E pluribus unum: scale and American national identity in The Saturday evening post 1942-1969

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E PLURIBUS UNUM:
SCALE AND AMERICAN NATIONAL
IDENTITY IN THE SATURDAY EVENING
POST 1942–1969

By

LOUISE APPLETON

Doctoral thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of
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November 1999

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ABSTRACT

Americans are reminded daily that their society did not emerge from some dark ancestral past but was deliberately created in a revolutionary, ideological act. In formal state activities and more banal ‘flaggings’, Americans demonstrate their commitment to the national creed of human freedom, self-government, individualism and mutual self-help. Such abstract concepts associated with American civic nationalism, however, require translation into expressive forms that are made to mean something to Americans. It is my thesis that geography, and especially geographical scales, contribute to the provision of that function in the constitution of American national identities.

Extending recent work in human geography, social theory, and discourse analysis, this thesis analyses banal nationalism in the Saturday Evening Post in the first half of the Cold War to show how national identities can emerge from processes of cultural production. I discuss the social construction of domestic, local, national, and global scales in the Post and the articulation of national identities through these geographical scales. I analyse the symbols and meanings of national identities that each of these scales articulate, as well as identifying changes and continuities in those identities over the course of the early Cold War period. The result is a deeper understanding of how civic nationalism operates in American society and how geography is central to that process.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My sincere thanks go to those who have contributed to the support of this work.

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To Rob Imrie, Sallie Marston and Mike Raco, who offered their time and expertise to read and comment upon earlier chapter drafts of this thesis, I am particularly grateful. To the staff and students in the department of geography at Loughborough University I thank for the opportunity to share and to shape my ideas. I thank especially David Slater for reading parts of this work, and my director of studies Peter Taylor for providing his support and introducing me to different dimensions of the academic world. For the graphics and artwork contained in this thesis I appreciate the assistance of Mark Szegner who has selflessly provided his time when needed.

I thank also those who have shown an interest in my work throughout my stay in the United States. It is my pleasure to acknowledge Neil Smith as my surrogate supervisor and inspiration during that period and thereafter. He encouraged me to affirm my beliefs, to sharpen my analysis, and to re-evaluate my position. Although the finished product may be a far cry from his work, it is to Neil and his brilliance that I owe my focus on geography and geographical scale in this study of national identity.
Neil provided my beacon of light, while the opportunity to attend his classes and to share with classmates the application of both his thoughts and mine have made this thesis what it is today. Thanks Neil for your space/time!

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Finally, I have the pleasure of acknowledging my parents and family for their unfailing support throughout my studies. Without them, their guidance, and their motivation, I would not have accomplished many things, including the completion of this research. It is a privilege to dedicate this work to them.
We hope to show our diversity and our right to choose. We do not want to have decisions made at the top by one government official that all houses should be built the same way. Is it not far better to be talking about washing machines than machines of war, like rockets? Isn't this the kind of competition you want?

Vice-President Richard M. Nixon to Soviet Premier Nikita Kruschev, 'Kitchen debate' at the American model house in Moscow, July 24, 1959.

Our purpose is to grow even beyond the golden dreams of our forebears—in material wealth, in intellectual stature, in spiritual strength. But to do so, each citizen and every community must match the founders of this Nation in fiery independence, confident optimism, sturdy self-reliance, and we must sustain that capacity for conquering difficulties that has always been a quality of America. With this spirit, each of you, each of us—like, indeed, every American citizen—can arouse your own community to renewed awareness of the promise of freedom. With your neighbours, you can join in work that even as it remakes your own town or hamlet helps remake the world. ...

Whatever America hopes to bring to pass in the world, must first come to pass in the heart of America.

Dwight D. Eisenhower at the Sixth National Assembly of the United Church Women, Atlantic City, New Jersey, October 6, 1953.

The torch has passed to a new generation of Americans—born in this century, tempered by war, disciplined by a hard and bitter peace, proud of our ancient heritage, and unwilling to witness or permit the slow undoing of human rights to which this nation has always been committed.


In the future days, which we seek to make secure, we look upon four essential freedoms. The first is freedom of speech and expression—everywhere in the world. The second is freedom of every person to worship God in his own way—everywhere in the world. The third is freedom from want. The fourth is freedom from fear.

Frederick D. Roosevelt, annual message to congress, January 6, 1941.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

In 1782 a French immigrant Hector St. John de Crevecoeur published his Letters from an American Farmer, which was one of the principal texts on American national identity. In his Letters, this French American asked 'What is the American, this new man?' and replied that '[h]e is either an European, or the descendent of an European, hence that strange mixture of blood, which you will find in no other country....Here individuals of all nations are melted into a new race'. Immigrants from across Europe, '[l]eaving behind all ... ancient prejudices and manners', became united as a single nation of Americans through 'the new mode of life [they embraced]', 'the new government [they obeyed]', and 'the new rank [they] held'. Crevecoeur's image of America is of a colony of European settlers (to which we might now also include Eastern Europeans, Africans, Asians, South Americans), making up a nation of people 'of every race, [and] of every ethnic category' (Steinbeck, 1966 p. 13). Despite the diversity of settlers, however, Crevecoeur emphasises their union. The United States, it seems, is a world colony, but more specifically, it is a place where the peoples of the planet are united; the many become one: E Pluribus Unum.

A similar account of America and Americans, but one that is far more voluminous and thorough, has been conducted more recently by Donald Meinig. In his authoritative texts called 'The Shaping of America' (Meinig, 1986. 1993, 1998), he argues that the United States is, always and simultaneously, an empire, a nation, a federation, and a set of regional societies. As an empire, America has enjoyed outward expansion first within, and later beyond her continental expanse, both politically (through territorial acquisitions) and ideologically (in her advocacy of America as a model for the world). America is a nation with a national political system, national institutions, economy, law, and a national culture that conducts its daily life around the concept of a nation state. Yet it is also a federation of fifty states, some large and some small, some rich and some poor, which possess state laws, institutions, emblems, capitals, and so on that shape the states' individual characters. Finally, Meinig suggests that America is a set of regional societies that produce a great variety of settlements and social groupings with particular regional
consciousness. Like its population, the geographies created in (and by) America(ns) are diverse. From this diversity, however, emerges a nation, alluded to in the country’s title, ‘The United States of America,’ which suggests this idea of a composite national form that is made up of many parts constituting one whole. *E Pluribus Unum*, America’s motto, is as pertinent geographically as sociologically.

The American nation is thus composed of many parts, but those parts are unified in the idea of America. It is the aim of this study to demonstrate how geography, and especially geographical scale - domestic, local, national and global scales - enables both union and diversity to be expressed in the articulation of American identities. Hence this study is concerned with the relationship between the sociological and geographical ideas behind the American motto *E Pluribus Unum*. I take World War Two as my starting point, when America began to enter the period of ‘high hegemony’ in global geopolitics (Taylor, 1999). I question how America’s imperialist, federalist and regionalist identities, as well as local, familial and individual identities are simultaneously incorporated (or not incorporated) into a national discourse about American national identity. I end my study in 1969 to cover the first half of the Cold War, and to coincide with the termination of the publication of the *Saturday Evening Post*. I will identify how American national identities evolved during this period, and how different geographical scales are mobilised at different times and in different relations to articulate relevant national identities. Finally, I hope to understand the meanings of symbols used to articulate nationhood through these different geographical scales. This research will thereby contribute to the theorizing and conceptualization of geographical scale, while also providing an alternative perspective for understanding national identities and their changes across space and time. From the outset, however, I wish to make clear that there are multiple readings that could be made of the *Post* and its articulation of scale and American identities. What I provide here are my own interpretations, which are set in a broader

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1Taylor (1999) considers this period the start of America’s ‘high hegemony’ within the world system, and states that between 1945 and 1971 America came to see itself, and to be seen, as the model for other countries to emulate. ‘The American dream became the world dream, and this dream was built on a single promise: if you behave like us, you too can experience the good life like us’ (Taylor, 1999, p. 15)

2 The *Post* ended publication in 1969, but began republishing in the early 1970s under a different owner with a different format and different motivations. See chapter two for the detailed history of the *Post* both before 1942 (the start of my period of study) and after 1969
theoretical background of literature from the humanities and social sciences that I will introduce in this chapter.

NATIONS AND NATIONAL IDENTITIES

In the United States, nationhood is part of everyday life. From a schoolchild’s daily pledge of allegiance to the flag, to the rousing chorus of the Star Spangled Banner in sports stadiums throughout the land, and every act ‘for God and country’ in between, the nation is a commonplace frame of reference. Yet although Americans live in a nationalised world (along with many others of us), nations remain difficult to define (Cubitt, 1998a).

The word ‘nation’ finds its roots in Latin – *natio* – where it referred traditionally to a group of foreigners united by place of origin. Geography therefore provided the fundamental basis of the nation. In time, however, this status was imbued with political and cultural significance, and by the early sixteenth century the word was applied to the population of the country and made synonymous with the word ‘people’ (Greenfeld, 1992). These different definitions of the nation suggest that while exteriority and uprootedness helped to define the nation in its Latin roots, interiority and belonging also became key components to the term’s meaning in time. These are the terms through which I understand ‘the nation’ in its present day context.

The traditional roots of the word have also enabled us to talk of the nation in different ways. Until recently, the nation was considered an objective fact upon which different sets of concerns may be projected. From this perspective, the nation is a material entity that provides a framework in which people can conduct their lives and it ensures security from the outside world that is both separate from, and threatening to, its integrity. Nations, as such, are considered fixed territories that have been politically defined, while the people residing in this homeland are considered the national culture group who are tied to the nation through their engagement with political organisations, a national economy, and other political and cultural functions. It follows that the nation is separate from the national culture group, but that statements of nationalism are justified by an underlying material entity. National identity is thus considered ‘natural’ to the nation state, and an organic product of the political structure. In short, national identity is a product of geographical and political space.
More recently, however, Greenfeld has asserted that the nation is created and sustained by the 'people', and hence is the product of social and cultural processes modifying its shape and meaning over time and space. Nations, therefore, rather than ontological entities, are socially constructed. For example, following the work of several key writers including Anderson (1983), Hobsbawm (1997), and Gellner (1983), we have come to understand nations not as objective facts but as products of history that are fairly recent in origin. They have shown that nations have specific socio-historical locations, emerging during modernity with the development of the world system. Hence, Hobsbawm (1997) argues that despite earlier claims to primordial origins, the nation as it is understood today is a cultural as well as a political form that would not have been recognisable before the eighteenth century. It follows then that if nations meant different things at different times then they are not ontological facts but are socially created phenomena. They are, in short, 'a contingency, not a universal necessity' (Gellner, 1983, p. 6).

Yet, while Greenfeld claims that the nation is synonymous with 'the people', 'the people' are composed of individuals who need to form themselves into an integrated common culture loyal to the national ideal, and this is a process that is constantly being conducted. The nation is created through the negotiation between individual interests in the faith of the idea of the nation rather than any material foundation. Gellner states:

[N]ations are the artifacts of men's convictions and loyalties and solidarities. A mere category of persons (say occupants of a given territory, or speakers of a given language, for example) becomes a nation if and when the members of the category firmly recognize certain mutual rights and duties to each other in virtue of their shared membership of it.

(Gellner, 1997, p. 7)

Hence, the nation exists in the negotiation between individualization and public communality. Oakeshott has determined that this relationship be understood by the

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3 See Stargardt (1998) for a full account of the shift from traditional approaches to nations and nationalism to contemporary ideas.

4 Another important discussion of recent developments in studies of nations is Smith (1991) and, coming from a different intellectual tradition in international relations, Balibar (1991)
term *societas cum universitate* in which individual codes of conduct and the acknowledgment of common purpose and substantive end are related (cited in Bhabha, 1990, p. 2). In Foucault’s words, ‘the integration of individuals in a community results from a constant correlation between an increasing individualization and the reinforcement of totality’ (Foucault, 1988, p. 162-3).

Anderson has been instrumental in promoting the idea of the nation as a community where ‘regardless of the actual inequality and exploitation that may prevail in each, the nation is always conceived as a deep, horizontal comradeship’ (Anderson, 1983, p.16). In addition, Anderson suggests that the nation is a spiritual entity that relies on the belief in others to share the same conviction. For Anderson, the nation comprises an ‘imagined community’ because ‘the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion’ (Anderson, 1983, p. 15). Hence, what the collectivity imagine they have in common – both actually and potentially, physically and emotionally – supplies a sufficient basis for the attribution to them of a common identity (Cubitt, 1998a, pA).

Anderson’s notion of ‘imagined community’ developed from a similar idea promoted by Ernest Renan in the late nineteenth century. Rather than a group of people defined by the state, Renan considered the nation a ‘spiritual principle’ or a ‘spiritual family’ that is actively constituted by consent and a common will to continue a common life. In this famous lecture in 1882, Renan also proposed that this ‘spiritual principle’ of the nation was what linked a present nation to its past. ‘Two things, which in truth are but one, constitute this soul or spiritual principle’ he claimed, ‘one lies in the past, one in the present. One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present day consent, the desire to live together, the will to perpetuate the value of the heritage that one has received in an undivided form’. Hence, a common past as well as a common will to construct national identities not only define, but actively create that nation and its identity. All that is required is communion of action in the name of the nation.

I have been talking so far about the nation as an unstable category that is not an ontological fact but an imagined community produced through the imagination.6

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5 Renan’s seminal lecture on the nation from 1882 is reproduced in English in Bhabha (1990)
6 See Cubitt (1998a) and other essays in his edited collection (Cubitt, 1998b) for a view of nations as imagined entities
Some theorists have taken this idea further to suggest that rather than a material reality or body politic, the nation is a fiction that may magnify historical conditions but may also mask contradictions and inequalities to imply national solidarity (Lefebvre, 1994). However, to describe nations as fictions, as Lefebvre implies (and criticises), is to divide mental construction and social realities too rigidly. Nations are products of the imagination but they also develop out of social and political experience.

Furthermore, while nations are a product of the imagination Billig asserts that they exist only in so far as that idea can be communicated, and in a general sense, 'textually' represented. National identities are not internal psychological states that are imaginatively conceived, but are forms of social life or 'ideological creations caught up in the processes of nationhood' (Billig, 1995, p.24). Thus, to understand social constructions of nations and national identities is to see those ideological creations as 'texts'. Retaining this textual metaphor, Bhabha (1990) concedes that the nation is 'narration'; in other words, that it is through 'narratives' that the nation is articulated. It is through textual representations, therefore, that we can see how nations and national identities are imagined, not as abstract thoughts, but as ideological creations from particular historical and geographical contexts. People create ‘maps of meaning’ (Jackson, 1989) through which the world is made intelligible, and it is in these patterns of organisation - in discourse, behaviour and institutional structures organised around the assumption of the existence of nations - that nations exist.

Yet this existence also involves relations of power that renders nations always ontologically unstable. Different institutions exert different degrees of influence on people that establishes a preferred reading of what is embodied in ‘national life’. This is not to suggest that people are controlled by institutions such as the state, or an autocratic press, because people understand ideas of nationhood by fitting themselves into the narrative in a way that fulfils their individual needs. Thus Cubitt argues that however institutionalised meanings of nations become and however well established the symbolism that denotes them, they are perpetually open to contest, elaboration and imaginative reconstruction (Cubitt, 1998a). The nation, then, is both a product.

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7 Here textual representation refers not specifically to a written document but to all mediums of expression such as photographs, cinema, television, art, architecture, magazines, advertisements and so on.
and a process, articulated and rearticulated in time and place, and open to endless shifts in meaning.

This development in the way we think of nations has had a considerable impact on how we study national identities, and on how I have considered American national identity in the present research. Primarily, since it is accepted that national identities are neither necessarily congruent with nor organically created from the state’s inception, it is not necessary to question the evolution of national identities from their origins to understand the power of national identities. Instead, attention has become focused on how nations are articulated, what symbols are used, and how these articulations change through time and space according to different socio-political contexts. Interest lies in their existence and (mal)functioning rather than in their foundation.

Secondly, since national identities are not simply a product of state functions, and nor are they necessarily confined to official sources for their creation, it is no longer necessary or beneficial to confine studies of national identities to political doctrines or official state occasions of explicit nationalism. Neither is it necessary to focus on newly emerging or politically virulent states where national movements promote strong national ideas. Instead, we are drawn to cultural manifestations of national identities as well as political ideologies. Researchers have found new source materials to mine, such as art, literature, and architecture (Cosgrove and Daniels, 1988; Duncan, 1993; Lucas 1988); popular music (Frith, 1989, Kong, 1995a, 1995b); print media and advertising (Lutz and Collins, 1993; McClintock, 1995; Jackson and Taylor, 1996). These have been used to demonstrate how they provide both sources of, and mediums through which, national popular identities are created, negotiated, consumed, and shared.

Billig (1995) has referred to this as ‘banal nationalism’ and it is with this everyday construction of the nation that I am concerned in my study of the Saturday Evening.

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8 I use the term in two senses. In the first instance, it means to communicate fluently and coherently, but in the second instance ‘articulate’ means composed of many parts that are connected by joints. Thus, the term refers to the way meaning is communicated through the incorporation of many parts—symbol and sign, as well as social and historical contexts that are brought to the production and interpretation of the text.

9 Critical geopoliticians such as Campbell, Dalby and Corbridge, and those working in international relations such as Bloom (1991) and Dykman (1996) focus on official state rhetoric, and historians such as Spillman (1997) who is concerned with state-organised events of nationalism.

10 See Ali and Lifschultz (1994) and Ignatieff (1994) for this type of analysis on the breakup of Yugoslavia and Hooson’s (1994) recent edited collection on geography and nationalism.
Post.. Nationalism for Billig, rather than 'overt' and 'fiercely expressed' is seen in 'prosaic routine words ... small words, rather than grand memorable phrases.... Unmemorable clichés and habits of political discourse' (p.16, p.87). Through banal nationalism the idea of nationhood is 'flagged' mindlessly rather than mindfully in endless places and on regular occasions. Because of this daily reproduction of nationalism that occurs in the lives of so many people, Billig states that it is an endemic condition that requires attention in studies of national identity. The Saturday Evening Post 'flagged' the nation and reproduced America through everyday discourses for a mass readership. It brought the flag across the hearth, so to speak, and translated the collection of ideological habits (of practice and belief) into a meaningful sense of nationhood on a weekly basis. This study will thus be concerned with the subtle ways in which a national identity is created.

CREATING NATIONAL IDENTITIES

If, as I have argued, nations are a social construction that demonstrate the things a group of people have in common and the things that distinguish them from others outside the group, national identity therefore depends upon two forces—integration and differentiation—through which the idea of the nation is mediated. Both these inherently related and mutually constitutive forces help to define national identity, and the balance between these two processes enables us to understand not only how national identities are produced but also how they change over time.

**Integrative Processes**

National identity is a social construction, but Anderson (1983) reminds us that it is in the elaboration and reinforcement of a sense of community that the imaginative labour is expended (Cubitt, 1998a). National identity thus relies on searching for the common ground on which the national group might stand, and this common ground can take a variety of different forms. Smith (1991) has argued that ethnicity, language and genealogy have provided the elements of national community and national identity formation. Ignatieff distinguishes this as 'ethnic nationalism' which claims that 'an individual's deepest attachments are inherited, not chosen' (Ignatieff, 1994, p.4-5). It follows then that 'ethnic nationalism' appeals to blood loyalty to
unite the community in order to defend it against external threats or to purify it of unwanted elements within the community. The recent crisis in Yugoslavia is testimony to the fact that ethnic nationalism remains a virulent force in some parts of the world.

American national identity, however, is clearly a stranger to ‘ethnic nationalism’. Neither a common descent, a common language, nor a common ethnicity can be used to unify the national group. There is no such thing as an ‘ethnic American’ for example. Instead, Americanness is an idea, and what holds this society together is not common roots but common values. Ignatieff refers to this as ‘civic nationalism’:

Civic nationalism maintains that the nation should be composed of all those – regardless of race, colour, creed, gender, language or ethnicity – who subscribe to the nation’s political creed. This nationalism is called civic because it envisages the nation as a community of equal rights-bearing citizens, united in patriotic attachment to a shared set of political practices and values’

(Ignatieff, 1994, pp. 3-4)

It is this belief, therefore, this mutual subscription to the idea of America and what it represents – freedom, self-government, individualism and equal rights for example – that provides the adhesive to unite the group. The national group is integrated, in the words of John Bodnar (1996), through shared ‘bonds of affection’ towards the idea of the nation.

Civic nationalism in the United States tries to ensure inclusiveness. All one needs to do to become American is to subscribe to the creed of Americanness ‘If you believe in the values of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence,’ President Clinton recently affirmed, ‘if you’re willing to work hard and play by the rules, you are part of our family and we’re proud to be with you’.11 National identity in America is therefore an individualistic principle because it is through individuals exercising their wish to subscribe to the nation that the nation is established. Hence, Greenfeld (1992) considers civic nationalism open and voluntaristic (in contrast to ethnic nationalism that is authoritarian and inherited). For the United States, a settler society that is made up of many immigrants as well as a

11 Quoted in Freedland, (1999), p 144
unite the community in order to defend it against external threats or to purify it of unwanted elements within the community. The recent crisis in Yugoslavia is testimony to the fact that ethnic nationalism remains a virulent force in some parts of the world.

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(Ignatieff, 1994, pp. 3-4)

It is this belief, therefore, this mutual subscription to the idea of America and what it represents — freedom, self-government, individualism and equal rights for example — that provides the adhesive to unite the group. The national group is integrated, in the words of John Bodnar (1996), through shared 'bonds of affection' towards the idea of the nation.

Civic nationalism in the United States tries to ensure inclusiveness. All one needs to do to become American is to subscribe to the creed of Americanness. ‘If you believe in the values of the Constitution, the Bill of Rights, the Declaration of Independence,’ President Clinton recently affirmed, ‘if you’re willing to work hard and play by the rules, you are part of our family and we’re proud to be with you’. National identity in America is therefore an individualistic principle because it is through individuals exercising their wish to subscribe to the nation that the nation is established. Hence, Greenfeld (1992) considers civic nationalism open and voluntaristic (in contrast to ethnic nationalism that is authoritarian and inherited). For the United States, a settler society that is made up of many immigrants as well as a

11 Quoted in Freedland, (1999), p 144.
federal society composed of different geographical units (including the family home, the town and country, as well as states and dominions), this inclusiveness of civic nationalism is essential. It ensures that Pluribus can become Unum through working to maintain certain principles.  

However, while Clinton may wish to consider affinity with American values the requirement for becoming American, national identity relies on more particularistic forms of integration that underlie civic nationalism. Americanness, in short, needs to be made to mean something to Americans, and relies on more tangible objects to give meaning to the Creed and to integrate the group. For example, territory possessed in common by the national group provides common ground upon which individuals can become part of a community. The land is given special privilege as the ground upon which the nation is united, and the term ‘fatherland’ or ‘motherland’ ascribed to the ‘homeland’ reveals the familial association of national group and national territory. As well as suggesting an integrative role amongst national peoples, territory also provides a sense of stability and fixity (even if only temporarily) by locating a community in space. Jackson and Penrose (1994, p. 8) argue that ‘every time the term nation is used to refer to a recognisable territory belief in the legitimacy of the entity is reinforced’. Geography is therefore seen as the conceptual space of national identity, the space where culture becomes imbued with national ideas forming a potent symbol of blood and soil, and hence providing an organic root to the nation.

The national territory is also considered a unique national place, and a place that takes on almost sacred dimensions. America, for example, was the product of a ‘manifest destiny’, which expressed the belief that it was Anglo-Saxon Americans’ providential mission to expand their civilization and institutions across the breadth of North America to ensure the progress of liberty and individual economic opportunity. America was the ‘New Jerusalem’ for Puritan settlers. In addition, those colonizing the New World looked upon its hallowed ground with reverence, because it was here that they expected to achieve more than they could in their

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12 For Freedland (1999), voluntaristic civic nationalism explains why blacks were (and are) excluded from American society through prejudice and bigotry. In contrast to other immigrant groups, Freedland recognises that at the start of America’s history blacks were forced to America in shackles and chains while other groups chose to pursue freedom and happiness in America under their own volition. Thus, if American identity is defined by voluntarism, the blacks could be excluded. It seems that this legacy has been difficult for African Americans to elude.

13 On manifest destiny see Pratt (1927) and Weinberg (1935).

14 See Nash (1982) for an account of sacred attitudes of settlers towards America.
homelands. The Statue of Liberty demands in New York Harbour: ‘Give me your
tired, your poor, your huddled masses, yearning to breathe free, The wretched refuse
of your teeming shore, Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me’, thus asking
for the world’s dispossessed to be gathered in so that Liberty might show them ‘the
golden door’. An asylum for the oppressed, America would be a place of freedom for
immigrants, and therefore a place where people would be better off than elsewhere.
This was the land of opportunity for those choosing to move to America and a place
considered inherently better than the Old World.

Smith (1991) notes that the homeland is the repository of historic memories and
associations, the place where our sages, saints and heroes lived, worked, prayed and
fought. Therefore, not only national geography but also national history provides a
source for uniting the national group. History provides a common past ‘from whence
we came’, and as such nations are imagined as things enduring, endowed with origin,
tradition and heritage. This historical evolution may be seen in a modernist sense as
the path of progress taken by a nation to reach the present. Anderson (1983) suggests
that founding moments and key historic events mark the progress of national groups,
that progress is envisioned as continuing into the future, and hence securing the
nation’s future. Past, present, and future of the group are secured through affiliation
to shared history.

The Gettysburg Address, for example, reminds Americans of the creation of their
nation, and enables this to be linked to the present (as it was delivered in 1863), but
also provides a coherent link with the future in its suggestion of a national mission.
The speech was just ten lines long, and began by defining the time and reason for the
inauguration of the nation: ‘Four score and seven years ago our fathers brought forth
upon this continent a new nation, conceived in Liberty, and dedicated to the
proposition that all men are created equal’. As well as defining the foundation of the
nation, however, the address concluded with the mission for continuing its existence:
‘government of the people, by the people, for the people, shall not perish from the
earth’. From this speech, the United States is given a time and place of birth, but also
a reason for existence, and this project defines and coheres American national identity
to this day. America is an ongoing mission dependent upon people to preserve its
democratic legacy, and relies on civic participation to continue this into the future.

More formal state institutions also encourage national cohesion of the population
of America. For example, people choose (or are forced) to abide by the laws of the
land and in their mutual obligation to the legal community all members of the nation (in principle) share equal status in law. They are governed by political institutions, participate in the national economy, and enjoy the rights of residency that the nation secures. Through these political state apparatuses, life is experienced at the national scale and people thereby become part of the national group through their political affiliation with the state.

Culture, geography, history, politics, and state institutions serve to integrate the national group and help to create national identities. However, these processes need not necessarily operate at the national scale. For example, national holidays may provide a sense of national collectivity, but these may take place at a different scale. Thanksgiving, for example, is arguably the most important national holiday in America, but this is celebrated in the home or at the domestic scale. Thanksgiving, while still a national occasion, is experienced privately, and thus the integrative process is experienced collectively both in the family and in the nation. American Independence Day celebrations, in contrast, are usually held in public places at the local scale. However, their collective meaning at the national and international scale take the significance of July 4th celebrations beyond the confines of the local scale to help construct national identity. National identity is thus achieved through integrating processes that serve to unify the nation despite the scale at which these processes operate.

Integrating processes, however, are not always straightforward. In the 1960s, for example, Schlesinger (1992) suggests that a ‘cult of ethnicity’ emerged in America that challenged integration and instead effected division. Bloom (1987) is likewise concerned about the integration of Americans into a national culture group, but he is more pessimistic than Schlesinger. Bloom claims that integration is virtually impossible in America because Americans are too selfish and individualistic. *E Pluribus Unum*, according to Bloom, is a pipe dream that defies national union.

**Differentiating Processes**

15 Schlesinger states that the underlying philosophy of the cult of ethnicity is that ‘America is not a nation of individuals at all but a nation of groups, that ethnicity is the defining experience for most Americans, that ethnic ties are permanently indelible, and that division into ethnic communities establishes the basic structure of American society and the basic meaning of American history’ (1992 p. 16).

The previous section outlined how the idea of national community draws on themes to promote integration and group unity across time and space. However, if all states are 'imagined communities' devoid of ontological being apart from the many and varied practices which constitute their reality, then Campbell argues that identity can only be secured by 'the effective and continual ideological demarcation of those who are 'false' to the defining ideals' (Campbell, 1992, p. 105). Hence, he suggests that difference (rather than similarity as I have outlined above) is central to understanding how national identities are created.

Other cultures beyond or outside the imagined group are used to reflect 'our' own traits that differentiate the 'self' from 'others'. They form a constitutive outside or a defining boundary that signifies inherent socio-cultural and ethnic classifications of inclusion and exclusion. Other nations, rather than being bounded and homogeneous, are mutually entangled with other nations and other places that help create and sustain a sense of national distinction. However, this is not simply a neutral process of juxtaposing opposites, for in a comparative field 'we' are considered better or superior than 'them' (Anderson, 1983). Each association with the 'other' carries value judgements with it.

To triumph over others requires that the group against whom 'we' are being defined is considered inferior to 'us'. The 'other' thereby becomes the antithesis of the self, while binary definitions serve to polarize 'them' and 'us', and organise culture groups according to these relations. Said (1978) has demonstrated how the self/other dichotomy served its purpose during European Imperialism, when the East was 'Orientalised' by European powers. He argued that this Orientalisation through books such as Le Description de l'Egypte, was a self-conscious act of exotic interrogation that served the needs of European self-infatuation as well as facilitating the ideological appropriation of Egypt by the French. Similarly, Driver (1992, 1994) has demonstrated how, during the age of Empire, the West was portrayed as progressive, modern, rational and knowledgeable in contrast to Africa which was still

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17 See Paasi (1996) for a discussion of boundaries and their relevance in creating Finnish national identities.

18 Projective identification describes how qualities, feelings, wishes, or even objects which the subject refuses to recognise or rejects in him/herself are expelled from the self and located in another person or other things (Sarup, 1996, p.33). See also Bloom (1991) for a detailed discussion of introjection and projection in relation to national identities in international relations.
in darkness, pre-modern, irrational and ignorant. The story of ‘the West and the Rest’ is now well-rehearsed in studies of European imperialism, particularly with the emergence of postcolonial studies. Less popularised is the self/other dichotomy of countries such as America and Australia, where the ‘Other’ is the indigenous peoples and marginal groups living in the country as much as external, international groups.

Over time, however, the constitutive ‘outside’, the ‘other,’ changes in relation to different contexts. Campbell (1992), for example, demonstrates how the relationship between self and other through America’s European discovery, colonization, and revolution changed over time. ‘In each of these foundational moments’ he claims, ‘a fictive paragon has been presented as a regulative ideal by which to make judgements’ (Campbell, 1992, p. 143). Thus, during Spanish discovery, Amerindians’ ‘otherness’ was defined by their lack of Christianity, while the Puritans later considered the Indians as ‘other’ by virtue of their race. In the eighteenth century, Europeans substituted one marginal group (Indians) for another (Africans), which served to legitimize slavery. By the time of the revolution, the English and their culture were held as inferior and even decadent compared to Americans, and throughout the nineteenth century America gradually became more confident in its assumed superiority in the world.

In the twentieth century, Europe served as America’s other in the latter’s concern to effect a peace treaty that would be implemented after the First World War. During the war, the United States was involved in an exercise called ‘The Inquiry’ which was charged with collecting historical, economic, environmental and ethnic data on the major European geopolitical problems so that American ideas could be used in a post-war peace treaty (Heffernan, 1999). It is an operation similar to the one discussed by Said (1978) called Le Description de l’Egypte in which French officials were sent to collect data on Egypt as a means of knowing the country in order to colonise it. Although the US had no intention of colonising Europe, the implementation of the Inquiry’s findings into the peace treaty ensured that a rejuvenated Europe composed of independent national states would be different from America’s own exemplary

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19 Stuart Hall has been instrumental in bringing ideas of the self/other dichotomy to the fore in the perspective of ‘the West and the Rest’, which serves as the title to one of his publications (1992) in geography, the collection edited by Smith and Godlewska (1994) adds to this research.

20 Exception to this are Huggins and Huggins (1995) who provide an interesting postcolonial discourse on Aborgine otherness in Australia, and Jackson (1992) in his work on the representation of Indian ‘others’ in the photographs of Curtiss in the American West.
melting pot society. Despite the Depression, belief in American exceptionalism gathered pace. In 1941, Henry Luce stirred the American population with the provocation that this was 'The American Century,' and proposed that America would lead the world in the twentieth century (Slater and Taylor, 1999). To declare this as such was to necessitate the comparison of America with other nations in the world, in which America could be seen in a favourable light in antithesis to others. During the Second World War, for example, Westbrook (1996) demonstrates how the Japanese quickly became America's 'other' following Pearl Harbour. It is Westbrook's thesis that the representation of Japan helped Americans to understand their own conceptions of political obligation and patriotism. The Japanese were unappealingly depicted as a culture group devoted to state authority and willing to submit to unlimited sacrifice, which contradicted America's belief in universal human rights and liberties of democracy. 'In the foxholes of American commentary on Japanese political culture during World War Two' Westbrook argues, '[t]he Japanese were not merely different; they were abominable'. As a result, '[t]heir political culture not only had to be understood but also destroyed' (Westbrook, 1996, p. 227).

The end of World War Two also saw the start of the Cold War,21 when America came to be defined in antithesis to the Soviet Union, or more precisely, Communism. Sharp (1993) demonstrates how the Reader's Digest structured two discrete and internally homogeneous spaces through discourses of 'otherness', proving the absolute incompatibility of Americans and Soviets. Discourses of time (suggesting an unchanging essential Soviet Union in contrast to progressivism in America), rationality (Soviet action seen as incomprehensible within the American-universal system of rationality), overly aggressive masculinity (of the Soviet Union), and environmental determinism (suggesting that the Soviet weather works to structure difference from America) were used to represent a utopian image of America during the Cold War.

May (1988), however, reminds us of the internal threat of Communism and its role in constructing an image of America. In May 1938, the House Un-American
Activities Committee (HUAC) had been established to investigate disloyalty among Fascists as well as Communists, but it concentrated almost exclusively on the latter. With the Cold War, and the Communist connection with the Soviet Union, Communism was seen as a threat to national security and in the post-war period HUAC was regularly called upon to investigate people suspected of un-American (i.e. pro-Communist) behaviour. In 1948 HUAC investigated Alger Hiss, which resulted in his conviction for perjury, and in 1947 it found ample evidence of leftist sympathies in Hollywood, but it uncovered none of the systematic subversion it had alleged. Even so, film executives soon started refusing to hire suspected leftists and a blacklist of such people – which spread to radio, television and the stage – lasted for more than ten years. At the federal level, the Truman administration promulgated a loyalty-security programme that barred Communists or people who associated with Communists from government jobs. During the first part of the Cold War (the period with which I am concerned in this study), America was thus gripped by a ‘red scare’ that was both internal and external, a danger and a threat that provided the boundaries of legitimation for American national identity.

By the 1960s, however, differentiating processes appeared to rupture whatever internal cohesion existed in American society as different groups fought for legitimacy as distinct ethnic, religious or cultural communities within the national whole. Indeed, difference became a defining characteristic of American national identities in the 1960s and later. It was no longer enough to be distinguished as ‘Americans’, but instead Americans wanted to promote a hybrid identity that pointed to their unique ethnic ancestry and by the 1960s this had become more acceptable (Schlesinger, 1992). Irish-Americans, Italian-Americans, Polish-Americans, Jewish-Americans, African-Americans sought individuality through their distinct ethnic origin as much as they sought communion as Americans. The processes of integration and differentiation are therefore made more complex by ‘otherness’ that operates at scales smaller than the national.

Similarly, the differentiating process is made complex because although those groups that are external to it (beyond its state boundaries) define a national identity, the relationship need not necessarily be antithetical. Thus, identities that are politically ‘foreign’ can contribute to the construction of national identities in a positive way without having to be a polar opposite against which the nation is pitted. Spillman, for example, argues that both America’s and Australia’s relationships with
Britain were crucial to the scripting of national identities in their centennial celebrations. Rather than purely oppositional to Britain, both America and especially Australia, identified more directly with Britain to promote a positive association:

A direct identification with Britain was predictably strong in Australia, and seen as consistent with a meaningful Australian identity.... Whatever Australians were, the British were not foreigners. All the symbolism and speeches of the ceremonies of the centennial loudly proclaimed a British identification.

(Spillman, 1997, p.64)

In America, too, Spillman contends that the link between national identity and 'British inheritance' could be heard, along with a general consciousness of the heritage of European civilization. However, this was less pervasive than in Australia, and generally confined to the eastern elite: 'An identification with Britain – a mix of political, historical, and racial associations, as in Australia – was important to elites during the centennial' (Spillman, 1997, p.67).

Spillman's thesis therefore maintains that the international reference groups should not be seen as antithetical but as relational in the articulation of identities. The self/other dichotomy that has concerned those interested in issues of identity has simplified the argument and rendered culture groups as bounded entities defined in opposition to other cultures. Spillman suggests the relations between cultures are subtler, and within culture groups those relations may also differ, as she demonstrated in the case of America's eastern elites. Integration can therefore take place across national political boundaries, while differentiation can take place within those boundaries, thereby complicating the process of national identity creation.

Thus, integration and differentiation together create national identities. In America, I have suggested that national identity requires civic participation and belief in certain virtues that unite, distinguish, and elevate Americans in their citizenship. It is through belief in the unity and eminence of the nation, as well as its distinction from others, that the nation comes to fruition. However, while national identity relies on integrative and differentiating processes, these do not necessarily align with the limits of the nation state. Although we may consider integration to take place at a sub-national level and differentiation to operate at an international sphere, these
scales, like the nation, are socially constituted and do not exist *a priori*. I have suggested that integration can take place across national state boundaries, while differentiation can take place within national state boundaries as well as between them. In short, integration and differentiation have no fixed geographies and are not necessarily tied to the political boundaries of the nation state.

It follows, therefore, that national identity — that is, the product of integrating and differentiating processes — can be revealed in geographical scales smaller or larger than the national. By analyzing identity at these scales it will be possible to understand how national identity is constructed in different circumstances. Geographers (and some other social scientists) have begun to consider the idea of scale more seriously, especially in trying to understand the way the production of scale is implicated in the production of space. Yet though these researchers have been concerned with a social constructionist approach to scale (stemming largely from Lefebvre's theorization about the production of space), few have moved beyond locating constructionism within capitalist production.22 I want to suggest, however, that the social construction of scale is not necessarily produced by the state, capital, labour, and political actors, but that people actively construct scales based on their subject positions. Furthermore, it is through these different subjectivities at different geographical scales that identity, including national identity, is created and refashioned over time.

**SCALE AND NATIONAL IDENTITY**

Until the 1980s, scale was a largely taken-for-granted concept for geographers, who employed the term to represent a graduated series or nested hierarchy of bounded spaces of differing size. Labels such as the local, regional, national and supranational were fixed to space to provide a spatial ordering of the world, and also to provide a framework for social inquiry. Hence some geographers would demarcate their area of study by framing their work at a certain scale, such as economic restructuring at the regional scale, or cross-cultural integration at the sub-national scale.

However, while this geometric metaphor can be useful for limiting areas of study,

22 See Lefebvre (1994) and the edited collection by Benko and Strohmayer (1997) for social constructivist perspectives of space.
the reliance on a hierarchy restricts the ability to see and to analyse interscalar links. Without this ability, our concept of the nation and national identity would remain as a bounded and contained entity, structured from within and by processes operating at the level of the state. Yet as I have already demonstrated, nations are constructed by integrating and differentiating processes operating at scales both larger and smaller than the national. Hence, it is impossible to understand the creation of the nation and national identity without reference to processes operating in and between other scales of different sizes.

Over the past decade, the notion of scale as a fixed hierarchy of bounded space has been revised to make this type of enquiry possible. The definition of the term has been expanded to emphasize the social constructedness of scales and the relations between, and influences of, processes operating at different geographical scales. Thus, while the hierarchical levels of abstraction (similar to scales on a map) may frame empirical investigations, some social theorists have employed scale theoretically as a means for understanding the processes that shape and constitute social practices at different levels of analysis (Marston, forthcoming).

Howitt (1998) provides a useful working definition for my use of scale in this study. In addition to scale as size and level, which are relatively well recognised understandings of the term, he adds a third aspect of scale: relation. He argues that when we talk, for example, of 'the national' as a geographical scale, there is no simple or necessary correspondence between spatial size (since the nation can range in population and territorial size, from the city state of Singapore to the continental mass of Australia), or between level (the national scale can encompass a wide variety of organizational arrangements, including unitary states, federal states, republics, monarchies, authoritarian governments, democracies and so on). However, by thinking about the national scale as relation, the relations between geopolitics, territory, structure, culture, history, economy, environment and so on, we can begin to understand what makes the term 'national' an appropriate scale label in a particular context. It is the relations between different processes (social, economic, cultural, political, historical and geographical), therefore, that provide shape and constitution to different levels of abstraction.

Despite this variety of processes proposed by Howitt, however, I will show that recent work on scale devotes attention to understanding scale through political and economic processes, while neglecting socio-cultural processes. In this present
research I want to suggest that while I do not deny the significance of political and economic processes in the construction of scale, understanding the socio-cultural processes will help us to understand how national identity is constructed and how civic nationalism might be attained.

There have been numerous pieces of recently published research that demonstrate the social constructions of scale through political and economic processes. Though these works share a commitment to illustrating social constructions of scale, they suggest a variety of ways in which political actors - including political parties, the state, labour, social groups, and economic activity - actively construct geographical scale.

Political actors, such as major political parties, are the subject of Agnew's research on the social construction of scale. Taking Italy as his case study, Agnew claims that 'the political parties cannot be adequately understood without attending to the ways in which considerations of geographical scale are intertwined with their ideologies and organizational activities'. 'The boundaries they draw,' he goes on to say, 'define the geographical scales that challenge and limit their political horizons' (Agnew, 1997, pp. 99-100, 118).

Also concerned with the political construction of the national scale, Brenner (1997) suggests that the state is an important agent in this process. Brenner uses the case study of the former Federal Republic of Germany, but like Agnew he claims that the nation is not contiguous with the state's limits but that a variety of ideologies and organizational activities at a range of different scales interact to define it.

The role of the state is also discussed by Leitner (1997). She draws attention to the negotiations between nation-states in the debates over immigration that have constructed the supranational scale of the European Union since the mid-1980s. While national government representatives and right-wing nationalist parties promote exclusionary policies, transnational non-governmental organizations favour inclusionary policies encompassing the protection of human rights of immigrants and their representation in the democratic process. As a result, nationalist groups operating at a variety of different scales, from sub-national to supranational, have contributed to the construction of the European Union through policy negotiation. Similar continental scale articulations will also be of concern to my study on the United States. What is also interesting in Leitner's paper and especially pertinent to my research is her consideration of the fluidity of constructions of scale over time.
This ‘evolving supranational framework,’ she maintains, ‘has been a complex multi-layered process of intergovernmental cooperation’ (Leitner, p. 139). As a result, ‘the product of the politics of scale may be fluid and revisable’ (Leitner and Delaney, 1997, p. 95). In my consideration of American national identity in the early Cold War period, I will be interested in how America is also an ‘evolving framework’ that is always under construction.23

While Leitner was interested in the social construction of the supranational scale by state operators and international law, Herod (1991) considers the role of non-government political actors such as labour groups. Herod argues that geographic scale is socially constructed in the resolution between processes of cooperation and competition among social groups. In later papers (Herod, 1995, 1996, 1997) he has focussed his attention on the International Longshoremen’s Association, and claims that labour unions have negotiated contracts based on labour conditions and national level production standards that have shaped the geography of the longshore industry in the United States. Herod’s research illustrates that not only capital but also labour is important in the social constructions of scale.24

Similarly, in a series of papers from the late 1980s, Cox suggests that economic activity articulates geographical scale (Cox, 1996, 1998; Cox and Mair, 1989). Although he confines his study to one scale of reference, the local, he defines this not as a level but as the tension between a ‘space of dependence’ and a ‘space of engagement’. ‘More-or-less localized relations ... [that] define place-specific conditions for our material well being and our sense of significance’ characterise the space of dependence (Cox, 1998, p. 2). However, these spaces intersect into broader sets of relationships of a more global character that threaten to undermine or dissolve them. People, firms, state agencies and so on, need to engage with other centres of social power – local government, national press, international press for example – to secure a space of dependence, and it is here that the space of engagement – where the politics of securing a space of dependence – is created. Having outlined this rather complex theory, the second part of his paper examines how locally-situated agents,

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23 In similar studies, Miller (1994, 1997) considers the interaction between different actors – social movements, federal congressmen, and local politicians – and how they each define Cambridge, Massachusetts through defense spending but with very different outcomes.

24 Brown (1995) also considers the role of social groups (i.e. non-governmental, political actors) in the production of scale. He demonstrates how AIDS politics in Yaletown, Vancouver, take place at a variety of spatial scales beyond the city limit, from micro-scale to global scale, simultaneously.
through networks of association, construct spaces of engagement.

Despite the unnecessary complexity of Cox’s thesis (and the criticisms in subsequent commentaries from Jones (1998), Judd (1998) and Smith (1998), which highlight this problem), he demonstrates how local politics might be understood through attention to scale. Equally valid, and of importance to my work on the nation, Cox demonstrates how the ‘local’ is embedded in processes occurring at higher and lower levels of abstraction. As I have already suggested, I wish to demonstrate how the national is embedded in processes occurring at different geographical scales through processes of integration and differentiation.25

Although the works cited have provided useful ways of understanding the social construction of scale as related and fluid, they have tended to emphasise socio-political and socio-economic processes in this construction. More recently, however, attempts have been made to introduce socio-cultural processes into the equation. These developments are significant for my research because it is in the socio-cultural constructions of scale that the politics of identity can be understood. Nonetheless, these papers continue to emphasise the social construction of scale through the availability and uses of resources in place, rather than through values, meanings and identities ascribed to place that I propose are also important.

Smith (1984), an early proponent of scale in geography, has extended his early theorizations of scale that focused on socio-political and socio-economic structures to include socio-cultural factors. In his work on the homeless, for example, he acknowledges that social groups are able to create their own politics of scale in order to resist capital-centred scale constructions (Smith, 1993a, 1993b).

It is important to remember that rarely is geographical scale simply imposed from above. The making of geographical scale also results

25 Howitt (1998) likewise identifies the socio-economic construction of scale, as well as the embedding of scales at higher and lower levels of abstraction, but demonstrates how those levels might be strategically employed by emphasizing at one scale what might not be emphasized at another. In a case study of aluminum production in Australia, he states that the importance of the Weipa Bauxite Mine depends on the scale context in which it is placed. ‘[I]t has a different significance if one is considering its role in producing social, cultural and environmental change within the Weipa locality, than if one is considering its role within the corporate strategies of CRA-RTZ Ltd or the international geopolitics of either bauxite or aluminum production.’ As a consequence, he suggests it may be necessary ‘to undertake analyses at all these scales simultaneously to understand the Weipa mine’ (Howitt, 1998, p. 56). Parallels may be drawn here with my work, because what American identity looks like depends on the scale being considered, and it is only by looking at a variety of scales that a fuller picture of national identity can be obtained.
from and contributes to struggles based on (and problematising) class, gender, race and other differences. In so far as scale boundaries, for example those of locality and nationality, quite literally contain local and national struggles respectively, scale is constructed as both a technology and ideology of capitalism.

(Smith, 1993a, p. 76)

In his later works, Smith's theory becomes increasingly concerned with cultural and social structures as well as political and economic ones, and it is this renewed emphasis that is of concern to my research.

Similarly, Marston (forthcoming) argues for enhanced sensitivity to socio-cultural processes for understanding the politics of scale. In her research, she attempts to redress the imbalance in the scale literature by focussing on the processes of social reproduction and consumption that she argues must be incorporated into social theoretical accounts of scale construction. It is only by paying attention to social reproduction and consumption, she claims, that small-scale social, physical, cultural and emotional processes (not entirely mediated by capitalism) can be included in studies of the production of scale for a more complete understanding. Using a case study of the domestic scale in America between 1870 and the 1920s, she examines how women used and constructed scale in negotiating cultural ideas about their proper 'place' in social life. The home, she concludes, 'was utilised as a scale of social and political identity formation that eventually enabled American middle class urban women to extend their influence beyond the home to other scales of social life, enabling them to influence issues of production, social reproduction and consumption in the process' (p. 26)

Both Smith and Marston have opened up discussions of scale to considerations of socio-cultural processes. They demonstrate the importance of individual actors and culture groups in the social construction of scale. Moreover, these productions are dependent upon social relations that are both time and space specific. Scale, then, always needs to be relevant to people's needs (Cox, 1998), and it is this close relationship between social context and the meaning invested by individuals in the production of scales that makes scale an important consideration for identity.

Similarly, though not theoretically explicit, and focussing on Israel rather than the United States, Newman (1998a) provides an interesting case study of how the social constructions of scale — in his case the construction of the national scale of Israel — are
dependent upon the subject position of different culture groups. He suggests that socio-cultural factors, such as the meanings, values and ideologies that individuals ascribe to peoples and places, articulate geographical scales. Through these constructions, Newman argues individuals develop a sense of Israeli national identity that is relevant to themselves in certain geopolitical contexts. For example, Orthodox Jews, Ashkenazi Jews (Jews of European extraction), Mizrahi Jews (Jews of North African and Middle Eastern extraction), secular Israelis, and Arabs, although citizens of the state of Israel, view the nation differently. Likewise, their relations with each other and with the Israeli government, as well as with people of similar ethnic roots across Europe, the Middle East, and the world, promote different readings of the state of Israel.26

To understand Israeli national identity necessitates an understanding of processes operating at local, national, regional (Middle Eastern), and global scales simultaneously, and it is through the interaction of these processes that competing visions of Israeli identities are forged. "The degree to which an individual identifies with a State ethos, sees him/herself as an equal citizen, as a member of the majority or minority group and/or as a member of the global village, will determine the way in which he/she perceives the location of the State as part of the changing global community" Newman (1998a, p. 2) states. Like Smith and Marston, therefore, Newman determines that scale is rarely imposed from above. Rather, it is dependent upon the way in which citizens, individuals and groups perceive their relationship with each other, with the country, as well as with neighbouring countries, the region as a whole, and the global system. Moreover, it is through these relationships that individual identities are defined and understood, and through which individual identities of the diverse population are translated into collective identities.

Newman's paper is particularly interesting because it recognizes the role of values, meanings and identities in social constructions of scale that my analysis of the media pays attention to. Furthermore, Newman's study demonstrates through scale how differences between citizens in a nation might be included in national identity rather than how these differences might divide it. Civic nationalism is able to compete against ethnic nationalism to create inclusive national identities. In my study

26 Noticeably absent from Newman's account are the ideas of occupation and conquest in constructing Israeli identity. For this alternative account, see Newman (1998b) and especially Falah (1996)
of American national identity, I also intend to show how diverse individuals are incorporated into a national identity that they create without compromising individualism or conceding to authoritarianism. *E Pluribus Unum* im my opinion is best understood through scale.

In my study of American national identities I will develop Smith's (1993a and 1993b), Marston's (forthcoming), and Newman's (1998a) works in demonstrating that socio-cultural processes are crucial to the construction of scale, as well as socio-economic and socio-political processes that previous scale researchers have evinced. I will show how national identity is promoted through the articulation of different geographical scales - the domestic, the local, the national and the global - that are closely related and mutually dependent. However, I am interested in the changing significance of different geographical scales over time, and it is my concern to demonstrate how geographical scales are articulated and employed at different times to serve the different needs of the magazine for presenting national group identity.

My work makes a further departure from this previous research in the material I am using to conduct my empirical investigations. The literature discussed thus far has demonstrated how the state, capital and non-state political actors such as labour, multi-national companies, political parties and political activists produce scale. My account, however, will broaden this focus to consider the media both as actors in producing scale, but also as places where scale is manifest. I consider media representations of scale useful sites for conducting this research, not least because the media serve as a bridge between state and society – the political and the social – while remaining part of a capitalist economy. Media representations of scale, as well as the media industry itself, are shaped by a combination of social, cultural, political and economic forces. While others interested in geographical scale and identity have limited their study to consider context as a product of economics, politics or society, the media enable and encourage consideration of all these processes at once.

Furthermore, media enable an analysis of scalar articulations of nationhood through time. The regular appearance, particularly of print media such as the weekly publication of the *Saturday Evening Post*, means that media need to maintain continuity in publication to ensure loyal readership, while also adapting to the

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27 See Sharp (1993) for a similar interpretation of the cultural and political significance of popular media.
28 The role of the media in the construction of national identity will be considered in the next section.
changing socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political climate to maintain their relevance. Close analysis of this discourse will highlight the continuities and discontinuities of social identities. In addition, the ubiquity of media and the central role they play in society — such as their capacity to mold and to shape perceptions and values, the contribution they make to the representation, affirmation, and constitution of collective identities — means that we urgently need to understand how this role operates.

In this research, then, I intend to understand how symbols of nationhood are used in the creation of national identities over time. In particular, I focus on the role of geographical scale (as relation) in the scripting of these identities, and analyse to what extent different scales are used to promote particular readings of American identities. In the chapters that follow, I use the domestic, local, national and global scales to study American national identities. The scales I use, however, are hardly a complete typology but they provide a useful framework for organizing my analysis of American identity through spatial parameters. Furthermore, since scales are constantly in a process of construction and reconstruction, I do not begin from a preconception of what each scale should look like and represent but allow the Post to inform my choice of scales and texts for detailed discussion.

Such an investigation of geographical scale and national identity has numerous advantages. Primarily, it is able to show how geography plays a central role in the articulation of American identities. Given America's civic rather than ethnic nationalism, this study will show how different geographical scales bring abstract meanings of nationhood into the ken of average Americans.

Secondly, by showing how different geographical scales are constructed to promote particular meanings of nationhood which often contradict each other, this study will show the power of scales in promoting certain identities in favour of others. Furthermore, since alternative identities can be articulated at different scales but at the same time, some scales might promote inclusiveness and integration among citizens, while others may suggest exclusiveness and differentiation from non-citizens. The different salience of these meanings of nationhood can be defined over time and illustrate how national identities are dynamically constituted in connection with wider

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29 Other scales might include the body, the city or urban, the state, the imperial, and the universal. No doubt others might also be added.
social processes.

Thirdly, by drawing upon material published in a national magazine, this research will provide a deeper understanding of America and the values attached to certain signs and symbols that are mobilised in 'banal' nationalist discourses. It will show the processes by which cultural repertoires are incorporated into nationalist discourses, and also how larger geopolitical and socio-economic contexts are contained within popular cultural representations promoting national communion. Bridging the gaps between culture and geopolitics, the local and the global, individuals and groups, this theory adds an interesting dimension to previous theories of national identity formation.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST AND MEDIA ANALYSIS

I have argued that nations and national identities are produced through the interaction of integrating and differentiating social processes, and that the balance between these related processes shifts in space and time to produce different renditions of the nation. Furthermore, I have suggested that these processes do not necessarily operate at the national scale and are not always produced and imposed by the state. Thus, to capture the idea of national identities as articulations of geographical scales constituted by social processes and continuously transforming, I focus my attention on the media's renditions of national identities. In particular, I am concerned with constructions and meanings of American identities in the Saturday Evening Post.

The Post was the most popular general-interest magazine in circulation at mid-century, with its closest rivals Colliers, Look and Life competing with, and emulating, the model of the Post's success. Before television, it was the pre-eminent form of visual popular culture in America. It reached on average one in seven Americans through subscriptions, with many more reading the magazine as it was passed on from subscriber to family members, doctor's or dentist's waiting rooms, and other public places within America. No other medium had such a powerful hold on mass

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30 Here I provide a brief introduction to the Post and comment upon its relevance to the present study. However, in chapter two I elaborate upon this introduction and give a more detailed account of the magazine and its development throughout the twentieth century.

31 This figure is based on subscription figures for 1964 in Post archives, Indianapolis, and on population figures from the 1964 census of the United States. More complete figures for subscriptions will be provided in Chapter 2 and figure 2 3.
society before the emergence of television, and this opens up the *Post* to questions about its success and its power in shaping American identities throughout the twentieth century.

From its purchase in the late 1890s, its owner Cyrus Curtis of Curtis Publishing Company saw the *Post* as a medium for the creation and dissemination of nationhood. With the scars from America’s Civil War still very much apparent, the *Post*’s first editor George Horace Lorimer set about articulating a ‘transcendent American consciousness’ (Cohn, 1989, p. 9). Lorimer declared in an early editorial that the *Post* was neither a local publication nor a news weekly, but a ‘magazine whose appeal is national’ (*Post* editorial, December 30th 1899). Geographically, therefore, the *Post* was intended to transcend local markets to reach a national audience.

As a general-interest magazine printing both factual and fiction stories on a wide variety of topics, the *Post*’s intellectual pitch was directed at promoting a unifying consciousness of Americanism. This popular approach of the magazine was intended to attract the audience missed by highbrow magazines such as *Harpers* and *Atlantic Monthly*, and hence its style and approach was premised upon this motive. This does not mean that the *Post* did not consider serious issues, but that it made sense out of them for a mass audience. The characteristic quality of the *Post* was its ability to articulate a series of cultural and political concerns in an accessible manner. For example, it depicted the changing relationships between the East and the West, Communism and Capitalism, mobile notions of Americanness, attitudes towards world wars, the space race, education, trade, religion, housing, and such mundane activities as the school-bus ride and the local baseball game. In particular, the *Post* was able to take abstract political events and to reveal their impact on everyday life that Americans from suburban California to traditional New England might experience. This ability to combine the political and the cultural in the articulation of nationhood was, in my opinion, remarkably well accomplished by the *Post*, and this undoubtedly contributed to its popularity and status as a national institution.

Commercially, by accepting national advertising the *Post* supported the standarsization of consumption and national distribution that reinforced its theme of national unification. Advertising products from household cleaners to cars, electrical appliances to cigarettes, the *Post* suggested that readers could consume their way into a national culture regardless of the many differences among the population. Echoing Ewen and Ewen’s (1992, p. 33) words, the *Post* implied that ‘the promise of the
melting pot was inextricably tied to the consumption of American goods'.

Week after week for seventy years, the Post delivered its version of America for its readers to share and to shape their lives. It drew upon events both within America and from abroad, informing, educating, but also entertaining readers with images of themselves and their places in the world. Indeed, the entire magazine was constructed to provide a vision of America, and every cover illustration, advertisement, fiction story and editorial exhibited the Post's beliefs and values of what it meant to be American. In turn, the Post itself became an artifact of that national ideology. As well as providing a familiar sight on newspaper stands throughout America, its regular feature of characters - such as Lulu, Tugboat Annie, Hazel and Alexander Botts; cover illustrations by household names - such as Norman Rockwell, Constantine Alajalov and Stevan Dohanos; and weekly editorials signed by Ben Hibbs (until his retirement) provided common foci for discussion among readers. 'Readers became a national community', Cohn (1989, p. 10) argues, 'as they came to know, to share in, and to talk to one another about familiar stories by familiar writers about familiar characters'. As Dewey (1927, p. 184) had theorised, 'the Great Community, in the sense of free and full intercommunication, [was] conceivable', not a community built on face-to-face contact but on distanciation in the same sense discussed by Anderson (1983). The mere fact that readers of the Post believed that others elsewhere in America were reading the same magazine brought them into a national community. To read the Post was thus to become American and to participate in the American experience.

The Post was therefore a medium through which knowledge was organised in ways that served specific types of power relations. The Post selected ways of constructing social knowledge (and rejected others). The type of story it told, how and why a certain story was scripted on a weekly basis over seventy years, as well as the transformations in telling that story, is an exercise in power. The Post, then, was not a reflector of the social world, but instead mediated that world and was part of it.

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32 See also Fox and Lears (1983) for a view of American life through consumer culture
33 Cf. Hollywood since the 1930s, and then television. The recent advertisement for a British television soap opera, Eastenders, draws on this idea of the sharing of stories about familiar characters and places. It shows people from around Britain discussing (and speculating on) events taking place in the soap, and ends with the campaign slogan 'Everybody's talking about it'. To miss the soap, it suggests, is to miss out on a national conversation
34 Carey (1992) refers to this as the 'ritual view' of communication. Consumption of the Post, according to Carey's thesis would be like a sacred ceremony that draws persons together in fellowship and commonality. This promotes a sense of shared, even if illusory, beliefs of communality.
‘It is not that there is a world outside, ‘out there’, which exists free of discourses and representations’, Hall explains, ‘what is ‘out there’ is in part constituted by how it is represented’ (Cited in Storey, 1996, p. 3). The Post can therefore be conceived of as a storytelling medium that actively constituted and created America.

The Post was not, however, a medium where power was exercised in a top-down direction. To consider the magazine (and media in general) in this light would be naive. One cannot ignore the fact for example, that it had to speak to readers' collective worries, to yearnings to improve, redeem or repair their individual and collective lives, and to their desires to know what is going on in the world (and possibly to escape from it!). The Post therefore had to be relevant to people’s lives and hence the social contexts of production and consumption, as well as the structures of the institutional setting impacted upon the constitution of the Post and were in turn constituted by it. I view the Post in this perspective as a form of Gramscian hegemony in which media are constituted through a negotiation of ideological consensus between the producers of media texts and the meaning attributed to texts. Hence, media are not coercive forms intended to control and manipulate their audience but are consensual, enabling the interests of subordinate groups to be included in media discourses.35 Sharp (1993) states this position eloquently in her discussion of Reader’s Digest:

The media do not simply reflect the perceptions of the political elite. They are not part of a monolithic state structure such as that suggested by Horkheimer and Adorno’s (1972) ‘culture industry’, or Althusser’s ‘ideological state apparatuses’. Nor, however, do they innocently announce some form of bottom-up mass understanding. Instead they should be regarded as part of a Gramscian hegemony – which explains, legitimates, and at times challenges the dominant understanding by pulling it through the lens of popular discourses.

(Sharp, 1993, p. 493)

Thus, in accepting media as a form of Gramscian hegemony, one must appreciate the relevance of wider social values in constituting the meaning of texts. Texts do not

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35 On popular culture and Gramscian hegemony see Mc Robbie (1991) and Storey (1996)
carry meaning but are made to mean in social contexts. Furthermore, if media are consensual as Gramsci maintains (and hence involve engagement with different social groups) then one can also analyse which discourses are pertinent to the ordering of civil society and how these discourses may change over time. In short, understanding the construction of knowledge presented in the Post and the constitution of the Post itself as a form of Gramscian hegemony is fundamental to understanding how American identities are articulated and how they evolve over time.

From this perspective then, the Post's geographical distribution, its intellectual pitch, and its commercial aspect need to be seen in a broader context. The magazine's mission to transcend local markets and to access the national population en masse would not have been possible without the mass production capabilities in publishing developed at the end of the nineteenth century, and the availability of a transport system to take the magazine across the continent. When the magazine began publication in the late nineteenth century, the production processes of the magazine facilitated and encouraged its national orientation and contributed to its success as a voice of the nation. Advances in rotary press and cheap photo engraving at the end of the nineteenth century enabled mass production of magazines for the first time. Peterson (1964) argues that these advances were fundamental to the early success of the general-interest mass-circulation magazines such as the Post. These production techniques enabled costs to remain low, and the affordability of the Post — only fifteen cents in 1961 and still only 50 cents by 1969 — ensured that it remained a popular medium among Americans despite competition from radio and television. In time, the advent of colour printing and photography were introduced to the Post, and these ensured the magazine's appeal in spite of more attractive and novel visual media such as television.

Similarly, the expanding railroads facilitated the nationwide delivery of the magazine and the spread of a national ideology, bridging the gaps between isolated and disparate parts of the nation. Unlike newspapers that had a largely local or regional market, magazines were the most important medium for transferring messages across a continent (at least until the widespread availability of televisions in the 1950s and 1960s). The Post made only limited use of the railroads for delivery,

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36 In 1961, the price of the magazine increased to 20 cents, and in March 1964 it rose to 25 cents. Two years later, in October 1966, the price increased to 35 cents, and in September 1968, it reached 50 cents.
but drew upon and contributed to the spread of a national ideology. Hence, *Post* readers could read about old people’s homes in Florida and the problems with the Japanese in World War Two (see chapters three and six respectively), whether in metropolitan New York or rural Oregon.37

The intellectual pitch of the magazine was also made possible and profitable by these advances. However, Abrahamson (1996) argues that the genre of the *Post* in part determined this approach. As a general-interest magazine, the *Post*, he argues, was concerned with perpetuating the status quo and underscoring mainstream values of its time rather than contesting them. Since magazines of this kind need to maintain a mass audience, an essential element in that process was the constitution of a conformist, consensus-building dynamic with a broad appeal. Yet the *Post’s* perception of the consensual view is founded upon white, middle-class, middle-American values (which provided a contrast with the appeal of early movies directed at the working classes and immigrants for example), and a non-partisan approach (though it strongly expressed Republican values of hard work, thrift and dutiful citizenship). Cohn (1989) attributes this desire to appeal to the masses to the *Post’s* optimistic presentation of America as the land of opportunity, free from constraints of class or social prejudice, where progress was dependent only upon hard work and decent living.

Abrahamson (1996) refrains from providing a reductive account of the *Post’s* contents (i.e. that they are determined by its genre), and suggests that the *Post* is also a social product that must be relevant to the society for whom and by whom it is constituted. He argues that the relative success of the *Post* in the early Cold War period can be explained by the close alliance between the social values of the time and those depicted in the *Post*. The consensus view, for example, was popular with *Post* readers during the Second World War when the *Post’s* image of a world in which all people could get along together – regardless of ethnic differences – was particularly favourable in a world experiencing the horrors of fascism. Similarly, the *Post’s* consensus view (as well as its positive portrayal of successful Americans) found support in the 1950s, which was a period gripped by fear and paranoia of the ‘enemy within’ on the one hand, and a period of optimism and opulence of consumer

37 Carey (1992) refers to this as the ‘transmission view’ of communication. He claims that messages are transmitted across geography for the purpose of control, and this view of communication dominated American thought from the 1920s.
culture on the other (May, 1988). The socio-political context of the 1960s, however, challenged conformity, with Civil Rights movements, women's campaigns, peace demonstrations, labour movements and the campaigns of abolitionists and suffragists demonstrating internal ruptures within American society. The *Post* was condemned by some for its apolitical, consensual position in such a highly charged era, and the magazine’s ‘transcendent American consciousness’ needed to adapt to these times to remain relevant to readers.38 Eventually, with society less interested in conformity and more interested in individual self-expression, Van Zuiilen argues that the mass-circulation magazines became less favourable and more special-interest magazines took their place (Van Zuiilen, 1977). The *Post*’s internal struggle with these social changes and different consumer demands over time need to be considered in analysing the ideological construction of American identities.

Finally, the commercial aspect of the *Post* cannot be divorced from a consideration of the magazine’s effects for shaping and constituting American national identities. Memig (1998) argues that America was quickly becoming an integrated national economy by the late nineteenth century, opening the need for accessibility to national markets. In this context, manufacturers sought an outlet to take messages about their goods to the national group, and the mass-circulation magazine was shaped by, and helped to develop, this function. As the leading mass-circulation magazine, the *Post* was a valued place for advertisers and the attainment of lucrative advertising contracts helped to build the magazine into a profitable product for Curtis Publishing.

Van Zuiilen (1977) has discussed the effects of the commercial climate on the *Post*. He determines that while in the nineteenth century the commercial climate had aided the *Post*’s growth, by the later 1960s it was this factor that contributed to its demise. Moving from the position of leading general-interest magazine in 1942 to a product ravaged first by the photographed news magazine *Life*, and later by television, the *Post* first attempted a change in the magazine format, adding more news events rather than fiction and more photographs instead of illustrations. When

38 Ironically, in the latter days of the *Post*, the interest in attaining the consensual view of the readers became almost irrelevant to the way the *Post* presented its image of America. Material came to be valued on its controversial aspects rather than in its appeal, and in 1968 the new editor Martin Ackerman axed more than three million people from the subscription list based on the income group and status of readers’ residential addresses. Financial profits replaced social responsibility and ethics upon which the *Post* once prided itself.
television entered upon the scene, however, it fought for the same advertising dollars as the mass-circulation magazines because both types of media aimed to reach the greatest numbers of the population. With the growing ubiquity of television, however, as well as the fixed costs for television advertising in contrast to the magazine's fluctuating costs (on which more will be said in the next chapter), many industries were persuaded to place their advertisements there instead. The Post's demise, Van Zullen (1977) argues, was commercially driven.

The Post, then, was not only an object of culture but also an agent in the shaping of national culture. As I have suggested throughout this section, the Post, in short, was a discourse about American culture. By discourse I refer to the way narratives, concepts, ideologies, signifying practices, and socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-political processes are combined in frameworks for understanding the world. I have emphasised the fact that the Post signified the world, and that these significations have immense power in shaping and constituting American national identities. Furthermore, I have suggested that as a social practice the Post is based upon alliances, the incorporation of subordinate groups, and the generation of consent, and therefore presents the general beliefs and values of society, and is in turn shaped by them. Since discourses are consensual in this way, they are also open to contestation and transformation in space and time.

Two points need to be deduced from this analysis. On the one hand, discourse is shaped and constrained by social structures such as class and other social relations at a social level (c.f. Volosinov, 1973). It is shaped by the relations and practices specific to the institution, such as the technical processes and forms for transmission and diffusion in which discourse is generated (c.f. Foucault, 1979). In short, echoing Fairclough (1996, p. 64), discursive events at the Post vary in structure according to the particular social domain or institutional framework in which they are generated. On the other hand, however, discourse is not determined by context, and cannot be reduced to social structures that constrain it, for discourse constitutes the world of which it is a part. The Post, therefore, contributes to the constitution of all those dimensions of the social structure which directly or indirectly constrain it: its conventions and rules of practice, as well as the relations, identities and institutions that lie behind it. It is a creative rather than functional practice, and thereby contributes not only to reproducing but also to transforming society.

To analyse the Post, therefore, I need the tools that will enable my approach to be
attentive to both the textual and social dimensions of discourse. It is important to recognise the dialectical relationship between these to avoid reductivism and social determination of discourse on the one hand that would refer to discourse as a mere reflection of a deeper social reality, and the creativity and constructiveness of social discourse that would point to a free play of ideas with no social relevance. It needs to be a method that enables the relationships between discursive and social change to be assessed, and properties of texts to be related to social properties of discursive events and instances of social practice. It also needs to be attentive to the ruptures and disunities in social change, and the reasons for such ruptures. In the following section, therefore, I will consider contributions made by others to discourse analysis. However, since there are copious amounts of published work now available on discourse analysis and other approaches to media interpretation, I will consider literature that has been concerned with maintaining a close link between textual analysis and contextual understanding. I will also concentrate on research that has been concerned with media, and especially magazines, for this has obvious relevance to my research on the Post.

INTERPRETING MAGAZINES: TEXT-CONTEXT

Fairclough (1996) calls for considerations of text, which, he contends, would prevent a reductive account of context. By paying close attention to the actual texts constituted in practice, he suggests that general statements about social and cultural change can be related to the precise mechanisms and modalities of the effects of change in practice.

In their research on James Bond, Bennett and Woollacott (1987) have demonstrated this concern with textual interpretation and social change, emphasizing the inseparability of text and context and hence the incapacity to reduce texts to products of their context and production. They argue that meaning is made within texts and located within the social relationships that produce and consume them. Their research investigates the character of James Bond and the diversity of ways in which the figure of Bond has been produced through a range of different cultural texts and practices, such as novels, films, academic criticism, showbiz journalism, advertising, and interviews. From this thorough investigation, they conclude several points, two of which have consequences for the way I approach the Post.
Firstly, they illustrate how difficult it is to make sense of the representations of James Bond without taking into consideration their inter-textuality. By this they mean that the character has to be assessed in the context of a range of 'texts', especially the James Bond films, as well as the novels. In terms of production, therefore, they stress the historicity of texts, and hence, in the words of Bakhtin (1986, p. 94) how they always constitute additions to existing 'chains of speech communication' consisting of prior texts to which they respond.

Secondly, and also related to their notion of inter-textuality, they demonstrate how readers come to novels with some prior cultural knowledge of reading other British imperialist spy thrillers, and these are brought to bare on the meaning of texts. In terms of consumption, therefore, Bennett and Woollacott stress that it is not just 'the text', nor indeed just the texts that they inter-textually constitute that shape interpretation, but also those other texts which interpreters variably bring to the interpretation process. Thus, they explain, reading is always

profoundly affected by the reader's specific preorientation to the novels produced by his or her insertion in the orders of inter-textuality which, in different ways for different groups of readers in different circumstances, hover between text and reader, connecting the two within specific horizons of intelligibility. The process of reading is not one in which the inter-textually organised reader meets the inter-textually organised text. The exchange is never a pure one between two unsullied entities, existing separately from one another, but is rather 'muddled' by the cultural debris which attract both texts and readers in the determinate conditions which regulate the specific forms they encounter.

(Bennett and Wollacott, 1987, p. 56)

Bennett and Wollacott thus reject the view that the text determines its own reading by the context of its production. They also reject the view that it is the reader who produces the meaning of the text. They argue instead that since we never get access to texts in themselves but always as situated within a network of inter-textual relations, text and context cannot be seen as two separate moments available for analysis at different times. They are always part of the same process – one cannot
have a text without a context or vice versa – because a text (or practice or event) is not the issuing source of meaning, but a site where the articulation of meaning can take place.

As well as producing a useful non-reductive account of textual analysis, they also emphasize the need for thorough textual investigation, but one that does not reduce texts to products of rules, codes and conventions that govern textual production. Instead they recognize the social practice of texts rather than their structural properties.

They contest the work of Eco (1979), for example, who conducts similar work to theirs on the James Bond novels, but in contrast provides a structuralist account based on the ideas of Saussure. Eco is concerned with uncovering the invariant rules governing the structures of the novels. He identifies a scheme at work in each novel based on binary oppositions such as liberalism/totalitarianism, loyalty/disloyalty, love/death, like those discussed by Levi-Strauss. The coming together of these two structures of binary oppositions and premeditated moves, for Eco, accounts for the popular attraction of the novels. By reducing texts to specific dogma, however, Eco fails to recognize the social dimension of texts, and hence their changes and transformations through time. Furthermore, although attempting to account for the popularity of Bond, unlike Bennett and Wollacott Eco does not recognize human agency at work in either the production or consumption of texts.

Similarly, Morton (1993) has determined that the structural elements of different genres impacted upon the way the character Tarzan was presented. She analyses the original Tarzan novel, the newspaper serialization, the silent movie, radio shows and the sound movies from 1932 and 1984. Each medium depicts Tarzan differently, sometimes emphasising his linguistic genius (as seen in the novel), and other times accentuating the physicality of the character as seen in the silent movie. In the more recent film version, ‘The Legend of Greystoke’ (1984), Tarzan was portrayed first as a barbarian ape-man that provided an erotic spectacle for cinema audiences, but over the course of the movie he became a civilised aristocrat that catered to the conventions of the Big Screen. While veering away from a deterministic account, such as the one offered by Eco, she considers media as forms of hegemony that are dependent upon the wishes of the audience as well as the rules governing the text’s production. Nonetheless, it is the latter that she stresses structure the meaning of Tarzan. As well as this reductivism in which she fails to take account of other social
dimensions of discourse, Morton's research pays only scant attention to historical contingencies of texts even though her sources cover a long period of time. Her account therefore becomes one of understanding media as products of conventional rules that govern genre.

While still concerned with systems of meaning, Barthes' semiology attempted to address the issue of the socio-historical dimension of texts through his theory of myth (Barthes, 1973). His work emphasized that reality is always constructed and made intelligible to human understanding by culturally and historically specific systems of meaning. This meaning is never innocent, and always has purpose behind it, but myths, he argues, naturalize intentions and create a world of apparent rather than objective reality. This notion of myth is useful because it promotes the study of cultural change through textual analysis.

Drawing upon Barthes, Short (1991) has demonstrated the role of myth in the media. His brief analysis of the western identifies a range of polarities that coalesces around the division between wilderness and civilization, such as individual/community, nature/culture, and west/east. However, Short argues that although these polarities exist in all westerns, the films are not simple derivations of these underlying textual structures. Westerns develop across space and time under the creative hand of directors and in the context of the media industry and the views of their audiences. However, while Short (and Barthes) relates signs of popular culture to social forces, this theory of semiology does not recognize that meaning is not a quality of the sign itself but of the social relationships in which it can be located. A textual analysis that is more socially aware would therefore improve upon these analyses, as Bennett and Woollacott's account makes clear. I therefore propose that by turning our attention to the work of social theorists we may learn from them about the role of media in society.

Research conducted from a social theory background has contributed to a greater understanding of media, and particularly to our appreciation of context. Indeed, context has been central to the study of popular culture since social theorists began working on popular culture. Unearthing the contextual implications of texts, the argument conventionally ran, would enable the researcher to reveal the constructedness of categories, concepts, and identities. However, the importance of context, as well as the degree to which context determines the media product, have been issues of contention ever since.
Structuralists, for example, argue that context is crucial to their understanding of popular culture. As I have demonstrated earlier in this section, the structure of texts by their rules and conventions shaped the way they could articulate meaning. However, structuralists working in social theory are more concerned with the social contexts of texts and in accounting for the meaning of texts, which, they contend, provide the underlying meaning behind texts. Marxists, for example, have conducted this type of research, and work from the premise that ideology is a system of false consciousness that distorts the ‘true’ reality behind media texts.\(^\text{39}\) By analysing media (the superstructure) therefore, and identifying where and how the power of ideology is at work, the relations of the material base are determined.

Murdock and Golding (1977) work from this perspective, and they argue that the material base, or the political economy, sets limits, exerts pressures, and closes off options for the production of texts. They believe that since the media industry is controlled and run by the ruling classes, it follows that the construction and circulation of ideas secure the elite’s power because they dominate the thoughts of subordinate groups. For Murdock and Golding, therefore, the economic dimensions of public communications determine the symbolic. Murdock and Golding’s research and that of other structural Marxists is useful because it takes account of the production, circulation, and consumption of ideas, knowledge and culture, and how class power circumscribes media. However, while Murdock and Golding’s theory relies on the belief that the ruling class produces media they provide little evidence that this is so. Their interpretation is also deterministic and leaves no room for the creative constitutive role of media. By adopting this position, they fail to take account of the role of audiences or readers in the constitutive processes of media.

Subsequent undertakings of Marxist research on media have moved away from such determinism, but continue to highlight the importance of social context for the meaning of texts. One such undertaking is that by McRobbie (1991), who is interested in the way subcultures (young working-class girls) experience the school, the family, and the youth club through the media. In particular, she is concerned with how ideologies work, but she denies ideologies’ determinism. Instead she argues for an understanding of media as hegemonic, and while she does not wish to imply that media are products of consumer demands and desires, she determines that there is a

\(^{39}\) See Kellner (1995) and Kellner et al (1988), for detailed overviews of Marxist approaches to media
dialectical relationship between the processes of production and the activities of consumption. Subordinate groups and the ruling classes therefore negotiate a political and ideological consensus which incorporates both dominant and dominated groups. Rather than coercive control, therefore, Gramscian hegemony introduces the idea of consensual control in which media express in some way the interests of the subordinate as well as dominant groups.

McRobbie uses this theory to analyse the teenage magazine *Jackie* and to determine that the magazine acts as a powerful ideological force. Turning to semiology, she identifies several common themes running throughout the magazines over a ten-year period in the 1970s and 1980s, and argues that the magazine instructs girls in how to become mothers and wives. Thus, while she does not wish to see these girls as passive victims of a dominant ideology or a patriarchal quest for hegemony, she nonetheless suggests that the magazine dupes girls into reproducing this patriarchal society by instructing them on how to behave as subordinates to men. Thus, while McRobbie identifies an element of pandering to the desires of readers, ultimately these really mask the intentions of the powerful to control the desires of the subordinate group. All audiences succumb to the power of ideology she concludes.

McRobbie therefore attempts to liberate consumers, but denies them the room for adopting alternative interpretations. In part this inability lies in the method she has taken to conduct this research, because by adopting a method that reduces texts to conventions and rules, she pre-determines the agenda (or ideology) set by the magazine. The consequences of her analysis are therefore prescriptive, stating that readers must succumb.

A similar criticism might also be leveled at the research conducted by Lutz and Collins (1993). They also highlight the social aspect of discourse and particularly how media institutions shape the way images are published. However, while they illustrate these effects without recourse to structural determinism, they also suggest that these discourses merely perpetuate the underlying patriarchal ideologies rather than change them. Lutz and Collins (1993) consider the magazine *National Geographic*. In each chapter of their book they highlight the different components of context under consideration – the institutional setting, historical context, the role of artistic editors who represent the photographic material, and the shaping of texts towards an intended audience of white, middle-class Americans (much like the *Post's*). However, while they note the importance of these contributors to the images
presented, they demonstrate how a discourse of patriarchy runs throughout the
magazine that serves not only to interest readers, but to reconfirm the gender
inequalities of American society. Lutz and Collins conclude, therefore, that *National
Geographic* is an important social tool not just for informing Americans about other
places in the world, but for understanding the values and perceptions of American
society itself.

However, while Lutz and Collins recognize that readers may interpret texts
differently, like McRobbie they suggest that readers are socialised into reading the
magazines in this way so that they are unable to challenge the preferred readings of
the text. Other feminist researchers, however, have demonstrated that texts are open
to multiple interpretations, particularly because audiences are never duped but
actively engage in constructing meaning (Stacey, 1994). Berry (1992), for example,
has taken this understanding and applied it to readings of two television shows. She
was interested in audience reception of *Good Times* and *The Cosby Show* that depict
black middle-class American family life. She questioned a group of low-income
black youths on what they thought of the images of fatherhood, and found that her
audience understood the characters by adapting their definition of masculinity to fit
their own experiences. Her conclusions therefore highlighted that the social context
of decoding is important to meaning of texts. Readers bring with them their own
'texts' that shape the way they read media. Media are not therefore, means of
perpetuating the dominant ideologies for readers understand texts based on their own
social contingencies of consumption. This conclusion is similar to Bennett and
Woollacott’s (1987) notion of inter-textuality discussed above.

However, Berry’s work differs from this account because she reduces this social
contingency to class relations that neglects the role of other social identities such as
gender and race that are only marginally addressed. Furthermore, Berry separates the
idea of text and context that Bennett and Woollacott work hard to convince us is
impossible. I agree with the latter, however, that text and context are mutually
constitutive and one cannot have one without the other. Thus, in my research, while I
recognize that others might provide different readings of the magazine by bringing
different ‘texts’ to their reading, I do not suggest that any interpretation of media is

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40 See Kellner (1995) for the implications of encoding/decoding on Marxist methodologies of media
interpretation
equally relevant. Rather, by drawing upon broader social contexts of the *Post* in light of my contemporariness to understand the articulation of national identities from processes of cultural production, I bring wider social processes to bare on the interpretations that I offer.

Context, therefore, is important for understanding texts, but not for reducing texts to products of their relations of production and/or consumption. In adopting this position, I share with Barnett (1999) a call for caution over the liberal use of the term context. He argues that there has been an overemphasis on the use of context in textual interpretation which has reduced texts to mere products of an assumed contextual origin. He states that the tendency to ‘put [texts] (back) in context, returning facts to their original locations’, and hence, ‘installing borders that provide a secure frame within which calculations of an otherwise unbound textuality can be contained’ is itself an overly reductive practice (Barnett, 1999, pp. 280-81). ‘If meaning is related to context, then this does not require that meaning be made conceptually dependent on utterances always being articulated in proper contexts, by the proper person backed by the proper authority’ (p. 289). He proposes therefore that contexts might best be thought of not as containment, in so far as what precedes, follows and surrounds texts, but of the relations of contiguity and proximity between elements. Meaning then is dependent upon, but not finally reducible to, context.

An illustrative account of this type of research on popular culture and especially magazines has been provided by Sharp (1993). She begins her analysis of *Reader’s Digest* by insisting on the rejection of structuralist accounts of media. Discourses are not presented as a direct outcome of the specific contexts in which they are socially and materially embedded, she contends, rather they structure knowledge to make it appear natural. She is interested, therefore, not in the pipe dream of reducing texts to their social contexts to understand their ‘true’ meanings but in the cultural contingencies of the *Digest* for understanding the importance of popular media in the geography education of Americans. Hence, she acknowledges the importance of power at work in the construction of texts, but she attempts to identify how that power works in society.

A second important point to be drawn from Sharp’s work is the importance of hegemony. However, while others (McRobbie and Lutz and Collins) have emphasized the disabling impact of ideologies for people to shape their own identities, Sharp emphasizes the enabling effects that is more akin to the recent
feminist literature on negotiating meanings rather than of being passively positioned by it (Stacey, 1994). She argues that the Reader's Digest interpreted elite geopolitical texts and re-presented them in terms of popular culture so that they became popular currency for the magazine's readers. As a consequence, she rejects the notion that power emanates from the top down in media practices, and hence knowledge of wider cultural values need to be brought to bare on media interpretations.

Sharp’s reference to wider cultural values also enables her to consider a range of socio-cultural, socio-political, and socio-economic processes impacting upon the text-context relationship. She does not reduce this relationship to one of class, or to one based on gender, but instead allows identities of class, race, gender, and so on to be discussed in the sense of a holistic ‘cultural identity’. Furthermore, she allows this reading to come through the texts, and hence to link text and context through close textual analysis as Bennett and Woollacott have suggested.

Sharp’s work is therefore useful for pointing to the ways in which a textual and social analysis can be synthesised through discourse analysis. However, one of the problems of her research is that she does not consider Reader’s Digest from a historical perspective, but rather as a medium that gave an unchanging image of American identities in the second cold war period. Nonetheless, this is not because her methodology prevented this type of account, but more because she did not address this question in her research.

To understand the changing American identities in the Post, therefore, I also adopt an approach that combines textual and contextual analysis. However, like Bennett and Woollacott, I do not see these as two separate entities but instead as constitutive of discourse. I argue that this synthesis ensures attention to social aspects of discourse, while providing concrete instances of practice and the textual forms and processes of interpretation associated with them. The approach I take is similar to that discussed by Fairclough (1996) as ‘textually oriented discourse analysis’, or TODA.

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41 See also Barker (1989) for this enabling type of account of hegemony. In his research on comics, he argues that consensus is attained in the relationship between a reader and the text, such that production is affected by reader’s wishes, and consumption is influenced by the way readers engage with the text in the context of their lives. Berry (1992) also works from a similar theoretical position.  
42 Benjamin (1969) has made a similar point in his suggestion that the work of art loses its elitist hold in ‘the age of mechanical reproduction’.

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Fairclough (1996, 1998) has attempted to outline this method, but variations on his approach have been used by many researchers interested in popular culture texts. Fairclough perceives discourse analysis three-dimensionally, as ‘mapping three different sorts of analysis on to one another in an attempt at integrated statements which link social and cultural practices to properties of texts’ (Fairclough, 1998, p.144). The three sorts of analysis begin firstly with an analysis of texts - spoken, written, or involving a combination of semiotic modalities such as television texts. The second component of Fairclough’s methodology involves the analysis of discourse practices (of text production, distribution and consumption), and finally, it involves the analysis of social and cultural contexts which frame texts.

In adopting this three-dimensional approach to media, the creative articulation and rearticulation of texts is stressed, but it acknowledges that aesthetics are also limited by hegemonic relations and structures of both localised and more general socio-cultural environs. In short, it allows us to understand meanings in texts based on, but not reducible to, the context of production and consumption, while placing this understanding in the context of a more general explanation. Using this method in my study of the Saturday Evening Post, it allows me to account for developments in the ways national identities are articulated in the magazine and how these are related to changes in the Post’s publishing more specifically and to identities in the United States more generally. It also promotes fluidity between different geographical scales – the institutional, the national and the global – relying on these different contexts and their interrelations to provide meaning to texts.

Furthermore, Fairclough’s method enables an investigation of change through time, for he insists on the inherent relation between text, discourse and socio-cultural context. By focusing on all three parts in relation to each other rather than separately, Fairclough implies that any interpretation of meaning should not be seen as isolated moments frozen in time, but as part of a bigger picture that is continuously unfolding. In my study of the Post, each meaning ascribed to a text is but a small component of the Post’s evolving story of American national identity. Fairclough’s approach to media interpretation is therefore valuable because it recognises the importance and inseparability of space and time in the process of creating and understanding identities.

My work makes a significant departure from (and enhancement to) Fairclough’s, however, in my consideration of the term ‘text’. As a linguist, Fairclough limits his
use of the word to ‘any produce whether written or spoken’, and therefore linguistic texts. I extend the notion to cover other symbolic forms such as visual images in cover illustrations and combinations of words and images such as those found in advertising. This definition is more akin to Barthes’ definition of texts discussed by Barnes and Duncan as ‘cultural productions such as paintings, maps and landscapes as social, economic, and political institutions. Signifying practices that are read, not passively, but as it were, rewritten as they are read’ (1992, p. 8).

So in the chapters that follow I study the creation and recreation of national identities in the Post and analyse the symbols and meanings of national identity presented therein. I adopt a three dimensional approach that considers the texts, discourse practices and social and cultural contexts. However, I do not separate these elements but use these three approaches synchronously. Hence, in presenting my research I maintain a relationship between text and context, looking at symbols and meanings, so that I can understand the threads that weave different identities onto national tapestries.

As I suggested at the start of this section, numerous researchers have used variations on this methodological framework. Common sense, it seems, would dictate that placing a text in its discursive and socio-cultural context is necessary to understanding its meaning. However, often it is the obvious and the taken-for-granted - that which ‘passes, without exception, as the wisdom of our particular age and society’ (Hall 1982, p. 325) - that needs to be discussed. Because of this, and because of the relative scarcity of geographical material dealing with media interpretation, I have dealt with my methodology in this section in particular detail. Nonetheless, this methodology is not the main concern of my thesis; rather, it has served as a tool for conducting my empirical research. Throughout the remainder of this work, therefore, I will not be referring back to Fairclough per se, but one will discern my methodology at work through the themes of text, context, and institution that I consider throughout my interpretations of the Post.

ORGANISATION OF THE PROJECT

43 This methodology is something akin to Geertz’s (1973) notion of ‘thick description’, for example.
Identity has never been neatly provided by a naturally bounded place. It has 'always been negotiated within a complex mesh of interaction across and between multiple geographical scales' (Oakes, 1993, p.48). It is the aim of this project to understand how these scales interact to narrate the nation, and hence it is by scale that I have approached the question of American national identity in the Post. I begin my study by setting the research in the context of the Post and the Curtis Publishing Company, and elaborate upon the historical developments of the magazine in the twentieth century. In chapter two, I demonstrate how its first editor, George Horace Lorimer, inaugurated a conservative nationalist campaign at the magazine, and how this ideology permeated every aspect of the magazine and its contents under successive editors. By the early 1960s, however, following the retirement of editor Ben Hibbs, this mission was lost at the Post in the turmoil of staff changes, a rebellious social climate that challenged conservative nationalist values, and in the face of tough competition from television and demand for special-interest magazines. In an attempt to adapt to the new demands of the time, the Post cut its ties to the conservative nationalism that had been its lifeblood, but in doing so lost its faithful readers and the niche market that it had once controlled. The story of the company and its shaping of the magazine discourse is crucial to the subsequent chapters that focus on the material in the magazine.

Throughout the remainder of the project, using material from the Post such as cover illustrations, fiction stories, editorials and advertisements, I demonstrate how national identities are socially constructed at different geographical scales, and how these scales mobilise connections with other scales of larger or smaller size to enhance identification across a diverse culture group. I discuss the construction of the domestic, local, national and global scales and how each of these articulates national identities.

Each scale is discussed separately, but not so much 'the' scale as its specific form of articulation. The domestic scale is the subject of chapter three, while the local, the national scale, and the global scale are the concerns of chapters four, five, and six respectively. I have used the primary frame of reference to lead my choice in selecting material for discussion in each chapter, but I have not begun with a primary preconception of what the particular scale might look like. Rather, I have tried throughout to let the pages of the Post inform my conceptions of scale. Hence, throughout each chapter I also comment on how that particular scale is articulated in
the *Post* as well as discussing its contribution to national identities seen in the magazine. Similarly, in choosing certain ‘texts’ for detailed analysis over others, I have let the *Post* suggest to me what is significant or representative of American national identity and social change. Nonetheless, it is my own reconstruction of the *Post* that appears in this work. In each chapter I highlight the relationships between the scale of reference and other geographical scales of larger or smaller sizes to show how processes operating at different geographical scales constitute the scale of reference. I determine how scales are used to portray different aspects of American identities, and how their relevance shifts over time in response to broader social changes.

Throughout this study, I aim to highlight the construction of national identities through two forces: the integration of individuals and the individualization of that integrated whole. I wish to see the relevance of *E Pluribus Unum* in American society and the relationship between both parts of this motto. These two forces operate to different degrees in different circumstances and in different times, and I intend to show through my attention to scale where and how they function. I conclude this thesis by suggesting that national identities can only be maintained through sustained relational ties between sub-national and supranational processes. The *Saturday Evening Post* managed to maintain this link between subnational and supranational scales in its articulation of the national throughout much of the duration of this study, and thereby provided a fruitful source for American national identities. The following chapter begins the story of how that source developed a powerful ideology and achieved such an important place in the American consciousness.
CHAPTER 2

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST: 'A SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC
COMMON DENOMINATOR OF AMERICAN LIFE'

In August 1897, Cyrus H. K. Curtis, owner of the successful Lady's Home Journal, paid $1,000 for the purchase of a failing periodical of meager circulation, limited advertising revenue, and a content that was a cut-and-paste product of sentimental fiction and trite poetry (Cohn, 1989). Curtis' investment, however, would in time earn the reputation of being one of the most popular periodicals of this century; a periodical that long claimed the largest audience of any magazine, indeed of any mass medium, in the nation. Its success lay in its unique commitment to providing fiction and non-fiction, editorials, and especially advertisements that were steadfastly dedicated to promoting the concept of America as a unified and exemplary nation. Thus, while both documenting and reflecting American life, as well as creating and sustaining the ideas and tastes of several generations of millions of readers, the Saturday Evening Post became the hallmark of middle-class, middle-brow America. The story of the Saturday Evening Post is central to American social history (Wood, 1971), and as a forum of popular culture it is critical to an understanding of how a sense of American national identity was created, negotiated and sustained in twentieth century America. The purpose of this account is to contextualise my study of American identity in the Post by providing a history of the magazine up to and including the period of investigation.

Before I begin this account, however, it is necessary to highlight some of the methodological problems in gathering and presenting the material necessary for this chapter. Information has been drawn from a variety of sources, including documents from the Curtis archives in Indianapolis, conversations with staff currently maintaining the archives, journal articles, newspaper stories, material published in the magazine itself, and secondary sources such as books and dissertations. I have attempted to use these disparate sources to reconstruct a story of the Post, documenting both its history and its historical significance in twentieth century America. However, this has made referencing a particularly difficult task, hence, I
have limited my citing to those places where one particular source has been most helpful in contributing facts or opinions.

GEORGE LORIMER AND THE EARLY POST

In sealing the purchase of the Post in 1897, it could be said that the value of Curtis’ magazine lay not in what it was, but in what it had been and in what he trusted it would become. The Saturday Evening Post was founded in 1821 and had been published successively since that date as The Saturday Evening Post, the Daily Chronicle and Saturday Evening Post, the Saturday Evening Post, Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post, Atkinson’s Saturday Evening Post and Philadelphia News, and finally as just the Saturday Evening Post again. It proudly referred to itself on the masthead as “The Great Pioneer Family Paper of America, founded AD 1821”. Devoted to “Morality, Pure Literature, Foreign and Domestic News, Agriculture, Science, Art and any such things”, before the Civil War it had published such noted authors as Nathaniel Hawthorne, Bayard Taylor, Grace Greenwood, Charles Dickens (whose work was probably pirated), Edgar Allen Poe with his famous The Black Cat, James Fenimore Cooper, Nathaniel Parker Willis and Harriet Beecher Stowe (Wood, 1971).

Under Curtis’ ownership the Post prided itself on such heritage, but immediately discarded the foundation date and overnight the magazine aged ninety-seven years. The volume number changed from 70 to 170, and a new line read “The Saturday Evening Post Founded AD 1728”. The new date came from a tenuous genealogy traced back to Benjamin Franklin who published the Pennsylvania Gazette, and with him, the Post established itself a history and a figurehead (whose bust and facsimile signature appeared on the editorial page until 1961) that symbolised what the magazine hoped to achieve in its nationalist pursuits. Coupled with the Curtis Publishing Company’s location in Philadelphia - the seat of American independence - both the history and the geography of the magazine promoted a sense of American

1Franklin sold the Pennsylvania Gazette shortly before the American Revolution to David Sellers, who then went into partnership with a man called Hall, whose grandson had a partner called Atkinson Atkinson had a partner called Alexander and these two gentlemen changed the Pennsylvania Gazette and Weekly Advertiser in to the Daily Chronicle and Saturday Evening Post, which finally became, in 1821, the Saturday Evening Post (Friedrich, 1970, p 8) Franklin was honoured in an annual cover from 1943-1966, and these are considered in my analysis of the national scale in chapter 5
identity. History and geography, however, were only the supporting features of the magazine. The choice of editor to take the helm at the Post would determine how the content of the magazine would also exhibit these nationalist motivations.

For the editorial position Curtis employed George Horace Lorimer, and his name first appeared on the masthead in June 1899. It was to be this individual who would shape the Saturday Evening Post and through its pages thereby 'Create America'. In Lorimer, Curtis found a mutual aide devoted to making the Post a medium of an American consciousness geographically, socially, politically and culturally. The magazine was intended to transcend local markets dominated by newspapers, and would reach the masses which highbrow magazines such as Harper's and Atlantic ignored. Advertisements would be directed to a national consumer market, and through the sharing of stories about the magazine readers would draw themselves into a national community. Between them, Lorimer and Curtis knew what was needed to publish a successful magazine, and the editor set about his task to provide the most popular magazine in the country.

As well as editor's motivations, as America shifted from an agrarian to an industrial economy, social conditions were ripe for the development of a national magazine such as the Post, and Peterson (1964) argues that this was a significant factor in the early success of the magazine. For example, with industrialisation factories began production not just for local but regional and national markets, facilitated by the spread of the railroads that by the end of the nineteenth century could carry products across the continent. These producers needed to access new national scale markets and hence required a medium in which advertisements could be placed to tap into these markets. This demand from industry fuelled the success of mass-circulation magazines at the close of the nineteenth century. In the publishing industry itself, advances in the printing trade enabled mass-production of printed materials (Ewen and Ewen, 1992). The advent of the rotary art press in 1890 meant that artwork (upon which magazines are dependent) could be reproduced efficiently; and the Postal Act in 1870, which reduced the postal rates for magazines, greatly facilitated the ease with which they could be shipped to a waiting audience (Van

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2 Cohn (1989) provides a detailed study of the role of George Horace Lorimer in shaping the Post and creating America through the Curtis publication.

3 In order to do this, Curtis priced the magazine at a low price of five cents, creating a situation whereby the Post was so inexpensive that it would be difficult to leave on the shelf.
Low-cost, general-interest magazines produced for a national market were products of this zeitgeist, and Cyrus Curtis, along with George Lorimer, were there to set the standards of delivery.

Although the overriding mission of these two men was the creation and dissemination of an American consciousness in the Post, both Lorimer and Curtis believed that this would be achieved through a magazine published for men; a magazine that would reflect their business interests, giving men articles and stories about business that they would recognize as authentic, accurate comment on the political and economic news, and entertainment they would appreciate. In short, Lorimer and Curtis believed 'that the business of America was business' (Wood, 1971, p. 45) and they set out to achieve a publication that would carry this message.

In pursuit of such goals, Lorimer sought the best writers for his audience, and by 1900 stories had appeared by Joel Chandler Harris, Hamlin Garland, and Rebecca Harding Davis. Later, writers such as Willa Cather, Owen Wisler, Zona Gale, Jack London (whose serialization “The Call of the Wild” appeared in 1903) and Joseph Conrad (whose story “Gaspar Ruiz” appeared in four parts in 1906) were being published in the Post. In non-fiction, Grover Cleveland was the most noted acquisition, establishing this lasting relationship between the Post and the wider world of politics. Lorimer’s success in attracting great writers can be attributed to his revolutionary policy to return a decision on most manuscripts within seventy-two hours. This efficiency and professionalism, according to editors of the Post, rendered the magazine ‘the greatest market for writing talent the world had ever seen’ (Butterfield et al., 1954, p. xiii).

By the turn of the century, aided by the financial support of Curtis’ other publication, Lady’s Home Journal, the Saturday Evening Post was quickly gaining ascendancy, and in 1900 made its first profit of $11,016.42. The Post now had a cover in two colours, illustrated by leading illustrators of the day such as J.C. Leyendecker, Harrison Fisher, Henry Hutt, and Charles Livingston Bull. Its

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4 In March 1879, US Congress had been well aware of the important role that magazines were playing in the dissemination of news, views and public opinion, and passed the Postal Act which provided favourable mailing privileges for magazines. This legislation gave so-called second class mailing privileges to magazines which were “published for the dissemination of information of a public character, or devoted to literature, the sciences, arts or some special industry.”

5 Every President from Grover Cleveland to Hoover (except Mackinlay) wrote for the Post; Eisenhower’s memoirs were published, and covers of Kennedy and Johnson appeared in the 1960s (New York Times June 10th 1969, p 1).

6 See Cohn (1995) for an illustrated history of the covers of the Post.
circulation had climbed to over half-a-million (more than double its 1897 figure); and it had grown from a sixteen page gazetteer of 1897 into a 24 or 32 (and occasionally a 56) page magazine.

Despite these developments, however, advertisers were hard to convince of the advertising potential in the new five cent weekly magazine. Damon-Moore (1994) suggests that the reason lay in the fact that the Post was a man's magazine. She argues that unlike the demand for women’s magazine, such as the Journal, as a forum of consumer culture, there was no parallel infrastructure for consuming among middle-class white men, and therefore no parallel set of reasons to respond to commercial messages. The people at the Post were also aware of this, and throughout the early 1900s its promoters began to soften its masculine image in favour of a family theme. Advertisements for household products, for example, were used to change this focus from a predominantly male appeal to a family one, and by 1908 circulation had grown to one million and advertising revenue soared to almost $3 million with its new focus on family readership.

Whether the success of the Post can be attributed solely to this change in focus is debatable, but what Damon-Moore’s thesis suggests is the significance of advertising in the Curtis magazines and in the mass circulation magazines in general. Advertising by the early part of the twentieth century was becoming recognised as big business. ‘Once the timid guest, shut off in its own room, tolerated rather than welcomed’, publishers discovered that the guest ‘far from just paying its own bills, could foot the bills of the entire establishment. The guest became an important member of the household’ (Peterson, 1964, p.43). Lorimer reaffirmed this belief, claiming that ‘advertising is to business what electricity is to the city - light and power’ (quoted in Butterfield, 1954, p. 161). Curtis was more explicit about the importance of advertisements in his magazines. He believed his magazines were not primarily literary or journalistic ventures published to entertain, but means of reaching huge national markets for advertisers. Authors, illustrators, short stories, articles, serials, poems and assorted features, as far as Curtis’ business interests were concerned, were used for enticing potential markets for its advertisers. The Post was ‘salesman to the nation’ (Wood, 1971, p.70), and after the first decade of publishing its advertising revenue had risen to over $3 million.7

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7 Advertising revenue continued to increase by at least one million dollars per year after 1909 (and often the gain was from $3-5 million).
However, while the *Post* showed massive gains in advertising revenue, it held a very strict code of conduct that determined the type of advertisements that could be published. This strict 'Curtis Advertising Code' stated, amongst other things, that 'all alcohol, medical, immoral or extravagantly worded ads were taboo' (Curtis Advertising Code, 1910). The code was ground breaking for the publishing industry and it was regarded as the bible in magazine advertising (Wood, 1971, p.63). Moreover, the provision of a code illustrates the seriousness with which the *Post* (and other media) began to take their social responsibilities. In response to those who claimed that popular culture would produce decadence, this code of conduct (claiming to exclude anything that could be considered harmful to the magazine's readers) suggests that the magazine placed great stress on public responsibility. Similar concerns were expressed by the movie industry in the early twentieth century, which initiated censorship practices to maintain standards of respectability.9

Advertising, strong editing, successful publishing practices, and a market ready for the product, ensured that the *Post* would grow from strength to strength throughout the first decade under Lorimer. In 1911 he moved the *Post*, along with the Curtis Empire, into an elegant home in Independence Square that matched its supremacy in the market place. The new building was both 'very grand and very modern' (Cohn, 1989 p. 62), and its construction of marble and steel symbolised its big business success and stability. Cohn (1989. p. 64) also argues that the Curtis building expressed 'the great reach of [Curtis'] publications and its consequent power as an American institution'. "It proclaimed publishing genius, editorial acumen, the power of the mass magazine and the power of mass advertising — and it did not lie" another media historian has stated (Wood, 1971, p. 57). In 1915 the building became an icon of more specific currency when Curtis Publishing Company began a major initiative to increase *Post* advertising. Cyrus Curtis had a brochure published that opened with a photograph of the Curtis Building, captioned 'An Institution Built on Faith'. "This building in Independence Square", the brochure stated, "represents an institution built on faith - faith in the power of advertising". The new building would

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8 See Appendix for a copy of this code
9Because of the importance of advertising, the Commercial Research Division was established to conduct market research on the impact of advertising in the *Post* and other magazines. Charles Coolidge Parlin headed this research division and became legendary at Curtis Publishing Company for his presentations on research findings (Wood, 1971, p.79) This section would remain important to the company throughout the twentieth century, and its findings assisted editor's decisions on magazine content and format

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become a Philadelphia landmark almost as familiar as Independence Hall itself, but in time this grandeur would become too big for the Post to maintain and the Curtis building, the Curtis empire, and the Post would lose its geographical and historical-political ties to Philadelphia.

In the meantime, the Post continued its endorsement of American unity through the virtues of the self-made man of business. However, business was never a narrow concept for Lorimer and was almost always inextricably bound up with politics. More precisely, despite Lorimer's public contention that the Post was non-partisan, it was Republican politics that was the natural political reflection of a nation of businessmen according to Lorimer. The Post and politics were always closely allied (Cohn, 1989). For example, during the Taft administration, the Post ran a successful campaign against the government to retain postal rates at a reduced price for magazines. This symbolised the political weight of the magazine even in the early years of publication, despite the fact that the following election saw the limits to this weight, when the magazine supported Ted Roosevelt, but Woodrow Wilson was elected. Nonetheless, Lorimer remained firm in his endorsement of success, achievement, hard work, common sense and manly competition, characteristic of the Republican businessman that represented all that was good in America.

With the onset of war in 1914, those qualities endorsed by Lorimer - such as success, achievement, hard work, common sense and competition - separated America from Europe. War, Lorimer considered, was a dated practice, an inhibitor of national progress, and regression into Old World barbarism into which he did not care to bring America or the Post. Lorimer and the Post had little sympathy with Europe - its involvement in barbaric warfare, its attachment to the past, and its refusal to embrace the twentieth century and the modern world (Cohn, 1989). The Post, therefore, supported the government's isolationist position, focussing on the internal dimensions of the nation. For two-and-a-half years Lorimer firmly maintained his stand on neutrality, but when war was declared in 1917, he abandoned his anti-war position and supported the military campaign.

WORLD WAR ONE AND THE POST

10 Evidence from the Post archives suggest this campaign to reduce postal rates for magazines remained a concern throughout the Post's history (President's Committee Meetings Minutes, 1951)
The war provided an exciting opportunity for the Post to capitalise on its impressive lead in mass-circulation magazine ratings. People could not yet turn to radio or television, and while newspapers presented news, readers turned to magazines for more detailed comment and discussion on war news. As a consequence, the opinions formulated by the Post shaped the opinions of many of the literate population. Lorimer recognised this potential to deliver comment on the war and to shape the opinions of the magazine’s readers, and he sent the best reporters to France and Washington to cover the fighting and developments at the US government headquarters. He also used advertising space to back the government’s war initiatives such as the Liberty Loan Campaign and the Food Administration. The magazine’s reports of the homefront were perhaps the most significant turning point for the Post in this ‘great watershed period for the Post’ (Cohn, 1989, p. 100). Before the war, the magazine had been optimistic, liberal and expansive, but war brought with it the threat of massed enemy forces not only abroad but also at home in the form of Bolshevists, subversives and immigrant Americans which undermined Americanism. The Post’s view of American identity was now made explicit in light of these threats, and a conception of a mainstream, white, middle-class America unashamedly represented the Post’s image of the nation.

For example, the Post editorialis attacked immigrants and first generation Americans or ‘hyphenated’ Americans, stating that the hyphen ‘is a sign that divides not one that unites’ (editorial, October 15th 1915). Through its covers, advertisements and fiction stories too, ‘America [was] not so much a nation at war in foreign lands as a country beleaguered by enemies within’ (Cohn, 1989, p. 130). Lorimer felt that the nation was suffering because of immigrants and their unwillingness to assimilate, and campaigned through the Post to stop immigration to give America a chance to become a successful nation. ‘We do not want them. America for Americans and men who want to be Americans’ (editorial, December 28th 1918). After the war, Ken Roberts wrote on the topic of immigration, and the Commissioner General of Immigration attributed the passage of the Immigration Act of 1924 to these articles in the Post.

Immigration was not the only concern of Lorimer’s. In his patriotic fervour to promote a concept of unified America based on the traditional virtues of Republican government and business, he had crusades against over-taxation, against despoilers of natural resources, and against forgiveness of war debts (Wood, 1971). Furthermore,
the *Post* was not all hard-hitting politics but in the 1920s celebrated its fiction's success through names such as F. Scott Fitzgerald, Joseph Hergesheimer, PG Woodhouse, Ben Ames Williams, Earl Derr Biggers and JP Marquand (Damon-Moore, 1994). Its appeal to familiarity became further entrenched with the continued appearance of writers like Mary Roberts Rinehart, Arthur Train and Peter B Ryne, and their old favourite characters Tish, Mr. Tutt and Cappy Ricks. In 1927 the magazine printed William Hazlett Upson's first story about Alexander W Botts, the comic salesman for Earthworm Tractors who was to delight the *Post*'s readers with his capers until 1961. Complementing this familiarity with fictional characters, the *Post* entertained readers with celebrity memoirs too, bringing names such as boxer Jim Corbett, actors Eddie Cantor and Harold Lloyd and Fascist leader Benito Mussolini into the homes of almost three million readers (Wood, 1971). Cover illustrators also became household names, particularly those of JC Leyendecker and Norman Rockwell, who between them completed one third of all covers in the 1920s (Cohn, 1995). The advent of four-colour printing in 1924, and the introduction of Rockwell's accessible narrative style, made the appeal of the covers more immediate and effective.

By 1930, then, the *Saturday Evening Post* was a formidable force in magazine media in general. Now reaching an audience of almost three million, Leon Whipple wrote of the *Post* in 1928 as a miracle of technical publishing:

> This is a magic mirror; it not only reflects, it creates us. What the *Saturday Evening Post* is we are. Its advertising helps standardise our physical life; its text stencils patterns on our minds; it molds our ideas on Russia, oil preparedness, immigration, the World Court. Finally, it does queer things to our psychology by printing tales that deceive us with surface realism that are too often a tissue of illusions.... This bulky nickel's worth of print and pictures is a kind of social and emotional common denominator of American life.

*(Survey March 1st, 1928)*

Whipple goes on to remark on the basic principles of the Curtis Creed as powerful to the shaping of national character. This power had great effect because the *Post* was indeed the principal agency in the country for interpreting America to itself. It headed
circulation tables of general-interest mass circulation magazines, and in a pre-television era was the principal medium of visual and national information.

SOCIO-POLITICAL CHALLENGES AT THE POST

The 1930s were yet another watershed period for the Post (Peterson, 1964; Wood, 1971). Inside the Curtis Company its founder and president died in 1933, and the American public at large mourned his passing with tributes from noted leaders and all-important national newspapers. The Philadelphia Record referred to Curtis as 'The Henry Ford of the magazine world', and others praised him not as a magazine publisher but as a civic leader. On Curtis' death, Lorimer became president of the company, and seven trustees were to administer the stock, while his daughter and grandson would take other executive positions (Friedrich, 1970).

Forces outside the industry also brought change to the Post. As the Depression struck deeper, advertising sales were fewer and paper costs were more expensive, and the magazine became leaner in size. Nonetheless, its quality remained superior for the editors had to become more selective in their choice of material to be published in the magazine's reduced contents. Competition from other magazines such as Colliers, Liberty and Time also encouraged greater selectivity, and this increased in 1936 when both Life and Look came onto the market, and along with Colliers competed with the Post for poll position of the general-interest-mass-circulation magazines. Radio was also now cheaply available and often the only kind of entertainment a family could afford. Advertising accounts were also offered this outlet, but people believed what they read in print more than they heard on the radio, and with the limited broadcast range, radio's potential to rival the Post was not fully realised (Van Zullen, 1977). Lorimer also argued that these new magazines and radio represented minimal competition because they reported aspects of news from American life rather than influencing American life in any direction. The Post, in contrast, had purpose and agency, and appealed to the people because of its detailed analysis and visual presentation of events happening in the world of its readers. Nonetheless, the competition they provided contributed to the Post's campaign for more superior quality.

Mayer (1994) argues that this was the reason for the success of magazines during World war Two.
Lorimer would stand by his editing principles regardless of political or social change, celebrating nineteenth century values and sensibilities such as hard work, independence, thrift and individualism and the ability to transcend anything that resembled class barriers. In maintaining a focus on these qualities, and in his aim to avoid the publication of anything harmful to readers, he prevented any talk of labour strikes that might have disturbed the status quo or thwarted the adulation of the self-made man of business that the magazine endorsed. The forces of change, however, would prove too much. The New Deal in particular challenged these foundational beliefs on which the Post had traded for the last three decades, and threatened to undermine and even eradicate those American characteristics responsible for building the nation. Unemployment insurance, public works, social security, all promised subsistence without work, salary without self-reliance, security without self-sacrifice (Cohn, 1989). With Roosevelt's success at elections, Lorimer, for the first time in his position as editor, found himself out of favour with the hegemonic voice. The Post was merely another voice, talking of an outmoded ideology and competing to be heard in a society in crisis (Peterson, 1964).

This is not to say, however, that the Post was a dying entity that was losing favour with the reading public. On the contrary, circulation figures remained high at over three million, and writers such as Agatha Christie, F Scott Fitzgerald and William Faulkner maintained good quality material, particularly in fiction works. The Post could move on, it was only Lorimer who found it difficult to continue in this political climate with which he felt at odds, and he retired in December 1936 (Cohn, 1989).

Lorimer was succeeded as editor by Wesley Stout, and was succeeded as president of Curtis by Walter Deane Fuller. Both of these new recruits represented narrow conservative values in the vein of Curtis and Lorimer. Stout brought his own stamp to the magazine, introducing the photographed cover in 1938 alongside illustrated versions, and relied in particular on the work of Ivan Dmitri. Stout also introduced a large number of new cover artists to paint for the Post, though of thirty new artists, twenty-six of these had only one or two published pieces of work. The old familiarity with Post contributors that Lorimer had established was quickly eroded by this change (Cohn, 1995).

However, Stout ran into serious trouble in the Spring of 1942, which was to prematurely end his time at the Post. While losing money during the first quarter, he 'blundered' into print with an untimely and insensitive article called "The Case
Against Jews". Though edited for its anti-Semitism, its contents remained offensive to some, and this resulted in cancellations of advertising and subscriptions, threats of a boycott, and within one month a new editor was at the helm (Director's Minutes, 1941)

BEN HIBBS AND WORLD WAR TWO

To fill the editor's position, Walter Fuller called upon the then editor of Country Gentleman, Ben Hibbs. Country Gentleman had been published under the Curtis flagstaff since 1911, and Ben Hibbs had joined its staff in 1929, rising through the ranks and becoming its editor in 1940. On assuming the editorial position of the Post, Hibbs quickly regained its stature and respectability that it had enjoyed during the golden years of Lorimer's editorship (Van Zuilen, 1977). By the end of Hibb's twenty-year reign, circulation would increase from 3.5 million to over 6.5 million, and advertising revenue would boom from a wartime figure of $31.5 million to a high of almost $104 million in 1960. The Post, at least on paper, was the formidable signature of American middle-class values that it had long recognised as its leading quality.

The son of working-class parents, Ben Hibbs had been born and raised in small town Kansas amid circumstances that undoubtedly contributed to his editorial outlook on the Post. He had worked his way through the ranks of journalism from newspaper boy to editor of Arkansas City Traveler and Country Gentleman, and now to editor of the most popular magazine in America. Nonetheless, he maintained his 'Mister Average-American' appeal (Leaming, 1969) that paralleled the readers to whom he directed the Post. His demeanor and even his countenance are said to have revealed the influence of his Midwestern rural upbringing, while his sense of humour and writing were characterised by a folksiness representative of the people of the great Middle Country of Hibb's time. Hibbs championed the plain folk of his own native state of Kansas, and believed strongly that they were 'the most enduring part of America' (Friedrich, 1970). These would influence the American identities, the American way of life, and old-fashioned patriotism, that he would promote in the pages of the Post. Moreover, Hibbs and the Midwestern qualities he characterised also represented the people with whom the Post was most popular. The following table (table 2:1) and pie chart (figure 2:1) illustrate the geographical distribution of
the Post and in particular its popularity in the West and Midwest, in non-metropolitan areas, with less popularity in the South and in the central cities.

Table 2:1  The Readers of the Saturday Evening Post by Region (Source: Alfred Politz Research Inc, Curtis Publishing, 1957)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Region</th>
<th>North East</th>
<th>North Central</th>
<th>South</th>
<th>West</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Total Regional Population Size</td>
<td>33,165,000</td>
<td>39,044,000</td>
<td>37,846,000</td>
<td>18,345,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Post Readers</td>
<td>5,118,000</td>
<td>6,281,000</td>
<td>5,028,000</td>
<td>4,194,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage of Region Reading Post</td>
<td>15.4</td>
<td>16.1</td>
<td>13.3</td>
<td>22.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Figure 2:1  Percentage Distribution of Post's Circulation by Geographical Location (Source: Post Archives, 'Coverage of US Families By Income Groups', 1960)
For many in the upper echelons of *Post* management, the transfer of the ‘Cow Editor’ at *Country Gentleman* to the respectable position of editor at the sophisticated *Post*, was a travesty (Learning, 1969). For many others, however, they were enthusiastic about the new editor and looked forward to the change he would make. It would be three months before these changes would come in to full effect, for Hibbs had a more pressing matter to deal with when he became editor, namely America’s recent introduction into World War Two.

While war had raged in Europe, the *Post* had retained an isolationist position as it had in the First World War. Once again, faced with America’s involvement on the part of the Allies, and pressured by condemnation from the US media for its fierce isolationist attitudes, the *Post* had to quickly shift its position (Van Zuilen, 1977). Hibbs immediately recognised the war as ‘the greatest news story of our time’ and set to work on covering the war as it unfolded (cited in Learning, 1969, p. 114). Part of his enthusiasm was fueled by the increased competition from other magazines, particularly the new photo magazines such as *Life*. The horrors of war, the sensationalism and excitement built around it appealed greatly to such magazines, and they reveled in the opportunities that war afforded them. ‘People looked at *Life* and listened to the radio, and it was almost as good as being there themselves’ (Wood, 1971, p. 170). The *Saturday Evening Post* by comparison appeared dull and unexciting, and Hibbs set about his mission to add a positive force to the magazine.

An editorial formula was devised that would be the underpinnings of the *Post* for the next twenty years. The new formula that was conceived in Hibb’s early months as editor was based on thirteen points which Hibbs addressed to the Curtis Publishing Company. They were:12

1. The system of free enterprise shall be promoted.
2. Constructive criticism is essential to democracy and shall not be suspended even though the country is at war.
3. The *Post* shall weigh, analyse and explain the staggering problems confronting the American people.
4. Foreign news is an essential part of the *Post* since America’s life will be affected by what happens around the world.

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12 The thirteen points described here are based on ‘The *Post* Credo’ (Curtis, June 1942).
5. Some changes will be made in the Post: new types of material will be introduced; fundamental changes will be made in typography, layout, style of illustration, subtitling; and more use will be made of pictorial art.

6. Many more subjects in much shorter length will be covered.

7. The Post shall not become shallow in an effort to use shorter length articles. Superficiality and brevity are not synonymous.

8. New shorter features will be used throughout the magazine in an effort to enliven the pages.

9. More material to interest younger readers shall be used.

10. The Post will be given more female interest, without becoming a woman's magazine.

11. The Post will devote more attention to stories of American business.

12. The Post will devote more attention to informative war articles.

13. The Post will do everything in its power to further national unity.

With America's entry into World War Two, the time was ripe to put this formula to the test. Hibbs seized the opportunity to prove his worth as editor, to bring the Post victorious out of the circulation battle with Life, and to set it on its course toward success.

Hibb's first problem regarding America's involvement in the war was getting enough capable correspondents to cover it. With the help of foreign editor Marty Sommers, he recruited enough correspondents to cover the war in every area. Demare Bess, Mackinlay Kantor, Samuel Lubell, Charles A Rawlings, Edgar Snow and Richard Tregaskis were included, along with Post regulars who were also used as war correspondents, such as Jack Alexander and Pete Martin. They were sent all around the world to cover key sites of conflict (Wood, 1971). However, given the time lag between copy arrival and publication, stories had to be timeless (unlike those of the photo magazines), covering stories of human interest rather than news reports. Factual war articles published in the Post included 'Russia Will Hold this Summer' by Joseph E Davies, former US ambassador to the Soviet Union; 'Escape From Bataan' by Charles Van Landingham; and 'The Bloodiest Front in History' by Frederick C Oechsner. In the Post's mission to give more 'female interest,' the magazine ran articles aimed at the female reader, such as 'Britain's Petticoat Army' by Jene Knight; and 'The Girls do Well by Hitler' by Countess Waldeck. For the
younger generation, Roscoe Drummond and Glen Perry wrote 'Wings for American Youth'; while John Lardner penned the story 'Seven Deadly Young Americans' (Leaming, 1969, p. 120).

Hibb's second problem that went beyond covering the actual events of the war was the task of exciting the national spirit and providing a promising light in the midst of turmoil. In his Credo, published in the *Post* on June 20th 1942, Hibbs stated 'We shall try always to keep a note of sound hopefulness in the *Post*', and to this end he would tell the human side of the conflict, and how war affected aspects of human life in America. Here the work of Norman Rockwell represents this side of the war that the *Post* was trying to show. Through both cover and inside illustrations Rockwell told the story of how war impacted upon the daily lives of average Americans.13

Rockwell's most popular wartime covers depicted the light-hearted story of fictional character Willie Gillis, whose war consisted not of battle scenes but of humorous moments in the daily life of a young GI. Gillis was a 'typical' young American who entered the war as a young recruit, experienced the embarrassing and character building moments of finding himself alone in a blackout with a pretty young woman, receiving the hospitality of the VSO women, and being befriended by his colleagues on receiving a food parcel from home. In the last of the series Gillis is seen studying in a college dorm-room, taking him beyond the war but showing him benefiting from his sacrifices as a result of the GI Bill. Rockwell also created the character Rosie the Riveter, and despite her appearance on only one cover her image and name became icons of women's role in the war. His most significant work during the war was his set of paintings entitled 'The Four Freedoms' that appeared inside the *Post* in 1943, accompanied by a short essay saying in words what Rockwell said on canvas. His 'Four Freedoms' -- of speech, from want, from fear and of worship - were reproductions of FD Roosevelt's 'Four Freedoms' speech in 1941, outlining the war aims drafted in the Atlantic Charter. Rockwell's illustrations received such acclaim from *Post* readers that the government asked to borrow them for a tour to sell war bonds. The paintings went on a tour of sixteen cities in the US, and in total they helped to sell $132.9 million in war bonds (Rockwell, 1994).

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13 On Rockwell, see Rockwell (1994), Buechner (1992). For reproductions of his illustrations, the most comprehensive publication is Moffatt (1986), and also Folds (1979). Meyer (1994) provides reproductions and textual information on Rockwell's images specifically of World War Two.
The Post also supported other government initiatives during the war. It ran a series of full-page advertisements in full colour to support the National Nutrition Program of the Office of Defence and printed messages for conserving supplies and equipment. Curtis published special overseas editions of both the Post and Country Gentleman (which were paid for by the War Production Board) to help meet the needs for good reading material of the armed forces overseas, while servicemen and women received reduced subscription rates of the Post and Ladies Home Journal (Director’s Minutes, April 1942). Within Curtis Publishing, employees also played their part in the war effort by donating blood, conserving resources, and purchasing war bonds through the Payroll Deduction Plan introduced by the federal government.14 Walter Fuller, instrumental in the company’s war work, wrote of Curtis employees:

We can’t all be Marines at Wake Island. We can’t all be building bombing planes and tanks or serve in the Red Cross. But all of us at Curtis are ‘Marines in America’s Cause’ today, helping make this a stronger, braver nation and helping repel fear, disunity, discontent and the other enemies of national welfare.

(Director’s Minutes, March 13th 1942)

The magazine’s contents also fought the war on the home front, and every fiction story and cartoon, cover and editorial, was subtly woven with threads of war messages. This nationalist, even propagandist, role of the Post was undertaken from 1942, when along with other popular magazines, it appealed to the Office of War Information for the establishment of the Magazine Bureau (Honey, 1984). On receiving details from the Office of War Information, the Magazine Bureau would publish a document every six weeks or so, containing details of how government initiatives (such as women’s entry into work) could be promoted in the magazine’s stories, advertisements, editorials and the like. Although this Bureau was not broadly publicised as an initiative, its presence at the Post nonetheless denotes the immediate link between the magazine and Washington during the Second World War.15

Politically, Hibbs continued to appeal to Republican politics, but whereas the Post under Lorimer and Stout had been staunchly conservative, Hibbs moved it toward a

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14 See Harrington, circa 1946 (unpublished Curtis Paper) for more on Curtis’ war work.
15 See Honey (1984) for an interesting account of the Bureau’s impact on representations of women in the Saturday Evening Post and True Story during World War Two.
more liberal political line. In his 'Credo' of 1942 he wrote: 'I have been a lifelong Republican....This does not mean, however, that I endorse everything the Republican Party stands for; nor do I believe that everything that has been done by the Roosevelt Administration is wrong. I suppose you might call me a liberal Republican.' However, he went on to claim that the Post would be politically neutral, 'it will be independent; it will stand four square with the world and speak its piece on the various issues as the editors see them. Sometimes it will be critical of the New Deal but it will always try to be constructive in its criticism' (Post editorial June 20th 1942). This focus on neutrality (albeit more in theory than in practice) broadened the Post's appeal to offer democratic journalism with the goal of strengthening national unity.

The Post editorial formula was making a successful magazine by the end of the war. An issue now ran eight articles, four short stories, and two serial installments, strengthening the Post's factual content. Stories were shorter, and increasingly more photographs were added. Hibbs had created something new which had cast off the conservative traditional excesses that dogged the old Post, and in its place, while maintaining the old Curtis-Lorimer position, gave its pages a freshness and alertness that pushed it into prime position among its competitors (Look, Life, and Colliers) following the war (Learning, 1969). By 1947 it had circulation figures in excess of 3.8 million.

As well as its new editorial formula, material circumstances also aided the sparring position of the Post as it jockeyed for top spot in the circulation war. During the Second World War, paper resources had been scarce. Once restrictions loosened, magazines put their new paper sources to different uses. Life, prime contender for poll position, used its excess paper supply for boosting its editorial content. At the Post, however, its excess was used for advertising space, bringing in much needed advertising accounts and capital. The war had reduced consumer-goods production while industries put all their efforts into producing for the war effort, but when the reconversion took place at the end of the war, advertisers had to get their message across to the public once again. It was a time of big business for advertising dollars and Hibbs took advantage of this fact and boosted the Post's advertising revenue from $31.5 million in 1944 to $47.7 million by 1947 (Van Zuilen, 1977, p. 213).

The material production of the Post and other Curtis magazines also enabled the Post to gain an early lead in circulation. During the years following the Depression, when the material value of ideas seemed insignificant to the material value of goods,
Walter Deane Fuller (President of Curtis and Chairman of the Board) sought to change the company from a great publishing company to a great printing company. Investing in printing presses, factory buildings, paper mills, tons of wood pulp, vats of ink, fleets of delivery trucks and the like seemed a more secure investment than anything else, and the staff at Curtis took this initiative (Friedrich, 1970). The same value in hoarding and stockpiling was prevalent in World War Two, and shortly after the fighting ceased, Curtis bought a 108-acre site on the outskirts of Philadelphia and constructed Sharon Hill Printing Press. The capacity of Sharon Hill was immense. Just one of the YY presses could print 18 million magazine pages in two, four or even five colours every two hours (Friedrich, 1970). At the close of the war, this integration of production at Curtis, along with its immense printing capacity and its efficiency, helped boost Curtis' production rates and accommodate the increased demand for sales. Circulation had gone beyond four million in 1947.

Despite the early success of the Post due to its integration of the production line, this was to become its ultimate weakness and a fundamental factor in the decision to terminate the Post. Wood (1971) claims that Sharon Hill's capacity was so huge that its presses were often idle. Although marvels for producing magazine pages in colour at high speed they were uneconomical if not impossible to use for short runs or black and white. The presses were only practical for manufacturing Curtis magazines, making contracting jobs difficult to attain; while the concentration of production at one point on the East Coast for nationwide distribution meant closing dates for both editorial and advertising material was much earlier and slower than other periodicals. More generally, the risk of fully integrating an industry proved ruinous to the Post because of the knock-on effect of problems, as Martin Ackerman, president at Curtis and editor of the Post in its final days, spelled out:

The loss of a page of advertising at most magazine publishing houses was just that and no more. But at Curtis, that loss reverberated right down into the roots of the company. And any great fluctuation in advertising business or in seasonal selling meant that the whole job time-scale was continually moving up and down - a horrendous

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16 Curtis had been offered the purchase of television companies ABC and CBS, but had declined the offers to diversify. They preferred instead to integrate to the extent that Time Inc commented 'Curtis is one of the few publishing firms that starts with trees and ends up with magazines' (Quoted in Friedrich, 1970, p. 15).
situation for managers in charge of employment, trying to run efficient production lines.

(Ackerman, 1970, p. 79)

It was to be almost another twenty years, however, before this would come to light.

POST WAR AND HIBBS’ SUCCESS

Throughout the 1950s, Hibbs continued to drive the Post in its promotion and preservation of the ‘American way of life’ and anything that ran counter to this way of life was taboo within the magazine.17 One could say that the Post had become increasingly introverted, first of all in its integrated production line as I have mentioned, but secondly within the magazine itself, in its focus on the American scene. Reporting on the familiar, everyday and banal became its primary objective; ‘it was a small town magazine whose small town was called the United States’ (Wood, 1971, p. 129).

The political climate of the Cold War could be held responsible for this period of introspection, as America became paranoid over Communists both abroad and at home. One way in which this paranoia became evident in the Post was through its concentration on representations of the domestic scene and the parallel absence of global scale images. May (1988) argued that the Cold War rhetoric of ‘containment’ fueled the new domestic ideal of the 1950s, where the suburban house filled with its consumer goods symbolised American superiority over the Soviet Union, while its geographical location was strategically allied to American defense through decentralisation. Although the Post spoke of Cold War geopolitics only in its editorials, references to the domestic ideal were a prominent feature of its cover art. Suburban houses, cars, driveways, and yards were frequent features on covers during the 1950s (Cohn, 1995), celebrating the prosperous new life of the American postwar world while promoting the domestic ideal that would counter Communism. As a result, the geographical setting of the physical world of America became more

17 This did not prevent exploring flaws in the American way of life if the subject was important to the Post readers. Birth control, criticism of the American diplomatic system, and the United States government’s treatment of the Japanese during the war years were discussed in the Post, despite their controversial reaction from the public in the decade of conformity (Learning, 1969).
significant on covers of the 1950s than they had in the past, serving as the universal background to the familiar activities in which the figures were placed (Cohn, 1995).

Inside the magazine too, attention to the national scene became more important, particularly for features such as the series 'Cities of America'. The series ran for well over one hundred issues, taking a different city each week and presenting photos and factual information about the city's geography. The success of this series ushered in its successor 'Cities of the World,' which was equally popular with readers, and 'The Face of America' series later in 1955 that won a Freedom Foundation George Washington Honour Medal for the Post (President's Advisory Committee Minutes, February 20th 1959). Under editor Ben Hibbs, the Post became a popularised version of National Geographic focusing on the nation's 'home' in its popular, light-hearted appeal.

This celebration of the familiar was supported by Hibbs' initiative to make the writers and illustrators as recognisable to the readers as the products of its advertisements were. His use of fewer artists and writers, whose work could be published on a regular basis, helped create a sense of familiarity and acquaintance with the magazine that had been lost under Stout's reign. Cover artists such as Steven Dohanos, John Philip Falter, John Atherton, Constantin Alajalov and Norman Rockwell; and writers such as Jack Alexander, Kingsley Tufts and Pete Martin; fast became household names. The readers of the Post thereby became part of a reading community, bonded through the consumption of Post material that they could share with each other.

Success of Hibbs' editorial formula was evident in the circulation and advertising revenue. After a slight fall in circulation between 1950 and 1951, 1953 was a 'triumphant year' for the Post (Wood, 1971, p. 213), with circulation having reached 4.6 million, and advertising-revenue standing at $81 million. The Saturday Evening Post in this year brought in more than half the gross advertising revenue at Curtis Publishing Company, which now consisted of five magazines: the Post, Ladies Home Journal, Country Gentleman, Jack and Jill, and Holiday. According to Abrahamson (1996), however, the Post's success in the post-war years was (in part) a consequence of the quest for conformity and consensus that Americans sought while in the grip of Cold War paranoia. Like other general-interest magazines, such as Life and Look, the Post enjoyed a period of success because it provided the consensual view that the American public was looking for. While the general-interest magazines were faring
well in the 1950s, those at the Post, however, could not be complacent at this time for as table 2.3 shows it was by now only second in the ratings of general-interest magazines.

Table 2:2 Average Weekly Circulation Figures for America’s Leading General-Interest Magazines, 1953 (Source: President’s Advisory Committee Minutes, May 22nd 1953)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Life</th>
<th>Look</th>
<th>Colliers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>4,620,479</td>
<td>5,412,875</td>
<td>3,401,110</td>
<td>3,205,055</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Nonetheless, given the market conditions and the social climate, the future looked strong at Curtis and at the Post.

However, 1954 brought a shock, with advertising revenue falling by almost $2 million and gross income falling more than $1 million. The reasons for this were many, including increases in production costs and second class postal rates, and changes in the economic and political climate. The most significant factor, however, was the impact of television.

**INCREASING CIRCULATION IN THE FACE OF COMPETITION**

When television began to enter upon the national scene in the late 1940s, its primary objective was to entertain a mass audience. Like magazines, it relied on advertising to keep its economy buoyant, and when businesses discovered the market potential for advertising on television vis-a-vis magazines was more favourable, the advertising dollar was siphoned into television (Holder, 1972; Van Zullen, 1977, Damon-Moore, 1994).18

It soon became apparent that a television audience was far bigger than could ever be attained by magazines, and its power to create a nation of buyers could not be matched by print media (Abrahamson, 1996). Furthermore, although the costs of advertising were greater for television, once the advertisement is aired its cost is the

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18Until 1952, the effect of this siphoning was not as fully realised as it might have been. Although there were eighteen million television sets in the US at that time (compared with three million in 1948), the government had restricted the establishment of new television stations and therefore limited its accessibility to many Americans. In 1952, however, the restrictions were lifted and new stations were allowed to take to the air.
same irrespective of audience numbers, whereas a magazine’s costs rise with increased circulation (Van Zuijen, 1977). As a result, businesses started to move to television for advertising their products in direct competition with the general-interest mass-circulation magazines such as the Saturday Evening Post. Table 2.4 highlights the gains in advertising made by television in relation to other media. It can be seen that while the grand total advertising volume increased between 1946 and 1956, the percentage of total advertising broadcast on television increased from 1.1% in 1949 to 12.2% in 1956, while the percentage of advertisements in magazines and other media declines throughout the same period. Van Zuijen (1977, p. 167) goes on to argue that the growth of annual advertising in television increased more rapidly during the 1960s when advertisements accounted for $1,500 million in 1961, and £3,250 million in 1969. Advertisements in magazines in comparison, ranged from $750 million to $1,250 million.

Table 2.3 . The Appropriation of Advertising by Television in Relation to Other Media. (Source: Van Zuijen, 1977, p. 137)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>Grand Total Advertising Volume* (in millions of $)</th>
<th>% of Total TV Advertising</th>
<th>% of Total Radio Advertising</th>
<th>% of Total Newspaper Advertising</th>
<th>% of Total Magazine Advertising</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1946</td>
<td>3.364.1</td>
<td>13.5</td>
<td>34.5</td>
<td>12.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1947</td>
<td>4.259.7</td>
<td>11.9</td>
<td>34.8</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>4.863.6</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>36.1</td>
<td>10.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>5.202.2</td>
<td>11.0</td>
<td>36.9</td>
<td>9.5</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5.710.0</td>
<td>10.6</td>
<td>36.4</td>
<td>9.2</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>6.426.1</td>
<td>9.4</td>
<td>35.2</td>
<td>9.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>7.156.2</td>
<td>8.7</td>
<td>34.6</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1953</td>
<td>7.755.2</td>
<td>7.9</td>
<td>34.1</td>
<td>8.6</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1954</td>
<td>8.164.0</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>33.1</td>
<td>8.1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1955</td>
<td>9.194.4</td>
<td>5.9</td>
<td>33.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>9.904.7</td>
<td>5.7</td>
<td>32.6</td>
<td>8.0</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Grand Total Advertising Volume is composed of the following media revenues: television (network, spot, local), radio (network, spot, local), newspapers (national, local), magazines (weeklies, women’s, general, farm), farm publications (other than those under magazines), direct mail, outdoor advertising (national, local), and miscellaneous advertising (national, local)

Since advertising is key to the success of the mass audience magazines, the Saturday Evening Post, Colliers, Look and Life (the four leading magazines of this type in circulation at mid-century) sought to increase their circulation in direct
competition with television. However, this high circulation drive came at a cost, particularly since second-class mail-rates had increased and subscription prices had been reduced in order to draw in customers. It was hoped that the resultant increase in advertising would make up the increased financial costs, but magazines simply could not compete with the power of television. Colliers was the first to succumb to the pressures of a declining advertising dollar, and ceased publication in January 1957.

The Post, in contrast, was still making a profit, despite losing its food advertising and the largest share of automotive advertising (of which it had a virtual monopoly since 1903). Circulation climbed as the Post continued its circulation battle with Life (which had taken over poll position in 1947), and between 1954 and 1956 readership rose from 4.8 million to 6.1 million (Leaming, 1969, p. 309). Advertising revenue also remained buoyant, thanks in part to Curtis President Robert MacNeal, who, in 1958, decided to break Curtis’ Advertising Code. He announced that the Post would accept advertising for alcohol, and this decision is reported to have raised an extra $5 million in advertising revenue (Wood, 1971).

Nonetheless, competition from television was a definite concern at the Post, and the work of the Commercial Research Division conducted to promote the magazine (in opposition to television) to potential investors in advertising space. Initially, Reader Traffic surveys attempted to look at the ‘impact’ of the magazine; that is, the ‘attitudes, reactions, impressions, feelings and emotions in the hearts and minds of readers’ in relation to the other mass-circulation magazines (Curtis, 1946). Later studies would consider the competition of television more seriously and would take a more sophisticated approach to readership research. Research conducted in the mid-1950s and published in a 1958 report ‘Ad Page Exposure’, measured how often and what type of Post readers were exposed to the average page containing advertising. The results showed that the figures for ad page exposure dwarfed those of television, while the markets reached by magazine advertisements were said to be an exact

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19 Advertising and circulation are very closely related. On an immediate level, the higher the circulation, the greater possibilities for reaching a larger audience for the advertisers. For the magazine company however, circulation and advertising are related through advertising rates. The higher the circulation, the greater the cost of advertising, and therefore an increase in circulation should increase advertising revenue.

20 The decision to overturn the strict code of practice in advertising caused many disputes. Ben Hibbs and Bob Fuoss both objected to the decision, and some offended readers terminated their subscriptions (Leaming, 1969).


71
clientele rather than an undifferentiated mass that television reached. With masses of statistical data accumulated, promotion teams such as the one headed by Herbert D Ludeke could impress their audiences with a measure of national significance of the Post and its advertising in relation to television. However, the practical use of this information - beyond making impressive presentational displays - was very limited because of the sheer quantity of statistical information to digest (Wood, 1971). Nonetheless, it demonstrated a new interest in empirical investigation of media - 'the who says what, to whom, and with what effect' approach - that dominated media theory around mid-century (Czitrom, 1982).

What 'was' impressive from this information from the research division was the recognition of the Post as a medium for accessing a large number of the economically powerful members of the nation to whom advertisers also wished to appeal. The research division conducted a piece of research titled 'coverage of US families by income group', and its findings are presented in the tables below.

Table 2:4 Post Coverage of US Families by Income Groups (Curtis Publishing, 1960)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Annual Income Bracket</th>
<th>% of US Families in this Income bracket who Read the Post</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>$25,000 + over</td>
<td>76.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$15,000 - $24,999</td>
<td>53.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$10,000 - $14,999</td>
<td>25.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$7,000 - $9,999</td>
<td>17.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$5,000 - $6,999</td>
<td>13.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>$3,000 - $4,999</td>
<td>10.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>&lt; $3,000</td>
<td>3.1</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Furthermore, the research project demonstrated that those who had attained a high level of educational instruction read the magazine. Out of the total US population who had been college educated, 33% of these read the Post, in comparison with

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22Paul Lazarsfeld was particularly important in the development of this type of empirical research, studying the effects of media on American society. Joseph T Klapper refined Lazarsfeld's theories, suggesting a holistic approach instead of a 'cause and effect' theory. Both, however, relied on
19.7% of those who had finished high school, and only 7.5% of the population who had not finished high school. In addition to income groups and educational attainment, the research also showed that 76.2% of Post readers owned their own homes, and that 76.3% of readers lived in households consisting of more than three people. This told advertisers that the magazine was not only bought and read by the majority of the highest earners in the US, and those who were well educated, but that it reached a family audience to whom a variety of products could be targeted.

Even if it did not have the desired impact for attracting advertisers, the research nonetheless tells us a great deal about the power of the magazine in American society. In particular, its ability to attract a mass audience, and especially an audience with economic and social influence, demonstrates the forcefulness of the magazine and its potential for ripple effects throughout the population. The Post, for many, was their vision of America.

Reader research served other needs as well as promoting the magazine to potential advertisers in competition with television and illustrating the social significance of the publication. For example, by attaining information on readers' tastes the magazine could then adjust its content in the hope to appeal to more readers and to increase circulation figures. For example, readers asked for more medical articles in research questionnaires, and these subsequently appeared in the magazine. Research also showed that people liked covers and wanted to know the stories behind them, so this became a regular feature. Readers requested letter columns, and so letter columns appeared in all Curtis magazines; and readers demonstrated a preference for complete stories in one issue rather than serializations, and so the Post began to run more one-shot condensed novels and novelettes (Learning, 1969). However, Ben Hibbs preferred to think of these research findings as mere aids to editorial judgement. 'I think the greatest folly an editor could commit would be to follow such indices too slavishly. He shouldn't start turning cartwheels and jumping through hoops every time the index turns up or down on certain types of material. You can't edit a magazine by arithmetic' he said (Business Week, 1950, p.370).

A further initiative taken at the Post to increase circulation figures in light of the competition from television and other magazines was a change in format of the design in October 1955. A new body-type, different layout, greater use of white space, and a quantitative data that was subsequently challenged by humanists
changed title display were adopted. A new series from 1958 called 'Adventures of the Mind,' was also part of the initiative. It consisted of a weekly essay on some aspect of academic or scientific inquiry, and was intended to bridge the gap between intellectuals and the ordinary readers of a mass magazine. Scholars and scientists were reluctant to submit material at first, but once they understood the piece would not be changed editorially and the prices the Post would pay, writers were keen to publish. The series was a resounding success, attracting people such as J Robert Oppenheimer, Lewis Mumford, Bertrand Russell, CP Snow, C. Day Lewis and Edith Sitwell.23

In sum, the 1950s were a successful time for the Post. The editorial policies formulated in 1942 were working well, and the team of editors had taken sufficient steps with format and content to move with the times. Circulation was at its highest with over six million readers, and advertising revenue reached an all-time peak in 1960, bringing in almost $104 million (despite the competition from television). But within one year, that perfect picture had turned sour as competition from more modern magazines, as well as from television and radio, took its toll. The graph of circulation figures (figure 2:2) shows this trend of success throughout the 1950s, and the subsequent fluctuations in the 1960s decade of uncertainties.

NEW-AGE POST: THE BEGINNING OF THE END

The 1960s was a period of immense change in American society. Civil Rights action, feminist movements, student demonstrations, youth subcultures, Rock 'n' Roll, psychedelic drugs, alternative lifestyles and so on manifested themselves in American society. These incidents clashed head-on with the Post's conservative vision, and to maintain survival change at the magazine became inevitable. However, while previous modifications had been slow and controlled, the change that came in 1961 was rapid and revolutionary. Its advent was publicised months in advance of its arrival in places such as the New York Times, which ran an advertisement on September 7th 1961 entitled 'What Will The New Saturday Evening Post Be Like?'

In answer to this question, the advertisement spoke of the newness of the Post as

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23 The series ran for five years, and eventually three volumes of the articles were published in book version
something fresh and exciting, but also spoke of its past tradition that provided the magazine with its authority:

It will be the freshest voice to be heard in the land - springing from deep breaths of the bracing air of new graphic designs and inspired by the power of the written word. ... It will sing the tune of these changing challenging times....And the tempo of the time is prestissimo. It will be a magazine of many voices, yet all one voice. The well-known voice of the Saturday Evening Post. Not some far-off chilly voice, but the recognised voice of the family. LIKE NO OTHER MAGAZINE YOU HAVE EVER READ BEFORE.

(New York Times, Sept. 7th, 1961)

When the new issue arrived on September 16th 1961, it certainly was something different. The cover displayed a new logo with the word 'Post' (which had long stood on the upper left of the cover) now stretched across the entire top of the page, with the words 'The Saturday Evening' placed inside the 'O'. The first cover of the new format depicted an artist examining the new logo, and although painted by Rockwell, the new Post quickly banished the artist's homely scenes to the dark recesses of the magazine archives (Figure 2:3). Along with other familiar Post cover artists and scenes of ordinary America, they all soon disappeared, to be replaced by stark colours, iconography, symbolism, impressionism and photographs by a variety of graphic designers.

A new feature was brought in to the magazine entitled 'Speaking Out: The Voice of Dissent,' which the promoters argued would provide a forum for the 'odd-ball view' because 'there is a need, in this age of homogeneous reporting, for a little sour cream' (New York Times, Sept 7th, 1961). Another addition was a section called 'People on the Way Up', which spoke of new high-achieving celebrities who were making it big in Hollywood and Wall Street. Cohn (1995) argues that this shift to celebrity worship also became evident on the covers of the Post in the 1960s, aided by the use of photographs. For example, between 1964 and 1965 celebrity cover portraits included those of The Beatles, Richard Burton, Dwight Eisenhower, Harry Truman, Malcolm X, Lyndon Johnson, John F Kennedy, and the reigning Miss
Figure 2:2  ‘The Post Cover History’ cover illustration by Norman Rockwell, September 10th 1961.
Audited Circulation Figures 1935-1968

Fig: 2.3
America. Virtually overnight, readers saw the disappearance of the familiar American scene from the pages of the Post. The timelessness of the everyday, the familiar, and the banal, which had been captured in illustration and story writing, had been replaced by the peculiar, the extraordinary, and the momentary eccentricity of people which photographs of celebrities symbolise.

The new Post did not get a great reception on its initiation into the market place. According to Wood (1971), the change ruined its image with the magazine’s faithful readers and failed to attract new ones. Indeed, the President’s Advisory Committee Meeting minutes state that by November 16th, just six weeks after the new format arrived on the newsstands, 3,191 subscription cancellations had been received which blamed the change in format for their decision to cancel. This possibly accounts for the reduced increase in circulation figures in 1961 that figure 2.3 indicates. Hibbs was not happy with the magazine either and retired at the end of the year. In his last editorial he spoke of the changes that had come about in the US since his boyhood in Kansas, but made a final plea to his readers ‘to be gallant and proud, to stand up on your hind legs and be Americans’ (editorial, December 31st 1961). To the end, Hibbs was a firm believer in the virtues of America, and wanted to share his passion with his readers.

It could be said that the departure of Hibbs was the final nail in the coffin of the Post. The traditions on which its foundations stood had been weakened by a whole range of elements - economic, political and social - and Hibbs was the final token of that Curtis tradition to be swept away. A double blow was to hit the magazine that year, however, because as well as losing its editor, Curtis Publishing showed its first financial loss ever in its history of magazine publishing. This surely was the beginning of the end. But the Post was not dead yet, and when Robert Fuoss became editor-in-chief with the arrival of the new year, he took it upon himself to succeed with the Post. He immediately declared that the Post would be non-partisan, hoping to make the magazine ‘an island of free expression’. His energy and enthusiasm

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24 Hibbs had said from the start when he assumed the editorial position in 1942 that he would stay twenty years and then retire. Thus his decision to leave was not merely a reflection of his discordance with the new magazine but was allegedly something that was planned twenty years previous. However, when the new format did come out onto the newsstands, Hibbs tried to bring forward his retirement by several months but was persuaded to stay by the board of executives.

25 The Post had declared itself non-partisan under Lorimer and Hibbs, but despite their earlier proclamations it had always espoused Republican values. In the 1960s, however, an era when society in general became increasingly politicised and revolutionary, it became more urgent to declare the magazine non-partisan to maximize a loyal and mainstream audience.
was short lived however, and following a dispute with the president, MacNeal, over the reduction of the *Post* from fifty-two to forty-five issues per year, Fuoss resigned. In his place, Robert Sherrod became executive editor, and Clay Blair Junior became managing editor.

Events at Curtis and at the *Post* subsequently became a dramatic series of slander, muckraking, jealousy, bitterness and outright mutiny amongst the employers. It is impossible to understand what really happened, for much that has been said of these times has been written by individuals still nursing the wounds from the fight and harbouring bitter grudges against former colleagues whom they hold responsible for the demise of the *Post* and the Curtis Empire. The account I offer is a brief telling of these events.

**'THE CURTIS CAPER'**

The year 1962 marked the end of an era at the *Post*. MacNeal was on vacation in Spain in April of that year when he heard he had been dismissed as president of Curtis Publishing. Matthew Culligan succeeded him as president and Clay Blair Junior became both a vice president and editorial director of the *Post* (succeeding Sherrod) (Friedrich, 1970). With new men at the helm, the old *Post* was now definitely over. Gone were the old ‘Curtis men’ who had worked their way through the ranks of the company, and in their place stood young businessmen not publishers or editors per se, but people interested in the economics of business management in general. An early sign of this cold-hearted, distanced business management was witnessed soon after the duo came in to power. Their first mission was to make cutbacks in the large workforce, and two thousand employees were laid off in 1962 (Ackerman, 1970). The old Curtis family was being torn apart.

Such new-age dynamics became more apparent in mid-1962 with the announcement that the editorial and advertising departments of the *Saturday Evening Post* would move from Philadelphia to New York. This signaled a geographical and sociological shift, from the seat of conservatism and independence to the streets of

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26 The title of this section is borrowed from a book of that title by Joseph Goulden (1965), which is part of the barrage of books to be published documenting the internal power struggles and final death of the *Post* under Curtis Publishing (Acherman, 1970; Friedrich, 1970, Van Zulle, 1977; Abrahamson, 1996).
liberal cosmopolitanism, reflecting both the social climate of the 1960s and the new demands being asked of the magazine.27

The content of the magazine would also change under the new editor, and like the others who had gone before him, he proposed to revitalise the Post. He advocated more hard-hitting shock tactics, divorcing it from the timeless patriotic position it had taken before:

The purpose of the Post should be not only to inform but to crusade, and every issue has to land with impact not with sensational yellow journalism but with real hard-hitting articles that are timely and mean something to somebody. I'd like to see the magazine generate electricity, verve.

(Blair, quoted in Friedrich, 1970, p. 35)

This hard-hitting journalism resulted in libel suits the following year which would cost the Post $600,000 for a story entitled 'The Story of a Football Fix', and a further suit in 1964 costing $40 million (Wood, 1971). According to Friedrich, an editor at the Post in the 1960s, Blair was apparently pleased with such results because libel suits meant that he was hitting the raw nerve that he wanted and gaining publicity for the magazine (Friedrich, 1970). Others, however, such as Van Zullen (1977) argue that these libel cases smudged the Post's image of reliability that it had maintained since the magazine's inception, and this in turn hurt its image with advertisers and agencies who did not want to be associated with irresponsible media. The differences between the editor's perceptions and those of others outside the magazine were therefore at odds.

Losses in 1963 were not as great as the previous year and amounted to $4,393,000,28 but ‘the annus mirabilis of this travesty on magazine publishing was 1964’ (Wood, 1971, p. 263). The year began on a positive note, with the finding of copper on Curtis land in Timmins, Ontario. The estimated value of the deposit stood at $2 billion, but how much Curtis actually owned of that was uncertain. Texas Gulf carried out the exploration and the sale of land the following year earned Curtis $24

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27 Curtis prided itself on its new New York address, and when it relocated again in 1964, to 641 Lexington Avenue, Curtis ran a colour supplement in the New York Times on October 11th 1964 celebrating its ‘New York Home’.

28 Losses in 1962 were a staggering $18,917,000.
million. However, the pleasure of the bounty was short-lived, for in the spring of 1964, mutiny broke out. Clay Blair and Marvin Kantor (senior vice president and owner of 4,000 shares) were demanding Culligan's resignation after accusing him of maladministration. The following month, Blair and Kantor were dismissed, and Culligan was removed as president. In December 1964, Culligan was replaced by John C Clifford as president of Curtis Publishing.

Profits were as deplorable as the team spirit at Curtis in this 'annus mirabilis', and the company lost a staggering $14 million. The following year saw increased entrenchment at Curtis, with more lay-offs and the decision to change the Post into a biweekly like one of its other competitors, Look. This decision was perhaps another error in the final days of the Post because although a biweekly helps reduce costs, its budget is also reduced, and with the Post's new emphasis on news reporting rather than in-house editorial concerns, this budget is essential (Ackerman, 1970). Nonetheless, due to the sale of copper in 1965, the loss at Curtis had been reduced to $3.5 million. In 1966, the company showed a profit of $347,000 but in 1967 it was back in the red to the tune of $4,839,000 (Friedrich, 1970).

THE MESSIAH OR THE DEVILS ADVOCATE

Friedrich (1970) argues that when Culligan had taken over the position as president, nobody had expected him to do anything more than serve as caretaker. The staff at Curtis had been resigned to the fact that they needed a yet undiscovered leader who would lead them out of the barren desert and into the Promised Land. According to some commentators, that messiah came in 1968 in the guise of Martin Ackerman, a thirty-six year old businessman from Rochester, New York. He brought with him a plan to retain the Post and save the Curtis Empire. Two days after his arrival, the Curtis Building was sold to a real estate developer for $7,300,000. The last great reminder of the glory days of Curtis was gone. Ackerman arranged a loan from Time Inc., and himself bought Curtis Circulation Company for $12.5 million.

For the Post he planned a complete revamp. His intention was to halve circulation to three million to transform it into a class rather than a mass magazine. He wished to

29 Culligan retained his position as chairman of the board, but resigned on March 4th, 1965. Under the terms of his contract, however, he would still receive $110,000 in 1966, and for ten years thereafter would receive $20,093 annually (Ackerman, 1970).
30 Including Friedrich (1970), and, though perhaps not impartially, Ackerman (1970)
retain on the mailing list only the young opinion leaders with high incomes and good addresses in metropolitan areas. In other words, no older, poorer, subscribers with rural, small town or low-income addresses were welcome and the reader research questionnaires containing this information made the task of ending people's subscriptions straightforward for those at Curtis (Wood, 1971). No discretion was reserved in this ruthless campaign. Even the company president's mother was wiped from the subscription list, along with other notables including Winthrop Rockefeller and the wife of the Dow Jones president. Gone were the editors who believed in placing the readers first and recognizing their importance, and in their place was a businessman interested only in making a success of a new business venture at any cost. Naturally those 'rejected' by the Post were hurt, many of whom had worked as Post Boys (youngsters who sold the magazine while Lorimer was editor) while others had subscribed to the magazine for generations. Even today in the 1990s, the Saturday Evening Post continues to be plagued by Ackerman's selective accounting, as potential subscribers still return appeals for subscription sent by the company with a bitter 'no' and an explanation that they had been offended by their name being removed from the subscription list in the late 1960s.31

Ackerman's vision, however, came to fruition in August 1968, when the new Post arrived on the newsstands promoting itself as a class magazine with a cover price of fifty cents. Four days later, Ackerman sold both Ladies Home Journal and American Home. Having fired more of the greatly reduced staff, he used $6 million of the pension funds to buttress the decaying company, but by the end of the year the deficit at Curtis stood at $18 million. On January 10th, 1969, while astronauts who had landed on the moon enjoyed a ticker tape parade in New York City, Ackerman read a statement claiming that the Post would be terminated, and on February 8th, 1969, the last issue appeared. What Friderich had deemed a Messiah had proven to be powerless, and for others he had turned out instead to be the devil's advocate.32

Other magazines reported its death, such as Esquire and Atlantic Monthly. Newsweek (January 20th, 1969) told of 'the death of an institution'; while the New York Times (January 10th, 1969) celebrated the Post's past that 'mirrored' the ideals and changes of life in America. Ackerman resigned from Curtis in March 1969 amid a flood of lawsuits. Charges were brought against him for fraud in the sale of Curtis

Circulation Company, *Ladies Home Journal, American Home,* and *Saturday Evening Post,* and other transactions, as well as his misappropriation of pension funds. However, in his story of his few months at Curtis, titled *The Curtis Affair,* he published the Pinkham Report as an appendix, concluding that there was no basis for the lawsuits and no evidence of fraud (Ackerman, 1970). Ackerman quickly drifted from the public eye and resumed work as a lawyer.

The other mass-circulation magazines quickly followed the *Post* to their final resting-places. *Look* ended in 1971, and *Life* closed its doors in 1972. Before their termination, however, the *Post* was to get a second lease on life. Buert Ser Vaas, the principal stockholder of the reorganised Curtis Publishing Company, announced he would resurrect the magazine as a quarterly. His intention was to emulate the old *Post* in its representation of American life and values. The first issue was published in the summer of 1971, and proved both popular and successful. Van Zuilen (1977) suggests that like the inception of the mass-circulation *Post* at the end of the nineteenth century, the decision to revive the old *Post* in the 1970s was a well-timed initiative. In the 1970s, he argues, nostalgia had become the national mood and instead of looking ahead to the 1980s, many people of all ages looked back to the ‘good old days’ of pre-Civil Rights and pre-Vietnam. Circulation figures of the new *Post* suggest the early success of the magazine – increasing from 500,000 in June 1971 to 750,000 by 1975. In 1974 the *Post* increased its frequency to nine issues per year, and today continues to publish at this rate from its headquarters in Indianapolis with a circulation of just below one million.

**CONCLUDING COMMENTS**

In summary, the story of the *Saturday Evening Post* provides a window on the development (and demise) of national mass-circulation magazines in America, and their role in shaping and contributing to the constitution of nation and nationhood. For nearly three-quarters of a century, Curtis Publishing Company led the magazine world, with the *Saturday Evening Post* its primary showcase. For many, the *Post* ‘was’ America, with its stories of Presidents, businessmen, generals, admirals and

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33 See Van Zuilen (1977) for a general account of the demise of mass-circulation magazines, and Abrahamson (1996) for an account of the reasons for the transfer from 'mass to class' magazines during the 1960s.
their aides; its fictional characters such as Tish, Ruggers, Little Lulu, Tugboat Annie and Hazel; its Cities of the World, the Face of America, Adventures of the Mind, and Speaking Out. America for Americans, brought through the creative minds of people such as Cyrus Curtis, George Lorimer, Ken Roberts, Ben Hibbs and Bob Fuoss; Norman Rockwell, JC Leyendecker, Charles Livingstone Bull, Steven Dohanos, John Philip Falter and Constantin Alajalov; William Faulkner, F Scott Fitzgerald, Mary Roberts Rinehart, Jack Alexander and Pete Martin. Yet this America was a dynamic entity, demanding flexibility to changing attitudes of readers and advertisers, economic and political climates. Editors attempted to modify the Post in response to these demands, but increased costs, managerial and editorial weaknesses, and competition for markets and advertising dollars from television proved too much. The Post was not alone in its demise in 1969, for other general interest mass-circulation magazines ceased publication around the same time. No others, however, retained the legacy of the Post as the ‘articulate spokesman of the way of American life’ (Springfield Daily News, 1969, Quoted in Ackerman, 1970, p. 149) and just how the Post presented that way of life will be of concern to the remainder of this study.
CHAPTER 3

THE DOMESTIC SCALE: 'THE SOCIAL NUCLEUS' OF AMERICA

The house, it is argued, is an extremely important aspect of the built environment for it expresses personal meanings and shelters private concerns, embodying ideologies of the prevailing social order and political context (Duncan, 1981b). It mediates between the individual and society, the private and the public, the personal and the political. This chapter will focus on the house – or more precisely the domestic scale – as a place through which American national identities are formulated and communicated in relation to shifting economic, cultural, and political contexts.

Duncan’s interpretation of the house defined above is important for considering the role of this scale in the constitution of American identities. On the one hand, he recognizes that individuals who build, decorate, and furnish the house to reflect their personalities, social status or accomplishments construct and shape the meaning of the house. Expressing personal relations and a sense of belonging, Cooper (1995) defines the house from this social-psychological perspective as 'home'. It is 'a place of self-expression, a vessel of memories, a refuge from the outside world, a cocoon where we can feel nurtured and let down our guard' (Cooper, 1995, p. 4). The home is therefore the scale that provides the most immediate context within which personal identity is articulated.

On the other hand, however, Duncan also recognizes that while intimately bound to the individual’s self-concept, the house is never a simple product of individual consciousness and action because individuals are part of a broader social structure. Smith (1993b, p. 70) has argued that the house is ‘thoroughly implicated in wider social, political and economic processes’. ‘No matter how sharp the physical boundary separating homes from each other’, he argues, ‘these borders always retain some porosity’, and hence one must define the home within a larger context. For Smith, therefore, the house (in the western world) is the site of personal and familial reproduction mediated by capitalism. ‘Economic change, neighbourhood-wide
disinvestment in the housing stock, or the expansion or contraction of local transportation systems can severely affect the property values of individual homeowners regardless of their own actions in and on the home. At the same time, Smith illustrates how housing is also constituted by broader social worlds, such as social relations. Marston (forthcoming) argues this case, stating that the social relations of the household are not entirely mediated by capitalism. Rather, 'in the household, capitalism is interlarded with patriarchy directly and indirectly, shaping social relations in large and small ways'.

Houses, then, articulate the relationship between the individual and the social worlds of which they are a part. The terms 'home' and 'house' have been used in some cases to differentiate the different values attached to this scale of study, but there has been no agreement over the use of these terms, while other words such as 'dwelling', 'household' and 'housing' have also been used. In this study, however, I use the term 'domestic' to describe this scale because it conveys a sense of both the personal and the social that I wish to maintain.

On the one hand, the term domestic describes the house, the household, and the affairs of the family, thus implying the private sphere. On the other hand, however, when used in the context of international relations the term refers to the home nation and distinguishes it as something different from the foreign. In both contexts, moreover, the word domestic refers to a sense of 'home', meaning a place that is familiar and comfortable, in contrast to an external, unfamiliar world outside. The private and the public, the personal and the political are therefore united in the term domestic. By referring to this scale as the domestic, therefore, it is my intention to maintain the associations between the individual and the social, the private and the public, the personal and the political, and to demonstrate the significance of these associations not only for constituting the domestic scale, but especially for providing a powerful sense of nationhood.

It is this close alliance between the individual and the social that renders the domestic scale particularly useful for articulating American nationhood. As I argued in chapter one, American identities are defined in terms of values to which Americans subscribe more than ethnic characteristics, and hence the domestic scale serves as the

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1 See also Sopher (1979) and Clark (1986) for a similar perspective.
2 See also Rapoport (1981), King (1984), Hayden (1981) and Welfeld (1988) for definitions of the house that emphasize the role of social structures and relations in the social production of the house.
primary medium for linking personal and national identities. If, as Cohn (1979, p. 154) has argued, the domestic scale is 'the social nucleus of American society', then it has an important place in any consideration of national identities, and this study will contribute to understanding that place.

Considering social, political, economic and cultural factors, I will demonstrate how the domestic scale articulated in the *Post* defines political agendas and pressing social issues, while it also represents the tastes and desires of individuals in society. By occupying the spaces between individuals and society, the domestic scale mediates between both scales to draw individuals into a sense of shared community of the nation. How these alliances are created and how the relationship between domestic scale and national identities change over time will be of concern to me here, as well as the changing significance of the domestic scale in the *Post's* representation of America between 1942 and 1969.

Before I begin my analysis of the *Post's* articulation of the domestic scale, however, I provide a brief introduction to the relationship between the domestic scale and the nation in American history. I will demonstrate how ideas of independence, freedom, democracy and security were associated both with the house and with the New World in the early colonial days, and how the domestic scale has continued to represent these defining concepts of American identity in changing socio-political contexts. I will then introduce the *Post*, and suggest that in the early twentieth century the magazine played an important role in articulating the relationship between the domestic scale and nationhood. This will lead into a more detailed discussion of the *Post* during World War Two and the first half of the Cold War.

**AMERICA AT THE DOMESTIC SCALE**

The relationship between the domestic scale and national identity has a long history in America, and remnants of this past are seen in values attached to the domestic scale in the *Post* in the mid-twentieth century. Starting in the colonial period, for example, the house symbolised the success of the pioneer nation, pioneer community, and pioneering individuals. Shelters of any kind were a sign of the beginning of society's

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3 See Kozol (1994) for a similar perspective adopted in her study of *Life* magazine.

4 Here I provide a brief overview of the historical developments of the American home as cultural icon, but for a more thorough discussion see Cohn (1979) and Wright (1983)
encroachment on the wilderness and hence the arrival of civilisation. These domestic landscapes were also the first signs of American (and especially non-European) existence that quickly etched permanence on the landscape that established the New World as distinctive from the Old. They represented ‘a decisive grip on the land, a solid entrenchment in the continent’ (Cohn, 1979, p.5). Furthermore, while permanent shelter testified to the existence of civilisation and of America, the type of dwelling represented the degree of diligence, frugality and hard work that its occupants had put into building it, and hence reflected the type of people in the household. Individual, community, and national identities were thereby established in relation to the domestic scale in the early colonial period.

Following American independence, a more concerted effort was made to establish a formal relationship between the domestic scale and American national culture, aimed at fostering a sense of unity among such diverse groups in the nation. Along with attempts to define America through a national language, national art, national character and other aspects of American life, the desire to discover or to create an American architectural style occupied the minds of individuals in the political sphere (Wright, 1983). It was believed that the built environment as well as the natural environment could provide reminders of otherwise abstract national commitments to equality, individualism and social order. Architecture and ideology thus merged in the domestic setting to create and communicate a sense of what it meant to be an American (Wright, 1983, p. 22).

The National Land Survey, produced by Jefferson in 1785, would be the first step in establishing a domestic landscape that was truly American in style and expression. Through this survey square sections of land were allotted to promote the proliferation of equal independent homesteads which could be expanded as the nation also expanded across the continent. On each plot of land Jefferson anticipated that the ideal social institution of America - the family - would create a home that both materially and ideologically represented American ideals of democracy, equality, individualism and social order. The home would contain the American family - ‘a

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5 Nash (1982) provides a detailed account of ‘Wilderness and the American Mind’ and discusses the role of shelter as a symbol of control over nature in the early colonial period.

6 It is no surprise therefore that the log cabin, the first pioneer dwelling type, would later be the first house style to be extolled as American vernacular architecture. See Jordan (1985).

little commonwealth' - governed by the same principles of hierarchy and deference as the larger society, and hence, the domestic scale would be 'both the societal nucleus and the societal microcosm' (Cohn, 1979, p.154).

In the late eighteenth century, as America became increasingly urbanised and industrialised, the house came to be seen as a separate, private entity, a refuge from the outside world, and a safe-haven or nursery for raising children to become moral and loyal citizens (Zaretsky, 1976). In sum, 'its purposes were to ensure individual happiness and to serve the political order by diffusing self-serving needs and instilling children with values of order, responsibility, and self-discipline – the values of good citizenship' (Mintz and Kellogg, 1988, p.45).

Early in the nineteenth century an American national style began to evolve in the brick row houses of the eastern cities and then in the Greek Revival houses created by country builders in New England (Wright, 1983). These would not have attained national status however without the help of popular carpenter's pattern books which enabled these houses to be copied widely throughout the United States. Asher Benjamin for example, published the first American architectural book in 1797 called The Country Builder's Assistant, which went through forty editions and contained illustrated plans and elevations for three town houses and two country homes. He published several other books, and through these earned his reputation as a key figure in the making of the American landscape. In later publications plans and elevations were accompanied by texts providing readers with information on how to build perfect homes. These publications created and promoted domestic ideologies throughout American society.

Andrew Jackson Downing wrote several of these publications in the 1840s and 1850s. In his pattern book The Architecture of Country Houses (1850), Downing argued that the character of every man may be read in his house and suggested that domestic architecture was a reflection also of the political and cultural institutions of a people. Other builders and architects such as Calvert Vaux, Lewis F Allen, OS Tower, Louis Sullivan, Frederick Law Olmsted, and more recently Frank Lloyd Wright, contributed to the development of American domestic architecture, and they gained national status through their work as architects of America.8

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8 For more detailed accounts of Downing, see Carmer (1939), Cohn (1979 pp 65-88), as well as Downing's original publications. On the contribution made by other architects to the development of domestic landscapes in America, see Gowans (1976)
As print media became more widely accessible throughout the nineteenth century a new avenue for publicizing and nationalising domestic styles was witnessed in the growth of journals devoted to architecture and design, such as *Architects and Buildings Magazine*, *The Architectural Record*, and *House and Garden*. Ironically, the magazines chosen to publicise the designs undermined what began as a quest to reflect egalitarianism, for these publications were marketed towards the upper-middle classes and the very wealthy, implying that a national style could be realised only in the houses of the rich (Cohn, 1979). At the turn of the twentieth century, however, *Ladies Home Journal* and *American Home* brought images of the domestic ideal to the masses. In these magazines, eminent architects and planners published their design plans, while advertisements endorsed ways of decorating those homes, and popular literature promoted lifestyles expected to be lived in those houses. Early feminist writers of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example, wrote in women’s magazines about issues of the house and home, including Charlotte Perkins Gilman and Zona Gale who frequently published in the *Ladies Home Journal*. They were concerned with the development of neighbourhood commercial kitchens and kitchenless homes that would free women from household responsibilities, thus contradicting the type of homes endorsed by men such as Frank Lloyd Wright for whom the open-plan design was to assist women’s work in the home but also to tie them there.9 Thus popular magazines provided an arena for discussing a variety of different housing ideals that created, rejected, redefined, and fostered American national identities at the domestic scale.

Different social and economic factors demanded the development of a variety of different housing styles throughout the nineteenth century in addition to those represented in builder’s pattern books and the popular media. Industrial towns constructed dormitories for their single workers and company houses for families. The tenement house also appeared in American cities in the mid-nineteenth century into which extended and multiple families were crammed. Similarly, French Flats (so called to distinguish them from tenements) were introduced as better apartments in the late nineteenth century, and these were succeeded by residential hotels and other apartment buildings in respectable neighbourhoods (such as the Dakota Building in

9 See Hayden (1981) for a discussion on women’s contributions to house design in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. See Scanlon (1995) for a more specific concentration on women’s contribution the *Ladies Home Journal* on house style and housekeeping
Manhattan). The residents of most of these places, however, were renters, and it was only in the early twentieth century that Americans were encouraged to become homeowners (Gowans, 1976).

During the Great Depression and World War Two, federal intervention in housing ensured that the relationship between the house and the nation would be politically secured. In 1931, President Hoover organised a national conference entitled ‘Home Building and Home Ownership’, to support home ownership ‘for men of sound character and industrious habits’ and to provide a long-term programme for economic recovery from the Depression (Hayden, 1981). The Home Owner’s Loan Corporation was established in 1933 to provide loans to home buyers, and the National Housing Act was passed in 1934, which inaugurated a public-housing programme and set up the Federal Housing Administration (FHA) to stimulate the private housing market at the lower end of the economic spectrum. Not all these measures were seen in a positive light, particularly by Republicans who felt that state intervention was an affront to the Constitution and would result in a softening of national character. Furthermore, these measures had differing effects on individuals in America who were excluded from federal assistance or included in forced moves from inner-city slums. Nonetheless, the 1930s established a society where the private world of the home was now undeniably political. These ties would only intensify as America entered World War Two, with the mobilisation of thousands of Americans to key military sites throughout the country necessitating state intervention in housing on a massive scale.

THE POST AND THE DOMESTIC SCALE

I have demonstrated in the discussion above how cultural, economic and political alliances between the domestic scale and national identity, as well as the centrality of popular media in publicising and contributing to this relationship, have long been in evidence in America. Given this history, the Post had a rich legacy on which to draw to articulate America through the domestic scale. However, while the Post’s sister publication, Ladies Home Journal, was more explicitly concerned with the home-running features on interior decorating, house designs, and advertisements for

10 These words were spoken by Hoover in his opening address to the conference delegates, and appears with a more detailed discussion of the conference in Hayden (1981, p 23).
household goods - the Post articulated the domestic scale implicitly in its wider campaign to further national unity. I will show how the domestic scale served as a vehicle for translating abstract meanings of political issues into something meaningful and tangible for the magazine’s readers. By providing a place and characters with which readers could identify, the Post drew readers into a sense of national communion, while also being offered a vision of a particular America to which readers could aspire.

I will analyse the role of the domestic scale in creating American national identities during and after the Second World War. I show how a sense of national unity is achieved through a negotiation between inclusion and universalism versus exclusion and particularism at the domestic scale. I suggest that during the Second World War the domestic scale was particularly important to universalise concepts for which the war was being fought. I show how a gendered vision of the home helped to promote a sense of security and protection on a homefront far away from the battlefields. Following the war, the American home epitomised success for democracy, when home ownership, hard work and economic independence were highlighted as the success of America and American values. Consumerism also symbolised material wealth and hence was celebrated through the home as a symbol of national achievement. Alongside this image of affluence was also a fear of nuclear holocaust, and the domestic scale in 1950s America was more than ever before a safe-haven and protector from the perils of nuclear threats. Nonetheless, in such images of the suburban home, safety was a quality afforded by the white middle-classes in the Post for whom suburban living was a possibility, while others were excluded. However, in other domestic settings outside the suburbs American identity was more inclusive in the Post. While the domestic scale was central to the Post’s articulation of nationhood in the fifteen years or so after World War Two, by the late 1960s, I will show that it was no longer as important as a place to represent American identities, challenging the domestic ideology that the Post had earlier championed.

KEEPING THE HOME FIRES BLAZING

‘Home ... in these days and times, the very word takes on a new and deeper meaning’, a Kodak advertisement claimed in 1942, and this reflected the position of the Post towards the meaning of nationhood in the broader context of war. What war
meant, why Americans were fighting, and what impact the war would have on America and Americans were the concerns of the Post, and the domestic scale was the primary means through which the magazine discussed these issues.

Perhaps the magazine's most famous portrayal of war in this way was the translation of F. D. Roosevelt's famous 'Four Freedoms' speech into an accessible medium for the magazine's readers. In his State of the Union message of January 6th 1941 the president outlined the reasons for fighting the war to a nation that had previously taken an isolationist position. The president talked about four essential freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want and freedom from fear of armed aggression, and these freedoms, he stressed, should be guaranteed throughout the world because, not just American freedoms, they were 'essential human freedoms'. By entering the war, therefore, the state was the guarantor of human rights and hence the war could be explained as the battle to maintain transnational values on which America was founded.11 Two years after the President's speech the Post published an illustrated version of the Four Freedoms12 by one of the Post's most famous illustrators, Norman Rockwell, who 'tailor-made' these images 'for the average well-fed American, who wanted to know what these abstract concepts could possibly have to do with his or her life' (Sonder, 1997, p. 25). Interestingly, two of Rockwell's Four Freedoms are recreated in a domestic setting and signify the importance of the domestic scale especially during the war for bringing political and bureaucratic ideas into the mainstream experience of everyday Americans. Freedom From Want, for example, depicts a Thanksgiving dinner at the moment grandmother is placing a plump turkey on the table to the delighted grins of a multigenerational family. Freedom From Fear, on the other hand, portrays a man holding a newspaper with headlines about bombing horrors overseas, and he is peacefully watching over his sleeping children as his wife tucks them into bed. In depicting ordinary people in familiar activities, the meaning of war is brought to bear on the national community with whom readers could identify. Abstract war aims are thus made into something concrete and tangible, and the private domestic scale is vital in the translation.

11 See Chapter 6 for more on this topic in relation to the global scale and national identity.
12 The Four Freedoms appeared as an inside feature in the Post, accompanied by a written text on the theme by eminent authors. It was the illustrations, however, that received greatest acclaim, and as well as being reproduced in poster format for display in public places, the originals went on tour of the US to sell war bonds.
However, it was in more subtle ways that America's war aims were codified in articulations of the domestic scale, and it is with one such example typical of wartime images of the home that I will address the question of the articulation of American identities at the domestic scale. A story from November 28th 1942, entitled ‘Home is a Place’ by B. Forkenbrock, shows home to have ‘a new and deeper meaning’ in the face of war. The story is introduced as ‘the touching story of a mother who believed in the Army tradition that while the men are gone the women must take care of themselves and one another’. This sentence serves as much as an instruction to women about their expected duties on the home front as it does as an introduction to the story. The text goes on to tell of a woman, Mrs Kelburn, who, after following her army husband around the world throughout his career, finally attains a home of her own. She speaks emphatically of ‘her own room, in her own house. Her lovely room in the house she had planned for thirty years’ which was hers and not an army house. With war however, that utopia is threatened.

The privacy and independence that Mrs Kelburn achieved in her new home is tested by a request from the state to rent her house to the new ordnance plant workers. Despite demands placed on housing by war workers, Mrs Kelburn values her home too much and instantly refuses. Over the course of the story, however, her hospitality is called upon several times, especially by her sons serving in the army, and she agrees to take in her daughter, two daughters-in-law and their children. To do this for her family she requires a bigger house and decides to rent her house to the ordnance plant workers in return for an eight-bedroom house. She moves into the temporary accommodation, sacrificing the personal luxuries of her new, private home for ‘this ancient dinginess’, in an old, large, and run-down house. Nonetheless, she is satisfied knowing that she is supporting her sons, her son-in-law, and her husband, all serving on the frontline.

In this story, then, the domestic scale initially represents personal possession and independence in contrast to army housing that is temporary, impersonal, and rented. It is the place that Mrs Kelburn longs to be able to have as her own, to design and furnish its interior and to plant a garden of her favourite flowers. Furthermore, she sees it as a place for her family, a safe-haven for her children and husband, and a

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13 Mintz and Kellogg (1988) suggest that sixteen million servicemen and their families were relocated in wartime America and their housing demands placed severe strain on existing housing provision (pp. 151-176) Wallis (1997) discusses the impact of war on the mobile home industry as it played an important role in easing problems of housing provision.
place where they can feel secure. For the state, however, faced with housing shortages for war workers, the house is seen as property and provides a functional use for those involved in defending the nation. The story therefore begins by establishing two different meanings over the house, one that refers to the social value of the house as property.

From these values attached to home, the story provides the central character with a dilemma. On the one hand Mrs Kelburn has to balance her own needs and preferences with fulfilling her duty as a mother by protecting her family and supporting them all in this time of need. On the other hand, however, she needs to address the issue of being a responsible citizen and doing all she can to support the nation in its war effort. However, the author eases her dilemma by collapsing the family and nation into one. By serving the former, she also serves the latter. Thus, by sacrificing her personal (and seemingly selfish) attachments to the new house that she has recently occupied, by moving into a larger house she places the needs of her family and nation above her own. The domestic and the national are thus rolled into one for Mrs Kelburn, and the story thereby places the political situation of war in familiar terms. It demonstrates how protecting basic values of family-togetherness and self-sacrifice at the scale of the home has wider significance for the nation in time of war.

The story therefore outlines a role for women in wartime, but to convey this message of responsibility it relies on presenting the spaces of the homefront and the frontline as differently gendered. The domestic scale is depicted as a feminine domain and the centrality of Mrs Kelburn ‘keeping the home fires blazing’ and sheltering her daughters, daughters-in-law and grandchildren, associates the domestic with feminine roles of nurture, security and guardianship. However, while the matriarch ensures its safe-keeping, the men on the frontline engaged in combat are also concerned with protecting and preserving the home and in particular with preserving that image of the feminised home as a symbol of the American way of life. By gendering space in this way, the story again conflates the domestic scale of the home and the nation. Furthermore, it attributes certain responsibilities to those at home (and perhaps reading the Post in this relative comfort) to contribute to the war by serving the needs of men on the frontline. According to the Post, the happy homemaker, exemplified by Mrs Kelburn, accepts such responsibility and fulfils a vital role in protecting the home and the homefront.
In other stories in the Post, women serve their country in more than a homemaker role, and serve the homefront by conducting work outside the home. This would seem to oppose the idea that women’s (patriotic) place was in the home, but Honey demonstrates how both ideas in the Post complemented rather than contradicted each other. While the Post depicted women in jobs, their work continued to be seen as service to men on the frontline – ‘the backbone of, and breadbasket for the soldier abroad’ (Honey, 1984, p. 87). In short, a woman’s primary task was to serve her family and if she could find time to work this would be praised as a double duty in helping to ensure the future of the American family.

This accounts for the fact that towards the end of the war, the primacy of the home was made more explicit and women were depicted as desperate to return to a ‘normal’ life of domesticity. For example, in a story entitled ‘Mission for Henry’ by Robert Carson, on July 21st 1945, a female aeronautical engineer and pilot is shown to have done an excellent job during wartime. However, she is pleased when the soldier protagonist imagines her transformation into a homemaker: ‘I keep visualising you in a rose-covered back yard, wearing simple coveralls and designing a baby carriage with retractable wheels’. The distinction between home and work, the private and the public, feminine and masculine, continued to define the domestic scale and American identities associated with it. Similarly, advertisements showed women in a post-war world where they would take up full-time homemaking at the first opportunity and enjoy the fruits of their labours in the American home. A Briggs home-appliance advertisement, for example, showed a woman in factory overalls motivating herself to go to work every day by looking at a picture of the modern kitchen she would some day like to have. Thus, even in wartime when three million American women entered the workforce, the image promoted by the Post was of women committed to their jobs as homemakers and it was through this commitment that they represented the preservation of American values.

For men who did not go to war, however, they too had a role to fulfill on the homefront that demonstrated the reasons for America’s entry into war on behalf of the Allies, and thereby brought abstract war aims to bare on the everyday lives of average

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16 The pre-war labour force consisted of 14 million women, and this increased to 19 million during the war. Nearly half of All-American women held a job at some point during the war (Mintz and Kellogg, 1988, p 161)
Americans. Similar in style and idea to Rockwell’s *Freedom From Fear*, an advertisement for war bonds sponsored by US Steel appeared in the *Post* on December 19th 1942 and translated America’s war into a battle for the future of the home and the family (figure 3:1). The full-page advertisement shows a father leaning over his sleeping baby’s cot. It is Christmas Eve and a stocking is hung in the corner of the cot that has been filled with toys to which his father is adding war bonds, saying ‘You don’t know it son – but I’m giving you Christmas and the 4th of July’.

Despite the advertisement for war bonds, the scene depicted seems far from the realities of war. The peacefulness of the sleeping baby, the doting look of the father and his light touch on the baby’s hand, coupled with the father’s provision for the child’s future suggest a tenderness that is far removed from the images of battle. Similarly, the setting of the scene at Christmas also suggests distance from the war, with the understanding that life goes on as normal for this family with mother and grandfather picking out presents for the child. ‘The Christmas festival’, Mc Greevy, (1990, p. 32) argues, ‘is intimately linked to ... the notion of the home in America’ as home represents the most private utopian space furthest from the external world. When war renders that external world more intensely tumultuous, the home in antithesis seems increasingly serene. Here, the timing of the advertisement and its reference to Christmas intensifies the sense of home as a haven. In contrast, while the home is depicted as a place of serenity and childhood innocence, the sense of sacrifice and the horrors of war are also intensified.

Home and war, and hence the social world of which home is a part, become intimately linked in the advertisement through the purchase of war bonds, and the image of the domestic scale as a haven from the war becomes a symbol of what the war is aiming to preserve. The text to this advertisement opens by saying that the father has bought Christmas, the 4th of July, Thanksgiving, hot dogs, pink lemonade, ball games and twilight games – in short, the experiences that can be shared by a family that provide testimony to their national way of life. Hence, the meaning of war for this family is about defending family togetherness, particularly in celebrations of Christian and American festivals, but also family experiences of American life that ball games and catching fire flies represent. America is thus a family experience according to this advertisement, and the photograph supplies the emotional attachment to family unity that this message requires. Supporting the war is about supporting one’s family, in the same way that the government is aiming to secure the
While you were sleeping, young John J., I just went out and bought Christmas!

Bought the 4th of July, too, while I was about it.

And Thanksgiving—and hot dogs—and pink lemonade.

I bought those ball games we're going to see together. And the long quiet twilights when you catch fireflies and I cut the grass.

I bought a share in the right to continue the American way of life for your lifetime, sonny—and for generations to come.

I bought you a War Bond.

You won't know much about it when you wake up tomorrow morning. Your eyes will be watching the lights on the tree. Your hands will be reaching for that woolly lamb your Mother picked out for you, and the big red drum I just saw Grandpa smuggle down the hall.

But when you grow a few years older, little punkin', I believe you'll remember and be very, very glad that once upon a Christmas you and your Dad together bought a slice of today's—and tomorrow's—AMERICA!

**UNITED STATES STEEL**

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Figure 3:1  U.S. Steel advertisement, December 19th 1942.
future of the national family unit.

As well as securing family experiences that are representative of the American way, this advertisement also promotes a further aspect of Americana – consumerism. In the caption above the photograph, the father claims that he is ‘giving’ his son Christmas and 4\textsuperscript{th} of July, but in the text below the emphasis is on the word ‘bought’ and this is repeated several times. America and ‘the American way’ is not something one acquires according to this text, but something that is purchased and as such it requires work, industriousness, and thrift – qualities espoused by the \textit{Post} as a mark of American identity (Cohn, 1989). The purchase of a war bond therefore represents amicable qualities of hard-working Americans, but in turn will secure the future of America. The concluding paragraph confirms this faith in consumerism, stating that ‘once upon a Christmas you and your Dad together bought a slice of today’s – and tomorrow’s – AMERICA!’

In contrast to the previous story, where the security of home was maintained and characterised by women, in this advertisement the person providing security is a man. The father’s primary role is portrayed as breadwinner, and it is through this role that he is able to serve his family’s needs and support its future. By using his wages to buy war bonds, this man combines his campaign to preserve his family’s future with that of preserving the nation’s future and everything for which America stands. For a man not engaged in frontline combat, it was deemed necessary during wartime to demonstrate their masculinity by other means, and the breadwinner role served as confirmation of American men fulfilling their patriotic duties on the homefront.\footnote{See Jeffords (1996) for a discussion of war as a testing ground of masculinity.}

According to Griswold (1993, p. 2), ‘breadwinning has remained the great unifying force in father’s lives’. Thus, while the homefront is highlighted as a place worlds apart from war, through the articulation of the domestic scale this advertisement shows how men can support America by maintaining their roles as breadwinners and using their spending power to support American ideals. Home and nation thus become intertwined through masculine consumerism.\footnote{However, while men on the home front could use their purchasing power to buy family and hence national security, those without the funds to buy are unable to participate in the war effort or to support the values of American society at large. Hence, this advertisement defines America as a patriarchal society through the image of a father and his child, but implies exclusive membership of the national group by promoting consumerism as a badge of American identity for this white, middle-class father.}

\textbf{POST-WAR SUCCESS OF AMERICA(NNESS)}
Service to country and commitments to the home and family have been shown to be closely related during wartime, and in the years after the war the Post maintained this close alliance to demonstrate the personal (and national) benefits of maintaining strong family values. A cover illustration from September 24th 1954, depicts the rewards of personal hardship and sacrifice, hard work and commitment, in the form of a youngster going off to university for the first time (figure 3:2).

The scene depicts a young man awaiting the train with his father (a war veteran) and his dog that will take the youngster off to the State University. The father and son are sat on the running board of the ranch truck, while fields and stacks of hay glimpsed in the background and the ragweed under the truck suggest the setting of the scene is the ranch. At the side of the men rest an unlit gas lantern painted red, and a flag that will be used to stop the train on its journey through the ranch on the way to the city. While the young boy is dressed in his smart cream-coloured suit with an eager look and upright posture, his father is dressed in overalls, hunched over with a tired and almost unreadable expression on his face. The dog, however, reveals the sense of sadness and loss in its eyes that is so difficult to read in the father’s. The editorial to this cover suggests that the rancher is musing some quiet sentiments about his son and the misty-eyed collie is calculating how long it will be before the youngster returns for Thanksgiving Break.

The title to this cover is ‘Breaking Home Ties’ and hence suggests that ‘home’ is central to the story being told. Yet what is interesting is that the typical idea of ‘home’ as physical shelter is not seen. Neither is there a female character present in this image to draw the traditional association between women and the domestic sphere that have been shown to be important in wartime references to home. Rather, ‘home’ is suggested through things other than a material and feminine place, such as a place of emotional attachments that are intensified when home is to be left behind (cf. Sopher, 1979; Cooper, 1995). Family togetherness also represents home in this cover, and the setting of the scene on a ranch highlights the relative isolation of this family from the rest of society that has provided opportunity for a special bond to develop between a father and his son. Finally, the domestic scale is promoted as a

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19 In earlier sketches of this scene, the mother joins her husband to see off her son to university, but in the final version she has been removed. The pink ribbon tied around the student’s packed lunch may be a synecdoche of her presence, while the dog’s emotion may also demonstrate that of the absent mother’s. Nonetheless, in her absence, ‘home’ depicted in this cover is a male domain. See Rockwell (1994) for previous sketches of this cover.

20 Muntz and Kellogg (1988 pp 100-101) argue that farm life was characterised by a strong orientation
Family bonds and obligations were therefore important to the rural household and this cover illustration draws on this understanding to promote an image of Americans.
place where personal sacrifices are made and remunerated through pride, love, security, and success of one’s children.

The cover is a celebration of the rewards of hard work and sacrifice, and documents the personal (and American) success story ‘from rags to riches’. Mr. Rancher, for example, is dressed in denim overalls that softly fold to the shape of his body and reveal the extension of turn-ups, suggesting that they have worn thin and shrunk in size from repeated washing.21 His greying hair and muscular hands, his stooped posture and his unshaven face, finished off with a drooping cigarette that rests at the corner of his mouth, reveal the strenuous labour that has left this man fatigued. The bandana that protrudes from the rancher’s overalls, the sweat that flattens his hair on his forehead, and his tanned skin suggest difficult conditions in intense heat. In the background, their battered and broken truck, along with the dry earth and ragweed, provide clues to the rural setting of the scene that is neither romantic nor idyllic but is instead a place where life is hard and the battle against the elements is always tough. Finally, the war identity tag looped through the rancher’s top pocket suggests that this man’s hard work was also put to effect in the war on behalf of the country, and hence there is no doubt from the presentation of the rancher that he is a hard-working all-American man.

It appears also that these virtues have been passed on to his son. Like his father, he has large muscular hands that clutch the packed lunch for the journey. His tanned skin reveals that he has been working outdoors, while the small hat that his father holds over his own implies his ranching background. Although the suit looks out of place in this scene and is impractical for sitting on a truck, the boy assumes this position quite naturally and his rural upbringing thus permeate the ‘city slicker’ image. Evidence of the son’s diligence is presented in the books that the student has pre-read in preparation for classes, and hence the cover illustrates the role of the family and the ranch in raising this youngster to value qualities of diligence and commitment. In this cover then, the home has been the training ground for this youngster and an educating instrument in the development of the child into adulthood. The son has inherited virtues espoused by the rancher.

This image of home as the place of growth and childhood maturation, however, needs to be deciphered in the context of broader social and political events. For

21 See Webster (1988) for a discussion of denim overalls as an extension of the wearer’s identity
example, the sacrifices and hardships endured by this man have been conducted on behalf of his country. His wartime endeavours have been rewarded, however, with something much closer to home. Here we see the ability of this youngster and others like him to go to university, regardless of his class that elsewhere might have prevented him from enjoying that opportunity. The State University, this youngster's destination, offered cheaper fees to those wanting to obtain a university education who would have previously been excluded from the elitism of the private university system that rewarded money instead of hard work and ability. Education was therefore an important indicator of America's democratic system working in favour of those who were 'deserving' rather than those who could afford to pay for development. The post-war government also demonstrated its belief in assisting the deserving to obtain a university education through the GI Bill's provision of stipends for veterans to pay college and trade school expenses. Wartime sacrifices and access to education thus demonstrated national victory in postwar America, and the figures of increased university attendance from 1.5 million in 1939/40 to 3.5 million in 1959/60 suggest that university became more accessible to Americans (American Universities and Colleges, 1987, p. 5).23

This national phenomenon, however, is demonstrated through the personal experiences of a rancher and his son, and hence the domestic scale is shown as a microcosm of national society. In this cover, while the father has toiled on the land and his son has applied this principle of hard work to his studies, these have sent him on his way to university and a respectable place in society which will ultimately enable his membership of the middle classes. His clothes represent ascent of the social ladder, where his white suit contrasts with his father's blue overalls, thus making evident the transition from blue-collar to white-collar work that this young man will make. This move was a trend replicated across American society more generally, such that by 1960 the number of people engaged in white-collar work had for the first time surpassed those in blue-collar work (Issel, 1985, p.57). The youngster has donned a new set of clothes that reflect his new position, but the bright colours also reveal his freedom to express his identity. However, his progress is

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22 By 1950, for the first time State University student numbers exceeded those of private institutions (Vance 1987, p 445). See Etzioni-Halevy (1981) for a discussion of the role of the State University in America.

23 Education continues to be an important factor in assessing the attainment of national standards. In President Clinton's State of the Nation address in January 1998, he praised the global supremacy of the United States by citing 'the best education system in the world' as a measure of that success.
for the first time surpassed those in blue-collar work (Issel, 1985, p.57). The
youngster has donned a new set of clothes that reflect his new position, but the bright
colours also reveal his freedom to express his identity. However, his progress is
attributable to his parents and his upbringing, for it is through the home that he has
been provided with the right environment for both physical and social development.
In return for his parents’ exploits in wartime and on the ranch, he has been able to
make his own decisions to break his home ties and accrue the benefits of a university
education.24

The home in this illustration and in relation to the national and global scale,
therefore symbolises hard work and sacrifice, developing an idea from the time of the
arrival of the first settlers. Cohn argues that for pioneers the energy expended in work
and clearing and planting of land was rewarded by personal satisfaction of having a
private house to show for it.

As a man’s house was the most tangible of rewards, it became as well
the singular evidence of his diligence and frugality. Conversely, a
wretched house was a shameful symbol, proof of indolence or reckless
waste, of a life misspent. Furthermore, as America was conceived as
the land where diligence and thrift did not go unrewarded ... a man’s
obvious personal failure, his wretched house, was an assault on the
American ideal.

(Cohn, 1979, p.16)

This home, however, shows the non-material benefits of hard work and these are
manifested in the son’s departure to university. Equipped with noble qualities
impressed upon him by a supportive family and benefiting from opportunities
afforded to him by democracy won in World War Two, the rags to riches story is a
celebration of American life open to people from all classes who subscribe to the
principle of hard work and family life.25

24 The story told in the cover is particularly significant because two key men of postwar America –
Truman and Eisenhower – had followed the same path as Mr. Rancher’s son. Rising to their prominent
positions from agricultural backgrounds in midwestern states (Missouri and Kansas respectively),
the cover suggests that this youngster is potentially on his way to the same destination. In these cases,
however, it is the virtue of hard work instilled in rural children by their parents that provides them with
the solid foundations for later successes.

25 An advertisement for General Motors also suggested that immigrants could be assimilated into
American society through these commitments to hard work and the family. The advertisement shows
As well as presenting hard work, the domestic scale in the post-war Post was also shown as property that epitomised independence and success of the system of free enterprise. This belief had been endorsed by several American presidents before the war, such as Calvin Coolidge, who claimed that 'no greater contribution could be made to the stability of the nation, and the advancement of its ideals, than to make it a Nation of home owning families'. Similarly, Hoover, in his forward to the US Department of Commerce Publication entitled 'How to Own Your Own Home', stated that 'maintaining a high percentage of individual home-owners is one of the searching tests that now challenge the people of the United States’ because it was these home-owners who were ‘both the foundation of a sound economic and social system and a guarantee that our society will continue to develop rationally as changing conditions demand’. Franklin Roosevelt likewise believed in the stalwart force of a nation of home-owners, stating ‘A nation of homeowners, of people who own a real share in their own land, is unconquerable’ (Quoted in Duncan, 1981b, p. 126). Following the war, the same commitment to home ownership as proof of national superiority remained high on the political agenda. Representing everything America stood for—Independence, hard work, freedom, liberalism and consumerism—home ownership was given federal support. Favourable loans and mortgages, credit given to the building industry and tax relief to home owners, all contributed to promoting home ownership, while popular imagery fuelled the association between American identity and home ownership. The Post rendered in print this image of home ownership as a symbol of American identity, thereby using the domestic scale to make concepts such as free-enterprise and independence more tangible to American citizens.

This theme is represented in an advertisement for John Hancock Insurance that appeared shortly after the war had ended on October 25th 1947 (figure 3:3). In this advertisement, the American ideal of freedom is given material expression in the building of a house, while the heading ‘He gave freedom a house to live in’ implies that the house will both contain and nurture that freedom in the way a child is protected and nurtured by a family home. The advertisement shows a picture from the time of American independence, with men working to construct a wooden house in the country, with a dominant figure overseeing the work in the foreground who is holding a house plan in his hand. From the text below, we learn that the man is Asher Benjamin, a noted architect who affirmed a commitment to American design that set the New World domestic landscape apart from the Old. His designs, the
Asher Benjamin was a chubby two-year-old in Greenfield, Massachusetts when the American Revolution started. He never fired a shot in battle, but he did as much for independence as any man.

For Asher Benjamin wrote a book, a plain and wonderful book, that gave the countryside a new American look. He called it The Country Builder's Assistant. Into it he put everything a man would need to know to build himself a house good enough for a citizen of a new, free country.

It told a farmer or a handy town man how to lay his foundations strong and true... how to mix mortar and stucco... how to make the outlines shapely and pleasing... how to measure and fit and fasten.

It showed a country carpenter how to build a church that was a clean and quiet monument to God... or a meeting house where free men could speak and listen, argue and agree, in the American fashion.

There were friendly things in that book — big fireplaces where a man could take his ease after the day's work, and doorways full of charm and hospitality, and foyers that filled a room with dancing sunlight. Asher Benjamin knew what a house meant to a man—a place to live his own life, in his own way, content, gracious and secure.

The things that house means are the things America means. They are the good human values we affirm every time we put a rose into a ballot box, or put a coin into a child's bank, or put another dollar into life insurance for the independence of those who depend on us.

Figure 3:3 John Hancock Insurance advertisement, October 25th 1947.
advertisement claims, ‘gave the countryside a new American look’, and demonstrated Benjamin’s nationalistic mission to build good American dwellings for all citizens.\textsuperscript{26} The textual tribute to an American architect, and the dominance of his position in the picture above imply that Benjamin is a national hero and a man highly regarded in his profession.\textsuperscript{27} Home ownership is therefore a noble and patriotic act that all Americans should desire.

The setting of the scene in the past draws attention to the long history of American independence and home ownership. Asher Benjamin is eulogized as a founding father of American housestyles, and readers are made aware of home ownership in their national history. This advertisement’s depiction of the historical roots to that statement reinforces its conviction to the association between home ownership and patriotism. By presenting such a figurehead the association between home ownership and patriotism is humanized in the example of Benjamin, providing readers with a person who might serve as a role model for illustrating the value placed on the home as a symbol of American nationhood. Furthermore, a forefather indicates longevity of this value, suggesting that Americans would be continuing a long tradition by sharing these same values attached to home.

However, it is not just the image of the American forefather that demonstrates the link between the house and national identity, but the building itself. The advertisement claims that ‘the things a house means are the things America means’ because the house is ‘a place [where a man can] live his own life, in his own way, content, gracious and secure’. As such, living in one’s own home is a symbol of democratic freedom, where privacy is ensured to enable one to live freely and independently according to one’s personal predilections, and this in turn represents American identity.

The American home is thus promoted as a private place where freedom is secured. Rakoff (1977) suggests that this emphasis on freedom and independence in the private sphere provided a source of personal autonomy to house owners, particularly at a time when the world outside the home was so uncertain. ‘The single-

\textsuperscript{26} For more detailed accounts on Asher Benjamin and his contribution to American architectural design see Gowans (1976), Cohn (1979 pp 66-7) and Wright (1983, pp 26-29). In addition, see Benjamin’s original publications \textit{The Country Builder’s Assistant} (1797) and \textit{The American Builder’s Companion} (1806), which have gone through numerous reprints.

\textsuperscript{27} Cohn (1979) discusses the role of architects and particularly their professional status to provide credibility to house designs and their effects on promoting a positive American society. It was something that would become more relevant in 1950s America, when professional help and expertise was sought in all areas of life, such as raising children following Doctor Spocks ‘expert’ guidelines.
family detached house with its greater insulation from others is a particularly appreciated symbol of self-sufficiency and personal autonomy' he believed (p. 101-2). The home provided a place over which occupants had complete control to live their lives as they wished, and especially to decorate their homes according to personal taste. It follows that since the home represented independence in America, the exterior and interior designs represent a presentation of the self, for it is here that an individual is most able to be him- or herself.

By promoting the house as a source of a man's independence and freedom, the advertisement is drawing on an idea that had been held for some time in America. Thomas Jefferson had stated that 'the family that owned its own private house represented both the societal nucleus and the societal microcosm' because it was with property holders that democracy was best served (Cohn, 1979). It was also an idea endorsed by architect Frank Lloyd Wright both before and after World War Two in his ideas on the 'democratic house'. Wright envisaged the democratic house as a structure freed of sham in which the owner and his family would be themselves, free to realise their individualism. He suggested that such a democratic house would enable the occupants to become liberated for a self-discovery and self-expression, and thereby participate in the birth of a new social order (Wright, 1939). The house as a physical structure therefore symbolised freedom, but also protected and fostered that quality in its occupants.

However, the fact that home ownership means everything America means draws attention to its opposite - non-homeownership means un-American activity. Through its silences, therefore, the advertisement relies on relations to the global scale to provide meaning to the domestic. In the post war political climate, emphasis on Americanness was particularly important to quell any fears of un-American behaviour. Builder William J Levitt, for example, noted for his provision of affordable suburban housing, would claim in 1949 that 'no man who owns his own house and lot can be a Communist. He has too much to do' (Jackson, 1985, p. 231).

Having established the idea of home as a motif of America, the text concludes by comparing this with other national symbols, such as voting, saving money for a child,
and putting money into life insurance that should also be considered in antithesis to un-American activities. Into these American symbols is brought life insurance and this is made to appear an American tradition as much as house ownership, voting and frugality. By buying life insurance, it is suggested that those who are dependent on us (presumably ‘us’ refers to male house owners with a family, but the inclusive possessive pronoun is chosen wisely to promote universal identification) will be able to retain their independence. They will not become homeless should anything happen to the house owner, and therefore by definition will be able to remain independent and hence ‘American’. Home ownership and respect for freedom thus provide reasons why Americans should buy life insurance.

This positive image of home ownership used in this advertisement was typical of others in the Post that promoted household goods and services in postwar America. However, in society at large many still suffered acute housing shortages following World War Two, in which it was estimated 3,600,000 families were lacking their own homes in 1945 (Clark, 1986, p.196). The Post did not ignore this fact, though it did diminish its significance in its scant attention paid to housing problems. Nonetheless, an advertisement for Gold Bond in April 1947 suggests awareness of the problem and its impact on a young couple with a new baby. It shows a young couple and their baby who are looking for a place to live. It is suggested that they move in to the baby’s grandmother’s front parlor, but based on ideas discussed above, sharing accommodation (or renting for that matter) was proof of the failure or the refusal of the family to engage in sufficient industry and thrift to be considered worthy Americans. However, by using Gold Bond the advertisement claims they can convert their mother’s parlour into their own private apartment, thereby ensuring privacy and independence that American homes are supposed to symbolise. The home remains a place of freedom and democracy where self-expression is permissible and privacy is paramount. The traditional idea of the house as an expression of freedom is retained, despite the financial status of this couple. Gold Bond thus defines American identity through privacy and independence despite class differences.

From the discussion thus far it has been shown that wartime America and the postwar environment relied on the domestic scale to promote certain American qualities. Family togetherness, security, nurture, and independence are depicted through the domestic scale, but in the 1950s the association between home and nation would become paramount in the Post’s portrayal of American identities, and these
themes would manifest themselves more specifically in the image of the suburban home.

**AMERICA AT HOME IN THE SUBURBS**

Throughout the 1950s, the domestic scale was the predominant scale through which the *Post* communicated ideas of American national identities. Cohn (1995, p. 225), for example, says that *Post* covers of the 1950s 'celebrated marriage, the American family, and the prosperous new life of the postwar world'. She demonstrates this point through the Christmas covers in the 1950s which, formerly devoted to nostalgic or pious illustration, were now frequently domesticated. In 1950, for example, Constantin Alajalov painted a scene of a wife decorating the Christmas tree as her husband walks in through the door with another tree. Stevan Dohanos painted similar scenes, depicting a couple decorating the tree on the Christmas cover the following year, as did John Falter in 1957. Ben Prins in 1958 and Richard Sargent in 1953 showed scenes of presents on Christmas morning, where the celebration of domestic materialism appears to challenge the celebration of Christmas. A similar annual staple, the Franklin covers (of which I talk more in chapter five) also became more domestic in the 1950s. The Franklin cover, published around Benjamin Franklin's birthday in January, changed from the setting of a state room or library, to a more homely setting on the 1956 cover that showed a cup of tea, a decorated plate and several personal items lying on a desk at the side of a bust of Franklin (see figure 5:3 a and b). America, it appears from the *Post*, had gone home.

This interest in domesticity as a symbol of America in the *Post* was a trend reflected in American society at large. Statistics show that young adults married in unprecedented numbers, they married earlier than other twentieth century Americans, and they had more children and bore them faster. In 1940, for example, 42% of all women were married by the age of 24, but this figure had increased to 70% by the end of the 1950s; while the fertility rate rose 50% over the same period and produced a massive population growth rate or 'baby boom' (Mintz and Kellogg, 1988, p.179). Media and popular culture also reinforced the idea that marriage and a family were the only route for Americans. A popular advice book summarised the popular consensus: 'Whether you are a man or a woman, the family is the unit to which you most genuinely belong....The family is the centre of your living. If it isn't you've
gone far astray' (Mintz and Kellogg, 1988, p. 180). The *Saturday Evening Post* likewise supported this claim in the results of a questionnaire about the American woman. It suggested that 'Practically every one of the 1,813 women interviewed in this survey said that the chief purpose of her life was to be either a good mother or a good wife', and thereby centralised and normalised the importance of the domestic sphere (December 22nd 1962). New television shows became centred around the home and promoted family togetherness in a (suburban) home that supported a working father, stay-at-home mother and several children, such as those in *Amos 'n' Andy, I Love Lucy, Ozzie and Harriet* and *Leave it to Beaver.*

In addition to popular culture, family life was supported by the federal government, which provided assistance to builders and prospective homeowners for the financing of single-family homes. In 1949, for example, the federal government passed the Housing Act, which declared as its objective 'the realization as soon as feasible of the goal of a decent home and a suitable living environment for every American family' (Wright, 1983, p. 246). This act, as well as the Veterans Administration and the Federal Home Loan Mortgage Administration, combined with state and federal government policies encouraging highway construction, cheap automobiles and fuel prices, promoted movement of many middle-class Americans into the suburbs. As a result, the American suburbs 'reinforced the family orientation of society' (Mintz and Kellogg, 1988, p.184). The then vice-president, Richard Nixon, contributed to the political support for home ownership in his meeting with Kruschev in 1959. In what became known as 'the kitchen debate' Nixon stated that a family in the suburban home surrounded by consumer goods was the archetypal image of America.

Whether this was because the United States was more comfortable and secure following the Depression and World War Two, or because the United States was anxious about events threatening domestic politics, or because of both these reasons, is impossible to determine. What was certain, however, was the new emphasis on the suburban home where postwar prosperity and security were neatly defined as symbols of American culture. In the *Post* in the 1950s, the suburban home was the

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30 See Taylor (1989) for a discussion on television families in postwar America.
31 See May (1988) and Kozol (1996) for accounts of Nixon's contribution to fueling the idea that the suburban house represented all that was good about America in contrast to Communist nations.
prime location of the domestic scale, and it was there that American culture was best expressed. Suburbia was ‘the quintessential achievement of the United States, perhaps more representative of its culture than big cars, tall buildings, or professional’ argued Jackson (1985, p.4) and the Post provides testimony to this fact.

Although the Post suggested that America had moved to the suburbs in the 1950s, it relied on the same themes discussed previously to define both the domestic scale and American national identity. Family togetherness, femininity, security, child-centredness, a place that represents hard work and sacrifice, privacy, individualism and independence, remained critical to articulating the domestic. What was different about the 1950s images of home were the emphasis on independence and security that translated important political rhetoric into everyday language for Americans. An advertisement for Ford Motor Company on July 20th 1952 provides an example of the American identities made tangible through the suburban home (figure 3:4).

The advertisement was a double-page colour spread, depicting on the first page an illustration of an old cobbled street around the beginning of the century. It is summer, and the city residents -- mainly working-class children -- who are oppressed by the ‘sultry heat’ that is typical of inner cities, are being temporarily relieved by the refreshing spray of the fireman’s cold-water hose. The text recalls these turn-of-the-century days as a distant memory, but nonetheless a vivid memory when ‘the brooding deadly heat settled in again’. Aside from the temporary moment of excitement, city life was reportedly boring, with nothing much left to do except to get in trouble.

On the right hand side of the advertisement is a photograph of a contemporary suburban neighbourhood. There are houses with front lawns, driveways and garages, trees and well-kept borders and families enjoying the summer fun on the driveways and in their gardens. The caption beneath the photograph suggests that city dwellers moved out to the ‘cool tranquility of the suburbs’ where they sought ‘light, air and space’. Hence, taken together, the two images in the advertisement provide a ‘before’ and ‘after’ representation of American homes, with the latter dominating the double-page and portrayed as a progressive development from the former.

The advertisement presents the suburbs as an environment that is better than the inner-cities. It is safer, cleaner and more wholesome, but above all it suggests social progress not only of the individuals living there but also of the nation as a whole which is experiencing this national process of suburbanisation. The framing of the
Figure 3:4 Ford Motor Company advertisement, July 26th 1952.
two images helps to depict the suburban home as a place that is better, most notably because it is cleaner. The city is shown as a place of sultry heat where the "Chemical" puff ed great clouds of black smoke", and this description is complimented by the illustration of the city as a man-made environment of concrete. The vertical framing of the scene suggests compaction and congestion with no room for natural light or colours. In contrast, the suburbs are in the greenbelt, and the photograph shows green lawns, pale-coloured houses, and sunshine coming through the trees and onto the front gardens. The horizontal framing of the scene suggests the expanse of the light, airy, spacious suburbs where the houses sit nestled in a natural landscape. In this scene, suburban life is seen as something more natural than city life, almost organic, where the distinction between nature and the street is not easily made.

The advertisement also suggests that the suburban home is better because it provides a better place for raising children. In the urban slums "trouble breeds easily in slums or letdown neighbourhoods – wherever children are bored, and walled in. Then trouble comes as sure as Saturday night, when the patrol wagon parks waiting for its first load". The suburban home is presented as a place where children are free to play in a more wholesome environment. Rather than hoards of children playing together and leading each other astray as the early image shows, the suburb is a place for family activities, where adult supervision will control problems. For Americans socialised to believe that family life was the only way to live one’s life, a house in the suburbs where it was believed children would be happier was a reflection of personal commitment to the American way.34 A central feature of the suburban home, in contrast, is the idea of safety, suggested in the heading "escape to the green belt". This statement implies that the American city is troubled by heat and dirt that allegedly produce increased crime rates committed by juveniles.35 Among other factors, professionals blamed poverty, slum conditions, and a lack of parental discipline and control as factors contributing to the problem of child crime. They recommended that moving to the suburbs, to a cleaner and safer environment where

33 This was also the main feature of suburban life highlighted by early promoters of the suburbs in the late nineteenth century England (Gold and Gold, 1990)
34 Other advertisements in the Post also promoted this idea of family fun in the suburban home, such as the regular appearance of Westinghouse radio and Hammond organs advertisements in the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, that drew on the theme of the family to sell products
35 Oakley claims that this was a worry for many in mid-century America, when young offenders charged before a court increased by 45% between 1948 and 1953. Organised gangs on the streets of many of the larger cities committed most of these offences (Oakley, 1990, p 269).
family togetherness was at a premium, would ease children’s problems. The suburban home in this image illustrates these positive qualities that would ensure safer places for raising healthier, well-adjusted children.

The suburban home in addition is also considered a haven for adults. It provides ‘escape’ from the pressures of daily life, and hence provides a haven from the world. Furthermore, its physical distance from work, particularly for male breadwinners, separates the home form the public world and creates an image of a retreat from the outside. The advertisement thus promotes the home as a private family space.

However, this image of privacy and security cannot be divorced from the broader significance of security in the Cold War age. Rocked by suspicion of enemies beyond the nation and especially within, the home — in particular the suburban home - was considered the family’s protection against communism. May (1988) argues that this political threat of nuclear holocaust was an important dimension in promoting America’s flight to the suburbs. As the political watchword ‘containment’ (first coined by secretary of state George Kennan in 1946) signaled a desire to prevent the power of the Soviet Union and Communism from spreading into otherwise neutral nations, so at the domestic scale ‘subversive individuals could be contained and prevented from spreading their poisonous influence through the body politic’ (May, 1988, p.14). This idea of security in suburban homes was a notion publicised in the Bulletin of Atomic Sciences in 1951 that talked of ‘defense through decentralisation’. It argued in favour of depopulating the urban core to avoid a concentration of residences or industries in a potential target area for a nuclear attack. A home in the suburbs was therefore a part of America’s defense strategy that fused the domestic scale and national politics together. An advertisement for Caterpillar on the back cover of the Post in November 1957 spoke of this defense through decentralisation in its contribution to highway construction.

In addition to these properties, the suburb is also presented as a sign of social progress. The two images are set in different time zones, with the children’s dress and cobbled streets suggesting that the inner-city image is set around the turn-of-the-century, while the dress and the cars in the suburbs suggest a contemporary scene. The suggestion is that society has moved in time from the former to the latter in a natural state of evolution, with Ford cars enabling this process of transformation. This tendency to naturalise the process of suburbanisation is promoted in the advertisement’s denial of class. For example, while the suburban scene illustrates
In addition to these properties, the suburb is also presented as a sign of social progress. The two images are set in different time zones, with the children’s dress and cobbled streets suggesting that the inner-city image is set around the turn-of-the-century, while the dress and the cars in the suburbs suggest a contemporary scene. The suggestion is that society has moved in time from the former to the latter in a natural state of evolution, with Ford cars enabling this process of transformation. This tendency to naturalise the process of suburbanisation is promoted in the advertisement’s denial of class. For example, while the suburban scene illustrates the possession of material goods (particularly cars) and the financial capacity of these residents to take advantage of the suburban lifestyle suggests a climb up the social ladder, the advertisement does not see class as a social barrier. Instead, it suggests that all Americans or ‘the whole population’ is experiencing or is about to experience. Furthermore, the advertisement suggests that the capacity to move to the suburbs is not a feature of personal ability and will, but by virtue of the fact of being American: ‘The US is a nation in motion, to be an American is to move’. Thus, while the suburban home is hailed as a sign of progress, it is presented as a natural state of evolution towards social betterment that America has played a part in.

However, in this image of the liberal conservative American dream in which everybody is invited to participate, the advertisers place their product at the centre of this dream. They suggest that increased car registrations (from 26 million in 1945 to more than double that figure by 1955) necessitated the construction of more and better roads (Jackson, 1985). Indeed, the effects are unquestionable since just four years after this advertisement appeared the federal government passed the Interstate Highway Act, promising a 90% subsidy of the construction of highways and interstate roads. Over the next ten years, 41,000 miles of freeways would be built making suburban living more amenable. However, studies of the federal road building programme suggest that federal government was not necessarily responding to demand from car-users, but was building roads strategically for defense purposes (May, 1988). Nonetheless, by associating its product with the social betterment of America, Ford promotes its cars as facilitators in the campaign against social ills on the national and international stage.

Other places besides the suburban home were also depicted in the Post in the golden age of domesticity that exhibited characteristics of American identities. Rural farmsteads continued to be depicted as places where independent farmers continued
mainly confined to cover illustrations, and advertisements rarely used this scene for promoting goods.

Mobile homes also featured in the Post as acceptable forms of living. Although some critics have argued that mobile homes were offensive and threatening because ‘trailentes’ abdicated their community responsibilities, the cover illustration on February 2nd 1952 for example, shows ‘trailentes’ in a different light. Rather than a mass-produced, impersonal dwelling on a temporary lot that Wallis (1997) argues were products of market demand for cheaper housing, this couple personalise their private space while promoting care of the community environment in the tending of their garden. In the care taken to beautify their home, this couple demonstrate their commitment to independence and privatism that were identified earlier as valued American qualities. Similarly individuality, privacy and security of the mobile home are promoted in an advertisement in 1952, that describes these homes as ‘private’, friendly, and relaxing places, while another advertisement in 1959 commented on the mobile home as a symbol of modern living with all the latest equipment. However, although mobile homes were shown as characteristically American these examples showed them as places for the elderly, for defense workers, and for a childless couple, and hence they were not for family groups that the suburbs exhibited.

In contrast to private, detached dwellings, apartment living had been castigated in early twentieth-century America, particularly by the middle classes, as a place that encouraged communist sentiments, and adversely affected the development of children. The apartment became a scapegoat for larger social problems in the 1920s, such as rising divorce rates, the declining birth rate, premarital sex, and the social and economic disparities between rich and poor (Wright, 1983, p.151). These criticisms would be difficult to counter as long as the problems continued, and as long as America remained a child-centred society as it did after the Second World War. In this period apartments were criticised as places for second-class citizens, where family life was destroyed by cramped conditions, and hence as places that rejected the national commitment to the family unit (Hancock, 1980). It is surprising, therefore, that the apartment was portrayed in the Post as a place where positive associations were made between American identity and the domestic scale (though with

37 Although mobile homes housed up to 10% of the US population over the course of World War Two and the immediate aftermath, it is surprising that little has been written on them in histories of American housing. One exception is Wallis (1997), who discusses the pro-anti mobile home dichotomy in more detail
exceptions). They were shown as places of fun and entertainment, and where apartment dwellers could enjoy the privacy of their own space while benefiting from the creation of community that living in close proximity facilitated. A cover from April 30th 1944 for example shows a group of people having vacated their apartments to join a card party in their neighbour’s apartment where all are engrossed in the fun. In a story from April 5th 1947, a man buys an apartment in Manhattan so that his family – a wife and older daughter in her late teens - can be together during the week when he works in the city. He maintains his house in the country for weekend retreats, and so despite being traditionally associated with destroying family life this apartment is a place that supports it. Furthermore, while apartments were considered as places for second-class citizens, this man is a successful businessman whose apartment and its address symbolise wealth and status. The Post, therefore, provides an optimistic image of apartment living conducive to supporting American ideals of family happiness and independence.

Apartments in the 1950s, however, were also criticised in the Post as places that were not conducive to children’s development and hence showed the failings of apartments as emblems of national identity for the magazine. A cover illustration from March 7th 1953, for example, shows a real estate agent showing a couple around a new apartment as he looks unfavourably at their young son who is carrying a catapult in his pocket that is assumed will be used for mischief. Likewise, the cover on April 19th 1958 suggests apartments are not suitable for children. It depicts a group of people living in separate apartments and each resident is suffering from the noise being made by a youngsters playing his trumpet in an adjacent apartment. Freedom is clearly denied these other residents, despite the youngster’s happiness.

However, in the cover on June 6th 1958, instead of the nuisance of children to other residents in an apartment building this shows the effects of cramped living conditions on a child’s playtime. The cover shows a girl flying her kite, but she is unable to enjoy the full effect because she has to fly it from her small apartment balcony above the city street. The Post suggested that apartments and children did not go well together, and this was an argument well rehearsed in mid-century America when it was believed apartments destroyed family life and were not the proper place to bring up children. For singles and older families who also had a home in the country, however, they could represent favourable qualities of independence.
and status, and hence were part of the *Post's* American scene.\(^{38}\)

The Post also discussed alternative living arrangements for elderly people. On October 24\(^{th}\) 1959, for example, the *Post* ran a feature on a co-operative post-retirement village in Oregon. However, while post-retirement housing can suggest institutionalisation and communitarianism that characterise communism more than democracy, the article emphasises freedom and security in this complex. The article demonstrates the meaning of these abstract terms ‘freedom’ and ‘security’ through describing ‘this miniature city’ as a place where ‘residents may play games, participate in educational programmes, pursue hobbies in special shops, patronize the library, lounge in lounges or isolate themselves, ... travel or stay at home, attend any church of their choice or none’. Freedom of choice is granted the residents and therefore they are exercising their American right to freedom rather than living a communal life. The article also claims that residents continue to work when they live there, thus maintaining the hard-work ethic, and since the apartments cost anywhere from $7,500 to $20,000 they are also consumer goods that serve a capitalist system that America supports. Privacy is perhaps the most important concern of the article, and it is said that residents ‘choose their own type and size of apartment and furnish it with their own things’, while in another paragraph it is said that ‘within each apartment, life to the occupants is as private and individual as to apartment dwellers in Manhattan, Minneapolis or the *Vieux Carre*’. To reinforce the point, the author states that ‘residents generally refrain from too frequent invasion of one another’s apartments’.

It is clear from the article that it is possible to maintain all the American values attached to home - such as freedom, security, independence, privacy and so on - despite not living in a private single-family detached dwelling.

Even urban houses, such as brownstones, could be shown to exhibit American qualities, particularly of family togetherness in difficult times. A story from November 30\(^{th}\) 1957 for example, tells of a young Brooklyn girl’s short and superficial love affair with an affluent man from upstate New York who comes to stay on Park Avenue at his aunt’s home. The girl is shattered by his rejection after a short courtship, but with the support of family and friends at home she discovers true love with the boy next door. Similarly, a wartime cover illustration depicted a homecoming G.I. on May 26\(^{th}\) 1945 who was returning to a brownstone tenement.

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\(^{38}\) See Hancock (1980) for debates concerning apartment residences and American identity.
building where his family is delighted at his return. Home here represents love and security through the family group that war had threatened for several years.

However, the articulation of the domestic scale did not necessarily rely on the setting of a building or shelter. It was also demonstrated through activities and in particular through images of the family unit. When covers were photographed in the 1960s, it was people in the frame rather than the physical setting that were important. The domestic scale was demonstrated mostly through photographs of family groups, such as the image of the Iranian royal family on the cover on April 14th 1962, and Liz and Richard Burton with their son on the cover on October 9th 1965. A cover for the special issue on ‘The American Woman’ showed a photograph of a mother holding her young daughter, with no clue to the setting of a place.

The discussion thus far has shown how the domestic scale was the staple of the Post in the 1940s and especially the 1950s, and that this was used to define American identity through concepts such as freedom, democracy, independence, free-enterprise and security. The domestic scale provided the medium through which these abstract definitions of nationhood could be given tangible form. Alongside this ideal, however, ran a concurrent (though less common) theme that hinted at the problems of the American Dream and the ambivalence of what it represented. This emerged in the 1950s, but by the late 1960s the domestic scale had slowly become less significant in the Post. It is to this ambivalent image that I now turn

DOMESTIC DISHARMONY AND NATIONAL DISENGAGEMENT

If the American home represented independence, the epitome of which was the suburban home, for many this was not the case. The suburban home received intense criticism for a variety of different reasons, not least of which was the similarity of the settings. ‘Little boxes made of ticky tacky, ... Little boxes all the same’ the famous song went in 1964, suggesting bland and meaningless creations devoid of character (Reynolds, 1964). Journalist John Keats likewise ridiculed suburban life and the politics that had created such developments in his novel ‘The Crack in the Picture Window’:

For literally nothing down...you too can find a box of your own in one of the fresh-air slums we’re building around the edges of American
cities...inhabited by people whose age, income, number of children, problems, habits, conversation, dress, possessions and perhaps even blood-type are precisely like yours...[They are] developments conceived in error, nurtured by greed, corroding everything they touch, they...actually drive mad pyramids of housewives shut up in them.

(Keats, 1957)

Suburbs, according to Keats and critics like him, rather than places where independence could be truly expressed, were instead the hallmark of a homogenised society. As such, they represented totalitarianism and communitarianism that defied the American democratic system. A cartoon from the Post depicts this homogeneity in a humorous light, but nonetheless identifies a definite problem with one aspect of the American Dream (figure 3:5).

Figure 3:5 Cartoon, October 10th 1947
Despite attempts to personalize the private home with external decoration, the cartoon shows that the rest of the neighbourhood follows to maintain the same status where image means everything. This negative portrayal of the domestic scale, although not predominant, was nonetheless a visible presence in the Post's articulation of the domestic scale.

'Keeping up with the Joneses' was seen as another aspect of suburban life that shattered the image of the American dream. Cover illustrations, for example, showed in humorous light the families who were shunned by neighbours for shirking their responsibility to maintain high standards of gardening. A book published in 1950, The Lonely Crowd, also highlighted the problems of conformity in suburbia, while The Organization Man (1955) talked of dissatisfied executives and middle-level managers who found no refuge in suburban homes while they were faced with more pressures to conform and their individuality was denied. Rather than representing democracy, freedom and individuality, the suburban home was instead a prison-house where these qualities were denied.

The American home was also a place that represented security from natural, social and political ills, but a story from July 15th 1967 suggested that it was a place of insecurity and vulnerability despite (and perhaps even because of) a suburban location. In this story a home in Beverly Hills - the prototype of suburban metropolis - is a place of crime and corruption rather than the archetype of the safe family haven. 'The Girl Who Takes Risks' by Theodore Taylor tells how a former Allied spy in the Second World War and now chief of detectives in California, is investigating a series of burglaries. He sees parallels between the crimes in Los Angeles and the type of work that he and his colleagues did during the war, and suspects that one of them might be involved. Discovering that his former lover, Ducie - 'an exceptional spy' who worked with him during the war and described in the title as a risk-taker - is still alive and living in Los Angeles, he fears that she may be responsible for the thefts.

The story thus establishes two scenarios where similar undercover activities represent patriotism on the one hand, but an act of deceit and corruption on the other, depending on the different contexts of wartime and peacetime. The setting also

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39 Cover illustrations depicting the conformity theme of the suburbs include 2/5/53; 9/4/55, 14/5/55; 18/5/57; 12/4/58, 15/4/59
establishes this paradox, with legitimate spying in the war being conducted from an inner-city hideaway in a place traditionally associated with crime, while this illegal activity takes place in the suburbs and a place conventionally considered safe and secure. The suspicion that a woman is also involved in these crimes similarly disrupts the stereotypical image of gender norms where illegal activities (and dangerous intelligence work during the war) are considered the domain of men. Nonetheless, despite the disruptions to convention, the story finally re-establishes the traditional image of the suburbs as a safe-haven for family respectability. When the police move in to arrest the thief they discover that he is the husband of the suspect, while she is safe at home. Three months later, another story was published in the Post that depicted the suburban home not as a safe haven but as a place of crime. This time the crime was kidnapping, and since the crime involved the abduction of three children and subsequent murder of one of them, the traditional association of familial happiness in the safety of the suburban home is shattered ('Kill Three' by Milton Schulman, October 21st 1967).

I suggested in the previous section that the American house was expected to display the status of its owner, and by extension represented the social attainment of the nation. However, an undercurrent ran in the Post that suggested this was a sham. A story called ‘End of Marriage’ by Nella Gardner White, from April 15th 1957, demonstrates the false image that suburban homes portrayed. The narrator and his wife live in a suburban home that on the surface reflects the American Dream, but underneath is a shallow existence of a couple bored with the monotony of life and conforming to expectations:

My house will shine, my fires will burn; I shall eat good food, served with charm on food dishes on a polished table; I shall sleep under soft clean blankets and go to my unexciting job day after day, come home to comfort and this silence where nothing gets said and never will get said now. That’s the way we are.

The other people in the story likewise fall short of realising the American Dream, despite the surface appearance of its attainment. George Lemon is ‘at heart a very simple man’ but lives a successful life ‘for his family’ rather than by choice or for himself. Doctor Cather is a physics professor and ‘a tired man who never has enough
money or time’ and is married to an invalid wife. Mark, on the other hand, ‘is a bird of bright plumage’ and he and his wife Kathy provide the pleasures that the older men’s lives lack. In time, however, Kathy becomes demoralised with her life in the suburbs away from the life she had enjoyed before as part of an affluent family, and the couple separate. This devastates the men, as much as Mark: ‘it was our loss of some bright dream’ the narrator says, thus equating the couple’s dream with theirs and indeed a large majority of the rest of society. Material possessions and financial success that suburban homes epitomised proved meaningless and empty for these characters, and could not secure the happiness and well being that was supposed to come with home life.

The domestic scale was also shown to demonstrate a patriarchal society of a breadwinner father and stay-at-home mother, but occasionally the magazine suggested that this restricted women’s freedom to go out to work. In a cover illustration on September 19th 1959, Constantin Alajalov shows what happens to a woman who dreamt of a life as a housewife and what happened to her dream when she attained it. It is a double-page cover, which on the first page shows an overworked woman in an office dreaming of a happy home life where she is doing the dishes with her husband. On the other side of the cover the reality shows a woman at home piled up with dirty dishes while her husband relaxes in the background. In this image, the young woman’s dream is now to be back at work where she can be in her own office. Home, for women, did not always offer freedom and independence that the Post had earlier implied.

In addition to these occasional contradictions to the Post’s positive portrayal of the domestic scale, the later 1960s showed that the domestic scale no longer held the important role it once had as a symbol of American national identities. Cover illustrations from the later 1960s show that while the domestic scale had once been central to images of family togetherness where the physical structure of the home provided a cocoon-like protection, in the later 1960s this setting was not included in images of the family. A cover for a special issue on ‘The American Family’ on July 13th 1968 illustrates this shift, showing Post images of the family since the 1940s. Although covers from previous decades depicted the American family in the suburban home in the 1950s, and the small-town downtown street in the 1940s where the domestic scale is much in evidence, in the contemporary photograph the family is shown enjoying themselves sailing. Freedom, independence, and consumerism are
portrayed not through place but are expressed through leisure pursuits, entertainment and excitement.

Similarly, advertisements that once displayed goods in the home as icons of consumerism no longer relied on the setting to promote their goods. A Panasonic television set in an advertisement from October 21\textsuperscript{st} 1967 was depicted at the beach rather than in the home as previous advertisements had shown. The setting suggested the fun of watching television, but it no longer drew on notions of family togetherness or the home to achieve that fun. Similarly, Motorola advertised their television set the following month by diminishing the space around the product to promote the item itself rather than the lifestyle it was to support. The screen showed a rocket ship taking off, and the text added to the suggestion of space-age technology used to make the product the latest in television design. The television was thus being promoted as a product that symbolised modernity rather than domesticity. America, it seems, had left home and, as other chapters will show, had moved to other scales to represent American national identities.

It is difficult to determine the reason for this disengagement between the domestic scale and national identity. However, the preference of modernity over domesticity in the previous example suggests a concern with promoting America as the forerunner of the high-tech age. The 1960s were the period of the start of the space age, when America's campaign against Communism had been transferred to outer-space and men were about to walk on the moon. It was a far cry from Nixon's 'kitchen debate' that suggested Americans and Soviets might fight over what type of house to buy. In this context, the traditional association of the domestic setting with stability and containment was both primitive and conservative.

Similarly, other social changes, including those at the \textit{Post} itself, suggest that the domestic ideology was out of place in a rapidly changing society and in a magazine attempting to shed its traditional past. The 1960s, according to Abrahamson (1996) were challenging times that represented a profound socio-cultural value shift away from socially-defined and toward self-defined organising principles. Domestic ideology, with its emphasis on stability and conformity represented a cause of social discontent, and in this social climate it lost its primary role as a familiar medium for defining identity. Meanwhile, the \textit{Post}, in trying to keep abreast of the changing times, similarly refocused its attention on different geographical scales for the articulation of nationhood. It promised to be 'the freshest voice to be heard in the
land' and to beat to the social rhythm of 'prestissimo' (advertisement, New York Times, September 7th, 1961), and in pursuit of this aim the domestic scale no longer seemed functional.

CONCLUSION

The Saturday Evening Post reveals a close association between the domestic scale and American national identity. This link had been established in earlier colonial days and the Post draws on these previous discourses to demonstrate that throughout most of the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, the domestic setting served as the popular manifestation of abstract American concepts such as freedom, democracy, independence, liberty, and security, and illustrated how these could be attained through consumerism. The domestic scale was set in a variety of different locations, from the ranch to the apartment, from the mobile home to the post-retirement community, but the suburban home was revealed by the Post as the most representative of American society.

Over the course of the first half of the Cold War, the readers found in the Post a tangible source for combining pictures of domesticity with American political rhetoric that promoted affiliation with the American national community. The domestic scale was particularly important in the Post's definition of America, and it is its bridging of the private and the public world that I have shown renders its significance in calls to American identity. By presenting familiar scenes with familiar characters the magazine promotes identification with an imagined community of readers also assumed to be identifying with the stories presented in the magazine. Similarly, by using familiar scenes and settings the Post was able to give tangible form to concepts of national identities through the domestic scale. However, social changes necessitated editorial changes and demanded that the domestic scale no longer represented what America meant. In a nation obsessed with materiality and status the home was not necessarily a place for individuals to express their freedom but was instead a competitive place where neighbours created pressure to conform. In a world beset by crime, the home was also no longer shown to be a safe haven. It was a place of false hopes and shattered dreams that prevented personal happiness rather than providing it. Finally, however, this disenchantment with the domestic scale was shown to promote disengagement between the domestic scale and national identities,
particularly in the later 1960s. The traditional association of the domestic scale with conservatism and stability was no longer appropriate in a nation entering the space-age and challenging conformity. National identity, it seems, could best be articulated at different, more pertinent geographical scales.
CHAPTER 4

'THE MICRO COSMIC PRESENTATION OF COSMIC EVENTS':
THE LOCAL SCALE

In a contemporary travel guide designed to entice British students into 'the undiscovered continent', the United States is described as a mixed and varied continent with [O]rchards in Oregon, farming valleys in Vermont, pre-Columbian Indian settlements.... Then there are the cities, the hubs of late twentieth century America: Los Angeles an exploding star, San Francisco riding on a sea of hills, New York a concrete canyon, Chicago scraping the sky with the longest fingers in the world, Houston a port and rocket centre, New Orleans blowing jazz across the Mississippi....In between is the 'heartland', thousands of small communities each with its own distinctive character and way of life.

(Crew and Ludlow, 1997, p. 3)

Each of these places, the guide suggests, is a 'slice of America'. Each conveys a particular quality that makes them distinctive, but taken together they make up 'the American experience' that readers are assured 'a lifetime of sitting in front of a television set' will not even remotely convey to you (should you be considering this a viable alternative to travelling!). It is these cities and small communities therefore – the local scale - where visitors are encouraged to 'discover America'. Similarly, this chapter will consider the local scale as spaces within which American identities are articulated. Rather than attempting to 'discover' America, however, my aim is to demonstrate how the nation is expressed through the local scale. In other words, how the hubs of America and the thousands of small communities are articulated in representations of American national identities.

THE LOCUS OF THE LOCAL
The label I ascribe to this scale of study is rather difficult to define, not least because it is difficult to conceptualise. However, the local should be thought of as something larger than the domestic scale, but smaller than the nation, and hence as the scale that mediates between the domestic and the national. Between these scales geographers have worked with a variety of categories that relate to geographical spaces: the neighbourhood, the city, the rural area, the urban, and so on. The local scale, however, does not attach itself exclusively to any one of these geographical structures, but can relate to all of them and hence provides conceptual difficulties. For example, the term 'the local' is rarely used in the United States in the same sense that a British person might refer to his or her 'local' as the pub frequented most often; nor would an American discuss the local authority as the administrative body of local government, instead they would talk of the town or the county. For purposes of this research therefore, while I use the term local scale I have drawn close parallels with the concept of community, which is more widely understood in American society and more seriously contemplated in literature on American society. I do not suggest that these terms are interchangeable, but that to understand how American identity has been associated with the local scale the community is an important part of this story.

I use a traditional sociological definition of community that has three component parts: territory, people and emotional ties. In the first instance, a community exists territorially, and although the size of the territory is not given, sociologists have assumed a localised or microcosmic example of the larger society (Bender, 1978, p.5). Thus, Eyles has conceived of community as ‘the total organisation of social life within a limited area’ (Eyles, 1985, p. 60).

Yet the definition of community also requires people to construct and to ascribe meaning to a place. Hence, community is something that is experienced by people collectively, and it is in the shared activities of individuals that a community is created. MacIvor and Page (1961, p. 9) therefore argue that community is ‘an area of social living marked by some degree of social coherence’.

Finally, community also has emotional salience because it is through affective or emotional ties, an agreed sense of ‘we-ness’ that specify who is a member and who is

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1 Despite these various labels provided by geographers, in the literature on scale researchers have been led by Smith (1993b) who has discussed this scale in terms of ‘the urban’. However, this term fails to take into consideration the variety of places that do not fit neatly into a conventional definition of the urban area.

2 See Anderson (1983) for a discussion of community territory that is national in scope.
not, that social coherence is attained. A sense of loyalty and interdependence thus binds a community together, and while Eyles (1985) considers this a loyalty to place, others have considered loyalties to sports teams (Fine, 1979), to workmates, to class consciousness (Cohen (ed.) 1986), to religion (Hamm, 1987) and to ethnic categories (Eade, 1989), as ties that bind a community together. Taken together, therefore, the term community is understood to mean 'an aggregate of people who share a common interest in a particular locality' (Bender, 1978, p.5). The geographical, the sociological, and the psychological qualities of the term are therefore interdependent, and these are important in my consideration of the social construction of the local scale.

The term community, however, also poses a problem because when we speak of community we can be referring to a variety of sizes of geographical areas. It is possible to speak of a collection of houses and streets as a community, while we can also refer to the Christian community or the academic community as a global phenomenon. However, by considering the community in the context of the local scale, territoriality is given greater consideration. The term local, deriving from the Latin word *locus* meaning place, has been considered by Massey (1993) as the context within which social action takes place, and hence where community is experienced. Thus, rather than the 'imagined community' of which Anderson (1983) talks, the local scale is a community that is characterised by face-to-face meetings, and it covers an area that is more likely to have been visited by people belonging to the local community.

While this provides a working definition of the local scale, it is important to stress that it is the *Post’s* articulation of the local, and hence the magazine's interpretation of its meaning, that has guided my definition of the scale. Furthermore, like other scales discussed in different chapters of this research, the local scale is articulated not only by processes and activities operating at the local scale, but also in association with processes at geographical scales both smaller and larger than the local.

**LOCAL SCALE COMMUNITY IN AMERICAN THOUGHT**

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3 This section relies heavily on Bender (1978), especially chapter three, which provides one of the few studies of the social history of community in America. To a lesser extent, Wiebe (1979) and Higham (1974) have also been instructive.
Throughout history, the United States has exhibited an enormous variety of communities that have been shaped by different cultural, social, economic and political processes. Yet for all their abundance, the relationship between the local scale and national identity has not been straightforward or static, but has shifted between on the one hand the local as isolated and separate from the nation, and on the other hand, the local as distinctive but integrated into a woven patchwork of multiple communities that unite to form the nation. Etzioni (1996) describes this as the balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces, where tending towards strong centrifugal forces encourages the community to become inward looking, while excessive centripetal forces encourage communities to become indistinguishable links in a national chain. Histories of American communities show that a balance between these two extremes has been sought, attempting to create a patchwork of places stitched together to form the national quilt (Bender, 1978). As I will show, it has not always been such an easy task to accomplish.

When settlers first arrived to colonise America, 'the whole of life was framed by a circle of loved, familiar faces, known and fondled objects' (Bender, 1978, p. 60). At this time there was no centralising institution within America, but instead local communities ordered and governed themselves separately and relied upon shared commitment to the community to ensure societal uniformity and cohesion. This flexibility, however, ensured that people could come and go quite frequently, and many settlers moved on to two or three settlements in quick succession until they found a village made up of like-minded men and women. This sifting of people through the social system promoted a multitude of diverse towns but ones that were composed of tightly integrated residents who chose to settle there.

The local area united its community through economic, political, social and religious connections. Economically the town would trade with neighbouring places, but it was generally self-sufficient in day-to-day goods for the survival of its population and traded in certain products with neighbouring communities. Politically, the local area provided the basic unit of political representation through public discussion and consensus. The town meeting was characteristic of the New England town, for example, providing the centre of political life for early settlers, and enduring as part of the national iconography to symbolise the model democratic community in America (Meing, 1979; Arsenberg, 1955). In addition, the town usually had one religious belief to which the residents were devoted, and through a shared
commitment to the Church, the local community found mutual principles by which to conduct their lives. The separation of church and state from early in the colonial period added to this religious commitment to the local scale. Thus, 'colonial America was a heterogeneous culture made up of homogeneous and largely isolated individual units' (Bender, 1978, p.69), where the local community provided the place around which social life was organised (Zelinsky, 1994).

Over the course of the colonial period and up to the Revolution, America became increasingly mobile as more settlers moved from overseas and on to new settlements. This dislocation caused local life to become more pronounced, for it was in the local area that settlers found a support mechanism in their period of adjustment to a new place. As settlers moved west, communities continued to provide unique opportunities, but ties to other places were weakly retained where family members still remained.

At the same time, older towns continued to grow where land permitted, but these became increasingly heterogeneous. Towns would be divided into quarters for ease of political governance, while each quarter could develop its own distinctive sub-community or 'neighbourhood' within the larger town. The local area of the town, therefore, supported the development of sub-group communities, but demonstrated how these could co-exist within the bounds of the larger whole. The fragmented town was also increasingly heterogeneous, and hence grew distanced from more homogeneous provincial cultures in the smaller and newer communities. Throughout this period, local communities in larger towns and provincial centres all remained unique, with little reflection on their relationship with each other.

With the Revolution and the granting of national independence to the United States of America in late eighteenth century, local units of life were brought under the aegis of the state. Brown (1974) suggests that new institutions at this time encouraged national perspectives of townspeople, such as national improvement societies established in towns:
Localism and insularity were being challenged, if not actually destroyed. People remained bound to the old organisations of family, church and town, but they now possessed additional ties, links that brought them outside their family, neighbourhood, and congregation and into contact with strangers.

(Brown, 1974, p. 42-3).

Yet, according to Adams (1955), the local area remained the primary orientation of social life for its members, while Zelinsky (1994) suggests that the small size and limited scope of activity of the federal government ensured the primary importance of the local community. Indeed, in 1835 Alexis de Tocqueville marveled at the way Americans united together in local communities for shared endeavours:

Americans of all ages, all stations of life, and all types of disposition are forever forming associations. These are not only commercial and industrial associations in which all take part, but others of a thousand different types — religious, moral, serious, futile, very general and very limited, immensely large and very minute. Americans combine to give fetes, found seminaries, build churches, distribute books, and send missionaries to the antipodes. Hospitals, prisons, and schools take shape this way.... In every case, at the head of any new undertaking, where in France you would find the government or in England some territorial magnate, in the United States you are sure to find an association.

(Quoted in Freedland, 1999, p. 93).

What had changed since colonial times, however, was that these intricate webs and social bonds were no longer predominantly centrifugal forces but also centripetal, tying together the young country.

Higham (1974) suggests that a republican ideology was responsible for the unifying of local communities. Republicanism espoused abstract ideals of liberty, democracy and virtue — ideals that were to shape and to characterize American society in the early republic — but it suggested that these could be exercised through
deep attachments to the local community. Rather than centralize power in the fashion of the British colonial regime, under which America had suffered, the new republic sought to invest some of that power with the people in local communities. Drukman (1971) also argues that the sheer size of the United States demanded an alternative to central government because this was infeasible in a country the size of America. Decentralisation of power was not only considered more democratic but it was thought essential in such a large nation that would swell to continental proportions.

In the new republic the local community would ensure individual rights and freedoms on behalf of the federal state through the imposition of local government, and in return, commitment to the community by the people would suggest patriotic affinity with the state. Thus, the institutionalisation of a federal government did not draw Americans out of their basically local orientation of life, nor did it call forth a national society. Rather, by placing power with the people rather than the central government, a continued localisation of American life was encouraged. Hence, ‘the enhancement of national values and institutions occurred in tandem with the strengthening of local ones’ (Bender, 1978, p. 95).

This local, decentralising initiative is written into the founding document of the republic. The Tenth Amendment of the Constitution insists ‘The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively or to the people’. Local areas, therefore, have full power over everything, unless stated otherwise. Underpinning the idea of the Tenth Amendment was the view that local government was more natural because it was closer to the people, but in this case more natural meant more democratic because diffusion of power enabled decisions to be reached among citizens of the republic rather than within the confines of a central body. The local scale thus demonstrated liberty, equality, democracy and freedom, which the Constitution set in stone. It was at the local scale therefore that American liberalism would be practiced and the local scale thereby came to be considered a microcosm of the larger national community.

The balance between these central and local powers, however, has been one of the defining themes of US history. Jefferson, for example, would continue to convince

4 See Bodnar (ed.) (1996) for discussions by numerous authors of the need to provide concrete form to abstract ideals of liberal democracy to promote patriotism in America
Americans that identification with American nationalism was compatible with the web of community that bounded their primary social experience (Weibe, 1979). Yet political leaders such as James Madison and his followers demonstrated a desire for strong, central authority, demanding that power should be more centralised with the Federal government. This political shuffle between republicans and democrats has largely determined the relationship between the local scale and national identity. However, in comparison with the rest of the world's democracies, it has not been removed from its republican commitment to liberalism and hence decentralisation remains the United State's primary distinguishing feature as outlined in the Constitution.

On occasion, the provision of power to the people through local governance has proven incompatible with the national goal of integration. The American Civil War, for example, demonstrated the result of incongruities between independent ways of life that were no longer deemed compatible. In the early twentieth century (and thereafter), ethnic and class ghettoization in big cities and the resulting problems of civil disruption also illustrate the effects of local parochialism and enhanced centrifugal forces at the expense of national unity and democracy (Muller, 1994).5

In response to these divisions, as well as the overriding ambition to promote unity after the closing of the frontier, Mc Connel (1996) argues that a determined effort was made in the 1890s to enhance Americanisation by creating patriotic symbols that would appeal to the broadest possible segment of the nation, thereby reducing the attachments people had to vernacular symbols. The American flag, Uncle Sam, and national celebrations such as Thanksgiving and Labour Day were popularised, and Mc Connel suggests these prompted the eclipse of the local in the shadow of national life in the late nineteenth century.

World War One would continue to fuel this trend towards enhanced centripetal forces of communities, but during the Depression the role of the local community for ensuring the security of citizens was more pronounced. Steiner (1983) argues that in the climate of insecurity and chaos the people of America sought a sense of place and rootedness as an antidote to American rootlessness, and localism was seen as a positive response to this. Depression-era commentators, such as the popular writer

5 Meyer (1994) and Knox (1994) argue that while economic integration promoted regional and local specialization of products, it enhanced local particularisms and thereby prevented social integration. In the words of Wiebe (1979), despite national integration, the United States was ‘increasingly segmented’.
and professor of philosophy, John Dewey, suggested that communities made up of multiple associations demonstrated and cultivated the pragmatic value of pluralism (Drukman, 1971). Returning to a faith in early republicanism, he argued that ‘local associations would transmit the “message” of the national purpose to their members who would engage in activities not necessarily political in character, that were productive of communal relations’ (Dewey, 1939). By providing a means for political participation, and a mechanism for social acculturation, local communities could unite to form ‘The Great Community’ of the nation.

Bodnar (1992) demonstrates how local areas, while aware of their distinctiveness, could celebrate this in a patriotic way as part of a democratic nation. ‘Citizens view the larger entity of the nation through the lens of smaller units and places that they know firsthand’, he states (also echoing the sentiments of the guide book at the beginning of this chapter that encouraged students to experience the nation firsthand by sampling life in any of the thousands of small communities or the big city hubs of America) (Bodnar, 1992, p. 16). For example, members of ethnic enclaves, such as the Swedish Americans of Bishop Hill, Illinois, in 1940, and the Norwegian Americans of Minneapolis and St. Paul in the 1920s, ‘celebrated their pride in the accomplishments of ancestors and manifested a degree of ethnic assertiveness by celebrating notions of free and independent homelands’. At the same time, however, these groups ‘also worked very hard to incorporate messages and symbols into their remembered past that paid homage to the American nation-state and presented their members as legitimate American patriots’ (Bodnar, 1992, p. 75). Similarly, Conzen (1994a) states that the Swiss of New Glarus, Wisconsin, established an open-air museum of pioneer log cabins in the 1930s to demonstrate their contribution to the advance of the American frontier. For these ethnic groups, therefore, their local community was defined by ethnic identities, but they used this local area as a forum for both local and national celebrations.

Etzioni also supports the thesis that the local scale served the needs of the nation. ‘Members of society had a strong sense of duty to their families, communities and society’, he claims, but local community groups ‘stressed that their first loyalty was to American society’ (Etzioni, 1997, pp. 61, 63). Communities thus fostered internal distinctiveness, but their connections with other communities, particularly the national community, controlled excessive heterogeneity that might have caused another civil war.
THE LOCAL SCALE IN THE POST

Drawing on this past importance of the local in defining the nation, the Saturday Evening Post would also demonstrate how this relationship would manifest itself. In attempting to illustrate an integrated society that was sensitive to the diversities of (and within) local areas, in other words, encapsulating E Pluribus Unum as the defining symbolism of the United States, the Post also tried to maintain the balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces of community. This balance has also shifted over time in the pages of the magazine.

In the early years of the Post, editor George Lorimer stated that his aim for the magazine was to create a sense of nationalism strong enough to override America’s regional differences (Cohn, 1989). In conducting his mission, he presented topics such as business, current events, and sports, and while the local scale was important for mediating these messages Lorimer presented it as part of a broader network of communities linked into the nation rather than as independent and isolated communities. In the first part of the century, for example, as America was experiencing rapid urbanisation and industrialisation, the Post presented this as a story of the rising significance of cities and increasing disparities between urban and rural America. Cohn (1989) argues that one exception to Lorimer’s rule to override America’s regional differences was the frequent representation of ‘the West’ on covers and in fiction. On closer inspection, however, these representations of the region are suggested to be illustrative of the crucible or heart of America. Thus, the West is a distinct part of America because it had been such an important part of the nation’s history. For example, stories on cattle, national parks, and ‘Travelling the Old Trails’, written by authors such as Emerson Hough, presented the West as ‘an evocation of old American values’ (Cohn, 1989 p. 147). Thus, in Lorimer’s Post, the nation was the overriding theme, which frequently meant that the local was a neglected scale or was portrayed as a microcosm of national society.

In the 1930s, there was a dramatic shift in the Post’s images of America through the theme of the businessman that the magazine had endorsed as the successful American. He had been transformed from the self-made businessman ideal to the community-conscious little man, and transferred from the big city to the wholesome serenity of the farm and small town (Johns-Heine and Girth, 1949; Honey, 1984).
The Post celebrated grass-roots America and homespun heroes, and attention to distinctiveness of local communities became more pronounced. To use Bodnar’s terms, ‘it was through the lens of smaller units and places’ that the Post increasingly viewed ‘the larger entity of the nation’ (Bodnar, 1992, p. 16). It is at this point in the story of the Post and the local scale that my research begins.

In this chapter I will demonstrate how the balance between local uniqueness and local representativeness of the wider nation structured the Post’s representations of the local scale throughout the period under study. Moreover, I will illustrate how this relationship with the national, as well as the global and the domestic scales shaped the image of the local scale. During times of national threat, the local scale was particularly imperative to presenting an image of national cohesion, and the local and national were closely intertwined. I will also show how local areas such as rural communities were shown by the Post to be at the heart of the nation.

During more peaceful times of national security, I will illustrate how the unique characteristics of local communities, their differences from other parts of the nation, and hence the rich variety of communities, were highlighted in the Post, while their integration into the national framework was only of secondary importance. By the 1960s, as local groups exercised their rights to power on the streets of American cities, I will discuss how this internal disruption had important consequences for the way in which the Post would portray national identity at the local scale. The negotiation between local uniqueness and national integration of local communities continued, but this negotiation through the pages of the magazine was at best problematic, and at worst impossible, in the political climate of the 1960s. Nonetheless, the local scale remained important to the Post’s representation of the nation.

MICROCOSMS OF AN EXCEPTIONAL NATION

If the local scale is the lens through which citizens view the larger entity of the nation, as Bodnar (1992) has urged, then World War Two would provide occasion for demonstrating the necessity of this association. The Second World War, fought at the heart of continental Europe and North Africa, was far removed from the experiences of civilians in America, especially before December 1941. After the bombing of Pearl Harbour, however, it became necessary to mobilize Americans in support of
their military campaign. Westbrook (1996) argues that generating this support was perhaps more difficult than in other nations because of America's more civic rather than ethnic nationalism. Hence, while other nations such as Japan could appeal to solidarity through strong collective political obligation to the nation, the United States relied on individual subscription to the ideals of liberal democracy which offered only a thin sense of political community. The *Saturday Evening Post*, however, faced this challenge by demonstrating the meaning of war at a scale that was relevant to its readers. The local scale came to represent a microcosm of the nation, thereby bringing its national and global political campaign into the ken of its citizens.

Shortly after America's entry into World War Two, the new editor proposed to weigh, analyse and explain the staggering problems confronting the American people as they entered a new arena in global warfare. He accomplished this mission by dispatching his journalists overseas to cover the stories 'on the ground'. Focussing on human interest stories rather than on news events, and hence on how the war was affecting everyday people as opposed to foreign places and unknown peoples, this grass-roots journalism inaugurated a style of reporting at the *Post* that depended upon the local scale to present global and national events. A wartime writer for the *Post*, Ernest Hauser, said:

> Hibbs liked the microscopic presentation of cosmic events. We covered the Battle of the Bulge by running a piece on one American nurse caring for the dying GIs in the shock ward of a field hospital.

*(Quoted in Leaming, 1969, p.118)*

At the wartime *Post*, therefore, the personal and the local was intended to represent a distillation of something larger, enabling accessibility and understanding of distant political events. The local scale, while not necessarily 'known from within,' was presented in such a way that readers could acquaint themselves with generic places to reduce the sense of dislocation and alienation from foreign events.

The fiction story 'American Victory' is typical of the *Post's* 'microcosmic presentation of cosmic events'. The story, written by Paul Gallico and published on April 11th 1942, is set in a small town in New Jersey, a short distance from New York.

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6 For a detailed discussion of these differences, see chapter 1.
City. It is an account of a man’s experience on air watch duty one winter evening on the Atlantic Coast. While carrying out his duties to report the passing of an aircraft, the volunteer airwatchman, George Potts, is forced to leave the watchtower in blizzard conditions after the telephone ceases to operate. Braving the storm, the middle-aged city lawyer takes on the persona of a military man engaged in frontline combat, and after several accidents and eventful calamities, Potts finally staggers into the local tavern. His clothes are torn, his flesh is gashed and his hand is badly damaged beyond repair by frost and barbed wire. The story ends, however, with Potts being commemorated for his services by the army, and he is praised as a local hero. As well as his elevated local stature, Potts is also considered a model for every civilian observer, soldier, and the rest of the nation.

The title of the story heralds an ‘American Victory’, and hence reveals the national significance of the event reported in the text. The opening paragraph, however, cleverly moves from the grand scale of the nation through transitional stages to set the scene more definitely at the local scale:

On the twenty-eighth of February 1942, the U.S.A. scored a major victory. The triumph was unheralded and unsung beyond a small scrap of paper which received only minor circulation on the Eastern seaboard. And if the victory failed to be trumpeted through the press, or to stir official Washington, it was nevertheless appreciated at headquarters of the First Interceptor Command, charged with the safety and defence of the Atlantic Coast area from New York to Cape Charles. It was also, in a quiet way, registered in the hearts of many people.

This sweep from the distant, official national scale, to the more personal, intimate scale of the people is a model for the Post’s interpretation of the war for its millions of readers. The author, Paul Gallico, thus projects a reading of identity from the outset as something that is created and recreated not only at the local scale, but also in relation to different geographical scales.

Within the story, however, the scenes move back through the scales from the home setting to the national and even global scales as the main character interacts with the local area and the local community, and it is in this shifting relationship between different scales that the local area is articulated. The story begins for
example in the family home in Wyattsville, New Jersey, which reveals Potts to be a successful professional man who can afford the luxury of a fashionable house in the suburbs, while the setting also emphasises his family ties and commitment to family values. Potts is comfortable in his home where his dog lies curled up by the fire, his wife sits knitting for the Red Cross, and his two children come and go at their leisure to this love-filled home. Home in this story represents warmth, comfort, security, status and certainty in an otherwise precarious world that lies beyond its doors. It demonstrates the qualities of the domestic scale in the representation of nationhood that I discussed in the previous chapter. Furthermore, the domestic scale in the opening paragraph defines the boundary with the local area, for beyond the warm, comfortable home cold winds blow and the driving snow creates a sense of chaos, discomfort, insecurity and uncertainty that represents the political climate of contemporary global geopolitics. On leaving home, Potts prepares to sacrifice his individual comforts and his personal happiness for the good of others in the local community and in the nation as a whole, despite these perilous conditions.

In the local tavern, George is no longer the family man or even the city lawyer from Attweiler Potts and Messmore, but is one of the members of a social community. Class divisions are set aside in this local place, where farmers, village tradesmen and city professionals drink together regardless of their professions. The tavern is the place where people from the local area and from all backgrounds meet together to socialise and to build strong bonds between members of the community. It is in the tavern, therefore, where a traditional sense of community is created, that Higham (1974) refers to as ‘primordial unity’ - a ‘corporate feeling of oneness that binds one to kinsmen, to neighbours, to symbols of a distinct place, and to symbols, rights, and customs associated with that heritage’. The frequent use of the tavern, a place ‘where everybody knows my name’ to use a modern-day television show’s understanding of the local bar, and where people are at ease with one another, encourages integration among the diverse members of the community.

Yet the tavern is also depicted as a place reserved only for men, and hence represents the social norms of a patriarchal society during the war. However, Potts also finds himself prevented from being fully integrated into the group of male customers because of his macho deficiencies. Physically, Potts is described when he enters the tavern as ‘a short, fat, rosy-faced little man with a bald pink head and a pink mouth which was prim and serious’. In addition to his appearance, Potts’ behaviour
also prevents his acceptance by other tavern regulars, where he is considered ‘something of a mild joke’ because ‘he took his spotting too seriously’. The cool, calm nature of men appearing in control was lost by George, who instead developed an unhealthy obsession with his volunteer work. This was something upon which other men of the community poured scorn. 7

When the story moves to the watchtower, however, George is able to prove himself in a different context as a valuable member of the nation’s defence force. Here, George is a dutiful man to be respected for his unselfish and valiant work. Potts’ exaltation in the watchtower is initially self-motivated as he assumes the role of captain commanding his watch partner, Eddie Polletto. Despite their shared commitment to patriotic principles, Potts assumes authority over the youngster, and the author seems to support this hierarchy in his account of how the pair spend their time on the watch. Eddie, for example, reads *Cowboy Story Magazine*, merely flaunting with the image of good guys fighting bad guys in an Arcadian past, while George Potts spends his time rehearsing in his mind the vital call to report a plane that represents his link in the great machinery of American defence. The youngster’s role is thus trivialised in relation to Potts’ apparent importance in the watchtower.

The text also refers to the renewed importance of Potts as he is described in the context of the nation where he becomes a proud citizen and heroic patriot:

> For two hours, at least, while the thrilling game lasted, there would be an end to George Potts, commuter, civilian, expert on corporation law, husband, father, soft-lived, podgy, astigmatic little man. In his place now stood the general in his headquarters, the captain on the bridge. While the nation slept he kept vigil against the enemy, millions were depending on him. He was their ears and their shield.

In serving his community and his nation, Potts is their strength, just as the military men provide the nation’s strength on the frontline.

The journey down the hill to report the passing of the plane is the place where Potts experiences the closeness of war in a more personal sense. Potts begins his

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journey as an arrogant, headstrong general or captain — as the above quotation suggested — but this was an image that Potts had adopted rather than the reality of the fat, short-sighted, mild city lawyer that the tavern men knew. By the time he reaches the end of his mission, however, he emerges as a confident, assertive man that he could only previously have imagined. The journey is thus presented as a scene of chaos that confronts George, in the same way that war on the frontline will provide challenging situations for soldiers involved in battle.

The perilous journey provides many challenges to Potts, such as his car getting stuck in a ditch, losing his way in the forest, and losing his flashlight and his glasses. However, despite the temptation to surrender, Potts remains resolute to the task assigned to him by the First Interceptor Command. He places the interests of others above his own, and in this commitment to duty he feels an affinity with those unfortunate soldiers on the frontline for example, who, when captured, must rejoin their lines at whatever cost. Although there are various paradoxes between the two situations, such as desert heat and terror on the frontline, and icy cold conditions in the relative safety of homefront New Jersey, Potts nonetheless identifies with the soldiers, remarking:

So this was what war was like. You are alone and hurt. Blackness and the enemy were all about you, waiting to close in. And yet you weren’t afraid of yourself. You didn’t even think about the enemy. You only thought about your orders that you were to carry out and what it meant to others if you failed.

Towards the end of his perilous journey, however, Potts not only felt affinity with the experiences of frontline soldiers, he was a soldier, and with that came an understanding of the realities of war. 'He was George Potts of Attwiler, Potts and Messmore no longer. He was a soldier in the war, the war that he was beginning to understand now — what it did to you and what you had to do if you were to win'. For George Potts, this local community had recreated a likeness to the battlefield. It had enabled him to glimpse the realities of war at first hand, and through his experience at the local scale he had been brought into the war against an enemy that was to be defeated at all costs.

Ultimately, this localised experience of war provides Potts with the opportunity to
prove himself and his manhood in the same way that war was a testing ground for masculinity for American soldiers (Jeffords, 1996). He enters the tavern at the end of the story a changed man, with his visible appearance altered by his run-in with obstacles that have torn his clothing and cut his skin. He is a stronger man and much more fierce, a hardened male rather than an effeminate lawyer, entering the tavern shouting 'Get out! Go 'way! Kill you all!'

Potts is also admitted into the fraternity of the local tavern as a worthy member of this masculine community. The doctor comments 'Dear, great, loving God, what a man!' and the commendation from the First Inspector Command of the US Army extends that admiration onto a larger scale. The masculinisation of Potts was an important symbol for readers of the wartime Post left at home because the inability to serve on the frontline had detrimental psychological effects for men during the Second World War (Griswold, 1993; Mintz and Kellogg, 1988). Unable to prove their manhood, especially after a period of Depression that had robbed men of their breadwinning roles, a man who fulfilled his patriotic duties could regain that quality. Gallico’s focus on the local illustrated how patriotic duties (and hence masculinity) could be demonstrated equally well on the homefront, and the story therefore addresses the needs of civilian men during the Second World War.8

'American Victory' therefore demonstrates how the local scale was a microcosm of America in World War Two at the Post. The generic setting of the tavern, the mix of customers with average occupations, and the common activity of civilian war duties, suggests that this scene could be replayed in many communities across America. The geographical location of this scene, therefore, is not as important as the idea that the local area provides a familiar site for national and global political affairs for the citizens of America. Indeed, this was a defining characteristic of local scale representations during the wartime Post, and there are numerous occasions throughout the war period when the local scale is the stage upon which geopolitical events are given concrete form.9

8 See Andrew Kimbrell (1995) for a discussion about war and its association with macho male images of 'machine men'. Jeffords (1996) talks about the Vietnam War as an opportunity for men to become 'remasculinised' and publicly respected in the same way George Potts is masculinised here.

9 Perhaps the most popular was Rockwell's cover illustrations of the character Willie Gillis, who interpreted the war to Post readers from his point of view. The character represented the 'boy next door': shy, young, naive, and a little funny looking, who had been drafted into events and was learning to cope with them. Covers show him receiving a package from home (4/10/41), being entertained by women at the USO (7/2/42), alone in a blackout with a young woman (27/6/42), and reading good news about his father in the local newspaper sent by his mother (11/4/42). Finally, he is shown after the war in a college dorm room, more adult-like, and having survived the war. For many, the progress
After the war the need to demonstrate the role of the local scale at the service of the nation remained important. The theme of national integration continued to occupy the minds of the Post editor, and in particular Hibbs was aware of the growing disparities between urban and rural areas. This theme, I have suggested, had been depicted in the Post under Lorimer, when the rural was depicted as declining and regressive in contrast to the hustle of cities, where the urban and rural remained both antithetical and increasingly distanced in the 1900s and especially during the Depression. Hibbs, however, was a man born and raised in rural Kansas and now living in Philadelphia, and he saw the need to bridge the gap between rural and urban America in his devotion to furthering national unity. Rather than being isolated and disconnected, rural areas were shown as vibrant local communities and the crucibles of national life.

A cover illustration for the Post on September 2nd 1950 is representative of rural America's both locally distinctive yet part of the wider community of the nation (figure 4:1). Illustrated by John Falter, it depicts a local community playing baseball at a local farm. The fields in the background and the rolling hills suggest a rural expanse, while the house and the barn bring a 'lived' quality to this remnant of America's past that was at this time fading fast. In the foreground are a group of people playing baseball on a makeshift diamond that has been worn into the grass by repeated playing, but from the date of publication we can assume that this game is particularly important because it is played by friends and family gathered to enjoy the Labour Day holiday.

The scene is set at the local scale in the rural area, and while the painting suggests isolation, there are clues such as the cars parked outside the barn that demonstrate connections to other places. The framing of the scene helps to convey a sense of...
Figure 4:1  'The Ball Game’ cover illustration by John Falter, September 2nd 1950.
Isolation by positioning the viewer in a curious place, uneasily suspended between ground and bird’s-eye view. The line of sight cuts through the centre of the image and draws the viewer’s attention to the expanse of the rural area in the background, while the action takes place in the foreground. The unusual angle elevates the viewer sufficiently to see this expanse, and distances the observer from the group of people playing ball such that one is made to feel removed from the scene to watch it from afar.

Isolation, however, has enabled this group to develop a strong sense of community and the exclusion of the viewer from that community promotes such a reading of the scene. In addition, the baseball diamond, worn into the earth from repeated playing, suggests that this is a group that has created its own communal centre on the local farm. It is not a place firmly set out by boundaries and markers, but instead has been etched onto the landscape by this community to distinguish its local centre. This organic modification of the land thus renders in form the local for this group who gather to play at the baseball diamond to reconfirm the communal use for this small stretch of land.

Baseball in this cover is the mutual bond that is shared by this rural community, in the same sense that socialising was the shared activity of the residents of the small town in the first story. Similarly, the baseball diamond provides the place where this community meets to re-establish those shared bonds, while the tavern provided that purpose in the first story. However, whereas the tavern was the exclusive domain of men, people of different sexes and different ages play the baseball game in Falter’s scene. The batter, for example, is a middle-aged woman, while her pitcher is a balding man watching another trying to steal third base. Younger boys stand on the side and on first base, while an older man covers third base, and a more stout and aged man is umpire of the game. Baseball thus serves as the meeting ground for members of this community, regardless of social identities that otherwise differentiate individuals.

The democratic nature of the game in the local community is contrasted with the more private exclusive domain of the house in the centre of the scene. The latter’s white painted walls stand amid the natural, earthy colours of the landscape, while the white fence, white pebbles around the perimeter, and manicured front lawn sharply

13 For a discussion of baseball and its role in building community bonds, see Fine (1979)
mark the borders of the private domain. This is a manufactured space, and even the
tall trees on the corners of the house do nothing to soften the edges of this rigid
structure. The house is reserved for grandparents, children and mothers, and they
stay firmly within its borders behind the white fence. The domestic scale is separate
from the local, therefore, and in this scene the exclusiveness of the former
distinguishes the local scale as something related to, but different from the domestic.

As well as being related to the domestic scale, however, the local scale is
articulated in this scene in relation to the nation. Baseball is shown here as the
integrator of the local community, but it is also the game that serves as the
community’s bridge to the rest of the nation. Since the late nineteenth century
baseball had been touted as the national pastime and to engage with the sport as a
player or as a fan was to declare one’s affiliation with the nation. Albert Goodwill
Spalding, the most noted promoter of baseball and American nationalism, wrote in
1911 that baseball to the American people is:

The exponent of American Courage, Confidence, Combatism;
American Dash, Discipline, Determinism; American Energy,
Eagerness, Enthusiasm; American Pluck, Persistency, Performance;
American Spirit, Sagacity, Success; American Vim, Vigour, Virility...

[America's National Game (1911) Quoted in Voigt (1976, p.84)]

Baseball seemed, therefore, to represent the positive qualities of Americans.

Sociologists of sport, such as Voigt (1976) and Crepeau (1980), have begun to
report over the last three decades on the historical significance of baseball to the
American nation. In particular, baseball was to demonstrate democracy because
everybody was supposed to be able to enjoy it regardless of background, as Falter’s
scene suggests. ‘It was a game of the people, played by and for them’ Crepeau
argues in Lincoln-esque language. Furthermore, it was

‘[T]he most democratic game in the United States, [because it] was
known and understood by everyone, all across the country, from the
Maine lumberman to the Arizona cowboy. It extended into every

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14 For more popular, but brief histories of baseball’s role in American culture see Goldstein (1991) and
Baseball, therefore, by breaching social barriers, was the leveller and unifier of disparate members of the nation. Indeed, when the Major League was instigated in the nineteenth century, this integration occurred on a massive scale. Many of the teams played in the big cities, while players arrived from other places, including rural areas. With their constant migration between places for home games, away games and out-of-season trips home, players became ambassadors for national integration through baseball. In addition, they generated a wide following of fans from their hometowns and from the towns where the teams played (and beyond), thus providing a common interest among diverse citizens of America.

The topic of integration through baseball was pertinent at this time because by the time this cover appeared on the Post, baseball had recently accepted its first black player into the Major League. Thus while barriers to class had been removed, barriers to race were slowly being lowered to make baseball a truly national sport. 

In addition to democracy, baseball also endorsed the hard-work ethic and individualism that were valued as American virtues. 'If success were to be achieved in the individualistic competitive world of baseball, it would be due to the virtues of the ‘work ethic’ – initiative, hard work, relentless effort and hustle' (Crepeau, 1980, p. 36). As with many other sports, hard work, mental and physical effort are the route to success, and these were qualities considered instinctively American. Linked to this hard-work ethic, the nature of the game of baseball was also an expression of the individualistic spirit. In baseball, players are valued on their own merit and not on the coherence of a team as in other sports such as American football, and as a result, individual achievements stand out beyond the team. It is only through individual successes therefore, that the team can hope to win, and hence the successful player makes the successful team and not the other way round. 

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15 See Voigt (1976) chapter 8 for details of race relations in baseball
16 Experts in the field of baseball will no doubt refute these claims, for all team sports require individuals to play for the good of the team and not for individual glory. However, in the literature promoting baseball as the national sport (a position for which it vied with football), it was the individual spirit of the game that was highlighted as distinctively American in contrast to football’s reliance on teamwork. Baseball was alleged to demand that much more from players because no player could afford to rely on the rest of the team to pull him through. Individualism and team loyalty were therefore needed in baseball, with individualism being its prime virtue.
also celebrates these qualities that the game was supposed to symbolise, with two teams battling it out in a competition, but in a more relaxed environment than the Major Leagues.

The relation of the local scale to the national scale is also complemented by the timing of this publication on Labour Day weekend. While the national holiday has militant origins as a day for generating support of labour unions, Labour Day was also begun as a celebration of the role of working class craftsmen in that unity. By 1950 however, Kazin and Ross (1992, p. 1321) argue that the holiday festivities had ‘shed their character as public demonstrations of working class strength’ and instead the day had become ‘another generic American holiday with a “politically anaesthetised status” akin to Thanksgiving, Memorial Day, and the Fourth of July’. This cover illustration also recognises the national significance of the day, demonstrated by the baseball game that was a ubiquitous event at Labour Day celebrations. Falter’s cover therefore suggests a national scene of Labour Day ball games between the local community. The local scale, in the words of Arsenberg (1955, p. 1156), is here portrayed as ‘a community [that] microcosms a culture’.

Other covers would also display this fact by presenting baseball games in a variety of different locations. On a cover on July 6\textsuperscript{th} 1957, this game is being played among a local community in the suburbs, which presented the new destination of upwardly mobile Americans as I suggested in chapter three. Similarly, a cover illustration on October 2\textsuperscript{nd} 1954 depicted a small town community gathered around televisions and radios to listen to the final of the World Series as they go about their business. Another cover from May 19\textsuperscript{th} 1947 shows a Major League baseball game played under the bright lights of the city. Baseball, the \textit{Post} suggests, was a unifying force in national society, and the local scale was the place where the populace could exercise its affiliation with the nation.\footnote{Other sports were also depicted on the covers of the magazine at different times of the year to denote the changing sporting seasons and to captivate this national spirit. American football was a popular favourite in Autumn publications, with covers in the 1950s appearing for example on 21/10/50; 25/11/50, 17/11/51; 15/11/52; 17/10/53; 20/11/54, 27/10/56, 5/10/57, 5/12/59. Also depicted were golf (26/7/52, 31/10/53, 6/8/55; 31/8/57), fishing (19/5/51; 15/9/51; 9/5/53; 28/5/55, 16/7/55; 1/9/56, 8/8/59), skating (26/1/52; 13/12/58; 3/1/59), basketball (1/11/50), shooting (1/12/51) and bowling (28/1/50) All of these covers present sport as a national pastime, but they rely on the domestic or the local scale to frame the scenes. Despite the diversity, baseball was the most commonly presented sport, closely followed by American football.}

**PATCHWORKS OF A NATIONAL QUILT**
If the war period and the early 1950s presented the local scale predominantly as 'a community that microcosms a culture' (Arsenberg, 1955), by the mid-1950s highlighting local uniqueness rather than national integration had become commonplace. It seems that a sense of national unity had already been established at the Post and that a sense of national cohesiveness was guaranteed perhaps because of conformity in the age of Cold War uncertainties. Etzioni, for example, states that 'core values in the 1950s' (i.e. commitment to democracy and the Bill of Rights) 'were relatively widely shared and strongly endorsed, and to these a newly established anti-Communist ideology was added' (Etzioni, 1997, p. 61, emphasis in original). Americans, he claims, were united in their faith in the nation, and a strong sense of national commitment characterised the 1950s. The Post, hardly complacent but nonetheless comfortable in the knowledge that America possessed a strong sense of togetherness, turned its attention toward the components that made up that whole rather than overtly concerning itself with national integration.

In 1955 the Post began a popular series entitled 'The Face of America' that demonstrates this shift in the magazine's presentation of the local scale and national identity. The title of the series indicates the new angle that the Post adopted in its presentation of the local, emphasising the face and hence the image and the features of America rather than the subcutaneous processes that held the face together. In this weekly series the magazine produced a double-page spread to present a place to its readers. The place — chosen for its obscurity (whether geographical or social) — was always somewhere within the United States, and although linked to the nation through cultural, economic, social and political ties, it was its distinctive character that was on display. Placed under the spotlight, for example, were the volunteer fire department of Le Roy, New York (20/4/57), a cheerleader's convention in Louisiana (16/11/57), the transformation of Sun Mountain from a prospector’s mining town into a tourist attraction in Nevada (7/12/57), and in Wichita, Kansas, the story of the annual ritual of the transfer of alligators from the local zoo to their winter homes was reported (24/10/59).

The purpose of this series was to illustrate how immensely diverse the American scene was, and hence how remarkable it was that America had been so successful at creating a nation from such a heterogeneous mix (President's Minutes, 1955). Politically, the Post was also demonstrating how liberal democracy had encouraged
such variety, and it is no coincidence that the series ran concurrently with Eisenhower's term in office when concern with decentralisation of political powers to rest with the people was back on the political agenda. Geopolitically, too, the Post's attention to the heterogeneity of the 'Face of America' had strong significance. While Communism in general, and the Soviet Union in particular, represented authoritarianism, totalitarianism, order and homogeneity, American democracy in contrast represented individualism, liberty and hence, differences. The series therefore provided testimony to the success of the American Way that not only permits, but also actively encourages cultural heterogeneity.

One such example from the series was a feature on a new suburban development on the outskirts of Los Angeles (figure 4:2). The story is not unusual in its presentation of a new suburb, for the country was undergoing rapid suburbanization in the 1950s at the average rate of 1.5 million new housing starts per year (Oakley, 1990, p.114). Indeed, the Post reported the growing national trend through many cover illustrations, stories, cartoons and advertisements for products to fill these homes, and hence it was a familiar sight to readers of the magazine. However, what is distinctive about this place is the superior social status of the development under review. Beyond the reach of most Americans – even the Post's middle-class readers – the article portrays a unique community in the making and one that will be both geographically and economically exclusive.

The photograph in the article shows a vast stretch of land cut into the side of a hill, with rectangular areas parcellled out and interspersed with several roads. It is a magnificent sight of a man-made landscape 'carved from the flanks of the Santa Monica Mountains' the text states, which reveals the power of humanity to recreate this once barren desert into a liveable environment. It is a place where the hostility of nature ('this once-wild canyon') and the nastiness of the city (overcrowded and filled with 'smog') could be removed, and the attributes of both – natural, wholesome air and spaciousness, as well as conveniences such as drainage and an infrastructure of roads and sidewalks – could be united in the suburbs.

However, in this suburban development on the outskirts of Los Angeles, the American Dream is the privilege of only a few. It is a luxury suburban location,

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18 The Post (namely Ben Hibbs) had strong connections with Eisenhower and although declaring itself apolitical, the magazine strongly supported the president and Republican politics See Leaming (1969) chapter xiii for a discussion of the relationship between Hibbs and Eisenhower
Hills of Gold

Figure 4:2  Face of America, October 17th 1959
costing between $20,000 and $70,000 for a plot of land on which to build a home. The view – a factor that determines house prices – is of Sunset Boulevard and Beverley Hills, which are both exclusive areas for the rich and wealthy, and it also commands views over the Pacific Ocean, bringing the love affair with nature and its amenities close to home for those who can afford the lifestyle of leisure that it promotes. The affluence and amount of leisure time of the fortunate who will occupy these choice suburban lots is also revealed in the amenities that this suburb is supposed to provide, such as ‘beautiful homes’ and ‘of course, swimming pools’. Clearly, this is an exclusive neighbourhood.

Yet despite the exclusivity of this place, the article raises several interesting points that demonstrate the suburb’s relevance to the nation. Primarily, the glorification of the suburb demonstrates their popular appeal in 1950s America when over thirteen million people set up homes there throughout the decade (Issel, 1986). Suburbs were associated with achievement and social attainment that were the fruits of hard work, and the reference to gold in the title indicates not just the value of the properties and the colour of the soil, but also the trophy that one would win if victorious in realising the American dream.

As well as the values Americans attached to the suburb, its location in the Far West and especially in the Los Angeles area is also significant to the article’s propagation of suburbs as places of opportunity. The West had always been the vision of the Great American Dream, but when the frontier was near its closure, the Far West became more important in this vision as the site of economic potential for those lucky enough to find its gold. California experienced its gold rush in 1848, and the title of this article ‘Hills of Gold’ reminds the reader of the state’s initial attraction as a prospector’s Mecca. This attraction of the state can be seen in population figures, which increased from 16,000 in 1848 to 250,000 by 1852 and to 380,000 by 1860 (Foner and Garraty, 1991, p.454). California’s population continued to grow, along with other Far Western states, and by 1900 had reached 1,485,000 (Hornbeck, 1987, p.290).

In the twentieth century, California remained the place of opportunity for those wishing to migrate to the sun. The promise of better health, wealth and happiness, in a distant, exotic and interesting environment that remained unthreatening rendered California a prime location. In the inter-war period, national Depression felt hard in the industrious NorthEast, coupled with the Dust Bowl in the South, pushed
Americans to California’s relative wealth of opportunity. The numbers migrating to the ‘Golden State’ were further swelled following World War Two, when many of America’s servicemen who had embarked from California’s ports during the war chose to demobilise there on a more permanent basis. The result was that by 1960, California was the most populous state in the union (Lewis, 1987), retaining its image as a place of opportunity. The article makes reference to this popularity, stating that 2,000 new citizens arrive each week to Los Angeles, and it is in response to this national (and international) love of Los Angeles that this Face of America is under construction.

If California had symbolised opportunity throughout its hundred-year history, then in the late 1950s that opportunity would be rendered in stone in the shape of the suburbs. While the suburbs symbolised success and achievement, suburban California was the epitome of this symbolism. Lewis (1983, p. 434) claims that ‘if America was affluent and mobile, urban and comfortable, California was all these things and more’, and hence suburban California was the ultimate sign of success. Indeed, California remained the destination of the American Dream, while its suburbs became the repositories of this dream of individual achievement, family bliss, and community harmony. It is only when the local is considered in the context of the nation and the global – i.e. in the context of suburbanisation and cultural notions of opportunity in California and Los Angeles - that the local scale gains meaning. In the Post’s Face of America series, the nation was therefore presented as a patchwork quilt made up of local scale patches from Wichita Kansas and Le Roy New York, Sun Mountain, Nevada and this Santa Monica suburb, that were bound together through the Post’s Face of America series but remained distinctively unique.

Confidence in American unity in spite of social differences, however, would become a major topic of concern in 1960s America as the liberal state came under attack from those who had been excluded from the promises of democracy and egalitarianism. The erosion of faith in the state, Bodnar (1996, p.10) claims, ‘opened up the public space for celebrations of power and particularistic loyalties’. Labour

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19 See Mitchell (1995) for an interesting discussion of the allure of California for migrant workers, and their horrific working conditions upon arrival that were a far cry from the picture-postcard images used to advertise California.

20 The article fails to address the fact that the majority of new arrivals to Los Angeles were immigrants and working classes, for whom the ‘Hills of Gold’ remain as distant as California’s gold once did for prospectors. For a more explicit discussion of the growth of Los Angeles and the problems of housing for the poor and dispossessed see Davis (1990).
unions, Black power advocates, radical feminists, religious fundamentalists, environmentalists and students (amongst others) burst onto the streets to demonstrate against exclusion and repression. No longer content to conform, these groups transformed the local scale into a place for public demonstration of distinctiveness and uniqueness that the state had formerly suppressed.

At the *Saturday Evening Post*, however, these demands for recognition of differences and diversity were initially interpreted within the national framework that had structured the editorial policy of the magazine throughout its history. Thus, the *Post* attempted to demonstrate how particularities – ethnic, gender, religious and so on – could be incorporated into the national whole without forfeiting particularities or threatening the security of the national whole. In some respects then, the *Post* backtracked to its wartime depiction of local events as microcosms of the national scene, suggesting that threats to internal security of the nation rendered renewed support for national integration. However, 1960s representations of the local scale departed from these earlier articulations because the local scale could not be considered generic and hence repeatable in the thousands of communities across America, but rather, each local area was a community with distinctive characteristics as the *Face of America* series had shown. Nonetheless, the ideology of the nation provided the frame and the glue for holding these component parts together in the form of a colourful mosaic, and commitment to this overall picture was fundamental to the *Post’s* representation of the local scale in the early 1960s.²¹

In considering ethnic groups, for example, the *Post* would demonstrate how the local scale could provide a place for celebrating ethnic distinctiveness but how a democratic urban landscape would encourage understanding between different groups rather than foster ghettoization. Hence, the magazine drew a fine line between ethnic arrogance and ethnic pride – the former a topic of contention and the latter a cause for celebration. A story entitled ‘When Irish Eyes are Angry’ by William Holder from July/August 1962 demonstrates the way in which the local scale was a place where groups could find mutual interests – usually through similar ethnic backgrounds – but indicated that these needed to be kept in check to prevent the growth of hostilities between neighbouring groups. This story demonstrates how

²¹ Etzioni (1997) considers this 'colourful mosaic' view the goal of Communitarians in the 1990s in which social justice is believed to be attainable through community action that begins in one's immediate community and builds through successive layers into the wider community of humankind. The 1960s can be considered the crucible of the origins of this political movement.
two people with different ethnic backgrounds are able to survive in a relationship because their experiences in American institutions have taught them the American value of understanding difference. Through their example, they set the agenda for the promise of future understanding among different ethnic communities of the city that can enhance the richness of local life for these city residents.22

The story is set in New York City, and tells of the clashes between two ethnic communities when an Italian boy and an Irish girl begin a relationship together. From the outset, therefore, the resolution of differences is writ large, and the story is the vehicle for working out that resolve. Tony Di Salvo's family appears to accept Kathleen O'Leary, while Kathleen's brother, Mike, is impressed with Tony and especially his status as an All-American halfback from the University of Notre Dame. Kathleen's father, however, is a little more difficult to convince of the compatibility of the youngsters, and her former boyfriend (Joe Murphy) and his friends are deeply against the cross-cultural relationship. Joe is violent towards Tony and towards his family's exclusive restaurant before the police step in to arrest him. The story concludes with the anticipation that the Irish community is now rid of its corrupting element and this will open the way towards Mr O'Leary's acceptance of his daughter's relationship with Tony and communication and understanding between the two ethnic groups.

The story sets up the couple as proponents of two distinct ethnic cultures. Their names are typically representative of their ethnic origins, while the location of their homes in separate parts of the city suggest a geographical isolation of the two groups. The quarters have their own respective social centres that provide the places where community ties can be strengthened among residents. In the Irish quarter, Brunt's Point Palace, a local dance hall that plays traditional Irish music, is the social centre for the Irish community, while Tony's father owns a restaurant in the Italian quarter that is a place where Italians can meet to enjoy traditional Italian cuisine. Ethnic groups therefore construct the local scale through their use of public places of entertainment.

Despite the isolation of the two communities, however, Kathleen and Tony traverse freely across the quarters. Their city is a democratic place where social

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22 Before the 1960s ethnic groups were not frequently presented in the Post. With the growing problems of ethnic clashes however, and the assertion of power for sub-cultures in the 1960s, the depiction by the Post of ethnic Americans became more commonplace. The present story therefore was a timely arrival.
barriers do not exist. They frequent the social centres of each other’s community, and partake in the activities going on in both. The youngsters are presented not as ethnic immigrants committed only to their own ethnic group, but as individuals who respect their origins as well as appreciate their part in the make up of American society. Born and raised in America, they are unable to see the problem with their relationship, for ethnic integration is the hallmark of their Americanness. Their occupations also affirm their commitment to the nation. Kathleen works in the public library – a federal institution, and an American establishment that represents free public service and hence equal access to knowledge in local communities throughout America. Tony is an All-American halfback from University of Notre Dame. Not only does he play the national game, but he plays it well enough to be recognised as one of the best in the country. His attendance at Notre Dame is also significant for presenting Tony as an individual fully integrated into American society, for it is one of the nation’s Ivy League schools and in the early 1960s would have provided this Italian-American’s admission into the upper echelons of society. Its nickname, ‘The Fighting Irish’ strengthens the suggestion that Tony was not adversely concerned with ethnic pride, but was more concerned with attending an institution famed for its success as American and not its historic roots with Irish clergy.

The couple’s affiliation with national institutions denies interpretation of ethnic arrogance in the story. Indeed, it seems that their experiences have encouraged their integration and cross-cultural liaison rather than prevented them. Kathleen’s brother, for example, is able to respect Tony from the outset because of his mutual interest in football, while Tony’s father admires Kathleen for her similar taste in fine food.

However, despite the couple’s acceptance of each other, some members of the Irish community fail to accept Tony. He is called ‘a wop’, punched and humiliated at the dance hall, and later he is attacked by Joe Malone and a group of bouncers from the club when he returns to the Irish quarters of the city. His father’s restaurant is also attacked by the mob and malicious slogans are brandished outside to deter customers. Thus, as well as excluding Tony from one part of the city, the Irish mobsters deny the Italians a place to confirm their social ties in the Italian restaurant. Ethnic hatred is intense ‘when Irish eyes are angry’, and the local scale is a segregated battleground for those who live there.

In this story, those Irish determined to separate themselves from the rest of society
are portrayed as barbaric, violent and ignorant of cordial ‘American’ behaviour that Tony and Kathleen display. While the Irish resort to ‘mobocracy’, Tony – the All-American – seeks help from a lawyer and from the police to ensure an end to the problem. Tony decides that with facts about Joe Murphy’s criminal past he was ‘morally obligated to expose and destroy him’. American justice and morality finally prevail over ethnic mob rule and immorality. The city is restored as a place that celebrates and encourages the development of ethnic variety that enhance the qualities of the wider city, while ethnic arrogance and ghettoization are kept in check by residents who maintain an appreciation of differences between ethnic groups. The city in this story is therefore a microcosm of the nation, in which different groups of people respect each other’s qualities and experience an enrichment of their social life through their relationship. However, the story enables the ethnic areas of the city to be celebrated as unique places that provide a valuable social network for ethnic groups to retain some ties with their pasts. The local scale, it seems, is both distinctive and national in the early 1960s Post.

The theme of ethnicity and its conflict with national integration was repeated several times in fiction stories in the Post, and in most cases ethnic tensions were resolved and the local scale enhanced by ethnic heterogeneity and cultural understanding. In a story from November 9th 1957 for example, a Czechoslovakian boy and a middle-class girl from Biloxi plan to marry, but the girl is reluctant to meet the boy’s family. Despite her reservations, however, she is accepted into the boy’s family and into the Czech community of which he is a part, and indeed the girl is shown to complete the family by providing her mother-in-law with the daughter she always dreamed of having. In this story, in contrast to the previous one discussed, the girl learns more about Czech customs and the couple celebrate their wedding in the tradition of the immigrant community. Introducing a foreign tradition enhances American culture in this story, represented by the girl, and the ethnic group is also pleased to accept American influences into its community. Ethnic cultures can therefore enrich national life, and this story promotes the valuable role of immigrants in developing America’s distinctive and dynamic culture.

Inter-ethnic tension was also the theme of other sources of popular culture. For example, the musical West Side Story, based on Shakespeare’s Romeo and Juliet and both modernised and Americanised for a contemporary audience, told of two immigrant groups – Italians and Puerto Ricans - and their associated teenage gangs.
living in the immigrant quarters of New York’s west side. The musical made its Broadway debut a few years before the publication of ‘When Irish Eyes Are Angry,’ and, like the story, it reports on the violent clashes that ensue when two people from opposite sides fall in love. In the musical, however, both sides resort to mob law, with fatal results for Tony and Maria. Although the ending in the Post story was more positive, they both encapsulate local life as a place of liberation for individual expression, but the benefits of which can only be realised when ties to ethnic roots are loosened and are replaced in part by an American appreciation of diversity and difference.

In the early 1960s, therefore, the balance between centrifugal and centripetal forces was difficult to attain. I will show in chapter 6 how the value of local tradition and custom to the enrichment of the wider national whole was critical in global scale representations of the nation. In a story from December 1962 titled ‘Fields of Rice’ and set in China, lack of respect for local differences and experiences is the downfall of a totalitarian regime such as that in Communist China. American success, in contrast, is shown to be a result of sensitivity to differences. Hence, with the Cold War looming on the global stage to threaten national security, and political turmoil on the national stage threatening internal cohesion, the Post had to be careful not to put too fine a point on the Americanization of immigrants to the extent of losing ethnic distinctiveness for it was this very distinctiveness that distinguished the United States from Communist states. This was a difficult balancing act that the Post appears to have accomplished well in the early 1960s.

By the later 1960s, however, maintaining the magazine’s focus on national integration became ineffectual for understanding and interpreting events of civil demonstrations in the wider political sphere. The local scale in this political climate could not be considered representative of the national whole because each local area and each local community sought power to recognise itself as different from others. Eventually, the Post altered its direction and focussed instead on individuals, celebrities, and one-off events. The local scale was likewise affected by

23 A feature on West Side Story was published in the Face of America series in the Post in the issue dated 12/10/57
24 This story is discussed in detail in Chapter 6
25 The Post received many letters at this time and much bad press from so-called ‘radicals’ complaining about the magazine’s inability to portray the American scene as it had now unfolded because of its conservative focus on national integration. In response, editorial staff changed its approach (outlined in Chapter 2) but received cancelled subscriptions from those who favoured its conservative style.
this change in direction, and instead of symbolising democracy, personal sacrifice for the benefit of the community, group action, and community togetherness, it was now also discussed in terms of anomie, isolation, corruption and fear.

LOCAL SCALE CORRUPTION AND DIVISION

The local scale in the later 1960s is a place where individuals are atomised and independent in the Post, seen for example in the story of the theatre critic living in an apartment in New York City who is harassed by a fanatical colleague ("The Sheep Killer" 16/12/67). There is also the story of a Hungarian immigrant living in Jewish New York who is falsely accused of abusing boys in his care as a scoutmaster in the early twentieth century. Despite the immigrant's counter claims (and the narrator's personal belief in the scoutmaster's innocence), justice fails him and he takes his own life, unable to cope with the isolation and exclusion that the local community had shown him after his conviction. Thus, rather than the 'hub of American life' that the guidebook suggested at the start of this chapter, the city was a place of crime, fear, injustice and moral decay.

This negative portrayal of the local scale, however, was not reserved for the cities. Injustice and crime is at the root of a small town in the November 18th 1967 issue (figure 4:3). The cover and the lead article were devoted to the subject of the Mafia in New England who, despite more frequent associations with big cities such as Boston, Chicago and New York, has found a niche in small town America. Like Joe Murphy and his mob in 'When Irish Eyes Are Angry', this self-made criminal fraternity imported from Sicily is corrupting an otherwise peaceful community.

Meinig has argued that New England towns are powerfully evocative because they are 'widely assumed to symbolise the best we have known of an intimate family-centred, Godfearing, morally-conscious, industrious, thrifty, democratic community' (Meinig, 1979, p. 165, emphasis in original). They hold a special place in America not only as the model community, but also as the original American community with roots into the earliest moments of colonisation.26 The cover illustration draws on this national symbolism and ancestral legacy in its depiction of a white clapboard church

26 Arsenberg (1955), drawing on Westenbaker (1947), argues that the New England town was derived from the manorial village of East Anglia, and hence remnants of British colonialism can be found in them.
Figure 4:3 ‘New England Mafia’ cover montage by David Attie, November 15th 1967.
superimposed onto a map of the Boston area of New England. The church represents the centre of community life, the place of Sabbath worship and the original source of order in early communities. Although no longer ‘one-congregational villages’ of Puritan times, the church continued to represent community life and hence symbolise the Godfearing and morally conscious community of which Meinig talks. Occasionally the church might also double as the location for town meetings where local issues could be democratically discussed, while alongside the town hall, the village green, the treasury, the town plans and so on, provided the framework for a nucleated community that would microcosm the nation. The same pattern, reproduced wherever the Yankee went, represents the democratic roots of the nation, and all this is embodied in the symbol of the white church.

In the Post's discussion of New England, however, a group of people is thwarting these cherished qualities of the New England town. The infiltration of the Mafia is depicted on the cover by the shadows of three men superimposed on the map of New England and the white clapboard church. Their dark forms suggest a shadiness of character and the Mafia's clandestine activities, and symbolise evil, dishonesty and introversion at the expense of the community. The shadows contrast with the white church; that represents purity, goodness, morality and community togetherness, and the former. The text on the cover and the inside article report on how the Mafia 'bleeds New England', and hence how this criminal activity is robbing the towns of their economic wealth. The New England town - the epitome of an industrious and thrifty community according to Meinig - is being prevented from enjoying the fruits of its labours in the way that democracy usually ensures. The criminal underworld, by embezzling money from these towns, firstly defies the American ethic of hard work and economic prudence, and secondly subverts the democratic process and chokes the community.

The curse of the Mafia and other forms of organised crime was similarly reported by Lyndon Johnson to be 'erod[ing] our very system of justice in all spheres of government.' 'It is intolerable', he stated, 'that corporations of corruption should systematically flaunt our laws.' However, it is not the criminality of the Mafia that is at issue both for Johnson and the Post, but more importantly its threat to American

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27 Tyler (1971) argues that the fraternal organisation of the Mafia is akin to other American communities engaged in a common purpose. In this Post article, however, that common purpose is both illegal and immoral and causes the demise of community for other residents. The Post therefore regards this clansman tendency as a negative effect in contrast to more democratic forms of community.
principles. ‘It is when criminal syndicates start to undermine basic economic and political traditions and institutions that the real trouble begins’ (Lyndon Johnson, quoted in Cressey, 1969, p. 1). The New England town, therefore, far from representing America or ‘microcosming’ a culture, is the place of illegal and un-American activity where personal gain is cherished above community well being.

The subversives responsible for this corruption are reported to be residing unnoticeably in America’s small towns and it is this underhandedness (rather than their ethnic origins) that the article suggests creates ruptures in the local community. Because of the cunning way in which the criminals conceal themselves behind the façade of family intimacy in the small town, the omnipresent threat to residents creates perpetual fear and suspicion. News of their presence sends alarm to otherwise peaceful neighbourhoods but this fear creates a system of control by the Mafia. It replaces the official source of democratic order with mob rule which is neither democratic nor reassuringly fair. Thus, while the Mafia bleeds New England economically, it also bleeds the communities spiritually.28

This cynical presentation of small towns is also a feature of films released in the late 1960s such as Bonnie and Clyde, Alice’s Restaurant, and Easy Rider (Levy, 1991). While those films in the early 1960s supported the dominant culture (as the Post also did), films of the late 1960s that were set in the small town expressed countercultural and anti-establishment views. Small-town folk were no longer portrayed as idealistic or superior, and their towns had lost their moral centres. In films such as those cited above, the underlying motif is the breakdown of the structure that encouraged a disintegration of values, and left society in a state of anomie. Summarising his findings from his study of small-town films of the late 1960s, Levy writes:

Small towns have been depicted as fragmented communities lacking moral gravity and coercive power over their individuals. With no organised collective life, individuals in small towns are left to their own devices, lacking meaningful bonds with friends, neighbours, and the town as a whole. In these films, individuals are no longer required

28 See Sfakas (1999), Jacobs et al (1994), and Sterling (1994) for more detailed discussions of organised crime in America. Dated, but nonetheless useful commentaries, are provided by Hobsbawm (1959) and Ianni and Reuss-Ianni (1976)
to sacrifice their personal interests for the town's collective goals and values...

(Levy, 1991, p.252)

Although Hollywood appeared to offer a slightly more negative view of small-town life than the Post in the late 1960s, both shared the opinion that the small town was no longer the archetypal American community of which Meinig is so proud. This challenge to traditional conceptions of local life, and particularly those of the small town, reflects the wider questions raised about the dominance of WASP values that political assassinations, the Vietnam War, and the various protest movements brought into question. In this political climate, the local scale is as much a place of corruption, exclusion, and anomie as a place where views could be aired and personal opinion expressed in the name of freedom.

CONCLUSION

Throughout the first half of the Cold War, I have shown how the local scale was important for presenting American national identities, and especially for highlighting American liberalism that the Constitution helped set in stone. The variety of communities depicted in the Post, such as the small town, the rural area, the suburban neighbourhood, and the city, demonstrated the diversity of American life and the democratic, decentralised system that supported and produced such individualism. At the same time, however, there was also a suggestion of national cohesion of these independent communities, and the nation therefore played a crucial role in influencing the way the local was articulated. Occasionally this also impeded the presentation of local differences and hence national heterogeneity, and over the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s local particularism on the one hand and national integration on the other, were the twin themes through which the local scale was presented.

In World War Two and its aftermath, I have demonstrated how national integration was fundamental for gaining support for the war. The local community thus served as the microcosm of national culture, bringing distant political events into the ken of 'average' Americans on the homefront to make it more understandable. In the mid-1950s, however, the Post's series 'The Face of America' demonstrated a shift in the prominent features of the local scale. Attention was focused more intensely on
illustrating the particularities of different places and their unique characteristics. Thus, rather than drawing attention to the ties that bound these communities into the national whole, the series reflected the surface expression of a richly heterogeneous national culture.

In the early 1960s, however, with those particularisms considered to be at the root of violent clashes in American cities, and the Cold War still posing a threat from outside the United States, the Post needed to be sensitive to both heterogeneity and national unity. The magazine showed how local-scale differences could be incorporated into a national whole without suggesting homogeneity or sub-cultural isolation. America’s history of bringing diverse groups together under the banner of the nation could provide the experience for demonstrating how cross-cultural understanding and integration should be the goal of Americans, while continuing to respect different cultures and ethnic traditions. The balance between local distinctiveness and nationalisation was very delicately attained during this period. By the later 1960s, however, individualism and particularities divided communities and some individuals prevented the local scale from representing democracy in America. Rather than incubators of democracy, therefore, local communities were more laboratories of depravity, threatening society.

The small town, the suburb, the rural area, the city and the neighbourhood were all means through which national identity was simultaneously articulated. Unique and individual, yet intricately woven into the national tapestry through threads that were spun at different geographical scales, the local community was where abstract national ideologies could be given concrete form for readers of the Saturday Evening Post.
CHAPTER 5

THE INTEGRATION OF INDIVIDUALS AND THE INDIVIDUALITY OF THE INTEGRATED WHOLE: THE NATIONAL SCALE

American identity, I have argued, is created in the relationship between different geographical scales such as the domestic, the local and the global (discussed in other chapters of this study). These scales are not pre-given, but are articulated across space and time, providing changing renditions of American identity. In this chapter I wish to focus attention on the geographical scale of the nation and to examine the way in which a sense of nation is presented in the Saturday Evening Post between 1942 and 1969.

Nowadays there is a strong congruence between America and the national scale. America — or more accurately the United States of America — is a politically recognised state with territorial boundaries, and the geographical scale of the nation is therefore largely defined by the state's territorial limits. However, as Hobsbawm (1997) has reminded us, the concept of the nation is not static. Its meaning is dependent upon socio-historical context, and the American experience of the nation has consequently seen shifts over time. In the early part of American history, for example, the national scale was not a politically delineated territory but more an ideological concept. It is only through time that the national scale became politically, legally and socially defined, and only with the end of the Civil War and the closing of the frontier that its geographical scope was determined. The first part of this chapter will outline this historical evolution of the meaning of the nation from an American perspective, and from the perspective of the Post prior to World War Two. I then move on to analyse national scale representations of American identity in the Saturday Evening Post over the first half of the Cold War period.¹

Early origins of the American concept of the nation can be traced back to the early settlers who began their travels from Europe with personal preconceptions of

¹ The first part of this chapter is a brief overview of the development of the idea of the nation and nationhood in the United States. For more detailed accounts see Curti (1967), Anderson (1983, especially chapter four), Greenfeld (1992, chapter five), and the edited collection by Bodnar (1996)
‘America’. These settlers left their homes in search of something new that America appeared to offer to those prepared to make the trip across the Atlantic. This hope in the New World, this faith in the future, this courage to seek new opportunities generated in the old countries were the origins of a national ideology that defined America from the start (Curti, 1967). For this reason, Greenfeld (1992) argues:

The English settlers came with a national identity; it was a given. They necessarily conceived of the community to which they belonged as a nation; the idea of the nation was an American inheritance. National identity in America thus preceded the formation not only of the specific American identity (the American sense of uniqueness), but of the institutional framework of the American nation, and even of the national territory, all of which ... are conventionally thought of as foundations of nationality.

(Greenfeld, 1992, p. 402. Emphasis in original)

Thus America was first and foremost a national ideology, defined not by politically delineated boundaries, but by common experiences in a common past – no matter how near in history that past was. Geography played a minimal role in the meaning of the new nation, only to provide evidence that the New World existed, if, as yet, in an unknown capacity.

For some commentators, however, it was independence from Britain that brought substance to the credence of the nation as a political rather than an ideological entity, and it was only then that one could begin to talk of America as a nation. Thelen (1998) argues, for example, that the nation was created by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence, while for Clark (1981), independence necessitated the adjudication of laws at the national scale which promoted the inauguration of national institutions. The provision of the Declaration of Independence gave the American people a national icon to be called upon throughout time, an ageless message of what the nation means to Americans, as well as a defining moment to commemorate the birth

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2 The word America first appeared in the Old World on a map by Waldsemuller in 1507 (Campbell, 1992). This was the first written presentation of a new nation in the New World, but it would be some time before an American nation would emerge.

3 For a similar interpretation of the origins of American culture see Zelinsky (1992).

4 See also Drukman (1971) for a similar view
of the nation at a particular time. Approved by the committee on July 4th 1776, it outlined the meaning of the nation in both national and international terms. The Declaration presented in brief compass the fundamental premises of American nationhood: ‘that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their creator with inalienable rights’ and ‘to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just consent of the governed’. As well as defining the premises of American nationhood, the Declaration was also a product of a particular time in American history. Its vehement attack on British aristocracy and especially George III served to demonstrate the need to dissolve the last political bonds with Britain and to assume ‘a separate and equal station’ among nations of the earth. Hence, international recognition of the Union was fundamental to gaining credece as a nation distinctive from others, and it was by distinguishing its difference from Britain that the United States would become a recognisable nation amongst all other nations.

Popular interest in these momentous events also encouraged further development of the nation (Thelen, 1998). Histories and celebrations of the founding fathers became popular, and figures such as George Washington became national icons that served to unite the country around a common past (Bodnar, 1992). The Fourth of July was also widely celebrated from the late eighteenth century with processions, bells, cannons, oratory, public dinners and church services held to commemorate American independence in similar ways throughout the nation (Spillman, 1997).

For other commentators, however, independence did not usher in a great moment of national declarations. Geographically, for example, Curti (1967, p. 22-3) maintains that there remained some ambiguity over the congruence between the terms ‘nation’, ‘America’ and ‘country’. He states that one decade prior to independence, for example, Benjamin Franklin used the term ‘America’ in his letters in the sense of the thirteen colonies but also in the sense of the whole continent of the New World. Curti also claims that throughout the Revolution and long afterwards, John Adams called both Massachusetts and the United States ‘my country’, while James Madison likewise spoke of Virginia and the United States as ‘my country’. This ambiguity caused confusion of loyalties, and even towards the end of the Revolutionary War there was a general weakness of national sentiment and national interest.

Wills (1978) also contends that despite the frequent call on the Declaration as a founding text for American nationhood, at the time the document was thought to have little lasting significance because its primary purpose was to achieve release from
Britain more than it was to declare a new nation. Similarly, Greenfeld suggests that independence did not necessarily create a nation:

The Declaration of Independence ... cut the umbilical cord. Yet what was born was not the infant American nation, but the embryo; or rather the nation was born so premature that for the next ninety years it existed only as a potentiality. The unformed American soul hung precariously to the undeveloped body, and the eventually firm union of the two was not a matter of certainty but the result of a story of happy accidents.

(Greenfeld, 1992, p.422)

Other researchers have argued that throughout this ninety-year period those ‘happy accidents’ were crucial moments that stimulated nationalist impulses and enhanced the meaning of the term. Curti (1967, p 29) suggests that the Constitution, ratified by the thirteen states in 1787, was one such moment. ‘The Constitution was a necessary instrument in the process by which Americans did become a nation which they could love and to which they could be loyal’ he argues. He goes on to suggest that the significance of the Constitution was immediate in the United States, quoting the speech made on July 4th 1788 by James Wilson in Philadelphia: ‘’Tis done! We have become a nation’.

Dangerfield (1965) argues that those ‘happy accidents’ occurred in frequent succession between 1815 and 1828 when, he claims, American nationalism was awakened. The War of 1812 provided the catalyst to the awakening, from which America emerged as a nation with enhanced status among other nations of the world. Although still considered by the British ‘little more than a grimy republican thumbprint upon the far margin of ... history’, ‘the war renewed and reinstated the national feelings which the revolution had given and which were daily lessened’ (Dangerfield 1965, pp. ix, 3). Writing in 1816, Albert Gallatin stated that ‘the people ... are now more American; they feel and act more like a nation; and I hope that the

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5 This is not to deny, of course, that the Constitution could still be interpreted differently by the many parts that composed it. The separatist impulse was inherent in the document, therefore, and a national scale perspective was not necessarily guaranteed.

6 It was during this war, of course, that The Star Spangled Banner would be written, later to be adopted as the national anthem in 1931.
permanency of the Union is thereby better secured" (quoted in Dangerfield, 1965, p.4).

As well as an enhanced sense of communion among the national population, the aftermath of the war saw the signing of the Monroe Doctrine in 1823, which provided the cornerstone of American foreign policy. ‘The American continents’, the Doctrine read, ‘are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for a future colonisation by any European powers’. The Monroe Doctrine thus provided an external vision of America as part of American continents in the New World to be protected from foreigners. In addition, a tariff was imposed on imports as part of this campaign, protecting American industry and its world trade by providing a barrier against economic incursion from outside. These three events - the war of 1812, the Monroe Doctrine, and the import tax - occurring between 1812 and 1828, demonstrated both at home and abroad that America was a viable nation politically, territorially, and economically.

Geographically, the shape of the nation also changed in the early part of the nineteenth century, which altered the territorial dimensions of the national scale. The Louisiana Purchase, for example, increased the size of the national territory along its westward trajectory and provided stimulus to the belief in the continental scale of the nation. The Purchase included the stretch of land between the Mississippi River and the Rocky Mountains, enabling the United States to attain a valuable trade route North and South along the river. In 1812, the first of the thirteen states to be carved from the territory - Louisiana - was admitted to the Union, and over the next decade a further six states would be added.

Throughout the nineteenth century, continuous processes such as the westward movement of the frontier also helped to define the meaning of the nation for Americans from an ideological point of view. As well as adding more land to the national scale, the experience of the frontier for Americans - an event that Turner would later popularise as a fundamental part of American national identity - encouraged the intensification of national sentiment. While the old states that had originally signed the constitution continued to maintain strong state identities, new states such as Ohio or Illinois were identified by their residents firstly as American. They ‘did not have a sense of their own particularity and did not tend to distinguish between their interests and the interests of the United States as a whole’ Greenfeld (1992, p.433) argues. The growing distance from the Atlantic Seaboard, and hence
the reduced influence from externalities, also enhanced this development of a
distinctive American nation, and thus as the frontier rolled back nationalism was
unfurled. Similarly, Spillman (1997) suggests that the arrival of new immigrants
throughout the nineteenth century encouraged the spread of a national scale ideology
in America. Unlike the residents of the North East coast, she argues, immigrants,
much like the early settlers, brought with them preconceived notions of the nation and
a national scale perspective that was not complicated by local attachments to territory.

Intellectuals also played their role in providing a cultural definition of the national
scale. Alexis de Tocqueville, for example, would produce a text in 1831 that would
subsequently become one of the most cited texts on the topic of American identity.
Other great American writers - such as Herman Melville, James Fennimore Cooper,
and one of the most original and influential American poets, Walt Whitman - were
producing some of their best and nationally-inspired works in the first half of the
nineteenth century (Curti, 1967). In addition, Daniels (1993) states that national
interests were also motivating the style of landscape painting produced by artists such
as Thomas Cole.

Educationally, schools were concerned with teaching about the nation and inciting
national spirit among students. Thelen (1998) argues that from the early nineteenth
century historians took as their charge the union of the nation. As evidence for this
nationalist motivation he cites the publication of George Bancroft's epic text The
History of the United States from the Discovery of the American Continent, which
appeared in several volumes between 1834 and 1874. As well as history, the study of
geography also encouraged interest in the American nation. In 1852 the American
Geographical and Statistical Society was established, publishing its research in The
Bulletin of the American Geographical and Statistical Society (James and Martin,
1978, p. 2). The first national census was taken in 1850, and this type of data was a
critical source of raw material for geographers interested in population and
economics. The census was fundamental to the growth of the discipline of geography
in America, and its initiation by the state suggested state support for the academic
field (Livingstone, 1992). Even arithmetic was said to have been taught with a
national bias (Curti, 1967, p. 122-143).

Religion was also strongly allied with the national scale in the nineteenth century
through the idea of Manifest Destiny, and this fuelled the belief that the American
nation should be continental in size. The term 'Manifest Destiny' expressed the belief
that it was Anglo-Saxon American's providential mission to expand their civilisation across the breadth of the United States. Writing in an article on the annexation of Texas, published in the July-August 1845 edition of the *United States Magazine and Democratic Review*, John L. Sullivan was the first to use the term. He claimed it was ‘our manifest destiny to overspread this continent allotted by Providence for the free development of our yearly multiplying millions’. The following year, William Gilpin declared that ‘the untransacted destiny of the American people is to subdue the continent – to rush over this vast field to the Pacific Ocean - ... to carry the career of mankind to its peak’ (quoted in Daniels, 1993, p. 180). Manifest Destiny also coincided with the growing desire to secure Oregon Territory, California, and Mexican land in the Southwest, and hence the timing was ripe to promote and to realise the continental scope of the nation. It would provide an important foundation for the post Civil War period when the geo-political scale of the nation would be established.

On the eve of the Civil War, therefore, the national scale was already ideologically and politically in the making. However, it would take the result of the war to establish the national scale economically and geographically, and it is with the Civil War therefore that most commentators agree the American nation was realised.

Ironically, the war itself was a direct challenge to the nation and especially the continental size of the United States. While both North and South believed in the pursuit of liberty, it became clear that this meant different things in an industrialising north and an agricultural south. The main point of contention over which the sides were divided was the issue of slavery. Despite many years of growing division, the election of Abraham Lincoln in 1860 ensured government control with the Northern antislavery party, and Southerners believed slavery was doomed if the South remained in the Union. In response, seven slave states seceded (followed by four more after the firing on Fort Sumter) and formed the Confederate States of America.

Secession, however, did not inevitably mean war, for if the Lincoln administration had accepted it the two halves of the former United States might have coexisted. Lincoln, however, felt otherwise: “A house divided against itself cannot stand.” I believe this government cannot endure, permanently half slave and half free’ he declared (borrowing a quote from the bible) in a speech on June 16th 1858. As both a

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7 See McPherson (1988) for a more detailed history of this wartime period in America
symbol of national sovereignty in the Confederate States and as a sign of hope that those states would be brought back into the Union, Lincoln decided to maintain a federal garrison at Fort Sumter in Charleston Bay. On April 12th 1861, the Confederate Army attacked the fort, starting the American Civil War that would last four years.

Despite the fatalities and destruction wrought by war, the event was a triumph of nationalism and freedom. Northern victory ensured that the United States would survive as a single nation with a republican form of government, and ensured that the entire nation would consist of free citizens – reconfirming the liberal ideology that welded together the national population. ‘In 1865 the soul of the American nation, which had been before but a resident tenant in its vast territorial body, became its owner: the national identity finally achieved a geo-political embodiment’ (Greenfeld, 1992, p. 480).

The geo-political significance of the war that Greenfeld highlights might also explain the professionalisation of geography. Interest grew in the study of geography at university, especially following the interest shown in the discipline at Harvard University from 1878. At Yale University, by 1881 geography had ‘established for itself a position on the campus’, while 1888 saw the establishment of a professional geographic society in Washington DC (James and Martun, 1978, p. 17). Awareness of national geography was also aided by the completion of the transcontinental railroad shortly after the American Civil War, which brought the continental expanse of the national territory into sharper focus. Aligning East and West, the ‘iron horse’ was the chief force behind the unification of the nation and enabled travellers to experience the vastness of their nation (Ginger, 1965).

The geographical extent of the national scale was also confirmed by the census of 1890, declaring the official closure of the frontier in America. From a cultural perspective the influence of the frontier on the shaping of American identity would be discussed in a seminal address delivered by Frederick Jackson Turner to the American Historical Association in 1893. In his address, Turner would argue that the frontier experience had shaped a distinctive national character and hence it was this uniquely American experience that provided the opportunity to develop a unique national

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8 Meunig (1998, chapter One) provides a detailed account of the railway’s role in ‘forging the iron bond’ across America. See also Knox et al (1994) pp 111-150, for a similar interpretation of the role of railways in the development of the awareness of a continental size national scale in America.
identity. Nationhood and geography were therefore closely allied according to this thesis.9 Yet Turner's thesis also promoted the importance of history in the enhancement of national sentiments, and the professionalisation of history at the end of the Civil War provides evidence of the official role history would also play in promoting awareness of the nation. 'The point of history was to build a nation, to focus stories of change over time on the nation, to dismiss subnational or transnational visions of experience' Thelen argues (1998, p. 385). Indeed, Kammen would refer to the post Civil War period as the era of 'the enhancement of the retrospective vision', and while this was not confined solely to the United States, he maintains 'collective memory and tradition began to play a more prominent role than ever before in American history' (Kammen, 1993, p. 93).

The coincidence of the centennial celebrations provided occasion for this interest in collective memory and tradition to excite the nation. Spillman (1997, p. 5) determines that it was this occasion that provided the turning point in America's sense of nationhood, stating that 'most patriotic practices, organisations, and symbols familiar today date from or became institutionalised at that time'. Thanksgiving and Memorial Day, for example, were institutionalised through the planning of centennial celebrations, while the American flag, Uncle Sam, and other national symbols became widespread in the late nineteenth century (Kazin and Ross, 1992; McConnell, 1996). History also promoted interest in national heroes and places of national significance, and O'Leary (1996) suggests figures such as Abraham Lincoln, war heroes, and battlefields from both the North and the South provided foci for shared interest among the national population regardless of geographical location within the United States. Bodnar (1992) also argues that the establishment of national parks and the commemoration of other sites of famous battles promoted interest in the nation—though at times, he concedes, this conflicted with more local affiliations to place and community.

Politically, the war had demonstrated that the federal government could play an enhanced role in national affairs, and Curti (1967) suggests that this state presence in the late nineteenth century subordinated the interests of component parts of the nation under the strong hand of the state. Zelinsky (1994) also argues that the federal role increased from 1870, shaping the national landscape in uniform ways and preventing

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9 See Billington (1961) for a discussion and reproductions of some of Turner's seminal works on the Frontier Thesis, and for consideration of Turner's contribution to geography see Block (1980)
local idiosyncrasies to develop in the landscape. The provision of national parks, military sites, forest services, the bureau of land management and the widespread duplication of the new capital city’s architecture were all repeated across America, enhancing awareness and appreciation of the national scale.¹⁰

Economically too the country could recognise its national scale and profit from the wide variety of resources at its disposal. The United States was able to divide itself into specialised but integrated economic areas, where business could cater to a national market (Wiebe, 1976). The successful operation of a transnational transport system – dominated by the railroad, but later to include road transport after the mass production of automobiles in the late 1900s – ensured the ease of trade among different parts of the country as well as the economic expansion of the nation (Meyer, 1994).

Also benefiting from (and contributing to) this growth of national markets was the media industry. Providing stories, institutionalizing styles of writing, fixing vernaculars, creating languages-of-power, and developing a sense of community among readers across the nation, media was decisive in creating American identities (Anderson, 1983). ‘The printer’s office emerged as the key to North American communications and community intellectual life’ Anderson (1983, p. 61) argues. Carey (1992) suggests that it was only with the development of transportation that media was able to realise its national(ist) capacity, for it was only with the potential to deliver messages across the continent that this role could be played.

The United States was, to flirt with more deterministic language, the product of literacy, cheap paper, rapid and inexpensive transportation, and the mechanical reproduction of words – the capacity, in short, to transport not only people but a complex culture and civilization from one place to another, indeed between places that were radically dissimilar in geography, social conditions, economy, and very often climate.

(Carey, 1992, p. 2-3)

By the late nineteenth century, conditions were ripe for media to utilise national

¹⁰ Washington DC became the national capital in 1850.
transport connections to their benefit. The Saturday Evening Post, conceived as a medium of education and acculturation for the population of America, would be a product of this zeitgeist.

THE NATIONAL SCALE AT THE POST

Editor George Horace Lorimer, from the outset in 1899, intended to create America in and through the pages of the Post. The magazine was to be the standard bearer of Americanism, and its birth in the late nineteenth century helps to explain why this should have dominated Lorimer’s editorial vision. Drawing on a rich variety of raw materials available by the late nineteenth century — from history, geography, politics, consumer culture, and a growing number of national icons — Lorimer wished to provide a model against which Americans could shape their lives.  

However, Lorimer believed that although the foundations were there for talking about the national scale, it was still very much a crude structure. Much work needed to be done to enhance national sentiment and this was where he saw the Post making its mark:  

Lorimer was conscious from the outset of his editorial work that America was unformed as a nation; he saw the country as an unassimilated collection of regions and nationalities in which an overriding and unifying consciousness of Americanism had yet to be developed. The Post was conceived by both Lorimer and Curtis as the medium of an American consciousness.  

(Cohn, 1989, p. 9)

Thus, in its contents the magazine created and disseminated images of America, while the readers of the magazine ‘became’ a national community who could share with each other (literally and, in the sense proposed by Anderson (1983), imaginatively) the entertainment offered by the Post.

Under Lorimer’s editorship, the focus of the magazine centred on business, and it

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11 See Chapter 2 for a detailed account of the national perspective of the Post.
12 Drukman (1971) provides a similar account of the state of the nation at the close of the frontier and the need for an enhanced sense of a national spirit
was the businessman who defined the ‘average American’ in the Post. Depicted as hardworking, practical, responsible, politically intelligent and patriotic, the businessman was considered the type of person who could lead America into the twentieth century. It would be 1909 before the Post would include women in its definition of the average American, largely in a bid to earn more revenue from increased sales and added advertising accounts for commodities used by women. In addition to business, the Post developed a strong association with national politics. In 1903 Senator Beveridge provided a series for the magazine entitled ‘Americans Today and Tomorrow’ and this began a long liaison between the Post and centres of power. By the 1904 election, the Post had established itself as a forum for political debate between leading political figures, claiming that by keeping readers informed of domestic politics it was carrying out its public duty. However, while it declared itself non-partisan, it clearly supported Republican values and would continue to provide more space and support for Republican candidates until the early 1960s.

With World War One the national perspective of the Post would come into sharper focus, as other forms of mass media also grew in support of the national government at this time (Kammen, 1993). Prior to America’s entry into war, Lorimer’s vigorous patriotism was expressed in the magazine’s firm stand on neutrality. War was unnecessary Lorimer affirmed, it ‘bled the treasures and depleted the resources of a nation, resources necessary for business and industrial progress, therefore for national progress as a whole’ (Cohn 1989, p. 100). War was a European catastrophe, and a sign that the Old World was sliding back into barbarism rather than embracing the twentieth century.

The declaration of war in 1917, however, forced Lorimer to abandon his antiwar position and the magazine was newly dedicated to fighting the cause. Appalled by Old World politics, and with an intensified pride in the young America, the Post became suspicious of any threat to the latter, and attention turned not to war in Europe but to the United States:

After 1917 and the Russian Revolution there were the Bolshevists, the subversives, and ... immigrant Americans ... even jazz undermined Americanism. Against these enemies the Post became the champion of what Lorimer determined was truly American.

(Cohn, 1989, p. 102)
However, this definition of America had become somewhat narrowed and what had always been implicit – a conception of white, middle-class America – now became explicit and exclusive.

The *Post* emerged from the war ‘with patriotism unfurled and nativism unleashed’, Cohn suggests (p. 135), and continued to criticise anything un-American. The labour strikes of the early 1920s, for example, were fertile ground for this condemnation of radicalism and alien invasion, and this fuelled the magazine’s campaign to stop immigration. However, the 1920s were also a time when the *Post* itself played a direct role in contributing to the rise of nationhood, as it became a recognisable source of national talent. Authors such as F. Scott Fitzgerald and Mary Roberts Rhinehart, and artists such as Norman Rockwell and J. C. Leyendecker, were frequent contributors to the *Post* and all became noted national figures through success in their fields.13

It was the election of Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal initiative, however, that gave the *Post* a new energy in its commitment to the nation. While the New Deal was a national response to specific problems - necessitating dam, canal and highway construction, rural electrification, and prison provision – the *Post* accused the government of carrying out un-American policies. Not only were the policies borrowed from European socialism and communism, but they also threatened to undermine and even eradicate those American characteristics responsible for building the country – hard work, self-sacrifice, thrift and determination. With the success of Roosevelt in his second election, the *Post* under new editor Wesley Stout remained committed to attacking New Deal relief programmes and their recipients while championing traditional American virtues. This attack was conducted, in part, by emphasis on the common man, the humble American, who could draw on his God-given skills to succeed in the world of business.

So as the *Post* and the United States entered World War Two in the winter of 1941, both had a long history of conducting business and presenting material from a national perspective. National symbols and annual celebrations, a geo-political framework and national institutions, had been set in place before the magazine began

13 The *Post* also set a trend of celebrity worship in the 1920s, celebrating boxing great Jim Corbett, jazz musician Paul Whiteman, and actor Harold Lloyd, among others, and making these into national heroes for popular worship
publishing, while politics, business, consumerism and historic events continued to furnish the *Post* with new materials on which to draw with renewed vigour as America entered World War Two.

The remainder of this chapter will demonstrate how the *Post* drew on these materials from history, geography, politics, and popular culture to articulate the national scale between 1942 and 1969. However, I will also show how the national scale is not an isolated entity but is articulated in relation to different geographical scales whose relations change over time. While two forces – the integration of individuals and the individuality of the integrated whole – are the terms through which the nation is expressed, these rely on close associations with scales smaller and larger than the national for their understanding.

**WORLD WAR TWO AND ICONS OF AMERICAN INDIVIDUALITY**

‘In times of threat when a group of individuals feels in danger from another ... the spirit of the nation is revived and fomented as a unifying factor of defence’ (Cameron, 1994, p. 1). In the turmoil of World War Two, the *Saturday Evening Post* would play a crucial role in reviving that national spirit in America, with editor Ben Hibbs proposing that the magazine would ‘do everything in its power to further national unity’ and to ‘stir the national spirit’ (Credo, 1942, p. 4). An advertisement for Goodyear from October 31st 1942 is an early indication of the Hibbs editorial perspective influencing the contents of the magazine (figure 5:1).

The advertisement was a two-page colour spread, with a painting on the left-hand side and text on the right hand side. The painting is split diagonally from right to left, showing George Washington and Abraham Lincoln in the top left of the page and a pilot and a civilian woman on the bottom right of the page. The text talks of the necessity for air power in the present war, and warns that America must be first in air power if the world is to be free of totalitarianism. It is a celebration of American aviation, and as a supplier of aircraft parts, Good Year associates itself with the product that it assures will win victory in the war. However, as well as suggesting the supremacy of America in relation to the rest of the world, the advertisement exhibits a variety of symbols and icons that provide common ground through which a sense of unity can be attained. The two forces – individuality of the integrated whole and integration of individuals - are therefore displayed equally in this advertisement.
Looking down now on our embattled America—

The spirit of the unflinching men who guided

This nation through the perils of the past.

They see our mighty republic, nurtured by liberty

And union, mounted high as the guardian oceans

Shrink, and the ramparts we manned become

Towers instead of barriers under the speed

And power of attack from the air.

Once, all that courage needed was a foothold for

The defense of its homeland—by protecting its

Harbors, rivers, mountain passes and vital points,

It could protect the whole.

Then the sinking of the Spanish Armada ushered

Sea power into its full reign and, spread and fed

By strategic bases like Hongkong, Singapore,

Gibraltar, Mombasa, Alexandria and Capetown, sea

Power was made to mean world command.

Now as in the twinkling of an eye all this is

Changed.

Land power and land barriers however formidable

Are hurried and overcome. Sea power with

All its far-reaching majesty is threatened. The third

Redoubtable dimension—the ocean of the sky—

Is mastered by the plane, overstriking on land

And sea all the bastions of the past.

So the ramparts we watch are overhead, and our

Vigilance must comprehend not just the curve of our

Shores but the arch of our heavens; and the

Fact that freedom crowning and determining all other

Freedom for ourselves and our children is hence-

Forward the freedom of the skies!

We must be strong there. Nay, we must be in-

Vincible, indomitable. Time, now measured by

Speed, requires it. The days of grace we once

Knew by virtue of the slow pace of armies and

Week-long distances of the seas are breasted by the

Planes in hours.

To preserve America we must make air first in the air—

Prepared in advance to defend and attack at any point, not strategy mature and uni-

Versal, her youth trained, ready, disciplined, their

Equipment and tactics the very perfection of the

Nearest art in war.

We must be air-minded, far-minded, world-

Minded now—gift in spirit and strength to the

New leadership destiny is placing in our keeping

—satisfying our matchless future place and re-

Sponsibility through justice to all.

In the light of these truths, Goodyear is proud to be

Mass-producing wings, cabs, and control surfaces,

Assemblies for bomber and fighter airplanes—

Cockpit seats, tubes, wheels, brakes, bullet-sealing

Gas tanks and fuel lines for all types of warplanes,

And squadrons of giant, U-boat-hunting blimps.

America must be first in the air. Before any other

Duty Americas must provide the

Morn and weapons to put her there

—she neither out you not any

Of our people nor their children will

Ever be first in anything again.

Figure 5:1 Goodyear Tires advertisement, October 31st 1942.
The United States is distinguished in this advertisement as supreme in air power, and it is through aviation that a pre-eminent American nation is defined. World War Two had brought the industry to the world’s attention and aircraft represented the pinnacle of global technology. Nations that possessed the technological power to supply aircraft were therefore considered superior, and while land armies and a supreme Navy had ensured victory in previous wars, it was widely held that air power and command of the skies would be required for global domination in the Second World War. Aircraft were becoming popular, and their ability to take the world into a new dimension was by then a realisable prospect.

However, this transfer of focus from the earth to the skies during the Second World War had changed the perspective of the nation from a defence point of view, the advertisement reveals. It was no longer necessary to view the nation from the ground to identify strategic military sites but instead the entire nation would be vulnerable from the perspective of the air. From the plane, the natural defenses that landscapes offered – mountains, rivers, harbours and so on - are targets rather than ramparts, and even the vastness of the oceans that once offered some protection has been shrunk by the ‘speed and power’ of aircraft. ‘Land power and land barriers, however formidable’, the text claims, are simply ‘hurled and overcome’, revealing the immense ease with which aircraft can master the world. Air power thus means ultimate control, with the pilot’s eye offering a new God-like command over a terrain that is no longer defined by political boundaries between culturally imposed nations ‘Air-mindedness’ requires ‘world-mindedness’, the advertisement claims, and the definition of America took on global proportions through this new perspective. In addition, the awesome capacity of aircraft to take pilots above the land, and

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14 I present further evidence of the Post’s presentation of the association between aviation and national supremacy in the following chapter on the global scale. Indeed, it was the global scale through which companies associated with aviation predominantly chose to advertise.

15 Atkinson (1996) discusses the concern for air supremacy in Mussolini’s Italy before and during the Second World War. In a similar propagandist fashion, Italian popular press promoted the necessity for air power to control the ‘World Island’ that had been the topic of global geopolitics since Mackinder’s thesis at the beginning of the twentieth century.

16 The excitement that aeroplanes brought to war can be determined by the level of interest in aircraft and aviation at the Post. During the war, no less than thirteen covers depicted military aircraft, compared with six covers of navy ships and nine covers of army munitions. After the war, interest in aircraft continued to command space at the magazine, and especially the idea that aircraft would become the new mode of personal transport (advertisements 14/4/42; and 2 11 46 for example). Aircraft continued to advertise vacationing in distant parts, while in the 1960s, interest in aviation had begun to include UFOs (cover illustration, 17/12/66)
consequently above natural barriers, meant that victory in war would only be guaranteed through victory in the skies. The advertisement claims: 'We must be strong. Nay, we must be invincible, domnant!' Yet, the aeroplane is not presented as a formidable and frightening prospect despite its awesome power, rather it is discussed in familiar terms. Hence, the air is but the 'ocean of the sky' and another 'rampart' to defend. By using these terms with which the reader is already familiar, control of the skies that Good Year is advertising seems within their grasp.

To identify America as supreme among other nations, the advertisement also presents aviation as part of a heavenly realm under the protection of God. America must find her way to 'the arch of our heavens' where Washington and Lincoln wait, but the text assures the reader that this position is reserved by God for Americans who must have 'girt in spirit and strength to the new leadership destiny is placing in our keeping'. Commanding the skies thus becomes the new Manifest Destiny of the twentieth century for Americans, for air supremacy would secure a place closer to God, and in this advertisement, this is assumed the rightful place of America. Furthermore, this gift to America of air supremacy is given universal acclaim in the suggestion that it demands 'responsibility through justice to all'. America will therefore use the position that destiny has provided her to fight the cause of justice not just for Americans but for all mankind. Air supremacy thus means a responsibility to the rest of the world, and it is a responsibility that Good Year feels only America can accept.

Hence, air supremacy and global supremacy were inherently connected. With the benefit of hindsight, the advertisement's promotion of the inherent connections between these positions of leadership bore out to be true. America was, indeed, supreme in airpower during World War Two, deploying some 31,000 combat aircraft in comparison with Britain's 9,000. The Soviet mobilisation of combat warplanes was larger, but her influence would not match that of the US for many reasons, not least of which was America's concept of strategic air power as a convenient instrument of military policy for a country that did not wish to maintain a large standing army (Armitage and Mahon, 1985, p. 15). According to Armitage and Mahon, the might of America's air strength was a factor contributing to the emergence of America as a global superpower in the aftermath of World War Two, as

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17 See Kern (1983) for a discussion of the invention of aircraft and an alternative interpretation of how this machine profaned the heavens.
the advertisement predicted. It is interesting that the advertisement does not support supremacy of the Allies in the air, but ‘American’ supremacy, and number one for Good Year thus means raising America to new heights among other nations, and obtaining a new characteristic for defining the nation.

This relation between America and the rest of the world was an important way for defining America to itself and to the rest of the world. Air supremacy would distinguish America from other nations and provide it with a unique and enviable quality. To be different from others confirms national identity from the outside as much as from the inside, and the significance of the international order in the construction of identities has been discussed by national historians such as Spillman (1997). She recognises that America had relied on the existence of ‘others’ for its definition since the nation began, for it was the reaction to Britishness and British identity that provided the grounds for a new American sense of self. Clearly, the relation of America to the rest of the world is crucial in this advertisement for defining the nation, and the global stage upon which the war was being waged helps to explain the context within which this identity was being forged. It was not enough for America to think about itself, but it must be ‘world-minded now’, and this would underscore American superiority.

If air supremacy means global superiority, and American dominance in the air commands a definition of America at the global scale, then the strength of America as an internally cohesive unit must also be assured. This Good Year advertisement provides this sense of cohesion in numerous ways, most obviously in the depiction of the national flag and the national anthem. However, this stirring of passions and inspiring of patriotism is not only achieved in these icons but also through the presentation of historic figures alongside contemporary ones. This provides a common past and highlights founding moments of a nation that binds the community of the national group around a common theme. The ‘we’ who watch ‘o’er the ramparts’ are thus people from both the past and the present who believe in the common doctrines of unity and supremacy as definitions of America.

The role of historic figures or the ‘undaunted men’ as the text refers to them, is an important feature in defining a sense of American nationhood. Abraham Lincoln and George Washington are praised as men who ‘guided this nation through the perils of the past’, referring of course to the Wars of Independence and the American Civil War. Both Washington and Lincoln played prominent roles in historic events, much
the same as this pilot will in the Second World War, that helped to shape the future of America. Guided by a firm commitment to the union and its preservation, both men believed in the democratic rights of individuals to live in freedom from non-democratic regimes of colonial rule and slavery. In this way, the forefathers also provide support for the current campaign for freedom of the skies, for they stand for the democratic rights of individuals in antithesis to totalitarianism and oppression. The pilot and the civilian woman who are joining the current fight against the threat to freedom are thus rendered equals with the eminent men in their crusades for the preservation of liberty and unity, and the courteous raising of Washington’s hat in respect towards the contemporary couple demonstrates the importance of these people in the defence of the nation.

Washington and Lincoln also provided a legacy from their battles that served as defining statements of the nation, and these are referenced in the documents shown in Washington’s hand in the illustration. Both the Constitution, and the Gettysburg Address — which confirmed that freedom will be found in ‘government of the people, by the people, for the people’, provided messages that resonate through the ages to provide witness to the raison d’être of the contemporary nation. Hence, both Lincoln and Washington are celebrated forefathers of the nation who symbolise historic moments in the nation’s past, but who embody the national character through their messages of American identity.

Both Washington and Lincoln have been frequently revered as national heroes, and Spillman suggests that there was a proliferation of products depicting Washington from the 1780s onwards. Portraits, birthday celebrations, shrines, relics, books, articles and nomenclature were so common and widespread that a visitor in the 1830s observed that ‘Washington in America, is not a man but a god’ (Spillman, 1997, p.23). Today, Washington continues to be honoured in America by a public holiday on his birthday (February 22nd) and by his appearance on US currency. Abraham Lincoln was likewise an icon of national reverence, and shortly before the war this interest increased. Between 1938 and 1941, for example, as Hollywood believed films about national commitment and sacrifice were in order, an ‘obsessive reincarnation’ of Lincoln in the national mythology became evident in films from this period (Levy, 1991). Of Human Hearts (1938), Young Mr. Lincoln (1939), and Abe Lincoln in Illinois (1940) were just some of the films that depicted Lincoln as the embodiment of the national spirit. The two men in this advertisement thus provide a
link with the nation’s past, but also raise passions of unity and patriotism in the present, and thereby promise continuity in the future.

Past and present are thus bridged by sentiments of nationhood, echoing Ernest Renan’s contention that it is in this in-between space that the essence of the nation lies. However, resurrecting the past is not merely a means of providing a sense of ‘whence we came’ to the definition of ‘who we are’ as Smith (1991) suggests. Rather, the reverence of founding fathers also serves to furnish the nation with social and political values, practices and myths and symbols, that have not only endured to the present day but will continue into the future. Renan therefore argues that a nation ‘presupposes a past; it is summarised, however, in the present by a tangible fact, namely consent, of the clearly expressed desire to continue a common life [in the future]’ (Renan, 1892, quoted in Bhabha, 1990, p.17). Historic figures such as Washington and Lincoln thus confirm a nation’s belief in its past, present and future.

The painting itself, especially its framing and lighting, also suggests an enduring link between past, present and future, thus reconfirming the message conveyed in the two figures. The past is depicted in the top left diagonal, while the present is depicted in the bottom right, and the top of the flagpole and the pilot’s kit bag help to mark the borderline between the past and present. However, this past and present border is fudged through the blending of colours. The subtle blues and greys create a ghostly haze over the past, while the bright yellow dress of the woman, her red nail polish, and the illumination of the couple in the beam of light denote the present, but they are periods that merge into each other rather than depart from each other. The text also supports the reading of the battle scene in the bottom right of the picture as land and sea battles of the past, while the attention of the present is focused on the skies towards which the woman and the pilot gaze in the direction of planes. The sense of future is also suggested in the direction of the light source, while the travel of the planes towards that source also implies a future source of power for those who command the skies. Hence, the past, the present, and the future are united through the commitment to liberty and unity shared by Washington and Lincoln, the World War Two pilot and the civilian; while the skies provide the new terrain in which their aspirations for the future of the nation lie.

Yet while the definition of America is provided by its global supremacy in air power, and the idea of an integrated nation is provided in the representation of historic figures, the two are bound together in the advertisement’s final definition of America.
and American identity – its commitment to consumerism. As much as the advertisement demands air supremacy on the global scale, it commodifies this as something to be bought by the American public and appeals to the individualism of Americans to make a difference. Hence, global and local are bound within the concept of consumption, and Americanness is bound within this relationship. While Good Year does its part and is proud to be mass-producing the list of parts essential to the maintenance of air power, it demands assistance from the purchasing power of individuals in America. Indeed, this consumerism is an American duty ‘before any other duty’, and if that responsibility is neglected then the nation will be relegated to second place forever. Furthermore, this activity is a powerful way for people to defend the rights of Americans, for by participating in the national consumer economy people at home – such as the woman in the illustration – become involved in the war and in the making of American supremacy. Robert Mayer (1994) discusses in some detail how consumerism was an American value worth fighting for in the Second World War, and concludes that Americans came to define the war in terms of the market place. Patriotism, national loyalty and pride, built up through both the image and the text, are wrapped up in consumerism in the concluding paragraph so that they become closely intertwined.

The Saturday Evening Post also supported consumerism as an American war aim, not least in its provision of space for advertisements, but also in its ‘Post War Page’ that was a regular feature in the wartime issues. The page would provide a neat comparison between America and the Axis powers on themes of religion, education, working conditions, and so on, and in these pages the American way would be defined as the right way to do things. In a Post War Page on July 18th 1942, consumerism in America was compared with that of Japan and the title read ‘Japanese Lady Buy From Pushcart.... Not so in America’.

America’s system of retail stores has helped to make America ‘the best fed, best clothed, best housed nation on earth’, and ‘no one questions their place or their power’. Hence, the capitalist system has helped make America supreme according to this page. It is no coincidence then that this accolade should be accompanied by a plea to buy war bonds, for buying confirms American identity, and financially supporting the war is a double patriotic duty.

After the war, the symbols and techniques used in the Good Year advertisement

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18 For a more detailed analysis of this advertisement see Chapter 6
would continue to be seen in the *Post*, but historic figures, national history, national homeland and consumerism would continue to define the nation in different circumstances. For example, one of the *Post*'s regular symbols of nationhood was the depiction of Benjamin Franklin, who, like Washington and Lincoln in the Good Year advertisement, personified the national spirit.

**HISTORIC FIGURES AND POST WORLD WAR TWO**

From the purchase of the *Post* by Curtis Publishing in 1898, Franklin was assumed its patron and it was he who was honoured – rather spuriously – as the founder of the magazine. From January 29th 1898 until September 1961, the name of the magazine on the inside cover was dignified by the statement ‘Founded AD 1728 by Benj. Franklin’ and Franklin’s face became a permanent part of the logo on the editorial page. The *Post*'s other honour to Benjamin Franklin was an annual cover of their hero that appeared in early January from 1943 to 1966 (excluding 1962-65). Given the consistency with which Franklin appeared on the annual cover, these illustrations provide an interesting source for identifying the shift in the depiction of the nation over time.

The relevance of Franklin as a symbol of nationhood and as figurehead of the *Post* is irrefutable. Without doubt, Franklin was a powerful symbolic ancestor who epitomised the ‘founding father’ image for Americans. His role in international affairs, particularly in England and France, confirmed his belief in American independence and Franklin used these visits to proclaim the integrity and eminence of the nation to the outside world. Within America, his literary, scientific and philosophic contributions to American society furnished the nation with the material and the symbolic needs for independence, and Franklin’s work with Thomas Jefferson on the drafting of the Declaration of Independence demonstrates the value of the man to America at home. In addition, Franklin’s work as a newspaper man on his *Pennsylvania Gazette* – from which the *Post* is said to have originated – rendered him the most obvious figurehead for a magazine whose interests lay in representing...

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19 Franklin sold the *Pennsylvania Gazette* shortly before the American Revolution to David Sellers, who then went into partnership with a man called Hall, whose grandson had a partner called Atkinson Atkinson had a partner called Alexander and these two gentlemen changed the *Pennsylvania Gazette and Weekly Advertiser* into the *daily Chronicle and Saturday Evening Post*, which finally became in 1821 the *Saturday Evening Post*. 
nationalist concerns to a nation of readers from its headquarters in Independence Square, Philadelphia. So closely allied were the *Post* and Franklin that a writer for the magazine, Ernest Hauser, sketched a cartoon of editor Ben Hibbs answering the telephone saying ‘But this is Benjamin Franklin speaking’ (Leaming, 1967).

The *Post* uses Franklin’s experiences and impressions of America to recast the image of the nation in the mid-twentieth century in the annual cover dedicated to this man. The cover showed a bust of Franklin, and on an aged parchment at the side of him in eighteenth-century-style writing, words of wisdom once spoken by Franklin and thought appropriate for the present time would be written. John Atherton illustrated the first covers until 1954, and in them, Franklin was the voice of authority. He was the wise old man to whom Americans would turn in times of trouble, and the old sage through whom the *Post* would become the ‘recognised voice of the family’ (that it would promote in the 1960s). A cover from January 1944, for example, provides comforting words to Americans during the war by proclaiming their eminence in this global situation:

> The eyes of Christendom are upon us, and our hour as a people is become a matter of the utmost consequence to be taken care of. If we give up our rights in this contest, a century to come will not restore to us the opinion of the world; we shall be stamped with the character of poltroons and fools. Present inconveniences are therefore to be borne with fortitude and better times expected.

*(Post cover illustration, January, 1944)*

Hence, America’s global context defines the nation, where Americans are superior to the ‘poltroons and fools’ who are responsible for World War Two. The opening reference to Christianity sets the global scale of America’s superiority in a religious dimension, suggesting that the Christian world is depending upon the ability of Americans to save the just world from cowards and imbeciles.

Franklin’s reference to America’s superiority in the Christian world requires just a short step to cite Manifest Destiny in support of his claim. In his advocacy of liberty, for example, a pre-eminent symbol of America, Franklin’s comments further confirm

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20 See advertisement for *Saturday Evening Post* in *New York Times*, September 7th, 1961 where the *Post*’s new approaches in editorial matters were outlined.
this proclamation of America as second to none, and define this superiority as a gift from God – its Manifest Destiny. ‘Our cause is the cause of all mankind, and that we are fighting for their liberty in defending our own is a glorious task assigned us by Providence’ (Post cover illustration, January 1945). Hence, to fight through the ‘present inconveniences’ will not only save the world but will gain the ultimate reward from God. The view of America promoted by the Post, and undersigned by the authority of Franklin, is one of national dominance on the global stage, which echoes the sentiments of Good Year’s wartime advertisement from the same period discussed above.

When the issue of World War Two had subsided, the Franklin covers could draw on other contexts to define America. For example, the Franklin covers talked of America’s scientific progress as a remarkable national achievement (19/1/46) for example; they warned against idleness, pride, folly, and economic waste lest their global leadership be lost (18/1/47; 19/1/52); and the need for national defence in the context of Cold War international relations (20/1/51). In 1948, perhaps referring in retrospect to the Second World War but in particular to Marshall Aid, the Franklin script nobly reassured Americans that recognition of their services may not be publicly acknowledged, but satisfaction of a good conscience will suffice as their reward.

By the 1950s, however, those words of wisdom from Franklin had become less universalist in their philosophies and aimed more at the individual American (figures 5:2a and 5:2b show this contrast). A striking difference was seen in the Franklin cover from 1955, which read: ‘Do not believe the reports you hear of our internal divisions. We are, I believe, as much united as a people ever were, and as firmly’. Hence, attention had turned from America’s global position to her internal state of affairs. Similarly, in 1959, the cover talked about the conscience of individuals, thus provoking internal reflection from individuals rather than seeking outward identification with the nation on a global scale. ‘My rule, in which I have always found satisfaction, is never to turn aside in public affairs through the views of private interest ... but to go straight forward in doing what appears to me right at the time leaving the consequences with Providence’ (Post cover illustration, January 1959). In this example, faith in God will still provide the capacity to do what is right (as had

21 The cover from 1949 also quotes these words from one of Franklin’s former speeches.
Figure 5:2a  Franklin Birthday cover illustration by John Atherton, January 15th 1955.

Figure 5:2b  Franklin Birthday cover illustration by Stanley Meltzoff, January 19th 1959.
been the case in 1944), but this faith in God is now an individual faith rather than a national faith. Franklin’s America is thus more a nation of individuals in whom a common cause is sought, rather than a homogeneous nation on whom a commonality is projected.

The Franklin phrases throughout the later 1950s continued to become less the voice of authority from an old sage and more the voice of a counsellor and individual mentor. The last Franklin cover depicts the forefather as the ‘big brother’ of the Post’s readers. The cover, by Blake Hampton, carried a New Year message alongside an illustration of Franklin holding a copy of the Saturday Evening Post at the side of a vice, and it read: ‘Be at war with your vices, at peace with your neighbours, and let every New Year find you a better man!’ (Post cover illustration, January 1966). The ‘brotherly’ advice in the New Year message spoke directly of neighbours, and in the turmoil of American Civil Rights demonstrations it would be clear that these neighbours were not beyond but within the nation’s borders. Franklin’s advice had come full circle from discussing a nation in relation to the globe, to talking about internal divisions within that nation that must be overcome.

The last Franklin cover, however, might have an added twist to its words of wisdom. As I suggested in Chapter 2, the Post in the mid-60s was suffering internal problems amongst its staff when divisions between the editors and the board of trustees began to threaten the future of the magazine. The fact that Franklin is holding the current copy of the Saturday Evening Post in his hand suggests to me that this cover was also speaking of neighbours even closer to home than the readers might have expected. Nonetheless, it is in keeping with the trend of the internalisation of American national identities on the Franklin covers and elsewhere in the Post, and hence the subtle undercurrent does not distract from the cover’s nationalist impulse.

The reason for this shift in focus, from a global perspective of America to an internal gaze upon its people, might be explained by the fact that the job of illustrating the covers had transferred to Stanley Meltzoff in 1956. He would be responsible for the accompanied change in the iconography of the illustration, which now included a cup of tea, a quail and reading glasses alongside the bust of Franklin to make him less an austere and distanced forefather and more an intimate, cordial man. However, I believe that movements within America also necessitated the shift, and these must be considered as grounds for the change. The comment from the 1955 Franklin cover,
for example, would come as welcome relief to a nation besieged by fears of Communist deflection, or the ‘enemy within’, highlighted by McCarthy’s Red Scare. For this and other reasons that would become more pronounced in the early 1960s in race, class and gender issues, America’s image of itself needed to turn inwards.

This move to a more inward looking definition of America in the late 1950s can also be seen in a cover illustration by Norman Rockwell from 1959. In this case however, the strategy of nation building is to resurrect the past, while the message has become one of reassuring America of its unity in diversity through a shared national history. *E Pluribus Unum* is therefore attained through national experiences in time.

**RESURRECTING THE PAST**

The cover, entitled ‘A Family Tree’ was published on October 24th 1959, and was illustrated by Norman Rockwell (figure 5:3). The background colour of the image supports the suggestion of history and lineage that a family tree implies. Like the Franklin covers and their eighteenth century scrolls, this cover’s background is made to appear like an old parchment which gives the impression of being an official document that authenticates the family’s being through antiquity. The tree takes root on a treasure-strewn shore with a galleon burning in the background and a Spanish senorita being taken by the pirate. The family moves through a colonial period up to the Civil War where the tree then divides, with one son fighting on the side of the Unionists while his brother follows the Confederate soldiers. The divide continues and the geographical division between East and West is represented by the Protestant cleric matched against the adventuring frontiersman, and the nineteen-twenties sophistication in the East is matched against a cowboy and his saloon girl partner. Finally the tree comes together in the 1950s with the union of a couple from both sides of the tree who bare a son.

In this cover, the scale of the nation is paramount in the overall effect of the family tree. Taken individually, the couples represent certain periods, certain regions, and particular cultural identities, but over time these parts are welded into the national
Figure 5:3  'A Family Tree' cover illustration by Norman Rockwell, October 24th 1959.
whole. Rockwell’s ‘Family Tree’ pictorialises the melting pot philosophy that has been the hallmark of the *Saturday Evening Post* in the 1940s, 50s and 60s. It is concerned therefore not only with highlighting the individuality of the nation through its unique history but also with demonstrating the internal integration of the national group.

The cover illustrates a diverse national history that has produced the national character of contemporary America, personified in the bright-eyed boy at the top of the tree. Each character in the tree possesses an individuality that distinguishes them historically, but also culturally. Hence, we see, for example, the effeminate male of the 1920s; the saloon girl floozy from the same period; the stern Puritan and her dominated cleric husband (modelled by the artist himself) of the late nineteenth century; the adventurous, rugged prospector from the frontier; the serious soldiers and their loyal wives can be dated more precisely from the 1860s; the Baltimore businessman and his young wife; and the pirate’s son - over-fed, drunk, and bloated, with hair dragging over his forehead - who is watched by his bar-maid wife.23

‘Family Tree’ also suggests the diversity of ethnic backgrounds of its members, and in this genealogical line it is possible to distinguish British, Irish, Spanish, Italian, Native American, and even Jewish ancestry. Notably absent are peoples of non-European origin and people of colour, but despite these absences the cover provides each character with unique personalities that are worn on their faces, and it is this diversity of peoples that the Post celebrated as characteristic of the nation.

Perhaps even more strongly than the geographic origins of the people, the cover highlights a large diversity of geographic areas within America with which the characters are associated. In the first part of the tree, the pirate and his Spanish bride are depicted on a sandy shore, suggesting that they have come ashore around the Southern Atlantic Coast where conquest with Spanish colonisers might have been plausible.24 The Victorian businessman however, is from Baltimore according to Rockwell, and from here the tree spreads both East and West. The soldiers’ uniforms provide the vital clue to the geography of the family, and expectedly the Unionist’s descendants gravitate towards New England, while the Confederate’s descendants push westwards. The Puritans symbolise New England, while the prospector and his

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23 This interpretation is based on Rockwell’s discussion of the painting in his autobiography (Rockwell, 1994, p.367-410).

24 See Nostrand (1987) for a history of Spanish settlement in America
Indian wife represent the Wild West, and their prospective offspring are typically urban sophisticates and ranchers of rural America. Interestingly, the two branches come together in the marriage of the contemporary couple, and regionalisms seem to disappear. This couple is truly American, having lost their regional distinctiveness and possessing only a national identity that a shared history has provided them with. While ethnic histories have been acknowledged, the cover nonetheless promotes a distinctive American identity. Like the melting pot philosophy, diverse groups are seen to adopt American values and practices – such as Puritanism, business ethics and adventurism – and in the course of this process alter their ethnicities and enrich American identity. Geographical diversity thus distinguishes this national group, and the image relies upon these articulations of sub-national scales to demonstrate the character of the contemporary nation. In this cover then, the nation in 1959 is united and complete, both historically and geographically.

The completion of the national family is presented as a natural course of evolution, with the emblem of the tree serving to naturalise the integrating process of building the nation. The tree stands, both literally and figuratively, as ‘a living entity spanning many human generations’ Davies (1988, p. 34) suggests, and thereby provides a dynamic link between the past and the present that appears natural and unadulterated. The twisting branches and budding leaves suggest that the nation has been moving through development and is now maturing to national unity as a result of its past experiences. National unity is the natural conclusion to America’s past.

As well as the tree’s naturalisation of the integration of the national group, the people depicted in this image are shown as a family that shares similar features, suggesting the genetic similarities between this group of people. In short, it implies a blood belonging to the nation. The members of the group are brothers, sisters, ancestors and offspring, of the motherland or fatherland. Although this is a family that may not replicate the reader’s family history, as an icon of nationhood it nonetheless evokes similarly strong loyalties and attachments. Smith (1991) confirms this belief in the iconography of the nation as family, suggesting:

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25 Kashan-Sabet (1998), however, argues that the symbol of the tree in Iran, while promoting the nation as a natural and living entity, was frequently shown under threat from axe-men and parasites that personified foreign governments thwarting Iran’s attempts to grow
Seeing the nation as a family writ large, it seeks to inspire a spirit of national solidarity and brotherhood in the members of the nation; hence it preaches the social unity of each nation.

(Smith, 1991, p.91)

The depiction of a national ‘family’ becomes a vehicle for national affiliation, for each member of the national group can identify with being a family member. On becoming part of the ‘political super-family’ to use Smith’s terms, members of the nation are restored their birthright and confirmed as a veritable fellow-national. This family also possesses similar features that run throughout the family history, and this also promotes a sense of national integration. Hence, the pirate bears a son who is remarkably like his father, and on through the generations the facial features of the pirate are inherited. Rockwell used the same model, Frank Dolson, for all the descendants of the pirate, merely giving each a different expression, hair-do, hat, or facial hair as necessary, even when the descendant is a woman (as in the case of the cleric’s wife). In addition, unity runs throughout the family history in the inheritance of red hair from the ‘in-laws’. This links the top of the tree, through the generations running down the right hand side, and down to the pirate’s daughter-in-law. Here, the past ‘functions as a backward facing mirror that represents people with the image of themselves in the secure and stable identities they want to see’ (Crang, 1998). This cover clearly provides the roots in which the present finds reassurance, and around which a firm faith in the future of the nation can be anchored.

Rockwell’s cover is thus a commemoration of America’s past, and above all, a celebration of the diversity of peoples that history and geography have amassed together in the making of America. Admittedly, this heritage is a selective one that omits more than it reveals. For example, the story is one of fabulous beginnings in a fairy-tale-like adventure between this pirate and a Spanish galleon. In addition,

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26 Whereas Manifest Destmy suggested global supremacy in the nineteenth century and also in the previous example of the Good Year advertisement, here this destmy is promoting the internal integration of the national group that nature has united.

27 Rockwell reveals that he had a difficult time with this cover, but he enjoyed the job of altering Dolson’s appearance throughout the branches of the tree nonetheless (Rockwell, 1994).

28 Rockwell agonised over the figure of the pirate because he felt it was not authentic enough for the start of his family tree. ‘I never knew anybody who was descended from a pirate!...It was ridiculous. American families didn’t start with pirates’. He changed his pirate to a Puritan and then to a buccaneer, but finally decided to go back to his original idea, claiming that ‘He was picturesque but American’ (Rockwell, 1994)
while Rockwell illustrates the American Civil War as a key moment in American history, he makes no reference to the racial heritage over which the war is being fought. Hence, despite the cover’s celebration of national cultural diversity, that diversity is largely European in origin and only admits a Native American history in the depiction of the squaw. The brothers divided over the Civil War are also shown as loyal husbands rather than malicious adversaries, while even the present day son is seen in an optimistic light, with the editorial confirming that no doubt the young boy will become president of the United States, echoing Rockwell’s intention to create in him ‘the hope of the world’ (Rockwell, 1994, p. 374). This cover is the ultimate American success story, edging towards fable and selecting a particular history to glorify a national past. Nonetheless, it confirms the nation’s pride in its antiquity and faith in its superior future, while it presents an image where diversity under unity – *E Pluribus Unum* – is a sign of distinction of the United States of America.

By the early 1960s the need to provide this image of America’s natural evolution to national harmony was becoming urgent as Americans were losing faith in attaining democratic equality through national integration. In the late 1950s the rumblings of subcultures in America - typified by the youth sub-culture of James Dean rebels, Rock’n’Roll rogues, and teenage delinquents - had been heard. Just a few years later, however, race, gender and class oppressions would manifest themselves in civil demonstrations on the nation’s streets, and fissures would be gouged from the nation’s apparently homogeneous surface. The need to define America from the inside as an integrated whole, and to be sensitive to differences within that whole, became more desperate as the social scene began to suggest that America was ready to implode.

An advertisement for Firestone Tires from April 1962 (figure 5:4) reveals this strategy, and also provides a spatial definition of America. The *Post* therefore implied that the national scale would be defined by geography as well as its history.30

29 This selective ethnic history was typical of the *Post*’s definition of ethnic America. The magazine acknowledged the history of Native Americans in stories, advertisements and covers (for example, April 1947, July 1947, November 1957), but always to confirm white superiority over native Americans. Likewise, the *Post* rarely depicted African Americans as a vision of America, illustrated by the fact that only 19 covers in the *Post*’s entire history depicted Blacks, and these were cast in menial roles 29/8/03, 19/8/05, 2/12/11; 23/4/21, 1/3/30, 15/9/34, 1/12/34, 19/10/35; 28/11/36, 3/4/37, 6/11/37; 3/2/40, 15/6/40, 13/9/41; 7/12/46; 12/9/64; 10/11/62, 13/8/66, 30/11/68.

WHEREVER YOU DRIVE

Your Symbol of Quality and Service

FROM COAST TO COAST, YOU'RE ALWAYS CLOSE TO A FIRESTONE DEALER OR STORE!

FIRESTONE VALUE is many things. It is a guarantee, for example, that is more than just a piece of paper. It is a piece of mind. It protects you wherever you drive. Only Firestone Firestone dealers and stores across the U.S. and Canada stand behind your guarantee, making it meaningful anywhere—if you ever need to use it. Checkers are just a way. Why? Because Firestone tires, built by the world's leading producer of rubber, are torture-tested millions of miles each year. Their reliability is unbreakable, their quality is unshakable. But there's more. (Charge them if you wish) at the Firestone Dealers in your neighborhood. You know what you're getting when you buy Firestone.

Figure 5.4 Firestone Tires advertisement, April 14th 1962.
Whereas Rockwell's cover articulated America through recalling the past, and hence allowed internal differences to be pushed into history, the Firestone ad uses geography to demonstrate the importance of territory in the creation of national identities while allowing for differences within the nation to emerge over contemporary space. Nonetheless, although there are differences between the ways the nation is articulated, the advertisement reconfirms the interest in integrating individuals within the United States, suggesting that American identity overrides local differences, while consumer culture reinforces homogeneity over the national group.

**GEOGRAPHY AND NATIONHOOD**

The title of the advertisement 'Firestone USA' immediately unites the commercial product and its sphere of influence, suggesting the national coverage of the product being advertised. Beneath the title, the illustration fills the page and displays a map of America and a landscape of Firestone garages throughout the nation. The map serves as a container, reiterating Taylor's definition of the state as 'the great container of activities' (Taylor, 1992), and provides visual clarification of the advertisement's reference to scale in the title. In the foreground, a Firestone tire covers the bottom part of the map, placing the product on full display and literally putting the company and its product on the national map.

In this advertisement, the integration of the nation is accomplished through consumerism. It has been widely held that consumerism played a decisive role in creating a sense of nationhood in the United States, for it was with the consumption of goods that were nationally available (like Firestone products) that the people could be made to feel part of a national culture (McCracken, 1988; Mackay, 1997). 'The promise of the melting pot', Ewen and Ewen suggest 'was inextricably tied to the consumption of American goods' (1992, p.33). For example, while somebody in one part of the country could buy a Firestone tire, or famous brand soap or a nationally recognised brand of pancake mix, or whatever, they could be assured that many other people across the land would be buying the same thing. Trademarks and brandnames, when familiar, became a bond between people who were otherwise culturally heterogeneous (Ewen and Ewen, 1992, p.40), and consumer culture thus succeeded in producing a people's capitalism in which its members consumed their way into becoming part of the nation.
The advertisement promotes this sense of national consumer culture through the presentation of a commercial landscape that literally fills the continental expanse of the nation. The text claims that ‘From coast to coast’ Firestone dealers can be found in a staggering 60,000 locations, so that ‘wherever you drive’, ‘you’re always close to a Firestone dealer or store’. Firestone is thus rendered your friendly neighbour, always on hand and ready to serve your needs, and the suburban-type landscape fuels this sentiment as it comes charged with the message of comfort, friendliness, cleanliness and openness that has been discussed as typical of suburbia in previous chapters. In addition, the advertisement makes it clear that to buy into national culture by purchasing Firestone Tyres is easy and not confined to particular places or sectors of society. The text invites the reader to ‘buy these trusted tires’, or even to ‘charge them if you wish at a Firestone Dealer or store’. Credit and proximity of stores thus makes American culture readily accessible.

The product being advertised – the Firestone tire – is also significant in this message of national unity, and suggests why the national scale should be chosen to advertise the product. The car helped to make the US a more homogeneous nation by uniting disparate regions, such that in 1958, Keats could write that ‘our new roads and their ancillaries, the motels, filling stations and restaurants advertising Eats have made it possible for you to drive from Brooklyn to LA without a change of diet or scenery’. Indeed, the government’s intensive road building programme in the mid-1950s made this feasible. In 1956, for example, the Interstate Highway Act was passed, which saw 41,000 miles of freeways built over the next few years. These roads criss-crossed the nation and helped to unify America by bringing parts of the country in reach of others. The result was that in 1963, a total 800 billion miles were travelled by car in America, in comparison with 458 billion miles in 1953 (Oakley, 1990, p.245). This national web of roads is recognised in the advertisement, where a direct link between North and South, East and West can be traced along the roads. Firestone tires, as well as being available nationally, thus help to further national unity through their service to American drivers, and hence their practical use, as well as their symbolic significance, serve the needs of nationhood.

However, within this image of the nation national unity, attained through consumerism, is a place of immense geographical diversity. Like Rockwell’s ‘Family

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Tree’, the fact that the landscape is ‘America’ is underlay by an immense variety of territorial features across the continental expanse. On the North East coast, Firestone garages are depicted among colonial type houses and a white steeple church, while the states of Maine and Massachusetts are referenced in the fisherman’s cottage and Cape Cod house in respective states. Moving inland from the Chesapeake coastal feature, a Firestone garage has been fenced around by a white picket fence, suggesting the similar land apportionment of Virginia, Kentucky and Ohio. Further south, a plantation house represents southern culture, while palm trees on the coast, long beach-style buildings, and two sunbathers, depict the move into the Sunshine State.

In the Mid-West, the Great Lakes define this region in the north, but the vertical street pattern recreates the angularity with which the boundaries of the Mid-Western states are delineated. In addition, the fir trees in the north and the variety of building designs elsewhere – the long warehouse-type building near Lake Michigan, the Germanic house further west, and more modern structures out towards the Rockies – display the variety of cultural legacies that one finds in this region. The prairies are represented by a patch of uniformly planted garden that is neighboured by a red barn, while cattle, a coastal oil platform, and large buildings connoting affluence represent the South (around Texas).

Further West, the Colorado Rockies are easily distinguished by snow-covered pine trees that peak into mountain-like summits. The wooden buildings to the north of this have the same angular structure in a design reminiscent of Frank Lloyd Wright architecture that could be found in the American West; while south of the Rockies, a circle occupied by a cowboy and cacti represents the Arizona/Utah region. The circularity of the streets in the North West separates and defines this area, while the arch of the street along the West Coast unites California with the North and South West. This neat curve also bounds the nation’s territory by providing a clear edge to the map, matching the feature on the Florida coast of the bather diving off the edge of the map.

The American landscape is thus immensely diverse. Topographical features such as mountains, lakes, coastal features, vegetation and house-styles serve as icons of regionality, and highlight the distinctiveness of American geography and American culture. Nonetheless, from this diversity this advertisement finds unity, not least in the presence of its products throughout the land. The apparent paradox surfaces once again in the representation of diversity within unity, where individuality and
collectivity are brought together under the patronage of consumerism.

However, while ‘A Family Tree’ and the Firestone advertisement reveal differences within the nation, these differences are somewhat suppressed by the weight of the nation. In short, Americanness overshadows cultural distinctiveness perhaps in order to provide reassurance to a nation experiencing problems of civil disruption. In another example, however, the focus is more on the differences between parts of the nation rather than union within.

VOTING AS A SIGN OF NATIONAL DISTINCTION

In a cover illustration from November 12th 1960, artist Constantin Alajalov provides an image of America that celebrates national diversity and thereby places emphasis on the Pluribus rather than the Unum in defining the nation (figure 5:5). Indeed, it is this heterogeneous nature of the nation that defines the nation as America and distinguishes it from any other. The cover therefore relies on the scale of the state to articulate the nation, while the nation’s heterogeneity is also considered in relation to other nations suggesting the importance of the global scale in providing coherence to this national scale articulation.

This cover also differs from the two previous examples in its presentation of the nation as a continental expanse. Conventionally, the Post promoted Middle America as representative of the whole, and in the examples above it used mainland America's history and geography. In this cover, the nation is presented through the two most peripheral of states of Hawaii and Alaska, thereby setting the parameters of the national scale and expressing the immensity, diversity and uniqueness of the nation.

The cover is split horizontally into two halves, with Alaska represented in the top half, and Hawaii in the bottom half. The dress and the scenery differentiates the two groups, but their attendance at polling booths for the US election (depicted in the American flag) draws them into continental America where this scene of voting will be replayed in every part of the nation. The participation of Hawaiians and Alaskans in the US elections, culturally as much as politically, creates a link between the scale of the state and that of the nation, uniting Hawaii and Alaska with the US in their political freedom to vote. Voting therefore represents an integrative process among
"BIG DADDY" Lipscomb of the Baltimore Colts tells his own story.

Figure 5.5 ‘Polling Stations’ cover illustration by Constantin Alajalov, November 12th 1960.
Americans, connoting a shared respect for democracy.32

The voting scene also has particular pertinence at the global scale, for as well as promoting national integration voting suggests a national affiliation to democracy. Thus, the event distinguishes the US on a global scale from those countries where a democratic system was not in practice, and in the context of the Cold War this message would have been understood. At the time of the cover’s publication, several events had intensified the Cold War animosity between the United States and the East, ensuring the issue to remain at the forefront of political discussion. For example, the Soviet Union had threatened to intervene in the Middle East during 1956, and in West Berlin between 1958 and 61. Iran and Guatemala had posed a threat to the ‘free world’ and it was feared that they too were turning pro-Communist; while in 1958 President Eisenhower had sent troops into Lebanon to maintain its pro-US stance. In the meantime, the Soviet Union had appointed a new leader, Nikita Kruschev, who had increased Soviet power by developing a hydrogen bomb and by launching the first earth satellite in 1957. Furthermore, Kruschev formed an alliance with Cuba after Fidel Castro’s successful revolution in 1959, while Kruschev’s European position had been strengthened by the creation of the Warsaw military pact in 1955. Hence, the battle against communism was at the forefront of American politics, and both Alaska and Hawaii, had been important pawns in this game of international relations. Thus, showing Alaskans and Hawaiians at the voting booths demonstrated that America had successfully saved these parts of the world from communism, and given that these were Hawaii’s first elections since joining the Union in 1959 the cover used this historic event as poignant symbolism of the global supremacy of the nation.

However, America is not defined by a homogeneous space in antithesis to the Eastern bloc (suggested by some to be typical of Cold War political rhetoric).33 Rather, America is characteristically different and diverse, thanks to the democratic system that these voters are practising. The characters in the cover wear bright colours to enhance their individuality and to highlight their freedom of choice and expression which democracy ensures. Diversity and individual freedom are thus hallmarks of America’s democratic system, and Hawaii and Alaska will be ensured

32 This outward claim to political and cultural integration was vital at this time in American history because it was feared by many at the initiation of Hawaii’s entry into the US in 1959 that cultural cohesion at the national scale would be difficult because of the insular past that Hawaii had enjoyed.
the freedom for individual self-expression, which in turn will define them as American and part of the free world. Recognition of the states' uniqueness was, and continues to be, a critical issue in American concerns for nationalism. Within the state of Hawaii, for example, it was feared that its cultural heritage would be lost as American culture ebbed over its shores to rid the islands of their cultural distinctiveness. Debates continue to the present day over these issues, and particularly amongst Alaskans who think of themselves as 'Alaskans first and by the way Americans', fearful of the loss of cultural identity that increasing ties to American culture might bring (Crew and Ludlow, 1997). Yet Alajalov reassures readers that you can have both — ethnic identity and national identity — and indeed, that the celebration of the former defines the latter.

While the cover clearly exhibits Alaska and Hawaii as part of the national scene, it is this balance between individuality and conformity, distinctiveness and homogeneity, that the cover depicts which was a break from the Post's norm of the American melting pot ideology. The correlation between increasing individualism and the reinforcement of totality are negotiated in new ways in this cover which suggests that national unity and cultural diversity are not opposing forces but are mutually enhancing characteristics of American identities.

The cover also represents a shift from defining America from the mainstream to defining it from the geographical periphery — Alaska and Hawaii being the most distant states from the mainland, as well as the most northerly and southerly, and the newest additions to the union. This move to the margins reveals the size and range of the nation and the immense diversity of the US both geographically and culturally. The cover's interest in the national periphery suggests a redefinition of America that paid greater attention to margins. From this perspective, the cover was premature, for it would be a few more years before America would take on issues of marginal groups to define the nation. However, this prematurity might be explained by the fact that the illustrator of this cover was an immigrant from Eastern Europe and on the receiving end of marginalisation that would become the root of civil rights demonstrations over the next few years. I would suggest that Alajalov's cultural marginality made him acutely aware of the problems of integration and this cover is an early indication of a shift in his work and an important landmark in turning the tide

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33 See for example Agnew and Corbrdge (1995), and Sharp (1993).
By the mid-1960s, the *Saturday Evening Post* had come to celebrate individualism more wholeheartedly. Marginal Americans, such as ethnic minorities, were mentioned in 1962, but it was 1964 before race integration was openly discussed as a national issue in the magazine. Occurring around the same time, the sexual revolution brought women from the margins and it became acceptable to see women in roles other than the subordinate wife or family matriarch in the magazine. This attention to individualism, much like the change of focus from the mainland to the peripheries, was recognised in the stories of the magazine that depicted quirky characters such as the phoney professor who professed to make rain (2/12/67) and other non-average Americans, either because of their failings (7/10/67; 30.12.67;) or because of their heroism (15/12/62; 22/4/67). Meanwhile, the covers of the magazine seldom depicted typical American scenes but instead worshipped celebrities or commemorated one-off events such as the assassination of John F Kennedy. Nonetheless, while the *Post* highlighted individualism, it maintained a firm belief in eminence as characteristic of American identities.

For many readers, however, this new focus on individuality caused the magazine to lose sight of its nationalist campaign that had lay at the foundations of the *Post's* editorial policy since Cyrus Curtis purchased the magazine in 1898 (Friedman, 1970). I agree that the national scale began to lose coherence in the later years of the *Post*, and I contend that this began because the relationship with the local and the global, as well as with the individual and the whole, in the context of the nation was lost. It is in the relation between the local and the global, and in integrating individuals into the whole, that the nation is mediated and thereby gains coherence. When the *Post* failed to recognise this in the late 1960s, the national scale became incoherent and the purpose of the magazine as a medium of American consciousness was lost.

**CONCLUSION**

In conclusion, the *Saturday Evening Post* has drawn on a late nineteenth century geopolitical definition of the nation in its depictions of the national scale. Strategies such as the display of national symbols (flags and anthems), the depiction of historic figures or 'founding fathers', the resurrecting of the nation's past to provide a sense of shared history, and the occasion for identification through a shared geography,
however, stem from much earlier, and these have provided a link between representations of the national scale throughout my period of study. Using these strategies, the national scale is articulated through the mediation of a worldview and an internal view of group affiliation, and this has been negotiated through time depending on different socio-political contexts.

I have demonstrated how the relation of America to the outside world on the global stage was an important facet of national identity during World War Two. As the Cold War brought with it fears of Communism, however, those fears were not only directed from the outside but increasingly from the inside, particularly when McCarthy’s Red Scare began to take root. Hence, defining America from outside and from within was a tight balance to negotiate. The magazine turned its attention inwards in an attempt to show to Americans their shared histories and geographies, and the late 1950s at the Post represented the nation as internally diverse yet united (if subsumed) under the banner of America. In the political climate of the early 1960s, when antagonisms over years of conformity were widespread, and the magazine had undergone a shake-up in editorial staff, the Post was careful to enable differences to be expressed. America came to be defined through cultural diversity, and this was considered the hallmark of American identity rather than its counterpart. Ironically, the strategy adopted by the Post to reflect the social climate and the national character ultimately lost a sense of nationhood which the magazine had traded on since it began. Individualism and uniqueness may have been the way to define the national group internally, but it requires an external force to balance the equation and provide coherence to the national scale.
National identity is the symbolic elaboration of two competing forces: integration and differentiation. I have already shown how these forces have been manifest in ideologies of domesticity, small-town America, and suburbanisation, providing points of reference upon which a sense of shared experience can be anchored and around which group identities can coalesce. In these examples, integrative forces dominated the process of national identity formation, with differentiation playing a less significant role at the domestic, local and national scales. To provide another angle on this discussion, I now wish to turn to global scale articulations of America and to highlight the importance of differentiating as well as integrating forces at this scale. National cultures are not defined solely by what is internal to them, but also by how they constitute themselves over and against other national cultures and other national places. This is particularly important to the United States because, as a settler country, it has been dependent upon relations with other national groups for building the foundations of the nation and hence for building its national image. As globalisation gathers pace and the frequency with which we come into contact with international groups and places also increases, it is now more important than ever to consider the global scale process of national identity formation. How the global scale is connected to the national scale, but also to sub-national scales needs to be assessed to understand the process of national identity creation.

The importance of the international sphere in creating and confirming national identity has been a theme considered in national identity politics for some time. This research has shown how international reference groups are important to the confirmation of national distinctiveness and pre-eminence. The relationship between a national group and non-members can be understood in terms of the self/other discourse, which is premised on the understanding that belonging to a group depends on sharing specific characteristics that define membership. What 'we' are thus defines 'us' through what we share and what we have in common in the ways I have
suggested in previous chapters. Yet outside this group are those who do not belong, and who do not qualify for group membership, and hence identity can be defined by who we are not as much as by who we are. This is the process of ‘othering’ which can be traced back to classical Greece (Duncan, 1993), but which features throughout history in the scripting of national identities. ‘We know of no people without names, no languages or cultures,’ Calhoun (1994, p.9) claims, ‘in which some manner of distinctions between self and other, we and they are not made’.

Such binary oppositions between us and them is orchestrated by unequal power relations, such that the ‘self’ subordinates the ‘other’ group as objects of a knowledge that denies them the right to shape their own identity. Furthermore, by ordering complex differences into a simpler homogeneous entity, the ‘other’ is essentially contained by the group conducting the ordering so that the ‘other’ may be more easily appropriated. Thus, while the relation between ‘us’ and ‘them’ reinforces and defines group identity, it also reinforces power relations. It is no surprise, therefore, that researchers interested in this self/other relationship of international groups have commented on how this relationship is used to justify supremacy and imperial domination. Hall (1992), Said (1993), Lutz and Collins (1993), and Gregory (1995), for example, have demonstrated how the representation of ‘others’ in texts and images symbolise national greatness of European imperial powers in antithesis to their ‘subjects’. Others have used similar arguments to illustrate national rivalries between the United States and the Soviet Union (Dalby, 1988; Sharp, 1993), and between Middle East nations (Newman, 1998a). Benedict Anderson concludes therefore, that in ‘the language of many nationalists, “our” nation is “the best” — in a competitive, comparative field’ (Anderson, 1983, p. 16).

However, while the global sphere might be important for providing national hierarchies of power, little has been made of circumstances in which relations with ‘others’ are not perceived as invidious, and do not lead to competition or resentment and reaction. Spillman (1997) for example, has shown how America and Australia in the nineteenth century identified themselves positively with other nations, particularly Britain, so that their likeness to (and their recognition by) powerful others was an important part of what made them nations. International reference groups cannot be understood simply in a self/other relationship of competition and rivalry, but must be looked at more closely to identify more subtle relations at the global scale.
I will show how the process of othering was an important feature of the Post's use of the global scale to promote American supremacy and global leadership in the years following World War Two. I will also demonstrate how more subtle relations between America and the rest of the world became especially important in the 1960s. In this chapter therefore, I am concerned with the ways in which the global scale is articulated to provide specific interpretations of American national identities. I be concerned with questions such as: who are the international reference societies used to portray America to itself? What is the relation between these societies and America? How is the 'other' defined and how is this definition used to describe America and American identity? How does the relation between America and international reference societies change over time? In order to address these issues, however, I start by understanding the historical developments of American perceptions of its place in the world in relation to other nations, and to see how editors at the Post also viewed these relations and portrayed them in the magazine.

AMERICA AT THE GLOBAL SCALE

America was, from the outset, a place imagined, defined, and created in alliance with other places around the globe. Peopled largely by immigrants, it was dependent upon the influx of people first from Europe and then from other nations, all of whom brought preconceptions of what the New World would offer. As well as preconceptions, however, immigrants also brought skills, goods, and cultural customs to the shores of the New World. Spanish, French and English settlers in particular left their mark on the colonial landscape, making indelible the relationship between America and the Old World in the nation's geography. With the additional and constant transfer of peoples and goods, the routes sailed by the early explorers and settlers maintained the Trans-Atlantic alliances, enabling America to establish itself as a viable nation. Before long, goods were not only imported, but an export trade had developed and as a result multi-directional flows between nations established a world trade network in which America played an important role (Knox and Agnew, 1988).

1 For a more detailed account of America's global perspective Campbell (1992) provides the most comprehensive discussion. He reports on the roots of foreign politics up to and including the Cold War period.
While manufactured goods, wine, salt, sugar, rum, molasses, and, during the eighteenth century, slaves from Africa, were imported into colonial America, tobacco, corn, wheat, cotton, tobacco, lumber and livestock were making their way towards Britain, Southern Europe and the West Indies (Lemon, 1987).³

Thus, America was a global society long before we even began to consider the word in its recent context, and because of this it was considered a leading example of a truly modern nation, and a nation superior to other places. Moreover, its international alliances were a prerequisite to the support and maintenance of America and hence its relation to other nations in the world cultural frame has always been crucial for defining the nation (Spillman, 1997).

Yet despite this dependence upon other nations, America’s international relations have hardly been peaceable. Campbell (1992) argues that during colonial times antagonism of European settlers with Amerindians and African slaves (and later, non-European Americans) established a self/other binary relationship within the New World. Issues of race and religion distinguished European settlers from the native Americans and Black slaves, and the Christian faith and Enlightenment belief in the supremacy of civilisation provided the grounds for contempt of the ‘other’. In the decades leading up to independence when English settlers had gained power within the nation, that contempt spread to non-English settlers. ‘It seemed that at every opportunity the brittleness and sense of endangerment of the English identity in colonial America was expressed through the differentiation of the other, no matter how much they might have shared in common’ (Campbell, 1992, p. 133). In 1751 for example, Benjamin Franklin argued the case for English supremacy, suggesting that the nation’s links with England should be maintained and strengthened:

Why should we, in the light of superior Beings, darken its people? Why increase the sons of Africa, by planting them in America, where we have so fair an Opportunity, by excluding all Blacks and Tawneys⁴ of increasing the lovely White and Red? ... The number of purely white people in the world is proportionately very small. ... I could wish their numbers were increased.

³ See Groves (1987) for an account of trade in these export crops, and their contribution to establishing a nationally integrated economy
⁴ Tawneys refers to Asians and some Africans of paler coloured skin.
In the years before independence, however, Franklin grew disillusioned with England's corrupt politics and aristocratic society, and with the Stamp Act of 1765 (taxing Americans), Franklin's antagonism towards the British deepened. His attitude reflected a wider pro-American sentiment which stimulated the drive for independence from a 'morally inferior and even decadent' England (Campbell, 1992, p. 136). However, while distinctions were made between the Americans and the English at this time, Greenfeld (1992), like Spillman (1997), argues that the long relationship between the two countries prevented a self/other dichotomy of antagonism developing:

Unlike the case in so many other nations, American national identity was not sustained by the hatred of the other; it knew no ressentiment. The free, and no longer British, Americans needed not and could not afford to brood over real or imagined offenses in the past; they had problems to attend to that were far more pressing.

(Greenfeld, 1992, p. 421-2)

First among those problems was ensuring the independence of the nation.

The Declaration of Independence provides an indication of America's concern to prevent international enemies. After listing many cases of tyranny committed by the King of Great Britain to the detriment of America, the Declaration attempts to maintain peaceful alliance with Britain, 'hold[ing] them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends'. Willis (1978) contends that the Declaration, while releasing all bonds with Britain, allowed support to be generated from the British and from elsewhere, particularly from France. During the Revolutionary war, the French assisted the campaign for independence until it was assured, and France continued to be a useful ally in preventing British recriminations on Louisiana Territory, and in the War of 1812.

The Declaration was also instrumental in ensuring America's global perspective for it identified America in universal terms. The 'unalienable rights' of 'life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness' were not to be assured by Britain but by 'the laws of
nature and of nature's God'. Furthermore, universal self-government meant the self-government and independence of each individual, since 'all men are created equal' and since 'they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights'. Following through this idea of universalism, all nations were worthy of independence but America was the primary example and a beacon to the world. It had long been considered the 'American Jerusalem' and the Puritans believed themselves to be 'the new chosen people', and so the universalist position of the Declaration ensured that universalism would become a hallmark of American identity.

Over the course of the nineteenth century, America's relations with the rest of the world would set the terms for its foreign policy. Battles with the Indians, British and Mexicans would demonstrate America's concerns over sovereignty, indicating its equal par with other established nations. However, it was America's position of neutrality that remained its principle in international relations. The Monroe Doctrine, signed in 1823, outlined this principle, and became the cornerstone of American foreign policy making. The Doctrine stated that

The occasion has been judged proper for asserting, as a principle in which the rights and interests of the United States are involved, that the American continents ... are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonisation by any European powers.

(Quoted in Brogan, 1997, p. 262).

The Doctrine served as a warning to Russia (who was attempting to occupy land north of the 51st parallel), and Great Britain, that another war might follow if any serious attempt was made to extend their empires over North, South, and Central America. It was in America's best interest to prevent this from happening to protect valuable trading links with South America.

European relations were also commented upon in the Monroe Doctrine: 'Our policy in regard to Europe, which was adopted at an early stage of the wars which have so long agitated that quarter of the globe, nevertheless remains the same, which is, not to interfere in the internal concerns of any of its powers' (Brogan, 1997, p. 262). America's policy of isolationism was firmly set in stone with the Monroe Doctrine, confirming Washington's wishes for the United States to be free from 'entangling alliances'.
The policy in place, Americans were free to turn their attention inward and carry out the conquest of their continent. In the mid-nineteenth century this conquest was aided by the national belief in America’s ‘Manifest Destiny’ to overspread the entire North America in fulfilment of God’s plan. However, despite the nationalist and expansionist sentiments contained in the notion of Manifest Destiny, it articulates America in universalist terms and promotes the nation as superior among all others. A speech in the House of Representatives on January 3rd 1846, opposing the resolution for the termination of joint occupation of Oregon, brought the term into the national vocabulary, and indicates the universalist and supremacist sense of the term.

There is one element in our title [to Oregon], however, which I confess that I have not named, and to which I may not have done entire justice. I mean that new revelation of right which has been designated as the right of our manifest destiny to spread over this whole continent. It has been openly avowed in a leading Administration journal that this, after all, is our best and strongest title — one so clear, so pre-eminent, and so indisputable, that if Great Britain had all our titles in addition to her own, they would weigh nothing against it. The right of our manifest destiny! Ther is a right for a new chapter in the law of the nation or rather, in the special laws of our country; for I suppose the right of a manifest destiny to spread will not be admitted to exist in any nation except the universal Yankee nation!

(Quoted in Pratt, 1927, p. 795)

Manifest Destiny, as indicated in this speech, demonstrates America’s global orientation while also endorsing her concern with internal affairs. Once more, her position in the world cultural frame is crucial to defining the nation, and ensuring that that position was number one was critical.

America retained its concern with global leadership as the world moved into the twentieth century, while its foreign policy remained steadfastly isolationist. Expansion into Cuba and the Philippines (1898-1903) was therefore seen as defence against Spanish colonialism, and America vowed to be pursuing its anti-imperial

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5 See Pratt (1927) for a discussion of the origins of the term 'Manifest Destiny'.
outlook despite the appearance of American imperialism in newly acquired lands. The Anti-Imperialist League (established in 1898) promoted this image, campaigning for American expansion and free trade rather than political domination in places such as Hawaii (1898), Guam (1899), American Samoa (1900), Panama Canal Zone (1904) and the Corn Islands (1914). Imperialism, the League maintained, was unjust, ineffective, unnecessary, and an affront to American liberty.6

American isolationism would also be put to the test during World War One, but although the United States fought in the war it was as an associate power and not as an ally. Campbell (1992) states that organisations such as the American Protective League, the Council of National Defense, the American Defense Society, and the National Security League were employed by the government to ensure loyalty to the nation and to isolate dangers from both outside and within the national borders. The Espionage Act of 1917, the Sedition Act of 1918 (prohibiting language disloyal to the government) and the Immigration Act of 1918 (barring anarchists and those who sought to overthrow the government) also contributed to this protection of an apparently superior America.

War was also the testing ground for the United States and an attempt to demonstrate its coming of age on the world stage. This maturity was not only witnessed on the battlefields, but in the acquisition of knowledge about Europe gathered in ‘the Inquiry’ by geopoliticians linked to the State Department, and which could later be used in the post-war peace treaty (Heffeman, 1999). America’s role in drafting the treaty brought her into the world geopolitical framework. As a result of America’s involvement both in the war and the post-war treaty, the opportunity was provided for America to reorient its foreign policy, and President Woodrow Wilson attempted to make the most of this opportunity. Wilsonian foreign policy was ‘characterised by his complete faith in America’s liberal exceptionalism, his belief that the United States represented a new departure among the nations in both a moral and political sense’ Youngs (1999) contends. However, she goes on to state that Wilson’s was an ‘idealat phase’ of American power in global affairs, and with the rejection of the Versailles Treaty ending the war and the failure to become a member of the League of Nations, the United States prevented Wilsonian foreign policy from reaching fruition and returned to its isolationist convictions.7

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6 For an alternative reading of this era as a moment of imperialism, see Slater (1999).
7 For a more detailed account of the historical developments of American isolationism see Cole (1991),
THE POST AT THE GLOBAL SCALE

At the *Saturday Evening Post*, editorial policy paralleled that of American foreign policy, and began in 1898 under G. H. Lorimer as a magazine devoted to America and especially the political ideals of isolationism. A brief respite occurred during World War One when America decided to enter the war, but the magazine was strongly opposed to Wilsonian diplomacy and between the wars maintained only limited interest in international affairs (Cohn, 1989). In more extreme cases the *Post* portrayed America as not just isolationist but xenophobic, such as an editorial from May 13th 1922 which commented on the poisoning of American institutions and culture by the noxious influence of aliens, subversives, and hyphenated Americans. This isolationist position continued even into World War Two under the editorship of Wesley Stout, and an editorial from October 7th 1939 speaks out against America's involvement in World War Two by comparing it with the First World War that Stout argued was not this country's war. He also added:

Neither is the present war our war. We had no spoon in the caldron.
Yet what are we saying about it? We hope we shall not be drawn into it. The President tells the people the Government will do everything it can think of to keep them out of it.

*(Saturday Evening Post, October 7th, 1939, p.22)*

Learning (1969) notes that even after Pearl Harbour, Stout continued his criticisms of Roosevelt and America's entry into the war. Moreover, under his editorship the *Post* ignored the war except for frequent criticism of it in editorial columns, and rarely commented on foreign political affairs unless impacting significantly on national events. The *Post*, like America, remained isolationist while Europe got deeper involved in the quagmire of international rivalry of World War Two.

It was to be 1941 before renewed consideration of American global relations was formally seen in the Atlantic Charter, and it would be 1942 and a change in editorial staff before the *Post* would mirror that interest in the international dimension of

national life. The Second World War placed national security on the global map, and world political affairs immediately became national concerns. After Japan attacked Pearl Harbour on December 7th 1941 and Germany and Italy declared war on the US on December 11th, America turned to full-scale war against the Axis powers. War once again provided the opportunity for the United States to reconsider its isolationist position, and by this time became a more viable (if not necessary) course of action for Americans to take. Henry Luce, a prominent Republican, proclaimed in 1941 that this was ‘the American Century’, and this optimism in the nation’s potential was symptomatic of its time. Americans believed in their national future, and the time was ripe for the ideological belief in American supremacy to be transferred into foreign policy. The postwar period of Cold War and the establishment of international institutions such as the United Nations and NATO brought America into the global arena with no possibility for return. The use of the dollar as the world trading currency, the relative economic and political strength of the United States in relation to other nations, and the need to curb communism ensured that America would play a dominant role in world affairs as the nation entered its period of ‘high hegemony’ in the world system (Taylor, 1999).

Meanwhile at the Post, Ben Hibbs took over as editor in 1942 and he saw how events abroad had significant consequences for Americans. In his assessment of Post editorial policy, he noted that ‘foreign news is an essential part of the Post since America’s life will be affected by what happens around the world’ (Curtis Publishing Company, circa. 1942). As in American politics, the Post began to view America in relation to the rest of the world. Although not the primary focus of the magazine by any means, the Post drew upon global images to present a picture of itself to its readers. Indeed, within a few years of Hibb’s editorship, the notion of ignoring this world sphere seemed preposterous, as a cartoon from 1946 demonstrates (figure 6:1).

The picture that the Post portrayed of America at the global scale was not a static image but changed through time. I will demonstrate how the global scale was drawn upon in the 1940s to highlight American superiority in global affairs, and I use the term ‘American nationalist globalism’, developed by John Fousek in 1994, to understand these images. During the 1950s, there is a marked absence of global scale imagery in the Post, but I have shown in previous chapters how the global scale does

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8 See edited collection by Slater and Taylor (1999) for a useful consideration of this period and the events leading up to and following Luce’s declaration.
not disappear but is expressed through representations at the domestic, local and national scales. I will then show that by the time global scale images resurface in the 1960s the emphasis is less on American superiority and imperial domination, and more on maintaining stable, peaceful relations through social incorporation and cooperation. America and the rest of the world are seen as partners on a universal stage. However, there is no neat bifurcation of these two themes in time, for elements of social incorporation appear in the magazine’s endorsement of imperial domination throughout the period of investigation, and vice versa. Nonetheless, these twin themes will structure my chronological analysis of global scale representations of America in the *Post*.

Figure 6:1 Cartoon, November 16th 1946.
AMERICAN NATIONALIST GLOBALISM: FREEDOM, LOYALTY, AND TECHNOLOGICAL SUPERIORITY

As the United States entered World War Two in December 1941, there was a need to gain support for US involvement, and also a need to convince the American public that this break with tradition was for the best. Roosevelt’s Four Freedoms speech would set the tone of the administration’s argument, in which he discussed American values as universals that the rest of the world longed for as well. Roosevelt outlined four essential human freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of religion, freedom from want, and freedom from fear of armed aggression, and stressed that these freedoms should be guaranteed throughout the world. For John Fousek (1994), the term ‘American Nationalist Globalism’ highlights this belief that American national values were globally oriented, and this convergence between the national and the global became the terms through which the Post came to represent America during World War Two. In particular, the theme of American superiority was used to show the connections between national and global values, and this helped to justify global expansion of US power in a politically unstable world that was urgently in need of reassurance.

In an advertisement for War Bonds on November 7th 1942, American national greatness is revealed through comparison with Germany (figure 6:2). Religion serves to distinguish America from Germany, drawing on previous declarations of America as the place of providential blessing and notions of Manifest Destiny. The advertisement refers to this long tradition of religious freedom in America, beginning with the arrival of the pilgrims who sought religious freedom in the New World, and also ‘written indelibly into our Bill of Rights’. With such a long history of devotion, the advertisement suggests religion has occupied a ‘high place’ in the community, and in the context of war, that fact has become more poignant. In Germany now, the advertisement states, ‘The symbols of religion [are] gone. Replaced by the symbols

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However, while Fousek is interested in how this ideology was used to justify the global expansion of US power in the early Cold war period, I am more concerned with what it looked like in the magazine. Hence, how American readers might begin to identify with a global arena of which they were increasingly being made to feel a part, and how national identity was negotiated through this global scale are of interest to me here.
Come Worship with us
Frau Müller of Cologne...

Your city isn't a happy place these days, is it? It has known panic, destruction, anguish, tears.
The church is not like the place you used to know in the old days, is it?
The consolation—the divine guidance—the strength you need—they are missing. Because your Führer has become your God.

We can sympathize. The iron cross and swastika on the robes of the church. Service starting with the Nazi salute. The symbols of religious gone. Replaced by the symbols of murder, violence, cruelty.

Your Führer has said, "Two worlds are in conflict. Two philosophies of life. One of these worlds must break another."

And in your religious world—the swastika has replaced the Cross. Mein Kampf—the Bible. Your loyal clergy suffer in concentration camps. Religious institutions bleed under Hitler's heel.

It isn't the same as you learned at your mother's knee, is it, Frau Müller? It has been purged of love and mercy and pity and humanity—qualities called unworthy in your Führer's dream of a master race.

But come and worship with us in a different world—where those of many creeds and many faith find sanctuary in the church of their choice.

As we enjoy freedom to work and live and think as we please, so also does our way of living assure us Religious Freedom. It is written indelibly into our Bill of Rights.

Mein Krieg long ago that our people could not prosper under the religious persecution of the old world. And they came with their families in small ships across great oceans—braving hardships and danger to worship God as they pleased.

And through the years of this nation's growth—the church has become the solid rock upon which our spiritual strength has been built.

Here the house of worship a high place in the crown. Our children learn early the real worth of a deep religious concept. And their lives, as our molded and influenced by the great of religion.

But the great difference between Frau Müller, is that he will never become our God. No God ever violate the sanctity of our old and new synagogues. No catastrophe will come, so great that we cannot find and peace where you used to find it—before your Führer appointed his God.

The SATURDAY EVENING POST is dedicated to the preservation of the American Way of Living—and the freedoms that will assure this nation's future.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST

Number 53 in a series of statements appearing regularly in The Saturday Evening Post welcomes and appreciates the hundreds of letters that have come to us on the series. The views of our readers are important and helpful. We invite your

Figure 6:2 'Come Worship With US' Post-War Page, November 7th 1942.
of murder, violence and cruelty. The swastika has replaced the Cross. Mein Kampf the Bible. Germany suffers from religion 'purged of love and mercy and pity and humanity', the ad claims, and 'religious institutions bleed under Hitler's heel'. In contrast, the American situation is much better. It is 'a different world – where those of many faiths find sanctuary in the church of their choice'. Multiplicity, diversity and freedom are thus the hallmarks of American society, whereas totalitarianism and oppression are the stamp of Nazism. In addition, whereas a ruler has appointed himself God in Germany 'No Gestapo will ever violate the sanctity of our churches and synagogues'.

However, the advertisement also relies on a sense of shared commitment to religion and hence on a universal freedom of worship to generate support for the war. Drawing directly on Roosevelt's freedoms speech, the advertisement suggests that Germans seek freedom of religion that should be assured throughout the world, but they are denied that right under the heavy hand of Nazism. The parity between Americans and Germans and the universal wish for freedom of worship is indicated in the opening phrase which accepts Frau Muller of Cologne as one of 'us'. She is invited to 'come worship with us', regardless of her nationality. The image at the top of the page also complements this sense of community, with an American family in the background smiling and welcoming the German lady to their religious service. In addition, the text also goes on to suggest friendly relations in its personal address to Frau Muller and in its friendly questioning in lines such as: 'the church is not like the place you used to know in the old days, is it?' Although only rhetorical questions, this personal questioning establishes a friendly relationship with the woman rather than a scene of interrogation. 'We can sympathise' the ad claims, and understanding thus becomes a second feature alongside religion that bridges the gap between Americans and German.

While understanding and the wish to worship God freely distinguish America as different from Germany, they also place the former in a superior position. The illustration at the top of the page points to these twin themes of difference and pre-eminence implied by the advertisement. On the one hand, the American family in the background suggest sympathy with, and understanding of Frau Muller and her situation, but the upward gaze of the woman towards an exalted figure, and the size of the hand in comparison with the rest of the sketch, suggest seniority and pre-eminence of a paternalistic America. Indeed, the association with the biblical saviour of
mankind are obviously implied and America is thus portrayed not only as a nation that understands but as a nation that is morally superior and capable of leading the afflicted of Germany into the free world.

Throughout the Second World War, America was portrayed alongside other Axis powers against which a more superior America had to fight to preserve its freedoms. In a war bond advertisement sponsored by the Post in July 1942, the Japanese 'pushcart' barter system was unfavourably compared with America's 'great national network of stores'. America's freedom of enterprise ensures that the country is 'the best fed, best clothed, best housed nation on earth' and hence 'no one questions' America's superiority. In another ad sponsored by the Post from November 14th 1942, Germany, Japan and Italy were depicted as places where freedoms are denied, and it warns of the consequence if the Axis Plan was to dictate the world. America, however, stands as 'the bulwark against world gangster rule', and hence fights to secure the free world.

In other places, the relationship between the international reference group and America was more subtle, though the theme of national greatness was present to justify American leadership of the free world. An example of this is a story entitled 'Home is the Sailor' by Burnham Carter from April 4th 1942, which is set in the context of World War Two. As in the other wartime advertisements discussed thus far, Axis Powers (here Germany) provide the national 'other' who threatens national security. However the main part of this story is about American relations with Cuba, and while liars and cheats threaten peace and stability both in Cuba and in the free world, America is portrayed as the model nation able to positively influence the rest of the world.

The story is set in Cuba and tells how a young married man and reformed criminal named Tio, is helping the secret police to catch a Fascist sympathiser named El Bobo ('Fool') who is broadcasting lies about the destruction of America under Axis bombs. Tio has to revert to his criminal ways to learn more about the criminal world from the inside, and he agrees to participate in a bootlegging racket to the Florida Keys. On the way, he and his crew spot a German submarine and Tio shoots a German officer as he appears on the conning tower. He reports the sighting, despite the risk of disclosing his illegal activities and the work of the secret police. On his return to Havana, Tio notices the broadcaster's boat near the Cuban shores and he reports his findings to the secret police, resulting in the arrest of El Bobo. The shooting of a
German officer, the reporting of an enemy submarine, and the arrest of Communist sympathisers thus demonstrate Tio’s achievements, while his exhibition of admirable qualities that have been developed through American influences suggest the ability and responsibility of America to lead the free world.

The story is interesting in its use of Cubans as occupying the middle ground between the Allies and the Axis powers, between bad and good. Hence, the country is considered corrupt, but with American influence bad is overcome and allowing good to prevail. Tio is the character used in this middle ground, and he is torn between the good life and the bad. Once a criminal involved in bootlegging to the US during Prohibition, his new wife Amelia is now keeping him on the ‘straight and narrow’.

Tio’s wife, Amelia, represents America in this story, and as the epitome of honesty, loyalty and integrity, it is not just her name that closely parallels the image of America. Her loyalty to America is established early in the story when we are told that she listens to American radio, both for pleasure and for more serious concerns to hear war progress reports from the president. She also plays the role of doting wife that Honey (1984) argues was a hallmark of American identity in the early years of World War Two. Furthermore, the place where Amelia occupies in the story – the domestic realm – also becomes associated with America in its symbolism of love, warmth, understanding and peace that provide the grounding for Tio’s reform. The domestic scale is therefore critical to the meaning of America in this story, implying safety, honesty, and security. Like America, it is a place worth fighting for, and Tio risks his life to secure the happiness he shares with Amelia. The home in this story also takes on greater significance as the sanctuary of American virtues because it also doubles as the couple's workplace. It is the place where Tio and Amelia work hard to earn an honest living to support the lifestyle they desire and this is considered an exceptional quality. Amelia and the domestic scale are thus symbolic of homespun values for which Tio wishes to reform, and on a grander scale, for which America fought the war.

Outside this secure world however, the story suggests a world of corruption that is lying secretly in wait for its next victim. It is the place where El Bobo is at large to broadcast his lies about the war, and the place where bootleggers ship rum to America.

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10 See Chapter 3 for more on the domestic scale and its significance during World War Two.
under the cover of darkness. It is the place also where enemy submarines lurk, and hence this wider world, in antithesis to Tio’s home, is anti-American. Anti-Americanism had been gathering pace in the United States throughout the late 1930s, culminating in the establishment of the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) in 1938. HUAC was concerned with disloyalty among communists within America, however, but it is interesting that this concern with anti-Americanism is transferred to the international sphere and projected onto Cuba in this story. Since Cuba was both an insider and an outsider, an American ally but also a foreign country, it becomes the scapegoat for discussing domestic political concerns in a global context. World War Two is thereby discussed in familiar terms as a campaign against un-American activities.

Anti-Americanism in the wider world is associated primarily with criminality in this story. El Bobo’s broadcasting without the possession of a licence renders him a criminal, but his messages of American devastation draws out the association between criminality and anti-Americanism that the story suggests. El Bobo is described as ‘a devil’, and Cuba thus seems in need of an exorcist to bring a positive influence to this society. America fulfils this role in providing the Cuban secret police with ‘the most modern equipment for locating transmitters imported from the States’ to investigate the DJ. It is American technology that will help to rid Cuba of its evil element and ensure a better place. Similarly, it is also a man inspired by American virtues of patriotism and loyalty—Tio—who is assuming the role of the exorcist to drive out criminality and to ensure America’s future in the world.

Deviance and criminality of the outside world is reported through the criminal team of the bootleggers too. These include the headman of the team, Jose, and little is said of him except that he sees bootlegging as assisting Americans in their war campaign. For him, he is providing Americans a service in supplying cheaper rum, claiming ‘Should [the boys in uniform] pay four dollars for the rum that gives them courage?’ and hence the story suggests that his criminal activity is not entirely anti-American. Tio’s two crewmembers who go with him on the trip to the Keys, however, are a drunkard and a mute and their behaviour testifies that they lack the qualities worthy of morally upstanding citizens. Criminality is thus associated with physical disability, and the story goes on to reveal how these two criminals do not share the same qualities as Tio who is associated more closely with American attributes. While the drunk is cowardly and prepared to give up the mission before it
is complete, Tio is brave and remains committed to completing his job successfully. While the mute is only capable of receiving orders, Tio is the one who gives orders, who takes control and leads the team on its way. He is ‘a man of distinction’, possessing enviable qualities in relation to the criminals.

The arrival of the German submarine, the enemy of the nation and the free world in this wartime story, is similarly discussed in terms of criminality and deviance. As a secret weapon concealed by the underworld of the open waters, the submarine itself symbolises secrecy and mystique. The scene that is set before the emergence of the submarine implies uncertainty and unease: ‘the water was an uneasy black-grey, a shade lighter than the sky’. With the surfacing of the submarine, the vessel is described as a monstrous, imposing device with a ‘long snout [and] a heavy saw-toothed steel bar slanting back from it’, and it moves and sounds like a snake as ‘slid[ing] forward and beyond the ‘Avispa’ with a sound like a hiss’. Like the animal it imitates, the German submarine is a furtive fiend, with the potential to unleash its venom on the innocent bystander that becomes its prey. Criminality and animality thus shroud the German enemy (as the Führer had also adequately displayed in the Holocaust).11

Whether Cuban or German, the ‘other’ in this story opposes universal values such as freedom, honesty, integrity and loyalty, championed by Americans and the free world. Tio begins the story torn between the two worlds, and it is uncertain which side he will fall upon. The reader’s fears are expressed by Amelia who remains ‘outwardly calm and competent, but inwardly disturbed’ by Tio’s involvement in the criminal world, and whether Tio will be tempted by his old ways remains a nagging annoyance throughout the story. The turning point comes when Tio is confronted with the submarine. With this confrontation, he is no longer a mere bootlegger but finds himself involved in war. Faced with the enormity of the enemy, Tio makes the choice to stay on the side of the good and support the free world in its campaign against tyranny. The author reminds us that in war people are stirred by emotions that will change them for the better and more importantly, for ever, and in Tio are ‘roused

11 The criminality of the Axis powers is also used in other places in the Post. One such example is an advertisement from November 1942, which refers to Hitler, Mussolini and Tojo as ‘the Gangster Trio’. By portraying the enemy as the aggressor, military intervention is seen as defense of the homeland, and therefore a reaction to, not an instigation of, combat. Even after the war, this theme of criminality and the enemy would run throughout the Cold War period in which the Soviet Union rather than the ‘Gangster Trio’ would be portrayed as the aggressor (Agnew and Corbridge, 1995; O’Tuathail and Dalby, 1998).
two untypical emotions – one was anger at the enemy; the other was love of his own land’. With patriotism unfurled, ‘Now he is a soldier on a battle mission, with his personal interest forgotten. He must report to Key West. He was one of the couriers of history, bringing the news of the enemy to the men on the watchtower’. War makes an honest man of Tio, and from this moment on the reader is assured that he is converted for good in fighting local or global criminals.

Tio’s successful conviction of El Bobo offers further testimony to his support for justice against criminals and especially those criminals spreading lies about America. In the process, goodness prevails and criminality is overcome. The closing scene of the story is set in Tio’s home, where the reality of his experiences will be shared with his wife. In addition, it is the place where patriotism finally overrules personal satisfaction when Tio refuses the money for completing his task for the secret police. ‘For me, it is enough to know that I have served’, he says, and he promises to give the money to his wife. Home is the place where Tio’s transformation from criminal to war hero is completed, and he thus symbolises the potential that American influence can have on the uncertain world of 1942. By promoting an honest and virtuous life, America leads the world by example according to the Post.

However, while these examples show how international reference groups serve to highlight American supremacy, the global scale was used in other examples to illustrate national supremacy without using specific countries with which America could be compared. Instead, it was the image of the globe rather than any specific international group that symbolised national pre-eminence and imperial domination, and these drew on a long tradition of associating the image of the world (on maps or globes) with national power.

Much has been written on the power inherent in maps and especially on the association between world maps and national power,12 and here is not the place to reiterate those works. The general thesis, however, is that since the European Renaissance the world map has implied knowledge of the world, and through its use in civilising missions and European imperial conquests the map became an important tool of national sovereignty. The perspective of the map also suggests power, for in creating a ‘spatial panoptican’ (Harley, 1992), maps portray other countries and other peoples in a way that facilitates control. Since world maps and globes rely upon

projections that assume an observer is standing beyond the globe, the viewer reading these maps is positioned in a site traditionally reserved for God. The world map and the global icon thus imply power both in their use as a tool for conquest and through their symbolism.

Cosgrove (1994) suggests that the image of the globe is also used in another sense to express universalism rather than nationalism or imperium. He argues that 'a whole-earth reading' of images of the globe implies 'the extension of organic bonds across all humanity and the entire globe' which seems drawn 'toward a transcendental vitalism as a basis for universal order and harmony'. In the Second World War however, and in the early Cold War period, the globe was used in the Post to portray America as a global superpower.

The industry most ready to exploit the theme of national greatness in global imagery was the aviation industry. The association of global mastery, technological achievement and individual heroism came together in the airman's vision of the world, and with the rapid development of commercial airlines this 'vision' was used to endorse the airline companies. The Post published many advertisements both during and after the war where airlines used images of the globe to advertise their company, and in them the globe icon demonstrated both the scope of their route systems and also a sense of scale and importance.13

One such example is an advertisement for American Airlines from April 21, 1945, in which the notion of national greatness and global supremacy are seen to go hand in hand (figure 6:3). The single page colour advertisement shows a golden sphere representing the earth, on which an outline of the United States has been drawn, and above which an aeroplane flies. Beneath the illustration a caption reads 'Let's Keep It The Best Place On Earth', and a short text provides further evidence of American global pre-eminence and the role of aviation in ensuring this ranking. The national scale and the global scale are both important features picked out by the advertisement, and the use of the former in the context of the latter promotes America as unsurpassed.

13 Airline ads using the globe icon were seen for example in ads from 12/10/46; 13/11/47; 2/3/46; 2/3/46; 6/4/46; 14/7/46; 7/12/46; 25/1/47; 22/2/47. Other companies also used the globe as an icon of status and national supremacy, including General Mills (11/1/47), Goodyear Tires (14/4/45; 23/11/46) and Bell Communications (30/11/46).
Let's Keep It The Best Place On Earth

Continental U.S.A. is only about 1/16th per cent of the earth's surface, but it is the biggest country in inductive power. Also, it is the best place in terms of human opportunities and standard of living. We have had to fight for it. We have to exercise moral vigilance and work hard to preserve it. We must keep it the best place on earth, now, in our new era of increasing global air transportation.

We have the engineering and aircraft manufacturing ability and the airline experience to keep the U.S.A. the first among nations as an airfaring people. We believe that Americans are alert to the necessity, effectively, to utilize what is possible only with air transportation. To help insure our nation's prosperity and security, American Airlines is planning to expand in domestic service with a great fleet of the fastest and Flagships. In the meantime, thanks for your cooperation. More than ever we are counting on your suggestions - both from those who cannot travel with us and others.

American Airlines Inc.

Figure 6:3 American Airlines advertisement, April 21st 1945.
The advertisement claims that America is 'the best place on earth' through written text and imagery. The text claims, for example, that despite covering only one-and-a-half percent of the earth's surface, the United States is 'the biggest country in productive power. Also it is the best place in terms of human opportunities and standard of living'. The advertisement does not rely on figures alone to suggest strength, however, but also promotes this message through the portrayal of America as a homogeneous bloc. The homogeneity of the nation in these statements and in the map portrays a stalwart force in this uncertain world, providing confidence to Americans of an intrepid power.

The image of the globe in the advertisement also promotes superiority and global mastery, with antecedents in imperial iconography. The golden orb, perfectly round and flawless from the view from the aeroplane, is seen and hence known in its entirety. No place on earth escapes the powerful observation of those flying American Airlines. Furthermore, the selective mapping of just one place on the earth also adds to the inherent power of the mapmaker by suggesting that only what is important has been portrayed on the globe. Hence the globe, as in imperial history, symbolises the scale over which mastery is achieved.

In suggesting that America is a powerful place through the superlatives listed in the text and through the global icon, the image of the plane provides the ultimate symbol and the justification for global supremacy. The silver colour of the plane and its imposing wingspan across the earth implies wealth and status, while its ability to provide this Apollonian view of 'the best place on earth' places the plane alongside the angels and the gods. This connection between aviation (especially aviators) and godliness has been made in reports from Lindbergh's arrival in France after his momentous transatlantic crossing: 'it seems as if all the hands in the world are touching or trying to touch the New Christ and that the New Cross is the plane (Eksteins, 1989, p. 242). Similarly, the heavenly setting of the plane in this ad helps to promote a sanctimonious America.

The timing of this advertisement also suggests why the aeroplane symbolises national supremacy, because it was in World War Two that the real test of air power was seen. Aeroplanes and aviation had long been associated with progress because

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14 See Harley (1987) for a discussion on selective use of symbols and naming on maps, and the power this provides the mapmaker
with aeroplanes humans could break their earthly ties and biological bounds and move into the heavenly sphere. During the wars, however, that technological power would be harnessed by nations to fight their campaigns on a global stage, and air power thus became associated with national achievement and global supremacy in the context of world war. Paris (1995), argues that ‘aeronautical technology and achievement increasingly became a channel through which national aggrandisement could be promoted’, and he provides examples from cinema to illustrate how aviation and nationalism were connected. By the time this advertisement appeared in the Post, the connection between aviation and national status was thus already a well-developed thesis, and the image relies on this understanding for its effect. However, the text also makes the link between air power and global power, claiming that ‘we have the engineering and aircraft experience to keep the USA the first among nations as an airfaring people’.

Yet while air supremacy brought the promise of global supremacy, the advertisement also suggests that the airman’s view also brings increased vulnerability. The map of America then, while picked out on the golden globe as ‘the best place on earth’, is also easily picked out as a target. The text makes reference to this sense of vulnerability in the statement that American Airlines is insuring ‘our nation’s prosperity and security’, and that Americans have to ‘exercise eternal vigilance’. American superiority is therefore threatened by competitors beyond its borders, and this double-edged sword of aviation – the technological excellence it represents, but also the vulnerability it brings if the power of aircraft is placed in the wrong hands – is typical of the mid 1940s. The world by then had seen the destructive force of scientific progress throughout two world wars, and the culmination of this destruction would be unleashed just a few months after the publication of this ad which would result in the atomic nightmare that would haunt the post-war world. However, despite suggestions of global vulnerability, the advertisement provides overwhelming reassurance through the text and imagery that I have already discussed that America is supreme. Furthermore, the ad uses this evidence to demand support for keeping America supreme. Thus, fear of losing supremacy is countered by domination of the

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15 Paris uses examples drawn from American, French, British, German, Italian, Japanese and Soviet cinema. See Atkinson (1996) for a discussion of Italian national identity and the aviation industry; and Gruffudd (1991) for an investigation of British national identity and aircraft imagery.

16 Note the similarities here with the Goodyear advertisement discussed in Chapter 5.
globe according to American Airlines, and global mastery thus becomes tightly bound with national security.

The hyperbolic description of American greatness is used to demand support for maintaining that supremacy. Thus, while the viewer is distanced from the world in the advertisement’s imagery, they are brought to bear on the message of the ad through the text’s inclusion of the reader in the activity of flying. The caption reads ‘Let’s keep This The best place On Earth’, and thus invites the reader to fulfil a role in American imperialist domination of the world through flying with American Airlines. Similarly, the text addresses the readers as ‘we’ and thereby promotes a sense of imagined community at the national scale (and a sense of national unity to suggest strength in numbers). At the end of the advertisement, this ‘national team spirit’ is exploited by the advertisers to encourage people to fly as part of their patriotic duty. With the stakes so high – forgoing the nation’s global supremacy – it would not be difficult to convince readers that using American Airlines would be beneficial. Thus, despite the distanced image of a homogeneous powerbloc and a golden globe, Americans are made to feel part of this by their ability to fly American Airlines, and thereby become part of America’s imperial mission.

Although I have shown in this advertisement how the airman’s view and the airline’s routes harnessed the idea of global mastery to great effect, American nationalist globalism was not always the primary message. Some advertisements saw a world peacefully united by post-war cooperation, and in fact American Airlines published another advertisement in the Post in 1946 that claimed the world would be integrated by its business (figure 6:4).

The advertisement appeared on April 6th 1946, and on the double-page colour spread shows the Northern Hemisphere of the globe from North America in the West to Moscow in the East. The illustration picks out key places – countries, provinces and cities such as Mexico, Newfoundland, Iceland, Glasgow, Helsinki and Warsaw – that represent places on the international route of American Airlines. Alongside each labelled city is a man dressed in national costume that denotes the folk culture of the country. The image implies that the world is culturally diverse, but with the two

\[17\] I find this an ironic aspect of global imagery, particularly where the globe is used to represent unity and one-worldism, because the viewer actually stands outside the earth as a spectator rather than as an actor on the global stage. Admittedly, researchers comment on the power that distancing provides, but I think that the removal of the viewer from the earth and its disempowering effect needs to be considered in future research.
Figure 6:4 American Airlines advertisement, April 6th 1946.
planes in the illustration blazing the routes across the earth, that diversity is being brought closer together. The text beneath the picture talks of a shrinking world and of the contribution made by aviation in this process, concluding with a comment on the future of a more united world.

The nationalist globalism that was characteristic of the Post features discussed thus far in this chapter is not present in this advertisement, and in its place is an ‘inter’-nationalist globalism (to remain with Fousek’s terminology). Hence, nationalism is downplayed in favour of universalism, and while the former separates the world (as we have seen), the latter unites it. The driving force behind this ‘inter’-nationalist globalism is aviation, and in particular American Airlines, which is quite ironic given that the previous American Airlines advertisement suggested that aviation promoted nationalism. Nonetheless, this advertisement claims that the earth’s inhabitants are united ‘along the universal highway of air’, and the people of the world thus become neighbours. This utopian image of a world united and even neighbourly promotes an image of global cooperation and peace rather than global superiority. American Airlines cannot be considered imperialistic or a technological supremo but can only be seen as the harbinger of peace.

The idea that aviation would enhance international relations was not new to the promoters of the industry. For, while some aviators were preaching the nationalist gospel, others spoke of the reduction of nationalism and the spread of universalism through the industry. In the aftermath of World War One for example, some believed that aeronautics would break down national boundaries, improve communications, introduce a universalistic culture, and make war too terrible to contemplate (Paris, 1995). English pioneer-airman Grahame-White for example, wrote:

Instead of widely scattered communities knowing little of each other, and prone in consequence to suspicion and mistrust, humanity will find itself drawn closer and closer together through the speed of aerial transit. Man will forget his nationalist tendencies and see himself as a citizen of the world.

Similarly, Samuel Hoare urged in the 1920s that aeroplanes should not be ‘instruments for severing nations’, but should instead be viewed as objects of peace and goodwill, machines intended for creating something better than ‘concentrated frightfulness’ (Pirie, forthcoming, p.54).

In the aftermath of World War Two, it seems that these ideas have resurfaced in this advertisement, and this was also an idea adopted by the industry at large. In the American aviation industry at large, the idea of an international focus was taken seriously for the first time after the war, for previously Americans had seen aircraft as a means of binding the domestic empire together rather than the wider world. American aviation began to think internationally, and this advertisement makes the departure from the industry’s national and nationalist concerns towards seeing the power of aviation in the promotion of international understanding.

Like the previous advertisement, American Airlines highlights the vulnerability that improved transport links brings to the world. The advertisement states ‘air transportation cancels physical isolation’, and that people are ‘all accessible...with no place on earth isolated from the aeroplane’. In the previous advertisement, American Airlines’ response to this fact was to mark the national boundaries more firmly by stressing American greatness in relation to the rest of the world. In this advertisement, however, the increased accessibility is seen in a positive light as a means of bringing nations closer together. This global cooperation is revealed in the illustration, where borders have been erased to promote a sense of unity, and where a community of people stands in close proximity as neighbours. The new post-war world might be smaller, but this does not call for global mastery or imperial domination but cooperation and ‘neighbourliness’ according to this advertisement.

American Airlines’ message of international globalism is given greater currency through its reference to history. In the opening paragraph, the advertisement explains that America has been traditionally associated with the ‘old world’ seen on the map through the transfer of immigrants in the past. This transfer has resulted in the cultural make-up of contemporary America, the ad suggests, and therefore both historically and culturally America is globally connected. With aviation’s provision of the geographical link between the old and new world, the connections are completed. Universalism is thus seen as a natural evolution of global history, and
American Airlines is completing America's Manifest Destiny set in motion in the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{18}

Yet for all this advertisement's visions of a united world, it is an anomaly in a magazine otherwise using the global scale at this time to promote America as globally supreme. It would be at least another decade before the idea of social incorporation would be seen as a viable message for global scale representations in the Post. In the meantime, however, the global scale would become noticeably absent from the cover illustrations, advertisements, cartoons and fiction stories in the Post, and this was to be a feature of most of the 1950s.

Throughout most of the late 1940s and the 1950s, using the global scale to express national concerns was noticeably absent from cover illustrations, advertisements, cartoons and fiction stories in the Post. This is not to suggest that global affairs diminished in the political arena. In fact, nothing could be further from the truth. America's international affairs intensified throughout the 1950s, beginning with Korea but also including: America's intervention to overthrow governments suspected of turning pro-Communist in Iran (1953) and Guatemala (1954); sending economic aid and military advisers to Vietnam from 1954; and fear of Soviet aggression after their intervention in the Middle East (1956) and in West Berlin (1958). In that case then, why should the global scale disappear from the pages of the magazine for the rest of the 1950s?

This was not entirely the case, for although the global scale was not portrayed as the immediate scale of reference, global events and international societies were referred to through other scales of address, particularly the domestic and the local.\textsuperscript{19} Scales are not isolated, as I have shown in chapter one, but are instead interconnected with other scales such as the national, the local and the domestic. The global scale then, although not the immediate frame of reference, was articulated in the Post's nationalist campaign, but it was more implicit than it had been before and than it would be afterwards.

\textsuperscript{18} Numerous other airlines also drew on this connection with history and the idea of the closure of an era in world unity. Northwest Airlines, for example, used Columbus' voyage to mark the starting point of global travel that their company was now completing (e.g. 9/11/46; 22/2/47).

\textsuperscript{19} It is interesting to note however, that while the local and domestic scales were able to relate to the global scale, the global scale seldom made reference to the domestic or the local. These scales are 'jumped' (Smith, 1993a) in global representations of American national identity, whereas the national scale appears closely connected to the global scale in places where the global scale is the frame of reference.
One exception to the absence of the global scale in the Post was in editorials where the editor commented upon factual, newsworthy, and mostly political events. In editorials, rhetoric echoed that of more official Cold War texts, and saw the Soviet Union as aggressors (26/4/52), liars and deviants (19/7/52; 26/7/52), corrupt (21/12/57), and one editorial even accused Russia of stealing America's plans for space technology which resulted in Russia's launch of Sputnik (9/11/57). In other cases, the Post talked more generally of the Cold War through its triumphant reports of a communist flop in France (8/11/52). It also expressed fear over the spread of Communism, and suggested that global cooperation in trade was necessary (20/12/52), a link with China was essential (14/11/57), and a position on the top of the agenda for the space race was crucial if global peace was to be a viable option for the future (23/11/57). Despite these editorials, however, the global scale had been interred in sub-national scale portrayals of America in the Post, and it would be the later 1950s and especially the early 1960s before the international scale again provided a context for American national identities to be expressed.

PEACEFUL COOPERATION AND SOCIAL INCORPORATION

When global scale images began to be seen again in the Post's representations of America, there was a distinctive difference in the tone of address. Political antagonism and intense national rivalries seemed to have dwindled from America's concerns, and in their place was an image of the world united, in which America played the role of pacifier. America remained the exemplar of the world, but it was her peaceful existence, her understanding towards difference and diversity, and her tendency to look for universals between 'others' that was seen as a model for the world to emulate. Before moving on to provide evidence of this shift and to see how America was presented at the global scale as a consequence, I want to address reasons why the nationalist globalism theme was replaced when it was with a more modest suggestion of alliance across the globe.

Spillman (1997) suggests that the primary position of America in the global sphere was confidently assured by the 1960s, and hence the international ranking that had characterised previous images of America was no longer necessary. America could instead devote attention to defining the nation by her internal and intra-national connections. However, while this explanation has some merit and certainly held its
ground in Spillman's analysis of bicentennial celebrations, I believe there are a number of other reasons that might explain why the Post should portray America not as an imperial power but as a benign force bringing peace to the world. The first reason is the influence of John F Kennedy who was inaugurated as America's youngest ever President in 1961, and with whom came great enthusiasm for the future of the nation (Oakley, 1990). In his inaugural address, Kennedy set the tone of his presidency in his commitment to national and world peace, and in the furore of his election his words had a deep and lasting impact on the society over which he presided:

And so, my fellow Americans: ask not what your country can do for you – ask what you can do for your country. My fellow citizens of the world: ask not what America will do for you, but what together we can do for the freedom of man'

(Kennedy Inaugural Address, 20th January, 1961)

The reaffirmation of American humanitarian values as a universal goal; the need for cooperation and unified commitment to realising those goals, friendship, generosity and reciprocity, were key to Kennedy's ideas on national and international political affairs. These became the foundations on which he intended to build a stable America from which world peace would spread, and his founding of the Peace Corps in 1961 demonstrated his commitment to global altruism. Ironically, perhaps, it was also these goals of American peacemaking throughout the world that generated support for American intervention in Cuba (editorial, October 1962), which resulted in the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs. Nonetheless, Kennedy's presidency undoubtedly brought radical change to the way the world was seen and hence how America viewed itself in relation to this world.20

The New York World Fair in 1964/65 shortly after Kennedy's assassination provides evidence of this lasting impact and draws on the legacy of the president in its twin themes of 'Man in a Shrinking Globe in an Expanding Universe', and 'A

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20 See Parnet (1983) and Schlesinger (1965) for accounts of Kennedy's presidency and his impact upon American political and social ideology.
Millennium of Progress '21 The need for better understanding between nations that would be achievable through improved technology was the underlying message of the Fair, and this was also the basic principle of Kennedy’s Peace Corps initiative. Kennedy’s aspirations for global unity were shown in various exhibits, such as the foreign pavilions that were designed to bring the world to America’s doorstep, and the Information Age exhibit of computers and communications that showed how communications would enhance global communication and thereby support international understanding and cooperation. The centrepiece of the fair was the Unisphere, a stainless steel globe ‘lassoed by technology’ (Wombell, 1989), that represented a view of the world from 6,000 miles in space. The Unisphere symbolised the twin themes of the fair, showing that the world was small enough to be conceived as a spherical object, and that technology was helping to keep it contained. The Unisphere was a lasting part of the fair and remains on the fair’s site in Flushing Meadow, and it also gained celebrity status by appearing on the cover of the Post in May 1964. Kennedy’s legacy thus lived on beyond his death, and the World Fair was just one example of the repercussions of the President’s legacy in America.

The Post’s new focus on social cooperation rather than global domination might also be explained by disruptions at home that rendered any accounts of American nationalist globalism grossly hypocritical and an affront to those millions of Americans campaigning against injustices and social exclusion. I believe that promoting an image of peaceful understanding was crucial in dealing with political relations at home that had spilled onto the streets of American cities. I have shown in the previous chapter how American national identity came to be defined by difference, diversity, heterogeneity and variety in response to this hostility, and this promoted a sense of acceptance and understanding among individuals in America. Likewise, the global scale seems to be portrayed in the same light, where America is not intent on ruling the world and suppressing differences, but on uniting the world and understanding differences. This image of America in the world would reassure those at home that its international policies would complement its national policies of integration.

21 Two websites provide information on the New York World Fair, and can also be used to access other sites on over 140 World Fairs from around the world: http://www.sff.net/people/davidJP/wfmain.html and http://nald.spps.uc.edu/ny64fair (last accessed September 1999)
It must also be remembered that imperialism and dominion over colonised subjects was losing favour in the world. America had always opposed imperialism in principle, as the establishment of the Anti-Imperialist League had shown, but in the post-war period this was becoming more universally conceded. This fact was demonstrated in part by the decolonisation of the British Empire after the Second World War, while race riots in America alerted the rest of the world that suppression of subject peoples was not to be tolerated. In its portrayal of America at the global scale as a peaceful cooperator rather than imperial master, the Post was supporting society’s opinions on international imperialism and presented nothing unusual to its contemporary readers.

An early example of this new account of America was in advertisements for Coca-Cola. As one of the most famous and most profitable multi-national companies, Coca-Cola was in a prime position to draw on international alliance to promote its product (figure 6:5). However, since Coke was also considered ‘the sublimated essence of America’ and a symbol of ‘a democratic western way of life’ (Pendergrast, 1993, p. 2; p. 11), these advertisements also represented American interpretations of global entente. In them, Coke was seen as the mediator in international relations, where world unity is achieved not through disarmament or diplomacy but through consumption of a drink. In the Post, for example, readers saw people enjoying Coke in Paris, Rio and Venice, and in an advertisement on November 23rd 1957, an American couple are shown drinking Coke with a Japanese couple in Tokyo. This advertisement boasts that ‘the sign of good taste’ was in fashion in Tokyo, and hence despite national differences a universal bond is achieved through the mutual appeal of Coke. What is interesting about this case, however, is that Coke was not available in Japan in 1957 when this advertisement appeared in the Post. ‘The refreshment that knows no frontiers’ clearly did know frontiers in Japan, where it was not allowed to be sold except to US military personnel, and it would be 1961 before Coke would be enjoyed there in the way the advertisement suggests. Although premature in its depiction of Coke in Tokyo, it was a good omen for things to come because by 1970 Japan would become the company’s largest market. Nonetheless, in spite of the false advertising, the advertisement’s portrayal of a universal culture united through Coca-Cola is a serious departure from previous images in the Post that suggested supremacy of America and global domination.
In Tokyo, too... Good Taste is in fashion... This is the refreshment that knows no frontiers... that needs no passport to the best circles everywhere. This is Coca-Cola—the drink that finds a welcome in more than 100 countries. The good taste of Coke is so much a part of happy living—it is enjoyed by someone, somewhere, over 58 million times each day. And always... everywhere... Coca-Cola is a companion to good taste.

SIGN OF GOOD TASTE

Figure 6:5 Coke advertisement, November 23rd 1957.
Similarly, a story from December 1962 entitled ‘Fields of Rice’ and written by Pearl S Buck, also promotes an image of international understanding. As in the Coca-Cola ad that used an American product to promote global alliance, the story suggests that ‘American’ values (such as freedom of speech, human respect and social collaboration) are rights that will facilitate world peace. In the case of this story, the absence of these rights are shown to have devastating consequences on a rural village, and hence the story implies that understanding is a pre-requisite to security for the future. The story is particularly interesting because it states that American technology, while emulated by the Chinese, in unproductive in this village where greater understanding of local conditions is required to produce a profitable crop. The local scale is therefore critical in this story to distinguish America from China, and America is thereby defined as socially and politically (though not technologically) superior to Communist China.

The story is set in the fictional village of San-Li-Wan-Tse and reports on the consequences of a village forced to grow rice under orders sent from ‘Chairman’ Mao with his representative Comrade Li. Despite the fact that the head man in the village, Wan San, has been farming the region for years and his ancestors did this for generations before him, Mao is introducing new methods that conflict with Wan San’s farming knowledge. The local man fears for the future of the village, and as the story continues Wan San’s fears are meted out. The crop fails and the future of the village hangs in the balance, with repercussions throughout the region, the nation, and the entire Communist community.

On initial reading, this might seem like earlier representations of American superiority alongside an inferior Communist ‘other’. However, while America does come out looking more favourable, unlike previous images of America at the global scale this story does not treat the ‘other’ as a homogeneous bloc to be contained and appropriated. Rather, the human side of Communism is revealed, and appreciation of individuality and human differences is highlighted to promote a reading of international understanding rather than subjugation. It is this quality that is used to define America and to distinguish her from the Communist East.

Communism, in contrast to the ‘American way’, is characterised by homogenisation, subordination and totalitarianism. Thus in the village, the people are all dressed the same in the one blue cotton suit that is provided for them. It is not enough, the story comments, but ‘one suit a year of blue cotton was all that could be
expected nowadays, and last year's suit had gone to patch this year's'. Similarly, the farmers are all treated as an indiscriminate group that Comrade Li refers to as 'these land folk', denying the villagers their individuality, and subjecting them to a position of inferiority under Li's orders. Treated equally and unable to use individual initiative to progress beyond their present circumstances, the villagers are suppressed by the regime in which they live.

The way the farmers are ordered to farm their land also draws attention to the despotic approach that characterises Communism, with the same type of rice and the same farming methods to be applied everywhere, irrespective of environmental differences. Ironically, it is American farming practices that are to be adopted, but though these produce 'great harvests' in America, Wan San highlights the fact that this is because the technology used is adapted to the type of land and crops that America farms. Here, technology is being applied to a region without appreciating the variety and particular needs of the place, where the environment, like the people is understood as a homogeneous place over which control can be administered. The story therefore suggests that one has to understand the particularities of the region before any technology can be applied, and since America has done this successfully it must be because America knows its land and its people's needs. Rather than an American failure then, the village suffers from a failure to adopt American principles not American methods.

Suppression of the villagers by a Communist regimen is highlighted most clearly through speech. Drawing again on Roosevelt's Four Freedoms that were the foundation of America's post-war world vision, speech is depicted as a universal freedom that should be ensured to all. In San-Li-Wan-Tse, however, speech represents power, and denial of the right to speak is highlighted as the main reason for the village's ruin. For example, when Wan San attempts to question the advice from Mao, he feels the 'admonishing hand' of his wife, and the entire village urging him to keep quiet: 'Remember that our village elders died for less than this' he senses them saying. Speaking out was thus punishable by death, and hence personal survival meant one had to keep quiet. In this story, speaking out does not result in death of the head man of the village, but does result in Comrade Li's 'unrelenting judgement' of Wan San.

In contrast, speech is empowering to Comrade Li who preaches to the village in earnestness, and tells the villagers that they 'will do as [they] are told'. Speech was
also Li's weapon in the destruction of his family, for it was with his voice that he sentenced his father, an absentee landowner who would not reform to Communism, to his death. Yet despite the fact that Li's voice held the power of life and death of his father, he remains ignorant of the fact that the power of the life and death of the village is in the villager's voices. That power, like the freedom for individualism, is suppressed under Communism, and the catastrophe of ruin in the village results. The power of speech dawns on Li at the end of the story when he rebukes the villagers for remaining quiet on purpose: 'Why did you not tell me? Blockheads! Traitors! You were silent on purpose!' The response to this outburst from the villagers is silence: 'Not one of them reminded Comrade Li that he had been told but that he had not believed!' Speech and silence, freedom and confinement, thus become the axis along which American and Communist ideas are set poles apart.

The differences between East and West are thus clearly highlighted throughout the story, but there is no sense of aggression in America's praise of its system alongside the failing Communist regime, and certainly no sense that America must exploit this situation and dominate the world. Rather, the help of America in the past is extolled as welcome relief to the Chinese. Wang San reminds Comrade Li for example that 'in the old days...when we had no food, the Americans sent us wheat and corn and...', and hence American aid is portrayed as unconditional and charitable yet vital to the country's survival. In the contemporary political climate, however, the story suggests that that avenue of assistance is closed. America is portrayed as an innocent bystander in this scenario, prevented from assisting the village because of ignorant despots like Comrade Li and Chairman Mao. Should the Communists be willing to adopt universal freedoms then China could save itself, and in the words of Kennedy the villagers would not be asking what America will do for them but what together they can do for the freedom of man.

Yet while the future looks bleak for the Communist world in this story from 1962, in an advertisement for AT&T in 1967, the future is a harmonious place of childhood innocence united through telecommunications (figure 6:6). The advertisement from July 29th 1967 shows the world depicted by three groups of children stood on floating islands, and one cannot help draw the connection with the World Fair's theme of

22 See Marden (1997) for a discussion on communication, especially electronic media, as a primary force in the globalisation process, and the effects this is having on the way we think about identity and the nation.
Figure 6.6  AT+T advertisement, July 29th 1967.
‘man in a shrinking world in an expanding universe’. Above the children are brightly
coloured balls that represent planets or satellites, while below them are bright flowers
that reflect the ‘flower power’ peace movements of 1960s America (and abroad too)
that sets the context for this ad. The left hand island has children who represent
Eastern countries, while the right hand island shows youngsters from Europe, and
both these groups are dancing to the music being sent from the middle group of
children who represent America. American children are thus playing the tune to
harmonise the world, and all are united through communications in a mutual
understanding of the common language of music.

The use of children in the advertisement is an interesting feature, for it
depoliticises the idea of global cooperation, while it also reminds the reader of what is
possible if a childlike acceptance of others is adopted by everybody. In the child-
centred society that characterised America in 1967,23 the appeal for improved
communications would have helped AT + T’s campaign considerably. Viser (1997)
suggests for example that many other advertisers jumped on the ‘childhood
bandwagon’ to promote products, capitalising on America’s love affair with the
image of the child. Children were undoubtedly a successful icon for selling products,
and in the case of this ad, they sold visions — visions of what the world would be like
if a childlike philosophy were adopted.

As well as playing a political and a psychological role in the marketing of AT + T
that is bound up with notions of world peace, the use of children was important in this
campaign because of the place where this mural would be seen — Disneyland,
California. Disney is a place that markets itself towards children (and the child in
each of us), and placing children on the mural is a sign of the intended viewer of this
artwork. Furthermore, the illustration of a shrunken world populated by children
echoes Disney’s theme tune ‘It’s A Small World’ that was written in 1965 and
embodies the universalist outlook of this American institution. Children in a united
world thus represent the utopian vision that Disney wished to promote.24 However,
despite its utopianism, particularly since the mural is to be in Tomorrowland — an

23 There are those who might contest this idea, citing for example the latent hostility towards the young
in the 1960s and '70s. However, this hostility was marginal in my opinion, and was also aimed at
adolescents rather than young children. Since the children in this ad are young, I stand by my claim
that America was a child-centered society in the late 1960s. (See Jenks, 1996, for a detailed
sociological history of childhood, especially in the twentieth century, and Anes (1979) for an historical
account that goes much further back in time).
24 Bryman (1995) provides an interesting account of Walt Disney and the world he tried to create.
optimistic vision of the future - the advertisement assures the reader that this is not just nothing more than a fable. The text claims that this scene does not just represent an idea for the world’s future but ‘the promise of world-wide communications’. As such, confidence is maintained both in the company and in the idea that it promotes.

However, the centrality of America in this image of the world cannot go unstated, for while world peace does seem possible through communications, it is significant that America is considered instrumental in conducting that global harmony. Similarly, the text reveals that the context for this mural has an American theme, for it is featured alongside a film entitled ‘America the Beautiful’ which, the ad claims, enables the visitor to ‘discover America in person’. It seems that one has to know and appreciate America before one can witness peaceful alliances abroad. Thus, while this ad (and other images of the world in the 1960s) did show America as a peaceful cooperator in global relations American power and pride were never far from view. American nationalist globalism and internationalist globalism were very closely related.

CONCLUSION

The use of the global scale in the scripting of American identity has been shown to play a vital role in the way America thinks of itself. The Post presented the United States in antithesis to other countries, such as Germany, Italy, Japan, China, the East and the Soviet Union, thus relying on the relationship between the global and the national scale to mediate American national identities. The ‘other’ with which America has been compared has depended upon the political context within which the descriptions appeared. Thus, within World War Two, the Axis powers – Germany, Italy and Japan were America’s others, while soon afterwards, the Soviet Union and the East came to represent everything that America was not. Sometimes the ‘other’ was absent from global scale representations of America, and the icon of the globe served as a symbol for global supremacy, drawing on ideas from the European Renaissance of an association between knowledge and power.

These images of America at the global scale were portrayed through the ideology of American nationalist globalism. America was considered superior – technologically, economically, militarily, and socially – and hence was justified in leading the world to freedom. However, global supremacy was not the only issue,
and by the later 1950s and 1960s, it was no longer the pre-eminent ideology. Peaceful cooperation, understanding and alliance were also promoted, often accompanied by a sense of American responsibility and initiative in leadership. However, America was no longer fighting to preserve superior power, but was the harbinger of peace among fellow human citizens and the stabiliser in world affairs. It was the nation that attempted to lead the world by example, and its diverse population base united under the banner of 'America' seemed to offer an example of how a united world, united through mutual understanding, might begin to work. Global imagery here served less as an emblem of nationalism and more as a token of world peace, but nonetheless it was a world in which America played a vital role. Nationalist globalism and global harmony were never seen by the Post as opposite ends of a spectrum, but mutually enhancing perceptions of American identities at the global scale.
CHAPTER SEVEN:

CONCLUSION: THE UNITED SCALES OF AMERICA

In the preceding pages, I have explored some of the many ways in which geographical scales are employed in the articulation of American identities in the *Saturday Evening Post*. I have identified what symbols are used, and how identities are articulated as dynamic entities through changing relations between different geographical scales. By way of conclusion, I now wish to bring the analyses together to see what the overall picture looks like. Why was scale important in the *Post*’s articulation of nationhood? How were different geographical scales used and when were they most important for articulating national identities? In sum, I wish to discuss how scale has facilitated our understanding of American national identities in the first half of the Cold War.

The four scales I have examined were mediums through which national identities were articulated, and these articulations provided the structure of my thesis. The domestic, local, national and global scales provided a broad overview of how the *Post* represented America to its readers, and each scale, rather than existing *a priori*, was socially constructed through interactions of different social processes. Taken separately, each scale contributes independently to our understanding of how Americans have thought about their homes, their communities, their nation and their world, and social scientists have been interested in these issues for some time.

Beyond reporting on homes, communities, the nation and the world, however, the *Post* framed these in the context of American national identities. In cover illustrations, fiction stories, advertisements, and editorials, readers were shown a particular image that promoted liberal ideals about national life in America. According to the *Post*, America was a nation characterized by democracy and freedom; qualities to which all citizens were to subscribe in their commitment to the nation. Indeed, it was citizen’s shared ‘bonds of affection’ (Bodnar, 1996) towards these values that provided the adhesive that united the national group.

Given the nation’s civic rather than ethnic nationalism, geographical scale was crucial in this process of constituting and shaping American identities. Produced by subscription
to ideas about America — such as freedom, self-government, individualism, and democracy — American civic nationalism relies on the construction of different geographies as tangible objects that give form and meaning to abstract national values. In chapter three, for example, I showed how the domestic scale was articulated through personal relationships, family togetherness, and a place constituted through broader social relations. It was considered the interface between private and public worlds, and hence the primary site for presenting political issues in personal terms. The Post's domestic scale images highlighted the connections between the family and the state, encouraging audiences to accept civic responsibilities in the way one cares for ones more immediate family members. The domestic and the national were closely related, and often conflated, in the Post's representation of America.

The local scale was also discussed as a microcosm of the nation, and provided a geographical place with which readers could identify. This scale was articulated in relation to domestic and national scales. It was shown to be the mediating point at which social life was experienced, bridging private and political worlds. In particular, the local scale highlighted the heterogeneity of American identities that the democratic, decentralised political system promoted. Individuals from different backgrounds were presented who were living in alliance with each other which was benefiting their community as well as society as a whole. While each local community was unique, the Post suggested that it was tightly bound into a national framework that prevented democracy's heterogeneity from spiraling out of control.

The national scale was less frequently articulated at the Post, but on the occasions when it was seen it indicated the internal heterogeneity of the nation on the one hand, and the domineering image of a continental-size nation distinguished from the rest of the world on the other. National symbols (flags and anthems), American forefathers, national history, and geography, constituted the shape of the scale of the nation. The possession of these symbols served as icons of nationhood that integrated the national group around common foci. Furthermore, such national markers provided evidence of the nation's existence to mark the nation as distinctive and unique from all others.

This promotion of American global supremacy, however, was most clearly articulated through the global scale discussed in chapter six. The icon of the globe served as
shorthand for constructing this scale, while discussion of other nations in stories and in
advertisements presented other places (usually) in antithesis to the United States. As well
as suggesting global supremacy, however, the global scale indicated that America was the
mediator in international peace. In sum, therefore, the global scale was constituted as
something tangible for endorsing identities of global leader and peacemaker in what
would become a democratic world of civic societies.

Geographical scales were thus the medium through which American identities were
articulated. They transformed abstract concepts of nationhood into tangible geographical
forms that could be understood by Americans reading the Post. In addition, they enabled
cultural, economic, and political events to be interpreted in popular ways that could
indicate their relevance to those reading the Post. Separately, the scales conveyed
different meanings about the nation, but collectively they showed America as
heterogeneous and liberal, but united and whole. *E Pluribus Unum* describes the Post’s
image of the nation.

However, what is significant about this image is that the relationship between
*Pluribus* and *Unum* is negotiated through the changing relations between different
geographical scales. Hence, scales are never static but are socially constructed both in
space and through time. By analysing scale in the Post, and understanding the magazine
as a discourse that interacts with other discourses in the social context of production and
consumption, I have been able to observe the dialogic relationship between historical
developments in cultural beliefs, economic trends, political relations, and social values
and the Post’s articulation of geographical scales for organising civic society. As a
consequence, as well as understanding how different scales relate to each other, we can
assess the comparative salience of different scales at different times between 1942 and
1969 for articulating nationhood in the Post.

At the start of this period of study and coinciding with America’s entry into the
Second World War, all four scales were important for the articulation of American
identities at the Post. However, the scales promote different meanings and values that
provide a composite image of national identity. At the domestic scale and local scale, for
example, the emphasis was on personal sacrifice, hard work, and pulling together for the
benefit of others. By linking the home and the community to moral obligations to family
and neighbours and promoting this as patriotic endeavour, America’s involvement in
World War Two was discussed in familiar terms and the meaning of war was thereby
brought into the ken of average Americans. At the national and the global scale,
meanwhile, the emphasis was less on selflessness and public-spiritedness and more on
promoting America as a unique and superior place that must save the rest of the world
from despotism. In these images, the national flag, national anthem, national heroes, a
unique history and a vast territory were used to define and distinguish the nation, while
technology, political power, authority, and freedom elevated America to a position of
pre-eminence on the world stage. Taken together, these different geographical scales
picture America as a united home front, where hard work, selflessness, and the wish to
both defend and extend universal rights such as liberty and democracy created a superior
nation that was strong and secure. These were reassuring images of the nation in an
otherwise politically uncertain time.

Following the Second World War, the local and national scales remained constant in
their importance for organising civil society. What was noticeable about this period,
however, was the decline of the global scale and the increased significance of the
domestic scale. It seems that with the end of global warfare, it became less important to
consider America at the global scale, but it was not just the end of the war that brought a
change of focus. Events in America necessitated a re-articulation of American identities,
especially through the domestic scale.

In American society, attention appeared to move to the domestic scene in the
aftermath of the war. Marriage rates increased, the birth rate jumped (inducing the post-
war baby boom) and women came to view their roles in life as largely wives and mothers
(Mintz and Kellogg, 1988). Popular culture, such as new television shows, endorsed this
concern which set their stories around the home and the family, while government
subsidies for homes and road construction encouraged families to move to their own
private homes in the suburbs. The Post’s heightened concern with the domestic scale
supports the consensus view of America’s renewed emphasis on the home.

In the Post the domestic scale in the post-war period was used to demonstrate
progress, independence and privacy, as well as national security. While shelter
represented encroachment on the wilderness during the early settlement of America, in
the post-war period ownership (and hence material possession) demonstrated the ability to move from the tenements of inner-cities to the leafy suburbs where life was cleaner, healthier, and better. Suburbanization and home ownership were promoted as progressive national trends that had been made possible through individuals' hard work and thrift as well as technological innovation. The private home, thus, represented success and accomplishment. Furthermore, a home was also considered private and personal, ensuring independent living for individuals, couples, and the family. Its design and style encouraged freedom of expression, and where this was denied by those who copied and conformed (especially in the suburbs, according to some commentators such as Keats), the domestic scale represented a negative image of Americans that was disparaged.

In addition to the domestic scale's association with progress, independence, privacy and liberalism, there was also a strong emphasis on the notion of security. The home was a safe-haven, providing protection for those who lived there. I have interpreted this emphasis on security with the need to provide reassurance in an otherwise uncertain climate of Cold War and its attendant threat of international and internal depravity by 'Reds'. May (1988) argues that while Americans were enjoying a private world of affluence, suburban sprawl, and the baby boom, they needed to secure this for the future, and liberate themselves from the past. Secure jobs, homes and marriages in a secure country would enable Americans to take advantage of the fruits of prosperity and peace that were available. In this context, 'containment' became the political watchword, where subversives were to be 'contained' and prevented from spreading their poisonous influence. At the domestic scale, the home would be the fortified boundary where the societal nucleus could be protected from negative influences. The domestic scale was therefore a means through which affluence, progress and prosperity could be articulated, while political values and public policy at the national and global scale could be incorporated into its meaning. In sum, 'the self-contained home held out the promise of security in an insecure world. It also offered a vision of abundance and fulfilment' (May, 1988, p. 3). It is because of this quality of the domestic scale to express abundance and success as well as security and protection that it became important for organising national identities in the post-war Post.
This apparent ambivalence of affluence and fear in American society that the domestic scale so neatly articulates can also be seen at other scales in the Post. At the national scale, for example, there is a definite concern with integrative processes in the creation of national identities to suggest unity among the national group that the motto *E Pluribus Unum* implies. Icons such as national history, national territory, public holidays, and the automobile, served – both figuratively and literally, in the case of the latter – to unite the nation. The close alliance with the domestic scale in these images promotes a sense of understanding and commonality, seen for example in the Franklin covers that offered more comforting words of support in the mid-1950s rather than the distanced sermons of previous years. The national scale, therefore, suggested integration, co-operation, security, and support within the nation, quelling fears of disunity, and dysfunction that Communism threatened.

Meanwhile, local scale articulations of national identities focused instead on promoting diversity within America that a successful political system had produced. The Face of America series represented this concern with plurality, illustrating small, often isolated communities and the activities conducted in such places. These places represented the fruits of democracy and liberal politics, which have enabled communities to develop their distinctive qualities and individual characteristics that make up the United States. Indeed, it is these qualities that distinguish the United States from other nations in the world, especially those where communism rather than liberalism is the prevailing ideology that denies freedom and individualism.

The national scale and the local scale thus seem to be providing contradicting messages about national life. The former concentrates on the idea of unity and integration and the latter on heterogeneity, highlighting the ambivalence of the early 1950s. The relationship between these two scales, however is articulated through the domestic, which neatly conveyed these contradictions. It is only when seen in relation to each other, therefore, that a full sense of nationhood is attained.

Later in the 1950s, the domestic scale became progressively less dominant at the Post, while the local and national scales remained important. In these images, however, America seemed more secure in its place in the world, and more content that the national population is living peaceably. It is still pre-Vietnam, and pre-Civil Rights, and the Post
is unanimous in its representations of Americans enjoying the rewards of liberal democracy, living securely and harmoniously in a progressive society.

Particularly important at this time was the re-emergence of global scale images of America. These also represented America as a nation that was reassuringly successful, but in contrast to previous global scale images they were less concerned with aggressive nationalism than with co-operation and understanding for the benefit of all. Consumerism serves as the bridge between America and the rest of the world, taking American products into the marketplace for the rest of world to enjoy. However, products such as Coca-Cola were advertised as universal products that could be shared among different nations to enhance international alliances. America was not concerned with pre-eminence or supremacy in these images then, but with being a mediator of peace between different nations of the world.

To promote this sense of understanding and commonality, the local scale was drawn upon in global scale images, and, in particular, public places at the local scale. These provided familiar environments between nations, such that seemingly foreign places and people can be placed in familiar settings to render scenes more easily comprehensible to American readers. As a result, America was shown to be at ease with other nations, as well as being co-operative and understanding. Likewise in local scale images, the global scale was important for creating its meaning. The local scale was the place of economic, social and political success, where members of immigrant groups learned to get along, serving as a microcosm for global scale international relations.

Continuing on into the 1960s, the local scale and especially the global scale were the primary means for articulating American identities, while the national scale and the domestic scales were significantly less important than they had been in the previous two decades. Understanding these shifts in the organisation of the nation at this time might be aided by a consideration of the socio-political climate of 1960s America. At this time, the United States experienced some degree of social disruption, as millions of people campaigned against injustices and exclusion. In contrast to the post-war period of conformity and optimism, the early 1960s witnessed the tearing of the seams that had held America together. Civil Rights demonstrations highlighted the failings of liberal democracy for some and the need for differences to be recognised and celebrated rather
than suppressed. The Post responded to this intense social climate by providing reassuring images of America that showed a diverse nation that was neither suppressed under the weight of nationhood, nor liberated to the extent of unwieldy heterogeneity. Rather, it was a nation that was both internally heterogeneous, but certain of its national coherence. The local and the global scale proved indispensable for articulating these qualities.

To highlight the heterogeneity of America, the local scale was particularly important. The Post could focus in on the diversity of the community, and it celebrated the fact that America was a nation that had brought together people from different parts of the world. People could learn from each other and their range of experiences and cultures, and enhance their positions through peaceful co-operation. By demonstrating the benefits accrued by neighbourliness, the magazine promoted an image of the nation when civil disruption would be unnecessary.

However, this interpretation of the local scale as a place enhanced through mutual understanding also had wider significance at the global scale. As the New York World’s Fair suggested, people in the 1960s were living in a shrinking world in which boundaries between nations were in theory easier to breach. The need for co-operation between nations had become paramount to ensure global peace, and concordant relations would enhance the well being of all those participating in making peace with one another. In this respect, the local scale was an optimistic ‘microcosmic presentation of cosmic events’ (Hauser, cited in Leaming, 1969, p. 118).

The increasing significance of world events for national concerns also suggests why the global scale became a dominant scale for articulating American national identities. In this ‘shrinking world’, decisions made by one nation had repercussions throughout the world, and international relations affected all those on the domestic front (as the controversy over Vietnam illustrated). In addition, America’s position as a global superpower meant that this nation’s immense political and economic weight were seen in global proportions, and by orienting its identity at the global scale America’s international significance could be illustrated.

However, while the global scale was important in the late 1960s, America’s global superpower status was not its dominant message. Instead of an aggressive imperialist,
America was shown as a mentor for other nations of the world. The Post recognised that the nation had its problems such as its underworld element of criminals and ‘Reds’, but it suggested that the nation was striving to be an honest neighbour: caring, understanding, friendly, and intent on making the world a more peaceable place. Integrative processes of nation building were seen to be at work in these images, but integration took place across national boundaries to highlight the things people of the world share in common. The Post indicated that commonalities existed between local communities, whether in America or China for example, where people desired freedom to live and work as they choose. By providing commonalities with other nations, American identity was prevented from becoming unwieldy and ungrounded. While differences distinguish Americans from each other and from other nations, the Post suggested that these differences were products of liberal politics rather than eccentricities of individuals. Difference and idiosyncrasy, concord and homogeneity, were tightly negotiated between the local and the global scale.

The disengagement of the national and domestic scales with national identity in the 1960s complimented the Post’s emphasis on differences within America as well as alliances beyond, in light of increased globalisation and dissatisfactions with homogenising tendencies of nationalism. The national scale – with its symbols of patriotism such as the flag and national anthem – became less important for framing national identities at the Post. This might be explained by the dissatisfaction of many in society with repressive institutions, including the state. National icons for some represented the heavy stamp of officialdom and these were out of synch with a nation attempting to challenge those very structures of power.

The reduced emphasis on the domestic scale in the 1960s can also be understood in the context of national and global events. The domestic scale had previously been important in times of national threat, where the home was seen as a fortified safe-haven, promoting a sense of security and protection for the ‘social nucleus of America’. Domestic ideology therefore encouraged private solutions to social problems through the notion of containment. By the early 1960s, however, voices of discontent were heard in public demonstrations, and the baby-boom children who had grown up in suburban homes now abandoned the containment ethos. Domestic ideology lost its grip in this
social climate, for it represented a cause (rather than a resolution as had previously been believed) to discontent. Indeed, where domestic scale identities were presented in the *Post* they highlighted home as a place of false hopes and shattered dreams that prevented rather than provided personal happiness. Meanwhile, international concerns, as I have suggested, necessitated that America should be a mediator in uniting the world, and to enhance international alliance barriers needed to be reduced. In this context, the domestic scale fortress was a contradiction to American interests of international cooperation, and became less significant for articulating the nation.

By employing and emphasising different geographical scales over time, therefore, American national identities were shown in the *Post* to be dynamic entities. However, understanding national identities as articulations of geographical scales transforming their relations in space and time has important consequences, not least for how we can begin to understand the impact of globalisation on national cultures. Some commentators have argued that the global scale at which societies of the western world now operate on economic, political, and cultural terms will diminish national identities and these will be replaced by a universal cosmopolitanism or ethnic pluralism (Touraine, 1993). In this research, I have indicated how national identities are created through the negotiation of processes operating at scales larger and smaller than the national, and hence increased globalisation will merely necessitate a change in articulation of the nation. Brenner (1997, p. 299) makes this point well, stating that 'the current round of globalisation entails less an obliteration of the national spatial scale than its rearticulation with the subnational and supranational spatial configurations on which it is superimposed'. This holds promise for ensuring the continued articulation of the nation in an increasingly globalised world, and opens a world of opportunity for more detailed analytical research on scale and national identity to determine whether Brenner's theory has a practical application in contemporary global society.

In summary, my research has demonstrated the centrality of geographical scale for the *Post's* organizing of civil society over the first half of the Cold War. In the social construction of geographical scales, the *Post* provided tangible forms for articulating abstract values of nationhood on which American civic nationalism relies. I have shown through discourse analysis how changing socio-cultural, socio-economic, and socio-
political relations have influenced the construction of scales, and, by extension, the changing meanings of American national identities through time. I have indicated that the American motto *E Pluribus Unum* remained relevant in a changing environment, and how different geographical scales were constructed to maintain this relationship between the many (*Pluribus*) and the one (*Unum*). I maintain that to understand the dynamic nature of national identities in a civic society, geographical scale is crucial to the debate.
In 1910, Curtis issued ‘The Curtis Advertising Code’. It was printed in a pocket-sized book bound in red leather. The paper was gilt edged and rounded at the corners. In black type with red headings in wide margins and intricate initial letters, the little book looked Scriptural. In advertising circles it was. Forty years later copies still stood on the desks of Curtis executives and on desks in advertising agencies and the offices of company advertising managers. When it was issued and for years afterward The Curtis Code was regarded as the bible in magazine advertising.

The brief forward said: ‘These requirements are not intended to be arbitrary or dictatorial. They make our columns more profitable for our clients, and are based on the mutual interests of our readers, our advertisers, and ourselves’. The Code itself said: ‘Our first consideration is the protection and welfare of our readers, and our second consideration is so to conduct our advertising columns as to command the confidence of our readers and lead them to greater dependence upon the printed message.’

The Code then laid down these twenty-one rules:

1. Exclusion of all advertising intended to defraud.
2. Exclusion of all extravagantly worded advertisements.
3. Exclusion of all knocking copy.
4. No medical or curative advertisements.
5. No advertisements for alcoholic liquors.
6. No general mail-order merchandising.
7. Scrutiny of all installment advertisements.
8. No immoral or suggestive advertisements.
9. No cheap or vulgar advertisements.
10. No blind advertisements.
11. No answers to advertisements to be sent to publisher.

The notes on The Curtis Code are taken from Wood (1971), in which the main aspects of the Code are published in their entirety.
12. No quotes from the editorial matter in Curtis magazines to be used in any advertising copy.
13. No advertisements for boys or girls to work as agents.
14. Free' to be used only if an advertising offer is actually free.
15. Prize competition terms to be submitted in advance for inspection by the publisher.
16. No illustrations of stamps and coins.
17. No use of copyrighted material unless permission obtained in advance.
18. No speculative real estate advertisements.
20. No use of the names of Curtis publications as endorsements.
21. No insertion of foreign matter between the pages of any Curtis magazines.

In addition, the Curtis Code laid special strictures. There would be no advertising of tobacco, alcohol, playing cards, or financial offers in Ladies Home Journal. There would be no cigarette advertising in The Saturday Evening Post or in Country Gentleman. Only financial advertising for bonds or stock in high standing would be accepted by the Post or the Gent.
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