A HISTORICAL/CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE TV SERIES THE FUGITIVE

THESIS

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In many respects, the popular 1960's television series, The Fugitive perfectly captured the swelling disillusionment with authority, alienation, and discontent that soon encompassed American society.

This historical/critical study provides a broad overview of the economic, social, and political climate that surrounded the creation of The Fugitive.

The primary focus of this study is the analysis of five discursive topics (individualism, marriage, justice & authority, professionalism, science and technology) within selected episodes and to show how they relate to broader cultural debates which occurred at that time.

Finally, this study argues that The Fugitive is a part of a television adventure subgenre which we may classify as the contemporary "wanderer-hero" narrative and traces its evolution through selected television series from the last three decades.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The Sixties

Historian William L. O'Neill has argued that the postwar era came to an end sometime in the early Sixties. Along with the close of the era came the end of characteristic emphases on domesticity and cultural/political conservatism, an hysterical fear of subversion and the Communist menace, and a preoccupation with the moral effects of affluence upon American culture.[1] The exact reasons for these momentous changes in the Sixties are less clear.

One cause seems to be the election of John F. Kennedy as President. On the face of it there was little reason to expect much from his administration. As a member of both houses of Congress, his record was relatively undistinguished. In fact, both Kennedy and his opponent, Vice-President Richard M. Nixon were closely associated with the stale, unadventurous politics of the 1950s. Yet Norman Mailer, whose insightful essays in the 1950s frequently illuminated the decade's dark side, saw in Kennedy unimagined possibilities. In 1960 Mailer wrote an essay, "Superman Comes to the Supermarket," for the express purpose

of getting Kennedy elected. Recalling it later he wrote:

> I knew if he became President, it would be an existential event: he would touch depths in American life which were uncharted. . . . America's tortured psychotic search for security would be finally torn loose from the feverish ghosts of its old generals, its MacArthurs and Eisenhowers - ghosts which Nixon would cling to - and we as a nation would finally be loose again in the historic seas of a national psyche which was willy-nilly and at last, again, adventurous.[2]

As Mailer predicted, Kennedy became President and the existential event he predicted came to pass.

Just as his campaign promised, Kennedy did get the country moving again. It did, not however, always move in a desired direction. For instance, the Cold War escalated, and the nation endured a series of harrowing trials - from the Bay of Pigs to the Cuban Missile Crisis. Additionally, in the three years of his term, Kennedy raised defense spending by nearly fifty per cent.[3]

Although foreign affairs clearly dominated his administration, the youthfulness and energy of his staff helped to invigorate and galvanize many Americans toward a greater concern and empathy over domestic issues such as civil rights, urban decay, and poverty. The civil rights movement swelled rapidly, staging confrontations in Birmingham and elsewhere which culminated in the great march on Washington of 1963. Many joined the newly organized Peace Corps or its domestic counterpart VISTA. More were drawn into the fight to gain racial equality for black Americans and joined marches and picketed in the South.[4]

For many Americans, the civil rights movement, even if it did not seem to have much effect on their personal lives, influenced the way they saw their country. Taylor Branch, then in high school and later the author of a definitive biography of Martin Luther King, recalled, "What happened in Birmingham in 1963 - with Bull Connor and the fire hoses and the dogs - called everything I believed into question." King and other civil rights leaders led Branch, he said, to "look at the world from a moral perspective. It occurred to me that the most fundamental political questions were, in fact, moral questions." In college in 1964, "the people I met were already more interested in Vietnam, (but) the civil rights movement was why they cared about Vietnam."[5]

Journalist Micheal Barone points out that the economic boom of the 1960s enabled most Americans to remain largely optimistic about their own and the country's financial future. With this long-range optimism, many Americans were concerned less with achieving the desired end results such as prosperity than with the methods used in reaching those goals. Thus the positive economic environment of the decade provided a relatively stable, secure foundation for the wide-ranging social movements that encompassed the nation.[6]

Few were untouched by the liberating ferment of those years. The cool, detached, ironic social criticism of the fifties gave way to passionate tracts such as Michael Harrington's The Other America and Gunnar Myrdal's Challenge

to Affluence. Creative forces were unleashed in the arts. However, Kennedy's domestic policies were stymied and blocked by a stubborn Congress.

Not everyone shared the buoyant optimism and progressive zeal of this period. In the literary arena, just as the primary theme of postwar American literature was the rubric of alienation, in the early 1960s a new movement emerged which was obsessed with the "loss of self" and complete social disassociation from a totalitarian society.[7]

Likewise, one of the major literary preoccupations of the sixties was the theme of madness. Perhaps the writers best associated with this theme are the so-called "black humorists" - Joseph Heller, J.P. Donleavy, Bruce J. Friedman, Thomas Pynchon, and Terry Southern. In their works, these authors dealt with absurd and nihilistic situations; their style was cool, farcical, zany, and full of slapstick elements. In almost all narrative situations, the individual character is a kind of "human shuttlecock," batted back and forth by the inanities of large, impersonal institutions.[8]

In Heller's Catch 22 - one of the most popular novels of the 1960's - the protagonist cannot escape from the Air Force because by invoking a rule to show that he is mad, he proves he is really sane. And in Ken Kesey's One Flew over the Cuckoo's Nest, the protagonist fakes insanity to escape

a jail term but ends up being lobotomized, while a huge, schizoid Indian who has been a patient in the same hospital breaks out and "goes sane."[9]

In 1963, his third year in office, Kennedy began making progress in the passage of his domestic programs and the Cold War experienced a small thaw with the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty. This "new era" had hardly begun when President Kennedy was assassinated. The tremendous emotional burden of Kennedy's death made it impossible for most Americans to effectively weigh his presidency.

One of the chief themes that emerged in the flood of commentary following Kennedy's assassination was speculation about the dark undercurrents in American life, the unsuspected flaws in the national character that had led to his murder. Many sociologists found the answer in the nation's history of racial conflict, in the vigilante tradition, and in the widespread public acceptance of notions of individualism. Gunnar Myrdal wrote, "The vigilante tradition lives on. It has become a permanent part of the American heritage." Others were concerned that the violence of popular irrationality and extremism were a threat to the fragile structure of representative institutions.[10]

Conspiracy theories about Kennedy's murder began to spring up, even before the Warren Commission submitted its official report; these had the psychological function of

cushioning the shock, by providing a more intelligible explanation for the assassination than random violence. Instead of admitting that a single "isolated, unstable individual" can threaten the fragile structure of governmental authority, people took refuge in far-fetched fantasies of conspiracy.[11]

Kennedy's successor, Lyndon Baines Johnson used his dexterity as a legislative tactician to exploit to the fullest the grief and remorse following the assassination. Johnson pushed through many of Kennedy's social programs and in May of 1964, he launched his own conception - the "Great Society."[12]

The social policies of the "Great Society" would become nothing less than a "post-New Deal," with governmental programs affecting practically every facet of American life. These programs would create hundreds of new federal agencies and even inspired the organization of private consumer protection groups led by such reformer heroes as Ralph Nader.[13] Across the country this increased "bureaucratization" of society could be felt in all dimensions, from greater regulation of small businesses to the completion of the Capital Beltway in Washington, D.C.

The passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 proved to be a measure of too little, too late. It did not stop the wave of violence that would begin the Freedom Summer of 1964, which would soon be followed by

ghetto uprisings erupting in Los Angeles, Harlem, Newark, and Detroit. Thanks to the mass media, especially television, these were not just local events. As Theodore H. White noted, television, "with its insatiable appetite for live drama, found in the riots gorgeous spectacle." Many Americans responded, as they had to the television spectacle of Birmingham, by wondering how society had gone wrong.[14]

Citing traumatic events surrounding the issue of race relations in the United States, as Birmingham and Harlem, Barone believes that the year 1964 marked the beginning of a period of accelerated erosion of public confidence in government, business, labor unions, the press, and almost every institution in American society. Barone adds that this gradual undermining of American postwar confidence could be traced back to other previous events such as Sputnik in 1957 and Eisenhower's humiliating Paris Summit in 1960.[15]

Johnson's opponent in the Presidential election of 1964 was Republican Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona. In contrast to Johnson, Goldwater held little belief in existing institutions and favored a return to unrestrained capitalism. He blamed many of the mounting social problems and the daily loss of American individualism on an over-bloated federal bureaucracy. Although many Americans agreed with Goldwater to an extent, few wished to see the Darwinian aspects of nineteenth-century free enterprise restored.

Ultimately, it was Goldwater's extremism in foreign policy, such as suggesting the abolishment of the United Nations, that spelled victory for Johnson.[16] Despite Goldwater's resounding electoral defeat, his grass roots disaffection for big government and free enterprise ideals were prophetic warnings of the conservative movement to come in the 1970s.

Johnson's escalation of American involvement in Indochina following his election led to a type of social polarization across almost every segment of American society, centered on the realities of the Vietnam War. This polarization reached a climax in 1968, a year that saw not only a standing President refusing to seek re-election, two assassinations of prominent political and social leaders, riots during the Democratic convention in Chicago, and a respectable election showing by a third party, right-wing populist candidate from Alabama.

The Emergence of a Television Culture

Of the many profound changes that occurred in post-war America, the increasing centrality of television to most every facet of American life was among the most significant. The fifteen years between the end of World War II in 1945 to the election of John F. Kennedy saw the rapid integration of television into the American home and society. The number of television receivers manufactured for American households went from an annual output of over six thousand sets in 1946 to over five-and-a-half million sets in 1960.[17] More so

than with any other commercial product of the post-war era, an entire industry grew up around this technological device to support the expanding needs and desires of its users.

In many respects, television was the perfect medium for post-war America, both in fact and as metaphor. As with radio, television had great symbolic significance; it was watched mainly in homes, where families celebrated domestic "togetherness" through the act of staring in unison at the screen. At a time when most Americans were weary of world affairs, television carried little news or information programming. For many social critics, television was the product of a privatized, inward-looking people and became the ideal symbol of Eisenhower's America, or would have if the country had been as mediocre or conformist as the medium sometimes made it seem.[18]

From the Korean War to the Army-McCarthy hearings of 1954, television gained increasing influence within the political arena. The 1952 Eisenhower-Nixon campaign was the first to reach national office by the deliberate and successful use of television. Earlier that same year, Senator Richard M. Nixon saved both his political career and his place on the ticket with his televised "Checkers" speech.

However, to most Americans in the post-war era, television was perceived primarily as a medium to amuse and entertain. In an exhaustive survey completed in 1960,

researcher Gary A. Steiner revealed that the vast majority of American viewers did not rely on television as a source of information. Steiner wrote of the average viewer, "He would like TV to be informative and educational but certainly not at the expense of entertainment."[19]

In a follow-up survey undertaken in 1973, meant as a sequel to Steiner's study, Robert T. Bower noted that in the 1960s, many significant changes occurred in American viewers' attitudes towards television. According to Bower, the decade of the 1960s marked the consolidation of television's place in American life; by 1970, TV had penetrated 95% of all American households. In American society of the 1960s, there appeared to be few areas of culture and society that remained untouched by television.[20] From politics and mass consumption to entertainment, fashion and morality, television became the common carrier of consensus on national standards.

Television in the 1960s became the nation's primary source of information about the world. The introduction of new electronic equipment such as videotape and lightweight portable cameras expanded the capabilities of news coverage, while communication satellites such as Telstar internationalized the scope of American television. Although news and information programs still generated lower ratings than entertainment programs, the three network news departments increased the number of news-informational

programs produced and doubled the length of their nightly newscasts from fifteen to thirty minutes.[21]

In reporting such events as the struggle for civil rights, the Vietnam War and domestic protests against it, the expanding counter-culture and womens's rights movements, television gave flesh to many subjects that remained more abstract in other media. Although newspapers offered more in-depth coverage, television was best at personalizing and capturing the drama of daily events. Probably with more impact than any other medium, television framed events during the turbulent Sixties and offered them to a nation seeking to understand their meaning.[22]

Perhaps few events captured both the strengths and weaknesses of the medium than the Kennedy-Nixon debates of 1960. As a positive step, television had become what its pioneers had predicted, a national political forum, allowing millions of voters the opportunity to make crucial democratic decisions in the privacy of their own homes. But the debates, which were not really debates at all but glorified news conferences, did not offer viewers any profound comparison of ideas or prospective policies. Instead, the audience was confronted with the critical importance of glamour in modern politics, and implicitly was encouraged to assess each candidate's capacity to lead the nation based on how well he looked and performed on TV.

The other major event which witnessed the growing

maturity and relevance of the medium, was the live four-day coverage of the events following the assassination of President Kennedy on November 22, 1963. By presenting Kennedy's funeral and the murder of Lee Harvey Oswald "live," television news proved itself deserving of both serious attention and popular acclaim. For the first time, people across the nation began to appreciate the significance of television in American society. Even television's staunchiest critic, former FCC chairman Newton Minow marveled:

> Only through television could the whole country grasp the tragedy, and at the same time the strength of the democratic process that passed the administration from one president to another within two hours. Television's treatment was sensitive, mature, and dignified. We always hear that television is a young medium. If so, it grew up in a couple of days.[23]

As noted earlier, according to the Bower study, 1960s audiences increasingly recognized television's potential to carry substantial social, cultural, and political affect. In a decade that saw numerous protest demonstrations and various forms of student unrest on college campuses (primarily centered around the subject of America's involvement in the Vietnam War), many Americans began to question the basic foundations of their own institutions, including television itself.

The Fugitive

The Fugitive was one of the most popular dramatic series on American television during the 1960s. The final episode which aired on August 29, 1967, was seen by more people than any single episode of a regular series in the history of television up to that time, garnering a 72 per cent share of all TV viewers. The Fugitive held this record for 13 years, until the Dallas episode in which J.R.'s attacker was revealed.[24]

The premise of the series was deceptively simple. Dr. Richard Kimble (David Janssen) was unjustly accused, sentenced, and convicted of the murder of his wife. While being taken by Lieutenant Philip Gerard (Barry Morse) to prison to be executed, the train is derailed and Kimble escapes. For the next four highly-rated television seasons (from September 1963 to August 1967), Kimble is both pursued by Lt. Gerard as well as the pursuer of the one-armed man he believes murdered his wife. As is generally the case with successful network TV programs,[25] the series was followed by a rash of imitators it had inspired: The Loner and Run, Buddy, Run on CBS, Run for Your Life and Branded on NBC and A Man Called Shenandoah on ABC.[26]

Although The Fugitive has been highlighted in numerous published books and periodical articles, there has not been any published study detailing the historical and cultural context in which it was created. Nevertheless, several

writers have aptly acknowledged both the social and cultural significance of the series. Harry Castleman and Walter J. Padrazik write that, "In many ways, The Fugitive was a program ahead of its time, presenting the intense struggle of a truly alienated American, years before the phrase became popular."[27]

Despite the fact that the TV series shares many of the socially-conscious themes and ambiguities of the so-called "professional" dramas (The Defenders, Dr. Kildare, Mr. Novak) of the period, the differences lie primarily in the program's own unique perspective. Unlike the lead characters of these dramas, Richard Kimble was a man existing without any special vocational status within a given community. He was a convicted murderer on the lam from a society whose very laws dictated his inevitable destruction.

American television has always been the domain of highly individualistic protagonists (Maverick, Palladin) who operated on the margins of traditional society, but who freely chose their specific lifestyles, and who could one day (one imagines) assimilate back into the social structure. Kimble was not only a social outcast, he could never really relax, and return to normal society. In fact, Kimble is television's first true "victim-hero," an innocent, hunted man who systematically had more in common

with each episode's estranged characters than its assorted villains or authority figures.

In this respect, the series' "victimized" perspective allowed it to explore the dark side of the America psyche in such topic areas as alienation, justice, guilt, authority, and individualism. In a time of increased bureaucratization in practically every facet of American life and the almost daily exposure of social injustices (Civil Rights Movement, poverty), The Fugitive perhaps more than any other TV series reflected the overwhelming pressures placed upon the individual by society.

Notes on Methodology

The precedent for studying television programs in their cultural and historical contexts, suggesting the ways in which popular TV programs can be said to be indicative of the values, opinions, assumptions, and apparent problems of society, is a relatively recent undertaking within the academic community.

Most journalistic writings about television from the 1950s saw television as a social problem, a potential danger to morals, to ethics, to behavior, to politics, and to religion. As TV scholar Horace Newcomb notes in his 1986 essay tracing the evolution of American television criticism, most journalists in the early days of television programming "felt it their duty to guard the public by serving primarily as consumer advocates, demonstrating the

ways in which we might protect ourselves from television."[28] Although this type of criticism was positive in that it often sought to praise worthy programs and performances, too often it assumed that anything that television invented and popularized was invariably wrong for the audience. A few writers, though, like Jack Gould, Gilbert Seldes, and Robert Lewis Shayan spoke out eloquently in defense of the notion of paying serious critical attention to television as an important social and aesthetic force.[29]

For the most part, the academic world of the 1950s confined their studies of television within the arena of social psychology, primarily focusing on the effects and behaviors caused by television. In other academic disciplines, as David Thorburn explains, most of the academics in the 1950s watched television in their closets, fearful of the disdain of their literary colleagues and to avoid any further scrutiny from the political witch-hunters of the McCarthy era.[30]

One of the events that brought a degree of legitimacy and respectability to the analysis of television was the 1964 TV publication of Understanding Media by Marshall McLuhan. McLuhan became sort of a guru of mass culture, lecturing about how the powers of mass media had nullified all the old intellectual and aesthetic standards. Despite the often contradictory nature of his rhetoric, he did

greatly influence and enhance the study of popular culture.[31]

By the late sixties, several significant shifts began to occur in the areas of literary and film criticism that had a direct effect on the development of television criticism. The call for relevance in the sixties brought about an aim to see how literature and film related to social and cultural experience, not merely to explore their status as aesthetic objects. The respectability of studying television as popular culture was enhanced through the works of American studies scholars and literary critics such as John Cawelti at the University of Chicago.[32]

Despite the arrival of new essays concerning television, still missing was an analytical description of basic program types, as well as discussions of their relation to one another and the historical forms to which they evolved. Newcomb helped fill the gap with the 1974 publication, TV: The Most Popular Art which provided a book-length literary study of television formulas such as situation-comedies, westerns, and doctor-lawyer shows. His book also includes a chapter titled, "Adventure Shows: Loners, Fugitives, and Explorers," which includes a discussion of The Fugitive.[33]

Within the past decade, there has been a growing academic awareness and interest in studying television as a cultural/ historical document. Historian Paula S. Fass

addressed this issue in one of her early articles: "...because of (television's) integral role in our unconscious lives, it is all the more critical that television analysis be done by historians, now and in the future. It is time that television became a historical source, a critical document of our culture, and a prime-time endeavor."[34]

At the same time that American academicians began to seriously study television, centers for the study of contemporary culture were established in Britain following the publication by British scholars Raymond Williams and Stuart Hall of works using an approach to popular culture analysis that blended several strands of critical and social theory - an approach which came to be called British Cultural Studies. As John Fiske notes, the discipline of British Cultural Studies is not so much a single critical approach as it is an attempt to work out relationships among a number of separate approaches - ideological analysis, semiotics, psychoanalysis, feminist criticism, and ethnographic anthropology. The cultural studies approach is essentially Marxist in the traditions developed by Louis Althusser and Antonio Gramsci.[35]

Central to British Cultural Studies is the concept of hegemony. Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci used the term "hegemony" to explain the complex ways in which the dominant class maintains control over society. Hegemony describes

the general predominance of particular class, political, and ideological interests. Social and cultural conflict is expressed as a struggle for hegemony, a struggle over which ideas will be "naturalized" and recognized as the prevailing natural common-sense view.[36]

However, hegemony is limited in that it does not guarantee the permanent position of a dominant social bloc. Rather it represents the struggle of such a bloc to articulate a variety of social and ideological practices within a "structure-in-dominance" in response to perceived shifts in mainstream values and attitudes, so as to achieve that complex unity of effects.[37]

Another significant argument within cultural studies is that television programs do not contain single meanings but are relatively open texts, capable of being read in different ways by different people. Stuart Hall's landmark essay, "Decoding and Encoding" defined three categories of "negotiation" between the viewer and the innate dominant ideology within the text. However, since the publication of this essay, these categories have been superseded by the notion that each viewer brings to a reading his or her own social experiences and in doing so, formulates his or her own relatively individualized readings of a particular TV program.[38]

Yet another key concept in cultural studies is discourse, which is defined as a socially located way of

making sense of a significant area of social experience. For instance, a television text is, therefore, a discourse (or a number of discourses) and the reader's consciousness is similarly made up of a number of discourses through he or she makes sense of social experience.[39]

Additionally, the British Cultural Studies used the notion of hegemony to emphasize that cultural effects can only be evaluated in determinate historical conditions. Therefore, one of the primary ways to provide a cultural analysis of a television text is to examine both the text and its readings in the historical conjuncture of its occurrence. Consequently, one can then construct arguments how specific discourses within the text connect to broader cultural struggles which occurred in society at that time.[40] Also prior to analyzing this historical conjuncture, a close examination should be conducted of the popular press and other mass media, in order to determine the range of cultural debates which corresponded with the program's initial broadcast.

The primary purpose of this study is to use this methodology to connect inherent discourses contained in episodes of The Fugitive with significant cultural struggles which took place in early 1960s American society. In order to accomplish this goal, the research will initially be directed at providing a broad overview of the social, cultural, economic, and political environment prior to and

ending with the final original broadcast of the series. In general, this research will cover the period from the early fifties to August 1967.

The procedures of this study will involve both historical and critical research. Prior to the writing of this study, for several months, I viewed multiple episodes of The Fugitive and read numerous articles in the popular press from the period of the early 1960s. Afterwards, I was able to determine specific and repeated social discourses within the series. Using specific examples from selected episodes as the primary site of analysis, the study will be organized as follows:

Chapter two, "The TV Industry and The Fugitive," examines the historical shift within the institutional TV industry away from the early anthology drama series to episodic dramatic programming. Also this chapter will highlight the ABC-TV network's long association with several major Hollywood film studios and the evolution of its programming philosophy along with the creation of the TV series, The Fugitive. Lastly, this chapter will briefly trace three TV programming trends in the early sixties and their close association with the creation of The Fugitive.

Chapter three, "The Discursive Fugitive," analyzes five discourses within selected episodes of The Fugitive and shows how they are related to broader cultural debates which occurred in 1960's American society.

Chapter four, "The Fugitive and Beyond," argues that The Fugitive is a part of a TV adventure subgenre which we may classify as that of the contemporary "wanderer-hero," and briefly traces its evolution through selected TV series from the last three decades. Finally, since this study is not critically exhaustive in regard to the program, other possible topic areas will be suggested for future research.

One additional note: in this study, every effort was made to view as many episodes from the series for possible analysis. But with over one-hundred and fifty episodes currently being recirculated on cable television channels, its inevitable that some episodes were not viewed. Nevertheless, my viewings constituted a majority of the Fugitive series and therefore, encompasses much of the discursive range of the TV series.

Finally, it's vitally important to remember that despite the extensive viewings of the episodes and readings of articles in the popular media from the time period, this thesis can best be described as a study of the Sixties from an individual perspective of the Nineties. Also, although I have isolated specific social discourses of the time period, they are topics primarily defined through the popular press and mass media. These discourses do not necessarily represent the diverse range of social concerns of the many cultural groups that comprised American society in the 1960s.

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CHAPTER II

THE TV INDUSTRY AND THE FUGITIVE

The Great Shift

In his book Fifties Television, historian William Boddy marks the late 1950s as the period of greatest instability and change in prime-time programming in American television history. He also notes that several historical studies support the complaints of contemporary television critics, at the time, about the declining program diversity among the three major networks.[1]

The growing homogeneity across the three network program schedules reflected the shift from live anthology drama to filmed, episodic series in the late 1950s. In essence, the dramatic anthology series presented a different play with a new cast each week. Although some of these series had a unifying theme, such as the news-oriented Armstrong Circle Theater, most simply presented thematically and narratively unrelated dramas drawn from a variety of sources (original scripts, short stories, theater adaptations). Among the more popular of these theater-style series were Philco Television Playhouse, Goodyear TV Playhouse, Studio One, Kraft Television Theatre, and Playhouse 90. These series and others attracted an enormous

quantity of submissions from many younger writers including Paddy Chayefsky, Gore Vidal, Reginald Rose, as well as numerous directors and actors on their way up.[2]

In contrast, the episodic series had one or more continuing characters, but not a continuing story. An episode in a typical episodic series is complete within itself and always a variation of a specific series formula. The genre permits participation from innumerable writers and directors. There is no specific chronology to the episodes, so episodes can be repeated in any order. The early episodic series were primarily action-adventure and situation comedy formats filmed in Hollywood.

The shift away from live anthology drama began as early as 1954, when after two successful telefilm series, I Love Lucy and Dragnet, came a flood of thirty-minute telefilms modeled on these two programs. ABC embraced the new programming most emphatically, canceling all of its prestige drama shows in the 1955-56 season in favor of new Hollywood telefilm series. ABC did not act alone, however; the proportion of prime-time programming produced live on all three networks declined from 50 per cent in 1955 to 31 per cent the following year. The number of live dramatic programs on all networks declined from fourteen in 1955-56, to seven in 1957-58, and to only one by 1959-60. Moreover, not only did the telefilm series dominate the airwaves but so did specific program types. In the 1957-58 season, four

of the top five programs were Westerns, and in 1958-1959, the number of Westerns hit a high of 31 in a single season and constituted over a quarter of the total network prime-time hours.[3]

These programming changes caused a tremendous dispute between members of the television industry and many of its critics, a debate that lasted over the course of many TV seasons. One of the central issues that dominated these debates was the shift from the dramatic anthology programs to continuing character, episodic series.

One of the primary reasons for the decline of the dramatic anthology programs was the shift away from single sponsorship to multiple sponsorships of TV programs. Throughout the 1950s, the networks noted a parallel movement away from large corporate advertisers (Ford, RCA, Goodyear) toward makers of low-cost consumer goods. By the end of the late 1950s, the networks noted that corporate image advertising on television was down sharply. One of the motivations for the networks encouragement of multiple sponsorship was a desire to avoid the volatile swings of recession-sensitive durable goods manufacturers (such as auto-makers) who often sponsored entire programs, in favor of a less volatile combination of marketers of low-priced consumer goods.[4]

This shift in the logistics of sponsorship altered the relation of the sponsor to television programming. The

small-ticket consumer goods manufacturers like Procter and Gamble and General Foods became less interested in corporate image advertising than in individual product advertising. Also, they tended to advertise on programs with maximum popular appeal and to make program purchase decisions almost completely on the basis of established ratings histories. This advertising approach effectively handicapped anthology and live programs in favor of formulaic program styles.[5]

Additionally, this shift in television advertising from single to multiple sponsorship had important implications for program producers and networks, and for the nature of prime-time entertainment. Connected to both the move to Hollywood telefilm programming and the changes in television advertising were efforts by the networks to assert program control in the medium. As important to the networks as dominating program procurement was their desire to control the television schedule. The chief obstacle to network control of the schedule was the sponsor "time franchise," the control of a specific scheduling slot by a single advertiser. In the early years of television, the networks encouraged sponsors and agencies to enter the still unprofitable medium by offering "newcomers" the rights to portions of the network programming schedule. But by the early 1950s, networks were attempting to wrestle schedule control away from advertisers and to abolish time franchise. The three networks expressed concern over the effects of a

single weak program on the overall network programming schedule. With prime-time advertising sold out on all three networks, the networks maintained a "white-knuckled grip" on programming control and showed a growing tendency to discard any program that didn't meet the network's ratings expectations. Many of the top dramatic anthology programs under "time franchise" suffered due to the network's demand to control their entire program schedule.[6]

According to Barnouw, 1954 marked a year in which the climate for TV writers and directors shifted, as sponsors and networks grew more cautious and censorship pressures increased.[7] Due to the nature of the dramatic anthology series, they were usually "live," and like theater they usually were compact plays with indoor settings which tended to favor psychological over physical confrontations. These dramas often dealt with problematic subjects (alcoholism, death, loneliness) with larger social implications and often produced angry letters from viewers. Many sponsors expressed anxiety over receiving a few "negative" letters, not wanting to offend a potential consumer.[8]

By the late 1950s, advertising agencies, sponsors, and networks had grown more sensitive to controversial material appearing on prime-time programs. Additionally, new commercial pressures brought intrusive sponsor involvement in dramatic programs; such harassment inevitably doomed the anthology series. Several advertising agencies admitted

they had one or more persons reading scripts on each show. The FCC reported that most agencies read scripts, had an on-set producer, and screened rushes on behalf of their clients. A widely publicized 1959 Playhouse 90 incident underscored the level of this type of scrutiny. Before its initial broadcast, an advertising executive ordered CBS to remove the word "gas" from a Playhouse 90 drama about the Nuremburg war crime trials since the program was sponsored by the American Gas Association.[9]

In effect, sponsors had an aversion to controversial, thought-provoking and occasionally downbeat material, and in turn, this shaped the production of more formulaic programs such as the episodic telefilm series. This de facto censorship also brought about an exodus of creative talent from the medium and fostered a new cynicism about the status of working in television.

Sponsor control extended beyond censorship practices and into program content control. New program sponsors, particularly domestic small-product manufacturers, preferred light entertainment over intense drama and especially favored the action-adventure telefilm series. Eventually, the advent of the episodic series led to more network and sponsor control since after the initial development of a series, the writer's and director's role was to stay within the guidelines of established characters and storylines.[10]

In the mid-1950s, a major component of new sponsorship and programming strategies was an increased reliance on audience ratings. The shift away from single sponsorship to participating sponsorship in the late 1950s, signalled changes in television advertising strategies. Networks grew increasingly intolerant of low-rated single-sponsored vehicles for specialized audiences and eagerly embraced the advertising model of "formula buying" based on program ratings. The importance of ratings for large sponsors such as Procter and Gamble led to a concentration on regularly scheduled, continuing series programming. The advent of Arbitron, an instantaneous rating service providing minute by minute ratings from seven cities, and Nielsen's subsequent announcement of its own instant rating service only encouraged a more volatile, ratings-conscious program philosophy at the networks.[11]

Another factor for the movement to telefilm episodic series was that by the late 1950s, commercial television had evolved into an international marketing phenomenon. In country after country, viewers began seeing programs that had already completed their run in the United States. Barnouw notes that the episodic action-adventure series proved to be the "most transplantable" of the TV program formats. The emphasis on action over dialogue and its basic "good vs. evil" storylines were easily translated into a wide variety of cultures. In terms of exporting TV

entertainment, the action-adventure episodic series epitomized this expanding global market.[12]

J. Fred MacDonald has argued that the quiz show scandals of the late 1950s marked a turning point in TV history. During the course of the scandal, the networks acted as "victims" and used the scandals as a call for greater network control over program content. The quiz shows themselves were one of the last prime-time bastions of single-sponsorship programming. These programs were attractive to sponsors because they were frequently high-rated while being relatively inexpensive to produce, requiring no writers, professional actors or multiple sets. Following the scandal, most of the single-sponsored quiz shows were relegated to slots in the network's daytime program schedules.[13]

Within this ratings-sensitive atmosphere, episodic telefilm programming flourished on all three networks. By 1959, most of the regularly-scheduled, large-scale dramatic anthology series had completely disappeared from the network airwaves. Although a few limited dramatic anthology specials still made appearances, episodic telefilm programming settled into becoming the mainstay of network programming.

ABC-TV Network and the Creation of The Fugitive

Perhaps more than its other two major competitors (NBC & CBS), the American Broadcasting Company initially broke

the deadlock between the largest film studios and the television networks. From its outset, ABC formed a long and close association with the Hollywood film studios. In 1953, United Paramount Theatres (UPT), a motion picture theater chain, took control of the struggling third-place network. Despite having a home office being in New York City, UPT President Leonard Goldenson had established numerous contacts in the movie industry. He personally knew Samuel Goldwyn, Darryl Zanuck, David Selznick, and Jack L. Warner.[14]

Entering network television, UPT prepared for a grand assault on both coasts - East and West. With great publicity, the suddenly cash-rich ABC signed several popular performers, some to host live variety programs from New York. At the same time, Goldenson and Robert Kintner, ABC president, in search of program production, began making serious overtures to the major motion picture studios. Initially, only the small Hal Roach Company would deal with the network.[15]

During the early 1950s, Goldenson and Kintner visited a motion picture industry torn over what to do about its chief entertainment competitor, television. United Artists, Columbia Pictures and some smaller studios had produced programs for the newest mass medium from virtually the beginning of its regular telecasts. Other, larger film studios, including Paramount, had invested in alternative

telecasting systems such as theatrical television and pay television systems in hopes that these technologies would provide them more control over their products than network TV arrangements.[16]

In its early business deals with the film industry, ABC fostered a managerial philosophy different from those of the other television networks. ABC's early technical and regulatory inability to deliver audiences comparable to CBS's and NBC's caused most TV advertisers to ignore the network. In one humiliating episode, ABC lost the critically praised U.S. Steel Hour to CBS when it found itself unable to gain clearance from some of its affiliates. As a result, ABC developed a new approach of dealing directly with the major studios and then giving advertisers no choice but to buy time from the third network. In securing its own well-produced Hollywood programs, ABC would help the studios defray production costs and, in return, the studio turned over to the network the task of selling the program to advertisers.[17]

One of the first Hollywood producers to form a long association with the network was Walt Disney. Although Disney had previously produced two successful specials for CBS, both that network and NBC had been unable to reach a long-term deal due to Disney's high compensation charges ($2 million for 26 one-hour programs) and its demand for co-investment in a new type of amusement park, scheduled for

construction in Orange County, California. However, ABC agreed to buy stock in the corporation formed to build and operate the park, and the network received a seven-year contract from Disney to produce entertainment programs.[18]

With so much at stake, ABC took great time and care in selecting a proper time slot for Disneyland, its newest program entry. The individual selected to do the research was Oliver Treyz, the young, energetic network head of Research and Sales Development. After performing a demographic profile of ABC's top competitors, Treyz found that the top programs at CBS and NBC, built mainly around stars that came out of radio, appealed mostly to older audiences. Effectively using this information, the more youth-oriented Disneyland was positioned one-half hour earlier against CBS's most popular live variety program, Arthur Godfrey and His Friends. In this time slot, Disneyland was a genuine success. ABC continued to target younger viewers and their parents with the release of a second Disney program, The Mickey Mouse Club.[19]

Goldenson next pursued an even greater programming source, Warner Bros. In the early 1950s, studio head Jack L. Warner had been one of the most vocal proponents of the film industry's "boycott" against television. He had banned TV sets from the lot and forbade them from appearing in any Warner Bros. films.[20]

But by the mid-1950s, there was less cause for antagonism, as the film industry had begun to recover from the worst effects of the loss of the great mass audiences to television. The studios, in response to rising production costs and then to TV's cuts into audience demand, produced fewer films. Warners along with other major studios ended the production of cheap "B" pictures for double bills. In what came to be known as the "blockbuster strategy," the film industry began investing heavily in feature films with high production values that obstensibly would draw Americans away from their home television screens.[21]

As Warners made fewer feature films and shot more on location, the company found itself with under-utilized production facilities. Assembling TV programs would justify keeping the company's vast lots. Goldenson made it clear to Warners that he did not want the studio to produce films that would compete with Warners' own theatrical releases, but rather expected "B" movie-style TV programs, shot cheaply and with unknown players. The old "B" movies had been highly formulaic in both style and content, and tended to be within familiar action-adventure genres (western, gangster, private detective). In the final agreement, Warners specified that the TV series would also be used to promote Warner Bros. feature films.[22]

In Sept. 1955, ABC first telecast Warner Bros. Presents, consisting of three alternating series based on

popular Warners theatrical releases; King's Row, Casablanca, and Cheyenne. Due to their lack of appeal to younger viewers, Warners eventually dropped the first two entries, but kept Cheyenne, starring the young and unknown "B" movie star Clint Walker. From the outset, TV westerns of the early Fifties, were believed to be simple moral tales of evil vanquished by a lone hero which appealed primarily to young, male viewers. However, the casting of a younger male lead in Cheyenne, encouraged some female viewers to watch the program (as little effort was made to hide Walker's muscled physique). In this program and the other westerns it began to churn out, Warner Bros. increasingly revealed imaginative narrative variations and characterizations within the genre. One of the programs that proved to appeal mostly to adult viewers was the humor-laced, mildly cynical anti-western Maverick.[23]

Warner Bros. also launched a private detective series, 77 Sunset Strip, for the fall 1957 season. 77 Sunset Strip set off another programming trend. Following Warner Bros. tried and true program formula, the series featured young and handsome Los Angeles detectives invariably working in glamourous settings. As with Warners westerns, the lead's physical attractiveness was meant to appeal to younger female viewers. 77 Sunset Strip proved to be a huge hit; soon Warners produced other series modeled closely on the series with settings in New Orleans, Honolulu, and Miami.[24]

By mid-1959, over 23 different TV programs were in production at the Warners studio. It is estimated that at least one-third of all of ABC's evening program schedule was produced by Warners. ABC's action-adventure series gave it a distinct advantage in competing against the other networks, such as CBS with its impressive but costly roster of established performers like Jack Benny and Jackie Gleason. The ABC action-adventure series did not need an expensive star to be a success, rather the series itself could be the star. In time, ABC, with its "B" movie styled system and its use of unknown actors, slowly created its own star system with performers like Clint Walker and James Garner.[25]

Although advertisers continued to discriminate against the network, primarily due to affiliate access difficulties, ABC experienced in 1960 its best year in terms of program ratings and overall profitability. But during the 1961-62 TV season, the network's ratings began to decline, probably due in part to the glut of action-adventure programming on all three network program schedules. Moreover, following Minow's "Vast Wasteland" speech before network broadcasters, the regulatory climate drastically changed in Washington as government officials began announcing their disaffection with action-adventure programs.

In the summer of 1961 and January of 1962 came the probe of the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile

Delinquency, commonly called the Dodd hearings after its colorful chairman, Thomas Dodd. One of the committee's prime areas of investigation was the supposed interconnection between televised violence and juvenile criminal behavior. Of the programs targeted by the committee for excessive violence, many were ABC prime-time series, including The Untouchables, Cheyenne, and an episode from the dramatic anthology series, Bus Stop.[26]

In the Bus Stop episode entitled, "A Lion Walks Among Us," the pop singer Fabian was cast as an amoral psychotic killer. Despite sponsorship withdrawal from the program, ABC President Oliver Treyz refused to allow the NAB code committee to prescreen the episode before its broadcast. While appearing before the Dodd committee, Treyz steadfastly held his ground in making programming decisions without any prior interference.[27]

But before an FCC network programming inquiry hearing that same month, Treyz admitted he had been guilty of poor judgment. If he had the Bus Stop decision to make over again, Treyz said, he would not have broadcast the program.[28]

Within a matter of weeks, Oliver Treyz was relieved of his duties at ABC. Though his position at the network was precarious before his testimony, it was his ungraceful handling of the Washington incident that lead to his dismissal. In summing up the possible reasons for the Treyz

firing, N.Y. Times critic Jack Gould states that, "What now appears to have happened is that ABC did not see the end of its own chosen string. Action-dramas proliferated and all grew alike. Mr. Treyz's mishap may have been not changing with the times."[29]

During the post-FCC hearings period, all the TV networks took great care in planning their future programming. At each network, in-house network censors played a more vital role in deciding which programs reached the airwaves.

At ABC, Goldenson named Tom Moore the new president of the network. The choice of this unassuming, southern businessman to head the third network was in stark contrast to the hyper-aggressive, flamboyant style of Oliver Treyz.

ABC programs such as The Untouchables, criticized at the FCC hearings because of its violent content, underwent major changes for the 1962-63 season. In each new episode, dialogue was substituted for action whenever possible. Only motivated violence was permitted. "There will be less violence in the series," the Untouchables producer promised.[30]

When the 1962-63 TV season finally aired comedy shows stole the limelight from westerns and action-adventure series. Seven of the top ten programs were comedies, with The Beverly Hillbillies, a surprise ratings blockbuster, as number one. The lackluster performance of the hour-long

action series was blamed on the need to appease Washington. According to an article in Variety, "Producers do feel strongly that the networks have gone overboard in their ban on violence; that when it's not permitted even though a situation requires it, it limits them in story-telling."[31]

In essence, action series were stripped of the elements that appealed to their viewers, and as a result, they suffered in the ratings. Viewers tuned out as Eliot Ness of The Untouchables began engaging in more conversations than gunfights.

Upon the confirmation of his new position in April of 1963, ABC President Moore declared that one of the network's past problems was its lack of program development and that for the next TV season, the network had spent nearly $3 million in that area. Also, he promised that about 60 per cent of the evening schedule would consist of new series.[32]

In search of new programming, Goldenson approached many of his previously successful producers, including Roy Huggins, producer of the highly-rated Maverick. Prior to their meeting, Huggins admits that he had in mind the type of series idea that he loved, but practically everyone else hated with a passion. Huggins wanted to develop a hero character, with all the freedom of movement this character has in a Western, in a contemporary environment. His motivation for a rootless character was that the man had been falsely accused of a capital offense and in exhausting

all possible legal recourse, he had no other choice but to continue running from place to place in search of the real murderer.[33]

At the meeting, as Huggins explained his series concept, he noted that everyone, including Tom Moore, looked extremely skeptical. One of those present, Julius Barnathan, an ABC executive vice-president, called the concept "the most un-American idea, I've ever heard...it's a slap in the face of American justice every week." Huggins defended his concept, mentioning that with all the federal, state, and local courts in the country, some of these courts do make mistakes. Broaching another question about how the audience would know the accused man is innocent of the crime, Huggins proposed that an omniscient narrator would state this at the start of every episode. Finally, after hearing each ensuing argument, Goldenson granted his approval to the new series. Due to his enrollment in graduate school, Huggins refused to produce the new series but agreed to serve as creative consultant to the new series, entitled The Fugitive.[34]

Huggins, producer of Maverick and later The Rockford Files, created one of TV's first anti-heroes, Bret Maverick (James Garner) a con-artist/gambler who does not act like the archetypal western hero. In fact, when someone approaches Maverick to ask for help, he usually tells them how to find the sheriff and then avoids them after that.

Invariably, despite his best efforts to keep from becoming involved, he does solve the dilemma facing the person or the town.[35]

In The Rockford Files, Huggins once again created another anti-hero, Jim Rockford (James Garner again), is an ex-con turned private detective, imprisoned for a crime he did not commit but eventually exonerated when new evidence turned up. Rockford had a penchant for taking cases that were officially closed, those that the police were sure had been solved. His propensity for turning up new information that would overturn an established verdict made him an unwanted pest to the police department. Similar to Maverick, Rockford led a highly-individualistic, free-wheeling lifestyle and worked outside of the ordinary constraints of society.[36]

Huggins has often stated that a TV producer needs to first know and understand the conventions of a particular TV genre, especially in order to break the rules as he effectively does in both Maverick and The Rockford Files.[37] For instance, in Maverick, Huggins often used the series to parody other TV westerns such as Gunsmoke and Bonanza. In the episode that parodied Bonanza, Bart Maverick encounters the ranching baron, Joe Wheelwright owner of the Subrosa Ranch, who was trying to marry off his three idiot sons.[38] Thus, one of the key elements of any Huggins series is a distinct touch of humor blended with the drama.

In The Fugitive, it is Huggins knowledge and subversion of the conventions of the standard TV police drama that gives the series its unique twist. The show's hero/protagonist is not just a lovable con-artist or an ex-convict but is actually a convicted murderer. Although unjustly accused and convicted, in the eyes of the law he is guilty. Richard Kimble is doggedly-pursued by (the series' villain?) Lt. Gerard, an obsessed police detective, who rigidly follows the law and tracks down criminals with an almost evangelical zeal. The detective is a familiar character type in the police drama, probably best exemplified by the dispassionate, professional Joe Friday of the popular TV series, Dragnet. In contrast to this highly moralistic series, The Fugitive creates an ambiguous world, where the ordinary labels of hero and villain, good and evil are not easily applied.

One influential source for Huggins' Fugitive concept probably was the renewed public interest in the highly-publicized 1954 wife-murder trial which convicted the wealthy Cleveland osteopath, Dr. Samuel Sheppard. In his 1961 book, The Sheppard Murder Case, Paul Holmes, a newspaper journalist who covered the original trial, presented the first full-scale reconstruction of the case. This carefully documented book examined the wave of public hysteria whipped up against Dr. Sam (as he became known to millions of headline readers) the press, and the result was

that Sheppard was convicted and sentenced to prison for a crime he almost certainly did not commit. Fred J. Cook, a former crime reporter, called Holmes's book "a serious social document that raises important questions...about the role of an irresponsible press, about the responsibility of prosecuting officials and courts for protecting the rights of defendants instead of promoting private prestige."[39]

In 1964, as a result of a federal court decision, Dr. Sheppard was released on a 10,000 dollar bond, with the 1954 verdict overturned due to a prejudiced jury. After examining the court case, the federal judge declared the Sheppard murder trial "a mockery of justice" and chastised the press for serving as "the accuser, judge, and jury" in the case.[40]

Similarities abound between the Sheppard and Kimble murder cases. For instance, each case involved a prominent, midwestern physician in a well-publicized trial, accused and convicted of murdering his wife. Both men claimed they saw an unusual looking suspect (unseen by anyone else) at the murder scene - Sheppard's "bushy-haired intruder" and Kimble's "one-armed man." And both men were convicted on rather broad leaps of logic brought to the jury by the prosecutor. Since Sheppard was the only person proven to be at the murder scene and he had lied earlier about a lengthy affair with a beautiful lab technician, it was implied that he was capable of murder. Likewise, in Kimble's case,

evidence of several noisy marital arguments overheard by neighbors provided the jury with the motivation needed to convict him.[41]

Finally, both cases pointed out serious injustices within the American legal system. In the 1954 murder trial, Dr. Sheppard was the victim of a rash, unruly press, unfair court proceedings, and a prejudiced jury. Although Kimble received a fair trial, he was still an innocent man convicted and sentenced for a crime he did not commit.

Another likely source for the Fugitive concept is Victor Hugo's nineteenth-century novel, Les Miserables. As with the TV series, the novel features the story of a criminal (Valjean) on the lam from an inflexible and fanatical policemen (Javert). One of the chief differences between them is that while Valjean is a petty criminal convicted of stealing a loaf of bread, Kimble has been convicted of the capital crime of murder.

Similarly, both the novel and the TV series use their police-chase storylines as a pretext for contemporary social commentary. Hugo illustrates in Les Miserables how far the ideals of justice (in nineteenth-century France) have been removed from reality and the cruelty of the penal system. In turn, The Fugitive confronts numerous topics, such as the concept of justice in modern society in 1960s America.

The Fugitive was the first TV series produced by Q.M. (Quinn Martin) Productions. Before producing the series,

Quinn Martin served as Executive Producer on the highly-rated police drama The Untouchables, produced by Desilu Productions. Following the success of The Fugitive, Martin became one of television's most prolific and successful producers, overseeing a wide range of hour-long dramatic programs such as The F.B.I, The Streets of San Francisco, Twelve O'Clock High, Cannon, and Barnaby Jones.

Horace Newcomb, in The Producer's Medium, provides a brief portrait of Quinn Martin as a TV producer drawn primarily from personal interviews. Martin's programs are noted for their clear and distinctive stylistic traits, usually noticed by viewers in such obvious features as the multiple - "act" structure and the inevitable "epilogue" common to many Q.M. productions.[42]

In his role as producer, Martin says that he strongly controls the creative content of all his shows. This control extends not only to approving each story idea but also involves working to create a consistent point of view in terms of story, visual style, and casting for each series. Once these elements are firmly established, he then grants considerable freedom to his creative staff.[43]

However, there are many imminent dangers in overstating the significance of the role of a TV producer in the creation of a TV series. Due to the nature of television production as an inherently collaborative process, requiring the intensive labor and creativity of sometimes dozens of

production personnel, the notion of any definable individual "authorship" in connection with a program is an extremely problematic one.

Nevertheless, it is clear through a close analysis of many of Quinn Martin's programs that they not only share certain stylistic traits but also thematic content. Newcomb notes that many of Martin's works, especially The F.B.I. and The Untouchables, have received harsh criticism as being prime examples of television's tacit support of political and social repression, due largely to the stalwart defense on these shows of the status quo and a support of right-wing ideals. Martin has previously admitted in past interviews to his own idealization of American authority structures such as the F.B.I. and of authority figures such as policemen and federal agents.[44]

Despite the definable political assumptions that can be found in some of his programs, Newcomb contends that the central element in any Q.M. production is not ideology but emotion. Emotion is defined as a collection of motivations, characterizations, and the universality of human responses from people in extreme situations. Each Q.M. show strives to create believable characters from all facets of the political spectrum, characters that elicit a wide range of emotions, from victimization, frustration, and even anger at the system. One of the most recognizable emotions present within his programs is empathy. Even in his more

traditional crime-dramas such as The F.B.I., the stories are focused more on an understanding of the criminal and his psychological motivations rather than on the hard-working federal agents.[45]

Undoubtedly, the Q. M. show with the greatest sense of "humanity" is The Fugitive, where the system itself is questioned. Newcomb regards the show as Martin's central achievement. Throughout the course of the series, Lt. Gerard, as a confirmed believer in and enforcer of the justice system, repeatedly runs smack into Richard Kimble's indelible humanity. Every week as Kimble is pursued by the indefatigable machinery of the legal system, the series brings an ironic twist to the ideal that American justice is blind to all who come before her.[46]

In 1962 Quinn Martin, who had been a film editor at Universal when David Janssen was a contract player there, asked the actor to star in a TV series Martin was planning to produce. The result, as conceived by Roy Huggins and developed by Quinn Martin, was The Fugitive.[47]

Janssen's early screen acting career included playing minor roles that he has characterized as "the leading man's best friend's best friend." In 1957 Janssen was signed by Dick Powell's Four Star Films, Inc. to create for television the title role of Richard Diamond, Private Detective, a character who had appeared earlier in books and radio. David Thorburn notes that this late-fifties private

detective series was hardly distinguishable from the other action-drama entries at the time. But in his next series, The Fugitive, Janssen cast as Dr. Richard Kimble began "to develop a whole range of facial gestures and vocal inflections that had a distinctive impact on the small screen." Also, despite the strong thematic content of the series, one of the show's chief distinctions is Janssen's performance, which moved even the most action-oriented plots towards scenes of intimacy and emotional nuance.[48]

Thorburn adds that the choice of Janssen, an actor with a rather unflamboyant physical presence and a limited vocal range, was perfectly suited for the role of a hero of modest dimensions, an ordinary man able to lose himself in crowds and able to speak and move inconspicuously. In contrast, the imposing physical authority of most film stars would have been an impediment to the role. In lieu of sheer physical size or energy, Janssen brings a psychological subtlety demanded by the role, along with creating a sense of character through his almost minute physical and vocal gestures. Janssen repeatedly invested Kimble with an undeniable level of vulnerability.[49]

It is important to stress that Janssen's memorable performance as Kimble is just one of the many elements which made The Fugitive one of the most popular and successful TV programs of the sixties. The program's story writers provided innumerable variations on the series basic themes

of justice, guilt, and alienation. For instance, in the episode, "The End is but the Beginning" (1/12/65), after an accident leaves the appearance that Kimble is dead, the story focuses on the psychological depths of Gerard's undying obsession to capture Kimble. Finally, each episode's direction, acting, photography, and editing contributed to maintaining a consistent stylistic tone throughout the series.

60's Programming Trends and The Fugitive

The New Drama Anthologies

In the fall 1959 TV season, CBS's Playhouse 90, one of the last of the large-scale dramatic anthology series, was reduced to an every-other-week feature and eventually became a floating special. The demise of Playhouse 90 signalled an end to the regularly scheduled, drama anthologies that had dominated the early days of television's Golden Age. Even Rod Serling, one of the leading writers of the era, seemed to have written off TV drama showcases as a lost cause, devoting his efforts instead to a new half-hour filmed series that premiered on CBS that fall, The Twilight Zone. Serling explained his transition:

> I'm tired of fighting the frustrated fights, copping pleas, fighting for points...in any case, the half-hour form is a fact of life, and as long as we have to live with it, we might as well try and do something meaningful with it.[50]

Serling acted as executive producer, host, and frequent writer for Twilight Zone, a suspense anthology series.

Similar to Alfred Hitchcock Presents, Serling's series featured stories with a definite twist and with surprise endings. Though Twilight Zone never received high ratings, it continued for five seasons (expanding to one hour for one), maintaining Serling's high standards throughout its entire run.

In many respects, the success of such programs as The Twilight Zone and Alfred Hitchcock Presents proved that several features of the drama anthologies could be effectively transplanted into a weekly episodic format. Anthologies such as Playhouse 90 had demanded that viewers accept a whole new world every week, without offering any identifiable continuing characters to provide a link from episode to episode. Even if the programs dealt with a topical subject, many viewers felt it was not worth the effort to get reacquainted with a new group of people and settings every week. Instead they turned increasingly to continuing episodic series with familiar, recurring central characters, or at most, anthology series with well-known hosts such as Alfred Hitchcock and Rod Serling who supplied a kind of conceptual glue. Audiences came to recognize Hitchcock and Serling as "brand names" for particular styles of offbeat storytelling.[51]

However, not every attempt to add an element of continuity to a drama anthology series proved successful. In the ABC drama series, Bus Stop, the stories revolved

around people passing through a diner in Sunrise, a small town in Colorado. The show's continuing characters included the diner owner, a waitress, the local sheriff, and the District Attorney. Roy Huggins, the producer of Bus Stop, frankly admitted that the series was basically an anthology that merely pretended to be a series. He has explained that the show's premise of using continuing characters who were not clearly central to each story meant that ultimately the program was "limited as an anthology and didn't have the quality of a series."[52]

Perhaps the best early efforts of blending the dramatic anthology series with episodic formats were two CBS series, Route 66 and The Defenders. Route 66, premiering in the fall of 1960, featured two young men, Buzz (George Maharis) and Todd (Martin Milner), who set out on U.S. Highway 66 "in search of America" and to find some direction for their lives. While these clean-cut drifters cruised across the country, they were frequently drawn into the lives of people they met. The show's wide open format provided an excellent opportunity to introduce an assortment of offbeat character studies in scenic geographic locations.[53]

The legal drama of The Defenders came directly from a story presented on the drama anthology series, Studio One. The original two-part story, written by Reginald Rose and Herb Brodkin was about a father and son legal team that had to overcome intrafamily disagreements along with judicial

obstacles in the course of its cases. Following the success of Perry Mason, Rose and Brodkin teamed up again to present the story as a self-contained lawyer series.[54]

In the series, the team tied together their high calibre writing, production, and guest stars with a strong pair of central characters - E.G. Marshall as the father/trial lawyer and Robert Reed as his son. Within the conventions of the courtroom drama, they presented tight character studies as well as the aspects of the public debates over controversial topics. Nevertheless, despite The Defenders dramatic qualities, it still appeared to most of the public as just another good lawyer show and CBS slotted it following Perry Mason. The series treatment of sometimes inflammatory issues was carefully and unsensationally incorporated in each week's cases. Throughout all the topical discussions, the show still maintained the basics of good drama, with strong characters and insightful scripts.[55]

Following in the tradition of these series, The Fugitive became one of the most popular programs to successfully combine elements from both the anthology and episodic formats. The show's premise that Dr. Richard Kimble must stay one step ahead of his pursuers while in pursuit of the "one-armed man" led to a host of new settings and places every week. Additionally, Kimble's need to sustain himself through various odd jobs (truckdriver,

bartender, farm laborer, chauffeur), presented him with the opportunity of meeting new people throughout almost every socio-economic stratum of American society. In most of the episodes, Kimble enters a community and quickly befriends a person who, like Kimble, is alienated in some way from a group or society in general. Kimble helps this person confront their fears or overcome personal problems, and the show presents a framework for intense character studies within the episodic format of a weekly chase drama. Some of the well-known guest stars who interacted with Kimble include Charles Bronson, Bruce Dern, Angie Dickinson, Robert Duvall, Ron Howard, Mickey Rooney, Kurt Russell, Telly Savalas, and Jack Weston.

Besides Kimble, the series presents a set of recurring characters such as Lt. Gerard, Fred Johnson (the one-armed man), Kimble's sister and brother-in-law, and his trial attorney. These characters not only gave the series a serialized sense of "its own continuous history" but also kept the show's central story in a state of constant progression. Beyond the program's many character explorations, several episodes concentrated exclusively on Lt. Gerard's pursuit of Kimble and/or Kimble's pursuit of the elusive one-armed man.

New Frontier Dramas

During the 1961-62 TV season, despite some critical disappointments over programming, a few well-regarded shows

did appear in the fall line-up. The success of The Defenders, Dr. Kildare, and Ben Casey that fall started a trend of series that television historian Mary Ann Watson has termed New Frontier character dramas. They were programs based on "liberal social themes in which the protagonists were professionals in service to society." This new breed of TV hero had numerous disputes involving occupational ethics and felt a disillusionment with existing cultural values. Watson elaborates that a strong sentiment for change was shared by the young lead characters in the New Frontier Dramas as they set out to form a better, fairer America one week at a time.[56]

By the end of the Kennedy years, this group of character dramas would grow to include The Nurses; Channing, a series set on a college campus; the psychiatric dramas The Breaking Point and The Eleventh Hour; East Side/West Side, dealing with the cases of a New York social worker; and Mr. Novak, a series about a rookie high school teacher.[57]Watson attributes the emergence of this type of programming not only to changing public tastes but to the government-induced incentive, following in the wake of Minow's "Vast Wasteland" speech and F.C.C. programming investigations, for networks to support the production of more socially reflective drama. Mr. Novak, for instance, was billed as NBC's "noble attempt to do more intelligent programming."[58]

The Fugitive shares many of the characteristics of the so-called New Frontier character dramas. For instance, the drama's inherent disillusionment with conventional values and wisdom is apparent in several episodes. In the episode, "The Witch" (9/24/63), Kimble battles small town provincialism to help a young female schoolteacher tarnished by gossip retain her teaching post. Also, just as Kimble's past as a convicted murderer keeps invading his present existence, many of the characters he meets are constantly haunted or punished by their own past.

Unlike dramatic series in which the heroes inevitably settled their troubles through violence, the problems of the New Frontier character dramas were not always resolved. Poverty, prejudice, drug addiction, capital punishment and other issues did not always lend themselves to tidy resolutions. The short-term problems might get resolved but the larger societal conditions usually remained at the end of the story.

This was also characteristic of The Fugitive; despite Kimble's valiant attempts to help the show's troubled victims, he was not always successful in preventing their demise. For instance, in the episode "This'll Kill You" (1/18/66), despite Kimble's diligent efforts to save Mickey Rooney from a mob hit, Rooney gets killed in the end.

Another characteristic of these new character dramas was a marked increase of black actors cast as competent

working professionals rather than victims of circumstance or of their own ineptitude. Beginning in 1963, many series featured blacks as running characters, for instance, Cicely Tyson as Jane Foster, the office secretary in East Side/West Side, Ossie Davis as the district attorney in The Defenders, and Vince Howard as Mr. Butler, the history teacher in Mr. Novak. Also during the 1963 season many of these dramas introduced stories in which blacks were the victims of white bigotry.[59]

Throughout The Fugitive's run, the program cast prominent black actors in professional roles, including Ossie Davis as a police detective, Ivan Dixon as a neuropsychiatrist, and Percy Rodriquez as a deputy sheriff. The Fugitive episode "Decision in the Ring" (10/22/63), is listed as an example of the 1963-64 "Civil Rights TV season" by Watson. In the episode, Kimble takes the job of a "cut man" for a black boxer, but his medical knowledge arouses suspicion. Kimble convinces the boxer, a medical school drop-out, to give up his life-threatening boxing career in order to pursue being one of the few black physicians. The show also features a party in which blacks and whites mix socially. Even if the series never did directly confront the issue of racial equality, the show's central theme of social injustice reflected many of the same concerns addressed by the Civil Rights Movement.

Although The Fugitive shares several characteristics with other New Frontier dramas, the series also shows some marked differences. Perhaps the most obvious is that while these dramas are about young striving professionals, Kimble is a fallen professional turned criminal-on-the-run. While the New Frontier characters work within the system for change, Kimble is not only outside the system, he's been condemned to death by it.

Moreover, while the series reveals the flaws in the system through Kimble's unjustified conviction, it offers no workable solutions for changing the process. In fact, beyond Kimble's hope of finding the one-armed man and overturning his conviction, the show offers a rather bleak, despairing outlook. Ultimately, The Fugitive presents the dark, almost totalitarian side of social institutions during this period of liberal social reform.

The New Adventure Series

The 1960s were ushered in by the optimism of John F. Kennedy's New Frontier. A mood of youthful exuberance, expansionism, and, however briefly, compassion swept the nation. The combination of the candidate's personal attributes (good looks, wit and charm) that made up the Kennedy image had an oddly liberating effect on the country.[60]

Hal Himmelstein, in Television Myth and the American Mind, writes that as the frontier (TV westerns) and urban-

frontier (TV police & detective programs) cycles began to wain in the early 1960s, a new public symbol emerged - "the journey." According to Himmelstein, this romantic motif came to dominate television melodramas in the 1960s. Two parallel developments in American culture fostered this new preoccupation: the development of the suburbs with their inherent dependence on the automobile and the superhighways, and America's reassertion of its technological leadership through its massive space exploration program.[61]

Unlike the traditional Western wanderer-hero who was both mythically and historically locked in time, the new adventurer in TV melodramas is contemporary or "one of us." This new adventurer did not inherit the rigidly defined as preserver of the social order; rather his mission was simply to search for new experiences.[62]

Horace Newcomb, in TV: The Most Popular Art, suggests that beyond the accepted TV dramatic genres such as the western, detective, medical, and legal dramas, there is yet another type most effectively defined as an "adventure show." While he acknowledges that these other TV formulas also contain action sequences usually involving danger to the hero, the idea of adventure is never central to their internal structure and is subordinate to other characteristics, such as continuing characters and events.[63]

According to Newcomb, the defining characteristic of the adventure series is movement. The typical adventure show begins when the central characters arrive on the scene; it ends when the action is finished, and all the characters leave. While movement is not limited to the adventure dramas alone, it is primarily a function of individual character motivation rather than social role. For instance, in the TV western, the hero may enter a new town or join with a cattle drive but he always acts within the role of the cowboy. Thus in other TV genres, the generic formula dictates the specific role for the cowboy, detective, lawyer, or doctor. Adventure characters, though, often act through an ambiguous shroud of their own internal motivations.[64] In The Fugitive, Kimble is frequently torn between his socially imposed role as a fugitive and his own sense of social responsibility to help people in need.

Another characteristic of the adventure series is that any given episode is not restricted to a certain type of dramatic encounter. For instance, one episode may resemble a spy story while the next week's episode may closely resemble the structure of a western. For example, in one Fugitive episode that parallels a medical drama, Kimble must deliver a new-born baby without the proper facilities and while under extreme physical conditions (an impending forest fire). In another episode, the central conflict between a father and his daughter has a close connection with the TV

family melodrama. While Newcomb stresses that the adventure series is extremely flexible in story content, it cannot be easily placed into any given genre. In essence, the TV adventure formula provides a link with other TV formulas and in turn is enriched through them.[65]

On the Road (1955), Jack Kerouac describes a part of a generation that sought more personal freedom and refused to accept the status-quo values of middle-class America. These so-called "beatniks" set out along the same pathways of their ancestors, to rediscover America. They set out on a search to find beauty and to appreciate the vast complexities that form this country. They are haunted, frustrated, excited individuals who find adventure in their wanderings, in the search itself. They have no defined destination beyond the vague notion of "experience." Their motivations are the antithesis of the middle-class drive for stability; they want only change and new sensations.[66]

Route 66, one of the earliest examples of the TV adventure series, presented a greatly sanitized version of Kerouac's beatniks. As opposed to the bearded, unkempt appearance of the beatniks, Todd and Buzz (the show's two loners) are neat, clean-cut youths with short hair. These two young drifters cruise across the country in a sleek, shiny Corvette. The car serves as the show's primary symbol of freedom, and as such it is a symbol most accessible to middle-class Americans. Such a high-dollar mode of

transportation would be repulsive to one of Kerouac's drifters, who usually hitchhiked his way across the country.[67]

Despite these differences, Todd and Buzz and the beatniks are both searching for the same sort of abstract experience. The wanderer-loner lives in a world in which he is not tied down with burdensome responsibilities and relationships. Also, to retain one's personal freedom, it is deemed acceptable, even necessary, to leave other people and situations in search of new experiences. Freedom is the key to enjoying an ever-changing lifestyle.[68]

The primary values embodied in Route 66 are those associated with this kind of male loner. He constantly stays in motion toward no goal, seeking nothing in particular, just raw experience. Since the loner is open to new experiences, he must be able to accept values and attitudes other than his own. In Route 66 Buzz and Todd become involved with people from all stations of society. Ultimately, they accept them all and help them but are not bound or restricted by any of them.[69]

In Route 66, the freedom exemplified in the young men's way of life is frequently a liberating force. Some of the people they meet along the way are able to see the emptiness of their own lives after meeting the two loners who have rejected many socially accepted values. These people often see themselves living with unwanted or unneeded

restrictions. Being on the road is a creative expression of freedom chosen over other more restrictive lifestyles.

But in The Fugitive, Dr. Richard Kimble has no such freedom. His wandering has been forced on him by the law and he lives outside of society. Newcomb explains that Kimble's life is more restricted than those of the people he meets, and he would gladly exchange his wandering for the stability of a home, family, and career all of which he possessed before fate cruelly intervened to take them away from him.[70]

Although Newcomb sees Kimble's existence as a wanderer/criminal confining, one cannot help but believe that over the course of his travels, his own perspective has been enriched through the diversity of the people he has met and helped. Media critic Marc Eliot argues that Kimble's official designation as a fugitive brings him a new sense of liberation. Eliot explains that Kimble's previous life was essentially unhappy and unfulfilled, while his new one stands as testimony to the value of human freedom. Each week, when Kimble escapes his captors, he has cheated fate again and won another battle against grinding social injustice.[71]

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CHAPTER III

THE DISCURSIVE FUGITIVE

In this chapter, I will examine the relationship between specific social discourses and selected episodes of The Fugitive. Even though each discourse will be analyzed separately, in no respect does this imply that they are not interconnected. In fact, some predominant discourses such as individualism pervade and affect a wide range of other discourses. Also though distinct discourses are highlighted within each of these episodes, the episodes themselves address other relevant topics not directly considered in this study.

For each of the five discursive areas I have isolated, I have used published articles and in some cases, even historical events, to establish that the topic area was a part of the social debates in the Sixties. Then, drawing on selected Fugitive episodes and the overall gestalt of the series, I have shown how each discourse represented in the series is connected to larger cultural struggles that were taking place, in American society.

Individualism

Of the many discourses addressed in The Fugitive, probably the most prevalent is individualism. Individualism

lies at the very core of American culture. In general, Americans believe in the dignity, indeed the sacredness, of the individual. In principle, anything that would violate our right to think, act, and live as we see fit is considered not only morally wrong but sacrilegious. Our highest and noblest aspirations, not only for ourselves, but for those we care about, for our society and for the world, are closely linked to our valuation of individualism. Yet many of our deepest problems both as individuals and as a society are also closely linked to this attitude.[1]

Individualism is deeply rooted in America's social history. It was in this country that the bondservant became free and the tenant farmer became a small landowner. Individualism was so embedded in the civic and religious structures of colonial America that it had not yet found a name, though John Locke's ideas about individual autonomy were well known.[2]

It took the geographic and economic expansionism of the nineteenth century to produce the restless quest for material betterment that led French social philosopher Alexis de Tocqueville to give currency to a new word: individualism.[3] In his book Democracy in America, the first comprehensive and penetrating analysis of the relationship between character and society, de Tocqueville described "individualism" with a mixture of admiration and anxiety. Tocqueville specified that individualism is more

moderate and orderly than egoism but in the end the results are much the same: Individualism disposes each citizen to isolate himself from the masses and withdraw into a circle of family and friends; within this personal lifestyle enclave, he or she leaves the greater society to oversee itself. Tocqueville saw the isolation to which Americans are prone as ominous for the future of our freedom. And so Tocqueville was interested in finding ways to pull people back from isolation into social communion. He believed that private involvement in public affairs to be the best cure for the effects of individualistic isolation.[4]

In the 1960s, individualism became one of the central discourses of the decade. President Kennedy's New Frontier tried to extend many of Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal programs, primarily through liberal social reform programs in education, public works, and mass transit. Also the escalating Cold War brought about massive military expenditures along with an acceleration of N.A.S.A.'s space exploration program. The increased role of centralized government, giant corporations, and mass media in American society caused many social observers to become concerned about the survival of the individual within an expanding mass society. Although earlier sociologists such as Riesman and Mills had expressed the same concerns in the Fifties, the accelerated pace of science and technology brought a new urgency to the public debate.

One example of the broadening American discussion over individualism can be found in a 1963 article titled, "The Decline Of The Individual," written by former Vice Admiral H.G. Rickover. In this article, Rickover expresses his concern over what he sees as the numerous threats to individual freedom. One of these threats is the public's over-reliance on "critics by profession" to make public policy decisions rather than utilizing "lay critics" who look upon discovery and truth as their civic responsibility. Another recognized threat was the rise of giant organizations (corporations, labor unions, etc.) which interpose themselves between the citizen and his government.[5]

Similarly, Time magazine expressed its concern over individualism by dedicating its 40th Anniversary issue to cover the story of the individual in America and put on its cover, "the greatest archetypal individual in American imagination - Abraham Lincoln." The 1963 Time cover story disagreed with the conventional stereotype that modern society has become dehumanized and held to the conviction that in American, the individual has survived.[6]

During the 1964 Presidential campaign, Senator Barry Goldwater used the perceived loss of American individualism as one his primary campaign themes. In the same year that saw President Johnson greatly expand the federal government's role in civil rights and anti-poverty

legislation, Goldwater believed big government to be the main threat to individual freedom. In his first official campaign speech, Goldwater stated that,

> The individual, the private man, the whole man - you! -today stands in danger of becoming the forgotten man of our collectivized complex times...But leaders of the present administration conceive of government as master, not servant. Responsibility has shifted from the family to the bureaucrat, from the neighborhood to the arbitrary and distant agency. Goals are set, roles are assigned, promises are made - all by the remote control of central government.[7]

Disenchantment with the perceived decline in individualism was not exclusive to political conservatives, but also pervaded the social thoughts and actions of the emerging liberal culture. The Beat Movement, in the tradition of Emerson, Thoreau, and Whitman, cast a modern representation of "expressive individualism." This concept of expressive individualism holds that each person has an unique essence of feeling and intuition that should be allowed to unfold or be expressed if individuality is to be realized.[8] The Beats through their own shaggy lifestyle, which featured sex, drugs, jazz, and material simplicity, they repudiated the middle-class culture's incessant drive for wealth in favor of a deeper cultivation of the self. In the early Sixties, several signs of this expanding expressive individualism could be detected from the rise of comedian Lenny Bruce to liberalized pornography laws, pop art, and New York's Living Theater.

The Fugitive addressed the popular debate over individualism in many of its episodes. Due to his status as a fugitive, Richard Kimble could not assert his own given individuality but rather had to suppress it in order to blend into the background of everyday life.

The Fugitive's narrative structure closely follows the familiar grounds of mythic individualism. As with the American cowboy, Kimble is an outsider, existing on the margins of traditional society, who enters a community and helps its inhabitants to realize their own moral good. But unlike the cowboy, Kimble's outsider status is not his own choice but society's. Also, he is not gifted with any obvious talent, such as being a fast gunslinger; however, his victimized status allows him to more easily identify with certain alienated individuals within the community. In the course of assisting these individuals, he invariably helps them assert their own individuality against the stifling conformity of society.

In the realm of mythic individualism there exists a grand contradiction. There is a deeply held fear that society may overwhelm the individual and destroy his chance for autonomy unless he stands against it, but there is also a recognition that it is only in relation to society that the individual can achieve fulfillment. But individualism in America has come to mean that everyone is free to find their true selves, independent of any cultural or social

influences; we are responsible to ourselves alone, and the fulfillment of that responsibility constitutes the very meaning of our lives.[9]

In the past hundred years, individualism has been closely related to middle-class status. Since the primary thrust of this group is status mobility, many of the most productive features of American society appear to be "the normal outcome of individual achievement." In this conception, individuals, unfettered by family or other group affiliation, are given the chance to make the "best" of themselves, and although equality of opportunity is essential, inequality of result is natural.[10] Dr. Richard Kimble, an educated, upwardly-mobile professional, is a product of this type of middle-class individualism. This type of individualism differs from expressive individualism in that its primary emphasis is social status and upward mobility rather than personal expression. As a fugitive, Kimble retains some of its tenets, but now fosters several elements of expressive individualism including its non-materialistic aspects.

At the heart of this American individualism exists a classic ambivalence. Although self-reliance and autonomy are strongly stressed as values, they are combined with a deep conviction that life has no meaning unless shared with others in the context of community. In a sense, most Americans are hesitant to articulate the sense that they

need each other as much as they need to stand alone, for fear that if they did they would lose their independence altogether.[11] In The Fugitive, both Kimble's situation and his character represent this inner conflict. His constant journeys from town to town serve a two-fold purpose; to seek the one-armed man and to provide himself with a small measure of human companionship. However, Kimble can never really become a part of the community without the risk of revealing his identity, and thus must stay on the run, in order to sustain his own individual freedom. It was, however, his own community/society that wrongfully convicted him as a murderer. This inherent ambivalence is expressed within several episodes in the series.

In the episode "Devil's Carnival" (12/22/64) a teenage boy (Dee Pollack) befriends Kimble after Kimble saved him from being hit by a truck driven by the town's near-legendary criminal (Warren Oates). Despite his anxious, overly-protective mother, the boy aids Kimble's escape from the local jail. The boy, suffocating from his mother's attention and the conformity of the small town, displays his youthful wanderlust by giving Kimble a copy of one of Walt Whitman's books saying, "That one talks about what a man is...You know, the nature of man." This scene appears as one of the earliest references to expressive individualism in the series.

As evident through the episode's title, the community here is represented as a grotesque, hellish vision of crass commercialism and wanton sin. The town's pool-hall owner (Strother Martin), capitalizes on both Kimble's and the Oates' character's notoriety by selling peeks of their jail cells, has a blonde female pose next to the hall's bullet holes, and even raises the price of beer and coffee.

At the end of the episode, Kimble tells the boy that if he must leave, he should walk "like a man," not run. The final scene has the boy leaving both his mother and the town behind him. Although separation and individuation are issues faced by all people, the concept of "leaving home" is an inherently American one. In many peasant cultures, the problem is not leaving but staying home - living with one's parents until death and worshipping parents and ancestors all one's life. In America, leaving home is the normal expectation. In many respects, one is expected to leave home in order to attain a sense of self and to find one's true mission in life.[12]

In the context of this episode, in order for the boy to grow up fully as a man, he must not only leave his family but also his community. Instead of providing the boy with a sense of social commitment and continuity, community is portrayed as an obstacle to his personal growth.

Similarly, in the episode "The Witch" (9/24/63), community is represented as socially confining and

repressive while hiding a dark streak of violence. In a small rural community, an unmarried schoolteacher (Patricia Crowley) is the victim of malicious town gossip. After a story circulates about her romantic encounter with Kimble, the town elders assemble a meeting to run her out of town. At the last minute, Kimble steps forward with the truth, only to have the town unleash its violent rage against him. In the end, she is allowed to stay in the community and serve as its schoolteacher. Earlier in the episode, the schoolteacher admits to Kimble that town gossip has kept her on the run from town to town. A refugee from the big city, she considers small-town life as part of her own roots.

In the course of the series, Kimble frequently travels to small towns that literally exist on the very margins of contemporary society. These representations of small town America serve as effective narrative economy and also reflect Kimble's nostalgic memories of his own hometown of Stafford, Illinois. Small towns have always held tremendous representational power in a wide-range of American films and television programs.[13] In fact, during the 1964-65 TV seasons, ABC-TV aired the small town drama Peyton Place before The Fugitive. Despite The Fugitive's often harsh portrayals of small towns, however, whenever large urban cities are featured they are seen primarily as places devoid of any possibility of community.

At the end of "The Witch," there exists a rather uneasy alliance between the schoolteacher and the community. She has agreed to stay for the sake of the children, but for her, community also stands as an omnipresent threat to her own individuality. In effect, her contradictory situation reflects the inherent ambivalence within the values of individualism and community.

Just as the community can be interpreted as a threat to individualism, so can the family be seen as an obstacle to individual freedom. In our individualistic society, we are ambivalent about kinship. We tend to value family as one of the few contexts within which we can count on others nearly unconditionally. Yet we are wary of the restraints on our individual decision-making that kinship involvements imply.[14]

In the episode, "A Ballad for a Ghost" (12/29/64), a dying folk singer (Janis Page) deliberately shuns her own family in order to allow herself room to die alone. Her justification for her actions, is that her father placed her dying mother so high on a pedestal that it became almost impossible for her and the rest of the family to recover from the grief. Instead of spending her last days in the fellowship of her friends and family, she would rather continue her life alone on the road.

Her desire to hide her own terminal illness (except of course, from Kimble) may seem like the ultimate selfless

act, but it also reflects one of the most sobering realities of living life as an individualist - in the end, one only has oneself. In essence, individualism has changed the way death is understood in American society. Rather than perceiving death as another communal ritual involving both family and society, it is comprehended as the final, private moment of an individualistic life.

Next to serving as a protector of women (who also provided endless romantic possibilities), Kimble also protected the rights of children. In the episode "When the Wind Blows" (12/28/65), Kimble helps a concerned mother (Georgeann Johnson) appreciate her sensitive son. Because the boy has a solitary nature and does not want to participate in conventional boyhood activities (fishing, baseball), he is ostracized by other children and some adults. Like the schoolteacher, the mother is another societal fugitive, moving her family from town to town, primarily to avoid people labeling her son as different or strange. Kimble advises her to accept her son as "an original," to support him and get the matter out in the open. Kimble's advice to the boy is that if you believe in yourself "there is not a wind that can hurt you." The episode's emphasis on appreciating the special feelings of children could be easily interpreted as an affirmation of individualism in society.

Similarly, in the episode "Cry Uncle" (12/1/64), Kimble helps another disturbed youth. After a close escape from the law Kimble encounters and is aided by a troubled boy at a county orphanage. Due to almost insurmountable disciplinary problems, the boy has been scheduled to appear before a board to determine whether he should be sent to the state mental hospital. Abandoned by his uncle following the death of both parents, the boy has led a tumultuous existence. After the boy runs away, Kimble retrieves him and decides to make the ultimate sacrifice - to return the boy and risk being captured within mounting police surveillance (due to the escape of two bankrobbers in the area). Kimble justifies his self-sacrifice in stating to the boy, "Somebody's got to prove it to you - not just words." Upon his return, the boy decides, in light of Kimble's selfless act, to fight to stay at the orphanage.

In this episode, the single act of one individual provided the catalyst needed to change the fortunes of the orphaned boy, who has been failed by two central institutions of society: family (his uncle) and a social welfare agency (the county orphanage). Beyond critiquing social institutions, the episode's resolution fits neatly into the familiar realm of TV's version of "realism." John Fiske points out that this narrative realism is closely related to individualism, with its insistence on the uniqueness and consistency of the self. Fiske relates that

within this form of classic realism, most narrative problems become personalized through individual characters and often display a tendency to depoliticize social issues and to resolve them through individualized actions.[15] Thus in the case of the troubled boy, the problem can be "solved" by a single action, and the solution is found in the realm of the individual rather than the social. In following this resolution, this episode, as well as others in the series, serves as an indirect affirmation of individualism.

Moreover, another action that emphasizes individualism takes place at the end of the episode. After Kimble safely returns the boy, the orphanage supervisor (Edward Binns), still unsure of Kimble's true identity, attests to his character (and his current alias) in order to free him from the police authorities. The supervisor's actions exemplify one of the chief features of individualism - the insistence to always rely on one's own judgment, rather than on that of designated authority figures in forming one's opinions. In fact, a recurrent motif of The Fugitive involves characters who rely on their own moral judgments about Kimble and his character, in each case allowing him to repeatedly escape from police authorities. (However, Tocqueville was quick to point out that this particular tendency of individualism was strangely compatible with conformism.)[16]

But even radical individualism has its limitations. In the episode "The Shattered Silence" (4/11/67), Kimble

encounters two self-styled individualists, a free-spirited woman-sculptor (Antoinette Bower) and a hermit (Laurence Naismith). At the beginning of the episode, the woman, who lives on the outskirts of town, offers Kimble a job and invites him to stay at her home. Curious about why a young single woman would invite a strange man into her home, she answers him by stating that "life is short, you have to trust yourself and what you feel about people." Later that same night, she unreservedly makes love to Kimble. In another expressive trait, her complete lack of materialistic concern is represented in her generous offer of her car to run over a cliff, in order to gain Kimble time in his escape.

Her instinctual, open manner coupled with her bohemian lifestyle equates her with other expressive individualists such as the "beats" and later the "hippies." Her profession as a sculptor/artist provides another connection often made within the series, that there is a definite link between creativity and strong individuality. Moreover, in order for an artist to effectively create, they must exist outside the normal flow of society.

The other individualist Kimble encounters has taken individualism to its most radical form. Kimble, wounded by a police gunshot, is rescued by an elderly recluse named John. The hermit has lived away from civilization for the past fourteen years and defends his lifestyle to Kimble by

telling him that he doesn't need the "real world" - he's created his own, in the woods. John also makes a reference to Thoreau as a man who chose to live outside society. Kimble responds by saying that "there are many ways to live," and asks the old man what he does for companionship. John denies any loneliness, contending that he has his dogs and the woods itself, to keep him company.

But as Kimble's wounds heal, the hermit increasingly becomes more reluctant to let him leave the cabin. Finally, John becomes seriously ill and Kimble redeems the old man's faith in human nature by risking his own capture to bring back some medicine from a pharmacy. Although they do not know each other, at the episode's end, these two strong-willed individualists share a kindred spirit as the woman decides to stay with the old man to nurse him back to health.

On the whole, the episode points out through the recluse's situation that radical individualism taken too far will ultimately lead to loneliness and despair. When individualism is not connected to community or society it becomes a form of asocial even anti-social behavior.

During the early 1960s, a time when many political and social observers were increasingly concerned about the perceived decline of the individual within American society, TV series such as The Fugitive served as a definite affirmation of the basic tenets of individualism. At the

same time, the series also expressed many of the ambiguities inherent within this philosophical stance. Richard Kimble was a man resigned to living outside of established society, in order to retain his own individual freedom. But the series leaves little doubt that when Kimble finds the one-armed man and is finally cleared of the murder charges, he'll willingly return to his place within the community.

Marriage

In American society during the 1960s, enormous social changes occurred that increased the stresses and strains on the stability of the social institution of marriage.

In many respects, the 1950s seemed to place a greater emphasis on marriage and the domestic sphere. Following the end of the Second World War, the intense combination of post-war anxieties and the ensuing Cold War led many Americans to retreat into private lives, away from the troubled international arena. Men returning from the horrors of war reasserted "the ideals of the virgin-wife, close-family, the heart-felt religion, and the old-fashioned morality of previous generations."[17]

At the same time, several factors developed which reduced the economic and social basis for marriage. With the advent of new domestic technologies (washing machines, dishwashers) and convenient supermarket products such as cake mixes and frozen dinners, the average housewife gained more freedom to pursue a career or at least other activities

outside the home. Also, the mass demographic shift from an agrarian to an urbanized-suburbanized society reduced the traditional farm-labor-related need for large families. Despite these changes, as the post-industrial society grew more socially mobile and as families were frequently uprooted from their local churches and communities, people turned increasingly to the institutions of marriage and family for psychic satisfaction and personal solace.

By the early 1960s, even though marriage remained tremendously popular, the divorce rate began to climb. Marriages began to collapse, partly because the institution had been asked to carry more psychic freight than it could possibly bear. Richard Rapson, in American Yearnings, has explained that the turbulence of the 1960s sprang from the same sources that led the previous generation to seek shelter in marriage and family as the panacea for life's difficulties. The uncertainties that began to rock the very foundations of marriage and family are rooted in the faded Christian beliefs surrounding the terrible events of World War-II and, after that, the incessant threat of nuclear annihilation. Left relatively unsupported by religious beliefs and economic necessity, there was little possibility that marriage and family could stand alone, especially in an era that also placed a high value on individualism. Rapson notes that within an increasingly individualistic society, marriages had come, for many, to represent a type of prison

in which people are inhibited from personal growth and freedom.[18]

These monumental social changes and their effects on marriage and family quickly became one of the leading topics of the sixties. For instance, in September 1961, Life magazine presented a special four-part series on the conflicting dilemmas facing marriage in the coming decade. The article acknowledged that marriage in America is both a strange paradox and a contradiction. Marriage has never been so popular yet never have so many marriages ended in divorce.[19]

The rising popularity of marriage was attested to by the fact that the average age of bride and groom had been steadily dropping to the point where half of all men were married by 23 and half of all women by 20. In terms of marriage statistics, one study estimated that fully 97% to 98% of men and women in their late teens will eventually get married, and more of them sooner than later.[20]

But divorce figures had increased from about 89,000 at the half century mark to close to 400,000, and one out of four marriages end up in the divorce courts. The Life article puts much of the blame for the new social instability on the divorce rate, the rise of the working woman, and the subsequent decline of the American male as King of his own household. The report also points out the increased frustrations faced by women choosing one of three

marriage roles: mother-wife, companion-wife, and economic partner-wife in a marriage.[21]

This growing dissatisfaction with the limitations of woman's role as housewife was probably best expressed in Betty Friedan's 1963 best-seller, The Feminine Mystique. Friedan defines "the feminine mystique" as the notion that a woman can only fulfill herself as a wife and mother. She describes the signs of women's discontent in the rise of divorces, neurosis, and unhappiness. She states that this dissatisfaction has grown so large that by 1962, "the plight of the trapped American housewife had become a national parlor game." Numerous issues of magazines, newspaper columns, educational conferences and television panels were dedicated to this problem.[22]

In a similar fashion, there were rumblings of general disenchantment with the changing role of the American male in society. Historian Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr. in "The Crisis of American Masculinity" (1963), wrote that the roles of male and female were increasingly merged in the American household. The American man is found as never before as a substitute for wife and mother - changing diapers, washing clothes, and performing duties once considered exclusively feminine. Meanwhile, the American woman takes over more of the financial decisions as she gains employment in traditionally male-oriented professions such as doctor, lawyer, bank cashier, and business executive. The

consequence, he suggests, is that the male is becoming more and more uncertain about his virility. One of the causes of this rising tide of male anxiety, many observers declared, is simply the result of female aggression. The present male confusion and desperation, it is contended, are the inevitable consequence of the threat posed by the "feminization" of American society. This viewpoint came to be popularized by such starkly titled books as The Decline of the American Male.[23]

Schlesinger states that the more fundamental reason is that men, in general, are unsure of their identity, that in modern Western society, freedom and egalitarianism have swept away the old social niches in which people for many centuries found safe refuge. Schlesinger explains that one of the natural outcomes of this current "loss of self" is an universal confusion over traditional sex roles. He points out that this bewilderment not only afflicts men but is found among women struggling with their changing roles in society.[24]

Several episodes of The Fugitive illustrate this growing debate about the institutional status of marriage within American society. In "The Girl From Little Egypt" (12/24/63), Kimble's own marital life and fugitive status are contrasted with a young woman's affair with a married man. One night, a young airline stewardess (Pamela Tiffin), distraught over discovering her gentleman friend is married,

literally runs into Kimble with her car. At the hospital, Kimble's unconscious state somehow enables him to flash back to the fateful events leading up to his wife's murder, his trial and conviction, and his escape from a derailed train enroute to his own execution. Once recovered, he chastises the young woman and opens her eyes to the futility of continuing an affair with a married man. Finally, Kimble leaves her with the hope that in time she'll be rewarded with both a loving husband and children.

Despite its bittersweet resolution, the episode relates several complex observations about heterosexual relationships and the social institution of marriage, all with a touch of cynicism. Kimble, portraying himself as man of worldly wisdom, describes the young woman's affair as a familiar scenario, "the old story of the lonely girl in the big city." Kimble and the woman recite, almost in unison, a predictable tale of the married man who calculatingly takes her to a restaurant aptly known as "one of those little hide-a-ways that traps ten women a week." Kimble depicts her married friend as a particular type of man, and "the city's full of them - they're a lot like children...I want, I want - all pleasure, no pain. If someone gets hurt it won't be them, they'll always find someone else."

Kimble's colorful description of these deceitful married men as predatory beasts represents a growing societal concern over the instability of marriage as a

social institution. At a time of declining birthrates, a dramatic upsurge in divorce rates, and a proliferation of single-parent households, many Americans feared that these were symptoms of increasing selfishness and self-centeredness incompatible with strong family values.[25] Additionally, the married man's status as a duplicitous, white middle-class business executive suggested the declining cultural authority of the W.A.S.P. image in American society.[26]

In terms of its representation of the young woman as a vulnerable, unwitting victim of the advances of an unscrupulous married man, the episode reinforces the patriarchal viewpoint of women as victims rather than independent, self-sufficient individuals. Throughout the series, female characters are frequently used as a temporary romantic interest for Kimble but they are also seen (along with children) as dependent victims in dire need of male protection.

In Kimble's case, his own marital conduct is at the very core of his dilemma. At his trial, his neighbors testify that they heard several heated disputes between Kimble and his wife, and later saw her with physical signs of a struggle. Through the circumstantial evidence and Kimble's own lack of remorse, the jury simply filled in the gaps and found him capable of committing murder. During and following the trial, Kimble's predicament was highly

publicized in the mass media. In this episode, Kimble says that his case,"was in the newspapers, magazines...I understand that someone's writing a book about it. I suppose that makes it real - a real nightmare."

This public fascination with the intimate, sometimes lurid details of the upper middle-class, suburban marriage can be observed in the public interest attached to the Dr. Sam Shepard murder case. Popular novels such as John Updike's Rabbit, Run (1960) chronicled the entrapped lives of a married couple caught in a suffocating, suburban environment. Beneath this expanding public attention lay the reality that the institution of marriage, which reached its peak of reverence in the fifties, had begun to lose some of its cultural esteem by the early 1960s.

Just as social concern became more sharply focused on the institution of marriage, there was also a more vocal discontentment about the limited social roles assigned women in American society. In the two-part episode "Landscape with Running Figures" (11/16/65) and (11/23/65), Marie Gerard (Barbara Rush), the wife of Lt. Gerard, is disenchanted with her restricted, unhappy marriage and as a result, becomes a marital fugitive.

As the episode begins, Lt. Gerard has diverted his and Marie's vacation to participate in yet another police dragnet designed to capture Kimble. Left alone in her hotel room, tired and sick of her husband's obsession with the

endless presence of Kimble, she asks, "Life without Kimble, what would it be like to not live your life in short little gasps?" After waiting for her husband, she decides to assume another identity and purchase a bus ticket back to her hometown. During the bus journey, a sudden accident leaves her temporarily blind and Kimble (a fellow bus passenger) rushes her to the nearest town to get immediate medical assistance. When they finally reach the town, Kimble discovers that the entire town has been abandoned due to an impending flood. Eventually, when Marie discovers that he is really Kimble, she tries everything within her powers to hold him until her husband arrives.

Within the episode, Marie centrally projects all of her deeply-felt rage concerning her own life and marriage on the presence of Kimble. At a confessional moment, when she is still unaware of Kimble's identity, she explains her unhappy marriage as "...the losing end of a modern triangle - I lost a husband a long time ago to a will-of-the-wisp who drifts endlessly, twisting our lives." Although she blames all of her marital problems on Kimble, its readily apparent that his presence is merely used to mask a deeper range of difficulties within her marriage.

For instance, throughout the episode, Marie and her husband suffer from an inability to communicate their own underlying emotional states. At the beginning of the episode, Marie is painfully hurt over her husband's decision

to divert their vacation, while he remains insensitive to her emotional needs and is only concerned with finding Kimble. At the episode's end, as she recovers in a hospital room, Gerard, still self-absorbed about losing track of Kimble yet again, displays a lack of interest in her experiences (and the mysterious man that helped her) and comforts her by stating, "We can all go back as if nothing had happened." Marie (speaking in a monotone) repeats his statement: "Nothing happened." In an ironic final shot of the couple, the camera zooms in on a shot of them clasping their hands together (with wedding bands exposed) as if to note that she grudgingly is resigned to stay in their marriage.

Another problem that this episode focuses on is the effect of "careerism" on a modern marriage. Careerism has been defined as a compulsive concentration on work to the exclusion of all other aspects of life. During the postwar era, the shift in employment demographics from small businesses to the high-pressure, highly competitive world of the large bureaucratic corporation brought about tremendous psychological strains and pressures on the men who made up the majority of this white-collar workforce. The bureaucratization of work and the demands of corporate life bred careerism. Men who found their family lives unsatisfying, problematic, or who were anxious about family finances often compensated by "losing themselves" in their

work, subordinating everything in pursuit of their careers. The careerist father's gradual withdrawal from all emotional commitment to his wife and children augured ill for the health of the family.[27]

In this episode, Lt. Gerard is so obsessed with his own careerist goal of capturing Kimble, that when his stranded wife finally gets an open telephone line to ask him for help, he's completely enraged over her interference with his manhunt. Gerard quizzes her over phone asking, "Is this some test - a choice between you and Kimble?" Even though he later apologizes to her, it is clear that his career pursuits take precedence over his own marriage and family responsibilities. Finally, the only recourse left for his wife is to assist him in the attempt to capture Kimble in order to bring some relief to their marital strains. But it is highly doubtful that even with the capture of Kimble, Gerard will end his compulsive behavior in regard to his police work.

Similarly, in the episode "Running Scared" (2/22/66), a politician's avid careerism threatens to ruin his own marriage. An ambitious state representative (James Daley) launched his political career when he served as prosecuting attorney on the Kimble murder case. When one of his aides spots Kimble's sister Donna Taft (Jacqueline Scott), traveling under an assumed name, the representative speculates that capturing Kimble again will allow him to

ride the wave of publicity all the way to the governor's mansion. Unfortunately, the representative's wife, already deeply concerned over the physical and mental toll of the campaign on her husband's health, decides to foil his plans to capture Kimble in order to save their marriage.

When Kimble asks her why she aided him in his escape, she tells him that she did it because she wants her husband back, "...he takes sleeping pills at night, pep pills in the morning...I want a real live husband, not some stranger." However, upon her husband's return, she reluctantly submits to his angry threats about leaving her and tells him Kimble's next location. Finally, Kimble, after a brief meeting with his sister and her husband, narrowly escapes again from the clutches of Lt. Gerard.

Another aspect of careerism brought forth in the episode is the near debilitating physical and mental strain placed on the careerist individual. Typical of a compulsive careerist, the representative's over-strenuous lifestyle makes him a prime candidate for a heart attack. In the 1950s, a growing number of physicians began to voice concern that work-related stress was a major cause of peptic ulcers, high blood pressure, and heart attacks among upwardly mobile executives who were risking their lives to get ahead.[28]

In many respects, this episode provides an affirmation of the social and psychological significance of the family as an unconditional haven for personal solace and

companionship. In contrast to the politician and his wife is the personal warmth and sibling affection shared between Kimble and his sister. Following the death of their father, Donna Taft, distraught over her loss, receives renewed emotional strength from a brief (and risky) visit from her fugitive brother. In many ways, the episode's adherence to and affirmation of family sharply contrasts with the pursuits of individualism. The representative clearly expresses his individualistic goals as he declares his personal desire to earn the governorship for himself to be more important than his own marriage. In the context of the episode, unrelenting individualism is portrayed as ultimately destructive to both marriage and family.

In the episode "Detour On A Road Going Nowhere" (12/8/64), the road metaphorically represented is the rocky, perilous road which leads to marriage and lasting relationships. The detour leaves a group of lodge guests stranded when their bus breaks down along the roadside. Following a news report which reveals his true identity, Kimble is tied up and held prisoner until the police arrive.

Two women and their dilemmas are contrasted in the episode: a young, jaded woman in search of a reason to continue to engage in intimate relationships, and a middle-aged wife struggling to hold her shaky marriage together. The young woman (Elizabeth Allen), has been so severely hurt in past romances that she has developed a cynical, hardened

attitude toward men and marriage. Still distressed over the inability to establish a relationship with Kimble, she flirts with an older man and tells Kimble, "I can see you married (someday) to some tedious matron, peaking behind her legs to the legs that got away." In the end, despite her knowledge of Kimble's identity, his quiet strength and courage (she calls him Galahad), causes her to renounce her scorn for men and aid him in his escape.

The episode reinforces the stereotypical patriarchal viewpoint that for a woman to achieve happiness, it is chiefly a matter of the "right man" coming along and changing her life. In The Fugitive, David Janssen's "image" exemplified the late fifties and early Sixties television version of the strong, brooding yet sensitive male popularized by such actors as James Dean and Marlon Brando.

In contrast, the middle-aged wife (Phyllis Thaxter), fights to maintain her long-standing marriage with her philandering husband (Lee Bowman). At the beginning of the episode, the husband is seen busy with a younger woman in full view of his wife. Confronting him, she tells him, "You've reached middle-age, that's not a disease - its a fact of nature. I can't stay here and watch you still trying to prove you're a rollicking youth." The husband accuses her of delivering too many meaningless ultimatums and decides to take her to the train station, then return to the lodge.

Another topic addressed in the episode is the recognized phenomenon that many American males experience some type of personal crisis concerning their own virility once they reach middle age. Closely related to the identification of a male middle-aged crisis was the advent of a sexual revolution in the early Sixties. This sexual revolution, which predated the youth counterculture movement, swept the nation's literature, movies, theater, advertising, and fashion. Several changes indicated a new, more sexually-permissive society, from the loosening of anti-pornography statutes and the first singles-only weekend at a Catskill's resort to California designer Rudi Gernreich's creation of the topless bathing suit. In contrast to these new expressive forums, the institution of marriage frequently appeared static and stale.[29]

At the episode's end, the wife learns from watching the young woman's self-sacrificing assistance to Kimble, to fight to keep her husband. To help Kimble, the young woman pretends to seduce the husband in order to allow him time to escape. Later, confronting the young woman, the wife has renewed her resolution to save her marriage.

One of the options not considered in the episode for the married couple is the possibility of obtaining a divorce. In fact, throughout the series, divorce is never featured as a resolution to an intensely, unhappy marital situation. According to one interview, Quinn Martin did not

believe in portraying divorce as an acceptable solution to marital problems. At this period in TV programming history, divorce was still a subject rarely addressed in primetime television.

Nevertheless, an episode's resolution often remained ambiguous enough to not completely eliminate the plausibility of divorce being a viable option. For example, in this preceding episode, the husband is portrayed as a childish buffoon who becomes tyrannical once he declares Kimble to be his own exclusive prisoner. After the man knocks the defenseless Kimble to the ground, his wife exclaims, "You're not a boy, stop behaving like one, just because you've got a gun in your hand." Despite her revived determination to salvage her marriage, the limitations of her husband's selfish behavior calls into question whether their marriage has much of a chance of surviving.

During the 1960s, marriage as a social institution came under increasingly close public examination. Several cultural developments - a more sexually-permissive society, expanded social mobility, and the renewed quest for personal fulfillment -placed greater pressures on the institution. Many Fugitive episodes represented these heightened tensions and their effects on marriage, family, and heterosexual relationships. Central to the series is Kimble's own troubled marital situation, which seemed to serve as an impetus for his unjustified conviction and lengthy status as

a fugitive. As Rapson notes, this growing discontentment with marriage as an institution was symptomatic of a broadening, progressive social movement that would soon occur in the Sixties and Seventies.

Justice and Authority

Justice

In his book, America's Quest for the Ideal Self, Peter Clecak argues that the desire for personal fulfillment became the dominant theme of the Sixties and Seventies. Clecak explains that this metaphorical quest for fulfillment has two complexly related dimensions: salvation and social justice.[30]

Although spiritual and psychological liberty were the ultimate goals of the quest, they presupposed at least the rudiments of personal and political liberty. In American society, the notion of personal liberty (or social justice) entails primarily a commitment to some version of the idea of equal opportunity. This belief that each citizen ought to be free to follow their innate talents and capabilities to the limit of his or her potential informs all popular versions of social justice in America. In many respects, the idea of equal opportunity became closely tied with evolving notion of American individualism.[31]

During the post-war period, Clecak emphasizes that despite the overwhelming affluence that cut across almost every social stratum of American culture, there nevertheless

existed what he terms a "structure of disadvantage" in society. The reason for this development was that the public image of the white Anglo-Saxon Protestant (W.A.S.P.), fostered through such mass forums as advertising and television dominated American public culture.[32]

This W.A.S.P. image established a fairly narrow and rigid cultural hierarchy of possibility and success. Measured against the standard of successful male WASPs, nearly every racial and ethnic group was found wanting, disadvantaged materially and culturally in one respect or another. The multiple categories of disadvantage overlapped and included race, ethnicity, religion, and economic position.[33]

By the middle and late Fifties, there were visible cracks in the prevailing structure of advantage and disadvantage, cracks that widened in the Sixties and Seventies. Social critics such as Riesman, Mills, and Whyte cataloged the anxieties, fears, and feelings of emptiness that troubled successful white males. Also, the emergence of the Beat writers and other social rebels expressed a growing uneasiness with the predominant cultural order. Clecak states that by the Sixties and Seventies, representatives from each of the less privileged categories moved against the prevailing structure of advantage to claim their piece of social justice and to seize their cultural space.[34]

In no other area of dissent was the idea of social justice more central than in the black civil rights movement of the 1960s. Clecak defines the struggle of blacks and other minorities for equal rights as the logic of "minimal inclusion" or "full citizenship" in American society. The struggle for black civil rights had begun more than a hundred years earlier found a new momentum in the Fifties and Sixties.[35]

The 1963 march on Washington was the culmination of the intensified dissent undertaken primarily by blacks and assisted by a small number of whites. In "I Have a Dream," Reverend Martin Luther King's memorable address, King specifically emphasized the concept of American social justice, the inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness put forth in such documents as the Declaration of Independence, U.S. Constitution, and Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, and noted that blacks had been excluded from the process. The demand, then, was for minimal inclusion in the American enterprise or nothing less than full citizenship. And the time frame for this demand and measure of justice was "now." Invariably, the powerful ideals of social justice incorporated in the black civil rights movement quickly engendered dissent from other disadvantaged groups (i.e. Hispanic, Asian-Americans, women, the handicapped).[36]

This ideal of social justice is one of the central discourses present in The Fugitive. Richard Kimble by virtue of his wrongful murder conviction, a direct victim of injustice. As with the self-conscious TV westerns, Kimble repeatedly befriends and attempts to assist disadvantaged individuals in order to protect their civil liberties.[37] And as with the majority of American commercial television, the series only presents situations that focus on procedural injustices (fair laws & political procedures) rather than other forms of justice such as distributive (fairness & distribution of society's goods and opportunities) and substantive (fairness of the institutional order of society as a whole).[38]

Kimble's own legal injustice provides the focus for explorations into the nature of limitations of procedural justice in America. The episode "Corner of Hell" (2/9/65), provides an ironic twist to the theme of justice. Both Kimble and Gerard find themselves in the company of a clan of Southern backwoods bootleggers. When a young woman, Elvie (Sharon Farrell) is gravely injured by one of the men, Cody (Bruce Dern), Gerard is caught in the incriminating position of being discovered next to her fallen body. Upon being taken back to the clan's cabin, Gerard meets Kimble and the clan's patriarch, Tully (R.G. Armstrong), stages a kangaroo court. Similar to Kimble's murder case, Gerard is entrapped by circumstantial evidence and is subsequently

condemned to death. Fortunately, Kimble finds Gerard's near empty wallet on Elvie and induces her to inadvertently implicate Cody, which saves Gerard from the hangman's noose. Finally, Gerard is allowed to leave with the stipulation that he takes Elvie to the nearest county hospital. With the eternal gratitude of the patriarch for saving Elvie's life, Kimble himself leaves in pursuit of the one-armed man.

Despite the apparent procedural differences between the American legal system and the clan's version of "backwoods justice," the episode highlights their similarities. For instance, within both systems of justice, the preponderance of circumstantial evidence is utilized to convict an innocent man of a felony crime. In Kimble's case, the combined absence of an alibi and the testimony of witnesses to previous domestic squabbles constituted the state's case against him.

In defense of the legal system, Gerard exclaims, "Our system of justice may not be perfect but it does give every man a fair chance to defend himself." Even though the American legal system is based on the idea that a suspect is considered innocent unless proven guilty in court, its apparent from Kimble's case that the burden of proof (of innocence) rested firmly with the accused.

Additionally, in the course of the mock trial, Gerard vents his outrage at the proceedings, exclaiming, "I know very well what you feel, what you think you're trying to

do...there's not a beast in the jungle that kills for the sake of killing. Stop trying to dignify it and get it over with!" In an ironic fashion, Gerard's verbal outrage points out that both justice systems practice capital punishment, even if it is deemed unnatural to the laws of nature.

Moreover, the episode's emphasis on the similarities between the American legal institution and its cruder wilderness counterpart only serves to stress that in the final result there is little difference between them. Despite the legal system's lofty ideal that every man should be guaranteed a fair trial before an impartial jury, the disturbing fact is that an innocent man (such as Kimble) can still be convicted and sentenced to death. Although Gerard acknowledges that the system is "not perfect" it is clear that its "few faults" do occasionally condemn an innocent man to death.

Another aspect of the legal system is that every case has an opportunity to be granted to an appeals court. Unfortunately, in Kimble's case, he's already exhausted all attempts for a new trial. In the episode "Man in a Chariot" (9/15/64), Kimble meets with a law professor (Ed Begley), who is convinced that he can find enough technical errors in Kimble's case to win him another trial and free him of the murder charges. In order to prove to Kimble (and himself) that he can win at a new trial, the professor restages a mock trial based on the public records of Kimble's original

murder case. The professor, serving as Kimble's defense attorney, raises the odds against himself by purposely provoking his star pupil (Robert Drivas), serving as prosecutor, in order to influence the class to despise him. But at the trial's close, the professor, still bitter about an accident that killed his wife and confined him to a wheelchair, turns Kimble's defense into a personal emotional plea to his law class for forgiveness for his cantankerous behavior in conducting the class. Finally, even though the professor wins the case, he openly admits to Kimble that the verdict was for him, not Kimble, and that he can not win Kimble's case in a "real courtroom." The professor exclaims that there is an "intangible" element in Kimble's case: "There's some kind of chemistry that works against you, a doctor - accused as you are -you're going to have to find your one-armed man."

Besides the enigmatic Kimble, the true intangible of his case is the reality that the ideals of procedural justice rest primarily on the activities of humans and the unpredictable nature of human behavior. The professor's eccentric court actions, and his personalization of Kimble's defense points out the pitfalls of foreseeing the outcome of a jury trial. In Kimble's murder trial, it was the strong combination of circumstantial evidence and testimony which convinced the jury that he was perfectly capable of committing murder that did him in.

The theme of vigilante justice is presented in several episodes of the series. Although this theme is more closely associated with the TV western, it also occasionally appears in police and detective dramas. The primary cause of vigilante justice is a strong disaffection with the existing legal system.[39] As for other root causes, The Fugitive seems to hint at economic factors. In two episodes "The Other Side of the Mountain" (10/1/63) and "Moonchild" (2/16/65), areas of high unemployment tend to foster an environment conducive to vigilantism.

In the episode "Come Watch Me Die" (1/21/64), Kimble finds himself in the middle of a vigilante group willing to hang an accused murderer. Following the double murder of a Nebraska farm couple, Kimble is deputized and assigned as a bus driver to take the deputy, the accused man, Bellows (Robert Doyle), and the witnesses to the county courthouse. Included among the witnesses is Charley (Bruce Dern), the couple's son, who believes that Bellows murdered his parents. But Bellows insist to Kimble that he is innocent and ran only because he became scared.

Enroute to the courthouse, Charley anxiously expresses to Clements (John Anderson), a fellow witness, his concern that Bellows might be cleared of the murder charges.

Clements: Don't worry he'll get what he deserves.
Charley: Will he? I know what they mean by circumstantial evidence.
Clements: They'll be more than that when the trial comes.

Charley: Suppose he gets himself a good lawyer, you know and tells him his story, you know. The way the house being way back from the road and mentioning me and Jimmy being back there for over an hour. And then he can say that someone else could have got in there.
Clement: Turner, what's the matter with you?
Charley: I'm getting alittle bit worried, you know. I mean nobody did see him do it, actually. Ain't nobody in the world saw him do it.
Clements: You're starting to talk like you think he didn't do it.
Charley: No, I know that he did it. What I am saying is I don't know what that jury is going to think, you know, or what the're gonna say. (Pointing to Bellows) And you know what a lawyer can do for him.
Clements: Yeah, I see.

Their conversation expresses a deeply-held cynicism toward the American legal system. During the early Sixties, the Warren court established precedents in cases such as Gideon v. Wainwright (1963) and Miranda v. Arizona (1963) which liberalized the criminal justice system and granted further rights to the accused.[40] As a result, there was much public concern to whether the legal system could still effectively maintain justice for the victimized within American society.

Despite the preponderance of evidence against Bellows, Charley staunchly holds to the belief that a clever attorney can easily persuade a jury to find him innocent. Moreover, this same attorney can manipulate technical evidence and use circumstantial evidence to free the accused (the same type of evidence which convicted Kimble in his trial). Charley's strong convictions, which convinces the other men in the group, expresses a disturbing viewpoint that true justice in

the courts lies not in the hands of the jury members but with the attorneys.

After Kimble frees Bellows from the angry throes of the vigilante group, he painfully discovers that the accused man did indeed murder the farm couple. This episode seems to stress that in some cases, the establishment of guilt or innocence may only be a matter of individual perception. And as the court system is depicted in the episode, this perception, rather than the evidence, can often decide the difference as to whether the accused is found guilty or innocent.

These episodes, as well as others, point out the inherent ambiguities and contradictory nature of the American legal system. In the late Fifties and early Sixties, many established American institutions (business, family, the mass media) underwent a closer examination. By the end of the sixties, nearly every social institution had been intensely scrutinized by various factions of the American public.

Although the series does not directly treat social justice as a discourse, Kimble's status as an outsider does allow him to associate with some disenfranchised social groups (migrant farm laborers, youth gangs, American Indians) within society. In meeting these groups, Kimble does not support their particular cause or actions but rather reinforces the rights of the individual. For

instance, in the episode "Wine is a Traitor" (11/1/66) Kimble assists an Hispanic farm laborer/leader, not because he sides with their dispute against management, but rather because he cannot stand to witness an unjustly accused man arrested for murder.

Authority

Closely related to the concept of justice is authority. Authority is essential to enforce the laws and legal procedures that guarantee equality and liberty for all citizens. Clecak states that although self-conscious flights from authority to autonomy are not unique to the American experience, the general disenchantment with authority ran deeper and was more widespread in the Sixties and Seventies than in the early postwar period, and was perhaps more pervasive than at any extended moment in American history.[41]

As recently as the early Fifties, many critics worried about excesses of authority, not its imminent collapse. Disturbed by the apparent willingness of "other-directed" citizens to submit to the authority of their peers, David Riesman hoped that a renewed interest in the neglected self might offset a growing conformity among Americans. By the late Fifties and early Sixties, various social rebels and groups began to appear on the scene and challenge authority on a number of levels. Clecak acknowledges that though most people realized that authority was necessary to retain the

social order, in the ensuing quest for personal fulfillment and social justice authority began to loom as an obstacle. As the Sixties progressed, persons seeking fulfillment sought to push back various forms of authority - to get social institutions and other oppressive systems off their backs and to drive away certain outmoded ideas. By the end of the decade, authority was on the defensive in nearly every section of American society (e.g. the family, churches, universities, multi-national corporations).[42]

Authority became one of the thorniest issues of the black Civil Rights movement. Under the guidance of Dr. Martin Luther King, the Civil Rights movement practiced the ethic of civil disobedience - rights workers did not obey unjust laws but neither did they lash out against the enforcers of those laws. Thus in the early Sixties, when the movement heated up, countless incidents of civil disobedience existed on all sides, from the civil disobedience of rights worker's through mass demonstrations to a Southern Governor's deliberate refusal to enforce federal laws. These incidents created mixed reactions among most Americans concerning the question of whether it is ever appropriate to deliberately disobey the law.[43]

A 1964 N.Y. Times Magazine article expressed the growing concern over the dilemma. The article addressed the question in the following manner: "Does an individual have a right or perhaps a duty to disobey the law when he minds his

own conscience and his beliefs or religious faith tells him that the law is unjust."[44] Charles Frankel, a Columbia philosophy professor, explains that because not every law is just and since certain governmental authorities (local police, courts) can be hostile, sometimes civil disobedience is the only pathway for a minority group to attract the attention of the majority to its cause. However, he does acknowledge that an individual's right to break the law cannot be officially recognized nor should society give its citizens the freedom to break the law.[45]

Throughout The Fugitive, as one might expect, authority is represented in an ambiguous manner. Kimble himself has an ambiguous relationship with authority. As a former physician and citizen, he has a great respect for the necessity of authority. But as a fugitive, if knows that if he succumbs to authority (police), he will face his own execution.

Perhaps the program's most recurrent challenge to authority is in the manner that individuals from nearly every socioeconomic positions aid Kimble to escape from the police. As previously mentioned, one of the main tenets of American individualism is the reliance on one's own judgment rather than on received authority in forming one's opinion and actions. Thus in a majority of Fugitive episodes, after an individual is assisted by or at least bears witness to Kimble's extraordinary humanity, they inevitably aid him in

his escape. These challenges to authority are usually held to a small individual level of one to four persons.

But in the episode "Nightmare at North Oak" (11/26/63), after Kimble's selfless act of saving a group of schoolchildren from a near-tragic bus accident, the entire group of parents become eternally indebted to him. When Gerard demands to know which one of them assisted Kimble in escaping from his jail cell, the whole group joins together in an act of solidarity, in that each one of them claims they aided Kimble.

One of the foremost centralized issues of the sixties was the struggle for social justice. Practically every socially disenfranchised group (in one way or another) challenged the dominant cultural authority for greater inclusion into the American Enterprise. These monumental changes brought about new debates over the role and necessity of authority in society. At the same time, the validity of many American institutions came under closer scrutiny by various social groups. Inevitably, this emerging disenchantment with and distrust of existing institutions of authority came to be expressed through the mass media. The Fugitive, which began its original broadcast on September 17, 1963, still stands as one of the most profound (and earliest) dramatic TV programs to register the swelling alienation and discontent that soon swept the nation.

Professionalism

In his book The Culture of Professionalism, Burton Bledstein writes that the culture of professionalism has been so integrated into "middle-class habits of thought and action" that most Americans have taken for granted that practically all individuals organize their behavior, both public and private, according to it. The most emphatically middle class person is a professional improving his or her own fortunes as he or she offers services to society. In many ways, professionalism has become more than just another social institution; it is an external process by which Americans make their lives more rational. It has become a culture, a set of learned values and habitual responses by which middle-class individuals shape their emotional and intellectual needs. Bledstein claims that whenever people have to make crucial decisions about their lives, the culture of professionalism is usually decisive in influencing their future.[46]

In the course of developing a culture of professionalism, ambitious individuals in America were instrumental in structuring society according to a distinct vision - the vertical vision of career. Bledstein notes that in the middle and late Nineteenth Century, the idea of middle class came to be associated with that of a "career," in the sense of "a course of professional life or employment that offers advancement or honor." The previous nineteenth

century definition of middle-class as mean between the extremes of wealth and poverty was no longer valid. The new concept of the middle class involved an all-encompassing process of escalation that would eventually include everyone; this provided the central self-image of American society.[47]

The American middle-class person owns an acquired skill or cultivated talent by means of which to provide a service. Bledstein points out that only in America undertakers in the nineteenth century sever their historical ties with cabinet-makers and manufacturers of funeral furniture. They enhanced their prestige by calling themselves "funeral directors," proposing to provide a full personal service for the bereaved from the moment of a cherished one's death to the maintenance of a grave site.[48]

Central to the creation of a culture of professionalism was the founding of the university in America. Through the American university, an institution dissimilar to any in Europe, the middle class succeeded in establishing an institution for producing evolving types of social behavior. By and large the American university came into existence to serve and promote professional authority in society.[49]

Following the Second World War, with the arrival of the technological and post-industrial eras in America, came an increased demand for more technical and managerial expertise. The post-war rise of a white collar society

expanded the scope and types of professionals; new professions included personnel director, office manager, marketing director, and advertising manager. Although many social critics indicated the conformist tendencies of these new organizational types, the demand for trained specialists continued unabated throughout the post-war era.

The coming of the 1960s witnessed the inauguration of the first button-down, organization president, John F. Kennedy. Upon taking office, President Kennedy chose his "best and brightest" from the top ranks of the business and academic worlds. The vigorous, youthful style of the new administration extended a broad welcome to some intellectuals, along with their novel ideas. In many respects, with the achievements of the space exploration program and other technological feats, it seemed that the culture of professionalism was experiencing its pinnacle in American society.

At the same time, many social observers were concerned over the public's increased over-reliance on experts or professionals for the formation of public policy. Also they were disturbed by the notion that significant creativity from lay persons or non-professionals was being supplanted by the onslaught of professionalism.

In an article titled "I Want To Be An Amateur," Mary Anne Guitar decried the cold, unemotional nature of contemporary professionals. She declared that in American

society, we have "made a cult of craft and allowed the pros to infiltrate every corner of life, even its most private areas where the spontaneity of the amateur would surely be more valuable and more appropriate." Also she claimed that throughout every stage of life, a person is urged to absorb a professional attitude, with the implication that if an activity cannot be professionalized one has no right to participate in it or even have an opinion about it. Although this article written for Mademoiselle has an ulterior agenda of reinforcing the amateur role of the "homemaker," it does nevertheless express a more generalizable irritation at the often smug, aloof manner associated with American professionalism.[50]

In addition, a 1964 Harpers article titled "Martyrs Unlimited" related that attacks against several professional organizations (American Medical Association, bar associations, etc.) had become so prevalent that many of them have begun to see themselves casted as societal martyrs.[51]

In another article, "Don't Hamstring the Talented," concern is expressed that the extensive training required for many professional disciplines invariably stifles an individual's talent.[52] It is evident through these articles and others that one of the ongoing debates taking place in the Sixties concerned the appropriate role for

professionalism within modern society and how to instill acceptable values within these institutions.

In many respects, The Fugitive provided a forum for the changing attitudes directed towards professionalism in American society. Both Kimble and Lt. Gerard, are examples of modern professionals. Kimble is essentially a fallen professional (a former physician) reduced to taking mostly menial jobs (dishwasher, migrant farm worker, etc.) to sustain himself. Although Kimble is portrayed as a hard worker and displays admirable respect for each of his job positions, the series does not hide the fact that part of his unjust punishment is his inability to work in his chosen profession. In the episode "May God Have Mercy" (3/16/65), Kimble's lowly status is emphasized by the fact that he now works as a hospital orderly in the same institution where he once served as a physician.

Lt. Gerard represents several of the negative aspects associated with professionalism. Gerard is the consummate bureaucratic authority figure; he's completely inflexible in following the rigid dictates of the law. His complete identity is integrated with his performance and position as a law enforcement officer.

After an unexpected train derailment knocks him unconscious and frees Kimble enroute to his own execution, Gerard steadfastly blames himself for Kimble's escape and becomes obsessive in his pursuit of him. Gerard's own

identity is so wrapped up in his dogged pursuit of Kimble that it takes precedence over his own family responsibilities. In an early episode, Gerard cancels a long-promised fishing trip with his son to go across the country in pursuit of Kimble. In a later episode "Nemesis" (10/13/64), enroute with his son to yet another fishing trip, Gerard once again has to cancel their plans to track Kimble. In "Landscape with Running Figures," discussed above, Gerard cuts short a vacation trip with his wife in order to participate in another police dragnet to capture Kimble. Repeatedly within the series, Gerard illustrates that one of the first casualties of obsessive professionalism is the family.

Throughout the series, Gerard's inflexible status as a police officer repeatedly runs directly into Kimble's indomitable humanity. Gerard witnesses Kimble's humanitarian acts, mainly involving the saving of people's lives through the ex-doctor's medical knowledge and skills. On a few occasions, Kimble actually saves Gerard's life. But Gerard steadfastly refuses to acknowledge any personal doubts concerning Kimble's possible innocence and faithfully accepts the "guilty" decision rendered by the court. Gerard's inflexibility and refusal to allow any doubts to affect his job performance are best illustrated with his discussions with his own superior. In the episode "Corner of Hell" (2/9/65), after Gerard returns from being entrapped

in a situation not unlike Kimble's trial, his supervisor gingerly asks him if there's anything else he might want to add that's not included in the official report. Gerard pointedly states that every detail of the incident is included in his report. Within Gerard's world, everything is black and white and there's no room for any ambiguity or self-doubt.

Kimble, despite his status as a fugitive, repeatedly enters situations where he has to risk revealing his own identity in order to help someone needing direct medical attention. In the episode "Ill Wind" (3/8/66), Kimble, surrounded by ranch hands who refuse to help, performs a make shift blood transfusion to save the life of Gerard. When persistently questioned by a young woman about why he would save the man who would send him to be executed, his reply is that he took a "Hippocratic oath" to lend medical care to whomever requires it. The young woman and the other laborers clearly do not understand Kimble's allegiance to a code of ethics even at the risk of his own life. In many respects, Kimble and Gerard conduct their lives on a different (higher?) moral plane than the working-class people they meet; they both adhere to a specific set of ethics. Ultimately, in a conflicting expression of professionalism, Kimble expects Gerard to acknowledge his own humanity (beyond his job duties as a policeman), but

Kimble himself allows only strict obedience to his own ethical standards (the Hippocratic oath).

In the post-war era, many professional organizations (American Medical Association, National Association of Broadcasters), in order to monitor and bolster their own professions, adopted a code of ethics or standard practices and expected members to adhere to them. Refusal to follow these policies generally resulted in termination and the professional loss of prestige or certification. In many respects, these formal ethical guidelines replaced the earlier standards of privately-earned reputations established through the testimonies of customers and business colleagues.

Several episodes of The Fugitive tell stories of professionals caught in crisis between personally-held values and the ethical standards dictated by their professions. In the episode "Passage to Helena" (3/7/67), Henry Dalton (Percy Rodriguez), a chief deputy, is a man vainly confident in his inherently superior abilities as a law enforcement officer. After Kimble is falsely arrested, Dalton instinctively decides to take him to nearby Helena, Montana for identification along with a dangerous murderer, Carter (James Farentino) who is scheduled to be executed. Along the way, Dalton is wounded and a fellow deputy is killed in an unsuccessful ambush initiated by two of Carter's mountain friends. Dalton, badly wounded from a

gunshot wound in his leg, marches both Kimble and Carter on the long, forty-mile trek to Helena.

Staying overnight at a woman's house, Dalton, grateful for the medical attention administered by Kimble, offers him an apology in advance if he's proven wrong in holding him but boasts that he's never had to apologize to anyone since he put on a badge. As if to verify his own status, Dalton tells Kimble, "Women have a place in a man's life but they don't tell them what he is...man's work that tells him what he is!" As with Gerard, Dalton's self-identity is largely determined through his career and his individual performance in the position.

But when Kimble subsequently wrestles the deputy's gun from Carter and in effect saves his life, Dalton is faced with an unique moral choice between his own professional obligations and his moral debt to Kimble. Pointing his shotgun at Kimble, he explains that he can't let him go but he'll do everything in his powers to make sure he receives a just trial. Unconvinced, Kimble responds, "A man can do anything he wants to do."

Dalton: I'm a lawman - if I let you go I'm nothing.
Kimble: All right, if shooting me makes you somebody, that's what you've got to do - gonna have to shoot me!! (Kimble turns his back to him and walks away)
Dalton: Kimble! (cocks his gun but does not fire)

Later, Dalton, humiliated at breaking one of his professional codes in letting Kimble escape, turns in his badge to the sheriff. The sheriff refuses to accept his

resignation and tells him, "You're more than a good cop - you're the best man I know and good men are hard to find!" The sheriff's statement supports the idea that even a staunch professional should never let his career completely define him.

Additionally, even though a professional may adhere to a strict code of ethics, there are occasions when some decisions require one to follow one's individual conscience. During a period in which bureaucratization and professionalism expanded into almost every facet of society, this humanistic perspective of separating professional ethics from personal conscience reinforced the ideals of individualism within American society.

If it is essential for a person to maintain a reasonable perspective on their professionalism, it is equally critical that one should follow some defined ethical code within their chosen profession. In the episode "Wife Killer" (1/11/66), Barbra Webb (Janice Rule), a newswire reporter, has led an ambitious but reckless career, and her fierce desire for the "hot story" once was responsible for the death of a hapless kidnap victim.

After her photo of the one-armed man is published, both Kimble and Gerard each with his own separate agenda venture to the police station where he is being held. Upon spotting Kimble, the one-armed man (now known as Fred Johnson) is frightened and escaping, drives off in a car. The reporter,

noticing Kimble in pursuit, offers to follow Johnson's car. In the ensuing car chase, Johnson's car plummets over the edge of a cliff. With Johnson gravely injured, Kimble is strongly determined to save his life, partly for humanitarian reasons but also because he is the only person who can clear him of his wife's murder.

The reporter, however, expressing her lack of humanity and professional ethics, is only concerned with obtaining the exclusive rights to Kimble's story in exchange for assistance in saving Johnson's life. Her unethical behavior includes taking advantage of her friendship with her former editor (Kevin McCarthy) in order to lose the police have been following her. Perhaps the furthest extent of her fraudulent conduct is achieved when, believing that Johnson has died, she forges his signature on a signed confession verifying that he murdered Kimble's wife, primarily to complete her story. Her illegal actions in helping Kimble have placed herself in risk of serving a jail term.

The reporter's intense career ambitions, combined with a deficient recognition of professional values, leads to potential harm to others and indirectly, her chosen profession. In the post-war era, with the increased bureaucratization and intense competitiveness of large corporations, many social observers began to notice that certain personality types were more willing to lie and manipulate others in order to advance their careers. In

response to these social types, many observers called for the mandatory initiation of specific ethical guidelines for all employees within a company. In general, the growing concern was that, with the expanding role of bureaucratic institutions in the average American's lives, it was vital that these institutions (and their employees) be governed through clear ethical standards.[53]

In contrast to the reporter, Kimble is the consummate professional, expressing both his strong professional and personal concern over preserving Johnson's life. When he discovers that Barbra has forged Johnson's signature, he is even more anxious about the prospect that Johnson might die. Barbra's initial reaction to Kimble's compassion is one of complete disbelief: "...It's the doctor bit, Hippocrates, Arrowsmith, and all that fear and misery."

But at episode's end, the reporter, after witnessing Kimble's personal integrity and professional manners toward the man who killed his wife, seems to have discovered some newly-found ethics. Back at the police station, she admits, risking the possibility of charges for aiding and abetting a felon, that she helped Kimble and attempts to convince Gerard of his innocence. Fortunately for her (but not for Kimble), Johnson, the only witness to her felony crime, escapes from the city hospital and leaves town.

This episode features an individual with a lack of ethical standards; another episode, "The Iron Maiden"

(12/15/64), presents an example of professionalism taken to an extreme. Congresswoman Snell (Nan Martin), in maintaining her tough, uncompromising professional image, has literally closed herself off from the rest of society.

The episode begins with Congresswoman Snell making an official fact-finding visit to the construction site of a missile launching silo in the Nevada desert. Its apparent from their initial meeting that there is much animosity between the construction crew chief (Stephan McNally) and the Congresswoman. Following an unexpected accident, both the crew chief and the Congresswoman, along with the other crew members (including Kimble), are trapped below ground in an uncompleted construction shaft.

Shortly afterwards, the Congresswoman and the crew chief engage in a heated argument which emphasizes her tough public image as a miser on government projects and the devastating human toll of these cuts on construction workers. Also her own indomitable image has taken its own toll on her personal life, as it has cost her a marriage to a Senator.

After noticing how the comaraderie of the crew members slightly unnerves the Congresswoman, Kimble quizzes her about her own happiness. The Congresswoman defends herself by plainly stating that, "I got what I want," adding that she's ". . . on four congressional subcommittees and chairman of one, respected, quoted... I have national

coverage." She explains that she decided back in college, that in order to achieve her goals, she had to develop "a thick, tough skin" to protect herself. It is clear that she has no close friends and the only person she can confide in is her thirty dollar-an-hour analyst.

This episode suggests that loneliness is one of the prices of following a completely rigid code of professionalism in one's life, and that when one forms an unyielding professional attitude and image to reach one's personal goals, often one loses a measure of their own humanity. As previously discussed, during the postwar era, many individuals who became "careerists" frequently lost the vital emotional connection with close friends and family members.

Additionally, the Congresswoman's personal detachment from the crew chief and the other workers represents the growing disengagement of governmental bureaucracies from their constituents. During the early Sixties, when federal and state institutions were expanding in both size and scope, many observers felt they were losing touch with the needs of the people.

At the end of the episode, the Congresswoman reclaims her humanity and expresses her gratitude (Kimble has discovered a life-saving air vent) by allowing Kimble to escape. The crew chief, observing her selfless act, begins a friendship and a possible romance with the Congresswoman.

Their union represents a sort of symbolic bonding between the public sector (the Congresswoman) and the private sector (the crew chief).

In these episodes and several others, The Fugitive supports a humanistic perspective in regard to professionalism in American society. While the series affirms the significance of an individual's adherence to a clearly defined code of ethics (such as Kimble's own loyalty to the Hippocratic oath), in some circumstances one needs to follow one's own conscience in making certain decisions. Additionally, a person should never be completely defined by their chosen profession but also by other facets of life such as religious beliefs, family traditions, and personal values. In many respects, this humanistic perspective seemed to have been a reaction to the emerging dominance of large institutions (multi-national corporations, government agencies) in American society. This ongoing social debate over the role of professionalism in American culture has continued unabated for the past three decades.

Science and Technology

On October 4, 1957, Russia sent the first man-made satellite, Sputnik I, into orbit around the earth. The American reaction to the event was one of profound shock. The United States, the world's premier nation in industrial skill, the country that had unlocked the secret of the atom, had been beaten in the one area where it was certain it was

supreme: technology. In truth, the United States was not so far behind as it seemed at the time, but for many months Americans had to endure the sight of foreign observers gathering at Florida's Cape Canaveral only to see U.S. rockets climb into the air a few feet and then topple over.[54]

The Sputnik furor had its most immediate impact on American schools. A few months after the Sputnik launch, Washington released a government study, Education in the U.S.S.R., detailing the disciplined training Soviet pupils received in science, mathematics and languages. In response to the supposed lack of intellectual rigor on U.S. schools, Congress passed, in September 1958, the National Defense Education Act to authorize federal financing of programs in precisely these areas of study.[55]

In addition, the United States reacted to the Sputnik challenge with a massive effort to overtake the Russians in the "space race." In October 1958, the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) began operation with funding that would climb from $340 million in 1959 to more than $5 billion in 1965.[56]

Following the U-2 affair and the rise of Castro's Cuba, relations with the Soviets got worse. Polls showed that the public believed there was a missile gap. During the 1960 presidential campaign, Senator Kennedy made the perceived

"missile gap" and the necessity of further research in missile technology one of his primary campaign themes.

Invariably, the escalating Cold War led to massive expenditures in science and technology. Except for the arms race itself, no other Cold War enterprise in the 1960s cost as much as the U.S. space program. Following Alan Shepard's successful suborbital flight, President Kennedy pledged that America would put a man on the moon before 1970. In contrast to other Cold War events, which often seemed remote and impersonal, space flights were dramatic, straightforward, and immediate. Although many scientists and government officials scoffed at its exorbitant expense, the space program came to symbolize the restoration of America's faith in its own technological prowess. As William L. O'Neill has noted, Cape Canaveral's huge scaffolded launch platforms were a type of grand cathedral in which to celebrate America's world leadership in democracy as well as science and technology. In the astronauts, people gained a new type of folk hero appropriate to the status of modern corporate life but who still manifested the simple, winning virtues of an earlier and less complicated time.[57] In effect, both the astronauts and the space program itself, coupled with near daily consumer innovations like Polaroid color film, assisted in popularizing the role of science and technology in American culture.

On the other hand, Cold War-related events such as the Berlin and Cuban Missile crises which brought the country twice to the brink of nuclear war, unleashed dark visions of the destructive forces laying dormant in science and technology. Novels such as Harvey Wheeler's Fail Safe (1962), Kurt Vonnegut's Cat's Cradle (1963) and Stanley Kubrick's film Dr. Strangelove (1964), featured stories of nuclear annihilation and human extinction.

With the rapid pace of scientific and technological innovation the Sixties witnessed the increasing impact of science and technology upon the daily existence of all Americans. With these innovations, there arose the inevitable ethical debate about whether they necessarily led to the betterment of man and his civilization. Many writers such as C.E. Ayres believed that (in the early Sixties) "we are living in the golden age of scientific enlightenment and artistic achievement." Ayres insisted that science and technology not only bring about progress but that the industrial society it has helped create is the only kind of society in which the great values of Western man - freedom, equality, security, excellence, and abundance can be fully realized.[58]

In contrast, Jacques Ellul, in The Technological Society (1964), is deeply disturbed by science's obsession with "technique" which, as he defines it, comprises not merely machine methods but the subservience of men to

machines. Technique, he said, establishes the domination of standardization over spontaneity and of means over ends, thus causing the erosion of moral values and eventually complete dehumanization. Ellul also claimed that in order for science to reach its philosophic utopian goals such as common place space travel, freedom from disease as well as famine, and inexhaustible energy resources, the kind of society required will be ruled either by a totalitarian group or a dictatorship.[59]

Ultimately, the focus on science and technology, in general, shifted to the individual decisions and the moral responsibility facing scientists and engineers. The debate over the establishment of some type of ethical and moral guidelines for science and scientists became so predominant in the early Sixties that Saturday Review dedicated an entire issue to "Morality In Science." In an article titled, "Science Is Amoral; Need Scientists Be Amoral, Too?," Reverend Theodore Hesburgh, a member of the National Science Board, called for scientists and engineers to become philosophers and theologians, in order that they might question the moral impact of their work on the world in which they live. Hesburgh added that to ask anything less would be reducing scientists and engineers to the level of automatons.[60]

This debate over the ethical and moral responsibilities of scientists is one of the primary discourses in The

Fugitive. Dr. Richard Kimble, being a former physician, is also a trained man of science. The episodes which primarily highlight this discourse are usually ones in which Kimble encounters his former medical colleagues or other physicians. Although this discourse is closely related to professionalism in that it focuses on the professional ethics of scientists, it differs in that it also treats the broad nature and social ramifications of scientific research.

In the episode "Death Is a Very Small Killer" (3/21/67), Kimble meets a doctor (Arthur Hill) whose entire medical career has been dominated by his quest for the cure of a deadly strain of meningitis that has plagued a small Mexican community. The doctor's obsession is so commanding that his fellow doctor and surrogate daughter (Carol Lawrence) accuses him of neglecting his primary duty to the patients at their clinic.

Upon Kimble's arrival, the doctor, recognizing Kimble's true identity, blackmails him into assisting with his research and in his daily clinical practice, in order that he can concentrate exclusively on his medical research. When the doctor discovers that a combination of drugs has induced a cure in his laboratory animals, he anxiously wants to test the drugs on the meningitis patients at the clinic. Kimble, however, warns him that the drugs are still listed as experimental and could prove fatal to humans at higher

doses. Later, Kimble finds out that in order to complete his research treatment, the doctor had deliberately withheld life-saving medication to half of the other meningitis patients. At the episode's end, the doctor lays dying in bed, having contracted the meningitis strain but ironically unable to receive his own cure due to an existing heart condition.

The episode presents a portrait of a scientist so blinded by a desire to accomplish a worthy goal that he completely ignores the harmful and fatal methods employed in achieving his quest. In the early Sixties, when scientific research and exploration reached a new zenith, many observers voiced a growing concern that some scientists were losing a humanistic perspective on their research. Many believed that these scientific goals needed to be balanced with other social concerns. For instance, although most observers conceded the significance of further space exploration, many believed that it should be joined with other socially-pressing goals such as the elimination of poverty and hunger on a global scale.[61]

If the previous episode depicted a scientist overly-absorbed in his research, the episode "The Ivy Maze" (2/21/67), featured a scientist subverting his research in pursuit of his own personal justice. Kimble visits a college professor (William Windom), a former schoolmate, who offers to use his dream therapy techniques to obtain a

confession from the one-armed man. The professor's wife (Geraldine Brooks), however, knows that beneath his desire to clear Kimble, is his unrequited devotion to Kimble's late wife, Helen. In a conversation with Kimble, the wife admits that her husband's obsession with perfecting his dream therapy techniques in order to bring about justice in the question of Helen's death has completely devastated their once close marriage. Her opinion of his therapy procedures on the one-armed man is that, "its not an experiment, its an inquisition!" But in the end, despite acquiring recorded information that could free Kimble, the tape is destroyed and the one-armed man escapes again.

This episode features a scientist obsessed not with the end results of his research but rather with using research methods to effect a personal agenda. This episode was not the first in the series to relate how easily scientific technology and research can be subverted to other causes. In the episode "The 2130" (3/29/66), a computer designed exclusively for medical research is reprogrammed to predict Kimble's next location.

Additionally, "The Ivy Maze" depicts the rampant "careerism" of a scientist who is overly obsessed with his own research, and how that obsession invariably causes undue stress in his personal life. As with professionalism, a scientist should keep his research in perspective with his familial obligations.

The episode "Not With A Whimper" (1/4/66), presents the idea that when a scientist does display a social conscience, this is apt to be inclined toward rash, destructive actions. Dr. McCalister (Laurence Naismith), Kimble's former hospital mentor, has become an enraged anti-smog crusader who suffers from a critical heart condition. As his last-ditch act to foster media publicity for his dwindling public campaign, he has set up a bomb to explode on the ground of the town's leading polluter Hampstead Mills. To melodramatic matters, a group of schoolchildren are touring the factory; fortunately, Kimble defuses the bomb before it detonates.

This episode depicts the tension between the societal desire for scientists to exhibit a social conscience in their work and the fear that they are really ill-equipped to handle its social implications. In the series in general when scientists do reflect a social conscience in their research, they are often represented as harmfully irresponsible ("Death Is a Very Small Killer") or dangerously fanatical ("Not With A Whimper"). The series confirms the social stereotype that scientists typically become so obsessed with their research that they are unable to handle the larger social responsibilities associated with their work.

Moreover, on a broader level, this representation expresses the public's dual mistrust and admiration of science. Despite the public's praise of scientific

achievements such as space exploration, Cold War brinkmanship such as the Cuban Missile Crisis consistently reminded them of the lurking, potentially destructive nature of advanced technology.

But when scientist/physicians do adhere to their own set of ethical codes, as in the episode "Escape into Black" (11/17/64), they are usually too restrictive and lacking in basic human compassion. A neuropsychiatrist (Ivan Dixon) has such a strict code of ethics that he is unable to develop empathy for Kimble, an amnesia patient, once he detects that he might have been a physician with a dark criminal past.

In contrast, to the neuropsychiatrist is a social worker, who upon determining that Kimble might be telling the truth about the existence of a one-armed man, does not hesitate to help him escape the grasp of the police. The doctor, meanwhile, remains unbending to his own strict rules. When Kimble, still suffering from amnesia, approaches him for personal therapy, the doctor frankly tells him, "If you remember, I told you exactly what you can expect from me!" and advises him to turn himself in to the police.

Throughout the series, Kimble is represented as an example of a physician/scientist who has learned to balance his humanity with his medical skills and scientific knowledge. Although Kimble was probably always a caring

physician, it seems that his time on the road, meeting people from all walks of life, has added considerable depth to his compassion as a practitioner. Unfortunately, his fugitive status makes it impossible for him to practice medicine on an official level.

Technology

As a physician, Dr. Richard Kimble respects new medical technology as an essential aid in saving human life and limb. But as a fugitive, new technology often becomes manifest as a device used to hunt him down. For instance, one of the most pervasive technologies used to identify him is the centralized national fingerprint network which is connected to almost every law enforcement agency in the country. Throughout the series, advanced technologies (helicopter, computer, videotape recorder) occasionally become devices utilized by his pursuers. Even the mass media (newspapers, radio and television) are repeatedly commissioned by the state to pry information from citizens about his whereabouts. In fact, in the episode "Runner in the Dark" (3/30/65), the media uses Kimble's predicament as entertainment in a variation of the What's My Line TV game show.

This theme of technology versus man has been a common recurring theme in many Hollywood genres (horror, science fiction, crime dramas). In the 1949 gangster film, White Heat, well-dressed, antiseptic T-Men use a host of elaborate

electronic surveillance equipment to track down the malicious, psychotic Cody Jarrett (James Cagney) and his criminal gang. As in other gangster films, the narrative usually features a struggle between the skills and technologies of the criminal organization with those of the law enforcement organizations. However, in The Fugitive technology is not featured as a part of any organizational struggle but rather is primarily used to hunt down a single, wrongly-convicted man.

Perhaps the episode that chiefly focuses on this discourse is "The 2130" (3/29/66), in which Kimble is tracked by a computer initially designed for medical research. When a prominent physician (Melvyn Douglas) discovers that Kimble was formerly under his employ, he dedicates his research computer to the police pursuit. Gerard, skeptical of the new process, delivers cases of information on Kimble to be programmed into the massive computer system.

With incredible accuracy, the computer prints out a list of probable locations in which Kimble might next appear. Aboard a railroad freight car, Kimble meets Homer, a fellow fugitive and a writer/artist. Fortunately, as many times before, fate intervenes and the waiting police force chases and kills Homer, allowing Kimble a chance to escape. Despite his criminal background, Homer's unfortunate demise

suggests that one of the first victims of a totalitarian society is creativity.

When the physician discerns that Kimble is probably innocent, he becomes tormented with the thought that he may be "hounding" an innocent man. His daughter suggests that he stop the computer search but he acknowledges that once the technology has been unleashed, the authorities can easily get someone else to program the system. However, to hinder the process he does contact a local newspaper reporter in order to publicize the technology and thereby warn Kimble of their new techniques.

As the computer successfully predicts another of Kimble's probable locations, he is warned at the last moment when he spots a newspaper story bearing the headline, "Man vs. Machine." Afterwards, with Kimble conscious of his own traveling pattern, Gerard decides to terminate the search and return to his own methodical process. In a final ironic twist, despite Kimble's awareness of the search, the computer predicts with chilling accuracy his next location and employment - the cranberry bogs in New England.

This episode effectively demonstrates that any technology (even altruistic medical research) can be easily subverted to meet the ulterior motives of the state. Also, this technology is represented as an omniscient force which threatens the freedom of the individual citizen. As previously mentioned, the American public in the Sixties

experienced profound ambivalence concerning the rapid growth of new technologies. Ultimately, the precision and accuracy associated with this technology often made humanity seem more fragile. These often submerged fears continued to be expressed in subsequent TV programs and feature films released in the sixties. Films such as Kubrick's 2001 - A Space Odyssey (1968) featured technology as a malevolent threat in the form of the Hal 9000 computer. And in Sidney Lumet's The Anderson Tapes (1972), Orwellian electronic police surveillance equipment is used to track an ex-convict from the moment he leaves prison.

In many respects, The Fugitive provided a public forum for ensuing discussions over the expanding role of science and technology in American society. While recognizing the beneficial nature of new scientific and technological discoveries, the series stressed that this research should be tempered with a humanistic perspective. In other words, scientific goals should be balanced along with humanitarian needs. Ultimately, this humanistic perspective was indicative of a broader social movement (anti-poverty, ecology) that emerged in the sixties and seventies, to instill and redirect the country's institutional matrix toward humanitarian goals.

Conclusion

Although this research primarily focuses on five main discourses, there are numerous others present within the

series. For instance, in a number of episodes, the recurring theme of past guilt is undoubtedly expressive of the emergence of a psychologically-oriented, therapeutic sensibility in the late Fifties and Sixties.

Another possible discourse is the distinct contrast between the rise of secularism and ecclesiastical culture in American society. This discourse is represented primarily in the two-part episodes "Angels Travel On Lonely Road" (2/25/64 and 3/3/64), and the episode, "The Breaking of the Habit" (1/31/67), in which Kimble's pragmatic humanism is contrasted with a Catholic nun's steadfast belief in divine intervention.

In this study, I have strived to employ both critical and historical methods to position The Fugitive as a relevant socio-cultural artifact, in order to better analyze the historical period of 1960s American society. In this respect, I have shown how certain topics present within the texts (episodes) insert themselves into the sociocultural debates occurring at that time. There are, however, other textual elements that further comprise the historical conjuncture of The Fugitive. For instance, this includes what Fiske calls "vertical intertextuality" or texts that directly intervene in the "narrative image" of a TV program - critical reviews, publicity, its treatment in the press, the acquired image of the show's actors, genre expectations, etc.[62] It also includes such factors as program

scheduling, channel location, and whether the program has specifically targeted a particular segment of the viewing audience. Conducting such an expanded study might at first seem a forbidding task, requiring almost endless research and a higher level of conceptual complexity from cultural historians. But if the TV text is to be considered a sociocultural document of its time, there is probably no worthier goal for the TV scholar.

NOTES

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CHAPTER IV

THE FUGITIVE AND BEYOND

The Wanderer-Heroes

One of the continuing narrative motifs in American and European literature involves the hero who must leave society, more or less alone, in order to achieve a heightened level of moral insight in the wilderness, at sea, or on the margins of settled society. This thematic dates from Homer's The Odyssey and encompasses such seemingly disparate works as Melville's Moby Dick to James Fenimore Cooper's The Deerslayer.[1]

Closely associated with the literary wanderer-hero is the monomythic social redeemer figure. According to Robert Jewett and John Shelton Lawrence, there are two basic types of redeemer figures: one who redeems society through ritualized violence and one who redeems society through love and compassion. An example of a popular American social redeemer is the western cowboy. The cowboy has a special talent - he can shoot straighter and faster than other men - and a special sense of justice. But these characteristics make him so unique that he can never fully belong to society. His destiny is to defend society and to eradicate evil through the cleansing act of ritual combat.[2]

On the other hand, the other redeemer is best defined as a domestic superheroine who solves social problems by selfless acts of love and virtuous cheerfulness. An early example of this character would be Little Nell in Charles Dickens The Old Curiosity Shop. More recent examples include Heidi and Laura Ingalls of the Little House On The Priarie book series. Origins of this sexless heroine can be traced to the Protestant rejection of the idea of a deified "saint" with divine powers such as the Virgin Mary or guardian angels. In response to a cultural shift from a public to an increasingly privatized society and the subsequent desire for a domestic redeemer, 19th century Protestantism made fertile the grounds for the eventual creation of the fictitious domestic superheroines.[3]

A striking development in current popular culture is the emergence of male figures who redeem through nonviolent actions. Contemporary examples of this type can be found in several popular television programs. For instance, Charles Ingalls (Micheal Landon) of the TV version of Little House on the Prairie shares the redeemer role with other members of the family. Ingalls spends most of his time and creative energy solving the problems of the community. Other television examples of this type include Marcus Welby, M.D. and Dr. Joe Gannon of Medical Center.[4]

In many respects, the television wanderer-hero shares many traits with these male redeemer figures. In The

Fugitive, when Kimble encounters new people, he helps them to resolve their problems through deep compassion and understanding, not through acts of violence. Just as The Fugitive was a new variation of the mythic wanderer-hero, so subsequent series have added their own variations on the theme. Although there have been numerous TV programs since the Sixties which have incorporated this theme, for the purpose of this research, five series were selected to suggest the evolution of the wanderer-hero formula on American television.

One of these shows, Run for your Life, overlapped historically with The Fugitive. This NBC-TV series ran from September 1965 to September 1968 and was produced by Roy Huggins, the creator of The Fugitive. Run for your Life followed the adventures of Paul Bryan, played by Ben Gazzara. As Horace Newcomb has noted, in many ways the program represented a combination of ideas formulated in both Route 66 and The Fugitive. Paul Bryan, like Kimble, is a condemned man. His sentence, however, has been passed by a doctor rather than by a courtroom jury. Once a highly successful attorney, he appeared to be a man with everything - intelligence, good looks, popularity, and money. However, he also had something that nobody wanted - an incurable disease. When told by doctors that he had at most two years to live, he sold his law practice and decided on a life of

wandering. He hoped to cram all the experiences of life into whatever time he had left.[5]

Since money was no problem, Bryan went from one exotic and fascinating place to another, encountering a wide variety of people. In his travels, Paul visited the glamour spots of Europe, exotic out-of-the-way islands, the great metropolitan centers of America, and rustic rural areas.[6] On the other hand, Kimble's search for the one-armed man generally, remained restricted to the continental U.S., although in later episodes he occasionally ventured into Mexico.

Moreover, Newcomb points out that Bryan shares several character traits with Kimble. For instance, when Bryan encounters old acquaintances or new people, he does not want to share the knowledge of his imminent death with them, in order to avoid straining their relationships. It does however, cause tension for the audience since they know that he can never make any plans for the future. Also like Kimble, Bryan can never form any lasting relationships, make a home, a family or a career. But Bryan is much freer than Kimble; he travels openly and does not fear the authorities. Ultimately, though, he is still prevented from having what he wants - a home, a family, and a career.[7]

Later, at the end of the decade, another program emerged about a wanderer who journeyed in this version on a motorcycle: Then Came Bronson. When this short-lived TV

program premiered on September 1969, N.Y. Times TV critic Jack Gould labeled it as a "motorized western." As Gould explained, "the wandering cowboy who once roamed the countryside bestowing compassion and settling problems has been replaced by a helmeted motorcyclist, who both worships his machine and assists his fellowman."[8]

As with Buzz and Todd's sleek Corvette on Route 66, Bronson's motorcycle served as an expressive symbol of unbridled freedom from the overly-restrictive responsibilities of an urbanized, bureaucratized society. Moreover, with the tremendous popularity of the film, Easy Rider earlier the same year, the motorcycle gained notoriety as an emblem of the Sixties youth counter-culture movement.

The program's basic premise was that Jim Bronson, played by Michael Parks, had dropped out of society and wandered the countryside in order to discover a more fulfilling life. Following the suicide of his best friend, newspaper reporter Bronson pondered the meaning of his life and wondered about the degree of satisfaction he was getting out of it. The conclusion he reached was that he really yearned to be free of the traditional commitments of urban living. Bronson gave up his job, divested himself of most of his material possessions, and left town on his deceased friend's motorcycle.[9]

Along the way, he met and aided an assortment of people while taking odd jobs to support his wandering. In one

episode, he lent a helping hand to mentally-disturbed children, in particular an orphan boy who was especially withdrawn and isolated. Bronson, himself a spiritual orphan, used the boy's fascination with his motorcycle to coax him out of his shell. As with many Fugitive episodes, this storyline touched on the significance of sensitivity in human relationships.[10]

Although I have suggested that Bronson is another social redemptive figure, Himmelstein finds him to be the "archetypal flower child," since he displays an inner dissatisfaction, a lack of direction and commitment, coupled with an underlying core of goodness and tolerance of others. In essence, he sees Bronson as more of a transitional figure on the road to mythic heroism and inner realization.[11]

As with Janssen's Kimble, Parks brought a moody, haunting yet sensitive presence to his loner role as Bronson. Prior to the series, Parks was featured in the film, The Wild Seed (1965), in which he played another moody loner with a heart of gold, who had a penchant for hopping cross-country freight-trains.[12] Like Kimble and Bryan, there was a sad almost melancholy tone to his character. Seemingly, one of the most predictable traits of the TV wanderer-hero is that their lives are marked with great loneliness. Perhaps more than either Bryan's or Kimble's, Bronson's wandering served as an existential search for a more meaningful existence.

Another unusual wanderer, Kwai Chang Caine, played by David Carradine, roamed the American west of the 1870s in the TV series Kung Fu. This ABC program, which ran from October 1972 to June 1975, has been described as a mixture of The Fugitive, Lost Horizon, and Billy Jack. Like Kimble, Caine was on the run, having fled China after he was forced to kill a member of the Royal family. Caine, born of Chinese and American parents, was raised as an orphan by the monks of the Shaolin Temple. The monks tutored him in a mystic philosophy that centered on internal harmony and emphasized a code of non-violence. He was also instructed in the martial art of kung fu - "just in case."[13]

Similar to Bronson, Caine was another man on a quest, looking for his roots, his true "self." In the course of his search, an outcast from imperial China, he wanders through the wasteland of the American West looking for his long-lost brother. Along the way, he finds that in order to redeem himself, he must also redeem the society around him.

In Kung-Fu, Caine is presented as an extremely serious man who spouts Oriental wisdom and platitudes of peace in the preachy, self-righteous style of Tom Laughlin's Billy Jack (1971). Despite efforts to avoid violent confrontations, Caine consistently ran into nasty villains that had to be disposed of through ritual combat. Frequently, he found himself defending racial minorities -

Chinese, Mexicans, and others against an astonishing assortment of villains.[14]

In many respects, Caine as a redeemer was a mixture of both the domestic and the violent redemptive figures. He would first attempt to redeem the opposing force through compassion and understanding but invariably the task would require the use of ritualized violence. Since Kung-Fu was set in the historical period of the American western rather than in contemporary times, the most common recourse of redemption was through acts of vigilante violence.

In his analysis of the program, Arthur Asa Berger notes that in keeping with the American notion of what spirituality is like and with the social acceptance of cliches concerning religious sensibility, Caine is portrayed as terribly solemn and glum individual. Berger argues that Caine is so hyper-serious because in the American Protestant mind, spirituality is equated with being glum, and that all the new "American Christ figures" wandering through mid-Seventies pop culture had a veneer of solemnity, demonstrating that they are playing a role and little else.[15]

Since the quest of the wanderer-hero is directly (Bronson) or indirectly (Kimble) spiritual in keeping with television's implied secular Protestant mythos the hero usually retains a high degree of solemnity throughout his travels. Thus, the wanderer-heroes despite minor glimpses

of humor, are all men who, because of their current circumstances, display a high level of somberness in their lives.

In the Eighties, two new TV programs which featured wanderer-heroes demonstrated an unusual measure of self-reflexivity in connection with this particular TV formula. Teresa de Lauretis has defined self-reflexivity as "the deliberate inclusion or exposure in a show, of its construction devices, i.e., of the social codes, genre conventions and technical means through which a set of messages is organized and sent toward the audience."[16]

The first program of these Eighties shows featured a probationary angel whose mission on earth was to bring a little love and understanding into the lives of troubled people. NBC's Highway to Heaven ran from September 1984 to August 1989 and followed the divine mission of Jonathan, played by Michael Landon. Although Jonathan had angelic powers, he seldom used them, preferring to rely on persuasion and example as he slipped into the lives of old folks and children, rich people and poor. Like Kimble, Jonathan traveled across the country as an itinerant laborer. His only companion was a burly ex-cop named Mark (Victor French), who had been a bitter, defeated man until Jonathan gave him a personal mission.[17]

In terms of self-reflexivity, Highway to Heaven self-consciously highlighted the generic convention of the

wanderer-hero as mythic redeemer figure. The chief difference between Highway to Heaven from the other wanderer-hero programs is that Jonathan's redemptive role is made readily apparent through his status as an angel, a direct agent of God. In the earlier wanderer-hero programs, the redeemer role is concealed within the representation of the mysterious outsider who enters the troubled lives of people in a neverending string of communities.

Throughout the series, Landon's Jonathan occasionally pokes good-hearted fun at his angelic role and powers. At the end of one episode, when a retirement home and its patrons are miraculously saved by the winnings from a horserace, Jonathan shrugs his shoulders and remarks, "It's time for me to ride into the sunset."[18] Occasionally, the program would display a tongue-in-cheek tone through its intertextual references. For example, an October 1987 Halloween episode entitled "I Was a Middle-Aged Werewolf" lampooned Landon's first, famous movie role in I Was a Teenage Werewolf (1957).[19]

Another program that exemplified a high degree of self-reflexivity within the formula was the NBC series Quantum Leap. Quantum Leap began its current run in September 1989 and features the time-travel adventures of Dr. Sam Beckett, played by Scott Bakula. In the establishing premise, Beckett, a scientist, botched a time-travel experiment and now spends his days and nights traveling through time - any

point between the mid-1950s and the recent past - where he assumes other people's identities. Beckett's only colleague on his journeys is the wise-cracking, cigar-smoking hologram Al, played with campy fun by Dean Stockwell. The series was created by Donald P. Bellasario (Magnum, P.I.), who seems to have been greatly influenced by a number of time travel scenarios from the 1941 film, Here Comes Mr. Jordan to Highway to Heaven.[20]

In terms of self-reflexivity, Quantum Leap calls attention to the generic convention that in each episode the wanderer-hero must meet a pre-determined individual, identify their problem, and resolve it within the course of the hour-long episode. In essence, the series utilizes this narrative restriction to literally energize and add dramatic urgency to each of its episodes. In the course of a typical episode, Beckett, with the assistance of Al, must identify the narrative course of the lives of the people involved and to help change that course, all within a strictly defined time-limit.

Another generic convention highlighted within Quantum Leap is that the wanderer-hero, in the course of his travels, meets and shares the different perspectives of the assorted people he encounters. In The Fugitive, when Kimble works as a dock worker, truckdriver, or farm laborer, he invariably shares and comes to understand the distinctive points-of-view of each social group. In Quantum Leap, the

wanderer-hero's evolving perspective is taken to its ultimate level - he actually becomes a different person in each of his journeys. In the series, Beckett has been such disparate types as an Air Force test pilot, a washed-up boxer, an elderly black man, a young man with Down's syndrome, a teen-aged hot rodder, and even Samantha, a blond executive secretary.[21]

Perhaps the series' most unique attribute is its generic recombination of the scientific time-travel formula with the conventions of the wanderer-hero story. Despite his apparent misfortune, Beckett has been assigned by an omniscient power (known as Ziggy) to serve as a time-traveling redeemer figure. Along the way, Beckett's journeys occasionally reveal a more personalized quest. For instance, in one episode, he travels back to South Vietnam for a highly emotional encounter with his deceased brother.

Quantum Leap's penchant for self-reflexivity, generic recombinations, and a wide range of diverse character perspectives is related to a major tendency among 1980s TV programming - post-modernism. One of the defining stylistic qualities of post-modernism is the creation of works built on juxapositions of conflicting discourses (high art, popular culture, contemporary and historical, etc.) where the text becomes the site of these intersecting modes of representation.[22] In Quantum Leap, Beckett's time-travel adventures allow the show to juxapose at least three

different discourses: Beckett's futuristic/contemporary perspective, Al's historical perspective, and the viewpoint of the featured time period (Fifties, Seventies, etc.).

Additionally, in the 1980s, the wanderer-hero moved from being a marginal outsider to becoming a full-fledged fantasy figure. This cultural shift toward fantasy-style entertainment, which began in the mid-Seventies, has been termed "Reaganite entertainment."[23] Robin Wood argues that this trend was part of a national movement toward psychological reassurance following such traumatic events as the Vietnam War and the Watergate scandals. Wood stresses that another oblique intent of this entertainment was to defuse and render safe all the major radical movements of the 60s and 70s: radical feminism, black militancy, gay liberation. In this era of reassuring sequels and repetitions, popular films featured benevolent extraterresterials (E.T., Close Encounters of the Third Kind) and comic-strip style adventurers (Star Wars, Superman, Raiders of the Lost Ark). In these films, the adult spectator is constructed as a child partly to diminish many of the disturbing ideological contradictions in the storylines and to provide a measure of self-satisfying indulgence.[24] Subsequently, these films greatly influenced TV programming with the advent of such shows as Knightrider, The A-Team, Beauty and the Beast, Highway to Heaven, and Quantum Leap.

One aspect that has changed significantly from the earlier wanderer-hero programs is the representation of the hero's relationship with society. In The Fugitive, Kimble exists as a societal outsider who helps troubled individuals to resolve their dilemmas. In Highway to Heaven, the world is constructed as cold, spiritually empty, and morally bankrupt. In this setting, personal crises are resolved only through Jonathan's direct divine intervention and acts of kindness. In Quantum Leap, Beckett serves a stronger redemptive role as he is able to actually travel back in time to change the course of a person's life. Consequently, society is represented as increasingly chaotic while the individual's role in determining and overcoming life's problems has nearly disappeared.

Moreover, Beckett's redemptive ability to literally change the past is related to another strong inclination of national reassurance - the concept of historical revisionism. During the 1980s, Reagan set in motion redefining various aspects of American society with key references points in a nostalgic and mythical version of the nation's past: the return to a laissez-faire economy, the reaffirmation of small-town, utilitarian virtues, and the establishment of the Vietnam War as a "just" patriotic effort. Although Quantum Leap is vested with a liberal Hollywood perspective, the show does nevertheless reflect an

on going national trend towards a revisionist perception of America's past.

Further Research on The Fugitive

This study has provided a brief overview of the historical development of The Fugitive and an analysis of five predominant discourses present within the text of the series. However, despite the scope of this research, there are many other topic areas which require further research.

David Thorburn has argued that with the abundance of ideological and socio-political studies presently conducted on television, one of the most overlooked research areas is the associated "aesthetics" of a particular TV program. In terms of TV aesthetics, Thorburn defines these as the stylistic elements that comprise a program such as lighting, editing, photography, music score, acting, and writing.[25] Earlier in this study, I've mentioned that Thorburn credited Janssen's sensitive and understated acting style with adding emotional resonance to the often predictable storylines of many Fugitive episodes. One possible aesthetic area to study include the program's mixture of film noir/hard-boiled detective stylistics such as framing each episode with William Conrad's omniscient voice-over narration and a penchant for tough-sounding episode titles such as "Everybody Gets Hit in the Mouth Sometime," and "Detour on a Road Going Nowhere."

In addition, there has not been a fully detailed auteur study of one of TV's most prolific and successful producers, Quinn Martin. In this same vein, there has not been an auteur study of The Fugitive's Emmy award-winning producer, Alan Armer.

CONCLUSION

In the 1960s, American commercial television in general was so conservative that it often appeared to not represent the vast cultural and societal changes of that turbulent decade. When change does occur within this billion-dollar media industry, it happens slowly, gradually, and equivocally. Clearly, as television defined and redefined what was appropriate for mass consumption, many significant issues and conflicts were completely left out. Many of the most divisive issues (the Vietnam War, counter-culture movement) of the time were rarely mentioned within the confines of entertainment programming. But if television is to be understood as a consensual medium, serving as an arena for both agreement and debate over matters of public interest, then even the most blatantly superficial entertainment programming tells us something about our own shared values, assumptions, and beliefs during a historical time period.

Viewing individual episodes of The Fugitive some thirty years after they first aired provide a certain perspective; they often seem mannered and excessively melodramatic by

contemporary standards but it is important to remember that the series spoke most immediately to the cultural context in which it was produced. During the series four-year run, many monumental and traumatic events occurred: Kennedy's assassination, L.B.J.'s "Great Society," the passage of the Civil Rights Act and the Voting Rights Act, the Watt's riots, and the gradual escalation of the Vietnam conflict. The Fugitive, which featured the trials and tribulations of an innocent man hunted by his own society, seemed to touch a sympathetic chord with the American public. In many respects, Kimble's long, fateful journey perfectly captured the country's growing alienation and disenchantment during those increasingly volatile years.

NOTES

1. Bellah 144-145.

2. Robert Jewett and John Shelton Lawrence, The American Monomyth, (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press/Doubleday, 1977) 195-196.

3. Jewett 106-111.

4. Jewett 116-119.

5. Newcomb TV 149.

6. Newcomb TV 150.

7. Newcomb TV 150-151.

8. Jack Gould, "TV Review: Three New Shows and a Local Documentary," New York Times 18 Sept. 1969, 95:1.

9. Brooks 784.

10. Gould 95:1.

11. Himmelstein 179.

12. Digby Diehl, "Does James Dean Ride Again?," New York Times 26 Oct. 1969, 21:1.

13. Brooks 427-428.

14. Castleman 250.

15. Arthur Asa Berger, The TV-Guided American, (New York: Walker & Co., 1976) 48-50.

16. Teresa de Lauretis, "A Semiotic Approach To Television As Ideological Apparatus," Television: The Critical View, ed. Horace Newcomb, 2nd ed. (New York: Oxford UP, 1979) 107-108.

17. Brooks 343-344.

18. John J. O'Connor, "TV Review: Highway to Heaven with Landon," New York Times, 19 Sept. 1984: C26:1.

19. Brooks 344.

20. John J. O'Connor, "Review: Television - An Actor's "Quantum Leap" Through Times and Roles," New York Times 22 Nov. 1989: 18:5.

21. O'Connor, "Quantum," 18:5.

22. James Collins, "Postmodernism And Cultural Practice: Redefining The Parameters," Screen 28:2 (1981): 12.

23. Andrew Britton defines the term "Reaganite entertainment" as not a literal one but rather to describe a general movement of reaction and conservative reassurance in contemporary Hollywood cinema. For a further detailed description read his essay, "Blissing Out: The Politics of Reaganite Entertainment," Movie 31/32 (1986): 1-42.

24. Robin Wood, Hollywood from Vietnam to Reagan (New York: Columbia UP, 1986) 162-180.

25. David Thorburn, "Television As An Aesthetic Medium," Media, Myths, and Narratives: Television and the Press, ed. James Carey (Newbury Park, CA.: Sage Pub., 1988) 48-51.

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