

Everybody Thought We Were Crazy

DENNIS HOPPER,
BROOKE HAYWARD,
and 1960s LOS ANGELES

Mark Rozzo



An Imprint of HarperCollins Publishers

Portions of this work were originally published in different form in *Vanity Fair* and *The New Yorker*.

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FIRST EDITION

Designed by Michelle Crowe

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data has been applied for.

ISBN 978-0-06-293997-5

22 23 24 25 26 FB 10 9 8 7 6 5 4 3 2 1

NOTES

ABBREVIATIONS OF FREQUENTLY CITED SOURCES

AAA: Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

AW: Andy Warhol Archives, Andy Warhol Museum, Pittsburgh

BH: Brooke Hayward

BHP: Brooke Hayward Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts

DH: Dennis Hopper

HAT: Hopper Art Trust, Los Angeles

JKP: Jack Kirkland Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts

JSP: Jean Stein Papers, Manuscripts and Archives Division, New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations

JTC: Marion McIntyre (Miss Mac) letters, Jeffrey Thomas Collection

LAT: *Los Angeles Times*

LHP: Leland Hayward Papers, Billy Rose Theatre Division, New York Public Library for the Performing Arts

MS: Molly Saltman, "Art and Artists" Interviews, 1966–1967, Archives of American Art, Smithsonian Institution

NYT: *The New York Times*

NYU: My Semina Photography: A Conversation with Dennis Hopper, February 7, 2007, NYU TV and Media Services Videotapes; RG 38.16.01, box 76, New York University Archives (from the *Semina Culture: Wallace Berman*

‡ *His Circle* exhibition, Grey Art Gallery and Study Center)

POP: Post Office Papers, J. Michelle Martin

SSP: Stewart Stern Papers, University of Iowa Libraries, Iowa City, Iowa

TNY: *The New Yorker*

The author conducted many interviews in the construction of this book. To avoid redundancy, these interviews are not cited in the following notes. All quotations and information from other sources (books, articles, oral histories, archival material, films) are.

PROLOGUE:

LOS ANGELES, NOVEMBER 6, 1961

- 1 “Transcontinental Blues”: Dennis Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights: Photographs, 1962–1968* (New York: Greybull Press, 2001), unpaginated.
- 1 The air: “The Los Angeles Brush Area Conflagration, November 6–7, 1961” (official LAFD report), Los Angeles Fire Department Historical Archive, http://lafire.com/famous_fires/1961–1106_BelAirFire/1961–1106_LAFD-Report_BelAirFire.htm.
- 1 “suicide and divorce”: Joan Didion, *Slouching Towards Bethlehem* (New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 2008), 3.
- 1 “I missed”: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 2 “I won’t be”: Jane Wilkie, “Rebel from Dodge City,” *Modern Screen*, May 1957, 91.
- 2 That Monday morning: Henry Sutherland and Howard Hertel, “Flammable Conditions Brought Bel-Air Fire, Fanned by Bad Luck,” *LAT*, March 11, 1962, M1.
- 2 Driven by: “The Los Angeles Brush Area Conflagration.”
- 2 While her husband slept: Terry Southern, “The Loved House of the Dennis Hoppers,” *Vogue*, August 1, 1965, 162.
- 3 Chinese tapestries: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 3 What ensued: “The Los Angeles Brush Area Conflagration.”
- 3 Burning shingles: Ibid.
- 3 “hurricane of fire”: Ibid.
- 3 The family’s accounts: Miss Mac, for instance, said that she had driven the boys to school in a letter, dated November 6, 1961, yet her own accounts offered conflicting information about what happened that morning.

- 4 It was responsible: James O. Haworth, "Prescribed Fire Proves Effective at Urban Interface," *Fire Engineering*, January 1, 1987, <https://www.fireengineering.com/1987/01/01/254229/prescribed-fire-proves-effective-at-urban-interface>.
- 4 And it was responsible: Miss Mac, in a letter from late November, estimated that the house "was burned to the ground by 11 o'clock or 12."
- 4 nearly five hundred houses: "The Los Angeles Brush Area Conflagration."
- 4 "the coolest kids": Deborah Davis, *The Trip: Andy Warhol's Plastic Fantastic Cross-Country Adventure* (New York: Atria Books, 2015), 75.
- 5 "Prado of Pop": Brad Darrach, "The Easy Rider Runs Wild in the Andes," *Life*, June 19, 1970, 56.
- 5 "of such gaiety": Southern, "The Loved House of the Dennis Hoppers," 138.
- 5 Andy Warhol loved it: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015), 52.
- 5 Like Gerald and Sara Murphy: Calvin Tomkins, *Living Well Is the Best Revenge* (New York: Viking, 1962), 6–7.
- 6 "represented failure": Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 8 "Those years": Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.

1: "ANY MAN WHO DOESN'T DEVELOP A CRUSH HAS NO SOUL"

- 9 She still couldn't believe: Brooke Hayward, *Haywire* (New York: Vintage, 2011), 37.
- 9 "Your mother and father": Ibid.
- 9 "The kid's got": Leonard Lerner, "Won Job on Own Merits: Stardom for Daughter of Margaret Sullavan," *Boston Daily Globe*, January 10, 1960, A1.
- 10 "I never asked": Ibid.
- 10 "The girl is interesting": Walter Kerr, "'Marching Song' by Whiting Presented at Gate Theater," *New York Herald Tribune*, December 29, 1959, 10.
- 10 "combines in actuality": Barbara Rose, "Andy Warhol's American Women," *Vogue*, June 1974, 115.
- 10 "looks so soft": "La Cienega," *LAT*, March 13, 1970, D8.
- 10 "She had from": Scott Eyman, *Hank and Jim: The Fifty-Year Friendship of Henry Fonda and James Stewart* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), 22.
- 10 In early 1961: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 10 She said it was a role: Ibid.
- 11 "not a Tara": Jack Kirkland, *Mandingo* script, JKP.
- 11 "a well disciplined": Ibid.
- 11 "gnarled and rheumatic": Ibid.
- 11 The men were trained: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 11 On April 17: Stuart W. Little, "Genet Disavows Interest in N.Y. Production of Play," *New York Herald Tribune*, April 18, 1961, 18.
- 11 "The first two weeks": Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 12 In 1960, Hopper had tried: "Who's Where," *Variety*, April 10, 1960, 2.

- 12 Tone managed to cut: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 12 “It was really unfair”: Jean Stein, interview with DH, August 16, 2007, JSP.
- 12 The new Hammond: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 13 “He terrified me”: Robert Windeler, “The Eldest Daughter Remembers When Filmland’s Golden Family, the Haywards, Went Haywire,” *People*, May 23, 1977, <https://people.com/archive/the-eldest-daughter-remembers-when-filmlands-golden-family-the-haywards-went-haywire-vol-7-no-20>.
- 13 “Franchot, with whom”: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 13 “Improvisation being”: Ibid.
- 13 studied with Strasberg: Dennis often spoke of the years he had spent with Strasberg at the Actors Studio after his career in Hollywood began breaking down in the late 1950s. Brooke, in an interview, contended that Dennis had in fact had nothing to do with the Actors Studio, implying that it was part of his self-mythologizing. If so, perhaps it was a way to cast a troublesome chapter of his career in a more productive light.
- 14 “I was influenced”: Joe Finnigan, “Actor Believes ‘Rebel’ Idea Costs Him Roles,” *Austin Statesman*, February 10, 1960, 19.
- 14 “The worst thing”: “Teenage Actor,” *Seventeen*, January 1956, 12.
- 14 “a free spirit”: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 14 “Oil and water”: Judy Klemesrud, “Something Has Gone Haywire,” *NYT*, March 9, 1977, 47.
- 14 “There wasn’t”: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 15 “I wish I could”: Ibid.
- 15 Now “madly in love”: Ibid.
- 15 dropped hundreds of dollars: Receipts from June 1961, LHP. Peerless was at 415 Lexington.
- 15 She picked out: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 15 “God, I wish”: Kirkland, *Mandingo* script.
- 16 “The one thing”: NYU.
- 16 Dennis would talk: Peter L. Winkler, *Dennis Hopper: The Wild Ride of a Hollywood Rebel* (Fort Lee: Barricade Books, 2011), 79.
- 16 The premiere: Stuart W. Little, “The Ordeal of Hume Cronyn,” *New York Herald Tribune*, May 16, 1961, 16.
- 16 Opening night: Author’s correspondence with Jack Baxter, May 15, 2021.
- 16 such luminaries: Unsigned telegram to Billy Baxter, May 27, 1961, Collection of Jack Baxter.
- 16 “My worst memory”: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 17 “a crude, sensationalized”: Howard Taubman, “Era of Slavery: Kirkland’s ‘Mandingo’ Stars Franchot Tone,” *NYT*, May 23, 1961, 43.
- 17 “Ten Nights on a Stud Farm”: “Critics (3–1) Don’t Like Staging of ‘Mandingo,’” *Newsday*, May 23, 1961, 5C.
- 17 “Why most of”: Letter from Langston Hughes to Billy Baxter, undated, Collection of Jack Baxter.

- 17 “repellent and ridiculous”: George Oppenheimer, “On Stage: Last but Not Least,” *Newsday*, April 31, 1961, 11C.
- 17 “exciting performance”: John Chapman, “Tone Is Splendid in ‘Mandingo,’ a Rough and Absorbing Melodrama,” *New York Daily News*, May 23, 1961, n.p.
- 17 Robert De Niro: John Parker, *Robert De Niro: Portrait of a Legend* (London: John Blake, 2010), unpaginated.
- 17 At the Actors Studio: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 18 “misbegotten and ill-conceived”: Unpublished essay by BH.
- 18 closed five days: According to Jack Baxter, the premature close of *Mandingo* left his father, coproducer Billy “Silver Dollar” Baxter, bankrupt.
- 18 9D: Receipt for gift order, August 9, 1961, LHP.
- 18 1930 building: Christopher Gray, “Streetscapes/The North Side of West 81st Street,” *NYT*, February 13, 2000, 9.
- 18 “shot and donated”: Hayward, *Haywire*, 66.
- 18 The building’s lobby: *Ibid.*, 11.
- 19 In 1959, Dennis: Letter from DH to David Hopper, May 27, 1959, HAT.
- 19 “with huge canvases”: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 19 “By my family’s”: *Ibid.*
- 19 “Dennis and I were”: *Ibid.*

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- 21 “I followed”: Dennis Hopper and Michael McClure, *Out of the Sixties* (Santa Fe: Twelvetreets Press, 1986), unpaginated.
- 21 “Dennis, of course”: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 21 Marjorie had: *Ibid.*
- 22 1936 Summer Olympic Games: Jean Stein, interview with DH, March 23, 2010, JSP.
- 22 Busley Brothers IGA: Listed as place of employment on Jay Hopper’s 1940 draft registration card. The photo in question shows Jay looking like a teenager or young adult, and the apron is embroidered with the business name.
- 22 Jay’s father had: United States Census, 1920, 1930, and 1940.
- 22 August 21, 1935: Legacy.com. <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/sandiegouniontribune/name/marjorie-hopper-obituary?pid=86124918>.
- 22 St. Anthony’s Hospital: DH baby book, HAT.
- 22 Jay liked to tease: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 22 “We all grew up”: *Ibid.*
- 23 “round as a ball”: DH baby book, HAT.
- 23 “It been I”: *Ibid.*
- 23 “How do!”: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 23 photograph taken during the Civil War: Family portrait, undated, HAT.

- 23 By three years of age: DH baby book, HAT.
- 23 Around that time: Ronald Tanner, "60 Years with IGA; a Saga of American Independence," *Progressive Grocer*, June 1, 1986, <https://www.thefree library.com/60+years+with+IGA%3b+a+saga+of+American+independence.-a04264094>.
- 23 505 1/12 10th Avenue: DH baby book, HAT.
- 23 On September 9, 1941: DH baby book, HAT.
- 23 "every child's book": Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 23 "I don't care": *The American Dreamer*, directed by L. M. Kit Carson and Lawrence Schiller (Los Angeles: Corda Productions, 1971), posted by sgolowka, YouTube, November 17, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8hpYYhLJyc>.
- 23 he would occasionally confess: Lawrence Linderman, "Gallery Interview: Dennis Hopper," *Gallery*, December 1972, reprinted in *Dennis Hopper: Interviews*, ed. Nick Dawson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 87.
- 24 His first artwork: HAT.
- 24 At the age of three: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 24 Now he found: Photograph of Ms. Anders's class, ca. 1941–42, HAT; Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 25 first "white man": "Yellowstone Park. An Interview With a Man Who Visited That Region of Wonders as Far Back as 1863." *Courier-Journal* (Louisville), April 13, 1884, 12; David Hopper interview, December 9, 2019.
- 25 Lonnie and Nellie Davis: Unidentified newspaper clip, undated, HAT.
- 25 "The land is flat": Truman Capote, *In Cold Blood* (New York: Modern Library, 2007), 3.
- 26 He was an unabashed: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 26 "an infinite capacity": David Hopper, "Eulogy to W. Lonnie Davis," 1967, HAT.
- 26 "My grandfather and grandmother": DH and McClure, *Out of the Sixties*, unpaginated.
- 26 wedged between: David Hopper interview, April 10, 2020.
- 26 "Most of the time": James Stevenson, "Our Local Correspondents: Afternoons with Hopper," *TNY*, November 13, 1971, 116.
- 26 "Clodhopper": Jane Wilkie, "Rebel from Dodge City," *Modern Screen*, May 1957, 91.
- 26 If it was: Hopper, *Dennis Hopper: Photographs, 1961–1967*, ed. Tony Shafrazi (Köln: Taschen, 2018), 418.
- 27 "We did that": Jean Stein, interview with DH, April 12, 1987, JSP.
- 27 "In Kansas": Ibid.

- 27 The bright light: Peter L. Winkler, *Dennis Hopper: The Wild Ride of a Hollywood Rebel* (Fort Lee, NJ: Barricade Books, 2011), 4.
- 27 "I saw a war movie": Jean Stein, interview with DH, April 12, 1987, JSP.
- 27 "Furry little balls, die!": Ibid.
- 27 "The world on the screen": Winkler, *Dennis Hopper*, 4.
- 27 "The Pilgrim, Chapter 33": Thomas Elsaesser, Alexander Horwath, and Noel King, *The Last Great American Picture Show: New Hollywood Cinema in the 1970s* (Netherlands: Amsterdam University Press, 2004), 96. Kristoffer-son was known to dedicate this song to Dennis in concert.
- 28 "I ODeD": Alex Simon, "Dennis Hopper Is Riding Easy," *Venice Magazine*, Spring 2009, reprinted in *Dennis Hopper: Interviews*, ed. Nick Dawson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 196.
- 28 When asked: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 28 On January 20, 1944: Electronic Army Serial Number Merged File, ca. 1938–46 (Enlistment Records), <https://aad.archives.gov/aad/record-detail.jsp?dt=893&mtch=1&cat=all&tf=F&q=37731461&cbc=&rpp=10&pg=1&rid=6897138>; a photograph of Jay Hopper in the Hopper Art Trust shows him wearing the sleeve badge of the Seventh Service Command.
- 28 "Dennis was very sad!": Hopper family portrait, 1944, HAT.
- 29 "We should just": Jean Stein, interview with DH, April 12, 1987, JSP.
- 29 "Now wouldn't that make": Winkler, *Dennis Hopper*, 5.
- 29 "He knew all the time": Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 29 "Daddy's dead": Ibid.
- 29 "As far as him": Ibid.
- 29 "Mother said": Letter from Jay Hopper to DH, November 24, 1945, HAT.
- 29 With his flair: Ginny Dougary, "Dennis Hopper," *Times* (London), March 12, 2004, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/dennis-hopper-xnzzg09zvdj>.
- 30 In fact, Jay's unit: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 30 "She was quite wild": Jean Stein, interview with DH, April 12, 1987, JSP.
- 31 "entertained rather well": Ibid.
- 31 "Booze, drinks": Ibid.
- 31 A couple of years: Photograph of Hoppers in 1947 at Kansas City house, HAT. This photograph, showing the four Hoppers, contradicts Dennis's memory that they lived in a "beat-up house in the tenement district," as he told the journalist Jane Wilkie in 1957.
- 31 Jay had taken: Jean Stein, interview with DH, April 23, 2010, JSP.
- 31 "I learned to do": Peter M. Brant and Tony Shafrazi, "Dennis Hopper Complete Interview," *Interview*, July 15, 2010, <https://www.interviewmagazine.com/film/dennis-hopper-complete-interview>.
- 31 "You're not gonna": Dougary, "Dennis Hopper."

- 32 Dennis bade farewell: Letter from Donna Dover to DH, ca. 1987, HAT.
- 32 Marjorie volunteered: Marjorie Hopper obituary, *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 23, 2007, <https://www.legacy.com/us/obituaries/sandiegouniontribune/name/marjorie-hopper-obituary?pid=86124918>.
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- 33 Young David became infatuated: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 33 “I don’t want”: Ibid.
- 33 vocal and drama coach: Don Savage, *Carpenter: A Personal Look at Professional Wrestling* (Bloomington, IN: iUniverse, 2012), 64.
- 33 Dennis had shown: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 33 “An’ I ain’t kickin’”: Edward A. Guest, “Castor Oil,” in *When Day Is Done* (Chicago: Reilly & Lee, 1921), 55.
- 33 “The rest of the time”: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 34 The following year: Ibid.
- 34 “If you can fill”: Rudyard Kipling, “If,” Poetry Foundation, www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/46473/if.
- 34 “I was a very sensitive”: Don Alpert, “Way of Communicating: Hopper’s Career a Search for Love,” *LAT*, November 15, 1959, F3.
- 34 “My parents were”: Hopper, *Dennis Hopper: Photographs*, 418.
- 35 “What kind of kid”: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 35 “We neither one”: Ibid.
- 35 “That was one”: Jean Stein, interview with DH, March 23, 2010, JSP.
- 35 He remembered Marjorie: Richard Stayton, “Waiting for Dennis,” *LAT*, May 14, 1995, SM18.
- 35 “He was really”: Dougary, “Dennis Hopper.”
- 36 “They were always screaming”: Brad Darrach, “The Easy Rider Runs Wild in the Andes,” *Life*, June 19, 1970, 57.
- 36 “when you couldn’t”: *The American Dreamer*.
- 36 “My mother had”: Stayton, “Waiting for Dennis.”
- 36 I really wanted”: Jean Stein, interview with DH, April 12, 1987, JSP.
- 37 He claimed: Ron Rosenbaum, “Riding High: Dennis Hopper Bikes Back,” *Vanity Fair*, April 1987, 82.
- 37 “He had a wild soul”: Gene Fowler, *Good Night, Sweet Prince: The Life and Times of John Barrymore* (Philadelphia: Blakiston, 1944), 171.
- 37 “a great artist cannot”: Ibid., 340.
- 37 blowing off French class: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 37 by eighth grade: Michael Granberry, “Hopper’s Hometown Saw a Bright Future for Him,” *LAT*, April 26, 1988, Metro 1.
- 37 His sophomore yearbook: Helix High School yearbook, 1952, HAT.

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- 38 En route to UCLA: Ibid.
- 38 “Practically over”: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 38 “driving a prop truck”: Kim Bockus, “Double Standards: An Interview with Dennis Hopper,” *ArtUS*, March–April 2007, 18.
- 38 Sixteen-year-old Susan Kohner: Robert Vose (photographer), “Summer Star Dust,” *Look*, July 27, 1954, 77.
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- 39 Some of the relationships: In some accounts, Dennis had known Milam before working at La Jolla and it was Milam who got him the apprentice job, as Dennis said in a 2007 interview with Kim Bockus for *ArtUS*.
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- 39 “I was antisocial”: Winkler, *Dennis Hopper*, 15.
- 39 He starred: Marjorie Hopper interview, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 40 “You could tell”: Granberry, “Hopper’s Hometown Saw a Bright Future for Him.”
- 40 In spite of Dennis’s: Winkler, *Dennis Hopper*, 15.
- 40 After graduation: Ibid., 9.
- 40 “He was one of”: Ibid.
- 40 6212 La Mirada Avenue: Letter from DH to Marjorie and Jay Hopper, 1954, HAT.
- 40 His father handed him \$200: Winkler, *Dennis Hopper*, 19.
- 41 After Dennis arrived: Jean Stein, interview with DH, August 16, 2007, JSP.
- 41 Dennis wrote home: Undated letter from DH to family, HAT.
- 41 Dennis told his family: Ibid.
- 41 during an audition: Jean Stein, interview with DH, August 16, 2007, JSP.
- 41 Dennis claimed: Linderman, “*Gallery Interview: Dennis Hopper*,” 71. This number tended to vary in Hopper’s memory; sometimes it was seven.
- 41 On January 5: “Wins Col Thespact by Work in Storm,” *Variety*, January 1, 1955, 1.
- 41 Raison had: Jean Stein, interview with DH, August 16, 2007, JSP.

- 42 “Go fuck yourself”: Tom Burke, “Will ‘Easy’ Do It for Dennis Hopper?,” *NYT*, July 20, 1969, D11.
- 42 Raison then took: Jean Stein, interview with DH, August 16, 2007, JSP.
- 42 Ten days after: Hedda Hopper, “Berle Still on Top, Columnist Reveals,” *LAT*, January 13, 1955, B8. Dennis always claimed that January 7, 1955, was the day he had gone under contract with Warner Bros.

3: “THE MOST BEAUTIFUL, THE MOST BRILLIANT, THE MOST CREATIVE”

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- 43 Cedars of Lebanon Hospital: “Margaret Sullavan Has Child,” *NYT*, July 6, 1937, 23.
- 43 “Two days old”: John Swope, *Camera over Hollywood: Photographs by John Swope* (New York: Random House, 1939), unpaginated.
- 43 “thin, with graying hair”: Margaret Case Harriman, “Profiles: Hollywood Agent,” *TNY*, July 11, 1936, 20.
- 44 A colleague said: Sonia Berman, *The Crossing—Adano to Catonsville: Leland Hayward’s Producing Career* (New York: Scarecrow Press, 1995), 221.
- 44 “Toscanini of the telephone”: BH, interview with George Axelrod, undated, BHP. The story about Jack & Charlie’s is from Harriman, “Profiles: Hollywood Agent.”
- 44 Jack & Charlie’s: Harriman, “Profiles: Hollywood Agent,” 20.
- 44 He was known to work: Ibid.
- 44 the most beautiful baby: Hayward, *Haywire*, 19.
- 44 Her arrival was noted: “Private Lives,” *Life*, July 19, 1937, 74. *Stage Door* closed on March 13, 1937.
- 44 Five months later: “Air Liner Commuting at Early Age,” *LAT*, December 10, 1937, 20.
- 44 Leland was a pilot: Harriman, “Profiles: Hollywood Agent,” 20.
- 45 her mother was: Michael D. Rinella, *Margaret Sullavan: The Life and Career of a Reluctant Star* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2019), 6.
- 45 her father, Cornelius Sullavan, worked: United States Census, 1920.
- 45 In later life: A few of these banknotes, sent to Brooke’s brother, Bill Hayward, reside in the BHP.
- 45 “deep pride about”: Hayward, *Haywire*, 180.
- 45 The young Margaret: Rinella, *Margaret Sullavan*, 6.
- 45 her senior class portrait: Ibid., 7.
- 45 “Inwardly, I was an anarchist”: Ibid.
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- 45 “I don’t want to be”: John C. Moffitt, “A Movie Star Defies Hollywood,” *Baltimore Sun*, August 5, 1934, MSS4.

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- 46 “The fairest of sights”: Hayward, *Haywire*, 162.
- 46 “If I’ve ever known”: BH, interview with Henry Fonda, undated, BHP. A version of this is in *Haywire*, 162.
- 46 “Time after time”: Henry Fonda and Howard Teichmann, *Fonda: My Life* (New York: New American Library, 1981), 84.
- 46 “cream and sugar”: Scott Eyman, *Hank and Jim: The Fifty-Year Friendship of Henry Fonda and James Stewart* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), 31.
- 46 Maggie and Henry Fonda: Patricia Bosworth, *Jane Fonda: The Private Life of a Public Woman* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 35.
- 46 Margaret married her agent: “Margaret Sullavan, Actress, Wed to Leland Hayward at Newport,” *New York Herald Tribune*, November 16, 1936, 5.
- 46 Maisie had gained: Jack Forester, “The Juicy, 103-Year History of New York’s Famed Cartier Mansion,” Bloomberg, January 2, 2019, <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2019-01-02/the-juicy-103-year-history-of-new-york-s-famed-cartier-mansion>.
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- 47 “Dear Maggie—You have just”: William J. Mann, *Kate: The Woman Who Was Hepburn* (New York: Henry Holt, 2007), 260.
- 47 Brooke believed: Hayward, *Haywire*, 69.
- 47 She recalled: Eyman, *Hank and Jim*, 74.
- 47 Around the time: Letter from Leland Hayward to William Hayward, August 9, 1940, LHP.
- 47 In another letter: Letter from Leland Hayward to William Hayward, March 21, 1940, LHP.
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- 51 Brooke adopted a squirrel: *Ibid.*, 122.
- 51 Maggie was in heaven: *Ibid.*, 132.
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- 52 looking for any opportunity: Hayward, *Haywire*, 129.
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- 52 cigarette butts: Hayward, *Haywire*, 142.
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5: "HURRICANE OF FIRE"

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6: “WHAT IN THE HELL? WHERE ARE WE GONNA PUT IT?”

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- 137 “hopeless born loser”: Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Boston: Da
Capo Press, 2003), 91.
- 138 “He did it”: *Painters Painting*, directed by Emilio de Antonio (New York:
New Yorker Films, 1973).
- 138 Muriel Latow came up: Calvin Tomkins, *The Scene: Reports on Post-modern
Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 47.
- 138 Dennis and Brooke found: Billy Al Bengston recalled hanging the show
with fellow Ferus artist Robert Irwin.
- 138 Blum priced the paintings: Paul Cummings, oral history interview with
Irving Blum, May 31–June 23, 1977, AAA.

- 138 The stark red-white-and-gold: Hilary Greenbaum, "Who Made that Campbell's Soup Label?," *NYT*, May 9, 2011, <https://6thfloor.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/05/09/who-made-that-campbells-soup-label>.
- 139 Warhol's fastidious craft: Andy Warhol and Sally King-Nero, *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné* (London: Phaidon, 2002), catalogue nos. 051–067.
- 139 "I want to be a machine": B.H.D. Buchloh and Andy Warhol, *Andy Warhol* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2001), 71.
- 139 "Frankly, the Cream of Asparagus": Hopps et al., *The Dream Colony*, 122.
- 139 DO NOT BE MISLED: Jack Smith, "Soup Can Painter Uses His Noodle," *LAT*, July 23, 1962, C1.
- 139 "His tribute to the blank": Robert Hughes, "Blake and Hockney," *London Magazine* 5, no. 10 (January 1, 1966): 68.
- 140 "I wanted to paint nothing": Bockris, *Warhol*, 154.
- 140 "He gave me a funny smile": Hopps et al., *The Dream Colony*, 122.
- 140 "The same lunch": Gene R. Swenson, "What Is Pop Art?," *Artnews*, November 1963, 26.
- 140 "He could sell": Joanna Weinberg, "It Happened One Night," *Vogue*, September 2002, 492.
- 141 "a total fabrication": Hopps claimed this in *The Dream Colony*.
- 141 "a constant source": Warhol and King-Nero, *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, nos. 051–067.
- 141 "Of their importance": Smith, "Soup Can Painter Uses His Noodle."
- 141 In 1996, he arranged: Ken Johnson, "Another Serving of Soup," *NYT*, May 8, 2015, C24. In 2012, Blum estimated the combined value to be \$200 million, which, if anything, was a lowball. Warhol's *Small Torn Campbell's Soup Can (Pepper Pot)* fetched \$11.8 million in 2006.
- 141 a one-off version: Warhol and King-Nero, *The Andy Warhol Catalogue Raisonné*, no. 053.
- 141 the painting was hanging above: According to the Warhol catalogue raisonné, this painting originated at Ferus, adding another layer of mystery to the story of how Dennis and Brooke acquired their soup-can painting; the weight of Dennis's, Brooke's, and Irving Blum's memories strongly supports Dennis's recollection that in the end the painting came from Dwan.
- 141 Dennis inquired: Bockus, "Double Standards."
- 141 Dennis and Brooke likely: It is possible that Dennis, during this time away from the children, filmed an episode of *The Defenders* called "The Indelible Silence" in New York at Filmways Studios, 246 East 127th Street, and that he and Brooke flew to New York. Brooke Hayward has no recollection of this.
- 142 "I wanted to keep her": Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
- 142 Some months later: Index cards accompanying these contact sheets at the Hopper Art Trust are marked "1963."

- 142 Lemon Grove Methodist Church: Contact sheets, HAT.
- 142 It was perhaps: Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 237–38. The date of that infamous dinner has never been determined. A 1962 letter from Miss Mac indicates that Dennis and Brooke were visiting New York at Easter that year, which might also plausibly be when the dinner occurred.
- 142 “She really insulted me”: Ibid.
- 142 “It was her show”: Ibid.
- 142 “The world has been”: Richard Rovere, “Letter from Washington,” *TNY*, November 3, 1962, 122.
- 142 Angelenos were told: Marion McIntyre letter, October 24, 1962, JTC.
- 143 “Fateful Hour Near”: Robert Thompson, “Fateful Hour Near,” *LAT*, October 24, 1962, 1.
- 143 “Who would want”: Marion McIntyre letter, October 24, 1962, JTC.
- 143 “I could have made”: Letter from Marion McIntyre to Jeffrey Thomas, 2010, JTC.
- 143 “it would be the end”: Marion McIntyre letter, October 24, 1962, JTC.
- 143 The term had been coined: Lawrence Alloway, “The Arts and the Mass Media,” *Architectural Design*, February 1958, 34.
- 144 “L.A. was Pop”: Dennis Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights: Photographs, 1962–1968* (New York: Greybull Press, 2001), unpaginated.
- 144 “The question for Southern California”: Plagens, *The Sunshine Muse*, 139.
- 144 “The vulgarity of the image”: John Coplans, “The New Painting of Common Objects,” *Artforum*, November 1962, in *Pop Art: A Critical History*, ed. Steven Henry Madoff (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 44.
- 144 “Flying through the air”: Dennis Hopper, “About Ed Ruscha,” in Edward Ruscha, Dennis Hopper, and Jeffrey Deitch, *Edward Ruscha: Early Paintings, October 29 Through November 26, 1988* (New York: Tony Shafrazi Gallery, 1988), unpaginated. Draft copy at HAT.
- 144 the family who had built: Ed Ruscha, Yve-Alain Bois, and Walter Hopps, *Edward Ruscha: Catalogue Raisonné of the Paintings*, vol. 1, 1958–1970 (Göttingen: Gagosian Gallery/Steidl, 2003), 40–41. C. Bagley Wright and his wife bought the painting.
- 145 “affixing the object”: Julian Schnabel et al., *Dennis Hopper Double Standard* (Los Angeles: MOCA, 2010), 39.
- 145 “The photographers were”: Molly Saltman, interview with DH, 1966, MS.
- 145 “tour de force”: Henry J. Seldis, “Sculpture Featured in La Jolla Show,” *LAT*, December 30, 1962, A11. It is unclear which piece this was.
- 145 Paul Newman and Joanne Woodward: Hopper, *Dennis Hopper: Photographs*, 71.
- 145 He also shot Brooke: Ibid., 70.
- 146 *The Dennis Hopper One-Man Show*: Rudolf Frieling and Gary Garrels, *Bruce Conner: It’s All True* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2016), 124. The works were finally shown in the early 1970s.

- 146 *Wilhold Up the Mirror* was available as of 2021 on 1st Dibs via a seller in Bal Harbour, FL. It had been in the collection of Dr. Pentti Kouri (1949–2009) and shown at MOCA in 2010.
- 146 ceramic phrenology bust: The bust had likely been designed by the ceramist Edward Marshall Boehm.
- 146 “extraordinary and ahead”: Dennis Hopper and Michael McClure, *Out of the Sixties* (Santa Fe: Twelvetreets Press, 1986), unpaginated.
- 146 “We were doing”: Molly Saltman, interview with DH, 1966, MS.
- 146 “a pretentious”: Henry J. Seldis, “In the Galleries: Sequin Eyelids, Neon Lips,” *LAT*, July 18, 1963, D5.
- 146 “Henry Seldom”: Schwartz, *Ed Ruscha’s Los Angeles*, 33.
- 146 “This show of photo-assemblages”: R. G. Wholden, “Dennis Hopper, Primus-Stuart Galleries,” *Artforum*, April 1963, 45.
- 147 “Welcome brave new images!”: Ibid.

7: “SOMETHING WAS STRANGE AND WONDERFUL”

- 149 To Miss Mac: Marion McIntyre letter, undated, JTC.
- 149 Thanks to money: Brooke noted in an interview with the author, “Mother had left what in those days was a considerable amount of money to my sister, brother, and me. We each got a third of whatever. And my third was about \$300,000. Which was, in those days, a lot of money.”
- 150 They moved in: Marion McIntyre letter, ca. January 1963, JTC. The actual move-in date remains a mystery; Brooke recalled that it was April, but the Miss Mac letter suggests otherwise.
- 150 built in 1927: Original building permit, October 9, 1926.
- 150 eleven children, a wooden leg: Leslie Evans, “On the Track of the Elusive Baron Long,” *The Shaggy Man’s Place*, May 6, 2012, <http://www.shaggyman.com/index.php/70-on-the-track-of-the-elusive-baron-long>.
- 150 The neighborhood was filled: “Historic City & Business and Phone Directories,” 1960–1965, Los Angeles Public Library, <https://rescarta.lapl.org/ResCarta-Web/jsp/RcWebBrowse.jsp;jsessionid=E24BE5448346DDA0800935FF799062DD>.
- 150 Marlon Brando: Margy Rochlin, “Stewart Stern: Out of the Soul,” in *Back-story 2: Interviews with Screenwriters of the 1940s and 1950s*, ed. Pat McGiligan (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 294.
- 150 Igor Stravinsky: Dennis Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights: Photographs, 1962–1968* (New York: Greybull Press, 200), unpaginated.
- 150 were both present: Hunter Drohojowska-Philp, *Rebels in Paradise: The Los Angeles Art Scene and the 1960s* (New York: Henry Holt, 2011), 93.
- 150 “the same as that”: Jill Schary Zimmer, *With a Cast of Thousands: A Hollywood Childhood* (New York: Robinson, Stein and Day, 1963), 84.
- 150 Santa Monica was: Ibid.
- 150 “Were for people”: Ibid., 85.

- 150 Brentwood, Bel Air: Ibid.
- 151 “considered smart”: Ibid.
- 151 “You could buy”: Lisa Eisner and Román Alonso, “Still Haywire,” *T: The New York Times Style Magazine*, August 19, 2001, 200.
- 151 Curtis Harrington: Curtis Harrington, *Nice Guys Don’t Work in Hollywood: The Adventures of an Aesthete in the Movie Business* (Chicago: Drag City Incorporated, 2013), 119.
- 151 At Fire House Antiques: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 151 barbershop chair: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 151 carousel horses: Classifieds, *LAT*, August 16, 1964, 48.
- 151 Don Badertscher: Bevis Hillier, “Mix It Up: Making the Old Work Along with the New,” *LAT*, June 14, 1987, I7.
- 152 “I’ve only ever”: Eisner and Alonso, “Still Haywire.”
- 152 Vincent and Mary Price: Gary Klein, “Anything but Junk,” *LAT*, November 3, 1988, B14.
- 152 Brooke bought stacks: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 152 “What was banal”: Susan Sontag, “Notes on ‘Camp,’” in *Against Interpretation and Other Essays* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 1966), 285.
- 152 Égide Rombaux: Thomas Leavitt, *Three Young Collections: Selections from the Collections of Donald and Lynn Factor, Dennis and Brooke Hopper, André and Dory Previn (January 15–February 26, 1967)* (Santa Barbara, CA: Santa Barbara Museum of Art, 1967), unpaginated.
- 152 bronze fountain: Unpublished essay by BH, 2015.
- 153 In 2018, a rare Tiffany lamp: “Collecting Guide: 10 Things to Know About Tiffany Lamps.” Christie’s, November 2, 2020, <http://www.christies.com/features/Tiffany-lamps-10-things-you-need-to-know-9542-3.aspx>.
- 153 A Tiffany show: Lisa Hammel, “Real or a Copy, Tiffany Lamp Is ‘In,’” *NYT*, April 1, 1965, 40.
- 153 “Tiffany made what”: Jean Stein, interview with DH, October 3, 1973, JSP.
- 153 *Justice League of America*: Roy Lichtenstein Foundation, Image Duplicator, https://www.imageduplicator.com/main.php?decade=60&year=63&work_id=733.
- 153 “everybody thought”: Molly Saltman, interview with DH, 1966, MS.
- 153 “The art she really”: Ibid.
- 154 One day, Dennis fetched: Contact sheet, undated, HAT.
- 154 “Brooke did an amazing”: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 154 “very rare”: Molly Saltman, interview with DH, 1966, MS.
- 154 in the spring she posed: “Casual Clothes from California,” *TV Guide*, April 20, 1963, 20–23.
- 154 Dennis earned \$2,250: Steven Jay Rubin, *The Twilight Zone Encyclopedia* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2017), Google Books, unpaginated.
- 155 Dennis remembered: NYU.

- 155 The public's response: Don Presnell and Marty McGee, *A Critical History of Television's The Twilight Zone, 1959–1964* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2015), 141.
- 155 "The impression left": Rubin, *The Twilight Zone Encyclopedia*.
- 156 his arrest on April 30: *Jewish Telegraphic Agency Daily News Bulletin*, April 30, 1963, 2.
- 156 Irving Blum had arranged: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 30, 1977, JSP.
- 156 curator in the Metropolitan Museum's: Calvin Tomkins, *The Scene: Reports on Post-modern Art* (New York: Viking Press, 1976), 13.
- 156 The Antwerp-born: Ibid., 19.
- 157 "It's all wonderfully connected": Ibid.
- 157 "sexy friend": Christopher Sykes, *David Hockney: A Rake's Progress, the Biography, 1937–1975* (New York: Nan A. Talese/Doubleday, 2011), 113.
- 157 "invited us": Ibid., 128–29.
- 157 Hockney told Warhol: Ibid.
- 157 at the Selwyn: Howard Thompson, "'Night Tide,' a Mood Piece, Is Shown at the Selwyn Theater," *NYT*, June 7, 1963, 26.
- 157 Warhol had taken them: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 157 a 2,500-square-foot space: Dana Schultz, "UES Firehouse Studio That Andy Warhol Rented for \$150/Month Is Now Listed for \$10M," 6sqft, April 5, 2016, <https://www.6sqft.com/firehouse-studio-that-andy-warhol-rented-for-150month-is-now-listed-for-10m/>.
- 157 Warhol had been daubing: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 157 Miss Mac was scandalized: Marion McIntyre letter, undated, JTC.
- 157 "Paintings are too hard": Victor Bockris, *Warhol: The Biography* (Boston: Da Capo Press, 2003), 163.
- 157 Brooke was mesmerized: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 158 "That is fantastic": Ibid.
- 158 "I will give it to you": Ibid.
- 158 Warhol also gave: Patrick S. Smith, *Andy Warhol's Art and Films* (Ann Arbor, MI: UMI Research Press, 1986), 307.
- 158 "collected antiques": Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 158 "American junk": Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: It Books, 2009), 62.
- 158 Walter Hopps had noticed: Jean Stein, interview with Walter Hopps, September 1, 1974, JSP.
- 158 "Andy," she ventured: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 158 Filmways Studio: "The Defenders . . .," Getty Images, June 11, 1963, [gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/the-defenders-television-show-episode-the-weeping-baboon-news-photo/586217512](https://www.gettyimages.com/detail/news-photo/the-defenders-television-show-episode-the-weeping-baboon-news-photo/586217512).

- 159 “I remember thinking”: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015), 53.
- 159 Charles Manson: Jean Stein, interview with DH, June 4, 1995, JSP. During the making of the documentary *The American Dreamer* in 1971, codirector Lawrence Schiller arranged for Dennis to meet Manson in prison. According to Dennis, that was when Manson told him that he had watched that episode of *The Defenders*. “I did it for you,” Manson told Dennis of his own courtroom performance. “I did exactly what you did on that show!” Manson hoped that Dennis would direct a movie about him; Dennis, disturbed by the encounter, declined.
- 159 On that day: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 159 “that kind of shadowy”: Jean Stein, interview with Walter Hopps, September 1, 1974, JSP.
- 159 “I knew”: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 160 Harry Belafonte had mustered: Michael Fletcher, “An Oral History of the March on Washington,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 2013, <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/oral-history-march-washington-180953863/>.
- 160 “To mobilize”: Ibid.
- 160 Heston assured skeptics: Mike McGrady, “Stars March but It’s Not Their Show,” *Newsday*, August 29, 1963, 3C.
- 160 Gallup Poll: Emilie Raymond, *Stars for Freedom* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2015), 127.
- 160 He flew from LA: Passenger list, Joseph L. Mankiewicz Papers, Margaret Herrick Library, Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences.
- 160 to hear Ossie Davis: Calvin Trillin, “March on Washington,” *TNY*, September 7, 1963, in *The ’60s: The Story of a Decade*, ed. Henry Finder (New York: Random House, 2016), 149–50. The *Paris Match* photographer Paul Slade took pictures of Dennis in the crowd, holding his Nikon; Dennis’s own film of the event does not seem to have survived.
- 160 “What was a white boy”: David Hajdu, *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and Times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Fariña, and Richard Fariña* (New York: Picador, 2011), 183.
- 161 “Hope and harmony”: John Lewis and Michael D’Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Harvest Books, 1999), 224.
- 161 “to deprive the city”: Reyner Banham, *Los Angeles: The Architecture of Four Ecologies* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 121.
- 162 Hand-painted billboards: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 162 hot dog vendor: Ibid.
- 162 Wallace Berman’s RSVP: *The Dennis Hopper Collection* (New York: Christie’s New York, 2021).
- 162 Warhol had never been: Scherman and Dalton, *Pop*, 172.
- 162 “Vacant, vacuous Hollywood”: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 51–52.

- 162 who conveniently owned: Deborah Davis, *The Trip: Andy Warhol's Plastic Fantastic Cross-Country Adventure* (New York: Atria Books, 2015), 8.
- 162 Having been introduced: Steven Watson, *Factory Made* (New York: Pantheon, 2003), 107.
- 162 "The farther West": Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 50.
- 163 They cruised along: Davis, *The Trip*, 175–76.
- 163 "electro-graphic architecture": Tom Wolfe, "I Drove Around Los Angeles and It's Crazy! The Art World Is Upside Down," *LAT*, December 1, 1968, Q18.
- 163 "Oh, this is America": Watson, *Factory Made*, 111.
- 163 "It was like this invasion": Steven Watson, *Factory Made: Warhol and the Sixties* (New York: Pantheon, 2003), 111.
- 163 Hollywood players who looked: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 53.
- 163 "Andy and I were both": Watson, *Factory Made*, 111.
- 163 "Ooh! Aah!": Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 163 "Andy comes to Hollywood": Ibid.
- 164 "This was before": Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 52.
- 164 sweltering hot: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 164 Mead found the Hollywood crowd: Jean Stein, interview with Taylor Mead, 1975, JSP.
- 164 "Joints were going around": Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 53.
- 164 Chamberlain claimed: Scherman and Dalton, *Pop*, 174.
- 164 Malanga said: "If Brooke objected to that situation, it would be weird," Malanga said in an interview with the author on September 13, 2019. Brooke herself has no recollection of it. Perhaps the objection was about Chamberlain and Hecht being in a closet together.
- 164 had bought for \$350: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP. In that interview, Brooke also said that Patty tried to make light of the incident, joking that she and Dennis should be buying Oldenburgs instead. "She was probably right," Brooke remarked.
- 164 "It was a high point": Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
- 164 "I thought it was": Patty Mucha interview, June 6, 2019.
- 165 Kienholz repaired the piece: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 165 Beverly Hills Hotel: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 52. Warhol and his friends also stayed at the Surf Rider Inn in Santa Monica during the trip. Recollections vary as to whether the entourage stayed at the Beverly Hills Hotel and then moved to the Surf Rider Inn or vice versa. An incident that Malanga relays has Warhol on the beach reading a sour review of his Ferus show, having walked there from the Surf Rider Inn the morning after a party on the Santa Monica Pier. The review would most likely be the one by Henry J. Seldis that ran in the *Los Angeles Times* on October 4. That would date the pier party as October 3 and indicate that the group stayed at the Beverly Hills Hotel early in the trip before decamping to Santa Monica.

- 165 “The Hoppers were wonderful”: Ibid., 53.
- 165 As a thank-you: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.
- 165 “When I met Andy”: Ibid.
- 165 Warhol arrived: Photographs of exhibition by John Weber, AW.
- 165 16-millimeter Bolex: Scherman and Dalton, *Pop*, 167.
- 166 “complete boredom”: Larry Bell, “From a Statement Written by Larry Bell in September, 1963, upon First Seeing an Exhibition of Warhol’s Work,” *Artforum*, February 1965, 28.
- 166 Blum managed: Davis, *The Trip*, 199.
- 166 “This crowd lived”: Ibid.
- 166 “Pop art banality”: Henry J. Seldis, “In the Galleries: Sir Swivel Reigns in Pop Art Display,” *LAT*, October 4, 1963, D11.
- 166 “The press for my show”: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 54.
- 166 “It was a great moment”: “‘I Was Very Fortunate in Coming to New York at a Time Before Things Got Out of Control.’ Robert Ayers in Conversation with Claes Oldenburg,” *A Sky Filled with Shooting Stars*, September 21, 2010, <http://www.askyfilledwithshootingstars.com/wordpress/?p=1371>.
- 166 “Poopy”: Alessandra Nicifero, interview with Patty Mucha, August 12, 2015, Rauschenberg Oral History Project, Rauschenberg Foundation.
- 166 responsible for sewing: Patty Mucha, “Sewing in the Sixties,” *Art in America*, November 2002, 79ff.
- 167 Dennis was dying: Jean Stein, interview with DH, October 3, 1973, JSP.
- 167 “My work makes”: Rose, Barbara. *Claes Oldenburg* (New York: Museum of Modern Art, 1970), 193.
- 167 “That Claes chose”: Mucha, “Sewing in the Sixties,” 81.
- 167 It was an anecdote: Jean Stein, interview with DH, October 3, 1973, JSP.
- 167 he shot a portrait: Rose, *Claes Oldenburg*, 144.
- 167 “They *squoze!*”: Ibid., 85.
- 167 “I thought he was”: Jean Stein, interview with DH, October 3, 1973, JSP.
- 167 “Andy was like”: DH interview, London BFI Film Festival, 1990, HAT.
- 168 “an eight-hour hard on”: Watson, *Factory Made*, 161.
- 168 The day after: *Tarzan and Jane Regained . . . Sort Of*, directed by Andy Warhol (Pittsburgh, PA: Andy Warhol Museum, 1964). The date October 2 appears on a production clapboard near the beginning of the film.
- 168 “It opened up”: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 57.
- 168 Dennis thought Warhol: Jean Stein, interview with DH, ca. 1975, JSP.
- 168 *Tarzan and Jane: Tarzan and Jane Regained*.
- 169 114 works by Duchamp: Calvin Tomkins, *Duchamp: A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt, 1996), 422.
- 169 “probably the most”: Henry Geldzahler, “Los Angeles: The Second City of Art,” *Vogue*, September 15, 1964, 62.
- 170 Oklahoma girlfriend: Paul Karlstrom, oral history interview with Eve Babitz, June 14, 2000, AAA.

- 170 He'd seemingly given up art: The famous Wasser photograph of Duchamp playing chess with the nude Eve Babitz at the Pasadena Art Museum was taken a week or so after the opening.
- 170 "Oh, I'm a breather": Calvin Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp: The Afternoon Interviews* (New York: Badlands Unlimited, 2013), 3.
- 170 "a life-changing experience": Ibid., 422.
- 170 "He's not giving": Ruscha's observations here, from an interview with the author on March 20, 2018, echo one of his best-known statements about what he aims to achieve in his art, as he explained in 1973: "a kind of a 'Huh?'"
- 170 In addition to: Tomkins, *Marcel Duchamp*, 422; author interviews; event photographs by Julian Wasser.
- 171 "He was like": Jean Stein, interview with DH, August 16, 2007, JSP.
- 171 "He said the artist": Chris Hodenfield, "Citizen Hopper," *Film Comment*, November–December 1986, reprinted in *Dennis Hopper: Interviews*, ed. Nick Dawson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 129.
- 171 Dennis had brought: Contact sheets, HAT. Dennis also made a wonderful portrait of Walter Hopps in the shadowy lobby of the Hotel Green around that time.
- 171 The vernissage: Mary Matthew, "They Came, They Saw—Duchamp Conquered," *LAT*, October 9, 1963, E1.
- 171 Mead found it odd: Jean Stein, interview with Taylor Mead, 1975, JSP.
- 171 Then everyone headed: Matthew, "They Came, They Saw—Duchamp Conquered."
- 171 By 1963: Minor Willman, "Green Hotel: Faded but Still Proud," *LAT*, November 15, 1964, SG_C1.
- 171 A girlfriend of his: Walter Hopps and Dennis Hopper, "A Readymade in the Making," *Étant Donn  Marcel Duchamp*, no. 6 (2005): 186.
- 171 "I saw the Hotel Green": Ibid., 187.
- 172 Mead hadn't packed: Jean Stein, interview with Taylor Mead, 1975, JSP.
- 172 "carrying on": Jean Stein, interview with Walter Hopps, September 22, 1974, JSP.
- 172 "*une semaine de*": Letter from Duchamp to Robert Lebel, October 18, 1963, in Paul B. Franklin, *The Artist and His Critic Stripped Bare: The Correspondence of Marcel Duchamp and Robert Lobel* (Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2016), 219.
- 173 Duchamp likewise seemed: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 55.
- 173 And so the evening: Jean Stein, interview with Walter Hopps, September 22, 1974, JSP.
- 173 Warhol drank too much: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 55.
- 173 For Brooke, the Duchamp party: Jean Stein, interview with BH, March 20, 1977, JSP.

- 173 In 2010, it sold: “Marcel Duchamp (1887–1968), Signed Sign,” Christie’s, <https://www.christies.com/lotfinder/Lot/marcel-duchamp-1887-1968-signed-sign-5373977-details.aspx>.
- 173 Inspired by Duchamp: Julian Schnabel et al., *Dennis Hopper Double Standard* (Los Angeles: MOCA, 2010), 40.
- 174 working on a piece: Jean Stein, interview with Gerard Malanga, November 16, 1976, JSP. In *POPism*, Warhol said he was painting alone that day; *Pop* has Malanga and Warhol walking through Grand Central Terminal when they heard the news.
- 174 “KO the Kennedys”: Scherman and Dalton, *Pop*, 178.
- 174 “the aspect of a national”: Michael Arlen, “The Air: Life and Death in the Global Village,” *TNY*, April 13, 1968, 157.
- 174 “What bothered me”: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 77.
- 175 Christmas season arrived: Hopper family Christmas card, 1963, in Dominick Dunne scrapbook, Griffin Dunne Collection.
- 175 In New York: Jansen shop receipts, December 11, 1963, LHP.
- 175 Jansen housewares boutique: Sally Bedell Smith, *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 239.
- 175 On the nights: Michael Kirby, *Happenings* (New York: E. P. Dutton, 1966), 262ff.
- 175 *Autobodys*, with its: Kristine McKenna, “When Bigger Was Better,” *LAT*, July 2, 1995, Calendar 3.
- 176 Oldenburg had “auditioned”: Kirby, *Happenings*, 273.
- 176 The twenty “players”: Mucha, “Sewing in the Sixties,” 87. In a 1975 interview with Jean Stein, Dennis claimed to have been one of the players in *Autobodys*; Mucha has no recollection of this.
- 176 black sweater and white slacks: Kirby, *Happenings*, 275; Claes Oldenburg, script for *Autobodys*, in *Happenings*, 262.
- 176 Cars rolled in: Ibid.
- 176 The Gilmore Drive-In: Movie listings, *LAT*, December 10, 1963, D20.
- 176 “We’re going to lose”: Art Seidenbaum, “Autobodys—Horsepowerful Art Composition on a Parking Lot,” *LAT*, December 24, 1963, A1.
- 176 Two vehicles: Patty Mucha interview, June 6, 2019.
- 176 “At the final moment”: Mucha, “Sewing in the Sixties,” 87.

8: “HE TOOK IT EVERYWHERE HE WENT”

- 177 It was a particularly: Fernando Gamboa, *Master Works of Mexican Art from Pre-Columbian Times to the Present* (Los Angeles: Los Angeles County Museum of Art, 1963), vii.
- 177 When the show: Molly Saltman, interview with DH, MS.
- 178 Don Pedro Linares: Eli Bartra, *Women in Mexican Folk Art* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2011), 47–48. Dennis collected Linares *cartonería* later in life, according to Galería Atotonilco, a Linares dealer.

- 178 Dennis liked to tell: Molly Saltman, interview with DH, MS.
- 178 As it was too big: Ibid.
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ber 4, 2016, https://www.vice.com/en_us/article/ppawq9/the-oral-history-of-the-beatles-first-two-acids-trips-legs-mcneil-gillian-mccain.

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- 229 The actress Peggy Lipton: McNeil and McCain, “The Oral History of the First Two Times the Beatles Took Acid.”
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- 229 “Kids aren’t so stupid”: Charles Champlin, “Byrds Have Yet to Lay an Egg,” *LAT*, June 7, 1965, D16.
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- 230 “a rock and roll motorcycle trip”: David Hajdu, *Positively 4th Street: The Lives and Times of Joan Baez, Bob Dylan, Mimi Fariña, and Richard Fariña* (New York: Picador, 2011), 277. Jeffrey Thomas still has Dennis’s copy of this album.
- 230 Andy Warhol had always found: Victor Bockris, *The Life and Death of Andy Warhol* (London: Fourth Estate, 1998), 229.
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- 231 Robert Fraser flew in: Harriet Vyner, *Groovy Bob: The Life and Times of Robert Fraser* (London: Faber & Faber, 1999), 112. Dennis’s contact sheets show the events overlapping.
- 231 Fraser was conceiving: Vyner, *Groovy Bob*, 113.
- 231 “a very seductive character”: Ibid.
- 231 “It was the first time”: Ibid., 112.
- 231 “some kind of weird speed”: Ibid., 113.

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- 233 He had the cover: *Artforum*, September 1965.
- 233 “Eddie Russia”: Cécile Whiting, *Pop L.A.: Art and the City in the 1960s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008), 73.
- 234 “Letter-Agreement”: Stewart Stern, “The Last Movie: History and Documentation of Events,” 1966, SSP. Stern dated the letter-agreement August 2, 1965.
- 234 “marvellously inventive”: Ibid.
- 234 Brooke was excited: Ibid.
- 234 “He fascinated me”: Pat McGilligan, ed., *Backstory 2: Interviews with Screenwriters of the 1940s and 1950s* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 303.
- 234 “I can’t believe”: NYU. This is an oft-cited anecdote in Dennis Hopper lore and one that Dennis was fond of relating. Who the agent could have been, though, is a mystery. Indications are that Dennis maintained his relationship with Robert Raison through that period.

- 234 ninety-seven-page treatment: Stewart Stern and Dennis Hopper, *The Last Movie Or: (Boo-Hoo in Tinseltown)*, 1965, SSP.
- 234 “Dennis would stride”: Michael Bonner, “‘An Incredible Assortment of Freaks’: The Making of Dennis Hopper’s *The Last Movie*,” *Uncut*, May 16, 2014, <https://www.uncut.co.uk/features/an-incredible-assortment-of-freaks-the-making-of-dennis-hopper-s-the-last-movie-8901/2>.
- 235 The lead character: Stern and Hopper, *The Last Movie Or: (Boo-Hoo in Tinseltown)*.
- 235 Dennis envisioned: Jean Stein, interview with DH, May 7, 1995, JSP.
- 235 They came up with: Stern and Hopper, *The Last Movie Or: (Boo-Hoo in Tinseltown)*.
- 235 “Film is an art-form”: Dennis Hopper, “Into the Issue of the Good Old Time Movie Versus the Good Old Time,” undated manuscript, ca. 1965, POP. *Vogue* rejected the piece; it would eventually be published in a 1972 book called *The Popular Culture Explosion*.
- 235 “What we need”: *Ibid*.
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- 235 two-thirds scale: Lawrence Weschler, “Onward and Upward with the Arts: Cars and Carcasses,” *TNY*, May 13, 1996, 54.
- 236 “I guess Barney’s”: Edward Ruscha, “Ed Ruscha: Artist,” conducted by Martin Meeker, Andrew Perchuk, and James Cuno in 2015, Oral History Center of the Bancroft Library, The Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley, under the auspices of the J. Paul Getty Trust, 2016.
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- 236 “beatniks, neighborhood time wasters”: “A Catalogue of Horrors: Suzi Gablik on Edward Keinholz, in 1965,” *ARTnews*, August 26, 2016, <https://www.artnews.com/art-news/retrospective/a-catalogue-of-horrors-suzi-gablik-on-edward-kienholz-in-1965-6866>.
- 236 Kienholz used Dennis: Robert Dean and Roberta Bernstein, *Ferus* (New York: Gagosian Gallery, 2002), 287.
- 236 One day, he went: Peter Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad: A Memoir* (New York: Hyperion, 1999), 209.
- 236 Peter Fonda’s place: The full address was 9551 Hidden Valley Road, per references in the online guide to the Roland Eli Coate archives at the University of California, Santa Barbara.
- 236 The circa-1936 house: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 162–63. Additional information from Zillow, https://www.zillow.com/homedetails/9551-Hidden-Valley-Rd-Beverly-Hills-CA-90210/20533709_zpid/.
- 236 When he had tried out: *Ibid.*, 162.
- 236 Peter now told Dennis: *Ibid.*, 209.
- 237 The “unsolved insanity”: Eugenia Sheppard, “Another Fonda Generation Is Established,” *Hartford Courant*, February 27, 1966, 11E.

- 237 Dennis said that: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 162–63.
- 237 “They came”: Kliph Nesteroff, “An Interview with Joey Bishop’s Gag Writer—Don Sherman—Part Two,” *Classic Television Showbiz*, June 4, 2011, <http://classicshowbiz.blogspot.com/2011/06/interview-with-joey-bishops-gag-writer.html>.
- 237 “They wanted to see”: Ibid.
- 237 Peter put Sherman: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 209.
- 237 Sherman was paid: Nesteroff, “An Interview with Joey Bishop’s Gag Writer—Don Sherman—Part Two.”
- 237 By mid-December: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 210.
- 237 The movie centered: Dennis Hopper, Peter Fonda, and Don Sherman, *The Yin and the Yang*, screenplay, 1966, Wallace Berman papers, 1907–1979, bulk 1955–1979, AAA.
- 238 Peter claimed: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 210.
- 238 “There was such”: Ibid.
- 238 Dennis’s photograph *Double Standard*: Whiting, *Pop L.A.: Art and the City in the 1960s*, 92.
- 238 The foam sculptures: Harriet Vyner, *Groovy Bob: The Life and Times of Robert Fraser* (London: Faber & Faber, 1999), 115.
- 238 “treated almost like”: Ibid.
- 238 “One of the more outré”: Grace Glueck, “Art Notes: For Better Vision, Optacles,” *TNY*, February 13, 1966, 110.
- 239 For some reason: Vyner, *Groovy Bob*, 116.
- 239 “Mr. Thomas”: Michael M. Thomas, “A Golf Lesson from Dennis Hopper,” *Travel & Leisure Golf*, March–April 1998, 98. According to Dennis’s FBI files, made available under the Freedom of Information Act, he actually *was* being tailed by agents—but years later, in the early 1970s, the result of his activism on behalf of Native American causes.
- 239 “My biggest drive”: Peter L. Winkler, “Anyone for Dennis,” *Times* (London), November 27, 2011, <https://www.thetimes.co.uk/article/anyone-for-dennis-njc0gfczf6t>.
- 240 “I do enjoy group sex”: Dennis Hopper, *Dennis Hopper: Photographs, 1961–1967*, ed. Tony Shafrazi (Köln: Taschen, 2018), 487.
- 240 “Sex has been”: Philip K. Scheuer, “Vadim Is Frank on, off Screen,” *LAT*, July 20, 1965, C8.
- 240 “It was not”: Patricia Bosworth, *Jane Fonda: The Private Life of a Public Woman* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2011), 240.
- 240 “Whether it’s Goya”: Hopper, *Dennis Hopper: Photographs*, 505.
- 240 Dennis and Peter made: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 211. The timing of this trip cannot be verified with exactitude. Most accounts, perhaps proceeding from Fonda’s, say it happened soon after New Year’s 1966. A copy of the screenplay on eBay has the date 1966. An item in the February 23, 1966, *Variety* has Dennis and Peter taking in Woody Allen’s stand-up act at the Americana Hotel, strongly suggesting that the trip may have occurred at

that time. Fonda also participated in Salvador Dalí's "happening" at Lincoln Center on February 23, and gave an interview to Eugenia Sheppard, much of which was incorporated into *The Yin(g) and the Yang*, that ran on February 27; in his memoir, he said he had *returned* to New York at that later time for a follow-up visit. In 1970, Dennis told *Esquire's* Tom Burke that the trip had happened "the year the Pope" was in New York; Pope Paul VI visited in October 1965. Dennis, however, was consistently inconsistent when it came to assigning dates and years to his recollections. Fonda said he and Dennis stayed in a hotel that was being demolished, getting great rates. It could have been the Savoy Plaza, which closed in the fall of 1965. Fonda also said that the script for *The Yin(g) and the Yang* was completed in December 1965, which indicates a New York trip in early 1966. Mick Jagger, whom they purportedly met up with in New York, appeared with the Rolling Stones on *The Ed Sullivan Show* on February 13. Ultimately, it may be that there were a couple of trips and/or that Dennis bookended his 1966 trip to London with New York visits.

- 240 *The Yin and the Yang*: Hopper et al., *The Yin and the Yang*, screenplay. The title on this copy was preceded with the words "Dennis Hopper's."
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- 241 In their search: Tom Burke, "Dennis Hopper Saves the Movies," *Esquire*, September 1970, 139.
- 241 "Huntington Hartford": James Stevenson, "Our Local Correspondents: Afternoons with Hopper," *TNY*, November 13, 1971, 127. Dennis, in Burke's 1970 *Esquire* profile, gave the location of the meeting with Baldwin as the Russian Tea Room.
- 241 In the lobby: Stevenson, "Our Local Correspondents," 127.
- 241 "Don't lie": Letter from DH to Clayton E. Carlson (editor of religious books at Harper & Row), August 13, 1970, HAT.
- 242 "What you hear": Mark Cousins, *Scene by Scene: Film Actors and Directors Discuss Their Work* (London: Laurence King, 2002), 90.
- 242 "Whoever does not": Jean-Yves Leloup, *The Gospel of Thomas: The Gnostic Wisdom of Jesus* (Rochester, VT: Inner Traditions/Bear, 2005), 101.
- 242 The unexpected theological detour: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 213ff.
- 242 De Sedle agreed: Ibid.
- 243 "Don't you get it": Ibid., 215. Intriguingly, the altarpiece at the Cloisters is now attributed to "Workshop of Robert Campin," not to Campin himself.
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- 243 "I devised a tale": Curtis Harrington, *Nice Guys Don't Work in Hollywood: The Adventures of an Aesthete in the Movie Business* (Chicago: Drag City Incorporated, 2013), 109.
- 243 "was trying very hard": Louis Paul, *Tales from the Cult Film Trenches: Interviews with 36 Actors* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2014), 207.

- 244 The band's bass player: Paul Trynka, *Brian Jones: The Making of the Rolling Stones* (New York: Penguin, 2015), 187.
- 244 Sparkletts water-cooler jug: Peter Ames Carlin, *Catch a Wave: The Rise, Fall, and Redemption of the Beach Boys' Brian Wilson* (Emmaus, PA: Rodale Books, 2007), 82.
- 245 "a scary motherfucker": Barney Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun: Strange Days, Weird Scenes, and the Sound of Los Angeles* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1996), 102.
- 246 "the first tycoon of teen": Tom Wolfe, *The Kandy-Kolored Tangerine-Flake Streamline Baby* (New York: Noonday Press, 1966), 58.
- 246 "We drank": Jean Stein, interview with DH, November 3, 1990, JSP.
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- 246 Accounts of the session: Hoskyns, *Waiting for the Sun*, 102.
- 246 Eventually Tina: Ibid.
- 247 Ike wasn't even around: William McKeen, *Everybody Had an Ocean: Music and Mayhem in 1960s Los Angeles* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2017), 229.
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- 247 "The white stations": Mick Brown, *Tearing Down the Wall of Sound* (London: Bloomsbury, 2012), 212.
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- 247 architect Frederic P. Lyman's: Cory Buckner, *The Lyman House and the Work of Frederic P. Lyman: Drawing and Building* (Los Angeles: Crestwood Hills Press, 2016).
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- 247 Michael McClure: Felton, "'Underground' Wedding."
- 247 Milk and honey: Felton, "'Underground' Wedding."
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- 248 "Claes was very impressed": Julie L. Belcove, "Off Camera, Hopper Wielded His Own Lens," *TNY*, May 3, 2013, 34.
- 248 Oldenburg even helped: Jean Stein, interview with DH, May 6, 1987, JSP.
- 248 "I stopped him": Belcove, "Off Camera, Hopper Wielded His Own Lens."
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- 249 “It seemed”: Dean and Bernstein, *Ferus*, 309.
- 249 Many of the guests: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2015), 209ff.
- 249 Nico, whom Mick Jagger: Louise Criscione, “On the Beat,” *KRLA Beat*, May 28, 1966, 2.
- 250 “The Byrds”: Clinton Heylin, ed., *All Yesterdays’ Parties: The Velvet Underground in Print, 1966–1971* (New York: Hachette, 2009), 111.
- 250 The band’s violist: Carlin, *Catch a Wave*, 276.
- 250 He and Brooke: Tony Scherman and David Dalton, *Pop: The Genius of Andy Warhol* (New York: It Books, 2009), 332.
- 250 Jim Morrison: Legs McNeil and Gillian McCain, *Please Kill Me: The Uncensored Oral History of Punk* (New York: Grove Press, 1996), 17.
- 250 Cass Elliot: “Megamama with the Papas,” *Datebook*, September 1966, reprinted in Alfredo García, *The Inevitable World of the Velvet Underground* (Madrid: Alfredo García, 2012), 64.
- 250 “clean as a gnawed skull”: Paul Jay Robbins, “Andy Warhol and the Night on Fire,” *Los Angeles Free Press*, May 13, 1966, reprinted in Clinton Heylin, ed., *All Yesterdays’ Parties: The Velvet Underground in Print, 1966–1971* (New York: Hachette, 2009), 15. Dennis had photographed Robbins at a small anti-Vietnam War protest at the Cinerama Dome movie theater in December 1965; he also shot Peter Fonda and David Crosby at that event.
- 250 Cher hated it: Warhol and Hackett, *POPism*, 210.
- 250 “The Velvets”: Ibid., 209–10.
- 251 “These guys”: Heylin, *All Yesterdays’ Parties*, 153.
- 251 “two-bit, pretentious”: Victor Bockris and Gerard Malanga, *Up-tight: The Velvet Underground Story* (London: Omnibus Press, 2009), 65.
- 251 After three shows: Scherman and Dalton, *Pop*, 333.
- 251 Most of the Warhol entourage: Ibid.
- 251 “I didn’t like”: McNeil and McCain, *Please Kill Me*, 17.
- 251 “We had vast objections”: Rob Jovanovic, *Seeing the Light: Inside the Velvet Underground* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2012), 85.
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- 252 At the opening: “Youthful Caprice for Caps,” *Life*, July 15, 1966, 84.
- 252 “Gerard,” he whined: Mary Woronov, *Swimming Underground: My Years in the Warhol Factory* (Boston: Journey Editions, 1995), 39.
- 252 A week after: Letter from Roddy McDowall to DH, May 11, 1966, POP. As Jeffrey Thomas recalled, the phone number at 1712 was OL6–3309; the area code was 213.
- 252 “brilliant”: Ron Rosenbaum, “Riding High: Dennis Hopper Bikes Back,” *Vanity Fair*, April 1987, 133.
- 252 That day: Letter from Roddy McDowall to DH, May 11, 1966, POP.

- 252 The treatment took: The treatment of *The Last Movie* predated the screenplay of *The Yin and the Yang* slightly, but both were created during the same time frame, the fall of 1965. The relationship between Dennis and Stewart Stern was formalized in August 1965, and the initial payment of \$4,000 from Brooke—the first installment of a proposed \$25,000 fee—was payable on August 30, according to a 1969 deposition given by Stern. Stern recalled completing the treatment, or “screen story,” by November 1, 1965. According to some sources, a screenplay of *The Last Movie* was also produced in 1965–1966. But in the deposition, Stern testifies that there was no screenplay written at that time. Given the subsequent tussles over a contract for Stern, it is likely that no screenplay was written until ca. 1969, when Dennis revived the project. In a copy of the script in the Stewart Stern Papers, references to Durango have been expunged and the original treatment’s mention of a film choosing Spain over Durango as a shooting location has been altered. The project has decided to go to “Mexico” in this version, suggesting that the alterations had been made according to Dennis’s decision to move the setting of *The Last Movie* from Durango to Peru. (Dennis would also write an undated film treatment called “The Second Chance” about an assemblage artist teaching at a San Francisco college; the treatment resides in the Hopper Art Trust. In Tom Burke’s 1970 *Esquire* piece, Dennis said that he and Peter Fonda had been planning to make “The Second Chance” upon completion of *The Last Movie*.)
- 253 “It’s a story about”: Brad Darrach, “The Easy Rider Runs Wild in the Andes,” *Life*, June 19, 1970, 51.
- 253 “He dreams of big cars”: Ibid.
- 253 He wanted to use: Jean Stein, interview with DH, November 3, 1990, JSP.
- 254 The nudity, marijuana use, and profanity: Stewart Stern and Dennis Hopper, *The Last Movie Or: (Boo-Hoo in Tinsel Town)*, 1965, SSP. The racier elements of the treatment caused considerable consternation with authorities in Mexico when a translated version was sent to Mexico City in an effort to achieve a US-Mexican coproduction and to shoot the movie in Durango, as Stewart Stern testified in his 1969 deposition regarding the project.
- 254 “wonderful film”: Rosenbaum, “Riding High.”
- 254 In order to identify: Undated document, SSP.
- 254 He and Stern: Deposition, *Stewart Stern v. Phil Spector, Phil Spector Productions*, January 22, 1969, SSP.
- 254 A meeting was held: Ibid., 21ff., SSP.
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- 255 Haskell Wexler: Peter Bart, “A Groovy Kind of Genius?,” *NYT*, July 10, 1966, D9.
- 255 Robards was the man: Rosenbaum, “Riding High,” 133.
- 255 Jennifer Jones, Joseph Cotten: Ibid.

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June 22, 1966, 18.
- 255 "The studios are backward": Bart, "A Groovy Kind of Genius?"
- 255 But Spector discovered: Letter from Phil Spector to DH, June 1966, SSP.
- 255 It began to look: Ibid.; Deposition, *Stewart Stern v. Phil Spector, Phil Spector
Productions*, January 22, 1969, SSP.
- 255 "Spector was a terrifying": Michael Bonner, "An Incredible Assortment
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16, 2014, <https://www.uncut.co.uk/features/an-incredible-assortment-of-freaks-the-making-of-dennis-hopper-s-the-last-movie-8901/2>.
- 255 busied himself with: Deposition, *Stewart Stern v. Phil Spector, Phil Spector
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- 256 Dennis asked him: Dennis Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights, Photo-
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- 256 "It was the hardest": Jean Stein, interview with DH, November 3, 1990,
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11: "IF I COULD JUST HELP THAT FLY FIND AN AIR CURRENT"

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- 257 "Loss Ann-ja-luss": Ibid.
- 257 "All modern cities": Ibid., 74.
- 258 "Paris was where": Calvin Tomkins, "Profiles: Living Well Is the Best Re-
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1967*, ed. Tony Shafrazi (Köln: Taschen, 2018), 484.
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- "I saw a kid holding": Mike Davis, "Riot Nights on the Sunset Strip," *Labour/Le Travail* 59, Spring 2007, 201.
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- 269 Duquette suggested: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
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- 283 One day at 1712: Ibid., 101.
- 283 “These guys”: Ibid., 100.
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- 285 Dennis’s own LSD experimentation: “Dennis Hopper—Interview Retrospective 2008 | Part 4,” Arte television interview, Vernissage in the Cinémathèque de Paris, 2008, posted by splashfin, YouTube, December 20, 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=oUWc_xcdC6s. In this interview, Dennis claimed that he had dropped acid for the first time in preparation for *The Trip*, having previously held off because he’d already done mushrooms and peyote. He said that Bob Rafelson had supplied the LSD for the trip, during which he had seen himself as a caveman.
- 285 “Shit, he was big”: Nashawaty, *Crab Monsters, Teenage Cavemen, and Candy Stripe Nurses*, 81.
- 285 Glimpses of the Angeleno underground: *The Trip*.
- 285 Dennis and Peter talked Corman: Nashawaty, *Crab Monsters, Teenage Cavemen, and Candy Stripe Nurses*, 79.
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- 289 *Bonnie and Clyde* landed: *Time*, December 8, 1967, cover.
- 290 "Riding motorcycles": Jean Stein, interview with DH, May 7, 1995, JSP.

12: "GET THE CHILDREN OUT OF THE HOUSE"

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- 291 On it went: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
- 291 "You're out": Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 239–40.
- 292 With Peter promising: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
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- 292 "We were having problems": Dennis Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights: Photographs, 1962–1968* (New York: Greybull Press, 2001), unpaginated.
- 293 "There seems to be": Marion McIntyre letter, October 11, 1962, JTC.
- 293 Marin's memories: Jean Stein, interview with Marin Hopper, February 6, 1984, JSP.

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- 294 “Listen to this”: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
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- 294 “They don’t like us”: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
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- 295 “That’s great, man!”: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 242.
- 295 “Man, I sure am glad”: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
- 295 “Peter was the one”: *The American Dreamer*, directed by L. M. Kit Carson and Lawrence Schiller (Los Angeles: Corda Productions, 1971), posted by sgolowka, YouTube, November 17, 2016, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=x8hpYYhLJyc>.
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- 295 “That’s the corniest story”: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 243.
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- 295 thanks to a suggestion: Rabin, “Interview: Peter Fonda.”
- 295 “Hopper and I talked”: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
- 296 Dennis and Peter spent: Ibid.
- 296 “the most commercial story”: Fonda, *Don't Tell Dad*, 245. Dennis corroborated this account in a conversation with Peter M. Brant and Tony Shafrazi that ran in *Interview* magazine, July 15, 2010.
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- 296 “You’re both stoned”: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 246.
- 297 After *Spirits of the Dead* wrapped: Ibid., 245–46.
- 297 Dennis got swept up: Gerber and Lisanti, *Trippin’ with Terry*, 90.
- 297 Southern suggested: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 249.
- 297 “gave us dark humor”: Rabin, “Interview: Peter Fonda.”
- 297 As for the catchy new title: Ibid.
- 297 “Liberty’s become a whore”: Patrick McGilligan, *Jack’s Life: A Biography of Jack Nicholson* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1996), 20.
- 297 A dinner was arranged: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997. Fonda dated the dinner at Serendipity to late 1967, while Gerber remembered it as 1968.
- 297 In attendance: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 248.
- 297 Torn was meant: Gerber and Lisanti, *Trippin’ with Terry*, 90.
- 297 a role that Dennis: McGilligan, *Jack’s Life*, 19–20.
- 298 According to Torn’s memory: Janet Shprintz, “Appeals Court Upholds Judgment vs. Hopper,” *Variety*, 4/2/98, <https://variety.com/1998/film/news/appeals-court-upholds-judgment-vs-hopper-1117469436/>; Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 67–68.
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- 299 After the new year: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 249.
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- 300 “a milestone”: Clive Barnes, “Theater: Two-Character ‘The Beard’: Billie Dixon and Bright in McClure’s Play,” *NYT*, October 25, 1967, 40.
- 300 “a mysterious piece of work”: Norman Mailer, introduction to Michael McClure, *The Beard* (New York: Grove Press, 1967), xx.
- 300 A commenter in *Newsweek*: Display ad, *LAT*, January 21, 1968, WS6.
- 300 Andy Warhol shot: Kurt Hemmer, “Outlaw Tongues: The Stimuli for Michael McClure’s *The Beard*,” in *Beat Drama: Playwrights and Performances of the ‘Howl’ Generation*, ed. Deborah R. Geis (London: Blooms-

bury, 2016), Google Books, unpaginated. Through the San Francisco lawyer Melvin Belli, McClure sent a letter to Warhol requesting that his version of *The Beard* never be screened. In 1971, Bruce Conner attempted to make a film version of *The Beard*, asking Dennis to star in it (letter from Conner to Hopper, January 13, 1971, HAT); Agnès Varda included elements of *The Beard* in her 1969 film, *Lions Love (... and Lies)*.

- 300 “rips off Jean Harlow’s panties”: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 44.
300 One day, Brooke drove: Ibid.
300 Dennis left the production: In an ad that ran in the *Los Angeles Times* three days before the premiere, Dennis was still listed as the star. He would be replaced at the last minute by Richard Bright, an actor who had previously played the role of Billy.
301 “the gravest mistake”: Hopper, *1712 North Crescent Heights*, unpaginated.
301 On the wall: Dennis Hopper photographs, HAT.
301 1890s theatrical poster: Joseph Arthur, *Blue Jeans “Will Never Wear Out”*: by Joseph Arthur, *Author of “The Still Alarm,”* lithograph, 1899, Library of Congress, <https://www.loc.gov/item/2014636407/>.
302 She’d been in therapy sessions: Unpublished BH essay, 2015.
302 With *Easy Rider* in limbo: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.
303 A few days later: Ibid.
303 He would, however: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 68.
303 “Bert, I’ll do it”: Patrick Goldstein, “Man What a Trip That Was,” *LAT*, August 15, 1999, Calendar 8.
304 Unfortunately, Peter had figured: Singer, “Annals of Authorship: Whose Movie Is This?”
304 In the days leading up: The *Bomb Drop* exhibition ran from February 24 to March 17, 1968; there’s no record of the date of the opening party.
304 It was a large-scale: *Bomb Drop* appeared to be modeled upon the US Navy’s Mark 29 bomb release lever assembly; see “Bomb Release Lever Assembly US Navy Mk 29,” AeroAntique, aeroantique.com/products/bomb-release-lever-us-navy-mk-29?variant=16519878410329.
304 “Nobody mentioned it”: NYU.
304 The night before: Jean Stein, interview with DH, October 3, 1973, JSP.
305 Camilla had a camera out: Camilla McGrath et al., *Face to Face: The Photographs of Camilla McGrath* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2020), 195. McGrath dated the photo of Dennis February 19, 1968. Dennis may have left for New Orleans ahead of the cast and crew on February 20 or just got the dates wrong.
305 When a friend asked McGrath: Jean Stein, interview with Earl McGrath, October 10, 2005, JSP.
305 On Thursday, February 22: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 253.

305 “Brooke said, ‘You are going’: Tom Burke, “Will ‘Easy’ Do It for Dennis Hopper?,” *TNY*, July 20, 1969, D11.

305 Dennis said that the lack: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 62.

305 “That was the last time”: Jerry Bauer, “Dennis Hopper,” *Nineteen*, January 1972, reprinted in *Dennis Hopper: Interviews*, ed. Nick Dawson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 58.

305 “completely idiotic”: Bob Colacello, “The City of Warring Angels,” *Vanity Fair*, August 2010, 130. In *Don’t Tell Dad*, Peter Fonda recalled that the entire cast and crew gathered in a Beverly Hills office before boarding a chartered bus to the airport.

305 The next morning: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 63.

305 “This is my fucking movie!”: Singer, “Whose Movie Is This?,” 113.

306 Peter, thinking: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 63.

306 Somewhere in the French Quarter: Tom Mankiewicz and Robert David Crane, *My Life as a Mankiewicz* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky), 2012, 113.

306 At the end of the first day: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.

306 Peter managed to corral: Ibid.

306 Terry Southern and Gail Gerber: Gerber and Lisanti, *Trippin’ with Terry*, 91.

307 “What would Dad-Dad think?”: Fonda, *Don’t Tell Dad*, 256.

307 “Jimmy wouldn’t like that”: Tom Folsom, *Hopper: A Journey into the American Dream* (New York: It Books, 2013), 115.

307 “The cacophony of your verbiage”: Singer, “Whose Movie Is This?,” 114.

307 “That’s the Italian”: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 64.

307 “creative as hell”: Peter Biskind, interview with Peter Fonda, March 17, 1997.

308 “Dennis’ imagination and vision”: Letter from Cliff Vaughs to Terry Southern, March 6, 1968, Terry Southern Papers, New York Public Library.

308 “an endless parade”: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 65.

308 Dennis took to their bed: Ibid.

308 “Obviously”: *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, directed by Kenneth Bowser (London: BBC, 2003).

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308 Peter played Schneider: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 65.

309 “Well, he sounds excited”: *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*.

309 He counseled: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 65.

309 From now on: Bingen, *Easy Rider*, 26.

309 According to Dennis: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 65.

309 preparing franks and beans: Ibid., 67.

309 lithograph called *Crak!*: Roy Lichtenstein Foundation, Image Duplicator, https://www.imageduplicator.com/main.php?work_id=3783&year=1963/1964&decade=60.

- 309 Bruce Conner: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 65.
 310 “Dennis,” he called out: Ibid.
 310 In the living room: Peter Biskind, interview with BH, undated.
 310 He’d been busted: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 66.
 310 “Congratulations on”: Brooke Hayward, *Haywire* (New York: Vintage, 2011), 284.

13: “A BEDROOM CROWDED WITH GHOSTS”

- 311 Pending the divorce suit: “Actor Ordered to Pay Support of \$125 Monthly,” *LAT*, July 16, 1968, A8.
 311 \$500,000 trust fund: Ibid.
 311 “I just wanted half”: David Rensin, “20 Questions: Dennis Hopper,” *Playboy*, March 1990, 140.
 311 But Dennis did hold on: *The Dennis Hopper Collection* (New York: Christie’s New York, 2021).
 312 The tensions between: Peter Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls: How the Sex-Drugs-and-Rock ‘n’ Roll Generation Saved Hollywood* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), 69–70.
 312 “dumb-bell dialogue”: Lee Hill, *Easy Rider* (London: British Film Institute, 1996), 26.
 312 eighty hours of footage: Peter M. Brant and Tony Shafrazi, “Dennis Hopper Complete Interview,” *Interview*, July 15, 2010, <https://www.interviewmagazine.com/film/dennis-hopper-complete-interview>.
 312 His movie would be like: Dennis Hopper, *Dennis Hopper: Photographs, 1961–1967*, ed. Tony Shafrazi (Köln: Taschen, 2018), 410.
 312 “Those ride sequences”: Lawrence Linderman, “Gallery Interview: Dennis Hopper,” *Gallery*, December 1972, reprinted in *Dennis Hopper: Interviews*, ed. Nick Dawson (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2012), 65.
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 313 “I got worried”: Patrick Goldstein, “Man What a Trip That Was,” *LAT*, August 15, 1999, Calendar 8.
 313 “It got a little better”: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
 313 Leland and Pamela: Sally Bedell Smith, *Reflected Glory: The Life of Pamela Churchill Harriman* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1996), 245.
 313 “We’re going to bury you!”: Peter Bogdanovich, *Who the Devil Made It* (New York: Ballantine, 1998), 12.

- 313 One day, Dennis: Scott Eyman, *Hank and Jim: The Fifty-Year Friendship of Henry Fonda and James Stewart* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2017), 314–15.
- 314 “the exact image”: Andy Warhol and Pat Hackett, *POPism: The Warhol Sixties* (New York: Harvest, 1980), 374.
- 314 Taylor Mead found: Ibid., 57.
- 314 “What a great idea”: Ibid., 374.
- 314 Dennis presented: Michael Nesmith, *Infinite Tuesday: An Autobiographical Riff* (New York: Crown Archetype, 2017), 103.
- 314 “Tell your producer”: Letter from Miles Davis to Dennis Hopper, February 20, 1969, POP. Dennis and Miles would finally have their soundtrack collaboration in 1990, on *The Hot Spot*, a neo-noir thriller directed by Dennis.
- 315 Peter had the notion: Bingen, *Easy Rider*, 62–63.
- 315 When the trio had: Nick Roddick, “Dennis Hopper: The Last Maverick,” *Sight & Sound*, July 2010, 24. Crosby has claimed that the main reason Crosby, Stills & Nash didn’t do the music for *Easy Rider* was a scheduling conflict; see Rogan, *Requiem*, 512. It should be noted that *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) had also used preexisting recordings for its soundtrack, drawing upon classical music, not pop.
- 315 Dennis and Peter did commission: Bingen, *Easy Rider*, 52–53.
- 316 “Dennis was me”: Ibid.
- 316 “This was a road movie”: Hill, *Easy Rider*, 31.
- 317 “Christ, they were criminals”: Ron Rosenbaum, “Riding High: Dennis Hopper Bikes Back,” *Vanity Fair*, April 1987, 134.
- 317 “We blew it”: Those also happened to be the final words in Tom Wolfe’s *The Electric Kool-Aid Acid Test*, published shortly after *Easy Rider* was filmed.
- 317 *Easy Rider* was previewed: Press release, Museum of Modern Art, July 7, 1969.
- 317 It was a box-office juggernaut: Bingen, *Easy Rider*, 75–76.
- 317 The night Sharon Tate: Goldstein, “Man What a Trip That Was.”
- 318 “I want to believe”: Richard Goldstein, “Captain America, the Beautiful,” *NYT*, August 3, 1969, D13.
- 318 “the movie conveys”: Pauline Kael, “Current Cinema: The Bottom of the Pit” (review of *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*), *TNY*, September 27, 1969, 127.
- 318 “the only realistic”: Ellen Willis, “See America First,” *New York Review of Books*, January 1, 1970, <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1970/01/01/see-america-first>.
- 318 “gutless piece”: Paul Schrader, “Easy Rider,” *Los Angeles Free Press*, July 25, 1969, 26.
- 318 “an inaccurate, smug”: Peter Coyote, *Sleeping Where I Fall: A Chronicle* (Berkeley, CA: Counterpoint, 1998), 102–03.

- 318 “Now the children”: Biskind, *Easy Riders, Raging Bulls*, 1999, 75.
- 319 “immense b.s.”: Goldstein, “Man What a Trip That Was.”
- 319 On March 18, 1971: Smith, *Reflected Glory*, 247–51.
- 319 Six months after Leland’s death: Marilyn Berger, “Pamela Harriman Is Dead at 76; An Ardent Political Personality,” *NYT*, February 6, 1997, A1.
- 319 “I got practically bashed”: Lisa Eisner and Román Alonso, “Still Haywire,” *T: The New York Times Style Magazine*, August 19, 2001, 200.
- 319 Brooke, with her friend: Letter from Jean vanden Heuvel and Brooke Hayward Hopper to Andy Warhol, August 11, 1972, JSP.
- 319 The following year: Andy Warhol, “Brooke Hayward, 1973,” Tate, <https://www.tate.org.uk/art/artworks/warhol-brooke-hayward-t12600>.
- 320 “What have I done”: Judy Klemesrud, “Something Has Gone Haywire,” *TNY*, March 9, 1977, C1.
- 320 “If you ever write again”: Robert Windeler, “The Eldest Daughter Remembers When Filmland’s Golden Family, the Haywards, Went Haywire,” *People*, May 23, 1977, <https://people.com/archive/the-eldest-daughter-remembers-when-filmlands-golden-family-the-haywards-went-haywire-vol-7-no-20>.
- 320 “the human wreckage”: Klemesrud, “Something Has Gone Haywire.”
- 321 Brooke forked sixty: Ibid.
- 321 “I wrote in a bedroom”: Windeler, “The Eldest Daughter Remembers When Filmland’s Golden Family, the Haywards, Went Haywire.”
- 321 “More than once”: Brooke Hayward, *Haywire* (New York: Vintage, 2011), xv.
- 321 The accident occurred: Robert D. McFadden, “Writer Is Killed by a Taxi Here,” *TNY*, July 27, 1974, 30.
- 321 *Haywire* became: Andrew Sarris, “Spoiled Children,” *Harper’s*, June 1977, 77.
- 321 Mike Nichols: Hayward, *Haywire*, frontispiece.
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- 322 Over the years: Jean Stein, interview with Marjorie Hopper, April 10, 1988, JSP.
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