cater to the 'average' or conventional spectator. Rather, their audiences constituted an 'entirely new patronage'[49]. One would think that distributors would jump at the chance to rent their product to this new, rapidly expanding industry; however, many decided to forego short-term market interests in favour of traditional relationships with indoor theatres. This choice can be explained in part by the fact that despite the Paramount case, many studios owned theatres until about 1956. This meant that some distributors had a financial interest in selling only to their theatres. However, early on, drive-ins had a hard time getting first-run fare from anyone, so a further explanation is necessary. I believe that distributors were worried about the effect of showing their films – which were designed with a conventional audience in mind – in the unpredictable, distracting, and somewhat irreverent atmosphere of the drive-in.

Drive-in theatre owners worked very hard to combat their increasingly negative reputation and tried to convince distributors of their mainstream appeal. Many argued that 'nothing happens [in drive-ins] that doesn't go on in a balcony'[50]. Others tried to clean up their image more directly. An owner of a theatre chain in Memphis, for example, hired 'police patrons' or undercover officers to monitor couples' behaviour in cars. They followed guidelines to help them define indecent behaviour and warned patrons when they went too far. David Flexer, the owner, described the rules as follows: 'If a man puts his arm around a girl that's all right. But if she puts her arms around him, too, and they go into a clinch – well, that's out'[51]. Flexer thus attempted to lend this theatre an atmosphere of respectability by imposing sexual standards and monitoring, in particular, the sexual behaviour of women.

Drive-in theatres also tried to combat their reputation as 'passion pits' by arguing that the white, middle-class, nuclear family was the primary unit of spectatorship. Early information and education manuals designed for drive-in owners and patrons consistently showed very traditional family configurations in the cars. One manual, reproduced in the *Motion Picture Herald*, for example, showed several drawings of Mom, two Children, and Grandma crammed in the back seat with Dad enjoying a soda by himself in the front. Many drive-in ads focused on the family-oriented amenities such as laundry and shopping services and ads often featured a photograph of a whole family gathered around a bottle-warming table. Others overtly solicited housewives by offering laundry services. One ad in *The New York Times*, for example, reads, 'While mother is lost in a romantic Hollywood dream the laundry is tossed into an automatic machine. By the time the show is over the wash has been damp-dried and ready to take home'[52]. Such amenities were designed to make the local drive-in seem like an exten-

sion of the audience's domestic sphere, and the drive-in staff was groomed to seem part of the ideal family: friendly, courteous, and ready to help with the chores.

Also, drive-ins launched a campaign to promote the drive-in as a wholesome family activity. They suggested, for example, that drive-ins were healthy, outdoor recreation – despite the fact that audiences sat in their cars. Many articles also claimed that drive-ins were safer than conventional theatres, particularly for parents. There was no need to entrust the safety of one's children to baby-sitters. Also, during a polio epidemic in California, many children were quarantined from movie theatres. Drive-ins took the opportunity to promote themselves as safe and hygienic: '[parents] who fear to expose their children or themselves to local epidemics of flu, measles or whooping cough feel safe in the privacy of their own cars'[53]. Many drive-ins went so far as to make a spectacle of these family-spectators. The obligatory playground was always prominently placed directly under the screen. The idea was that parents could watch the film and monitor the children at the same time. Its location also meant that the rest of the audience was constantly reminded that children were present. By constructing the wholesome family as the predominant spectator and by actively luring such an audience, drive-in theatre owners sought to lend their theatres respectability. The emphasis on children, especially the beautiful baby contests, created a spectacle of innocence, youth, and old-fashioned family values. Such an exaggerated emphasis on wholesomeness, however, had little effect on distributors or city officials.

On 4 April, 1949, the Chicago City Council passed an ordinance banning drive-in theatres, arguing that 'the unregulated operation of such theatres would be detrimental to the best interests of the City'[54]. Nine months later, drive-in theatre entrepreneurs brought their case before Circuit Court Judge Harry Fisher. Representing the City, Attorney Mort Nathanson contended that such theatres invited immoral behaviour. The exchange that took place over the effect of drive-in theatres was reprinted in the *Motion Picture Herald*:

> *Mr. Nathanson*: It is a question of whether or not this is a lawful business.
>
> *Judge Fisher*: What is unlawful about it?
>
> *Mr. Nathanson*: Now there are features of a outdoor theatre that are different from an ordinary theatre. They are out in the country with the moon shining, in automobiles. Why, some of the things that happen there, Judge – it's terrible[55].

Nathanson does not describe immoral audience behaviour but, rather, argues that the theatre space itself is unlawful, that there is something perverse about a theatre which is at once outdoors, in the country, under the moon, in the private space of a car, and open to the public.

These legal battles echo similar battle cries made by moral reformers who believed the earliest cinemas were places of dangerous heterosocial mixing and illicit behaviour. In *Cheap Amusements* Kathy Peiss describes the amusement park and the cinema in turn-of-the-century New York City as places of contact between the sexes. Cinemas in particular were feared to be 'public spaces for undue familiarity between the sexes', where women were in danger of being drugged and sold into 'white slavery'[56]. Drive-in theatres were similarly labelled 'passion pits', showing indecent movies and encouraging sexual promiscuity.

Mainstream distributors for the most part accepted this view of the drive-in. In fact, they proved to be so reluctant to rent their films to drive-ins that a number of drive-in owners brought conspiracy suits against them – and won. In one such case, *Milgram, et al. v. Loew's, Inc., et al.*, theatre owners claimed that distributors were engaging in conspiracy by refusing to rent first-run films[57]. In arguing his case, David Milgram, owner of the Boulevard Drive-In, claimed he had been operating his theatre 'along lines consistent with the highest grade of moving picture entertainment'[58]. In their defence, the distributors argued that:

> ... the showing of a feature on first run at a drive-in would reduce the income derived from subsequent runs. They asserted that first run showings are, in a sense, showcases for subsequent runs, in that the first run showing at a downtown theatre gives a picture prestige which is important in 'establishing' it in the neighbourhood area[59].

This prestige was so important, in fact, that

distributors refused to rent first-run films even when theatre owners offered to pay extra for them. Behind the argument that drive-in theatres were sub-standard and would thus 'cheapen' the films shown in them was, I believe, a suspicion of the drive-in audience which did not conform to the 'ideal' spectator of most Hollywood films.

In the midst of these rhetorical and legal battles, several independent production companies and distributors emerged to fill in the market gap created by the crisis: American International Pictures (AIP), Crown Pictures, and others. AIP, in particular, was an independent, low-budget production company designed specifically to take advantage of the drive-in market. Created in 1954, AIP produced inexpensive double bills for what they viewed as the drive-in audience: teenagers. At a time when other companies were suffering from antitrust actions and decreased ticket sales due to television and other leisure activities, AIP thrived. It produced low-cost, hastily-made science-fiction, horror and melodrama films, and 'between 1954 and 1960, not one AIP film lost money'[60]. AIP saturated drive-in circuits with films particularly produced for them at a time when conventional distributors were reluctant, and thus helped perpetuate drive-ins' image as a disreputable medium suitable only for B-movies[61].

Because they often found it so difficult to rent first-run pictures, drive-in theatre owners also had to come up with creative ways of promoting their less than current and less than quality fare. For example, they often booked films which were specially suited to their form of exhibition. Outdoor films, such as westerns and beach or surfer movies were seen as particularly appropriate, for obvious reasons. Because the theatre was itself in the open air, it was thought that audiences would favour the same qualities in the diegetic space. They also tried to appeal to specific constituencies. For example, the Skyline was the first drive-in designed specifically for an all-black audience. Located in Compton, New Jersey, where segregation was not officially practiced, the Skyline featured 'a mixture of white and Negro bills and other entertainment angles aimed particularly at the coloured patron'[62]. But these methods of 'exploitation' or advertising were somewhat old-fashioned when compared with the generic appeal of conventional theatres. So these selling strategies, along with the unconventional movies they tried to sell, helped relegate drive-ins to the margins of film practice.

The malling of drive-in theatres

During the post-war years, the drive-in industry was able to survive its marginal position, and many theatres even profited from it. They were able to do so, in part, because the entire culture, including Hollywood, was in transition. No one knew precisely where film practice was headed, spectators bracketed many preconceived notions of what the cinema should be like, and the new practices that did emerge were not yet codified and therefore had latitude to develop. However, towards the end of the 1950s and early 1960s, it became increasingly clear that the film industry as a whole was moving away from deluxe theatres – both picture palaces and drive-ins – and towards the smaller and cheaper theatre in the mall.

Ironically, many drive-ins were quite directly supplanted by the new theatres. In 1972, one drive-in owner explained, 'Taxes are high, property values are out of reach and road patterns have attracted shopping-centre developers'[63]. Because drive-ins were built at the intersection of rural, urban and suburban communities, their property was the ideal location for shopping malls. Here malls could be accessible to the largest range of consumers. In addition, because drive-ins were designed as entertainment 'shopping centres', there was a pre-established clientele who might return to the same site and resume their shopping patterns when the drive-in was replaced by a mall. It is not surprising, then, that there were concerted efforts on the part of shopping mall owners to buy up the drive-in property, and drive-ins were replaced by shopping malls and parking lots: 'in Paramus, the Route 4 Drive-In may be purchased by the owners of the Garden State Plaza to create a larger parking lot for the proposed expansion of the shopping area'[64]. Thus the drive-in was relegated to its most literal function, that of the parking lot, and the transitional spectatorship of the drive-in was appropriated by an even more privatized form of consumption: the cleaner, pre-fabricated, and indoor malls.

It would be a mistake, however, to assume that drive-ins have completely disappeared. These theatres still appeal to a diverse audience that feels constrained by mainstream exhibition practices. This

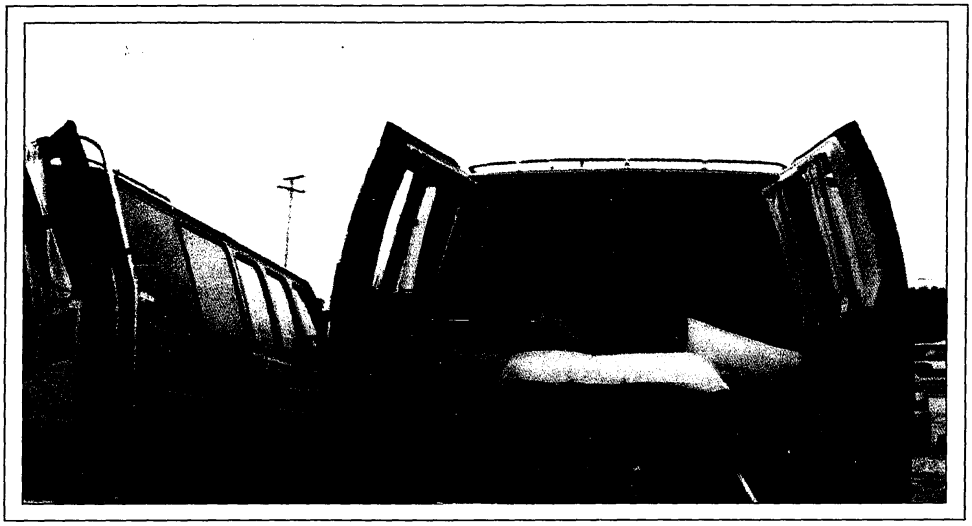

Fig. 7. The dinosaur lives on: children in a makeshift bed wait for the film to start at the Grayslake Outdoor Theater, Grayslake, IL., 1993. [Author's collection.]

past summer, five drive-in theatres showed films around Chicago, which has a poor climate for outdoor theatres. And according to a Department of Commerce survey, drive-in theatres constituted 26.9 per cent of the total number of US movie theatres as late as 1977[65]. Although their numbers have dwindled since then, there were approximately 1,000 theatres running during the 1987 census[66]. By 1994, this number had fallen to 837[67].

In addition to the theatres still operating, the home video and cable television industries have created a new market for what are commonly known as 'drive-in movies'. Joe Bob Briggs, author of the 'Joe Bob Goes to the Drive-In' column in *The Dallas Times Herald*, is now releasing videos of his favourite drive-in films. Even Blockbuster Video stores have a special sub-section of horror films under the category 'Drive-In Horror', which features the cheapest and goriest of the genre whether or not they were ever shown in drive-ins. Cable TV's Comedy Central has a drive-in movie show that shows excerpts from the bloodiest horror films. Also, the funniest of AIP movies are regularly shown on Mystery Science Theater 3000, a show in which characters interrupt the films with commentaries and stupid jokes. The films themselves are so ridiculous that they seem to demand this type of irreverent reception. In many ways, home video and television seem to me to be the proper place for drive-in movies, since outdoor theatres were among the first to exploit the trend towards private entertainment.

Drive-in theatres, then, are gradually being replaced by the very industry they attempted to exploit. In the early 1950s, when television and other privatized amusements were not yet affordable on a mass-level, the privacy at the drive-in was a novelty. Drive-ins allowed audiences to experience the new pastimes in a familiar, cheaper and more public context. They exploited a liminal moment in the history of entertainment and were designed in such a way as to incorporate both obsolete and emergent amusements. As time went on, privatized entertainment became more and more accessible and legitimate – until television, video and computer games became the norm and drive-ins were shoved even further toward the margins of exhibition practice.

This marginal position, however, should not discourage film scholars from studying drive-in theatres. On the contrary they must be examined further precisely because they offered an alternative to standard viewing practices. They provided a positive critique of and alternative to mainstream spectatorship and proved that not everyone was satisfied with classical film-going practices. Studying drive-in theatres and other liminal practices can serve to re-focus attention on to the interstices of film history. This will not only help us revise and expand the narratives we have constructed for cinema by adding fascinating material and crucial transitions; it will also allow us to reformulate the concept of spectatorship by adding practices and audiences long forgotten.*

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Notes

1. 'Drive-Ins Labeled Only' Licensed Petting Places', $1,000 Fee, Curfew Set', *Variety* 17 December 1947: 5.
2. Douglas Gomery, *Shared Pleasures: A History of Movie Presentation in the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1992) 93.
3. 'The Disappearing Drive-In', *Newsweek* 9 August 1982: 65.
4. The Paramount Case, an anti-trust suit brought against five major studios by independent exhibitors and producers, was settled in 1946 and prevented the studios from maintaining a monopoly on exhibition sites through price fixing, block booking, and blind bidding. By 1948, the 'Big Five' signed consent decrees, agreeing to separate their production and distribution activities from their theatre circuits. See Michael Conant, 'The Paramount Decrees Reconsidered', *The American Film Industry* ed. Tino Balio (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1985) 540–541.
5. Rodney Luther, 'Drive-In Theatres: Rags to Riches in Five Years', *Hollywood Quarterly* 5, No, 4 (Summer 1951) 406.
6. 'Drive-Ins are Showbusiness' – But That Ain't All!, *Motion Picture Herald*, Better Theaters Section 4 February 1950: 28–29.
7. For a more in-depth discussion of the variety format, see Miriam Hansen, *Babel and Babylon: Spectatorship in American Silent Film*, (Cambridge, Mass. & London: Harvard University Press, 1991) 29–30.
8. Tom Gunning, 'The Cinema of Attraction: Early Film, Its Spectator and the Avant-Garde', *Wide Angel* 8.3 & 4 (1986): 65.
9. Siegfied Kracauer, 'Cult of Distraction: On Berlin's Picture Palaces' (1926), trans. Thomas Y. Levin, *New German Critique* 40 (Winter 1987): 91–6; Walter Benjanmin, 'The Work of Art in the Age of Mechanical Reproduction' 1935–36 and 'On Some Motifs in Baudelaire" (1939), *Illuminations* trans. Harry Zohn (New York: Schocken, 1969).
10. Kerry Segrave, *Drive-In Theaters: A History from Their Inception in 1933* (Jefferson, North Carolina and London: McFarland & Co., 1992) 38–39.
11. Alexander Kluge, 'The Assault of the Present on the Rest of Time', *New German Critique* 49 ([1985] 1990): 15.
12. 'Church Services at Three Drive-Ins Builds Goodwill in Jacksonville', *Boxoffice* 18 July 1953: 23.
13. Segrave, 7.
14. Quoted in Segrave, 7.
15. Drive-in theatres thus sidetracked the genealogy of in-home entertainment from radio to television by re-introducing communal reception.
16. Roland Barthes, *Mythologies*, trans. Annete Laves (New York: Hill & Wang, 1972) 123. See also Margaret Morse, 'An Ontology of Everyday Distraction', *Logics of Television: Essays in Cultural Criticism*, ed. Patricia Mellencamp (Bloomington and Idianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990).
17. Jean Baudrillard, *The Ecstasy of Communication*, trans. Bernard & Caroline Schutze, ed. Sylvére Lotringer (New York: Semiotext(e), 1988), 13.
18. 'The Drivein Liein', *Newsweek* 8 July 1963: 78.
19. Raymond Fielding, 'Hale's Tours: Ultrarealism in the Pre-1910 Motion Picture', *Film Before Griffith*, ed. John L. Fell (Berkeley, Los Angeles & London: University of California Press, 1983) 127. See also Charles Musser, 'Exhibition Practices in the Early Nickelodeons', *The Emergence of Cinema: The American Screen to 1907* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1990) 428–433.; and Lauren Rabinovitz, 'Temptations of Pleasure: Nickelodeons, Amusement Parks, and the sites of Female Sexuality', *Camera Obscura* 23 (1990): 79–82.
20. Fielding, 122.
21. Peter Bogdanovich's 1968 film *Targets* is a notable exception.
22. Gomery, 92.
23. See Michel Foucault, 'Of Other Spaces', *Diacritics* 16.1 (1986): 22–27.
24. Lynn Spigel, 'Installing the Television Set: Popular Discourses on Television and Domestic Space, 1948–1955', *Camera Obscura* 16 (January 1988): 13,14.
25. Lynn Spigel, *Make Room for TV: Television and the Family Ideal in Postwar America* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1992) 33.
26. See Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1963).
27. Qtd. in Spigel, *Make Room for TV*, 34.
28. John Belton, *Widescreen Cinema* (Cambridge, Mass and London: Harvard University Press, 1992), 71–74.

29. Spigel, *Make Room for TV*, 101.
30. Boorstin, Daniel, *The Americans: The Democratic Experience* (New York: Vintage Books, 1973) 393.
31. Belton, 72.
32. Charles R. Underhill, Jr., 'The Trend in Drive-In Theaters', *Journal of the Society of Motion Picture and Television Engineers* 54 (February 1950): 162.
33. Belton, 74.
34. Peter J. Ling, *America and the Automobile: Technology, Reform and Social Change* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1990), 6.
35. Ling, 6–7.
36. Underhill, 162.
37. 'Ozoners' Big Negro Draw', *Variety* 3 August 1949: 4.
38. Mainstream cinemas were not desegregated until about 1965 (See Gomery 155–170).
39. 'The open air theaters ... are attractive deluxe affairs as compared to the second-rate flickeries generally available to them. This holds true particularly in Texas' ('Ozoners' Big Negro Draw', 4).
40. Segrave, 6.
41. Thomas M. Pryor, 'Movie Novelty Develops into Big Business', *New York Times* 4 September 1949.
42. A friend told me she preferred to go on dates at the drive-in because it placed an automatic limit on sex and therefore provided a sense of protection and safety.
43. W.J.T. Mitchell, 'The Violence of Public Art: *Do the Right Thing*', *Art and the Public Sphere*, ed. W.J.T. Mitchell (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 39.
44. It has been suggested to me that conventional theaters also offer the promise of the public display of sexual acts. Thus, the 'make out' scene at the back of the theatre has the faint trace of an orgy rather than that of a private rendezvous.
45. 'Stars', 117.
46. Cobbett Steinberg, *Reel Facts: the Movie Book of Records* (New York: Vintage Books, 1978) 361.
47. 'Fight Drive-Ins as Traffic and Juve Headaches, *Variety* 1 September 1948: 5.
48. Leo A. Handel, *Hollywood Looks at its Audience: A Report of Film Audience Research* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1950) 209 (emphasis added).
49. Handel, 210.
50. 'All This', 84.
51. Segrave, 41.
52. Pryor.
53. Cullman, 3.
54. *Journal of the Proceedings of the City Council of the City of Chicago*, 4 January 1949: 3670.
55. 'Chicago Court Rules City Cannot Bar Drive-Ins', *Motion Picture Herald*, 28 January 1950: 22.
56. Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of the Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986) 151.
57. Defendants in the case were: Paramount, R.K.O. Warner Bros., Twentieth Century-Fox, and Loew's referred to as the 'Big Five'. Columbia, Universal and United Artists were referred to as 'minor defendants'. *Milgram, et al. v. Loew's, Inc., et al.*, 192 F.2d 579 (argued 19 June 1951).
58. *Milgram, et al.*, 581.
59. *Milgram, et al., 582.*
60. Robert Stanley, *The Celluloid Empire: A History of the American Movie Industry* (New York: Hastings House, 1978): 243.
61. Even when an A-grade film was shown, it was often on its second or third run. Thus, in drive-in theatres, even Hollywood pictures took on an outdated or out-of-step quality.
62. Bill Brogdon, 'No Brakes on Drive-In Lures: Indoor Exhibs Plenty Worried', *Variety* 13 July 1949: 18.
63. Martin Gansberg, 'Drive-in Movies Go Dark as Costs Rise', *New York Times* 6 October 1974.
64. Gansberg.
65. Dennis Giles, 'The Outdoor Economy: A Study of the Contemporary Drive-In', *Journal of the University Film and Video Association* 35.2 (1983): 68.
66. Segrave, 202.
67. Brett Pauly, 'Drive up to the dinosaur', (L.A.) *Daily News*, 21 July 1994.