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Undoing Glory: Constructions of Gender and Patriotism in Post War US Society, 1917-1972

A Dissertation Presented

By

Annessa Ann Babic

to

The Graduate School

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Doctor of Philosophy degree,

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Abstract of the Dissertation

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The patriotic female, whether she was seen as Columbia, Rosie the Riveter, or another visual source has continually changed. Her image—through dress and action—has reflected many gendered stereotypes of society. For instance, early depictions of the patriotic female showed her resembling a Roman goddess, but by the mid-twentieth century her appearance resembled more of a woman tailored in fashions of the day. These changing images also

correlate to her use and decline in society. As society progressed, modernity forced changes on political, social, and gendered levels and the centralized image of the patriotic women declined. Society became more disjointed, and a plethora of forces prevented her image from remaining as a centralized construction for patriotic culture.

Within this discussion I focus my study on gendered images of the patriotic woman. Some of the images that I used are Howard Chandler Christy's World War I posters, *Wonder Woman* comic books, and various advertisements from the designated time period of my work. More so, the images that I have used are all print media. These visual images act as mirrors for US social frameworks—concerning women as part of the national discourse and the changing roles of the female in public perception and portrayal—with the premise of my study focusing on the decline of the patriotic female in mainstream US society. After the Second World War US society failed to produce a continual patriotic female figure. This change in visual culture partially occurred because of civil rights movements like Women's Lib and because of political divisions concerning the Vietnam War.

Dedication

For those I’ve loved and lost along the way, and those who still love me.

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Acknowledgements

In the fall of 1998 I began a research project that I thought would be straightforward and simple to construct. I could not have been more wrong. Since the original Master's Thesis, *Homespun Glory*, my research has taken several turns and twists that I never expected. The first of these changes occurred on a sunny fall afternoon at the base of the Organ Mountains outside Las Cruces, New Mexico. The day was one of those perfect, tranquil moments that evoke images lurching from classic American novels. While reading Supreme Court cases, and contemplating their meaning and intent, I realized that I did not want an amendment to protect the US flag from protestors. Instead, I wanted the first amendment left intact so that anyone may defile the flag and protest against his or her government. Since this defining moment, I have protested against US government policy, but I have never been able to bring myself to defiling a US flag. My original project focused on legal constraints with flag displays, and it laid some of the conceptual groundwork for the pages that follow.

A short while later my research turned toward advertising and gender issues. I found perplexing and unanswered arguments lurking in the pages of old magazines and newspapers, and most poignantly I became enchanted and enthralled with artistic imagery and their perceived verses intended implications for the pieces. But then, the "Kennedy moment" of my generation happened. September 11th changed the way many Americans look at their world, and I have also changed my perceptions.

I now see the US flag, and related patriotic imagery, as mirrors to American culture—a culture that is continually evolving and changing. I do not mean to say that US society is exceptional in its patriotism and nationalists displays. Rather, I assert that

US society represents and falls into a larger thread of existence that attempts to show a united front when underneath the surface issues are boiling over and continually dividing the public.

My time at Stony Brook has crossed paths with many individuals, and some have had a stronger impression on me than others. But none-the-less, the academic atmosphere at Stony Brook has clearly defined my research agenda and the product produced. My committee has been generous with their time for this project. They are Bill Miller (adviser), Gene Lebovics, Ian Roxborough, and James Matray. The stronger parts of this dissertation clearly show collaboration and understanding on their parts, and the weaker parts reflect their acceptance of the work. Any errors are clearly my own.

Aside from working with committee members the Stony Brook community has produced a group of people that have been genuine friends and aides in the production and creation of this dissertation. Tanfer Emin-Tunc, Kraig Larkin, Ed O'Connell, and Jennifer and Nelson Zuniga-Boyle have been extremely supportive during this process, and various other grad students know that they benefitted me in one way or another. Nichole Prescott would do me bodily harm if I did not mention her here. Conversations wandering through Ankara, Turkey cleared some of the apprehensions we both had/have about our research. Several late night conversations with Paul Dyson drastically reshaped some of the views portrayed here. Unfortunately, or fortunately, these conversations occurred rather late in my writing process, and I rewrote parts of my argument because Paul's words haunted me. Thanks, I think—rewriting at three am was a bit rough when you were snoring a few feet away.

My undergraduate advisor—Matthew Shoenbachler—initially coddled my desires for the study of US history. I can only hope that his first advisee did not let him down. Various faculty members at Stony Brook, aside from my committee, have played a hand in its final accrual. Sara Lipton and Harry Denny each aided me greatly in conceptualizing theory and visual images in my work, and the numerous house-sitting gigs I held at history professors homes seem to have aided in the completion of this project. Thank-you for letting me use your houses, animals, decks, and attics to complete the writing process.

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Lastly, for my family members who have guided me throughout my life, and some, more than others, have affected the outcome of this project. My parents, Andrew and Rebecca Babic, have often been confused as to what I have been researching, but they have given a valiant effort as to trying to understand why their daughter seems obsessed with flag condoms, wartime propaganda posters about venereal diseases, and topics they would generally roll their eyes at. I hope that the history I have shown will not make them cringe. My brother(s), Andrew, Jr. and his partner James A. Massey, Jr., did not live to see me complete what they called "Nessa's thing" about strange and unusual things. Parts of you two will forever remain with me, I am truly saddened by your passing, and the passage of time and space will never alter our connections or our past.

Introduction:

Columbia's Columbianism Presence

The figure of Columbia, one of the oldest national images in the United States, initially represented liberty and progress. In 1792, the year of the Columbia tercentenary, British Americans sought to disassociate themselves from England, and accordingly, they used the Columbia image to represent their division from Britannia and the Royal Crown.[1] She quickly became imbedded in US national iconography—to be seen with the American flag, the liberty pole and cap, the shield, the eagle, and in many other depictions. Her image is still used in the present era, but appears in a drastically different manner. Columbia-Tristar Entertainment, a division of Sony Pictures, uses the Columbia image as part of its company's logo. Many Americans, and film viewers, regularly see this image but do not associate it as a national icon. Here, it is not intended to represent the United States.

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[1] Thomas J. Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism," in *Journal of American History* 79, no. 3 (December 1992):pp. 937-40 and see David Ciarlo, "Consuming Race, Envisioning Empire: Colonialism and German Mass Culture, 1887-1914," (PhD diss., University of Wisconsin-Madison, 2003). In the early republic years, Americans used Columbia as a representation for their expanding geography, and later her name was used for the first American vessel to circle the globe. The connection of Columbia to commercial culture can be related to the rise of German mass culture. German mass culture coincided with the colonial subject, which helped reinforce the notion of superiority in the German race and the concept of the nation—it provided the concrete context for the "Other." Hence, Columbia for the American colonists/revolutionaries provided a concept of Other in themselves. They were the Other that Great Britain sought after—much like the Other that Germany desired to elevate themselves from—and Columbia provided the new Americans an image different, unique, but also within the European traditions of race and modernity.

Rather, her use and continued portrayal for film, and commercial society, reflects the market society.[2]

The image of Columbia is directly linked to the history of Christopher Columbus. In pre-twentieth-century US textbooks Columbus appeared as the quintessential American—the explorer, conqueror, and unsung hero. Yet, at the center of his heroic structure, Columbus acts a classical deity with Columbia becoming his mythical bride. Her allegorical figure for the promotion of liberty and progress celebrates a young, growing, and exuberant nation. She contrasts the popular nineteenth-century notion of Columbus as the sanctifier of

[2] Sony Pictures Museum, email to the author "Re: Columbia Pictures Image," 1 December 2004 and Clive Hirschhorn, *The Columbia Story* (New York: Octopus Publishing Group Limited, distributed by Sterling Publishing Company, Inc., 1999: pp.7-9**.** Columbia-Tristar Entertainment, a division of Sony Pictures, uses the Columbia image as part of its company's logo. Many Americans, and film viewers, see this image, and do not associate it with the nation. Here, it is not intended to represent the United States, and at the current time I have been unable to secure a concrete meaning or intent for the utilization of the image with the company. Even though I cannot find a clear and precise reason that the founders of Columbia Pictures used the name, I can conclude from their heritage that it may connect to a sense of Americanization and the desire to avoid racial stereotypes. Jack Cohen and Joe Brandt decided to expand their small film studio into a full-length production house, and they brought on Cohen's younger brother Harry. In 1919 they formed CBC Productions (Cohen-Brandt-Cohen), but the name quickly got dubbed Corned Beef and Cabbage. Harry Cohen took offense the stereotype, particularly since him and his brother were the sons of a German-Jewish immigrant father and a Polish-Jewish immigrant mother, so on 10 January 1924 the company officially changed its name to Columbia Pictures Corporation. Additionally, throughout the course of this project I have been attempting to find statistical evidence to support my claim that Columbia remains one of the most recognizable icons in US history. But, I have been unable to locate this information—so in the meantime I have relied upon my own informal surveying of individuals. As with any good researcher, I have questioned friends, relatives, colleagues, and strangers (the man next to me on the plane, the police officer checking my license and registration at a checkpoint, the person in front of me at the grocery store, and most humorously the bouncer at the bar . . . along with a few others) . . . and each question and response has brought nearly the same response. AB: "Do you know who Columbia is? Or, perhaps Lady Columbia?" Here, I frequently received a puzzled look, but . . . AB: "You know that woman shown above the credits, or at the start of the movie, for Columbia-Tristar Pictures?" Once prompted my respondents have nearly all given me the same response—a slow rising smile, gleam of recognition in their eyes (like they've just encountered an old toy or candy from childhood), or a nod of affirmation—that yes, they know her. Respondents have also generally been slightly shocked or dumbfounded to learn the Columbia was once a key component of the "national agenda" in World War I with her use in patriotic posters of the era. A war veteran from the current Iraqi engagement was even stunned to learn of the continual uses of Columbia, "Lady Columbia," and "Lady Liberty" (as my respondents have dubbed her). Hence, I feel evidence such as these comments, looks, and affirmations are sufficient to surmise that Columbia retains a resilient place within the American psyche—even if her meaning and mainstream imagery have faded away to make room for modern day images like *Wonder Woman*. The Statue of Liberty also outshines the image of Columbia in modern society because her name and figure are still routinely recognized.

Manifest Destiny, and Columbianism later became a mainstay culture for many ethnic and religious groups within the United States. Columbianism, manifested as Columbus Day, is traditionally an ethnic holiday. Irish, Italian, and (later) Hispanic Catholics incorporated Columbus as their American icon because his Spanish heritage allows these groups to "by-pass" the Anglo-Saxon rigidness of US society. Columbus further symbolizes the belief of a Republican destiny in the United States.[3]

Examples of Columbian tributes can be seen with a succession of name changes and product conceptions surrounding the anniversary of his "discovery" of the New World. To commemorate the meaning of Columbus celebrations of the Columbian tercentenary brought forth the renaming of Kings College (named under King George III) in 1794 to Columbia University, South Carolina renaming its state capital to Columbia, and the publication of *Columbia Magazine* (in Philadelphia) in 1786. Columbus's legacy continued throughout the early national period with the 1792 global voyage of *Columbus* (the first US vessel to do so), and a brief moment when consideration was given to renaming the United States to the "United States of Columbia." These various tributes, and the uses of Columbus, correlate to the various forms of Columbia because they show that US culture repeatedly changed the image and shape of its patriotic icons. Yet, the use of Columbia, which arose during the same period as the aforementioned Columbus icons, did not have

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[3] Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism," pp. 937-8; and Matthew Dennis, *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days: An American Calendar* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2002), pp. 120 and 129. For a discussion on Columbus Day and some of its social implications, and decline in popularity see Chapter Three "Reinventing America: Columbus Day and Centenary Celebrations of his Voyage of 'Discovery,' 1792-1992" in Dennis, *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days*. Irish-Catholics, and generalized Irish groups, related to Columbus because they remained on the fringes of whiteness until well into the twentieth century. For a study on evolving elements of American class and race structures see: Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Whiteness of a Different Color: European Immigrants and the Alchemy of Race* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1998).

precedent. The use of the female or a Roman Goddess did not permeate imagery, but her image remained an enduring symbol of nationalism to derive for the United States and from Columbianism. Her symbol, in the modern era, is used for Sony Pictures, and her image may not be directly linked to patriotism, but it still remains.

Other examples of Columbia's usage in society relate to her name. Products and companies like Columbia Batteries, Columbia Window Shades, Columbia Trust Company, and Columbia Records show examples of her continued presence and discursive uses.[4] These uses of Columbia's name pertain to her, instead of her male counterpart, Columbus. Products, business names, and other uses for Columbus's name are still prevalent, but their usage and meaning does not directly correlate to this story. In contrast to this celebration and exaltation of Columbus, the 1995 John Singleton film, *Higher Learning,* also recognizes the Columbus legacy with the naming of the fictional Florida-based college as Columbus University. The premise of the movie centered upon exposing, examining, and destroying prejudices. Except the 1990s racially divided culture of the United States, the name Columbus added a dark overtone to the film. Historical and cultural scholarship and some aspects of national memory began to place Columbus in the category of oppressor over that of explorer and "saintly" discoverer of the New World.[5]

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[4] Schlereth, "Columbia, Columbus, and Columbianism," pp. 939-42; "Columbia Batteries," Columbia Batteries, *The Saturday Evening Post*, 14 April 1917: 119; "Columbia Window Shades," Columbia Window Shades, *The Ladies Home Journal*, October 1917: p. 90; "Al Jolson, exclusive Columbia artist," Columbia Records, *Chicago Daily Tribune*, 4 January 1917: p. 4; and "Columbia Trust Company," Columbia Trust Company, *NYT*, 4 January 1917: p. 18 . The female name of "Columbia" was used for the proposed national name change because European tradition denotes countries as feminine.

[5] View *Higher Learning*. 1995. 127 min. Los Angeles: Columbia/Tristar Studios.

The decline of Columbus contrasts to the persistence of Columbia. Her imagery and consistent display in popular public imagery demonstrates that female heroines are imbedded within patriotic culture, and their imagery remains a mainstay in the discourse. Ironically, many of these representations of female patriotism—particularly those of Columbia—come from male writers, artists, and politicians. As theorist Londa Schiebinger notes, "Women are not seen as active creators or inventors of culture, but as passive tenders of nature." A woman's body, as with a man's, is shaped from culture, but her illustrated actions are romantic versions of it.[6] Hence, the use, resilience, and decline of Columbia represent romantic versions of society. Furthermore, the use of her name and imagery in advertisements and products enables her to become a tangible actor for the nation. Through the use of patriotic products users subconsciously elevate themselves within the national ethos. Product interaction, just like that with visual imagery, allows objects to become thoughts and extensions of social institutions by representing communal and individual life patterns.[7] In the post-World War I era, Columbia's image faded from the public limelight, and in post-World War II society her likeliness is hard to find. Yet, the continual usage and recognition of Columbia is what makes her history as a patriotic female intriguing. Her image evolved from a delicate national female to that of an entertainment icon. She evolves just as women do. Women gain the vote, women change their dress and familial

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[6] Londa Schiebinger, "Introduction" in *Feminism and the Body* Londa Schiebinger, editor (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000): p. 13. As a side note, the earlier referenced study represents a "good mixture" of society.

[7] John Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess: The First Female Symbols of America," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society: A Journal of American History and Culture Through 1876* 100, no. 1 (December 1990), pp. 45-6 and Susan M. Pearce, *Museums, Objects, and Collections: A Cultural Study* (Washington DC: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1992): pp.146-7. For a more in-depth theoretical discussion on the cultural meanings for objects and their uses see chapter seven of Pearce's study—"Meaning as Function."

expectations for employment, and women interact with public arenas like they had not previously. Hence, Columbia's evolution into later images and a plethora of products reflects social and consumer trends.

American society embraced Columbia as a symbol of civilization and political division from England, and her original form took the shape of Liberty. Her image portrayed the ideal of a Roman goddess. Attempting to fortify themselves as a politically strong nation, early American reformers used the image of a woman adorned in a plain white gown to starkly contrast the early English depictions of Americans as "noble savages." Columbia's separation from Britain provided a specific national identity with a transnational symbol of human rights for the infant nation, and additionally provided a visible symbol for the ideal female.[8] Columbia standing proud and tall in white showcased the ideal patriotic women. She upheld fixed moral principles within a growing and prosperous nation because of her implied morality and familial strength. Columbia did not wear a military uniform, nor did she carry a weapon, instead the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century viewer of Columbia saw her as a female to hold and protect.

Columbia*'s* symbolic meaning is exemplified with her classic dress, figure, and pose. American artist Howard Chandler Christy's wartime poster "Clear the Way!" provides another example of the classic figure of Columbia (see Figure 2)—this time slightly modernized. She has a delicate slender figure, wearing a white sleeveless gown, with a V neckline that subtly reveals her breasts (without exposing too much). Her body is luscious and lean, without being offensive or displaying rippled manly muscles, and her skin is a

[8] Higham, "Indian Princess and Roman Goddess," in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society,* pp. 54-9, 64, and 74-5.

classic ivory white tone. Her delineation as a national icon and a beauty of the male fantasy emanates as her body elegantly emerges from a delicate cloud. Her arms outstretch in a soft and gentle approach, and the American flag swelling behind her accents the image. Yet, even though she represents nation and fantasy she is not intended to be unapproachable. She represents the "classic American beauty" with dark eyes, slightly rosined cheeks, and reddened lips slightly parted. Her pose is in a strong, yet casual, stance, gesturing with open arms—as if to say *come with me . . . fight and protest your nation . . . I will be here waiting with love, respect, and social honor for you. The bountiful fruits of freedom and life await those who do my will.* Throughout this imagery, and emotional pull, the natural focus of the eye centers upon her breasts.

The breasts, representing a power zone within and outside of erotic intention, act as ventral elements of the female figure.[9] The female—bearer of children, moral guide, and keeper of society—provides the lifeblood for the nation with her sons, and her breasts are not only an element of her body. They represent life and purity through a child's (particularly a son's) suckling. They sustain life and property by their birth of freedom.[10] This love of patriotism and country do not act independently from one another. Rather, love of country and patriotism act in similar manners to provide a popular political front to unite the country in times of political crises and war. Yet, patriotism and love of country are not one in the same. Loving one's country does not mean that an individual will fight for his or her country, fly its flag, or honor it. The use of the woman, her breasts, and near-naked

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[9] Marina Warner, "The Slipped Chiton," in *Feminism and the Body*, ed. Londa Schiebinger (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), p. 272.

[10] Joan Landes, *Visualizing the Nation: Gender, Representation, and Revolution in Eighteenth-Century France* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 2001), p. 139.

body within popular patriotic imagery acts as metaphors for motherhood and the European tradition of referring to countries as female. The female invites embracing, touching, and sexual desire. Accordingly, the symbolization of a woman's breasts reinforces and solidifies the female role within the nation-state.[11]

The reinforcement of women as an object of male desire derives from many sources. With the French symbol of Marianne, her sexual stance, body curves, and bare skin all connect the male viewer to *La Patrie*—while also giving him more than a connection to the fatherland.[12] Joan Landes furthers this connection with the fatherland and female patriotic imagery by asserting that a man must have a tangible longing for his nation (and home) to justifiably serve it. Effects (on the home front) of war are through heroic death, and the women's work within the home provides an image of "romantic love and exaltation." The romanticization and glorification of the woman's wifely duties, and the man's heroic return, act to anchor men in battle with a love, devotion, and longing for their home and country.[13] Thus, men remain free and have a direct connection to their homeland, and they are also given a natural desire for love and affection upon return. The nation—more poignantly its women—provides the emotional elements of a home and hearth. These images then act as dual patriotic symbols because they also reinforce notions of domesticity and gentility for women. Their home front services and overall sexual appeal align them to the national cause—men without the risk to their lives and physical well-being.

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[11] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, pp. 140, and 153-6.

[12] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, pp. 156-8.

[13] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, p. 163.

Iconographic displays and cultural acts connect to a sense of sacrifice and regenerative power. This power expresses itself through the life of the community, continuing with renewed purpose for its strengths and convictions.[14] Within the context of this discussion the continuation of a community most aptly derives from the construction, utilization, and beliefs associated with patriotic symbols. Analyses of the US flag as a religious symbol of sacrifice and nation directly correlates to this discussion in that both utilize sexualized elements of nationalism, and patriotism, to employ permanence and importance of popularity. Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle assert that "The semiotics of the physical flag elaborate a drama of male sacrifice and female regeneration," honing in on gendered natures of patriotism. The flag is carried into battle, constituting a border for the enemy to not cross just as social boundaries and codes for female boundaries establish lines of demarcation for the sexes.[15] Moreover, battle borderlands continually shift and evolve as the soldiers move forward and retreat. Guidelines and social mores restructure themselves in the same manner.

Columbia's image symbolizes patriotism, but her visual can be (and was) used as a marketing tool. During World War I Columbia symbolized prosperity, progress, and the greatness of US society. Western Electric Company ran an ad campaign that played upon the notions of national unity, patriotism, the elusive (and often changing in definition) "American Dream," and of a woman's social/familial role. In an advertisement entitled "The New Enlightenment" readers are first drawn toward the image of a woman vacuuming.

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[14] Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation: Totem Rituals and the American Flag* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p. 68.

[15] Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, p. 69.

But, this woman is not just any woman. She is dressed as the classic image of Columbia—with her flowing gown draped over one shoulder. Here, her image has been tweaked some—she has a blouse, with short, slightly puffed sleeves under her gown, and on her head she is wearing a Liberty cap. The young girl, with curled hair slightly protruding from the cap, is looking at the viewer with left arm slightly bent, and extended, holding the cord to the vacuum that her right hand is pushing. The text of the advertisement promotes the use of electricity in the home as "destined to fill a still larger sphere of domestic usefulness . . . [it adds] hours to the leisure, recreation, and broader interest that claim the modern woman's attention," and an interpretation of the piece could easily read that any housewife/woman who uses electrical appliances is promoting the nation.[16]

The Columbia image transformed herself through her interaction with modern technology (i.e. the vacuum and electricity), and she changed by wearing a sleeved shirt under her robes and donning the Liberty cap. Previously, Columbia would have not worn the Liberty cap because it was a ceremonial piece for men to wear, but her wearing it in this image shows progress. She wears it because electricity, and US society, gives her some liberation her from the confines of her home and gender. Hence, technology decreased a woman's work load in the home, and as the ad attests, allowed her to have more free time. A woman's interaction with these creations and conceptions attests to growth and prosperity. Technological growth, home appliances, and increased leisure activity all connect to the benefits of democracy, and the housewife as Columbia provides reinforcement for these notions of patriotism and national unity.

[16] "The New Enlightenment," Western Electric Company, *Good Housekeeping*, October 1916: p. 149.

Columbia is dressed for the nation, with her white robes and outstretched hand holding a Liberty cap. And when the forces of patriotism asked her to remove her white cloak for the US flag and colors of red, white, and blue she did it as “enlisting for the economy.” Justly, Columbia’s use declined because a mythical image stays stationary within the viewer’s eye—a constructed image whose meaning and intent resonate long after the image is transfigured into a more modern, realistic, and useful construction of social thought. Columbia’s change in dress derived from her creators and social actors content to maintaining her legacy and intent, and the market society allowed images of patriotism to be bought and sold for profit.

The market society is one place where consumers make choices and decisions for personal growth.[17] These decisions can be about the purchase of a new home or the acquisition of a sweater, but in each instance (large or small) the buyers purchasing decision reflects an element of imposed social thought. Acts of “buying American,” working for the war effort, enlisting in a branch of the US military, abstaining from these markets and employment opportunities by purchasing a foreign made product, resisting military enlistment (either voluntary or draft evasion), and deviating from instructed mainstream thought are all essential elements of American patriotism and national discourse. These acts represent national beliefs and perceptions for the nation’s international image, and deviation and noncompliance to voluntary or imposed requests demonstrate a nation continually expanding its social borders and content. Within this debate, women take a central stance because they are treated as guides for the nation, but are not expected to take up arms to help

[17] Robert Kuttner, *Everything for Sale: The Virtues and Limits of Markets* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1998): p. 4.

defend the country. Instead, their predominant usage for US national discourse is through the imagery of beauty and home front sacrifice.

Traditionally, the US military has been a predominantly male organization. Not until the 1990s did females enter combat units in the US armed forces, and even in the present era their role within the military is viewed with question and disdain. Many factions of the six services, and of mainstream society, steadfastly adhere to traditional female wartime imagery—that of the beautiful confidant, mother, moral keeper of the nation, and the "home" for a man's soul.[18] These societal elements combat one another to continually reconstruct accepted depictions of the "American Girl."

[18] As a side note, the first female POW occurred during the short-lived 1991 Gulf War operation, and more recently the capture and subsequent US rescue of Army PFC Jessica Lynch enraptured US news media sources. A fuller discussion of the female soldier can be found in chapter six. Additionally, the reference to the "six services" refers to the various branches of the US military—Army, Air Force, Marines, Navy, Coast Guard, and Merchant Marines. Even though the Merchant Marines, and often the Coast Guard, are frequently not considered part of the mainstream military I have included them here because these branches have also contributed to US wartime efforts, and their members receive some forms of veteran's benefits from US government offices. But most importantly, when these individuals leave for service they also hold fast to the patriotic images discussed here, and they continue to represent the manly culture and attributes of the nation.

Chapter One:

Unfurling the Red, White, and Blue

American society, like any other, glorifies its heroes, mystifies its martyrs, and celebrates its victories and perceived acts of triumph. One such aspect of these notions pertains to gendered nationalistic discourse—particularly images of "patriotic women." Women have long maintained their unique and continually changing role within US national rhetoric since the nation's founding. The Revolutionary War saw women boycott British goods, shun British loyalists, and coerce their men to fight. Similar activities occurred during the American Civil War. Here, a poignant story relates to women in Texas presenting local men with petticoats and bonnets as an effort to shame them into fighting for the Confederacy.[19] Instances like these set the stage for this discussion. It will examine the changing image (and role) of the patriotic female from circa 1917 to 1972. The focus of this period concerns World War I, World War II, the Vietnam Era, and civil rights movements within the United States. The primary focus of this discussion will concern the war periods because patriotic iconography flourished the most during these years. This study will show that home-front mobilization, gendered politics like women receiving the vote, the

[19] Drew Gilpin Faust, *Mothers of Invention: Women of the Slaveholding South in the American Civil War* (New York: Vintage Books, 1996): 15.

advancement of women in the labor force, and promises of suburbia all played a role in changing the face and duty of the patriotic female. The answers to these changes come from war. Most importantly, political actions like the Equal Rights Amendment, changes in women's clothing, and the changing place of women in the labor force caused the patriotic female to decline in usage of women post World War II. Thus, with all of these changes a centralized figure for female nationalism cannot exist because there is no longer a centralized female ideal to hold fast to, and the perceived need and urgency for a patriotic female image has faded.

Chapter by Chapter

The chapters that follow will attempt to answer some of these issues, but in each one a different aspect of the female image will be examined. Print media sources are used for the argument in this study. Film and other media accounts are excluded because examining the patriotic female as a moving image would make this study too large. Chapter Two uses advertisements and two wartime posters by Howard Chandler Christy to begin this discussion of female patriotic iconography. The First World War shows how the patriotic female changed to suit needs of the moment. This period has her clothing slowly moving from that of a goddess to that of an approachable woman. Suffragists and female reformers, like Kate Richards O'Hare who served a jail sentence for treason, also helped shape the image of the patriotic female. Their actions of dissent brought change, which paved the way for the next generation of women. Changes, like women receiving the vote in 1920, gave women cause to expect more for their service. The women's franchise acts as a "thank-you" for their wartime labors because the United States and Britain both gave their women the vote shortly after the war. Many suffragists had no problem with women staying at home

because they would vote according to their motherly qualities, but the ideal notion of women held them within the home and not voting. These complexities of political issues help explain the changing face of the national woman. More so, women who acted against the mainstream show patriotism through protest. They acted for the larger good, in this case for women, and this study seeks to show that the patriotic female did not always fit the ideal. These conflicts serve to her decline.

Chapter Three focuses on the World War II era. Here, an examination of select advertisements, the comic book heroine Wonder Woman, and the wartime propaganda image of "Rosie the Riveter" are utilized to describe nationalistic values and intentions. This generation of women saw their mothers mobilized for World War I, they already had the vote, their war lasted longer, and war work brought significant changes in women's labor. During World War II the patriotic female's image took her out of a dress and into work clothes (albeit fashionable ones) because a larger home-front propaganda force called women to serve. Accordingly, their image had to change because a factory worker could not necessarily do her job in a dress. Wonder Woman and Rosie have been chosen because gender codes of the era called for women to remain within the home, as dutiful wives and mothers, but similar to the national crisis of World War I, actions begged women to temporarily leave their homes in support of the greater good. They entered the workforce, and in many instances re-entered it, for a variety of reasons: some for the war effort, some looking for self-expression outside of their homes, and some merely needed the income to provide for themselves and their families. Rosie compares to Wonder Woman through her devotion to the country through factory work (an "unfeminine" field of employment) and selfless devotion to the nation. Wonder Woman valiantly defends the United States from

internal and external foes via her monthly exploits. She, like Rosie, keeps her femininity because she only publicly asserts herself while in her superhero uniform.

Wonder Woman and Rosie also work with advertisements and the real women, as illustrated in Chapter Two. Some of the advertisements showcase women adorning themselves for men, refraining from spending so that supplies and labor can be used for the warfront (i.e. the shortages and rationing of the time), or fighting their "maternal desire" to stay home with their children in order to work. The core of this chapter focuses on public imagery and discourse in reaction/relation to what women were doing and thinking. US involvement during World War II lasted three years longer than World War I, more soldiers were used for military operations, propaganda forces infused the public with more information about the war, and the warfront and home front became two distinct sections of the war. For these reasons more women entered the workforce during the period. Oral histories, like Studs Terkel's and others, show that women connected their war work to the home, nation, and themselves. They felt that they were providing their homes with needed goods. They helped the nation by working in factories and traditional male dominated fields so that men could fight in the military, and they often remarked that work outside the home made them feel connected to something more than just their families. These are the same characteristics that are seen in studies done on World War I workers and laborers during the Great Depression. Unpublished accounts like Merch Kazmierczak's show how women labored in steel mills and other factories during the war, and how some women—like her—spent their evenings as USO girls. Her story shows how countless women savored the memory of their wartime experiences as something notable and worthwhile, not just as a duty.

Chapter Four focuses on the 1950s; the rise of suburbia, briefly addresses the Korean War, and does not have a centralized image of the patriotic female. This occurs because unlike the women of World War I, World War II females did not receive political affirmations of their service. Instead, they received the ideal of suburbia and the track-home. Women fought the Cold War by stocking the family bomb shelter, leading the family (and local community) in civil defense drills, while the leaders of the United States and Russia debated communism via the household kitchen and housewife (i.e. "The Kitchen Debates"). These key changes derived from the nature of the Cold War, a war that was an ideological one rather than one of battle grounds and deploying soldiers, and US citizens knew little of their foe. The short-lived hostilities of the Korean Conflict used the draft leftover from World War II (because it had never been repealed), and it received far less media attention than World War II. Americans were more concerned with finding a sense of normalcy. The family, the suburban home, and keeping safe from nuclear attack took the shape of home-front mobilization during the 1950s. Wonder Woman's storyline, in the 1950s, focused on her love conflict with Steve Trevor.

Chapter Five examines why the Vietnam War era does not have a central patriotic female image. The political protests of the late 1960s and early 1970s tend to capture the era's events and policies, but within these protests arose a perplexing and essential argument to the discussion of female patriotism. In 1968, DC Comics stripped Wonder Woman of her powers, made her a mortal, and tried to modernize her. Sudden changes in Wonder Woman's appearance, mission, and agenda made DC Comics like many other media outlets, ignoring the protests of Vietnam and Women's Liberation movements. These alterations did

not last long because in 1972 *MS. Magazine* led the push to get Wonder Woman reinstated as her super powerful self.

This chapter focuses on the *Wonder Woman* story line, Women's Liberation, and the push to get the Equal Rights Amendment passed. These productions, moments, and actions all work together to concretely reveal a deeply divided American society. US society had reconnected with itself through these acts of political protest because patriotism of unity and patriotism of chaos rallied conflicting groups to openly discuss the issues at hand. The subtext of the chapter lies in Louis Jimenez's *Barfly* statue. *Barfly* depicts a woman, in a bar, leaning back on a bar stool drinking beer, and looking rather disheveled and scantily clad. Her carefree attitude and lack of social decorum and "appropriate dress" all show similar notions of the Women's Liberation movement and the de-powering of Wonder Woman. These cultural products depicted women demanding change and resisting gender codes. *Barfly* shows another version of the "all-American girl." Relaxed behavior and dress codes and media portrayals of war and political protestors surfaced in art and popular discourse. These images reflect anxieties and fears about the perpetually changing role of the female.

A brief conclusion discusses the passage of the Equal Rights Amendment in 1972, its subsequent failure in 1982 for ratification, and how the changing image and role of the female managed to break out of social barriers and boundaries. This discussion also covers the 2003 US invasion of Iraq. In each era discussed, the reader sees a continual—and quite persistent—debate over how the female should be viewed. Women lead, direct, and act, and as this dissertation shows (through the actions of females), they should be cherished for their acts of diligence, allegiance, and national worth.

Women fighting in the battles in Iraq and Afghanistan show a clear and concise deviation in US military and social thought, but the purveyance of accepted and standardized social ideals remains. Women are still instructed to "look their best" and popular women's magazines still show women "how to get a man" and "how to find the best beauty secrets." These messages, along with the fact that the United States still does not require women to sign up for the Selective Service (the draft), solidify the notion that nostalgia for beautiful females reigns, helping to relieve the anxieties and fears for female soldiers, and that a centralized patriotic female figure does not exist because a women's place in society has drastically changed. She can now vote, regularly compete with men, join the military as a "full soldier," enter zones of combat, and still raise a family.

Images of Patriotism

Images of patriotism, women fighting for their rights, glorifying their country, and asserting ideals of freedom and democracy demonstrate a colorful dynamic to American society—or any society. Some of these gendered patriotic images are those of Howard Chandler Christy's *The American Girl*, Rosie the Riveter, and the comic book *Wonder Woman*. These images, and the others used here, represent popular culture, gender codes, and "appropriate" portrayals and constructions of the female body. They sell a product—patriotism—and they were all created by artists based in the United States. The traditional Statue of Liberty is not used in this study. Luis Jimenez's 1969 *Barfly-Statue of Liberty* is used instead. The Statue of Liberty—a gift from France—stands stationary on Liberty Island, and her legacy places her as a greeter for newcomers to the nation. Thus, the Statue of Liberty's place within American patriotism acts differently than the pieces used in this discussion.

The more traditional image of American patriotism, Uncle Sam and uniformed men, does not come into play in this study. I choose to ignore the image of the patriotic male so that my study would focus on the woman, her changing uses and faces, and so that my work would be more centered. A comparison study of the patriotic female verses the patriotic male is currently not in print, and it would show a different scope than this project does. I focus on the decline of the patriotic woman, and a male verses female study could not necessarily show the demur of one or another. More so, the omission of men in this work acts as a silent subtext. Most of my argument discusses how women acted against gendered notions of society, struggled with them, and acted outside of their spheres. During wartime these actions were welcomed, and when hostilities ended women did not receive warm welcomes when they desired to stay in the workforce or traditional male spaces. Gendered divisions and male social constructs form the basis of the discussion on female roles.

This study will focus on the years between 1914 and 1972 because 1914 marked the beginning of the First World War, which is often considered the start of the twentieth century, and the war effort changed the way many Americans perceived their national banner in regards to patriotism and patriotic acts. A grassroots effort instituted a flag religion (started in 1915) and a civic flag code was enacted shortly after the war effort began. World War I saw a unified culture develop in the United States, and the formalization of the state and national image accelerated during this period.[20] The hero, fighter, and protector took upon revived forms within the national community because a sense of national urgency arose from wartime fears of attack. Additionally, in 1972 the US

[20] Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary, *To Die For: The Paradox of American Patriotism* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999), p. 239.

Congress passed the ERA. Initially the amendment looked promising, and many believed its ratification would surely follow. Congress approved the legislation with an excess of fifteen votes beyond those needed, but in 1982 the proposed amendment did not become law because only thirty-five states, of the needed thirty-eight, had ratified it.[21] Political rhetoric drastically changed in the post ERA era, the face of warfare and mobilization changed with the mass protesting of the Vietnam War, and more importantly men's and women's expectations for female behavior had evolved.

Accordingly, this dissertation will examine images from advertising, art, and popular culture for the context of their creation and purpose. Advertising transfers cultural values by persuading people of all ages, classes, and values. Ads gave goods meaning, and during war periods (particularly World War I and World War II) they aided the US government. Even though advertisements still sought to sell goods, they used "the cultural value of patriotism to promote their goods." They highlighted the manufacturer's contribution to the war effort, and they helped move the traditional value of service from individuals to individuals, the purchasing of goods, and interaction with those goods.[22] Most of these ads come from *The Ladies Home Journal*, *Good Housekeeping*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*. These periodicals were chosen for their content and popularity. The *Saturday Evening Post* began selling more than a million copies a week in 1909, by 1961 it set an all-time high for seven million, and by the start of World War I *Good Housekeeping* and *Ladies Home Journal* had

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[21] Jane J. Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press), p. 1. See chapter five for a fuller discussion of the ERA and its continued battle for passage in Congress.

[22] Monica Brasted, "The Reframing of Traditional Cultural Values: Consumption and World War I," *Advertising & Society Review*. 5:4, 2004 (Project Muse, last accessed 7 August 2007): http://muse.jhu.edu.libproxy.cc.stonybrook.edu/journals/advertising_and_society_review/v005/5.4brasted.html : pp. 1-6.

established themselves as the premiere reads for middle class women and those aspiring to be. Both of these magazines targeted the "average woman." She was married, white, lived by strict gender definitions, and was middle class. Also, they promoted limited roles for women and ignored many choices females had outside of the home and marriage.[23]

By looking at prose and imagery created during wartime I claim that the patriotic female had to evolve because changing politics and personal expectations would not let her remain static. Women had always enjoyed their lives outside of the home. World War I did not significantly affect the women's labor movement, but World War II did bring considerable advances. When the Vietnam War brought its unprecedented levels of protest images of female dissidents countered existing images of females supporting the country through self-sacrifice and home front service. The nation had to find a new form of patriotic imagery to rally its patriots and potential patriots. This assertion is an extension of the current discourse concerning nationalism. Since the stereotype of the patriotic female is the middle class white woman, this dissertation focuses on her images and iconography. Race plays a minor role in its overall discussion because more and more non-white women were depicted in print media after the Civil Rights movements of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. In examining gendered elements of social discourse, current perceptions of US patriotism will be examined in a manner to "undo" them.

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[23] Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The 'Ladies' Home Journal,' Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995): pp. 1-8. *The Ladies Home Journal* began publication in 1883 as *Ladies Home Journal and Practical Housekeeper*, and it was the first woman's magazine to reach one million in circulation. *Good Housekeeping* was founded in 1885, and it imitates *Ladies Home Journal*. By 1911 it had reached 300,000 readers. Hearst Publications then bought the magazine, and by 1966 it had reached an all-time high of 5,500,000 readers. It surpassed *Ladies Home Journal* in sales in the 1960s.

This discussion about the female patriotic figure will show that there is no central agency for control, support, and belief patterns. Rather, a plethora of agencies control iconography because government offices, companies (federally operated or privately owned) cannot manipulate culture. Culture and individual actors construct discourse and imagery through acts of cohesion and deviance. As this study shows, patriotism manifests in a variety of forms, and throughout the twentieth century glorified images like "Rosie the Riveter" and *Wonder Woman* comics have changed in manners to undo them. The post-Vietnam Era does not have a singular patriotic female. Instead, individual women like Hillary Clinton and Sandra Day O'Connor, and others act as revolving pop culture images of women in power. The "Golden Age" of patriotic imagery is unraveled to show a new era where women are regular members of the US military and deploy with the troops, unlike previous eras when women traveled with the troops as separate groups and did not hold full (or any) military status.

In addition to visual sources, this study uses unpublished accounts of wartime service. Merch Kazmierczak, an immigrant daughter, helps tell the story of the World War II patriotic female, and Rebecca Littlepage illustrates elements of a changing social discourse in the 1960s and 1970s. Their accounts help illustrate that the patriotic female does not originate from a single source. Popular oral histories, like Studs Terkel's *"The Good War:" An Oral History of World War II*, could have easily been used as central account for World War II, but I incorporated sources not extensively studied to help exemplify the patriotic female's viability and to breathe new life into some heavily studied

areas.[24] She is not merely a constructed image that has been glorified through image and scholarship. Instead, she is a real woman who acted for the needs of her nation and the needs of herself. The unpublished oral histories used help keep the material fresh, and the reinforce that real women did interact with popular culture. One example of images, culture, and social beliefs creating a multi-layered portrait of the ideal woman is seen in the female as mother, wife, and homemaker.

Gendered Literature

In theory a true mother, wife, and homemaker would not leave her home to vote, work, or voice her patriotic fervor, but women did these activities in the antebellum south and in countless other societies and eras. Drew Gilpin Faust provides an excellent example of this gendered, patriotic dichotomy. She says that necessity is the "mother of invention," and in times of war, national crisis, and personal turmoil women will break and redefine gender roles to obtain a desirable outcome.[25] While Faust's study centers upon women in Confederate Civil War America, her conclusions and observations on social codes and reactions show a direct connection to this discussion.

Faust remarks that while some women were reluctant to give up their loved ones, just as some men hesitated to leave their loved ones, the honor and glory of the military, fighting, and ideas of manhood heightened from battle experience outweighed concerns for refusing to fight. This conception of masculinity being bound to courage and glory increased sexual tensions in the Old South, and the ideal of womanhood evolved from

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[24] See Studs Terkel, *"The Good War:" An Oral History of World War II* (New York: The New Press, 1984).

[25] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 7.

implying difference to solidifying the exclusion and deprivation of females.[26] Anger is shown as a natural by-product of patriotism, especially for the female. She continually gives and sacrifices for her nation, but she receives little in return. Women of the Old South sacrificed their clothing, their husbands, and their lifestyles to be told that returning to the hearth and home would reconstitute their lives.

In addition to the southern women in Faust's study, numerous other scholars have provided excellent discussions on public actions of women, the meaning of their actions, and how these actions shaped the role and evolution of women in the twentieth century. Nancy F. Cott describes the "cult" of womanhood through female networks of unity in behavior and domestic life. Her study of New England women highlights the tale of women who used their kinship networks to develop friendships, community ties, and civic action. These women did not have the right to property ownership and voting, but through their civic groups they organized and encouraged women to educate themselves. Normally, women were not educated outside the home because an educated woman was "dangerous," but as the new nation progressed the wifely duties of morally guiding the family coincided with women requiring their own networks for comfort and support. These growing networks also coincided with the mindset that a person's work shaped his or her social identity, and women with civic duties for moral reform (usually through education programs and church Sunday school classes) were able to solidify their role as national saviors and moral guides.[27]

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[26] Faust, *Mothers of Invention*, 20.

[27] Nancy F. Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*, second edition, with a new preface. (New Haven, CT and London: Yale University Press, 1977 and 1997): pp. 20, 64, and 130.

Examining the period right after Cott, Mary P. Ryan analyzes three American cities—San Francisco, New York, and New Orleans—to show that by 1840 women regularly attended political meetings. Their presence represented Victorian ideals of purity, chastity, and industry. Issues that women primarily governed concerned the regulation of women's sexuality, prostitution (within the cities), and the growing rate of the urban poor.[28] Carroll Smith Rosenberg argues that Victorian women did not passively observe the social codes of their society. Rather, these women fought against the forces of industrialization and commercialization. Victorian women reacted against the rise of the American city, and they changed their domestic and public spheres through their friendships with other women and institutions of moral reform. Her work further expands the analysis of the female sphere by focusing on female-to-female relationships, the bonds that women formed, and the intent and nature of these bonds. She says that the nature of the female bond is not always pertinent to the social outcome because women's actions for change and reform depended upon their reliance to one another. Without their intricate and extensive networks, their homes would have been left without recourse for change.[29]

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[28] See: Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990); Christine Stansell, *City of Women, Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986); and Elizabeth R. Varon, *We Mean to be Counted: White Women and Politics in Antebellum Virginia* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1998) for a discussion the actions of female reformers. Stansell's study focuses on the child worker, child prostitute, and poor child while demonstrating how middle-class women sought, brought about, and demanded change for urban lifestyles and living situations—to rid the modern city of its "ills." The techniques women used to get the voices heard about city life were the same steps they took in the abolition movement, the temperance movement, and the early phases of the suffrage movement. In comparison, and unison, to the other studies mentioned here Varon focuses on women in per-war Virginia to show their connections within their sphere. Each of these studies highlights evangelical literature that women used to justify their causes—or their benevolent deeds—and the studies reinforce the notion that women were objects of adornment. The proper women, even with her civic cause for benevolence, still adhered to the bounds of sex. She stayed within the home, reared god-fearing, nation loving children, and abided by the wishes of her husband.

[29] Carroll Smith-Rosenberg. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1986).

In comparison to women of the Old South and Victorian society's notions of females remaining within the home, these gendered concepts continued to exist in popular thought in the twentieth century. Studies like Susan Douglas' *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female With the Mass Media* places the struggle of the modern female in a world filled with competing images. These images varied from messages telling girls that they equaled men to telling them that they should remain subordinate.[30] Other studies have highlighted the rise of the single woman, her history, and how society scorns her. The single girl represented the rise of the labor movement, the possible destruction of the family, and perceived problems with progress. As Betsy Israel claims in *Bachelor Girl: The Secret History of Single Women in the Twentieth Century* critics attempted to quell the single girl image because social ideals maintained that a woman without a home was a failure of society. Allowing and promoting women to live without men and families meant that the moral fabric of society had failed.[31] Yet, progress forced the image, and ideal, of the women to evolve. The image, and reality, of women maintaining jobs and careers, families, and homes led to backlashes against the working female. Susan Faludi remarked that returns of 1950s fashions, the dress for success campaigns, and the continual wage gap in the 1980s acted as social protests against females no longer fitting the peaceful image of domesticity. While common sense had known that women were never truly confined to the house, an

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[30] Susan Douglas. *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with the Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1994).

[31] Betsy Israel. *Bachelor Girl: The Secret History of Single Women in the Twentieth Century* (New York: William Morrow, an Imprint of Harper Collins Publishers, 2002).

economy dependent upon the two-income household and the persistence of women in the workforce forced society to adjust its gendered expectations accordingly.[32]

Contesting Glory

A common patriotic slogan states "Long May She Wave," song lyrics refer to the nation by asking the listener to "stand beside her, and guide her," and one of the first national holidays to incorporate flag usage was Mother's Day.[33] School children are frequently taught the legendary tale of Betsy Ross sewing the first US flag, and even though this story has been disputed American civic ethos still holds it as a defining moment in the nation's history. Historians typically recognize Francis Hopkinson as the first flag maker because 1780 congressional records show that he delivered a flag to Congress.[34]

The story of George Washington asking Ross to make him a flag for his regiment is deeply embedded in American folklore, educational material, and popular culture. A great many American children can relay the story of Ross, and in many accounts children's literature and children's remarks state that Ross made the first American flag. But as history

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[32] Susan Faludi. *Backlash: The Undeclared War Against American Women* (New York and London: Anchor Books, Doubleday, 1991) and *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the American Man* (New York: Perennial, 2000).

[33] Maymie R. Krythe, "Our National Flag," in *What So Proudly We Hail: All About Our National Flag, Monuments, and Symbols* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1968), pp. 20-21; *Honoring All Who Served: Celebrating Veterans Day* (Washington D.C.: Department of Veterans Affairs, 1996), n.p; Margaret Sedeen, *Star-Spangled Banner: Our Nation and Its Flag* (Washington D.C.: National Geographic Society, 2001), p. 184. President William Howard Taft signed a presidential proclamation in 1912 establishing Mother's Day as a national flag holiday. Later, in 1914 President Woodrow Wilson signed Congressional legislation which permanently established Mother's Day as the second Sunday in May and as a national flag holiday to be established each year with a presidential proclamation. Congressmen and women and various veterans' organizations pushed for this legislation because they perceived a need and desire to honor those who rear the nation's children and soldiers.

[34] Milo M. Quaife et al., *The History of the United States Flag: From the Revolution to the Present, Including a Guide to Its Use and Display* (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1961), pp. 32 and 98.

is rewritten and new documents are discovered, myths become clouded in fact and fiction. Historians now believe descendants of Ross greatly exaggerated her flag making duties. She did make flags for the Pennsylvania Navy, but substantial evidence does not exist to validate the claim of her making the first American flag. While the designer and maker of the American flag are still uncertain, a general belief marking Francis Hopkinson as the first flag maker dominates the current debate. His story states that he presented a flag to the US Congress in 1780, and scholars credit Samuel G. Reid with designing the current form of the American flag.[35]

In a testament to totem ritual and myths, many US citizens still cling to the Ross flag tale as truth—even though numerous scholars and documented sources prove its fabrication and falsehood. In commemoration of the nation's bicentennial Avon sold a Betsy Ross cologne bottle for women, and celebrations across the country honored Ross. Additionally, the Betsy Ross House in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania credits Ross with making the first flag, and the home page for the monument affirms the same belief.[36] Michael Frisch asserts that Ross represents the Virgin Mary in US civil religion iconography, and the continuation of her myth symbolizes a structuring of American identity. George Washington, the father and

[35] Milo M. Quaife et al., *The History of the United States Flag*, pp. 32 and 98; and Michael Frisch, "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory: A Modest Exercise in Empirical Iconography," in *Memory and American History*, ed. David Thelen, (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1990), pp. 17-21. It was Samuel G. Reid, however, who designed the first flag, to be discussed later. For this service, Hopkinson received a quarter cask of public wine. In later years, he attempted to receive monetary restitution for his work. Congress denied his request, due to his previous subsidy of liquor. Concurrently, evidence remains that Betsy Ross did sew flags for the Pennsylvania navy in May 1777, but her claim to the origination of the American flag ceases there. Present scholarship attributes her myth as the first flag maker to subsequent speeches her descendants made a century later in which they took the correspondence with the Pennsylvania navy out of context. Unfortunately, no records exist in regards to the description of the Hopkinson and the Ross flags.

[36] "Flag Facts and Timeline," Betsy Ross Museum Homepage [on-line museum] (Independence Hall Association, 1996-1998, accessed 12 November 2001); available from http://www.ushistory.org/betsy/flagfact.html; Internet.

god-like creator of the country, collaborated with Ross in a pseudo-sexual manner to create the nation via the American flag. The Ross myth provides the nation with a kinship line because US citizens can trace their American lineage back to a mother and a father.[37] The Statue of Liberty also provides the nation with a female patriotic symbol, but it differs from the legacy of US constructed patriotic women in that she is not a pictorial image. She is a static figure that remains visually present year after year. Images can not erase her. More so, her static figure allows her history and public stance to remain the same.

Myths, like that of Betsy Ross, provide a sense that the world is understandable and explicable, and these beliefs in American society are no exception to the normal experiences in most cultures. They stem from the idea that it was divine destiny and mission to create the United States because no country existed within its boundaries before. An inherent sense of nationalism and expansion has since developed. Such myths, as seen with the American flag, constitute core beliefs within society, common belief structures for present generations to connect with each other and to the nation in its past. These myths act like any other element of social order and construction. They evolve, reinvent themselves, proliferate common idealistic goals and agendas, fade from popular memory and recognition, and eventually they take up their own place within history texts. The Ross myth may continue to propagate in modern day society, but much of the meaning behind Columbus and Columbia has faded from public and private educational forums. Many Americans do not associate either of these personas with patriotic imagery.

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[37] Frisch, "American History and the Structures of Collective Memory," in *Memory and American History*, pp. 17-21.

In the same manner that Michael Frisch discusses the virgin-myth and meaning for the Betsy Ross-George Washington flag tale, the Columbia-Columbus union represent the sexual unity of the nation. They are men and women—both heroic figures in their respective eras (although they were real or mythic is another matter—here, their lives represent heroism, destiny, and national beauty)—and united for the greater good. The greater good—"discovering," celebrating, and uniting the nation for the creation of a democratic hemisphere, world, and society—must also have a mythic structure of belief for it to survive, exist, and evolve. US society is not unique in this matter, and Columbia has her own mythic belief structures that add meaning and appeal to the later Ross-Washington myth.

Most importantly, before each of these icons declined in social presence they were well celebrated and honored within US popular discourse and commemorative culture. The persistence of the Ross myth and the decline of Columbia can not be fully explained, but as Frisch's Virgin Mary theory asserts both female figures directly relate to US society. Ross acts as a maternal and grandmotherly figure.

A visit to the Ross house, on May 18, 2006, proved the myth of Betsy Ross to be more socially pertinent than reality. The house, located in Philadelphia's Independence Park, stands as a small structure. It could easily be concealed by the surrounding structures of local shops, bars, and delis, but the Ross house consistently attracts thousands of visitors annually.[38] In mid-May, at the beginning of the summer tourist season, the line for the Ross House was bustling and busy. Getting into the house was easy, but the line inside the tiny

[38] The Betsy Ross House: Philadelphia, PA.

house left visitors standing on staircases for quite some time. Placards throughout the house described objects protected by glass, and a sign at the beginning of the tour stated that historical studies have questioned the legitimacy of Ross' construction of the first US flag. But, walking through the house the visitor obtained the impression that Ross did make the first US flag. Tour guides and historical actors continually claimed that Ross sewed a US flag for George Washington, and the small sign at the tour's beginning generally remained unnoticed. The message prevailed that Ross created the flag out of love and respect for the emerging nation, and items for sale in the bookstore continued to promote this image.

John Balderston Harker's *Betsy Ross's Five Pointed Star: Elizabeth Claypoole, Quaker Flag Maker, a Historical Perspective* argues that Betsy Ross did make the first American flag. His self published book, found in the Ross House bookstore, utilizes the Ross family legend and folklore to connect Ross to the flag.[39] The premise of his argument rests upon the notion that since Ross appeared in folk art there must be some validity to her tale, and he discounts scholarship that gives Francis Hopkinson credit for making the first US flag. Amid the continual debate about her legitimacy, the continuation of the Ross tale reinforces her as a symbol of the nation, and an embodiment of beliefs, but it is not the story of Ross is not what holds her place in the American civil ethos. Rather, tradition and identity help keep legends like Ross alive. Also, her continual portrayal helps keep the notion of women serving on the home front and serving their nation through feminine attributes alive. Unlike Columbia she did not fade from popular memory. The placement of Ross within the home placed her within a concrete sphere of female bounds.

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[39] See John Balderston Harker, *Betsy Ross's Five Pointed Star: Elizabeth Claypoole, Quaker Flag Maker, a Historical Perspective* (Melbourne Beach, FL: Canmore Press, 2004); and see The Betsy Ross House: Philadelphia, PA.

In contrast to the Betsy Ross House, other museums and museum exhibits dedicated to patriotism do not necessarily focus on the patriotic female. The National Museum of Patriotism in Atlanta, Georgia showcases US patriotic culture throughout its displays. The museum acts as an exhibit itself unlike other museums that display patriotic collections as part of their overall exhibit structure. Inside this museum displays for the various branches of the military are shown, patriotic jewelry is housed behind glass cases, patriotic magazine covers hang from the walls, and posters showing superheroes (or superhero like characters) dominate the landscape. The museum even has Ellis Island and 9-11 rooms. The Ellis Island area resembles a condensed version of the exhibits at the Ellis Island Immigration Museum in New York. The displays, at both locations, briefly mention that immigration helped US domestic and international growth, and the Museum of Patriotism says immigrants acted patriotically by giving allegiance to the United States through action, work, and family life. The 9-11 room at the patriotism museum calls the firefighters and police personnel from 9-11 heroes, but like the rest of the objects on display it focuses on the happy collective image of the nation. The museum does not break down elements of patriotism, and it does not differentiate between male and female modes. This museum's lack of gendered patriotism reinforces the decline of the patriotic female's image, particularly since it opened July 4, 2004.[40]

By 2004 the patriotic female had faded from social imagery, and in her place slogans like "Be Safe. Sleep with a Soldier" and bumper stickers supporting the troops took precedence. Nostalgic images like Rosie the Riveter can still be found on products, and

[40] National Museum of Patriotism: Atlanta, GA; and Ellis Island Immigration Museum: New York, NY.

Little Earth Productions once sold a series of recycled belt buckles that used classic advertising and propaganda images. Some of these belt buckles had images of World War II factory workers, and they had slogans like "Built by Betty."[41]

In contrast to this image of robust strength and courage, gender ideologies continually placed women within established boundaries of female behavior. Their image remains as moral guides for their husbands and families. Gendered expectations have firmly placed women within the home, reinforcing the manufactured "cult of domesticity," and common beliefs state that women need to be protected from the ills of the world. If the American flag represents the physical strengths and successes of the nation, then the question arises why a female figure is used in popular imagery instead of a masculine one (such as Uncle Sam) and, more broadly, how this gendered icon reflected shifting ideological currents in the larger society. This answer partly lies in the assertion that men have traditionally represented the nation and political body, and the human body has been portrayed through male form. More so, through metaphor, the human body has come to represent the political body. The female body appears in the fringes of political discourse, gradually moving to the center, and her figure is poignant and pertinent within the political disorder because the female sex is considered inherently disorderly.[42] She is a scapegoat and savior.

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[41] Little Earth retired the line of belt buckles in 2005. See Figure one.

[42] Moira Gatens, "Corporal Representation in/and the Body Politic," in *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. Kate Conboy, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, editors. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997: pp. 83-4; and Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of "Sex"* (New York and London: Routledge, 1993), p.139.

The body is a test of culture and the locus for social control, and social premise assumes a unified political body. But, the unified political nexus proves a myth, more than reality, particularly when shown through the human body—a form that is rarely coherent.[43] Standard, and recognized, images of glory and honor along with protests and actors of dissent merge to hinge on nostalgic concepts of "housewives" and dutiful women. Men (and women) burning American flags as forms of political protest and propaganda and media accounts urging women to join in the war effort in factories show conflicting elements of culture. These moments of change and turmoil incited a national sense of nausea and a perceived national need for nostalgia, which gave rise to the popular beliefs that women remained in the home and husbands came home to happy families.

As many cultural historians have shown, nationalism's mythic structures form at the intersection of official and vernacular memories.[44] The combination of these viewpoints creates a public memory comprised of beliefs and ideas about the past intended to aid society to better understand its present and future. The formation of public memory fosters

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[43] Gatens, "Corporal Representation in/and the Body Politic," pp. 83-4; and Susan Bordo, "The Body and the Reproduction of Femininity," in *Writing on the Body: Female Embodiment and Feminist Theory*. Kate Conboy, Nadia Medina, and Sarah Stanbury, editors. New York: Columbia University Press, 1997: pp. 90-91.

[44] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, Revised ed. (London and New York: Verso, 1983, 1991, 2000), pp. 4 and 33. Benedict Anderson remarks that nationalisms are cultural artifacts, and accordingly the citizens of a country develop their identity through their manufactured articles. This system of communal linkage permits the public to imaginatively interact with others outside of their daily lives, which then fosters mythic structures to develop. In relation to the construction of national iconography, one of the most popular images of nationalism and sexuality is seen through depictions of the French icon Marianne. Studies on Marianne and the French Republic discuss the intersection of vernacular and official memories, symbolisms associated with the female body, and the gendered language of nationalism. For detailed studies see T.J. Clark, *The Absolute Bourgeois: Artists and Politics in France, 1848-1851* (Greenwich, CT: New York Graphic Society, Ltd., 1973); Joan B. Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*; and Marina Warner, "The Slipped Chiton," in *Feminism and the Body*, pp. 265-92.

the formalization and ritualization of national identity, providing the public with “invented traditions” and a sense of community and continuity.[45]

These cultural interactions perform as elements of the overall nationalist discourse of the nation because they promote mainstream beliefs. Yet, they do not differ from the strategies of smaller groups. Instead, attempts to comprehend the everyday interplay of rhetoric, ritual, and political actions that permitted the abstractions of nationalist ideology to make real, effective, practical sense merely reinforce cultural beliefs patterns while enabling social protest and change to occur through their exclusion of the other. David Waldstreicher’s study on early forms of US nationalism focuses on the festive innovations through which Americans of the early Republic practiced divisive politics and a unifying nationalism at the same time. He showcases how the rites of nationhood are best understood in the context of broad range of popular activities, often festive or celebratory, and frequently between political elections. This fostering of the nation as an extra-local community provided ordinary people expression and national feeling while attempting to ease class resentments. He asserts that, “When helping to tie together Christianity, the nation, and the constituted authorities, [women] represented, not another group of citizens—women—but rather womanhood itself.” Patriotic women were a demographic group, a call for nationhood, and a key element of social order.[46]

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[45] John Bodnar, *Remaking America: Public Memory, Commemoration, and Patriotism in the Twentieth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), pp. 13-15 and Eric Hobsbawm, "Introduction: Inventing Traditions," in *The Invention of Tradition*, ed. Eric Hobsbawm and Terence Ranger (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 19893-2000), pp. 1-4.

[46] David Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes: The Making of American Nationalism, 1776-1820* (Chapel Hill and London: University of North Carolina Press, 1997): pp. 3,7, 14, and 171.

The language of social and civic organizations reinforced collective notions that women should remain in the home, rear morally strong children, and emotionally support their husbands.[47] In the latter half of the twentieth century, social movements demanded that the role of a woman, mother, and wife be redefined, but the evolving role of women in modern society has confused the established nationalistic jargon. Two-income households, women choosing not to marry, and the mainstreaming of homosexual and homosocial relationships are factors that have combined to open a new discourse on the functions of individuals and families in society.

Indeed, to this day, men are still shown to be the prevailing defenders of the "homeland" and national security. In the language of the flag protection debates, common statements have proclaimed that the flag needs protection because men and boys have sacrificed themselves for the ideals of the United States and freedom. Even though women are now permitted to enter combat, they are still excluded from patriotic memory as fighters and leading actors for defense of the nation. As the evidence attests they have regularly fought alongside men without recognition. Yet, thirty years after the Women's liberation movement, women were still being depicted as dependents. Their patriotic image has declined from that of goddess, to factory worker, to an ordinary member of the local community. As the post-war discussion addresses, the patriotic woman now appears as just another woman in society because she is meant to blend in and not draw attention to herself.

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[47] See Anne Ruggles Gere, *Intimate Practices: Literacy and Cultural Work in US Women's Clubs, 1880-1920* (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1997); and Rebekah E. Revzin, "American Girlhood in the Early Twentieth Century: The Ideology of Girl Scout Literature, 1913-1930," *Library Quarterly* 68, no. 3 (July 1998): pp. 261-276.

No central image guides her, or the nation, through political turmoil because demands for equality and civil rights forced classic images to fall apart under scrutiny.

Patriotic Discourse

Legislative debates concerning homosexuality have frequented US political thought during this period, and they have been increasingly focused on images of "being an American," supporting the nation, and protecting the country from foreign threats. At the height of the Cold War, the 1950s saw an era of idealized domesticity and mass hysteria against perceived social deviants, and the 1990s experienced both national outrage and support for gays in the military and legislation against flag desecration.[48] In all of these debates the language used by supporters and dissenters shows parallels to the gendered language of national discourse. Images of boys and men fighting for the protection of the mother country were used on each side of the debates, and despite ideals of popular unity these discussions promoted notions of gender difference.[49] The evidence will show how these groups who fought for different outcomes drew from the same notions of patriotism and its imagery to convey their messages.

Recent scholarship has shed a substantial amount of light onto perceptions of sexuality and the body. Judith Butler provides a provocative and in-depth discussion and analysis on the constructions of identity through gender and sexuality. More importantly,

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[48] Bruce Handy, "Give Me Semi-Automatic Weapons and Flammable Old Glory's—or Give Me Death!," *Spy*, December 1989, p. 93. The 1990 condom controversy is one example of the sexual imagery debates concerning the American flag, and the cited article provides an example of flag pornography. While the Handy article is not a visual representation, it is a play on words that evokes images of the American flag in a sexual manner.

[49] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (New York and London: Routledge, 1995), p. 353.

she remarks that vectors of power requiring one group to denounce another cause violent rifts within society. These social rifts prohibit a true formation of identity, and the acceptance of an identity or role derives from the need to fit-in with the dominant group over an individual's personal choice.[50]

Butler has shown that society places restrictions upon individuals; much in the same way that Benedict Anderson says nationalisms stakeout imaginary boundaries. These notions of gender and identity formation can be further examined within the context of studies by Anne McClintock and Joan Landes. Both of these authors center their discussions on the formation of nationalism, its rhetoric, and its implications for society, although each writer takes a uniquely different approach on the subject. McClintock, for example, puts her discussion within the context of European imperialism and the constant power struggles that it entailed. She says that fetishes are haunted by personal and historical memory: a social contradiction experienced at an intensely personal level; the displacement of the contradiction onto an object or person, which becomes the embodiment of the crisis in value; the investment of intense passion (erotic or otherwise) in the fetish object; and the repetitious, often ritualistic recurrence of the fetish object in the scene of personal or historical memory.[51] The emplacement of an object within historical memory enables individuals to divide the universe into deviant and acceptable categories, but it also represents a compromise object. In McClintock's study, as with Butler's, the male body is the prevailing figure for power and restraint. Thus, the fetish is placed upon the female, which makes her subservient to a man because his phallus is embedded with symbolic

[50] Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, pp. 118 and 132.

[51] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 184-5.

imagery of power and persuasion. As McClintock states, "In short, the phallus is powerful not because it symbolizes the penis (which it does and doesn't) but because it is the sign of male social power that originates elsewhere."[52]

Joan Landes, by contrast, also discusses the notion of masculine power creating social control and patriotism. She contends that the power of female iconography promotes nationalism and creates national identity by reinforcing male homosocial attractions.[53] She uses female representations in eighteenth century France to validate her conclusions that the female body is directly linked to national discourse. While women were ideally represented as mothers and nurturers, depictions of females with excessive clothing, perfumes, and accessories, or those who refused to nurse their infants came to symbolize the vices of society. Seductive images of the woman's breast invited men to fight for their state and country. Men's protection of their country also symbolized their fortification of the mother, her breast as nurturer to the young, and the mother as a woman of enticing sexual desire. Accordingly, men and women disciplined their bodies in solidarity for their nation and *La Patrie* (the fatherland), and the domesticated woman provided men with an image of longing for their home and country.[54]

These images provoking patriotism were responsive to broader social forces and also reflect a larger element of the nation's popular cultures at play in these specific national

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[52] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 196-202

[53] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, p. 139.

[54] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation,* pp. 156-163; and see David M. Pomfret, "A Muse for the Masses: Gender, Age, and Nation in France, Fin de Siècle," in *The American Historical Review* 109, no. 5 (December 2004): 1439-1474 for a discussion on patriotic women and their imagery in France. The key point of reference for this study, in regards to this one, is that in France women were unable to assert themselves after the 1790s compared to US women who devised ways for self expression through civic and voluntary organizations.

contexts. In McClintock's study, for example, fetishes that Europeans developed in their colonial conquests were frequently used to justify their domination of other cultures. Landes's discussion places images of the female breast within the context of a social and political revolution, and discussions of women in the Ottoman Empire also show these same trends. Ottoman political cartoonists generally depicted women as ambivalent through idealized images. Women, compared to men, wore loose clothing, carried a laurel wreath (as was traditional with European iconography), and females generally represented remoteness. Their remoteness signified a need for the nation because they (the female) would be lost without a man—just like a man would be without recourse without the nation. The image of the Ottoman woman becomes oversexed, her incessant need (for affection and attention) makes her an enemy, and her threat to the moral purity of the nation places the community at risk. Accordingly, Ottoman men must be certain that their women were Ottomans, and that they were pure of heart, mind, and body.[55]

Scholars already have begun to explore how gendered patriotic imagery reflected elements of the American civil ethos through their incorporation of military and civil jargon.

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[55] Fatma Müge Göcek, "From Empire to Nation; Images of Women and War in Ottoman Political Cartoons, 1908-1923," in *Borderlands" Genders and Identities in War and Peace, 1870-1930.* Billie Melman, editor. (New York and London: Rutledge, 1998): 48, 53-54, and 63-68; and see Claudia Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland: Women, the Family, and Nazi Politics* (New York: Saint Martin's Press, 1987): p. 55, 69, and 111-115. Koontz's work analyzes women in Nazi Germany, their actions for their state, and their social mindsets on why (and how) they supported the rise of Nazism—which coincided with the reduction in their civic rights. She asserts that German women accepted the promise of second-sex membership in the Nazi movement so that they could preserve their "own womanly realm against male interference." Women outside of the home, as has been noted elsewhere, were seen as a destructive force for society, a threat to manhood, and un-womanly. The persistent and continued use of Nazi propaganda, through parades, political speeches, pamphlets, and later the "Nazi Mother's Star," helped ensure the proliferation of the Nazi regime. The use of propaganda, in its varying forms, connects to US culture because it also perpetuated national beliefs through similar programs. Also, sociologist Robert N. Bellah's 1967 article "Civil Religion in America" is considered a cornerstone of socio-political thought in the United States. In this article, Bellah coined the term "American civil religion" that he defined as the formulization of common beliefs the unite citizens and nationals under common threads of "humanity." See Robert Bellah, "Civil Religion in America," in *Daedalus* 96 (1967), pp. 8-9.

Michael S. Sherry examines the incorporation of wartime rhetoric into US culture during peace and conflict periods. He shows how American culture has dubbed social reform movements as "wars" and overly used official titles.[56] Both of these works discuss changing social perceptions on behavior, and go a considerable way towards explaining the evolution of these social and cultural constructions of behavior. These studies have begun to develop a solid discourse on patriotic rhetoric, and my own study reflects similar trends with the incorporation of a civic code of conduct concerning women and the national image.

Generally studies on the iconography of the US flag and patriotism have been based upon examining the connections between the flag's history, usage, and mythic structure. One of the more celebrated studies on the flag, Milo M. Quaife, Melvin J. Wieg, and Roy E. Appleman's, builds upon the basic elements of the flag's history to show that the civil ethos of the United States regards the American flag as a holy symbol, creating a civil religion,

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[56] George Neill's, *Infantry Soldier: Holding the Line at the Battle of the Bulge* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2000) makes reference on how the US Army issued condoms to soldiers departing for duty during World War II, and Leonard A. Humphreys's, *The Way of the Heavenly Sword: The Japanese Army in the 1920s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1995) study on the Imperial Japanese Army also demonstrates connections with prophylactic usage and military decorum. Also see, Richard J. Corber's *In the Name of National Security: Hitchcock, Homophobia, and the Political Construction of Gender in Postwar America* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1993) for further explorations of these issues.

and they show how the flag has been imbedded in a mythic structure since its inception.[57]

More recently, studies on the national banner have focused on the desecration controversy, and authors have begun to place the debates on flag desecration and acceptable usage within a cultural context. Robert Justin Goldstein has published numerous books on the history of the flag desecration controversy, with his most notable work being *Saving "Old Glory": The History of the American Flag Desecration Controversy*. Goldstein remarks that the US flag did not hold a strong place within the American psyche until the US Civil War when it became a symbol of the northern states, and later a representation of the reunited union. Moving beyond the cultural birth of Old Glory, the author relayed a history of the desecration movement, which involved civic, fraternal, and religious

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[57] Quaife et al., *The History of the United States Flag, pp*. 19-20. For the "original" history of the flag see George Henry Preble's, *History of the Flag of the United States of America, and of the Naval and Yacht-Club Signals, Seals, and Arms, and Principal National Songs of the United States, with a Chronicle of the Symbols, Standards, Banners, and Flags of Ancient and Modern Nations*, 2nd ed. rev. Boston: A. Williams and Co., 1880. In the years following the US Civil War, Preble sought to publish a history of the national standard to rally citizens around a central cause and figure. The author asserts that he feared that the waning patriotism of the nation would lead to apathy and future internal divisions; thus, he feared another civil war. There are two more notable sources on the early histories of the flag. In 1973 Boleslaw and Marie-Louise D'Otrange Mastai published *The Stars and the Stripes: The American Flag as Art and as History from the Birth of the Republic to the Present* (Fort Worth, TX: Amon Carter Museum, 1973) providing another historical survey of the flag's origins. The authors attempted to show the evolution of the flag in terms of artistic measures, but they did not fully address the issue of artistic devices and techniques for the designs of Old Glory throughout the book. This book is also titled *Stars and Stripes: The Evolution of the American Flag*. Lastly, *So Proudly We Hail: The History of the United States Flag* (Washington D.C.: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1981) by William Rea Furlong and Byron McCandless continued the tradition of distinguishing fact from legend, and as with previous accounts their study did not address cultural issues concerning the American flag. See Sedeen, *Star-Spangled Banner* and Whitney Smith, *The Flag Book of the United States*, New York: William Morrow and Company, 1970. Smith's account not only gives a history of the American flag, but he provides a history of the state flags and seals. Also, see Henry W. Moeller, *Shattering an American Myth: Unfurling the History of the Stars and Stripes* (Mattituck, New York: Amereon House, 1992) for a history of the flag seen through nautical eyes.

organizations. Even though Goldstein dismisses the flag protection controversy as a symbolic issue, his works provide a solid foundation for future scholarship on the subject.[58]

Since Goldstein's success authors have taken a more affirmative stance on incorporating the iconization of the national banner into a cultural context. Scott M. Guenter examines song, art, apparel, and a variety of everyday uses of the flag to demonstrate that the contributions of individuals and groups helped elevate the flag to its symbolic position in American civil religion. Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle extend Guenter's cultural analysis of the flag. They build upon the argument that the US flag represents a holy object within American civil religion, but they take this one step further to assert that "violent blood sacrifice makes enduring groups cohere."[59] While using children's accounts, discussions posed by veterans and civic organizations, and political rhetoric to justify their hypothesis the authors continually state that the flag is a body and not a text. By using the flag as a body the bulk of the work invokes a sense of birth, death, and

[58] See Robert Justin Goldstein, *Burning the Flag: The Great 1989-1990 American Flag Desecration Controversy* (Kent, Ohio and London: The Kent State University Press, 1996); Robert Justin Goldstein, *Desecrating the American Flag: Key Documents of the Controversy from the Civil War to 1995* (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1996); and Robert Justin Goldstein, *Saving "Old Glory:"* The History of the American Flag Desecration Controversy (Boulder, CO and San Francisco: Westview Press, 1996).

[59] For additional material on civil religion and the American flag see Babic, "Homespun Glory The American Flag, Civil Religion, and Social Politics" (Master's Thesis, New Mexico State University, 2000); Charles C. Howard, "A Lonely Place of Honor: A Rhetorical Analysis of the Movement to Amend the Constitution to Prevent Flag Burning" (PhD diss., University of Kansas, 1991); Carolyn Marvin and David W. Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, pp. 1-3. Howard focuses on morals and rhetorical visions for the purpose of amending the US Constitution. Scot M. Guenter's, *The American Flag, 1777-1924: Cultural Shifts from Creation to Codification* (Rutherford: Farleigh Dickenson Press, 1990) merges cultural constructions of the flag with civic meanings. Guenter's, "Sanctification of a Banner: Children's Periodicals and the Rise of the Cult of the Flag" (Master's Thesis, University of Maryland, 1981), permission granted from the author for use (9 April 2002), looks at the role of *The Youths Companion* to promote patriotism in schools while bringing "the cult of the flag" into schools. Lastly, David Roger Manwaring's *Render Unto Caesar: The Flag-Salute Controvery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962) discusses the flag saluting cases of the 1940s.

reincarnation when the emblem is desecrated, a soldier dies in battle, or when children publicly affirm their patriotism.

Cecilia Elizabeth O'Leary studies the period immediately before mine, the US Civil War to World War I. O'Leary contends that US nationalism, as well as the flag, did not have a strong hold on American society until the reunification of the union, and then the Great War created a "hegemonic national culture" enforced by administrative, economic, and public pressures.[60] Lastly, Matthew Dennis poignantly discusses US national holidays in regards to national and civic use of history, memory, and myth. He examines key holidays—Independence, Thanksgiving, Columbus Day, President's Day, Memorial Day, and Labor Day—in order to show a construction of a multicultural society.[61] Accordingly, this work is a bridge between disciplines and as a continuation and extension of the current literature. It builds upon Guenter's and O'Leary's works to examine the "cult of the flag" with a fresh, needed analysis of what occurred in the twentieth century. Particularly, this discussion will place standard and accepted female patriotic images next to issues of social contention to show how and why female patriotic imagery declined in US culture in reaction to the evolving role of women.

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[60] O'Leary, *To Die For*, p. 239.

[61] Matthew Dennis, *Red, White, and Blue Letter Days*.

Chapter Two:

Columbia and the American Girl During World War I

In December 1917 John Clark began his training as a Second Lieutenant in the US Field Artillery. He asked for a transfer from a military field hospital in Valdahan, France to the front lines, and he received his request. He claimed that hospital work was not an "exciting war time," and in letters to an army nurse he stated that he found "his true love" in the battlefield and wanted to continue with it. Within six months Clark's viewpoint began to drastically change. In a letter to Emma Marie Zangler he candidly remarked that the battlefield was a "gruesome . . . field where both dead and wounded are strewn about covered with blood" that outweighed seeing the wounded in a hospital.[1]

Lieutenant Clark's statement aptly captured the warfront, but the stark reality of his words was never showcased in US home front culture. The glorification and mystification of war encouraged men and boys to sign up for military service, as many of their fathers and predecessors had, and these same notions of wartime bravery encouraged women to support the war through various means at home. Most media accounts celebrated the US forces as approaching victory and doing national service, so conclusions like Clark's and the actions

[1] John Clark to Emma Marie Zangler, personal letter, 31 December 1917, in *Intimate Voices: From the First World War*, ed. Svetlana Palmer and Sarah Walhis, (New York: Perennial, 2003), pp. 305-7.

of his girlfriend, Red Cross Nurse Emma Marie Zangler, did not receive the same kind of press attention. The wartime drive for unity, and to assimilate immigrants and quell working class protests, saw American propaganda take on a holistic face. The Committee on Public Information officially stated its philosophy as "faith in democracy . . . faith in fact," and creators and publishers of propaganda and news accounts frequently strived for promotion of an altruistic cause.[2] Clark discussing the horror of war, its let downs, and its fears contradicted propaganda pieces that showed men at war embraced in a sense of male comradery.

Zangler's actions, while done for herself, show the personal nature of many wartime activities. Zangler's story, into the present era, is still overlooked and not written about in the same magnitude that male wartime activities are. Zangler's actions represented the heart of a nation and the sentiments of many home front activities. Zangler volunteered to serve as a nurse during the war, and her service to the nation contradicted many visual images of the era. The majority of images showed woman as housewives and mothers who helped the war effort by taking wartime employment only as a national need. Women like Zangler help show that the image of the patriotic female is complex and continually changing. Patriotic females are wifes, mothers, daughters, wartime factory workers, field nurses, and women who fought for equality. She did not always stay at home, she was not always married, and she did not always give self-sacrifice without question. No one image fits the ideal, and no

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[2] David M. Kennedy, *Over There: The First World War and American Society* (Oxford University Press: London and New York, 2004): pp. 60,65-68. The Bureau of Naturalization reported that the numbers of programs to assimilate immigrants into US society tripled in 1917. Reformers often called these assimilation programs as becoming "100% American," and they claimed that they were removing the flabbiness from society so that the United States would be able to put forth a more unified front. Also see; Nancy Ford Gentile, *Americans All!: Foreign-born Soldiers in World War I* (College Station, TX: Texas A&M University Press, 2001) for her study on the assimilation of immigrant soldiers during World War I.

single organization, company, or person constructed the ideal female image. Instead, a plethora of agencies and activities helped the patriotic female evolve from the stationary figure of Columbia to the more personable images of the twentieth century. This chapter will argue that female sacrifices and services of the First World War were awarded with the vote. Women received suffrage in 1919 as a "thank-you" for their service, which encouraged them to return to their pre-war lives. The chapter begins with a look at suffragists and women like Kate Richards O'Hare, who received a jail sentence for her acts of civil disobedience, an examination of wartime propaganda images of the "Christy Girl" and the "Gibson Girl," notes on the trends and actions of women during the period, a sampling of advertisements from World War I, a look at the wartime female worker, and finally the Anthony Amendment is discussed in relation to the events of the era. Literature often glosses over World War I because it had little effect on women's labor, but the actions of these women are what enabled the changes of World War II.[3]

Women acted within the guise of American ideals by voicing their freedom of speech. They eventually won the right to vote, but their actions were not held in a celebratory light. Instead, the women who vocalized and pushed the Anthony Amendment forward were not considered patriotic and loyal to their country by newspaper accounts.[4] Jane Addams, famous for her work with immigrants at Hull House in Chicago, IL, encountered the stigma of being unpatriotic. She attended a 1915 international meeting for

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[3] The Anthony Amendment received its colloquial name from famed female suffragist and reformer Susan B. Anthony. The amendment is the nineteenth, which prevented denying the vote to anyone based on sex. In laymen's terms—it enabled women to vote without specifically stating so.

[4] Even though the battle for the nineteenth amendment began long before it passed in 1920, the bulk of the debate occurred during the First World War. The official dates for US military involvement in the war are 6 April 1917 to Armistice Day in 1918 (11 November 1918).

female peace activists in the Netherlands who visited neutral and belligerent countries to try and encourage peace talks. Upon returning to the United States she told a Carnegie Hall audience that Germany, France, and England were known to give their soldiers alcohol or stimulants to get them to fight. Her claim that armies drugged their soldiers incited commentators throughout the United States, and one journal called her "naïve, foolish, unpatriotic, and out of her depth."[5] This sense of anti-radicalism seeped into the American mind as the war progressed, and notions of being unpatriotic, disloyal, and foolish for those opposing the war became more common in everyday rhetoric.[6] Individuals contradicting the unified ideal, and the war, were considered unpatriotic and disloyal because they were perceived to be detracting the spotlight from the war effort. Anti-suffragists, men and women, accused these women of setting a bad example for the "boys" abroad because they were not adhering to their idealistic duty of waiting by the hearth for their love (or future love) to come home. Victorian and Progressive ideals of motherhood and sexuality prevailed throughout the First World War perpetuating the manifested belief that a patriotic mother sacrificed her sons for the nation; or she faced the ostracizing label of being overly attached to her children, "selfish," undeserving, and possibly treasonous.[7]

In 1914 President Woodrow Wilson proclaimed the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day, giving the idea of the patriotic mother a place within the national language.

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[5] Allen F. Davis, *American Heroine: The Life and Legend of Jane Addams*. Oxford University Press, Oxford and New York, 1973: p. 229; and Jennifer D. Keene, *The United States and the First World War*. Longman: Harlow, England and New York, 2000: pp. 42-44.

[6] Kennedy, *Over There*, p. 67.

[7] Susan Zeigler, "She Didn't Raise Her Boy to be a Slacker: Motherhood, Conscription, and the Culture of the First World War," in *Feminist Studies* 22:1 (Spring 1996): p. 8.

The language of Wilson's Presidential Proclamation places the mother as subservient to her male offspring. The language—reserved and brief—calls upon government officials and general citizens to display the US flag in honor of mothers on the designated day. This symbolic act represents "public expression of our love and reverence for the mothers of our country."[8] Her day, Mother's Day, derives from her giving the nation strong young men, and not her attributes of service and self-sacrifice. Even though the United States had not joined the Allied Powers in 1914, the act of giving the mother a national holiday helped support the coming war rhetoric and highlight the actions of women that were perceived unpatriotic. Wilson's Mother's Day Proclamation is just one example of national leaders using images and conceptions of the female to support the nation, and the decree also represents the coming sacrifices the nation would make as it entered the European front.

Popular Women Acting Against the Mainstream

Women like Corra Harris and Kate Richards O'Hare exemplify these struggles in gender and political relations. They show that patriotic females took many forms. Corra Harris—the daughter of a Confederate soldier and a religious mother—wrote several serialized letters near the turn-of-the-century. She often collaborated her writing, or penned

[8] Woodrow Wilson. Presidential Proclamation 8321 of 8 May 1914: Mother's Day. *Federal Register* (9 May 1914); G. Kurt Piehler, "The War Dead and the Gold Star: American Commemoration of the First World War," in *Commemorations: The Politics of National Identity*. John R. Gillis, editor (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1994, p. 171: Annessa Ann Babic, "Homespun Glory", pp. 26-7: and George W. Bush. Presidential Proclamation 7437 of 9 May 2001: Mother's Day, 2001. *Federal Register* 66, no. 92 (11 May 2001): 24046-24047. The Presidential Proclamation was given in accordance to Congressional joint-resolution 38 Statue 770 declaring the second Sunday in May as Mother's Day. Congress permanently enacted the holiday on 3 August 1949 with Joint Resolution 63 Statue 492. by order of an annual presidential proclamation and an adjoining resolution denoting 14 June as Flag Day and the adjoining week as National Flag week. The first official Mother's Day celebration occurred in 1908. Anna M. Jarvis is credited with persuading Congress, in 1910, to honor all mothers. National commemoration of mother's appeared during World War I with gold stars for sons killed in action.

The Flag Code reads that flags should be flown at half staff on Mother's Day. See section two, paragraph D of *The Flag Code*, Title 36, USC, Chapter 10.

them anonymously, because of the gendered politics of the era. Her compatriots considered her to be a popular writer of the time period. In 1910 she anonymously serialized her second novel *A Circuit Reader's Wife*, in *The Saturday Evening Post*, and by 1911 she regularly contributed to the *Post*. In 1914 the *Post* sent her to Europe to report on the war's feminine perspective, which made her the first female war correspondent to go overseas. British women impressed her with their quick mobilization, but in France Harris revolted at the devastation these women endured. Hence, in her European writings she sought to write about "what women suffer." The editors of the *Saturday Evening Post* quickly grew tired of her editorial pieces, many of her writings did not get printed, and it replaced her with a more conservative Mary Roberts Rinehart. The circular voiced its concern about Harris's editorials because she wrote as a southern apologist, polemicist, and upholder of pre-modern agrarian values. The magazine found Harris' statements portraying the war as a "story of sorrows; of despair; of poverty" as too radical. Harris returned home and never got near the frontlines, but before the magazine removed her from her correspondent duties it published several editorials expressing her views on matters of the nation/state.[9] The following 1914 excerpt highlights many of these themes of memory and mobility.

> The land on which a nation lives is not sacred. It is the nation that is sacred, and the arts and institutions and virtues which uphold it. These are the very things war destroys in the name of patriotism, and for restoring of which the broken and impoverished people must be enormously taxed . . .[10]

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[9] Corra Harris, "Women of England and Women of France," in *Saturday Evening Post*: 14 November-12 December 1914. From Higonnet, Margaret R. *Lines of Fire: Women Writers of World War I* (New York: Plume—a Penguin Book, 1999: pp. 113-114. She is sometimes referenced as Corra May (White) Harris.

[10] Harris, "Women of England and Women of France": pp. 113-114.

Statements like this are how Harris told her readers that blind faith leaders serve little purpose, and just like she chose to write about how war destroyed families she explored the problems with placing the love of one's country above reason and personal desire. In contrast, Rinehart (also a Red Cross nurse) wrote in a *New York Times* article that "Not every woman can take up nursing. But every woman can prove her stamina." Her writings, and public statements, continually reinforced the idea that women should sacrifice for the war for the benefit of the nation and return home to their "true American" role of housewife and mother when the war ended.[11]

Comparing the words of Harris to an unsigned editorial from *The Ladies Home Journal* shows the stark contrast of Harris' opinions to more popular ones. The 1917 editorial "Her Chance for Service" praises the American woman for her giving and immediate response to the war effort. The words showcase the notion that the American girl must remain efficient and dependable, self-sacrificing, and dutiful to her nation. These actions provide her with a sense of honor and glory, similar to the emotions of soldiers on the front.

[11] Mary Roberts Rinehart, "*Work and Fight!*: American Women's War Cry," in *New York Times* [hereafter NYT] 28 July 1918: p. 55.

> A hundred-per-cent efficiency is the need, but that efficiency can come from a single talent fully given and fully developed as well as from a multitude of talents. The versatile woman is valuable, but so is she of single purpose. We have, latterly not had the opportunity to get out of ourselves all that is in us of work. But the chance for that is now here. There must be no inertia: no caviling: no false illusions: no self deception: no petty differences. The time is here for open-eyed, full hearted and to the limit work. Every American is on trial: and it is as she meets that triad, what she will contribute to it, and what she will get out of her best endeavor, that will bring her the consciousness of well doing to herself and the respect of her fellow workers.[12]

In contrast to these words of comfort and honor, Harris' writings opposed the national ideal of the beautiful, dutiful, and happy female. Women like Kate Richards O'Hare and Corra Harris added to the evolving identity changes and gender codes being reevaluated by forcing society to legally acknowledge a woman's opinion. Their opposition to pieces calling for the maintenance of gender codes help demonstrates the mixture of outlets creating image and reality.

O'Hare is most notably known for her suffrage campaigns and her 8 December 1917 conviction for violating the Espionage Act. In her public speeches O'Hare routinely challenged popular mindsets concerning political agendas, particularly those regarding the war in Europe. A 1915 editorial for *The National Rip-Saw*, a radical magazine, illustrates her flair for cultural and political appeal. O'Hare remarked that the nation and womanhood were in a state of contempt and bitterness because the US government clearly intended on entering the war in Europe instead of spending its resources on internal issues. Her speeches spoke of crime waves and suicide numbers increasing in US cities, and she used the

[12] "Her Chance for Service," in *The Ladies Home Journal*, June 1917: p. 7.

continual strife between laborers and employers as key points for her agenda to denounce US international decisions. Statements like "the mighty problems of war-cursed Europe and unemployment-cursed America" speckled her prose.[13] She focused on domestic reform instead of international aid. Her beliefs were publicly established before the official outbreak of war in Europe and long before US entry into the battle zones. In pre-war years O'Hare's political and social views initially did not cause social and political unrest, but once the United States entered into the First World War her public opinions quickly became a contested source of concern for her local community. It feared that her actions would give them a tarnished name, and the local courts soon acted to temporarily quell her protest against the war. In 1914 she penned a powerful article for *The National Rip-Saw* discussing the issue that women would be left behind to tend to the "blood fertilized lands of Europe" when the hostilities ended. They, the women connected to the slain soldiers, would pay the price of the war through living a life of national, political, and economic recovery while having the eternal reminders of lost loves and livelihoods to the battlefields.[14]

O'Hare's public statements would later "haunt" her. She served a five year prison sentence for violation of the Espionage Act, stemming from a 17 July 1917 speech she made in Bowman, North Dakota. O'Hare's legal fight adds another dimension to the patriotic female. Her public speeches, imprisonment, and continual public support show that not everyone welcomed the changing role of women. Women like O'Hare represent females countering established ideas of their eras, which enabled the patriotic female's image to

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[13] Kate Richards O'Hare, "I Denounce," in *The National Rip-Saw*, XII (March 1915): p. 20.

[14] Kate Richards O'Hare, "The Wounded Who Do Not Fight," in *The National Rip-Saw*, XI (October 1914): p. 7.

evolve from a Goddess to a factory worker. Women asserting their voices publicly, and like Harris and O'Hare, writing about the unpleasant life (and war) could force perceptions to change about human behavior. This move is simple. Just as fashions changed to allow women to shorten their shirts, wear short sleeved, or change their hairstyles so did cultural images of women. If women could face jail sentences for perceived acts of treason, if they could enter war-torn countries, and if women could report on the war, and if women could work in factories alongside men then they could not be expected to be constantly portrayed as an unapproachable goddess.

The speech that put O'Hare into jail, and turned her life of political discourse into a life of political protest, covered the same content as her editorials for the *National Rip-Saw*, and she memorized many of these editorials for her public speeches. The 17 July oration was one of these.[15]

This case demonstrates a classic example of misconception and taking words out of context, but it also illustrates heightened expectations of the era. The contested air of local politics, the hostilities in Europe, and the entrance of women into the workforce for the war

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[15] American Civil Liberties Union, *The Conviction of Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare and Dakota Politics* (New York: National Civil Liberties Bureau, 1918) microfiche (pamphlets in History, Civil Liberties, CL 8): pp. 2-4. In reference to the squabble over local politics, and the county position for Post Master, Mrs. Edward P. Totten held the job while a local banker and wealthy landowner (James E. Phelan) vied for the position. The audience primarily consisted of Non-partisan Leaguers (for suffrage), and the attendance and discussions concerning the day's activities reflected the political divisions within the league—which were also two key divisions within the Democratic party. These Leaguers ideally represented Democratic, Republican, and independent political platforms, but their actions proved to look like those of local politics. The non-partisans represented radical progressive farmers of the region, a stark contrast to the conservatives vying for local offices. In what has been said to be a local squabble over employment at the Post Office a four day trial ensued concerning O'Hare's speech because of her affiliation with the NPs. During the trial the prosecution had five witnesses (three of whom did not attend the meeting), and the court allowed O'Hare eight testifiers. Even more stunning is the fact that only two of 135 attendees said that O'Hare called US draftees fertilizer for Europe.

effort aided in creating an air of contempt for women deviating from the norm, which empowered Judge Wade to rule against O'Hare.

Judge Wade stated that the United States needed reformers, not preachers, and that the nation must focus on the enemy abroad instead of the villain at home. He further chastised O'Hare with his affirmation that, "This is a nation of free speech; but this is a time of sacrifice, when mothers are sacrificing their sons, when all men and women who are not at heart traitors are sacrificing their time and their hard earned money in defense of the flag."[16] O'Hare's imprisonment and being labeled as a traitor corresponds to other suppression attempts of the war period and early twentieth century.

These "[c]ries for undiluted loyalty and full-blown Americanism came from many lips during the war, but they were most remarkable in the mouths of the cultivated classes[.]" President Nicholas Murray Butler announced in June 1917 that the University would no longer tolerate dissident views. Butler dismissed Professor Henry W.L. Dana for working with peace societies, and he relieved Professor James N. Cattell for petitioning Congress to not send conscripts to Europe. Ministers rallied for war, and even Theodore Roosevelt called Senator Robert La Follette a traitor became he opposed the armed-shop bill in 1917. The 1917 Espionage Act prohibited mailings advocating treason, insurrection, or forcible resistance to the United States. Nearly half of the states banned the teaching of

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[16] American Civil Liberties Union, *The Conviction of Mrs. Kate Richards O'Hare and Dakota Politics*, pp. 11-12; "Brooklyn Hails Kate O'Hare at Two Big Rallies," in *New York Call*, 18 June 1920: p. 1; and "Wave on Wave of Cheers Echo O'Hare Triumph," in *New York Call*, 17 June 1920, pp. 1 and 4. O'Hare was released from her sentence after fourteen months, due largely to the continued campaign for release of prisoners in violation of the Espionage Act. After her release, she immediately began a campaign to educate the public on the need for prison reform. In these speeches, she was as adamant and boisterous as she was before her conviction. O'Hare's post prison speeches were known for their graphic imagery of unclean women with communicable diseases, and on more than one occasion she was noted to have given graphic descriptions of being forced to bathe in an unwashed bathtub after a woman with syphilis had used it.

German in schools because it was the language of the aggressor nation, hamburgers became liberty burgers, sauerkraut became liberty cabbage, and German measles became liberty measles. These grassroots actions, while endorsed by the Committee for Public Information but not instituted by it, led to acts of censorship. Some examples are the Postmaster General refusing to deliver the mail of pacifists and radicals, and the Trading with the Enemies Act of 1917 required that all foreign language publications submit an English translation of war articles. Finally, the Sedition and Espionage Acts of 1918 allowed labor activist Eugene V. Debs to be jailed for ten years for saying that the Germans were not the enemy of the working class. He called corporations, factory owners, and capitalism the true enemy of the worker.[17] Rather, she represented the rebel, the deviant, the woman without a home—the kind of woman that lies just underneath the surface of mainstream thought and discourse. Women like O'Hare (and Harris) provided the struggling and evolving image of the "new woman"—a woman that was sometimes political, not necessarily, but certainly independent. The newer image of the patriotic female relied upon the standard of Columbia, but her new depictions placed her within modern society. She represented the ideal "American Girl" of the modern era; a woman, girl, female, and mother that could be touched, held, and revered. The "American Girl" images changes to match growths—like women working in factories, women voting, and the social changes that war brings—and even as the image of the patriotic female progressed feminists still found fault with its likeness and sometimes its virtues.

[17] Kennedy, *Over There*, pp. 73-77 and Keene, *The United States and the First World War*, pp. 32-38.

Christy and the American Girl

The "American Girl" was fashionable, young, attractive, and alert. These characteristics would quickly become indicative to US female patriotic images. The young and attractive girl would prove to be a mainstay in national discourse because her likeness can sell consumer goods, support the nation through her war work and home front service, and her "availability" to young men provides quick enticement. Her counterpart would be the lesser used patriotic mother—an older figure who readily relinquished her sons to the nation. The mother, always older and wiser, denoted the initial marker for a soldier's love and service to his country as if he protected his mother, an extension of the nation. In contrast to the mother, the young "American Girl" provides love, comfort, and sexual desire to encourage and convince men into the fight.

Some of the materials used in this chapter highlight these conceptions of women, and social commentaries and news articles further reinforce these beliefs. More so, these pieces help construct the image of the "New Woman" and the changing notions of femininity. Advertisements, propaganda posters, and editorials all act in similar lights. They may have been created to sell a product or an idea, but that does not mean the general public or purchaser viewed his or her actions in the manner intended. *The Ladies Home Journal*, and other popular women's magazines, ran articles instructing women to have patriotic garden parties. One piece instructed women that they should "plan patriotic affairs" with a sense of pride and loyalty. Decorations of red, white, and blue, skits celebrating Uncle Sam and Puritans, and songs like "Wave, Old Glory" and "The Emblem of Freedom" were central to these occasions. Most important to the patriotic pieces, the reader learned that "[p]atriotism

is not noise."[18] In addition to articles encouraging patriotic social events, news accounts reflected cultural changes during the war. Fashion write ups remarked that designers had "taken on a decided feeling of harmony with the times." Reviewers noted that dresses were plainer, one piece, used less fabric, and had fewer frills (like lace, buttons, and embellishments). Individuals writing about patriotic pageants—i.e. Fourth of July parades—commented that they also appeared more festive than normal. Reporter accounts of the July 4th parade down Fifth Avenue, in New York City, said that the display represented the nation because "it went further than a mere display of loyalty of citizens born abroad [and within the United States]."[19] All of these instances reinforced beliefs of national unity and images of the "American Girl" because they all strove to unite thorugh ordinary and unusual means.

Similar to the newspaper pieces that interviewed female nurses, *The Ladies Home Journal* ran a series of essays urging women to sacrifice for the national cause. These essays were signed as "An American Girl," and throughout the pieces the young girl could be anyone. Typically she came from a small town near a large city, her father was successful at business (with no further description), she was a middle child, and her life had seemed painless before the war. With the war, she turned into a woman, and she quickly set aside her childhood pleasures to occupy herself with war service—deeds that would bring

[18] Virginia Hunt, "Patriotic Garden Parties," in *Ladies Home Journal* June 1917: p. 77.

[19] "New Fashions Reflect Serious War Times: Gowns Mostly Plain and Unpretentious—One Piece Dresses of Serge and Duvetyn Now in Favor—Styles in Uniforms for Women War Workers," in *NYT* 27 January 1918: p. 38 and "Day–Long Pageant Pictures America United for War," in *NYT* 5 July 1918: p. 1.

forth national honor and triumph.[20] Accordingly, the image of Lady Columbia no longer suited social needs. Her goddess-like connotation contrasted sharply with women giving public speeches, receiving prison sentences, and demanding their right to vote. Instead, images like Howard Chandler Christy's "American Girl" reflected social aspirations for American girls because his "American Girl" showcased modernity and maturity. She remained on a pedestal while real women pushed gendered boundaries and forced change. She was a paradox to US patriotism. The patriotic female represented the ideal, though image and theory, but the action of live women assaulted Victorian Ideals of womanhood. Ideal and real women struggled with conflicting ideologies, but standard conceptions of patriotism prevailed.

The female image of World War I was drawn by illustrators from popular magazines, and it derived from magazine art. These posters dominated the US visual landscape as more than twenty million copies of about 2,500 posters circulated throughout the country. The American war poster infiltrated popular culture in film, fiction, and advertising. George Creel, a journalist who headed the Committee on Public Information during the war, masterminded the campaign. His goal was to rally Americans into complete support of the war, and he understood the value of visual stereotypes. Hence, Creel recruited popular artists like Charles Dana Gibson, Howard Chandler Christy, and James Montgomery Flagg to draw for the war effort.[21] Their drawings were already known to the

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[20] To see an example of the "American Girl" essays see: An American Girl, "When I Opened the Shutter: What I Saw and What I Want Every Girl to See," *The Ladies' Home Journal* August 1917: p. 1.

[21] Carolyn Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2001), pp. 101-103. James Montgomery Flagg also drew drawings of females, but his most commonly recognized piece is Uncle Sam with his phrase "I Want You For the US Army." This image is still in use in the current era.

general public, and characters like the "Gibson Girl" and the "Christy Girl" already dominated the social landscape for the image of beautiful and acceptable women. More so, these artists gave representations of respectable women because they represented established cultural ideals of Victorian womanhood.

Christy, a noted American illustrator (1895-1920) and portrait painter (1920-1952), is frequently remembered for his World War I posters or his depictions of the "American Girl."[22] Christy's career started with his war illustrations for the Spanish-American War in 1898. As he watched US troops occupy Cuba in June he employed his style of direct and swift strokes to capture his subjects. For the Cuba landings he powerfully captured the delight of men bathing (for many their first in over a week), singing, and dancing on the shore. Later, during the same military invasion, he magnified the US land victory at Las Guasimas—revealing soldiers milling around in relief, anger, and injury.[23] The nakedness and raw display of emotion seen in Christy's early works did more than bring the war home for readers of *Leslie's* and *Harper's* magazines. They continued the male role of the military within US culture. The starkness of Christy's depiction of the military, the clear joy and revelation of the men frolicking on the Cuban beach, and the overriding message that a US victory prevailed encouraged the nation to relish in its strength.

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[22] Pat Hodgson, *The War Illustrators* (New York: MacMillan Publishing Co., Inc., 1977): pp. 181-2; and Mimi C. Miley, *Howard Chandler Christy: Artist Illustrator Style*, September 25 through November 6, 1977 Allentown Art Museum (Kutztown, PA: Kutztown Publishing, Inc., 1977): n.p. Christy grew up in Duncan Falls, Ohio, and settled in New York in 1892. Originally, he left for New York in 1890, then left in 1891, but he finally returned in 1892. From 1890-91 he studied art at The Art Students League where his instructor, William Merritt Chase, found him to be bright and promising.

[23] Hodgson, *The War Illustrators*, pp. 181-2. For images of the above scenarios see the illustration inserts on Hodgson's pages. The land battle in question was the first of the war, on 24 June 1898.

Accordingly, hemispheric victory in the Spanish-American War turn-of-the-century society demanded changed depictions of itself. Hemispheric victory inflated and encouraged national feelings of growth and prosperity. Here the "Christy Girl" helped show the social order of the era, directly contradicting the earlier anguishes of the war. Christy published a number of works celebrating the American Girl—*The Christy Girl* (1906), *Our Girls* (1906), and *The American Girl* (1907)—with the most prominent being the 1907 title *The American Girl: As Seen and Portrayed by Howard Chandler Christy*.[24] Christy's *The American Girl* celebrates womanhood, at the beginnings of the twentieth century, and attests to reflections about the representation and public actions of women. Christy's female characters contrast with popular drawings of Charles Dana Gibson.

Gibson's accounts of the American female, often dubbed "the Gibson Girl," showed her as tall, sleek, with an ample chest, and her hair was piled on her head. The image of the "Gibson Girl" portrayed a sense of optimism and confidence, and his pencil drawings appeared in popular magazines like *Harper's*, *Collier's*, and *The Saturday Evening Post*. Her appearance showcased youthful beauty, and Gibson consistently portrayed her as playful and the ideal woman. The "Gibson Girl" even had a pictorial counterpart known as the "Gibson Man." These two paired one another, and their beauty and quiet simplicity spoke for the ideals of late nineteenth century society, but by the beginning of the First World War the "Gibson Girl" no longer suited the national ideal of a woman leaving her home for a wartime cause but still maintaining her expected wifely and motherly duties. She represented optimism and confidence, but changing political tides brought a sense of

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[24] Miley, *Howard Chandler Christy*, n.p.

cynicism and distrust to the US home front. More so, “Gibson Girls” had been portrayed as dainty. In a sketch “The Streets of New York” Gibson remarks on the need for better sanitation by showing “Gibson Girls” holding their noses at the stink. In another image, “The Suffragette’s Husband” Gibson portrayed a woman sitting with her back to the viewer. She read the paper—filled with blurbs for women’s rights—and her scrawny husband sat idly by with his hands folded. The husband wore an expression of sadness and exhaustion, and his thin and slightly bedraggled appearance gives the reader the impression that his wife has neglected her wifely duties for politics.[25] Hence, the ”Gibson Girl” had too many conflicting images in her history to fully enable her to become a forefront image of World War I propaganda. The heightened suffrage movement, changes in clothing, and changes in national and international politics all showed the changing tides of patriotism and that of the patriotic woman.

In contrast to the “Gibson Girl” Christy’s “American Girl” celebrates the twentieth century accomplishments of women. He stated that American girls should be celebrated for their heritage and lives. The girl of Christy’s era represented beauty, outdoor life, hygiene, and health. Christy asserted these notions with his eloquent statement “It is not the chivalry of a class, but the chivalry of a people; not the loyalty to a woman, but loyalty to womanhood that safeguards the American girl.”[26] Hence, Christy’s pictures of women are not merely standard representations of them. Rather, they are depictions, celebrations, and commemorations of the carefree days between childhood and adulthood, the natural beauty

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[25] Martha H. Patterson, *Beyond the Gibson Girl: Re-imagining The American New Woman, 1895-1915* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2005): pp. 27-49.

[26] Howard Chandler Christy, *The American Girl: As Seen and Portrayed by Howard Chandler Christy* (New York: Maffat, Yard, and Company, 1906): pp. 11-13 and 62.

and wonder of women, and their "pure womanhood."[27] These poetic notions also mirror social angst concerning women stepping outside of their traditional bounds. The sketches showing husbands of "Gibson Girls" longing for dinner and their wife's attention and female jail sentences imposed on outspoken suffragists are examples of anxiety about women's changing roles. Essentially, Christy's portrayals reflect a women in modern attire, presumably educated, but still alluring—not a "man eater." These women showcase modernity with limits because they still "knew" their place as objects of beauty and honor for men.

The "American Girl" type images used in this chapter—particularly those of American artist Howard Chandler Christy—embody the tradition of Columbia while showing a stark deviation from her classic connotations. The images "Clear the Way!," and "Fight or Buy Bonds" (figures two and three respectively) show the continued and evolving use of Columbia within the US national ethos. Her sexuality, revealed breasts, body curves, and soft lines and colorations all complement one another to create a continuous and passionate display of unity and patriotism—with the end result celebrating US ideals of democracy, nation, and womanhood. Protecting women through military victory equates to the nation winning in battle. Additionally, Christy's interpretation of Columbia, and her decline at the end of the war, reflects the evolving ideology and imagery of modern women. The earlier history of Columbia demonstrated how she evolved from an "Indian Princess" and slowly developed a central place within American iconography, and during the First World War Christy did utilize the standard image of Columbia. He used her legacy of

[27] Christy, *The American Girl*, pp. 13 and 115.

beauty and national honor to update her to represent the Victorian ideal of womanhood, the New Woman, and the new century.

Wartime Beauties

The wartime service of women directly and concretely affected the suffrage movement. These women, primarily the World War I generation, were second and third generation college educated women, the daughters of new bourgeois matrons, and their clubs and civic organizations assertively grasped US society in manners that shaped campaigns for social behavior and expectations. Maturing after 1900, they had battled with the forces of modernity in more aggressive manners than those before them. Basic elements of life—their clothing, figure, makeup, jobs, and marriage prospects—continually changed at unprecedented rates, which added to already growing hysterias that young girls were loosing their morals and that the standards of behavior were eroding. Their appearance evolved from the hourglass figure of the Gibson girl to the slender silhouette without petticoats and corsets most noted in the "Christy Girl" drawings. These were the "New Women"—a revolutionary demographic and political phenomenon—who demanded political visibility while eschewing or postponing marriage and representing the "Cult of True Womanhood." These women's clubs established settlement houses in Chicago and other US cities, they set up missionary homes to educate young women (usually non-white), and they supported the war effort. Women's clubs provided women, particularly middle and upper class women, with an outlet from their domestic lives. Clubs enabled them to

promote issues like literacy, which gave them an avenue to challenge political forces and their lives. They constructed politics without the vote.[28]

The demand for change and recognition came in a plethora of forms. Most notably, these activities manifested in women being seen at beaches, gyms (single-sexed ones), on bicycles, driving cars, and generally partaking in modern leisure activities. In conjunction with the expanding activities of women, they began to wear sports clothing. Their change in apparel proved to be another action that directly conflicted with older notions of femininity often seen as a delicate, curvy, and soft flower-like being. Exercise maintained “good” feminine qualities as long as it was done for health reasons, but reification still expected women to adhere to cultural mores about her behavior and personal expectations.[29]

The ability of clothing to enable women to express their identity in categories like gender, personality, sexual preference, class, and social status reinforced notions about respect and status. The removal of multiple layers of clothing, yards of fabric from gathered skirts and shirtsleeves, and the corset all reinforced changing social and political fronts. For instance, removal of the corset had been on the fringes of feminist thought since the mid-nineteenth century, but the corset remained a mainstay in feminine apparel into the 1920s. The issue of changing the style of the corset drew upon notions of race, nation, and the importance of science and modernity in the forming of social thought. The availability of

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[28] Smith-Rosenberg, *Disorderly Conduct,* pp. 245-247; Sara M. Evans, *Born for Liberty: A History of Women in America* (New York: The Free Press, 1989): p. 161; see Gere, *Intimate Practices*; and see Peggy Pascoe, *Relations of Rescue: The Search for Female Moral Authority in the American West, 1874-1939* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990).

[29] Sarah A. Gordon, “*Any Desired Length*: Negotiating Gender Though Sports Clothing, 1870-1925,” in *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*. Philip Scranton, editor. (New York and London: Routledge, 2001): pp. 25-27, 29.

bicycles, turn of the century-health and hygiene movements (concerning exercise and active play for women), and women in organized sports promoted the market to make sports corsets. These enabled women to move about more freely, and by 1914 the Tango played a role in how women wore corsets. Since women were removing them at parties to dance, manufacturers began marketing dance corsets. Corsets makers clearly gained in making a variety of corsets, as more could be sold, but women also triumphed because the actions by many or just a few allowed them to alter their dress.[30] The corset, and the wearing of it, represented core feminine attributes. A woman with a corset was respectable, clean, and pure. She would never deviate from her "womanly" and "wifely" duties by asserting herself in public, demanding social change in the name of womankind, and most importantly a corset represented a certain type of woman—the marrying kind. These beliefs may appear to be harsh and misconstrued, but in the light of "radical" feminist movements, forced changes of the World War I era, and the continually increasing role of modernity on culture (through technology, fashion changes, and even changes in warfare—at home and abroad) they act as metaphors for the era to explain the changing image of the patriotic female. The corset also served as a metaphor for restraining women. These respectable girls were also the foundation of patriotic appeal.

These "All American Girls" represented the transformation of industrial work, the utilization of efficiency and rationalization, and the young women reformers of the Great War. Manufactures desperately attempted to encourage women to dismiss female desires for the corset's removal, but pressures for comfort and freedom coerced the industry to

[30] Jill Fields, "*Fighting the Corsetless Evil*: Shaping Corsets and Culture, 1900-1930," in *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*. Philip Scranton, editor. (New York and London: Routledge, 2001): pp. 111-117.

redesign and use science to "enhance" the corset. Hence, the girdle emerged on the US consumer market.[31] Women were then metaphorically expressing themselves in public with their dress and makeup. Furthermore, newspapers and popular culture heightened the fear and mystique of the "New Woman" by calling them spinsters, homeless (meaning a life without a man), and adrift. These names for single women, and females acting against the norm, can be seen in the literature of preceding generations. Older generations abhorred the "modern" image of women, and the younger generations interacted with the newer images, acted upon them, or merely dreamed of them.[32]

Consumerism also reflected these conceptions of social discontent with the "new women." Advertisers used metaphors of consumer citizens and consumerism as the exercise of a civic duty. They associated their work as a "persuasion of politics—the promulgation of ideals and programs for the common good to be affirmed or rejected through a public, communal, and voluntary process." Consumption represented the American social democracy, with new goods representing the new culture.[33] In light of this emerging consumer culture, women (and men) partook in the new cultural products, activities, and

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[31] Fields, "*Fighting the Corsetless Evil*," pp. 134-5 and Evans, *Born for Liberty*, p. 161.

[32] Evans, *Born for Liberty*, p. 161; and see Betty Israel, *Bachelor Girl* for an in-depth discussion of the evolving role of single women in society. Israel does not focus on social movements and reform agendas; rather, she delves into the life and culture of these women during their respective decades.

[33] Charles McGovern, "Consumption and Citizenship in the United States, 1900-1940," in *Getting and Spending: European and American Consumer Societies in the Twentieth Century*, Susan Strasser; Charles McGovern; and Matthais Judt, editors (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), pp. 42-3, 46-7, and 49. Other social fears and trends associated with consumer society can be seen in Elaine Abelson's study *When Ladies Go A-Thieving*. Here, she aptly describes and atmosphere where women were encouraged to buy, buy on credit, and buy items not necessary in order to be modern and a "good" wife. Abelson's study focuses an atmosphere of women stealing merchandise for the need, but more poignantly, she centers upon middle-class women stealing for a sense of freedom and social excursion. See: Elaine S. Abelson, *When Ladies Go A-Thieving: Middle-Class Shoplifter in the Victorian Department Store* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989).

avenues for social mobility associated with it. Ironically, the same qualifying phrases used to promote and demonstrate a need for consumption were also those that women utilized for their own rights, and they were also the terms that the nation used to encourage men to fight and women to sacrifice on the home front.

Patriotic Consumption, Patriotic Action

Continual advertising and propaganda programs reinforced these notions of motherhood and duty. One poignant advertisement exemplifying these attitudes is by S.S. White and Company. S.S. White, a popular toothpaste brand of the era, proudly proclaimed in a 1918 ad that men in the Civil War and the current one kept the tooth powder in their knapsacks while they "[fought] for democracy." The text of the ad exemplifies what its title reads: "In Civil War Days She Gave Him S.S. White Tooth Powder—Now They Send It to Their Grandson in Camp." The image above the ad depicts an elderly man and woman, lovingly wrapping a care package (presumably to ship off to their patriotic grandson). Thus, the visual and text of the ad unite to demonstrate and uphold the conception that women must send their sons, and grandsons, off to war for the betterment of the nation.[34]

Another advertisement that exemplifies the notion of women and mother is a 1918 Kodak piece. This ad, for the American Red Cross, depicts a woman cradling splints and first aid supplies. The female is dressed in a traditional nurse's uniform with a long cloak and hat. More so, her clothing gently flows around her creating an angelic appearance, and her pose makes her resemble a mother cradling an infant. The title of the ad, placed under the image, boldly states "The Greatest Mother in the World." The image and the title

[34] "In Civil War Days She Gave Him S.S. White Tooth Powder—Now They Send It to Their Grandson in Camp," S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Co., *Saturday Evening Post*, 1918 (Ad number BH2405—Ad*Access).

eloquently merge to create an image to sensationalize patriotism and courage, and the text heightens the ads' visual appeal with its language. It tells the reader that the American Red Cross brings comfort and aid to all in need—"to Jew, or Gentile, black or white; knowing no favorite, yet favoring all"—by bringing food, shelter, care, and genuine concern to those in need. These actions, all described as feminine through the textual descriptions of "her hands reaching out," "she's warming thousands," and "with a mother's sixth sense" remind the reader of the feminine ideal. Even more poignant is the subtext of the ad that claims that "[it] contributed to the Winning of the War."[35] Hence, the mother figure acts as a nurturer and caregiver to provide strength and comfort so the nation can win the war.

Ads also educated women on how to be stylish and dress for less with wartime guide books like Mrs. Vernon Castle's war style book, and companies like Abercrombie and Fitch developed advertising campaigns based on women wearing military-like uniforms for their service jobs, regular employment, or daily lives.[36] The notion of a women dressing for the war (i.e. the national agenda) also connects to the earlier image of Columbia. Columbia did not literally dress for war, but her public persona rallied men and women to support the fight and honor their nation.

Columbia's image symbolizes patriotism, but her visual can be (and was) used as a marketing tool. During World War I the uses of Columbia symbolized prosperity, progress, and the greatness of US society. Western Electric Company ran an ad campaign that played

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[35] "The Greatest Mother in the World," Eastman Kodak Company for the American Red Cross, *The Ladies Home Journal*, May 1918: p. 67.

[36] "Her Chance for Service," in *The Ladies Home Journal*, June 1917: p. 7; "Enlist for Economy," Mrs. Vernon Castle's War Style Book, *The Ladies Home Journal*, October 1917: p. 91; and "To War Women," Abercrombie and Fitch Company, *NYT*, 21 May 1918: p. 10.

upon the notions of national unity, patriotism, the elusive (and often changing in definition) "American Dream," and of a woman's social/familial role. In an advertisement entitled "The New Enlightenment" readers are first drawn toward the image of a woman vacuuming. But, this woman is not *just* any woman. She is dressed as the classic image of Columbia—that is with her flowing gown draped over one shoulder. Here, her image shows the signs of change—she has a blouse, with short, slightly puffed sleeves, on under her gown, and on her head she is wearing a Liberty cap. The young girl, with curled hair slightly protruding from the cap, is looking at the viewer with left arm slightly bent, and extended, holding the cord to the vacuum that her right hand is pushing. The text of the advertisement promotes the use of electricity in the home as "destined to fill a still larger sphere of domestic usefulness . . . [it adds] hours to the leisure, recreation, and broader interest that claim the modern woman's attention," and an interpretation of the piece could easily read that any housewife/woman who uses electrical appliances promotes the nation.[37]

Del-Monte canned foods ran a campaign depicting Uncle Sam carrying a basket filled with Del-Monte products. The caption underneath proclaims "[Del-Monte] A California Contribution to the National Market Basket." Behind this text and imagery the viewer sees the US capital and senate buildings. Hence, the purchaser/consumer of this product would be elevating the nation (and joining in a national front of unity) because patriotism resided within the consumption and use of "American" products.[38] Other ads to play upon these notions of patriotism and national unity encompass a wide array of products.

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[37] "The New Enlightenment," Western Electric Company, *Good Housekeeping*, October 1916: p. 149.

[38] "A Californian Contribution the National Market Basket," Del-Monte Canned Goods, *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 January 1918: p. 57.

Crystal White Soap, Campbell's Soup, and an automobile advertisement are just a few examples of this marketing technique, and these ads also capture the gendered language of national discourse—particularly that of celebrating, honoring, and defending the nation.

Crystal White Soap declared itself "America's soap of utmost efficiency" and that patriotism demanded quality and thriftiness. The ad's image (above the text) of a white house heightens this piece's message of national need, and the piece's textual message encourages women to purchase the soap because so many "American women" did. Continuing this theme of patriotism and efficiency is a Campbell Soup ad using statements like "the home guard" and "you also serve when you practice wise economy."[39] One of the famous Campbell kids salutes the viewer, while workers tend to the nearby field, and a lyrical caption adds a sense of humor and fun to patriotic consumption.

> We are all doing our bit
> To help Uncle Sam make a hit,
> With food from our farms we strengthen his arms
> By making the nation more fit.[40]

Visual imagery, lyrical text, and wholesome messages of health and humor all unite to sell this product—as well as American patriotism. The ad also acts within the male and female spectrum. Uncle Sam, a male patriotic actor, represents the nation, but the purchase of food products represents the woman nurturing her family.

Upon closer examination they also perpetuate gendered notions of US culture. The motor transport ad overtly refers to the country with the feminine pronoun of her, and Campbell's Soup and Del-Monte Canned Goods are food products aimed at promoting the

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[39] 'America's Soap of utmost Efficiency," Peet's Crystal White Soap, *Saturday Evening Post*, 26 May 1917: p. 39; and "The Home Guard," Campbell's Tomato Soup, *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 August 1917: p. 27.

[40] "The Home Guard," Campbell's Tomato Soup, *Saturday Evening Post*, 11 August 1917: p. 27.

health of the family (and by extension the nation). Therefore, the domestic ideal denotes that family/national meals would be cooked and produced by a women/wife/mother, and these ads target women to buy and support their nation through their food consumption—just as they do through their daily service, sacrificing of sons, and various other consumer purchases. Finally, Crystal White Soap appeals to the American women and housewife. Its explicit language that females are the ones to purchase the soap for personal and family consumption encouraged the belief that modernity and science help make a happy home and family.

These advertisements show intertwining connections with daily life, social beliefs, and patriotic actions, and they acted in the same manner that the wartime propaganda posters by Howard Chandler Christy did. All of these images encouraged men and women to serve their country through patriotic service—whether it was via military service or consumer purchases. Governmental propaganda campaigns for military recruitment, private sector campaigns for product purchase and use, and private (and public) notions about gender roles manifest from the conglomeration of all of these social creations—no one unit created national imagery, memory, or meaning. The advertisement encouraging someone to buy a specific product often invoked the same kind of appeal that propaganda posters did. They pulled upon common desires to rally the public for a central cause, which was not wholly the purchasing of consumer goods. It was also the growth and portrayal of national images and ideals.

Other advertisements from the era also continue these notions of patriotism and familial love. Two such ads, again for the S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Company, utilized illustrations of men in uniform, the battlefront, and thrift for the betterment of the

war and the nation. In the Marvin and Ingle conception of sacrificial killing, they erase the border between peace and war by illustrating the needs of the solider. The first of these illustrations reads like a newspaper editorial. The short piece begins with the assertion that the US government placed American dental science as a "definite basis of national necessity." Reinforced with claims that only eighty-six dentists were in "Uncle Sam's dental corps" at the beginning of the war, with that number tripling by hostility's end, the advertisement announced that any man desiring to join the service with bad teeth would be treated free of charge. Hence, elements of modernity and masculinity merged for the war effort—modernity from dental hygiene and masculinity because no mention of female nurses was made. The second placard, "Our Boys in France Use S.S. White," also plays upon notions of patriotism and masculinity. The ad depicted US Army boys brushing their teeth and smiling for the onlooker. Their clean pressed, sharp, and hygienic appearance helped represent some of the ideals of democracy and freedom. Freedom gave individuals strength, it gave nations success, and it allowed economic growth and prosperity. Well dressed and hygienic individuals symbolized education and success, core propaganda tools used in twentieth century US warfare. The ad then hooks the reader by claiming that the "YMCA supplies it? Have YOU tried it?" Yes, indeed—patriotism is imbedded in the advertisement's text. Buying, using, and supplying products that the "boys" use will promote the war effort at home through continual unity.[41]

[41] S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Co., "The Government is Spending Millions to Save the Teeth of Our Men," *Saturday Evening Post*, 1918 (Ad number BH2406—Ad*Access); S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Co., "Our boys in France Use S.S. White Toothpaste," Unknown Publication, 1918 (Ad number BH2403—Ad*Access); and Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, pp. 69-71.

The “boys” mentioned in the S.S. White advertisement, and by implication those abroad, symbolize the killing power of the nation. They show a power not of death and destruction but of coordination.[42] The troops worked together to fight the foe, and through placing their needs within the structure of the group brought success. Thus, advertisements reinforcing notions of masculinity and self-sacrifice unite the home front for the war effort. Furthermore, these advertisements continue the flag/border analogy with their implied connection to the “she didn’t raise her boy to be a slacker” syndrome for motherhood and femininity. The “boys” shown, and implied, in the placards clearly represented the sons of women at home—the same sons that O’Hare said fertilized the soil of Europe.

Other ads of the era also played upon images of hygiene and beauty to build upon the many concepts of nationhood and conformity. Two of these ads are “Happiness—The Harmony of Life’ and “Health—Life’s Greatest Lesson,” both from S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Company. Through their emotional appeal, and appeal to wartime propaganda of the “good housewife” they continually upheld key elements of the national ethos. “Happiness” depicts a woman with her left arm outstretched, her right hand poised just above her right breast, her breasts covered but displayed with the accenting “X” design of her dress, and slender body curves. Her face is slightly turned from the viewer, and the three women in the background (that her left hand is gesturing toward) are shadowy silhouettes. They all depict images of perceived happiness through their leisurely stances, smiles, the text of the ad, and through their use of S.S. White toothpaste and other patriotic products. The text, below the picture, emphasizes the need for health, happiness through

[42] Marvin and Ingle, *Blood Sacrifice and the Nation*, pp. 71-3.

health, that happiness is "the [desire] of all mankind."[43] Taken by itself, this ad would appear as any other—a ploy by the manufacturing company to convince the reader to purchase the product for his or her own betterment. But, within the context of the era, and the surrounding advertising campaigns by S.S. White, the text and context of the woman are altered.

The image of the female promotes the nation through her beauty and the use of her gender. She is adhering to the gender norm. Judith Butler asserts, "Gender is the repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being." This woman is natural, and to be wanted by a man, because she is not demanding social recognition, not wearing men's clothing, and not acting outside the standard borders of womanhood.[44] Her imagery reinforces the heterosexual bond of femininity, and both men and women can relate to the sexual messages in the advertisement—men longing for the beautiful woman (who represents the nation) and women staying beautiful and alluring for the victorious return of men from the battlefront.

The female war worker of World War I also acts within this patriotic light. In similar manners to ads that pulled on emotions for individuals to buy patriotically, war work ads told women that they could ease a man's anguish by temporarily joining the workforce.

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[43] S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Co., "Happiness—The Harmony of Life," *Collier's*, 1919 (Ad number BH2410—Ad* Access); S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Co., "Health—Life's Greatest Lesson," *Collier's*, 1918 (Ad Access number BH2408—Ad* Access); and Marine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work: The Impact of World War I on Women Workers in the United States* (Ithaca and London: Cornell University Press, 1980 and 1990): p. 34.

[44] Judith Butler, *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*, Tenth Anniversary Edition (New York and London: Routledge, 1990. Reprint 1999): pp. 13-4, 43, and 56; and Judith Butler, *Bodies That Matter*: pp. 139 and 236.

Women remarked that they joined the labor force financial need, which would enable the survival of themselves and their families. They claimed that patriotism and personal need justified their actions. Ads argued that "making munitions [was] a woman's job" and woman workers provided a "second line of defense." The woman's presence in the factory was not new to World War I. Instead a gradual increase in female factory labor had occurred since 1870. The war brought women out of the home who had not previously worked for wages, and the war effort allowed other working woman to obtain betters jobs and increased pay. In 1870 about 14.8 percent of females older than sixteen worked, and by 1910, 24 percent of females older than sixteen worked for wages outside the home. A survey by the National League for Women's Service showed that 1,266,061women worked in industry fields; up twenty percent from the 1910 Census. Also, in 1910 about 3,500 women worked in munitions, and by January 1918, 100,000 females had entered the field.[45] Most importantly, women's work during the war followed patterns that existed before European nations began fighting.

These trends keep the skilled artisan at a fraction of the pay of an unskilled worker because an unskilled worker could produce numerous goods via a conveyor belt system whereas the skilled worker could only create one product at a time. Limits were set for women's work in factories. The limiting of women's work in war jobs did not completely prevent women from performing the traditional tasks of men. They drove locomotives and

[45] Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work: A History of Wage Earning Women in the United States* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1982): p. 274; Maurine Weiner Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work,* pp. 4-6; and Philip S. Foner, *Women and the American Labor Movement: From the First Trade Unions to the Present* (New York: The Free Press, 1982): p. 235.

handled heavy machinery just like other factory workers. During World War I almost ten million American women had entered employment. About three million worked in factories, with over one million directly concerned with war equipment, 100,000 did long-distance and intracity transport (drove freight trucks), 250,000 were in textiles, and 10,000 forged metal products.[46] Yet, not all World War I female workers entered the workforce for the war effort. Instead, some transferred jobs to earn more money or to try something new. During the war, women took pride in their work, and in some localities upper-class females and women's clubs petitioned city councils to prohibit women from wearing their work overalls outside of the factory or at company picnics.[47] The popular image of the World War I factory girl does not play as heavily into popular culture as the female worker of World War II because the war did not drastically alter her place within the workforce. More so, just when non-working women were to be mobilized for the First World War the peace accords were signed.[48] Also, US involvement in World War I lasted for about eighteen months and the level of civilian mobilization seen in earlier and later wars did not occur.

The ideal image of the beautiful woman, and the often overlooked image of the wartime factory worker, helped reinforce the heterosexual bond within mainstream culture. Yet, the woman is also a fetish and aggrandizement of national culture. Her breast, a zone

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[46] Phillip S. Foner. *Labor and World War I, 1914-1918, Volume 7* (New York: International Publishers, 1987): pp. 126-8.

[47] Carrie Brown, *Rosie's Mom: Forgotten Women Workers of the First World War* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 2002): pp. 139-140.

[48] Brown, *Rosie's Mom*: pp. 125-158 and 191; and Greenwald, *Women, War, and Work*: pp. 4 and 5.

of power and adoration, continually reminded the soldier of his purpose and home. Accordingly, nationalisms reflect social difference as both invented and performed.[49]

> Women are represented as the atavistic and authentic body of national tradition (inert, backward-looking and natural), embodying nationalism's conservative principle of continuity. Men, by contrast, represent the progressive agent of national modernity (forward-thrusting, potent and historic), embodying nationalism's progressive, or revolutionary principle of discontinuity. Nationalism's anomalous relation to time is thus managed as a natural relation to gender.[50]

These gendered connections, assertions, and depictions aptly relate to commercial and social culture from the era because domestic elements of culture caused their evolution, creation, and destruction.

Kate Richards O'Hare, Corra Harris, and advertisements all promote the ideal image of nationhood and nationality (that is the collective nation and not the racial nation). Women like O'Hare may have been against the war, but their actions fit within images of patriotism. They were acting as a mother protecting her family (i.e. the nation). As earlier stated, images created by private commercial interests and those created by governmental organizations reflect the same core beliefs. They show social moods, expectations, and desires—even if these social aspects go against mainstream constructions. O'Hare represented elements of the patriotic female because she believed that her actions would benefit the nation. Harris sought to educate her reading public by not focusing on the standard fares of wartime imagery and provide her readership with satirical accounts of the war front. And advertisements of the First World War years promoted mainstream beliefs of

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[49] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 199, 353-7.

[50] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 359.

national unity, strength, and cohesion. Hence, actions that contradict mainstream beliefs and agendas only cause those beliefs to become more solidified and propagated throughout society, and within the context of this study the attitudes constructed and promoted within US society relate to the female and her patriotic role. Yet, actions that go against the mainstream also enable change. Initially they may reinforce existing beliefs and mindsets, but once the seeds of doubt and change have been planted they grow. Each generation then builds upon these one-time radical beliefs to expand them and build upon them.

Accordingly, mainstream advertisements and propaganda posters of the era needed to encourage women to serve their country by adhering to established gender roles, only leave their homes from the duration of the war, and stand by their man (i.e. the nation). These women were not seen as active creators of their social worlds. Instead, they were the results of the male creator's mind. [51] Magazine articles like "The After-the-War Woman: What Is She Going to Be, and Where Will Be Her Place?" by Isaac F. Marcosson in *The Ladies Home Journal* and a series of advertisements by S.S. White Dental Company hone in on this belief structure.

The Marcosson piece discusses the women worker during the war that she eagerly and successfully raised to the cause for her nation and the she has gained valuable life experience for her duties. Accordingly, she will be reluctant to relinquish her new-found freedom once peace returns, but after the war women who continue to work will do so for the continuing cause of the nation—not for personal desire. Marcosson believed that the economic sanctions against Germany, and other Axis powers, will demand her labor to

[51] Max Gallo, *The Poster in History* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 1974 and 2000) with essays by Carlo Arturo Quintavalle and Charles Flowers: p. 188 and Schiebinger, "Introduction" in *Feminism and the Body*, p. 13.

continue as will the loss of men. Men who died or were injured in the war will clearly not be able to return to the office or factory, and women will be expected to take up employment so that society will continue to function. But, her work is only a subsidiary to the larger force and meaning of it all—that the nation needs her continual service so that she may return to normalcy and functionality.[52] Thus, a woman's continual work falls within the guidelines of national service and happiness. Her happiness will derive from her service to the nation, benefiting her fellow man, and enabling continued productivity—much like the "Happiness" ad by S.S. White and other advertisements of the era. Editorials, articles, and advertisements all promoted the same belief structure—that a woman's happiness derives from service to the larger male population and the nation. Another S.S. White ad, following in the "Happiness" ad's theme, also propagates these notions.

The "Health" posting, also by S.S. White, portrays a mother and daughter image. The mother figure is handing an apple to a preadolescent girl, who sports a stylish "bobbed" haircut. As with the previous advertisement, the woman's breasts are accentuated with a v-neckline. The text, here contends that health is a sign of beauty and strength. It further propagates these notions by attesting that "the lesson of Health has been the greatest and most important that a mother could teach her child."[53] The advertisement provides an excellent example of communal regeneration. The mother figure gives to her daughter in the same manner that mothers give to the nation. Through self sacrifice, the offerings of sons for battle and honor, through the creation of sons, and daughters with morals to uplift

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[52] Issac F. Marcosson, "The After-the-War Woman: What is She Going to be, Where Will be Her Place?," *The Ladies Home Journal*, July 1918: pp. 16, 59, and 60.

[53] S.S. White Dental Manufacturing Co., "Health—Life's Greatest Lesson," *Collier's*, 1918 (Ad Access number BH2408—Ad* Access).

the nation for the betterment of the national community these women promoted national ideals of domesticity and unity.

The S.S. White ads represent print and consumer culture, in their traditional sense, but wartime propaganda posters also symbolize these communal elements with their imagery. "Clear the Way" (Figure two) shows robust men at the feet of the woman (earlier identified as Columbia) aiming a cannon at the enemy. The men, shirtless or in T-shirts, are muscular and well defined. The cannon are overextended as if to show the presence of insurmountable force. The men and cannon complement one another with their force, and the men's intense stares and body language toward the direction of the unseen enemy provides the cue that they are fighting off the foe. The positioning of Columbia enlarged and floating above the men's heads reinforces these notions, and her slim, stream-lined dress against the backdrop of an American flag heightens the emotion of the moment. This use of patriotism/nationalism demonstrates an imperative element of wartime society because "war posters made use of traditional family relationships" with the cannon representing male prowess. The cannon, long and protruding, can then symbolize the male penis (the source of manhood), and with his entry into war the sexualized Columbia-like figure mobilizes the men for political ends.[54] Here, the woman represents the family to be with her sleek body and accentuated chest. She represents the image the men (or "the boys") cling to in battle, idealize about for their return home, and her beauty and loyalty will give them honor and strength to persevere.

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[54] Gallo, *The Poster in History*, p. 190; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 199-202.

A representation of the classic Columbia image can be seen in a 1917 US Navy recruiting advertisement which placed the mythical image of Columbia alongside a US sailor. Both characters are solemn faced, gazing at one another in what appears to be an intimate eye-locked pose, and they are holding/shaking hands. The sailor is smartly dressed in his uniform, with his body facing the viewer, and his weapon is resting against the left front of his body. Columbia is resting her left hand on the sailor's back while she wears a liberty crown and her drapery resembles that of an American flag. Underneath the picture the sole caption reads "Eventually Why Not Now? Enlist in the Navy."[55] This image, and the words underneath, clearly conveys a message of honor and duty because the US flag placed upon the mythical images of Columbia—particularly during wartime—reinforces social codes of male honor. Here, the brave and valiant man must go defend the nation, or in this case the female because Columbia represents the nation and female. More intriguing about this image is the position of the hands between the sailor and Columbia. Their right hands are clasped, resting in front of Columbia, and initially the viewer would think that they are shaking hands—as if affirming an agreement for honor, nationalism, and patriotism. But, upon closer examination—particularly with Columbia*'s* left hand resting upon the sailor's back—when the viewer places the entire image within its pictorial depiction and that of the nation a feeling of intimacy arises. The act of the sailor steadily gazing into Columbia*'s* eyes, her doing the same to him, and their embrace through hand holding

[55] "Eventually Why Not Now? Enlist in the Navy," US Navy Recruitment, *Saturday Evening Post*, 7 July 1917: back cover. The slogan "Eventually Why Not Now" can also be seen from a 1915 Gold Medal Flour advertisement. The repetition of magazine art and campaign slogans proved to be normal course in World War I patriotic publications. The perpetuation of the visual stereotype and the printed message encouraged viewers to see propaganda messages within their established daily and social frameworks. See: Kitch, *The Girl on the Magazine Cover,* pp. 101-103; and "Eventually Why Not Now?," Washburn-Crosby's Gold Medal Flour, *National Geographic*, December 1915, back cover.

portrays the message that the young man is fighting for his love, his honor, and his duty—all elements of female-male attraction and conceptions of US patriotism and the fixed moral principles that social guidelines attributed to both sexes.

Strength and preservation also act as deterrents in wartime culture. In “Gee!! I Wish I Were a Man” (see Figure three) a young attractive girl is poised in a man’s Navy uniform. Her curly locks just protrude from the cap, the shirt, slightly baggy and loose, dips to a v-neck line, and it is tucked into her pants—to show off her slim waist. A slight breeze is suggested in the drawing, perhaps a sea breeze to complement the sailor-girl image, because her collar and shirt ties flap in the wind. The girl’s face is looking toward the viewer, but her eyes are cast off elsewhere—all complementing her devilish grin. Thus, the girl acts as a shame factor for men who are inclined to not “serve their nation” because the sub text of the poster reads “I’d Join the Navy. Be a Man and Do It.” In the same manner that women of the US civil war pressured their men to fight for the Confederacy, Christy utilizes those impulses to play upon gendered iconography here.[56] Be a man, fight for your country, and provide honor for your women so that they do not have to dress up in men’s uniforms clearly resonates from the drawing. While the girl looks cute in the drawing, compare her body language and visual appeal to the “Clear the Way” poster, the S.S. White advertisements mentioned. The “Gee, I Wish I Were a Man” girl looks cute and boyish, not sexy and alluring like the other women. That is because she is not acting within her social bounds; well, actually her male community is not allowing her to act within her social category because they have failed to give the military all that they have. Also, her

[56] See the chapter one “Unfurling the Red, White, and Blue” for the reference and discussion on Texas women shamming local men into fighting for the Confederacy.

appearance in a man's uniform shames men into fighting because a woman's place is not on the battle front.

The non-existent men in "Gee!! I Wish I Were a Man" have forced/allowed this girl to enter a male sphere through their lack of service. Lack of male service removes the female fetish, causing a shift in social dynamics. Within the gender divided mindset of the era men enter the battle zone while women remain at home, a classic continuation of gendered nationalisms and the radical components of "identities through social contests that are frequently violent and always gendered." [57] These practices continue to act as unifying factors for the nation. Just as American revolutionaries united for the common cause of "breaking free from Great Britain," twentieth century US citizens united under fronts for collective identity and security. Historian David Waldstreicher has remarked that US political culture resides on a series of contest for power and domination, and on the meaning of Revolution, making US nationality a "cause for celebration."[58] Accordingly, nationalism is, and was, celebrated within the World War I lens of patriotic discourse. Mothers sacrificed their sons, women sacrificed their husbands, boyfriends, and fiancés, and the nation sacrificed itself for international betterment. But, these symbolic actions and notions could not stop the path that the nation was encountering. Its women had already begun the home front battle for equality, and public and private images were rapidly changing. A woman's hair, her marrying age, length of education, and choice of employment all began to reconstruct the social image of the American girl. Most notably, Columbia's public image declined, evolved into the "Christy Girl," and in the late part of the twentieth century

[57] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 353.

[58] Waldstreicher, *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes,* p. 352.

patriotic iconography and imagery of women would drastically unfold upon itself. The fresh-faced American girl image of the First World War would quickly remold itself into the strong and assertive image of "Rosie the Riveter" image from World War II, which often overshadows the Great War's legacy. Still withstanding, the actions and perceptions of the nineteen teens enabled the women from the Second World War and after to be louder and bolder in their social discourse and interactions. These assets alone are excellent reasons to promote early women reformers as nationalists, patriots, and servicers to the nation—for they enable "Rosie" to reconstruct the next layer of US patriotic theory.

The Victorian ideal of womanhood placed the female upon a pedestal. Similar to the concepts and ideas mentioned in chapter one, well into the twentieth century women were thought of as objects, living dolls, and servers to men. Images and concepts regularly instructed women to dote upon their men, pay extra attention to their looks, and throughout much of their educations they were "taught" the yeas and nays of finding a man. They were told to have dinner waiting for their husbands, to not annoy him with mishaps of their day, and to always look their best. This culture of man hunting and male dependency is not endemic to the United States. Rather, a vast number of cultures have experienced many of these notions at various points in history, they eloquently set-up the stage for the evolution of the patriotic female. Also the examples of O'Hare and Harris remind the reader that women did more than serve as objects of male desires. The Victorian ideal of the woman also had responsibilities. These responsibilities and duties centered upon her keeping her family happy and healthy. Additionally, she was to remain physically fit, and she was to be a moral guide for her family. Women voiced their frustrations against gendered restrictions in society, but some of the most notable are those of female reformers. Women, particularly

middle-class women, encouraged literary reform societies, agencies to protect women and children, and organizations to encourage family growth.[59]

The actions of Victorian women are no different than those of the twentieth century because they were all fighting for the same ideals. Each generation of women sought social and political reforms that would benefit themselves, their families, and those around them. Those benefits, often contested, were often progressive for their time. In contrast, popular culture frequently attempted to quell progress for the dream of a quieter time and image. Hence, images like Howard Chandler Christy's "American Girl" create a sense of complacency. They provided the image of the beautiful female, they gave her a place within national culture by guiding men into the good fight, and they gave them something beautiful to look after. These images also presented women with updated images of themselves. They could be patriotic, fashionable, and seen within mainstream society, and they did not have to deviate from established gender codes. These images also coincided with popular ideals that intelligence, physical fitness, health, self-sufficiency, economic self reliance (to an extent), and careful marriage enabled a female to live a productive life. Acting like an androgyne, having excessive physical fitness (showing defined muscles and great strength), or publicly acting outside the established bounds of femininity made a woman undesirable. Yet, a woman could improve herself through physical activity, vocational skills, and mental clarity to become a good female.[60]

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[59] Smith-Rosenberg. *Disorderly Conduct*, pp. 109-128, 130-31, and 135.

[60] Frances B. Cogan, *All-American Girl: The Ideal of Womanhood in Mid-Nineteenth Century America* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1989): pp. 4,5, 39, and 203.

At the turn of the century women entered colleges and universities, completed secondary education, and took white and blue collar jobs at accelerated rates.[61] Yet, these women, who would later be praised as the heroines and foundational framework for the feminist movements of the 1960s and 1970s, did not have the right to vote and speaking their mind and their opinions in public were not considered gentle or domesticated acts. Within this culture living a life without a man was considered a path not to choose. A combination of these efforts and actions allowed the female's public image to evolve and permitted political change like the nineteenth amendment. The passage of the Anthony Amendment is frequently considered a natural evolution in public, national, and social policy. This amendment received congressional and national approval as a direct result of women's wartime efforts for their acts of patriotism, service, and leadership in a time of national need. While there may be no written record attesting that Anthony passed because women needed a tangible "token" of thanks for their patriotic efforts, the images, social beliefs, and events deriving from it uphold and confirm this assertion.

For example the women who fought for the Anthony Amendment, the women who faced jail sentences for voicing their opinions, and the women who emulated or saw elements of themselves in advertisements and other avenues of popular culture coincided with the ideals of the American Girl. These women acted on different agendas and beliefs—those ranging from women's rights to the belief that women should stay at home and not publicly voice their opinions—but their actions all resided on the same social constructions of nationhood and nationality. They were sacrificing themselves, their sons, their freedoms,

[61] Alice Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work,* pp. 217-231.

and their notions of femininity for the causes that helped pave the way for twentieth century feminist politics. Justly, their measures and beliefs mirrored advertisements and propaganda posters, and the women who did not publicly act like popular culture images also helped structure a sense of national community. This dichotomy of agendas implies unity through dissent because they are still working toward a national agenda.

Comparing housewives, wartime nurses, college women, political activists, and women of various sorts shows how the image of the patriotic female works from the real woman, the fictionalized woman (pious and pure and controversial), to the glorified ideal. Sixteen thousand women accompanied the American Expeditionary Force overseas, more than eight million volunteered with the Red Cross, many temporarily moved into higher paying factory or governmental jobs, and the actions of women clearly aided the war effort. Even though the First World War did not provide women with permanent new working opportunities, the actions of females during the war did help alter their image within society. Pacifist groups like the North American Woman's Suffrage Association altered its viewpoints on pacifists' mothers refusing to send their sons to war. Before US entry into the conflict, these women were acting on maternal instincts, but after April 1917 the NAWSA called these women over-protective mothers and selfish because they were preventing their sons from becoming independent men.[62]

While women had been actively part of politics, they still did not have a legal voice to vote. Yet, their continual interaction with commerce via shopping for themselves, the home, their civic clubs, churches, or schools continually kept them in interaction with one

[62] Jennifer D. Keene, *The United States and the First World War*, p. 44.

another and with public policy. The First World War pushed women into a world of quickly changing politics and workforce needs. Their image had to evolve to suit their changing world. The fight and eventual passage of the Anthony Amendment shows one, of many, examples of patriotic women.

The Anthony Amendment, often considered a pivotal starting point for feminist politics, procured ratification and Constitutional enforcement in 1920, but the process was not easy or uncomplicated. July 1917 saw numerous National Women's Party members picket the White House, and to the National American Woman Suffrage Association's disappointment many of the White House protestors were arrested and received seven month prison sentences. Yet, the issue of women's suffrage did not end with this incident. The popular press paid much attention to the treatment of the female protestors, and much of the country was shocked that the "gentler sex" received such callous treatment. [63] In January 1918 President Woodrow Wilson officially withdrew his opposition to the woman's vote, but a foreshadowing to Wilson's policy change occurred in October 1917. He invited several activist members to a White House dinner, to act as delegates for the Women's Suffrage party, and Wilson eloquently applauded US women for their distinctive originality and service to the nation. In affirming that women guide and provide the nation with valued services, Wilson declared, "It is almost absurd to say that the country depends upon the women [of the country] for a large part of the inspiration of its life."[64]

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[63] Additionally, many of the arrested suffrage protestors received prison terms. In protest to their treatment, and for a continual fight and public awareness of their enfranchisement cause, they endured a hunger strike while incarcerated. National attention arose to the matter of the women's treatment, and a great deal of press was centered upon the issue of imprisoning women.

[64] "President Put Suffrage to the Fore," in *NYT* 26 October 1917, pp: 1 and 24.

Shortly after this publicized statement, Wilson faced increased pressure from female groups to encourage the passage of women's suffrage. After Wilson's policy change, the US House of Representatives quickly passed the amendment bill, but the US Senate took eighteen months to complete its ratification. Women reformers across the country continued to rally their lawmakers and public in support of their cause, and on August 26, 1920 Tennessee provided the last vote needed to sanction the nineteenth amendment as part The Constitution.

Women receiving the vote as a "thank-you" for their service during World War I gave a temporary quell to the changes that white, middle class women faced. More so, the amendment temporarily saved the image of the patriotic female because she survived until the end of the Second World War. She could still fit within traditional gendered ideals, but World War II would be the last war to see a strong, assertive, and centralized patriotic female image. The level of home front mobilization and magnitude of the war forced a restructuring of gender norms and expectations.

Chapter Three:

Wonder Women Fetishes and Fantasies

The end of the First World War promoted a perceived sense of peace and prosperity. Nations celebrated, found their vengeance and refuge in blame placing (primarily France toward Germany), and most returned their focus to domestic issues. Industrial and technological advances abounded throughout industrialized nations, and Great Britain and the United States both gave tangible "thank-yous" to their women for their wartime services. Author F. Scott Fitzgerald chronicled the era as the "Jazz Age," and like his compatriot Ernest Hemingway, he wrote stories capturing the essence and feel of everyday life. Fitzgerald captured the mood and economic status of the *nouveau riche* while encapsulating the ills of the wealthy, and Hemingway told sad tales of war heroes feeling lost and displaced within society. Scholars later remarked that they captured the voice of a generation, but the 1920s also saw labor turmoil and the extended aftermath of the World War I. The American Great Depression instigated a spiraling defeat to the US and world economies. The market crash caused employers to cut back wages, fire and rehire employees for fractions of their previous pay, and frequently companies employed women to replace men. Individual fears that the female would overtake the man and leave him

looking for work quickly emerged, and reemerged, as women gained numbers in the workforce.

The outbreak of war in Europe, in September 1939, touched the American public on an economic level. Many felt that if the war brought jobs and a bolstered the economy then so be it, but when the Japanese attacked the United States this economic mentality quickly turned into an attitude of revenge and warfare. Accordingly, consumer, local, and federal organizations seized the moment to rally the public. Calls for arms, for women to enter (or re-enter) the factories, conservation and rationing of goods, and volunteering for the military captured the public's attention. These notions and images of bravery and strength have encouraged the second World War to grow in popular memory as "the best war ever." More striking, the era in US history is frequently categorized as the "Golden Age."[1] After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor, on December 7, 1941, couples like William and Annie Moore of M'Comb, Mississippi, named their newborn son Victory Pearl Harbor Moore.[2] Examples like the M'Comb baby, and many others, show an idealized home front of prosperity and unity, but as this chapter will show the US home front divided upon itself just beneath the surface.

The question for this chapter focuses on the creations of Wonder Woman and her wartime counterparts through propaganda posters, advertisements, and real women. Women repeatedly faced challenging questions and decisions for their daily lives through contradicting images in comic books, advertisements, and propaganda posters of the era.

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[1] Michael Addams, *The Best War Ever: America and World War II* (Baltimore and London: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), p. xiii and xiv.

[2] "Couple Name Arrival Victory Pearl Harbor" in *Seattle Daily Times* 1 January 1942, p. 4.

Questions on their relationship to men, their families, their jobs, and each other continually played havoc in their already turmoil stricken lives. Yet, they still united to serve their country, earn extra money, or prove their own worth. The chapter looks at the formation of Wonder Woman, the female wartime labor force, advertisements and editorials, propaganda posters, and "real" women in image and action. World War II was the last era of a centralized patriotic female image, and this chapter will prove that imagery changed post war because expectations and standards had evolved. The length and extensive mass mobilization of the second World War further removed women from serving as fetishized objects. To demonstrate these hypothesis I have chosen the comic book heroine Wonder Woman, a female war board figure—Rosie the Riveter—and various advertisements from the period. While each image was created from different organizations and mindsets, they still represent common views. The popular icons of Wonder Woman and "Rosie" are usually thought to not be connected with one another, but as this discussion will show they are very much linked to one another. Their connection stems from the public's interaction with them, their attachment to the American mind, and in their function and interaction with those around them. Furthermore, these two female images correlate with advertisements, editorial pieces, and cover stories featured in popular women's magazines. A collection of forces act in unison—intentionally or unintentionally—to create a national atmosphere of surface cohesion and unity. These notions of civilian advertisements and government propaganda mirroring one another continue from the First World War where comparisons of Howard Chandler Christy and ads from the late 1910s reflected gendered aspects of patriotic culture.

Imaging Myths

An intriguing image from World War II is that of a fictitious character, meant for children, created in comic books, and still active in print media in the current era. She is Wonder Woman. Wonder Woman entered the American consumer market in 1941, shortly before the United States officially entered World War II. The *Wonder Woman* comic began as an insert to a larger comic, and when buyers showed a positive reception creator Charles Moulton incorporated her Amazon character and shapely figure into a full-length monthly story.

Charles Moulton is the pseudonym that William Moulton Marston used as author of *Wonder Woman*. Marston was a trained psychologist from Harvard University, with a few academic publications but nothing of significant nature. During his academic career, he continually traveled between universities, never attaining tenure status, and he had few roots within the community. Upon entering the field of comic books Marston took a significant step with his professional life. He veered from the accepted and traditional expectations of academia to quickly find a new and enduring career.[3]

In relation to comic books, prior to World War II and the advent of mainstream television, comics were a major form of entertainment for children. Comics and character drawings have been in print since the advent of media, but comic books as a distinct form of

[3] Les Daniels, W*onder Woman: The Life and Times of the Amazon Princess*. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2000: pp. 10, 12, and 19. Marston will be referred to by his given name in the text here. While his academic books received mixed reviews, and were frequently disregarded by the community, Marston did achieve some success in the field of psychology. He developed the lie detector test, used it during World War I to test spies—and later he tested every prisoner in the Texas penitentiaries. In 1932 he lobbied to test the suspect of the Lindberg kidnappings, but the 1923 *Frye v. United States* case deemed the polygraph test inadmissible in court because it had not been fully accepted by the scientific community. This Court ruling still stands in the present era.

entertainment first arose in the 1930s. These early books depicted idealized accounts of a better life and comic relief to the harsh economic era. Comics linked concerns of the common man to active foreign policy during World War II. They helped united the public for the war effort by promoting patriotism. Many of the books just paid lip service to the war cause, but DC Comics to the lead by saying that Germany hoped to spread hate and intolerance throughout the world. Fighting against this foe would help deter hatred from proliferating in the United States. The sales of comics show just how much of an impact they had on the public. In 1942 *Publishers Weekly* and *Business Week* said that comic sales totaled about fifteen million a month, and by 1943 this number had climbed to twenty-five million copies a month.[4]

Beginning with World War II a grassroots campaign sought to remove comic strips from newspapers because concerned patrons perceived comic books and strips, and their promotions, as stealing money from children. This campaign worked, on a minimal level, but the voyeuristic appeal, low price, vivid color, and accessibility fueled the child consumer market. Comic books—like a variety of mediums—honed in on the fight between the Allied and Axis powers. This tactic brought the war to a child's level, and perpetuated the patriotic impulses of the nation. Children were encouraged to purchase war bonds and stamps via ads in the books or other mainstream propaganda devices, and their fictional heroes sometimes

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[4] Bradford W. Wright, *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2001: pp. xiii, 31, 43, and 51; and see Bert Hansen, "Medical History for the Masses: How American Comic Books Celebrated Heroes of Medicine in the 1940s," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 78(2004): pp. 148-191. Hansen provides a provocative discussion on the uses of comic books during World War II, with the bulk of his study focusing on their promotion of hygiene and health related issues. He also says that comic books are often overlooked when discussing the history of medicine and the medical profession's rise in US society. About 125 different comic books could be found each month, and in 1943 comic books sales totaled almost 30 million dollars.

helped defeat the Nazis and Japanese.[5] Yet, while superheroes fought on behalf of the Allied powers most comic book publishers kept their characters away from the battle front. Publishers used superheroes in the war minimally because they feared that superheroes would detract or demoralize the US military efforts since theoretically Superman could fly from Pearl Harbor to Berlin, Germany, and then to Guantánamo Bay in mere hours. He could win the war overnight. Accordingly, comic book characters fought in the war, but usually at a distance. Wonder Woman fights from Paradise Island (her fictional home) and the United States.

Wonder Woman's mission, revealed in the first episode of her saga, portrays her as a savior to the United States. She is needed to defend "American Liberty and freedom," because "America [is] the last citadel of democracy and of equal rights for women."[6] She was not chosen to be the "savior" to the United States from her Amazon legacy, being the daughter to the queen of Paradise Island, or because of her looks. Rather, Wonder Woman earned her title, mission, and outfit by defeating other Amazon women in a long and engaging competition of physical strength. When she wins the competition, reveals herself to her mother, and is crowned with the title of "Wonder Woman" her costume is symbolic of

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[5] Amy Kiste Nyberg, *Seal of Approval: The History of the Comics Code* (Jackson, MS: University of Mississippi Press, 1998): pp. 4-14 and 19-21; Amy Kiste Nyberg, "Comic Book Censorship in the United States," in *Pulp Demons: International Dimensions of the Postwar Anti-Comics Campaign*, John A Lent, editor. (Madison and Teaneck: Fairleigh Dickenson Press, 1999): pp. 42-68; and Wright, *Comic Book Nation*, pp. 33-34. The comic book industry enacted a self-imposed code in 1948, which was enforced by several local laws making the selling of crime content to children illegal.

[6] "Introducing Wonder Woman," *Wonder Woman* 8(DC Comics, 1941-1942): n.p. Since there is no standard manual for citing comic books I have followed the "established" precedent set by other scholars. Since DC Comics has gone by different names I simply refer to it as DC Comics, and I do not give page numbers for comic book entries because not every issue had page numbers. Lastly, comic book makers generally postdate their material to extend shelf life. The date of entry refers to that printed on the cover and not the date the comic book entered the market. See Bradford W. Wright, *Comic Book* Nation, pp. xviii-xix.

her cause and the era that created her. She wears a red corset, with a gold eagle on the chest, blue skirt dazzled with white stars, and red knee-high boots with high heels. Additionally, her outfit flatters her figure and embellishes her femininity, and it is symbolic of the American flag. The red corset with the white belt resemble the red and white stripes of flag, with the skirt—a blue field with white stars—representing the stars in the upper right hand corner of the flag. Her outfit, mission, and later revealed attraction to Steve Trevor solidify her as a patriotic woman because she gives unconditional service to her adopted country, dons its colors of pride and heritage, and holds the desires that gender codes expected. Wonder Woman never marries, but her obvious attraction to a man, and a military one at that, elevates her feminine nature to keep her within the realm of "natural and desirable women."

The red corset has a V-formation in the front and back, to accent her cleavage and in the back the corset droops down close to her waistline. The "V" could also symbolize a "V for victory." Her skirt, worn only in the first episode, is fitted at the waist, accentuates her hips, and flares slightly above the knees—where it stops. Her boots snugly cling to her legs and rest slightly below her knees, with their high slim-lined heels, yellow strip down the fronts, and white trim at the tops refocus the viewer's attention upward to Wonder Woman's torso. In the second episode Wonder Woman's skirt changed to short-shorts, of the "hot pants" style, but her bottoms retained the blue background with white stars. Marston attributed the change to difficulties with drawing her skirt while in action because the jumps, runs, and leaps that Wonder Woman needed to perform, for each of her rescues, would have caused the skirt to continually be over her head. The skirt over her head would have most

certainly been a faux pas for her gender—classic beauty and dignity required her always be covered (in the appropriate areas) and dressed in stylish manners.

Lastly, Wonder Woman's appearance is completed with accessories, a stylish hair-do, and carefully manicured make-up. On her head she wears a golden tiara, with a red star in the center, her ears sport small red circular earnings, and both items accentuate her hairstyle. She wears her hair in the style of the 1940s—curls at the crown of her head, slightly resting on top (in her case just above the tiara) and curls resting on or just below her shoulders. She also wears metal bracelets, firmly attached to each wrist, which the reader later learns are symbols of femininity and used as protection against bullets and other flying objects. Her appearance is then completed with her curled black eyelashes and luscious lips highlighted with just the right shade of pink lipstick.[7]

In contrast to this image of feminine strength and power Wonder Woman has another side—the image the she herself calls her "own rival." Wonder Woman only appears in her sultry red, white, and blue regalia when she is crime fighting, saving Steve Trevor from harm, or protecting US national security. Thus, when she is an "everyday woman" her persona and clothing reflect her change in attitude, mission, and atmosphere. In her capacity as a "mortal," earthbound, woman Wonder Woman becomes Diana Prince—a mousy woman, lacking substantial self-confidence and alluring looks. Diana Prince wears round, black rimmed spectacles, pins her hair in a neatly formed bun with curls framing her face,

[7] "Introducing Wonder Woman," n.p. See Figure four for Wonder Woman wearing a skirt (from DC Comics, 1941—No. 1) and figure five for her in shorts (from "The Battle for Womanhood," *Wonder Woman* 5 (DC Comic, 1943); n.p.). In the story of Wonder Woman Paradise Island was created as a refuge for the Amazon women after they had lost a battle to Hercules, been enslaved, and the Goddess Aphrodite aided them to escape from bondage. Once released, the women sailed the seas for several days, the Goddess finally guided them to the island, and once there the women had to pledge allegiance to Aphrodite and wear metal bracelets on their wrists as a reminder of their servitude and loss of power to men.

and her clothes represent a "plain Jane" style. She usually wears a drab colored skirt falling three-quarters down her calf with a white-buttoned blouse. Her heels are the fashion of the period—black with a squared toe and deemed functional. Diana is secretly lusting after Steve Trevor, whom she saved from death on Paradise Island (while still under her original identity as princess of Paradise Island), returned to the United States, then worked as his nurse, and later (and through the continuing story) as his secretary. And in the fashion of comics, and suspense novels, Steve Trevor does not know that Diana is Wonder Woman, and when she does attempt to reveal her secret identity to him he believes Diana's confession as nothing more than nonsense.[8]

Media critic Susan Douglas has noted, "Wonder Woman was an Amazon princess from an all-female island somewhere near the Bermuda Triangle; she wasn't supposed to like or need men, but then she met one and kinda lost her resolve."[9] Wonder Woman embodies contradictions of female imagery, and her own story line, but once she is placed within the context of 1940s culture her contradictions represent the larger framework of the period. As the previous chapter discussed, a woman's body, particularly her breasts, symbolize power and erotic invitation. Her being is meant for the male gaze, but exposed

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[8] "Introducing Wonder Woman," n.p. and "The Return of Diana Prince," *Wonder Woman* 9 (DC Comics, September 1942): n.p. Wonder Woman's original name, the title she would have had before earning the title of *Wonder Woman* on Paradise Island is never revealed, and she takes on the name of Diana Prince when she delivers Steve Trevor the hospital. After she deposits Steve at the hospital she returns to visit him, discovers a nurse who looks like her without glasses on, and offers to buy her name and identity. Wonder Woman claims to also be a nurse. The real Diana agrees because her fiancé is leaving for South America and she needs the money to accompany him. Wonder Woman and Diana only meet again on one other occasion, in "The Return of Diana Prince," and on the last page of the issue the two women decide that Wonder Woman will continue to be Diana Prince and the real Diana Prince will be known as Diana White—her husband's name. The taking of her husband's name, for the original Diana, provides another poignant example of a gendered society—i.e. men were not (nor are they in the current era) expected to change their names upon marriage.

[9] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, p. 217. See footnote eight for the significance of Wonder Woman's bracelets and Amazon heritage.

skin denotes invitation and seduction.[10] Yet, power and invitation are received by men who engage with the female figure; instead of the female receiving power and recognition through her actions and desires. Warner provides a provocative study on gendered implications of female iconography by examining the Statue of Liberty. Warner asserts that Liberty does not represent freedom. Rather, she "is caught by differences between the ideal and the general, the fantasy figure and the collective prototype." These perceptions and portrayals of gendered language and iconography then hold throughout social semantics.[11] Accordingly, Wonder Woman, and as will be later discussed "Rosie," both relate to the gendered notions of the Statue of Liberty because their clothing appeals to their need, desire, and constrictions in relation to men, and they did not perform their tasks for their own enjoyment. Rather, they served the nation through protection (Wonder Woman) and service ("Rosie" entering the workforce). Furthermore, they continue the Columbia tradition of providing national strength and comfort with her homebound duties—the moral guide for the family, the beacon of beauty and comfort for men to long for while at war, and a center of strength and prosperity.[12]

Wonder Woman also provides a paradox relating to patriotic women and gendered spheres. Novelist and comic book historian Les Daniels remarks that Marston "was convinced that as political and economic equality became a reality, women could and would use sexual enslavement to achieve domination over men, who would happily submit to their

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[10]Warner, "The Slipped Chiton," in *Feminism and the Body*, pp. 265-6, and 272.

[11] Warner, "The Slipped Chiton," p. 267. Additionally, Waldstreicher's *In the Midst of Perpetual Fetes* shows the festive innovations through which Americans of the early Republic practiced a divisive political life while creating a unified nationalism.

[12] For an extended discussion of Columbia see the prelude to this study.

loving authority." Wonder Woman represents the manifestations of Marston's utopian beliefs, but she also mirrors fears that women would leave the home and their established gendered spheres. Marston's utopian beliefs also derive from his marriage to Elizabeth Holloway. She studied law at Boston University because Harvard University would not allow her take classes with men—where Marston was studying law. She flippantly called the university's policy as "law for the ladies." Both Marstons were admitted to the bar in 1918 but rarely practiced. She later earned her Masters of Arts degree in psychology while her husband earned his doctoral degree.[13] Marston's liberal and well educated wife ads to the mystery surrounding the legacy and creation of Wonder Woman because his true intentions for the comic book heroine are unknown.

Daniels further remarks that feminists of the current era may have somewhat misinterpreted the situation by suggesting that Wonder Woman was "intended exclusively as a role model who would encourage self-confidence in young girls."[14] While she did show bravado and strength to young girls, she also represented the fears and aspirations of the nation. As earlier mentioned Susan Douglas notes that Wonder Woman lost her resolve when she met a man, but her wavering determination directly correlates to the conflicting gendered messages of the era.[15] Propaganda continually urged women to join their country in arms, via the home front, while also reminding them that their "true" place remained in

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[13] Daniels, W*onder Woman*, p. 12. When Marston was admitted to the bar he was serving the US Army's Psychological Division for the war effort. His once frequently remarked that he managed to pass the exam without going to classes. Mrs. Marston earned her Bachelor's of Arts degree from Mount Holyoke College where she was offered a position in the psychology department. She turned down the offer because she intended to marry Marston.

[14] Daniels, W*onder Woman*, p. 33.

[15] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, p. 217.

the home with children and family—centered on the husband. But Wonder Woman did expose young boys to early strains of feminism.

Throughout her publications she has consistently rejected violence, and her villains are never killed—even though lots of ropes and chains are used in their capture. The first villain arrives in the February 1942 book as Dr. Poison, and in true feminist discourse when Dr. Poison's mask is removed the doctor becomes a woman—the Japanese Princess Maru. Furthermore, men are often portrayed as "too feeble to be worthy" of Wonder Woman's time, but the peculiar dichotomy of the text remains in the fact that Steve Trevor continually gets her out of entrapment. Once again, Wonder Woman represents the schisms within society concerning social mobility and actions concerning women. Wonder Woman's sidekicks and regular villain, Baroness Paula von Gunther, also provide excellent examples of the unclear intent of the comic books. Her sidekicks, the Holliday Girls, first appear in Sensation Comics #2 with Etta Candy as their leader.   The Holliday Girls, a group of four co-eds from the *all* girls Holliday College, also wear red, white, and blue outfits. But, they are often portrayed as playful, giggly girls—with Etta being addicted to candy, hence her name. But they reinforced societal notions of cooperation and unity because they continually put their own needs aside to aid Wonder Woman. As for the Baroness, she represented cooperation and education instead of submission. She continually battles

Wonder Woman, is sent to Transformation Island, escapes, and eventually turns toward the "side of good" to become an aid and confidant of Wonder Woman.[16]

These perplexities in Wonder Woman directly correlate to advertisements for beauty aids and the war work campaign. In the same way that the Holliday Girls sacrificed their time for Wonder Woman's aide, women of the United States gave themselves and sacrificed for the betterment of the nation.[17] Comparing iconography to Joan Landes' contentions that the power of female iconography promotes nationalism and creates national identity by reinforcing male homosocial attractions reinforces the notions presented in Wonder Woman.[18] Her study of female representations in eighteenth century France aptly correlates to national discourse and the female body. While women, in the First and Second World Wars, were ideally represented as mothers and nurturers, depictions of females with excessively modern clothing, perfumes, and accessories, or those who refused to nurse their infants came to symbolize the vices of society. Conversely, seductive images of the woman's breast invited men to fight for their state and country. Men's protection of their country also symbolized their defense of the mother, her breast as nurturer to the young, and the mother as a woman of enticing sexual desire. Accordingly, men and women disciplined

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[16] Daniels, W*onder Woman*, pp. 36-37 and 64; and "No Title," *Wonder Woman [Sensation Comics]* 2(DC Comics, February 1942): n.p. Transformation Island was a failed attempt to convert spies and other undesirables because its only detainee—the Baroness—escaped. But the message of education and cooperation remained as she later aided Wonder Woman. Additionally, on a side note, it can be ascertained that the Baroness represents several European countries that the United States treated as friends during the war because previously the nation had been skeptical, if not outright hostile, toward them.

[17] Norman Bryson, "Image, Discourse, Power," in *Visions and Painting: The Logic of the Gaze* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1983): p. 134 and 152.

[18] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, p. 139.

their bodies in solidarity for *La Patrie* (the fatherland), and the domesticated woman provided men with an image of longing for their home and country.[19]

These images provoking patriotism were responsive to broader forces and also reflect a larger element of the nation's popular cultures at play in these specific national contexts. Landes' discussion places images of the female breast within the context of a social and political revolution, and her conceptions of female iconography can easily be connected with images of US women during World War II. These women faced contradictions with perceptions of acceptable behavior, faced stigma when they left their children with day care centers, baby-sitters, family members, and sometimes with their other children to work, and women perceived as strong and assertive were often victimized in "witch-hunts." In contrast to the twentieth century patriotic woman, the nineteenth century version of liberty illustrates the female who enjoyed and suffered the special stigma of serving her nation. In these images women's breasts are often revealed in alluring manners, sometimes men are seen fawning over the female, and in other instances she is portrayed as a "guide light" type protector—symbolically guiding her men to freedom. These images, representing a goddess, continually placed women as objects of desire.

Working Gals and Balancing the Home

Similar to representations in World War I with women as caregivers to family moral and health systems, beacons of light for fighting troops, and maintainers of love and affections for men abroad images of the second World War continued the traditions of

[19] Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, pp. 156-63.

elegant and faithful women steering the nation toward freedom and prosperity. Yet, mores would no longer allow women to be depicted as goddesses. They evolved to become more prominent saviors for the home front and family. While "gender remained a continued stylization of the body" and codes deemed that sex derived from the man, male forces still constructed accepted imagery for the nation.[20] Accordingly, male forces maintained their levels of social dominance, but the evolving "new woman" would not allow them to ignore her increased and changing presence. Her image moved away from flowing gowns to short skirts and that of the temporary worker.

Statistics show that less than five million of the nineteen million female war workers had previous employment, which is often attributed to the economic depression of the 1930s and the discouragement of female employees.[21] Alice Kessler-Harris has noted that a general consensus formed that women worked for supplemental income—not for themselves or out of a desire to compete with men. Postwar statistics reinforce this conception because only one-third of men and two-fifths of women said that females should keep their war jobs. More importantly, a woman's employment emasculated men because they perceived a newfound competition with females for the same job.[22] Accordingly, in this cultural mindset of complacent and non-working women, Wonder Woman never used her powers for her own promotion. Rather, she always had an altruistic end—"to save the man she secretly

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[20] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 21, 37, and 43.

[21] Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, pp. 276-7. From 1940 to 1945 only three percent, or 400,000 of the female employees, can be attributed to normal economic growth. Thus, women employees of the World War II era do represent a substantial increase in the field, and for two years after the war only nineteen percent of women left the workforce. The nineteen percent who left employment represent a smaller percentage than the women who entered the workforce from 1940 to 1945.

[22] Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, p. 296.

cared for (a desire she couldn't admit to) and to save her country."[23] Hence, Wonder Woman and "Rosie" still fit the guise of femininity because their actions were for the betterment of the nation and not self-centered.

Another aspect reinforcing conceptions that women were only temporary hires derives from societal notions about the family and masculinity rites. One in five families contributed one or more family members to the military.[24] Accordingly, this heightened absence of fathers caused many US families to relocate—whether that was to or nearby a military installation, to live with relatives, or near an industrial center, the effects of migration were great. Approximately one-fifth of the population moved during the war, marriages and births rates increased and Americans spoke of "war brides" and "Bureau-Drawer-Crib Babies," housing shortages, and an increase in illegal workers threatened an already tense situation.[25] But, the American family has not always been intact and "stable." During the depression years many fathers left their families—for economic and personal reasons—and the ideal of the Victorian family as loving and happy has not always held true. Often times families stayed together for social reasons, and the years of World War II forced many families to separate and live in manners that were already familiar in society. Yet,

[23] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, p. 218.

[24] William Tuttle, Jr., "*Daddy's Gone to War": The Second World War in the Lives of America's Children* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993): p. 31. A total of 18.1% of families had family members in the armed forces.

[25] Tuttle, "*Daddy's Gone to War,*" pp. 19-24, 27, 51-3, 59-60, and 63-4 and Barbara M. Tucker, "Agricultural Workers in World War II: The Reserve Army of Children, Black Americans, and Jamaicans," in *Agricultural History* 68(winter 1994): 54, 56, 62. The war saw the largest mass movement of Americans—25,000,000 permanently relocated from their original residence by war's end, and thirteen million changed counties within the same state with twelve million changing states.

society had yet to recognize these facts, and societal constraints further pressured individuals to act as part of the norm or, in the terms of the day, those individuals would not be patriotic.

From 1941 to 1945 the country saw a substantial increase in newborns, and war marriages greatly increased the marriage rate from the previous decade. Throughout the 1930s many young Americans had set aside their dreams of families for the promise of better economic times, and with the outbreak of war and a rising economy, external factors encouraged men and women to marry and start families. In 1941 the nation witnessed the largest number of marriages in its history (1,696,000), and 1942 surpassed the previous year's record (1,772,000 new marriages). Desires for marriage derived from many avenues. Many women felt that it was better to be a widow than an old maid. Also, veteran's and death benefits provided an opportunity for economic stability. Metropolitan Life Company reinforced the stigma with its prediction that between six and eight million women would live their lives without husbands. Statements like these caused some individuals to marry for the sake of marrying. Hence, some women felt the need to get married, and some men also felt drawn to marriage because the prospect of leaving for war and possibly dying frightened them. More so, a wife with a child left tangible evidence of his existence. Another factor that increased the marriage rate involved the draft. Initially men could avoid military service through marriage and children. The unprecedented increase in war marriages prompted the Selective Service to revise the draft to remove marriage and children deferrals.[26]

[26] Tuttle, "*Daddy's Gone to War,*" pp. 17-9, 20-2, and 23. Marriage rates also increased with the First World War, but the direct attack on US soil, backlash from economic turmoil in the 1930s, and personal desire intensified emotions. Many felt that they had been emotionally low for too long, and that putting off marriage and children any longer would be detrimental to ever having a family.

Advertisers, the Office of War Information, and various media venues instructed women of the 1940s to be resourceful, compassionate, and serve their country. Accordingly, these women entered the work force, joined women's units of the military, saved meat fats for the manufacture of ammunitions, and performed numerous other tasks in the name of the war effort. Most importantly, women engaged in activities normally considered outside the bounds of femininity, and frequently women participated in social functions that would have been formerly outside their class or economic situations.

Even though many images encouraged women to enter the workforce, media attacks on working mothers also caused a great deal of heartache and discontent with the female labor force. Critics, ignoring statistics that said that women generally earned sixty-five percent of a man's wages, claimed that working mothers were indulging in their own desires. They furthered their arguments against female labor by remarking that children lacked parental guidance, which would lead to a culture of declining social development. The wartime migrations and housing shortages, which also existed pre-war, caused many women to leave their children with relatives or make them "latch-key kids." Child psychologists frequently stated that a mother's "neglect" of her children in favor of war work led to resentment and failed maternal bonds heightened emotions over the issue.[27] The family and the mother rely upon male control, and once the male is removed the family becomes unstable because social notions are not representative of reality. These notions of the family being "a single genesis narrative for national history while, at the same time, the family as an *institution* became void of history and excluded from national power." The

[27] Tuttle, *"Daddy's Gone to War,"* pp. 69, 71; and Landes, *Visualizing the Nation*, pp. 156-167. Landes notes that French women faced the same social stigmas in Revolutionary France.

woman and her children become objects for social discourse on the health and stability of the nation, and they are "the *organizing figure* for national history and its *antithesis*."[28]

Advertising the War

Images mirroring those of Wonder Woman can be seen in a variety of advertisements. Wonder Woman, like Rosie the Riveter discussed later in this chapter, worked for the war effort. Wonder Woman's mortal personality of Diana Prince was a secretary. Marston never explained if Diana worked before the war, but since the comic book is published shortly before the attack on Pearl Harbor a reader could easily connect Diana Prince's employment to wartime service because US society had already begun producing for the war. Advertisements and propaganda posters from the 1940s also aptly reflect notions concerning gender and the equality between the sexes. Samplings of such advertisements clearly demonstrate a desire to perpetually educate the woman on her need for self-sacrifice, national service, and continual support for her man (or man that has not been found yet). Ad headlines like "And I'm No Part-Time Wife!" leave the reader/viewer with clear connotations about the sentiment behind the ad. This ad for Nabisco Shredded Wheat showed a smiling woman's face, clearly dressed in US uniform regalia, tells the reader that she can work and keep a healthy family.[29] Other ads further illustrate these societal sentiments with their message celebrating the female worker and encouraging young women and young/new brides to be "Uncle Sam's Girls."

Thousands of women joined their comrades in stepping outside of their traditional gendered spheres during World War II in an effort to earn a living, support their country,

[28] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 357.

[29] "And I'm No Part-Time Wife!," Nabisco, National Biscuit Company, *Good Housekeeping*, July 1946: p. 74.

find a love, or for a variety of other reasons. Some of these women desired to live the life of their grandmothers and mothers from the First World War, but regardless of their reasonings these women acted in starkly different manners than their female predecessors. One of the most resilient and popular propaganda posters of the era proclaimed “We Can Do It!” and advertisers and copy editors continually formed their publications around the war effort. One such display of patriotic advertising, and infiltration of the public arena, was July 4, 1942. Magazines across the country joined in an unprecedented campaign to display American flags on their covers for Independence Day, and nearly three hundred publications took part in the patriotic measure. Paul MacNamara, a publicist for Hearst magazines, masterminded the idea because he believed the united display of patriotism would ignite buyers to spend more money on magazines and affiliated products. Additionally, half of the magazines included the words “United We Stand,” with the US flag, on their covers.[30] The magazine campaign nicely melded with the rest of US society to support and encourage a united front. Three advertisements demonstrating a continual patriotic front are “The Success School has taught me how to live for my Country!” by the Du Barry Success School, Charles of Ritz’s 1943 campaign of “. . . give her a war bond—and anything by Charles of the Ritz,” and a 1943 billboard for Yardley of London, Inc., proclaiming that the

[30] J. Howard Miller, *We Can Do It!* (Westinghouse for War Production Coordinating Committee, circa 1940), National Archives and Records Administration Still Picture Branch: Washington, D.C., digital id NWDNS-179-WP-1563; Smithsonian National Museum of History, *July 1942: United We Stand* (Behring Center, Smithsonian National Museum of History: Washington D.C., 22 March -27 October 2002); and Peter Gwillim Kreitler, *United We Stand: Flying the American Flag* (San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 2001). The Smithsonian’s exhibit consisted of 103, of the original 300, covers, and the exhibit was planned in concurrence with the sixtieth anniversary of the patriotic campaign. It was merely coincidental that the exhibit occurred so closely after the events of 11 September 2001. Additionally, the Kreitler book was published in conjunction with the exhibit. See Figure six for an image of “Rosie.”

perfume is “Charming . . . Disarming!”[31] This first advertisement instructs women on the need to be assertive and attractive, while still being feminine, in order for them to succeed and for the country to progress. The ad’s visuals depict “Mary McCloud” (the character of the script) as plump and ordinary before the entering the school, and after successful completion she is slim, trim, stylish, and alluring. The focal point of the print is that McCloud is sporting a civil defense uniform in her slim and assertive new position.

The next two ads mentioned do not pertain to encouraging women to sign up for civil defense and actively participate in their country. Instead, these ads reinforce societal notions of gender codes, sexuality, and relations between men and women. In “give her a war bond” the viewer sees a woman gracefully sitting at her dressing table, in an elegantly understated dress, cradling a phone to her ear. This simple ad tells the reader that looking and feeling good is acceptable in wartime, as long as it is countered with a patriotic act—such as purchasing war bonds. The third ad does not make an explicit connection to the war effort, but placing the language used within the context of 1943 one can clearly see another gendered connotation. “Charming . . . Disarming!” portrays an attractive young woman who gazes intently at the camera as Yardley of London toiletry products are displayed behind her. The script of the advertisement says, “Blessed with an air of unaffected young charm that melts the most stubborn defenses!” Here, the terms defenses and disarming connect the ad to the war effort, but the subtleness of language allows the reader to temporarily displace herself from the current political situation. She can fantasize about the seductiveness of

[31] See: “The Success School has taught me how to live for my Country!,” Richard Hudnut—for the Du Barry Success School, *This Week*, 1941(ad*access number BH1753); “ . . . give her a war bond—and anything Charles of the Ritz,” Charles of Ritz, *New Yorker*, 1943 (ad*access number BH1600); and “Charming . . . Disarming!,” Yardley of London, Inc., *Woman’s Home Companion*, 1943 (ad*access number BH1990).

wearing the perfume, later purchase the perfume (or a similar product), and her purchase of the perfume and wearing it benefits both herself and the war effort. She is keeping herself beautiful and womanly for the men of her country, and she has made herself feel better with the purchase.

These images of "Charming . . . Disarming" and "buy her a war bond" position themselves nicely with the images of World War I. The home front culture, only a generation apart, continued to reinforce gender codes while demonstrating technological advances of society. The images of the Great War (see figures one, two, and three) depict women in flowing gowns, in "angelic" poses, and resemble earlier images of *Columbia*. But, the Roaring Twenties and the Great Depression had begun to skew mindsets regarding gender lines—not to forget that World War II women had the legal right to vote. The 1920s saw women bobbing their hair, wearing flapper dresses, and conversing in speakeasies and clubs. The use of cosmetics became mainstream as the development of newer products, chain stores, and advertising made the products more socially acceptable.[32] Advertisements reinforced notions of femininity by telling women that they needed to always look their best for their husbands, and companies (along with advertising firms) aggressively designed market programs to target specific regions, age groups, and products. Celebrity endorsements encouraged many buyers to purchase items that they normally would have scorned and many ads honed in on patriotic impulses.

A 1944 Listerine advertisement declares "Put it there, Sister!" The ad pictures a young solider outstretching his hand with a hint of a smile on his face. The text of the ad

[32] See Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1998) for a discussion and analysis the use of cosmetics and their evolving (and significant) role in US consumer culture.

applauds, encourages, and employs women to work in factories and other non-traditional jobs because the nation desperately needed their service. The "punch line" of the piece states "The more women at war the sooner we'll win." In contrast to asking women to join the labor force, *Good Housekeeping* ran a series of fashion pieces instructing the reader on how to make war fashions that would "withstand the test of time," appeal to the male sex, and be sensible in most situations. A 1944 piece called itself "The Army Life for Me," and it told the reader about Mrs. John English whose husband was a lieutenant in the US Army. The thrust of the piece provides the reader with information on sewing their own versatile clothing—outfits that will be durable and suit any occasion. Most poignantly, Mrs. English's predicament—being married for ten months and not having a home of her own—signifies the dilemma of many wartime readers. Women dreamed of weddings, husbands, and homes, but the war effort caused them to temporarily change their expectations for stability to frequent moving and often doing without until national peace and harmony arrived.[33]

In January 1942, shortly after US entry into the war, a fashion piece entitled "Uncle Sam's Girls" graced the pages of *Good Housekeeping*. The magazine chose to showcase young brides and female workers associated with the Office of Price Administration (OPA), Civil Aeronautics Authority (CAA), Office of Production Management (OPM), the Army, the Maritime Commission, the Navy, and various other wartime offices. In each of these

[33] "Put it there, Sister!," Listerine, *Good Housekeeping*, June 1944: p. 3; and "The Army Life for Me," *Good Housekeeping*, March 1944: pp. 50-1.

accounts the young women were young, fresh, and pretty, but most of all they were doing their patriotic duty by working for the war effort and still looking feminine.[34]

Other advertisements that honed in on a woman's "need" to beautify her for a man were bountiful and unabashed in their use of emotion. Ads for Pond's Cold Cream pictured a young girl, in uniform answering phones and serving coffee and donuts in a Navy canteen, who (as the ad proclaimed) was engaged, serving her country through her civilian service with the Navy, and beautiful because she kept up her good looks. To make this tale more compelling, the lower left corner of the ad proclaimed that Jacquelline Proctor (that ad's model) was a real person—from Boston, Massachusetts, engaged to Guy de Brun (of New York and in the US Army at Camp Barkeley), and she was a descendant of James Otis who signed the Declaration of Independence. Procter represented an ideal patriotic woman because of her engagement, job, and family heritage. Jergens Lotion told readers that for "soft, adorable hands" to use Jergens faithfully. Of course, in the context of this ad, the female narrator used the lotion "faithfully, thinking of you"—i.e. her beau returning from military service. Woodbury Facial Soap went so far as to name one of their campaigns "Contact," and it pictured a man and a woman in a deep embrace with the man clearly resembling a sailor. The sweeping lines of the illustration, and deep embrace of the reunited lovers, are then captured in the brief romance laced text of the piece. Woodbury soaps would "guard the skin he loves" and keep a woman's face soft and supple.[35] Each of these

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[34] Martha Stout. "Uncle Sam's Girls," *Good Housekeeping*, January 1942: pp. 44-56.

[35] "She's Engaged! She's Lovely! She uses Pond's!," Pond's Cold Cream, *Good Housekeeping*, June 1943: p. 65; "You were coming home, dear," Jergens Lotion, *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1944: p. 43; and "Contact," Woodbury Facial Soap, *Ladies Home Journal*, February 1945: p. 91.

ads served the same purpose . . . to promote a product, inform the reader, reinforce accepted gender codes, and capitalize on elements of patriotism.

These images of beautiful, dutiful, and patriotic females became more poignant when placed alongside advertisements proclaiming "There's a war job in my kitchen," "Who said this is a man's war?" "Wanted: Housekeepers to help the Army and Navy," and "Mother keep house clean the way Uncle Sam does."[36] These titles pulled upon the emotions of the female to provide care for her family through cleanliness and well prepared meals, but the patriotic consumption campaign did not end here. Women were further told that mundane tasks like sewing a button onto a shirt, when gripper fasteners could not be found, served a patriotic purpose through their mending of torn clothes instead of purchasing new ones.[37] Purchasing news clothes, after all, would lead to waste. Lastly, the patriotic female could guide her family, and self, toward a patriotic life through her work and consumption habits, but to fully solidify her role within the national psyche she had to look her best. Looking her best derived from appearance, fashion (as attested in the fashion ads already discussed), and as Tangee Lipsticks proclaimed that lipstick symbolized one of the reasons the US was fighting in the war. "No lipstick—ours or anyone else's—will win the war," the ad declared. "But [lipstick] symbolizes one the reason why we are fighting . . . the precious

[36] "There's a war job in my kitchen," Nabsico, National Biscuit Company, *Good Housekeeping*, September 1942: p. 101; "Who said this is a man's war?," General Electric, *Good Housekeeping*, October 1942:p. 82; "Wanted: Housekeepers to help the Army and Navy," Pepperell Fabrics, *Ladies Home Journal*, August 1943:p. 66; and "Mother keep house clean the way Uncle Sam does," Lysol Disinfectant, *Good Housekeeping*, April 1942: p. 69.

[37] "It's no fun . . . but it's patriotic!," Gripper Fasteners, Scovill Manufacturing Company, *Good Housekeeping*, March 1942:p. 175.

right of women to be feminine and lovely—under any circumstances."[38] Hence, every element of a woman's actions and appearance needed to be constructed in for the image of female purity. In this instance, patriotism helped reinforce constructions of the female.

Editorials like "Let's Get Started" address these conflicting issues of social norms, sacrificing for the war effort, maintaining standard gender roles, and entertaining ones personal desires. This piece encourages women to "make [their] homes so cheerful and pretty that not only [their] own families but the chance passerby will draw courage from the sight of them." Furthermore, women should be independent in decorating their homes to what they deem beautiful, while not wasting because of the war effort, and these actions will help inspire (and show) "the free spirit of [their] country."[39] Other pieces also connected this sense of personal freedom and expression, while still adhering to the causes of the war effort, by connecting women to the war through personal stories and elements of personal appearance and etiquette. An advertisement for Etiquet Deodorant asked "Is it Etiquet to wear his insignia?" as it told women to wear their beau's insignia as a sign of respect and affection for him and the nation. But, a woman should show restraint and not clutter her clothing with them.[40] This ad provides the same message, and purpose, as the earlier mentioned Jergens Lotion, Pond's Cold Cream, Woodbury Facial Soap, and many others. They all tell a woman to look beautiful and alluring for men in uniform, and by default the nation. After all, the social presence of a woman will, in theory, encourage a man to aptly

[38] "War, Women, and Lipstick," Tangee Lipsticks, *Ladies Home Journal*, August 1943:p. 73; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 190 and 196.

[39] Dorothy Draper, "Let's Get Started," *Good Housekeeping*, January 1942:p. 105.

[40] "Is it Etiquet to wear his insignia?," Etiquet Antiseptic Deodorant Crème, *Good Housekeeping*, February 1945: p. 130.

defend his nation and home for the honor of a woman waiting for him. Yet, these ads also perform another pertinent function for World War II culture. They tell her that she can temporarily break social norms to work. She can gleefully work for the war effort, and with the help of products like Woodbury's face soap, Etiquet's Deodorant, Tangee lipstick, and Yardley's of London perfume she can retain her beauty.

"Rosie," the Mother, and the "Real" Woman

The image of 'Rosie" began in 1942 as a propaganda poster by J. Howard Miller for Westinghouse Corporation, and in 1943 the colloquial name of "Rosie" became associated with her because of the song "Rosie the Riveter" by The Four Vagabonds became a national hit.[41] Norman Rockwell also did a cover resembling a "Rosie" type image for *The Saturday Evening Post*. The "Rosie the Riveter" campaign is often noted to have been the most successful of World War II, and the popular press reinforced this notion. For instance, in December 1999, "Rosie" was nominated for woman of the century. Paula Watson, the author of the editorial on "Rosie" stated that, "Rosie's legacy is one of courage and grace." Also, she symbolized a woman's ability and willingness to do her part.[42] The symbolic effect of "Rosie" to encourage women to "do their part" also had corrosive effects on female employment and safety measures. Women were instructed to be "soldierettes" on the home front, and propagandists pointed to European women, particularly German women, to exemplify their contentions. Media writers stated that German women worked long and arduous hours at jobs that previously extended beyond the female sphere, supported their

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[41] The Four Vagabonds, "Rosie the Riveter," *The War Years*, Intersound, Inc., CDC 1046, 1943. See Figure six for a "Rosie."

[42] Paula Watson, "All Guts for Old Glory, One Person's Choice for Woman of the Century is: Rosie the Riveter," in *The Dallas Morning News*, editorial, (29 December 1999): K4656.

country, and maintained their feminine attributes. Labor scholarship has noted that employers, and governmental labor offices, believed that women are naturally more cautiousness than men. Theories suggest that the increased female presence in factories forced men to be more careful and attentive on the job. Scholars attribute the added attention to safety on the presumption that men felt a heightened sense of competition—now that women were being actively recruited to the labor market, and especially blue-collar professions.[43]

Popular advertisements repeatedly heightened the image of the "Rosie" girl, while depicting women as feminine, alluring, and doing their part. A 1942 ad for Kotex sanitary napkins exemplifies the contention that women could and should act outside of their gender roles for the nation. The piece reprinted an ad from March 1921 saying "Nurses in France started the Kotex idea." The script states that from necessity war nurses, from World War I, developed better products for their personal hygiene needs. The "original" ad frames a female nurse, and the lower right corner of the "new" ad highlights a young girl from the 1940s. Her dress, resembling a military uniform, reinforces the notion that women needed to be "soldierettes" on the home front, and the woman is seated upon a motorbike. Clearly, the "soldierette" woman works and supports her nation through her daily work, and by discreetly and securely taking care of her personal hygiene she is supporting the war effort by not having to leave work to care for herself.[44]

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[43] Allison L. Hepler, "*And We Want Steel Toes Like the Men*: Gender and Occupational Health During World War II," in *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 72(1998): p. 693, 696-7; and Lucia Anderson, "Rosie the Riveter: Rear-Guard Support That Shattered the Male-Only Mindset," in *American Legion Auxiliary National News* LXXXVII: 1 (JAN/FEB 2007): 8-10, 12, and 14.

[44] Kotex Company, "Today's Kotex," *Ladies Home Journal*, 1942 (Ad number BH0281—Ad*Access).

The image of "Rosie" reflects the working women of World War II. "Rosie" clad in red, white, and blue, tells women that "[They] can do it." Even though Rosie asked women to join the ranks of paid laborers, she still represented femininity. She has a finely chiseled face, manicured eyebrows, large alluring eyes, a slight coloration of her checks, and luscious lips. On her head, Rosie wears a red and white polka dot kerchief giving the image that she is protecting her stylish hair-do underneath the cloth, from which a stylish curl hangs out, and her blue shirt is fitting and flattering to her slim torso. The rest of her figure is left to the viewer's imagination, but the image portrayed clearly shows a woman "looking the part" because she is still attractive. Centering the image is "Rosie's" look of determination. This look reinforces her dedication and desire to serve her nation, sacrifice her time for its needs, and be a patriotic woman. Lastly, while flexing her arm the viewer does not see large muscles on her biceps. Accordingly, while Rosie says that women can work and they have the strength to do a job she is also saying that women will not lose their feminine attributes in the workplace.[45] Advertisements like the 1942 Kotex ploy for working women and "Mother, when will you stay home again?" reinforce the notion of "Rosie." Advertisers, the OWI and other governmental offices aligned to create images encouraged men and women to be proud of themselves and their efforts.

Advertisements about the working mother, and the stigmas associated with her, helped perpetuate contradictions in serving for the war effort and staying home with the family. The advertisement "Mother, when will you stay home again?" exemplifies the triumphs and pitfalls surrounding a working mother. Here, a woman clad in overalls and a

[45] See Figure six for "Rosie."

short-sleeved collared shirt (resembling a man's) stands with her leg resting on the cross bar of her bicycle as her daughter (who is dressed like the mother) asks her why she is working. Lastly, both figures are wearing stripped kerchiefs on their heads, and the woman has curls protruding from her head wrap—an image clearly resembling the "Rosie the Riveter" poster of the era. The mother informs the daughter that she needs to be patient because she will only be gone for the duration of the war—most importantly, her employment will help bring a victory for the United States and Allied powers.[46] This advertisement contains a multi-fold message—one that women *can and should* work, and that a working mother will instill pride and confidence in her daughter, as seen through the daughter dressing like her mother. But the darker message says a mother's employment will cause her children to long for her, and little ones will not fully comprehend her absence. These women needed to instruct their children on the national necessity of female employment, and they had to clarify to their children, themselves, and their employers that they would only be working during the war.

Images and words are then needed to reassure men of the stability of gender codes, and they are utilized to remind women of their expected "place" in the social sphere. An example of an advertisement that reinforces the notion of "Rosie," and the female duties of family and domesticity, can be seen with the previously discussed advertisement of "Mother, when will you stay home again?" Here, the woman clad in overalls and a kerchief assertively poses herself next to her bicycle as she reassures her daughter that she will only temporarily be removed from the familial home. While an initial viewing of the advertisement might make the viewer see an image of familial destruction, the script

[46] "Mother, when will you stay home again?," Adel Manufacturing Company, *Saturday Evening Post*, 6 May 1944: p. 99.

reinforces the notion that women are needed for the growth and protection of the nation, families will stay intact through love and sacrifice, and patience will bring victories for the Allies and the United States. Even though this advertisement depicts a strong and forceful image for women to follow, it still contradicts societal gender codes.

In comparison to the actions and constructions of US women during the war, European nations formulated their women in similar fashions. In Nazi Germany women were instructed, encouraged, and ordered to apply themselves to the war effort. "The Nazi ideal of the 'total state' was a crucial element in the attainment of that community," remarks Jackson J. Spielvogel. "This required not only that political and economic life be coordinated but that every facet of cultural and social life be controlled and used to inculcate Nazi ideological beliefs."[47] In Nazi Germany one function of this ideology meant that women were "reproductive and imitative" of men. They should not work. Rather, women who stayed at home promoted national triumph through their nurturing care as mothers and caretakers of their families. The "Nazi cult of motherhood" surpassed the marital bond because women gave birth to Nazi babies, who would mature to further the goals of the Nazi regime and racial purity. A fallen soldier's immortality was achieved through his children and the wife's devotion to those children. To encourage procreation the regime created the Mother's Cross in 1938. Mothers with four children received a bronze cross, six children a silver cross, and eight or more earned a gold cross. The crosses were awarded annually on August 12, Adolf Hitler's mother's birthday. The crosses were advertised as the highest

[47] Jackson J. Spielvogel, *Hitler and Nazi Germany: A History*, second edition (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1992, 1998): p. 154.

honor in the nation, and the inscription reinforced the notion that motherhood superseded all other female ventures. The crosses said "The child ennobles the mother."[48]

US mothers did not receive "Mother's Crosses," have their jobs taken away, or face their removal from the public sphere. Nevertheless, they did face honor and condemnation in similar manners that German women did.[49] The encouragement of the mother and housewife to enter the workforce reshaped popular culture's perception of the female. During the first World War the working female generally was no different that her pre-war predecessors. Many women changed jobs during the war, but as mentioned the mobilization of the middle class woman and mother did not occur. But, World War II proved to be a much longer military engagement, and the mobilization of women for the workforce was deemed necessary. Accordingly, advertisements and propaganda posters encouraged women to work, but their role of wife and mother had to be continually preserved so that after the war a sense of normalcy could return to the nation. Celebrations of Mother's Day, motherhood, and femininity reminded society that the female had traditionally been a marker for defense and good service to the nation would allow her to remain protected.

Editorials and various other newspaper pieces reflect this sentiment. On January 1, 1942 *The Seattle Daily Times* ran a small article titled "Mothers Hear Sons Are Safe in Pacific War." This brief piece reprinted snippets from wartime letters of servicemen, and

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[48] Spielvogel, *Hitler and Nazi Germany*, p. 177; Elizabeth D. Heineman, "Whose Mothers?: Generational Difference, War, and the Nazi Cult of Motherhood," in *Journal of Women's History* 12(2001): 139 and 151; and Tuttle, "*Daddy's Gone to War*", pp. 27 and 79. Throughout the war the US Congress debated issues of a "baby bonus" and for providing day care and maternal leave to women. The Women's Bureau actively campaigned for these additions to labor codes, but each attempt to pass the legislature proved a failure. One reason that the "baby bonus" failed was that legislators felt it would encourage unwanted pregnancies and lead to an increase in "black market" babies.

[49] For a study on women in Nazi Germany see: Koonz, *Mothers in the Fatherland*.

the title clearly portrays the feeling that women—and mothers—needed continual reinforcement while their loved ones were not with them.[50] There were numerous other pieces like this one, in newspapers across the country, and they all instilled the same meaning. Women needed constant reminders to keep them safe and happy, and the underlying message resonates that women should be protected because they did not hold the same place as men in society.

Another piece from the *Seattle Daily Times*, this time an editorial, also reinforces the concept of gendered nationalism and the female as a fetish. In "Surely, You Know Who Won—or Aren't You Married?" the reader is informed of dilemmas in wartime aviation plants. Women had taken to wearing men's trousers, at work, and they had also begun wearing halter-tops. The core of the story derives from the women refusing to replace their halter-tops with blouses. They claimed that men continually worked without their shirts, and until the male employees wore sleeved shirts they would not reform their dress. The men claimed that they had long established the practice of working topless—in defense from the heat—and they adamantly stated that "no woman" would change their establishment. The author concluded the piece with the following statement: "You know who won, don't you, or aren't you married?"[51]

These stories of workers during World War II show a constructed sense of national pride from female wartime service, but women like Merch Kazmierczak and Josephine Rachile show that women really did find honor and pride in their work. Merch

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[50] "Mothers Hear Sons Are Safe in Pacific War," in *The Seattle Daily Times* (1 January 1942): p. 8.

[51] McLemore, Henry, "Surely, You Know Who Won—Or Aren't You Married?," editorial, in *The Seattle Daily Times* (3 February 1942): p. 6.

Kazmierczak, seen in image plate seven, poses proudly for the camera in her USO (United Service Organizations) uniform.[52] In photo eleven she is standing with other female relatives, who are clad in the fashion of the era, but Merch's outfit and stance set her apart. She confidently placed her hand upon her hip, wrapped her arm around "Steffie", and smiled for the camera. The war enabled Merch, a child of Polish immigrants, to interact with men that were not of her ethnic background. A family story states that Merch fell deeply in love with a soldier at one of the USO dances, and he also deeply loved her, but her parents refused to let her marry him on account of his not being Polish. Merch may have not married the man that she loved, but her memories of the war years were still flavored with adoration and respect for herself and the service that she performed.[53]

Throughout her life she would fondly recall her days as a "Rosie girl" and her voice got soft and whispered while her eyes twinkled with delight and remembrance. Merch's left eye was slightly damaged from an accident in the steel mill that she worked in during the war, but the injury did not quell her passion and desire to make sure that her family and friends understood her service to her country and family. Image ten shows her in overalls with a bandanna on her head—clearly resembling the working woman portrayed in popular advertisements and governmental propaganda. Merch later married and stayed at home, but

[52] Maria Victoria Kazmierczak Babic, Personal Conversations with the author. 1998-2000. Hammond, IN and Jarratt, VA. Maria Victoria Kazmierczak married Andrew Babic on 4 March 1946. With the birth of their first child, Andrew James Babic in August 1949, the couple used the last name of Babic, but Andrew Babic later used the name of Babicz. During the late 1950s Babicz reverted to a more traditional Polish spelling of his last name, even though the original Polish spelling would have been Babycz. Accordingly, when he is referred to it will be as Andrew Babicz and his son will be Andrew J. Babic. In this chapter, Merch will be referred to by her maiden name because she was not yet married. Merch is a Polish derivative for Maria or Mary.

[53] Maria Victoria Kazmierczak Babic, Personal Conversations with the author. 1998-2000. Hammond, IN and Jarratt, VA. The man Merch met at one of the USO dances was Theodore Williams. The young couple can be seen in Figure eight and Figure nine is another picture of Merch in her USO outfit.

her wartime actions represent a substantial amount of US women. The photos and stories that she left behind also embrace an era embellished with nostalgia, confidence, and strength, and she was most proud of her "Rosie" days.[54]

Josephine Rachiele provided a similar account of her "Rosie" days when she was interviewed in December 2004. Rachiele said that her wartime work gave her a sense of satisfaction, service to her nation, and friendship (with fellow workers).[55] Other accounts of female war workers generally follow this same train of thought. Dellie Hahne, of North Hollywood, California, remarked that war "suddenly caused women to be needed" outside the home. "Suddenly, single women were of tremendous importance. It was hammered at us through the newspapers and magazines and on the radio. We were needed to at USO, to dance with soldiers." In her recollection women were also needed on the home front because of social beliefs that women still needed to be dependent upon men. Yet, Hahne's account is not solely lighthearted and gleeful. She also asserts that women often felt a great pressure to marry a soldier because they were expected to get married anyway. Marrying a solider would merely solidify their role within the established social framework, and the construction of a family would soon follow. Other women like Peggy Terry knew vaguely of the war when they went to work in plants. Terry admits that she did not really know what the war meant because she was isolated in Paducah, Kentucky, worked in Viola, Kentucky, and her family was without a radio. She states that "when you are involved in staying alive,

[54] Maria Victoria Kazmierczak Babic, Personal Conversations with the author. 1998-2000. Hammond, IN and Jarratt, VA.

[55] See Arnold Abrams, "Not All Memories Are Bad," in *Newsday* (7 December 2004): p. A08 for a lifestyles articles celebrating Josephine Rachiele's wartime service at Republic Aviation in Farmingdale, New York.

you don't think about big things like war. It didn't occur to us that we were making these shells to kill people."[56] The accounts of Terry and Hahne reinforce conceptions that women worked for a variety of reasons, and that many of these women were struggling with social expectations about women.

Finally, Sarah Killingsworth, originally from Clarksville, Tennessee, worked in the ladies restroom in a local plant in Los Angeles. She had moved to Los Angles because she was a live-in maid for a beauty contest winner, but when the girl lost her movie contract, she quickly found work elsewhere. Killingsworth knew that she needed work to support herself, but she also mentions that she was aware of the mindset that women needed to work to help win the war. In her accounts she talks about girls that married soldiers because they were guaranteed a check, some who married for love, and that many girls in factories were making the "best money of their lives." She worked in the ladies bathroom, and "helped" the girls make it through the night shift by letting them nap for fifteen minutes in the stalls.[57] Even though Killingsworth's story contrasts with some of the other wartime accounts, she does not change the story. Instead, she (and other female accounts of the era) express the chords of disharmony in advertisements, "Rosie" propaganda campaign, and the *Wonder Woman* comic books show chords of disharmony. But amidst confusion and turmoil the national image still promoted a uniform happy appeal to the public, which was partially true since these varying forms of imagery and action worked toward the national ideal of cohesion and peace.

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[56] Terkel, *"The Good War,"* pp. 116-122 and 108-113.

[57] Terkel, *"The Good War,"* pp. 113-116.

"Rosie" versus Wonder Woman

When comparing the image of "Rosie" and Wonder Woman the reader can easily see the similarities in their positions; that they are both "tough women." Wonder Woman, a superhero saving the United States from damnation and destruction, is slim and beautiful, lacking masculine muscles, and wears clothing that allow her to perform her "super human" feats in defense of the United States. "Rosie" has a body similar to Wonder Woman, and even though her clothing does not reveal large amounts of her flesh, she is still a symbol of feminine beauty. She is also wearing clothing that allows her to perform her task. Here, she is a blue-collar worker, leaving her family to enter the workforce, and sometimes she may have to perform a task that men would normally do. Wonder Woman, as savior and seductress, performed tasks that men would normally do because men are historically the protectors of women, society, and humanity. Her actions are respectable because she valiantly serves her country, and when necessary she relinquishes the reins of power to men—most prominently Steve Trevor. And while she always "saves the day" and completes her task, her reliance upon Steve or the Holiday Girls reflects camaraderie and devotion.

Contextualizing Wonder Woman and "Rosie as "tough women" challenges established social and sexual norms. The toughness that Wonder Woman and "Rosie" challenges existing conceptions of female performance demeanor because men have been taught that they should be stoic and brave heroes while women have learned to be rescued.[58] Therefore, the images of "Rosie" and Wonder Woman justifiably frighten some elements of

[58] Sherrie A Inness, *Tough Girls: Women Warriors and Wonder Women in Popular Culture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1999): pp. 7 and 12.

society. Women, removed from their constructed spheres of femininity and domesticity, become de-sexed because definitions of the body transcend social divisions. The assumption of sex comes from personal actions relating to social categories and restraints. The female remains at the subservient level while the male remains elevated and secure in his social role and masculinity.[59] Changes in technology, fashion, and even warfare frightened society. The post war era entertained a culture of "containment," but the war years saw continual struggles between these social elements.

Propagandists and advertisers needed to reverse these roles and place women within the context of helping the nation and its soldiers, but they still adhered to the established notions that a woman's primary responsibility was to bear and nurse her children. The continual reinforcement of a woman as a mother reminded the working woman that social gender norms still prevailed, and for her to remain productive and "normal" she needed to stay within her constructed category. These perpetual reinforcements of gender coding also accelerated male domains because women who deviated from the social norm were social misfits—often colloquially termed whores.[60]

The resilience of these images, singularly and collectively, can be seen through the wartime images of "everyday" women. Merch Kazmierczak provides an excellent prototype. Plates nine through twelve show some of her wartime activities. But, Merch represents more than the factory girl or classic forbidden love story. Her history reflects

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[59] Butler, *Bodies That Matter*, pp. 118 and 139; and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, p. 190.

[60] Susan M. Hartman, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982):p. 16; Maureen Honey, *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda During World War II* (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984): pp. 6-7; Warner, "The Slipped Chiton," p. 283; Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 19 and 43; and Theweleit, *Male Fantasies: Women, Floods, Bodies, History*, Volume I (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987): pp. 74-75.

essential elements of racial and ethnic identity. Her immigrant parents carefully guarded her and her sibling's relationships, and all of the Kazmierczak children married people of Polish ancestry. Additionally, in the early years of the marriages traditional gender roles were maintained. The photos show Merch happy and gleeful in USO uniform and "Rosie" gear, but in her reminisces she reflected her parent's continual warnings/commands that her war work would end with peace or marriage—whichever came first. These sentiments are also seen in the ads and comics of the era.

However, Merch's story has a significant twist. As earlier mentioned, she met and fell in love with a man at one of the USO dances. This man, a soldier and "native-born" American, also returned Merch's sentiments, but her family shunned him and their romance. Theodore Williams, also known as "Teddy" and "Boots," represented what the Kazmierczak's feared most for their daughter—that she would become an American and forget her Polish roots. This statement does not mean that Merch's parents desired to return to Poland because they did not—and both Adam and Rose carried valid US green cards. Rather, they did not want their daughter to leave her family, live a life without a husband, or forget her heritage. They did feel that her wartime work was acceptable because the nation needed it, and she was still unwed. Merch's story portrays some of the popularized notions of World War II, and her "civic actions" as a USO girl and war worker represent those of a patriotic daughter and mother.[61]

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[61] Maria Victoria Kazmierczak Babic, Personal Conversations with the author. 1998-2000. Hammond, IN and Jarratt, VA. Teddy left for the warfront, but upon his arrival back home he quickly contacted Merch. His return home was between 1945 and 1946, and Merch was still unwed. But, her parents quickly stepped in by setting up a series of dates for her. She persistently fought the prospect of marrying someone her parents picked, but she did not win. In March 1946 she married a man of her parents choosing—Andrew Babicz, the Polish son that they desired.

In contrast to the working image of women during the war, advertisers and the *Wonder Woman* comic reinforced notions of femininity and fragility in the same manner that "Rosie" and Wonder Woman encouraged active participation in the war effort. An advertisement from the War Advertising Office, "Why Shouldn't I buy It? I've got the money!" portrays a young attractive woman wearing a tasteful suit dress, adorned with a corsage, and a bonnet and scarf on her head. As with Wonder Woman and "Rosie" she is also wearing tasteful make-up, which has been applied with care and patience. In this ad, the woman is holding two packages under her arm while reaching into her wallet. She is meant to look appealing and tasteful so that the advertisers can instruct their readers on their urgent message of conservation and recycling for the war effort. The script underneath the women instructs readers that buying rationed items, black-market items, and items not necessary to daily life hinders defense of the nation because manpower is removed from war production to make the product. Additionally, the ad tells the anxious reader that excess spending will cause increased shortages on products forcing prices to rise.[62] The woman, in her subservient role, needs continual reinforcement of her "new" social role—that of worker, mother, and shopper. She could no longer shop for her own desires and those of her family.[63] This advertisement came from the War Advertising Office, but it mimics ads from civilian companies.

[62] War Advertising Office, "Why shouldn't I buy it? I've got the money!," *Life*, 1944. (Ad number W0277—Ad*Access).

[63] See Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings* for a discussion on the education of female consumers. Scanlon discusses some of the methods advertisers used to educate the consumer on her wants and desires—creating "inarticulate longings."

Looking Good, Feeling Good

Previously discussed advertisements and "Rosie" and Wonder Woman all connect issues of freedom and mobility for women, and the fashions that females wore also demonstrate this conception.[64] "Rosie" and Wonder Woman both had their outfits for work, and Wonder Woman moved from a skirt to shorts in an effort to give her added mobility. Accordingly, ads showing women at work depicted them in pants instead of skirts, but media images also told women to look feminine when at home. The perfume ads for Yardley's of London and Charles the Ritz both show well groomed women in their everyday attire. These notions were not unique to the war. They also arose in World War I when women who wore pants outside of the factory were mocked in popular media portrayals of the "aggressive" woman. This sentiment is also true for Wonder Woman.

Wonder Woman converts to commonplace Diana Prince when she is not in action. Diana wears clothing representative of "respectable women." Her clothing symbolizes her placement within the traditional female sphere. Furthermore, Diana does not perform acts of heroism when she is dressed in the "conservative" clothing. For instance, in a rare occasion when Diana attempts to assert herself she quickly explains her acts of heroism and "abnormal strength" as excitement for a moment's time. Even in this instance, Wonder Women has completely assumed the role of Diana and she refuses to confess/recognize her real strength and power.[65] She symbolizes the role of advertising and propaganda during the era.

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[64] Hartman, *The Home Front and Beyond*, p. 195.

[65] "The Girl With the Gun," *Wonder Woman* 20(DC Comics, August 1943): n.p.

The women of World War II were encouraged to keep up their good looks, and they needed to make sure that they did not lose their sex appeal. USO (United Services Organization) and pin-up girls are just some examples of women enticing the men at home and abroad. Photos nine and ten, of Merch in her USO uniform, show how women were fetishized as images of desire and country. The USO uniform is not revealing, but it smartly clings to a woman's body to accentuate her curves and figure. USO girls have maintained more positive images in popular culture, and their counterparts of prostitutes and pin-up girls have remained in popular culture with an embellished air of degradation, familiarity, and sometimes disdain.

Military personnel who pinned up posters of popular movie stars participated in a common activity of the war culture. They subconsciously merged the war ideals of moral values (freedom and equality) with defending private interests. In turn, women frequently became sexualized objects of obligation—women are the "booty of war." Robert Westbrook says that pin-up girls represented "the moral obligations of the 'protector' to the 'protected,' a relationship ethically problematic in its own right but nonetheless different from that of a man to a woman viewed simply as sexual property."[66] The rights of American men were to "claim women's bodies," and women acting as sexual objects reinforced societal notions of sex rights and gender codes. Furthermore, this fantasy of heterosexual gender rights encouraged young wartime couples to fashion themselves after the pin-up girls. Westbrook remarks that, "Though male soldiers were the principal collectors of pin-ups, the pin-up girl also addressed herself to American women, suggesting

[66] Robert B. Westbrook, "*I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James*: American Women and the Problem of Political Obligation in World War II," *American Quarterly* 42(December 1990): p. 592.

that, if men were obliged to fight for their pin-up girls, women were in turn obliged to fashion themselves into pin-up girls worth fighting for."[67]

Many women fashioned themselves after the pin-up girls, making themselves the type of girl their beau would be proud to protect. Women sometimes sent their partners pictures of themselves posed as a pin-up girl, and men reciprocated this gesture by naming their planes after their girlfriends, and pin-up girls.[68] Pin-up girls, with their curved figures, enticing poses, and dazzlingly good looks acted as a human counterpart to Wonder Woman. While they could not save the world, like Wonder Woman, they did save the home front from despair. They waited patiently for their men to return, and they looked enticing. More importantly, while many of the girls who sent their own pin-up photos to their beaus may have been "Rosie" girls, their partners could temporarily forget that their "gal" had to work while he was gone. Thus, a union of the gender and sexual spheres occurred. Men were the fierce protectors of their fragile beautiful women. Fetishes, placed on women, their sexuality, consumption, and protection are reflective of the wartime era, but transgressive manifestations did not end with images of home front girls, the white girls, or with loved ones. And while men fanaticized about their women, real or imaginary, they also feared that their girls would cheat on them or leave them.

Correspondence of soldiers reflects their general distaste for battle, and frequently they tried to conceal what their lives were like from their loved ones, but they could not conceal fears and doubts about their mates. Captain John David Hench, of the US Marines,

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[67] Westbrook, "*I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James*," p. 603.

[68] Westbrook, "*I Want a Girl, Just Like the Girl That Married Harry James*," p. 604-5. My discussion of pin-up girls relies heavily on Westbrook's article (cited here), pages 587-614.

told his wife that he enjoyed being a Marine, was proud of the uniform, and that her "midnight misadventures" hurt him deeply but he could not show it. Instead, he chose to forgive her and explain the meaning of this uniform and the sanctity that he felt in it. This conversation arose from Hench receiving a letter from his wife confessing her relations with another man.[69] In subsequent letters he urged her to move past her indiscretions, focus on their children and the family, but Barbara Hench continued to feel guilt ridden. About a year later Captain Hench's plane was shot down, and Barbara never remarried after his death. Hench's forgiving nature may be an exception to the rule, but it also reflects key elements of wartime mentality. Men and women needed each other for solace and comfort, even if it was through letters.

Letters between First Lieutenant Paul Skogsberg and war nurse Vera "Sheaf" Sheaffer exemplify the need and desire for continual support and contact, while also showing how the elements of war can both unite two people and drive them apart. These letters reflect a soldier's dying love for wife back home, and the growing love for a woman whom he can see and communicate with on the regular basis. At one point, Skogsberg attempts to cut off the correspondence between him and Sheaf, but he quickly and mournfully writes her another letter asking for forgiveness for his transgressions.[70]

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[69]Captain John David Hench to Barbara Hench, personal letter, 11 March 1943, in *War Letters: Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars*, ed. Andrew Carroll, (New York, London, et al.: Washington Square Press, 2001), pp. 215-217.

[70] First Lieutenant Paul Skogsberg to Vera "Sheaf" Sheaffer, series of personal letters, 20 June 1492; 1 January 1943; 23 February 1945; and 2 June 1945, in *War Letters: Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars*, ed. Andrew Carroll, (New York, London, et al.: Washington Square Press, 2001), pp. 210-217. Sheaf promised to marry Skogsberg on the condition that he went home first and explained things to his wife. This he did, and they were married for the rest of their lives.

While each of these letters has varying meanings, and intent, a central conclusion can still be drawn. Each man desperately needed the comfort and affection of a woman to relieve the pressures, hostilities, and horrors of war. But, more importantly, their connection to a woman elevated them and solidified them within their homosocial sphere. They had power and strength through her virtue, and their existence and fight would then be celebrated at home. While the soldier with a woman was celebrated, the soldier who lost his woman was also celebrated. Seaman Sylvan "Sol" Summers received a "Dear John" letter in March 1945. Here, his fiancé informed him that she was returning his gifts and ring to his parents and that she was dreadfully sorry that they would not be getting married. Sylvan could never dispose of the letter, even though he was heartbroken over its contents.[71] Instead, he held onto it and used it as a reminder of why he was away from home—to protect his nation from the foe. Sylvan's attachment to his fiancé's letter symbolizes the nation as female. Annette's dispensing with Sylvan acts as a conduit for his emotions and feelings of hostility. More importantly, she could become the metaphorical prostitute in his social group because she left him. She's not a traditional patriotic woman. Instead, Annette acts as the non-celebrated patriotic woman. Initially, Annette represented the war fiancé, and her letters gave Sylvan constant support and connection to home. But, when Annette ended the relationship her actions contradicted the typical image of wartime love affairs. She may have broken Sylvan's heart, but the connection she gave him to home remained strong. Thus, Sylvan held onto her letter to remind him of better times. Women like her

[71] Annette [unknown last name] to Seaman Sylvan "Sol" Summers, personal letter, 25 March 1945, in *War Letters: Extraordinary Correspondence from American Wars*, ed. Andrew Carroll, (New York, London, et al.: Washington Square Press, 2001), pp. 213-215.

were the females who provided men with humor and hostility to carry them through the fight.

Women were also victims to blame for sexual indiscretions, and social thought placed "risqué" women at the forefront of national values and morals. While men gazed at their pin-up girls, or at someone else's pin-up, they frequently acted out their sexual fantasies on near-by women. Most frequently, prostitutes, dance hall girls, and "victory girls" engaged in sexual activity with the soldiers, and the use of prophylactics was frequently ignored. Over fifty million condoms were sold or distributed to the troops during the war, but prostitution houses were increasingly busy and the girls frequently did not require men to use condoms or disinfectants between customers.[72]

Prostitutes in Honolulu, Hawaii, had a highly impersonal system of exchange. In their houses they set up a "bullring" of three rooms. In the first room a man undressed, in the second sex was exchanged, and the third room was the final dressing chamber. With this "bullring" system, and lines that took hours for the men to get through, time was money, and the prostitutes charged three dollars for three minutes. This system of sexual exchange based on commodity flow represented a crude form of human exchange. Many of the soldiers said that intercourse with a prostitute did not necessarily reflect sexual desire. Their interactions reflected their desire for human interactions on the most personal levels to

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[72] Allan M. Brandt, *No Magic Bullet: A Social History of Venereal Disease in the United States since 1880*, with a new chapter on AIDS (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985, reprinted 1987): pp. 164-7; Beth Bailey and David Farber, *The First Strange Place: The Alchemy of Race and Sex in World War II Hawaii* (New York: The Free Press, 1992): pp. 97-103.

reassure themselves of their manhood.[73] These prostitutes also represent an element of the patriotic woman. These prostitutes were patriotic because they serviced men before they left for war, and their actions gave departing soldiers a sense of comfort, love for home/country, and rallied them for their fight. More so, these prostitutes were within a quasi official capacity in Hawaii because the military protected them, fought for their rights, and convinced the girls to not raise their rates.

With Hawaii's impersonal system for sexual exchange, and the military's policy to say no but use a condom when saying no will not work, sexual relations between soldiers and civilians (and sometimes enlisted women) continued at normal rates. But, just as working mothers were blamed for child delinquency rates, women received the responsibility for venereal diseases. Propaganda posters entitled "Booby Trap" and "She May Look Clean—*But*" emphasized the contention that women infected men with diseases. The posters both depict alluring women, and the "Booby Trap" poster spotlights a voluptuous woman with round hips and seductive lips. The latter poster centers on the image of a girl resembling the "girl next door" ideology.[74] This "girl next door' could have been anyone, but they key to avoiding sexual downfalls (that would prevent a soldier from fighting for his country) involved knowing the females that you were with. Hence, staying faithful to a girlfriend or wife and using prostitution houses like those in Hawaii enabled men to stay fit and healthy for national service.

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[73] Bailey and Farber, *The First Strange Place*, 97, and 103. As with the mainland United States, Hawaii did not legally sanction prostitution, but during the early years of the war officials overlooked the issue as a matter of morale and service to country. In efforts to prevent "the moral degradation" of Honolulu Hawaiian officials kept the "girls" on Hotel Street. Honolulu also led the world in tattooing, with 300 to 500 inked daily. "Remember Pearl Harbor" was the best seller.

[74] Brandt, *No Magic Bullet*, pp. 165-8, and 175-6.

The types of patriotic women discussed here all represent elements of US wartime culture. Individually they each represent the dichotomies of male and female relations, and collectively they form a coalition of images and virtues that symbolically represent key aspects of American democracy, nationalistic ideals, and gendered connotations of those philosophies. But, as Merch could not marry the man she loved because he was not Polish, "Rosie" (and her "real life" compatriots) continually battled social contradictions on war work, motherly, and wifely duties, propagandists sexualized female images, and Wonder Woman fought for "the last citadel of democracy, and of equal rights for women" US society continued to ripple and fragment on and beneath the surface.

The story of Merch Kazmierczak is not unusual, nor is it exemplary of the era. Instead, her history reflects communal and national beliefs about male-female bonds. In the postwar era no concrete image of the "patriotic woman" manifested in mainstream society—something not unusual in US culture, and national ideals of domesticity and morals continued to pervade the national psyche. The immediate postwar years and the 1950s saw a generation of American women decrease the average wedding age, increase the birth rate, and continually battle against propaganda, ideals, and reality. Just as the reality of World War I saw women enter the work force for reasons varying from patriotism to wanting to try a new experience, this chapter has shown some of these same strains in the working women of World War II, and accordingly these notions and personal concepts carry through into the postwar era with the "culture of containment." The "culture of containment" will show a decline in patriotic iconography that coincides with society's struggle with changing gendered codes of behavior.

Chapter Four:

What Lies Beneath

In an effort to counter economic changes post World War II the idealization of women, home, and family proliferated. In the 1950s—unlike the World War I and II periods—no central figure representing the modern patriotic woman emerged. Instead, the postwar years relied upon social codes, beliefs, and conceptions for womanhood and the family to perpetuate national beliefs about the sex. This lack of a unifying figure for women to adhere to derived from a sense of "normalcy" and return to the home. The promise of suburbia, civil defense, and the rise of the child centered society made the new image of the patriotic woman that of the housewife and mother. Women did not need a rallying figure to guide and motivate them because their husbands and families would be their motivation. The previously seen heroines of Columbia, Wonder Woman, and "Rosie" subsided for the figure of the mother. Similar to how the advertisement "Mother, when will you stay home again" promoted the belief that women would only temporarily work for the war effort, advertisements and other forms of expression stated the women in the 1950s would not work.[1] These women would be patriotic by adhering to the domestic ideal of housewife and

[1] "Mother, when will you stay home again?," Adel Manufacturing Company, *Saturday Evening Post*, 6 May 1944: p. 99.

mother. This chapter looks advertisements and writing for women, civil defense campaigns the promise of suburbia, the working mother and wife, and at Wonder Woman's changing storyline. The patriotic female's image declines post World War II because she was no longer needed.

The removal of the classic image of the patriotic female led to the increased presence of patriotic imagery that stayed within "set" bounds. These bounds refer to flag bumper stickers, flags flying from houses, and the flag showing a renewed presence in art. These images, and expectations, continually conflicted with each other to construct a classic and idealized surface image. Underneath the layers of advertisements selling new homes, washing machines, body products, clothing, and other obtainable goods, cookbooks, and a variety of other private, commercial, and governmental avenues colluded with one another. These interactions are what changed the face of patriotism, and they are what enabled, facilitated, and encouraged change and reform. Patriotism, in the 1950s, evolved from the activist state of World War I and World War II. The family, particularly the suburban family, shaped the ideal of American life. With the mother as the center and moral guide of the family, centralized images of the patriotic female disappeared as a mainstream image. The patriotic female took the shape of common-place and everyday images seen in advertisements and gender ideologies. She became what lay beneath the surface.

Following World War II men faced strong expectations to "pay the bill," and those who could not fulfill their manly duties often encountered accusations of homosexuality and nonconformity.[2] The triumph of the Allied powers and the United States created a belief

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[2] Robert L. Griswold, *Fatherhood in America: A History* (New York: Basic Books, 1993), p. 189.

that manhood had been won in the war, and men were expected to pass on this sense of responsibility and allure to their sons. They had created a powerful and wealthy nation with the aid of "the greatest destructive force ever imagined," and to prevent a decline in US power and superiority men had to embrace their manhood and masculinity.[3] To maintain this position of grandeur men had to contain women because of the fear that equality would destroy this newly formed concept of strength, security, and self-assurance. The family became a codeword for constraint, and the family developed into a constraining factor for individuals.[4] Institutions manipulated images to force obedience and silence from the public. Michel Foucault states that speaking the truth admits fears and faults. This action recognizes the power of community, a power that prevents truth because it implants fear into individuals so that they will not deviate from customary expectations.[5] These silences enabled socially constructed agencies to hold power, and as Betty Friedan remarked in her best seller these structures facilitated the "feminine mystique," which encouraged women to ignore the question of their identity.[6]

Ads and Editorials

As Betty Friedan remarked in her 1963 bestseller, *The Feminine Mystique*, women "were taught to pity the neurotic, unfeminine, unhappy woman who wanted to be poets or

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[3] Faludi, *Stiffed*, p. 5 and Eisler, *Private Lives*, pp. 41-2.

[4] Tyler Cowen, *In Praise of Commercial Culture* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1998), p. 197.

[5] Michel Foucault, *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction*, *Volume I*, trans Robery Hurley (New York: Random House): pp. 53-4.

[6] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, *Volume I*, pp. 26-7 and 86; Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique, Twentieth Anniversary Edition* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1963 and 1983), p. 71; and Butler, *Gender Trouble*, p. 96.

physicists or presidents."[7] Scholarship and social commentary, since Friedan's work, has also commented on the perceived mindsets and beliefs of women. Examinations of popular culture show that modifying terms like pretty, motherly, shapely, happily married, petite, charming, and soft voiced continually described the ideal woman.[8] These images also began to change because technology alleviated a woman's work within the home.

Dishwashers and washing machines reduced physical labor, and a woman could easily work outside the home and still maintain her middle-class domestic ideal. The rise of consumer goods, new homes, and an increased standard of living began to mandate a two-income household. The expansion of suburbia, attempts to solve the housing shortage, and promises for a more egalitarian and democratic society ignited community expansion. Oddly, purchasers were viewed as more connected to the larger community than political participants, and images of hearth and home perpetuated from World War II propaganda continued the mindset that good consumers and patriots saved during the war years to buy later.[9] Purchasing power represented a Consumer's Republic because economic abundance became symbiotic with political reform.[10]

Two articles from *Ladies Home Journal* help exemplify these notions of female gentility, domesticity, and sense of normalcy in the 1950s. In January of 1950 the magazine published "Making Marriage Work" and "Diary of Domesticity." Both essays ran as part of

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[7] Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique*, pp. 15-16.

[8] Joanne Meyerowitz, "Beyond the *Feminine Mystique*: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture, 1946-1958," in *Journal of American History* 79 (March 1993), p. 1460.

[9] Lizabeth Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), pp. 14, 19, and 75.

[10] Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, p. 127.

a series for a number of years. The thrust of these two pieces rests on the happy and healthy home. The "Making Marriage Work" article focused on the husband's needs within the relationship, such comments like "you and your husband's job," "take an interest in your appearance," and "be more courteous" reduce household problems to a lack of a woman's skill. Throughout this piece the reader learned to confide her problems to a female friend or relative, to not bother her husband with household chores and matters concerning the children, and to always place his needs first. The second article, "Diary of Domesticity," uses a family winter vacation as its guide. The subject of this essay is not particularly shocking, but the statement "I never really have understood money" hones in on the propagated mindset for the 1950s housewife.[11] The housewife, the new "American girl," did not need to know business matters because her husband would provide for her and the family. These essays also stated that the husband's work outside the home taxed and worked the brain and body more heavily than household duties. The portrayal, perpetuation, and persistence of gender expectations continually reshaped themselves in the 1950s.

Other pieces from the era went beyond telling a woman how to dress. Articles and essays instructed women on how to look younger and how to catch a man. Essays like "How to Wrap a Man Around Your Little Finger" and "Women Without Children" reinforced a woman's need to marry and have children. "How to Wrap a Man" provides six points to achieving happiness with a man. These points stated that a woman should not cry in front of a man (if she must, she should scurry to the kitchen and begin cutting an onion), a man and women should keep open communication with one another but a woman should not

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[11] Clifford R. Adams, "Making Marriage Work," in *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1950: p. 26; and Gladys Taber, "Diary of Domesticity," in *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1950: p. 31 and 34.

monopolize the conversation, let him lead and stand aside to let him take the lead, let him solve problems no matter how big or small, learn to judge his moods, and the woman should leave with the last word. Ironically, the last words should be support and gratitude for her husband. The "Women Without Children" piece discusses endometriosis, its effects on women, and treatments for the disease. The underlying premise of the essay is that women who wait to have children bring on this ailment. The author writes that the disease affects individuals who have failed "to reproduce themselves adequately," and the piece quotes doctors who state that women who put off pregnancy contradicted nature.[12] These three pieces only showcase a fraction of the articles and advertisements targeted at women, with most carrying the same message of domesticity and family harmony. Ironically, the endometriosis piece remarks that educated and middle and upper class women suffer from the disease, but it did not remark that the educated and middle class lifestyle came with repercussions. Instead, the piece blurred the lines of myth and reality.

Blurred visions of myth and reality and philosophical fights about the domestic sphere concerned contradicting messages in the media and from governmental organizations. Betty Freidan claims that popular magazines acted as repressive forces, but Joanne Meyerowitz says that popular magazines did not act differently in the 1950s. Instead, the articles and advertisements showed the same trends from previous decades; that women worked because they needed the money. These articles maintained the general assumption that women with small children would work part-time, and the writings held fast

[12] "How to Look Younger," *Good Housekeeping*, February 1950: p. 176; Elizabeth Graham, "How to Wrap a Man Around Your Little Finger," *Ladies Home Journal*, December 1956: p. 172; and Gladys Denny Shultz, "Women Without Children: Victims of a New Disease," *Ladies Home Journal*, September 1951: 65, 198, and 200.

to the presumption that women were not seeking careers. Bell Telephone Systems ran a series of advertisements that pictured a young girl praising her job with the phone company. The ad's text declared that a young girl right out of high school could work a fun and entertaining job, move within the company, and converse with people her own age. In contrast to a young girl working full time, Wallace Brown Greeting Cards encouraged women to sell its product part time.[13] Both of these ads reinforce women's paid employment, but the Wallace ad hones in on the notion that women should not work fulltime. The telephone ad, read within the context of the era, shows a young girl working until marriage and children.

In contrast to the previous decades, the early years of the Cold War women's public and private roles proved problematic. After years of sacrifice, from the Great Depression, World War I, and World War II, the American public longed for a sense of normalcy. In *Ladies Home Journal* an article entitled "I Can't Afford to Work" encourages women to stay at home with their young children because the cost of child care would decrease her overall earnings. The essay further remarked that family food costs would increase because a working mother would not have time for supermarket sales, and things like a work

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[13] Meyerowitz, "Beyond the *Feminine Mystique*," pp. 1465 and 1469; "So Many Good Things About a Telephone Job!," Bell Telephone System, *Good Housekeeping*, May 1953: p. 114; "Make Extra Money: It's Easy—It's Fun with Wallace Brown Greeting Cards," Wallace Brown, Inc., *Good Housekeeping*, January 1950: p. 189; and see Alison Clarke, *Tupperware: The Promise of Plastic in 1950s America* (Washington DC and London: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1999). The home sales of Tupperware relied upon the party system where women gathered in homes to purchase and examine the product line. The line played upon female roles, like the "Tupperware Burp." The burp symbolized the burping child. Tupperware is also symbolic of the changing roles of women. The idea that mother and wife should be at home still resided within the system of women selling the product in their spare time, but Tupperware also shows the changing home. This pretty and workable product saved time and space. Its functionality made it easier for women to leave the home. But, it still upheld ideals for the "perfect" home and kitchen. In 2006 some of these part-time work projects for housewives are still Tupperware, but other products like Pampered Chef and more risqué ones like Temptations Parties are still being sold by women. Temptations Parties specializes in sex toys.

wardrobe, carfare, and dry cleaning would cause a wife's employment to cost money every week. Hence, a woman's role remained in the home.[14] Ads like "Ever Dream You Were Dancing on a Star?" "That Fascinating Stranger—Your Inner Self: Can Refashion You to New Happiness," and "The Famous Du Barry Success Course" exemplify this point and the desire for a sense of normalcy.

The Du Barry advertisement, similar to those seen during World War II, depicts a woman plump and ordinary before taking the course. After her completion of the program she is slim, fashionable, and pretty. The course enabled this woman to construct herself into the type of woman a man would marry. In contrast to the World War II counterpart of these ads, women were encouraged to sign up for the course so that they could be slim and fashionable.[15] The World War II ads showed women in civil defense uniforms, and in the 1950s the civil defense uniform disappeared. Instead, the new uniform of civil defense showed women in fashionable dresses, heels, and pearls.

The other two ads—"Ever Dream You Were Dancing on a Star?" and "That Fascinating Stranger—Your Inner Self: Can Refashion You to New Happiness"—instruct women to find inner happiness through beauty and charmingly good looks. The use of Woodbury's Dream Stuff foundation powder and Pond's Cold Cream would enable women to live happy and fulfilled lives.[16] Much in the same way that the Du Barry ad told women

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[14] Jan Weyl, "I Can't Afford to Work," *Ladies Home Journal*, October 1953: p. 149-152.

[15] "The Famous Du Barry Success Course," Du Barry Success Course, *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1950:p. 83; and "The Success School has taught me how to live for my Country!," Richard Hudnut—for the Du Barry Success School, *This Week*, 1941(ad*access number BH1753).

[16] "Ever Dream You Were Dancing on a Star?," Woodbury Dream Stuff, *Good Housekeeping*, February 1950, p.106; and "That Fascinating Stranger—Your Inner Self: Can Refashion You to New Happiness," Pond's Cold Cream, *Good Housekeeping*, February 1950:p. 95.

that they could transform themselves into beautiful women worthy of successful men, these ads promoting facial products worked with established gender codes to portray the same message. The three ads here do not explicitly say that a woman would catch a man after using the product, but the imagery of beautiful women and understood gender codes of the period construct their meaning. The subliminal messages shine through to show women constructing themselves for men, not leaving the home, and living the ideal life of normal happy times.

The war zone no longer constituted a set playing field. Instead, guerilla warfare tactics and insurgent fighters took the place of uniformed men fighting for their country. These conflicts—primarily Korea and Vietnam—showed an extension of Cold War politics for the prevention of the spread of Communism. These two conflicts also did not immediately require Americans to sacrifice luxury items, pay higher taxes, or ration foods. On the home front preventing Communism manifested in hysteria, fear, and outrage. McCarthyism and the HUAC (House Un-American Committee) trials showcased the nation's fears. In 1950, at a Republican Women's Club in Wheeling, West Virginia, Senator Joseph McCarthy made a sensationalized speech claiming that the US State Department had been infiltrated with spies. His accusations, fueled from previous accusations about Hollywood film producers and movie stars in 1948, led to Congressional trials for accused communists. Whether the American public genuinely believed in the fear of communist spies, or it was reacting to its already heightened sense of security threats cannot be fully explicated. But, the fear of the HUAC investigations mirrors advertisements for civil defense.

Civil Defense to Protect the Home, Family, and Housewife

Popular memory generally categorizes the postwar years as "an age of anxiety." Michael Sherry attributes these apprehensions to the effects of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's welfare state programs, which after World War II united the country under pretenses of collective and community actions. These programs called for individuals to work together and always be on the alert. If something or someone out of the ordinary appeared community groups were supposed to investigate. The atomic bombings of Japan shocked the world with their destructive force, and the United States faced the brunt of this terror-stricken new world order. With rising tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union, many individuals anxiously feared the outbreak of nuclear war, and accordingly federal, state, local, and public agencies instituted civil defense drills. These "safety" drills became "cultural pageants" because they united citizens in a common cause—survival.[17] This "cultural pageantry" enforced political agendas through domestic containment. This overriding political agenda, instigated by the Truman Doctrine, lasted for several decades. On the home front, the Second Red Scare became an everyday reality of McCarthyism, as Hollywood, advertisers, and various other agencies attempted to construct the image that All-American women conformed to the duties of domesticity.

In 1951 President Harry Truman established the Federal Civil Defense Administration (FCDA), which replaced the already disbanded World War II Office of Civil Defense (OCD). The OCD and FCDA aimed to quickly disseminate information to the public, but in the 1950s the federal government changed its propaganda protocols. Federal

[17] Michael S. Sherry, *the Shadow of War: The United States Since the 1930s (*New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1995), pp. 57-60.

offices no longer allocated funding to promote community defense programs. Instead, the FCDA merely produced propaganda and educational material.[18] This new defense program, of civil defense, required volunteer efforts and work within the home.

As the FCDA promoted literature about building bomb shelters in backyards and basements, the agenda of the post war civil defense campaign took on a clear and pointed note. This campaign reflected the consumer culture of the 1950s, the rise of suburbia, and the glorification of the female homemaker. The program aimed to instruct and encourage the average homeowner to build his own fallout shelter, which protected the miniature replicas of the nation's cities. In theory a bomb would hit a city—greater potential for damage—and the protection of the suburbs equaled protecting the ideals of the United States. The biological nuclear family would be kept intact because they would be the ones holed up in their bomb shelters, and by instructing homeowners to build their own shelters they could exercise personal power with the construction of homesteads within their homesteads.[19]

Citizen involvement would establish a cultural belief in uniformity and stability, with women as the leaders for the construction and upholding the volunteerism of civil defense.

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[18] JoAnne Brown, "A if for Atom, B is for Bomb: Civil Defense in American Public Education," in *The Journal of American History* 75, no. 11 (June 1988):69-70; Laura McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home: Militarization Meets Everyday Life in the Fifties* (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000): pp. 10-17; Harry S. Truman. Executive Order 10222 of 8 March 1951: Providing for Certain Transfers to the Federal Civil Defense Administration. *Federal Register* 16, 3 CFR, 1949-1953 Comp. (9 March 1951): p. 2247; and John F. Kennedy. Executive Order 10952 of 20 July 1961: Assigning Civil Defense Responsibilities to the Secretary of Defense and Others. *Federal Register* 26 (22 July 1961): p. 6577. Truman's Executive Order derived from the Federal Civil Defense Act of 1950, which enabled the president to consolidate offices and divisions of the federal government into central agencies. Here, Truman united organizations holding (and creating) information for civil defense under the auspice of the Federal Civil Defense Administrator. In 1961 President John F. Kennedy expanded the role and responsibility of the FCDA and Administrator by establishing offices of support for issues concerning nuclear attack.

[19] Kristina Zarlengo, "Civilian Threat, the Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age Women," in *Signs* 24, no. 4 (Summer 1999): pp. 932 and 939.

Suburbia became citadels for defense, and the controlled home environment represented national stability. Atomic age women dominated the household structure, and civil defense leaders came to believe that the household was as much a political, gendered, and military sphere as it was an arsenal of familial defense. As shown throughout this discussion, government publications, advertisements, and popular culture continually showed the home as a single family unit in the postwar era. More so, symbolism of "home sweet home" invoked sentiments of gentility and normalcy.[20]

The bomb, and its effects, remained elusive to the public's mind because the FCDA feared providing the American public with too much information. The FCDA feared that the public would become hysterical if it knew the full ferocity of the bomb, and the FCDA instituted a woman's program by 1953. The use of female volunteers sought to end the "welfare" problem of civil defense, and the FCDA's creation of a female identity for civil defense heightened the sense of family unity. Also, the female initiative of the program linked with popular culture articles of the period. One of these pieces derived from a Val Peterson's 1953 essay in *Collier's*. His essay, "Panic: The Ultimate Weapon?" remarked that women were more prone to panic than men, and it claimed that only fifty-five percent of women could overcome their panic.[21] The belief that women still remained fragile continually manifested itself, and these beliefs for familial harmony and gender coding continued to shape national ideologies. The 1959 "Kitchen Debates" between Richard Nixon and Nikita Khrushchev showed national (and international) beliefs about postwar

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[20] Zarlengo, "Civilian Threat, the Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age American Women," pp. 940, 950, and 951; and Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, p. 73.

[21] McEnaney, *Civil Defense Begins at Home*, p. 89; and Val Peterson, "Panic: The Ultimate Weapon?," *Collier's*, 21 August 1953: 99-109.

society. These debates portrayed economic freedom, capitalism, and increased technology as creating a more harmonious world. More importantly, they enabled viewers to compare the United States to Communist Russia and see differences in lifestyles. The debates provided another reason for the need for nuclear power and weapons, and the fear of communism and destruction heightened the perceived need for dutiful women within homes.

Much like civil defense campaigns relying upon local community programs and volunteerism, patriotic iconography moved away from centralized images like “Rosie,” the *Wonder Woman* comics, and Columbia. The idealized visual of the woman in the advertisement showcased the new patriotic women because her consumption and adherence to expected gender roles kept her within nationalistic discourse. Striving toward a centralized ideal like “Rosie” or Columbia no longer made sense. Instead, the post war patriotic female needed to blend-in, have a happy and healthy family, and live quietly in suburbia.

One poster, “Mummy, what happens to us if the bomb drops?” shows a young girl, resting her chin on her hands, looking with pleading eyes to someone off screen. The text of the poster tells the reader to be prepared for a nuclear attack, and a list of supplies (as developed by scientists and doctors) is provided.[22] Standing alone this piece of propaganda would seem benign, but when placed alongside communistic fears, gender codes, and civil defense literature it helps explain evolving elements of patriotic culture. The young girl represents the nation’s greatest threat, the vulnerability of women and young girls. The female child, as showcased in the ad, signified the future homemakers of the United States.

[22] “Mummy, what happens to us if the bomb drops?,” (1954) from Collection DDE-1019: James M. Lambie Jr. Records, 1952-1961 NARA Dwight D. Eisenhower Library: Abilene, KS., ARC identifier 94366.

The 1954 "Mummy" ad compares to the 1944 ""Mother, when will you stay home again?" advertisement used in chapter three. Both of these ads play upon notions of female behavior, that she should ideally stay home, that she protects the family through moral and emotional guidance, and that she feeds the family with the correct supplies. Thus, principles of the patriotic woman's patriotic role in the 1950s remained relatively the same as previous eras. She was meant to guide her family toward the national ideal of unity, loyalty, and family strength just like her predecessors had done.

Promotions of patriotism and the domestic ideal also came in direct manners—much like those seen in World War I and World War II. Even though these direct ploys for patriotism and war support were fewer than those of previous war decades, as seen in chapters two and three, their messages still remained clear. They promoted the young, confident face of the US solider. The soldier who would provide safety for the nation centered these ads, and the message that he would come home and provide for his family after serving his nation prevailed. These ads picture young, handsome soldiers who earned Medals of Honor for their Korean War service. The 1951 ad highlighted Sergeant Charles Turner who died during tour, and the 1953 placard showcased Corporal Jerry Crump who survived his deployment. Crump received injuries, from shielding an explosive with his body, but his story praises the US Armed Forces for their ferocity.[23] Most importantly, the post war era saw a change in how Americans reacted to defensive needs. The civil defense campaigns of the 1950s focused on protecting the home and family, and coverage of the Korean War did not encompass society in the same manner that World War II propaganda

[23] "US Savings Bonds Are Defense Bonds—Buy Them Regularly," US Defense Bonds, *Ladies Home Journal*, September 1951: p. 212; and "Corporal Jerry Crump: US Army Medal of Honor," US Defense Bonds, *Good Housekeeping*, April 1953: p. 234.

did. This partially occurred because the Korean War was a smaller conflict, but it also happened because Americans were tired of sacrificing and giving up their standards of living and families for the larger nation. Hence, civil defense encouraged home defense, and discussions of the draft and war did not supersede consumer spending.

Advertising the 1950s

An essay in *Ladies Home Journal* argues that women should be drafted for the military, in the same manner as men. However, Mildred McAfee Horton reflects beliefs about domesticity and female behavior through her justification that women should not be used for combatant situations. Instead, she proposed that women during World War II provided positive resources for the military, but she says their auxiliary status caused a waste of money and resources. She claimed that sending women and men to military service would, by default, reduce the number of men separated from their families. She qualifies these views with the statement, "the armed services are probably less dangerous places for young women than are jobs in war industry where less adequate provision can be for twenty-four-hour-a-day welfare of personnel. American girls proved to be a fine lot of human being whether or not they wore military uniforms." Horton also says that a twenty-year age limit would be welcomed for a female draft because a woman could "maintain her personal standards without lowering them through mere contact with other people."[24] Proposing women for military service, even if it is noncombatant, reflected changing cultural moods. Women were still expected to stay within the home, but their service (in the military and in civilian society) could not be ignored. Also, the workforce needed women to

[24] Mildred McAfee Horton, "Why Not Draft Women," *Ladies Home Journal*, February 1951: p. 53.

fill job slots. Therefore, a woman's service—through the home or workforce—took upon patriotic aspects because her efforts supported the nation and national ideals about consumption.

Key aspects of the civil defense campaign relied upon volunteerism while adhering to established gender roles. Ideally the man would construct the shelter, but the wife would stock the groceries, prepare the meals, and keep the family emotionally happy. The household skills that she refined in pre-bombed society would enable her family to survive life in a fallout shelter. Typical ad campaigns for the FCDA showed young, fashionable, and slender women posed next to a poster about stocking your own bomb shelter.[25] These images showed a woman in her traditional domestic role, the same way that ads for Pillsbury Pie Crust Mix, Acrosonic Pianos, Del Monte Peaches, and Ponds did. Del Monte Peaches told readers that their peaches were "so thrifty, you can serve them often," and Pillsbury said that men would exclaim "You wonderful, wonderful woman" when tasting a woman's pie made with the product.[26] These ads promoted a woman's duties, in the kitchen, through their language and design. More importantly, they played upon standard notions of womanhood and beauty. Ponds Cold Cream, in its ad campaign targeting a woman's inner beauty, told women to bring out their true selves through beauty, and Acrosonic Pianos did the same by using lipstick and little girls. This ad asked "What does your favorite lipstick have to do with piano lessons for Mary?" The piece showed a young girl, probably five or six, putting on her mother's lipstick (and flawlessly at that), and the text underneath said that

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[25] "Photograph for Survival Supplies for the Well-Stocked Fallout Shelter," Still Picture Records LICON, Special Media Archives Services Division (NWCS-S), ARC Identifier 542103.

[26] "Talk About Peaches," Del Monte Peaches, *Good Housekeeping*, January 1950: p. 103; and "You Wonderful, Wonderful Woman," Pillsbury Pie Crust, *Good Housekeeping*, January 1950: p. 23.

Mary's lipstick desires stemmed from her inner need for beauty. This beauty could then be exemplified, and part of her everyday routine like makeup, if started at a young age. Teaching a daughter beauty, and music, from youth would enable her to be charming later in life.[27]

Other ads have discussed social discourse on a woman's appearance, and the Nellie Bloom ad is only one example of the feminine hygiene ads of the 1950s. Playtex advertised it girdle as "the figure of the 1950s," and it claimed that its girdle (made from tree grown latex) would give a woman a young and girlish figure. Mum Deodorant used a heartwarming photo of a mother and daughter conversing about the benefits of preventing body odor, and Kotex and Fems promised comfort, protection, and discreetness with their feminine napkins and garter belts.[28] These products focused on body functions, and they played upon common fears that pit-stains and evidence of a woman's period would cause her public shame. Still more advertisements promised women comfort and prosperity—socially and more importantly with men—through bras that would not show seam lines and the eradication of halitosis. Similar to Listerine's 1931 advertisement (in chapter three), the company ran similar campaigns in the 1950s. A 1950s ad proclaimed "It's better to be sweet than side-tracked, so, before any date, never, never omit Listerine Antiseptic."[29]

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[27] "To Every Woman Who Longs to Bring Out Her True Self," Ponds, *Good Housekeeping*, March 1950, p. 114-115; and "What Does Your Favorite Lipstick Have To Do With Piano Lessons For Mary?," Acrosonic Piano by Baldwin, *Good Housekeeping*, November 1955: p. 196.

[28] "Playtex Presents the Figure of the 1950s," Playtex, *Ladies Home Journal*, January 1950: p. 29; "So Much as Ease," Kotex, *Good Housekeeping*, August 1957: p. 144; "Very Personally Yours," Kotex, *Ladies Home Journal*, September 1951: p. 103; "Into Your Life for the First Time," Fems Feminine Napkins, *Good Housekeeping*, August 1958: p. 112; and "New Mum Stops Odor . . . Without Irritation," Mum Deodorant, *Good Housekeeping*, October 1957: p. 1.

[29] "Jeepers! Buttercup Almost Forgot!," Listerine, *Ladies Home Journal*, February 1950: p. 9.

Topics concerning menstruation and sexual activity were not openly discussed in the postwar era, as accounts from women often denote some sexual activities as "heavy petting," and placing advertisements for feminine products into a public arena bordered on scandalous.

Idealism and Complacency

The popular television show of "Leave It to Beaver" portrayed the image of June Cleaver as the ideal housewife and mother. June was always in heels and pearls, her hair was always freshly done (never out of place), her home was always tidy, her meals always looked tasty and were prepared on time, her children were "perfect," and her attitude was always upbeat and happy. Even though June Cleaver was not the typical mother and wife, her image has remained resilient for the 1950s, and accordingly the era is often reflected on as a time of peace on continuity. The advertisements and cultural products show a mind-set for conformity, patriarchal rule, and complacency to let "men be men" and rule the home while bringing in the paychecks. Women were to rear children and keep the home warm and inviting for their husbands.

These products also reflected increased standards of living, a rise in mass consumption, and gender codes. The gendering of the consumer also reflected the culture of civil defense and elevating the man as head of household. While the woman still purchased the daily needs of her family, the consumer evolved into the couple and the male purchaser. The male purchaser, through state policies, dominated the family's finances and security.[30] The woman gave moral guidance, and the man provided physical security with bomb

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[30] Cohen, *A Consumer's Republic*, p. 147 and 162.

shelters, his presence in the home, and his purchase of safe suburban homes and automobiles.

For instance, even though the 1950s saw more people working in white-collar jobs than previous decades, the Gross National Product rose by four percent a year, and per capita income increased by thirty-five percent annually, fears of another economic depression circulated throughout the country.[31] Once the government began to actively intervene with private affairs, US citizens began to spend their savings and overcome their worries of another depression. Michael Sherry calls these actions the continuation of a precedent established by Roosevelt, but May attributes this increase in spending to increased income, cheap housing, and governmental subsidies provided for home buyers. But even though people appeared encouraged and optimistic about their futures, studies showed that native-born and white families could not survive on one income, while societal ideals maintained the façade that women did not work.[32]

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[31] Stephanie Coontz, *They Way We Never Were: American Families in the Nostalgia Trap* (New York: Basic Books, 1992), pp. 24-29; Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), p. 165; and James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945-1975* (New York and Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), pp. 312-4. The GNP rose by 250 percent from 1940-1960, the population grew from 151.7 million in 1950 to 180.7 million in 1960, and twenty-five percent of the population was considered poor when middle class income ranged from 3000 to 10,000 dollars per a year.

[32] May, *Homeward Bound*, p. 165; Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, p. 29 and 31; and Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, pp. 273-288 and 300-03. Historian Alice Kessler-Harris has disputed the claim that women did not work in the 1950s. By 1945 ninety-five percent of female war workers had either quit or downgraded from their jobs, but most of these women did not desire to give up their autonomy. She notes that females represented twenty-nine percent of the workforce in 1950, in 1965 the number rose to thirty-five percent, and in 1975 a total of forty percent of women worked with more than seventy percent of them at full time jobs. Also, in the 1950s women with adequate incomes continued to work, and women who quit working when children were born often returned to the workforce after their youngest child entered school. The proportion of working wives grew in the ensuing decades until women not working for pay were the exception. The forty-percent of workingwomen in 1975 equaled the total percentage on employed females in the sixty years prior to 1950.

Surveys have shown that women entered the workforce in the mid to late 1950s because wages had increased, boredom, expanded opportunities for female employees, the disappearance of small farms and family run businesses. These all created an atmosphere conducive to women's employment. Additionally, by 1952 there were two million more females employed than before World War II. Initial figures reflect marriages of the 1950s as having half the percentage of the current divorce rate, and many couples praised marriage calling it a blessing and pleasure instead of a sacrifice. The "baby boom" crossed all racial, ethnic, and class lines, and society became increasingly child-centered. National highway extensions and improvements encouraged family vacations, and the birth of McDonalds and Disney Land promoted the maintenance of a child-centered society. These family based activities enabled the invention of the "traditional family," and cultural depictions artificially revived concepts of the Victorian family. Ideas of a happy marriage and family prevailed, between two and four children symbolized a stable and happy home, and the nuclear family represented being modern and successful. While these notions did exist in the 1950s the concept of the nuclear family derived from previous generations. Surveys and new research now suggests that the Victorian family also symbolized an idealized version of family life, and a general consensus says Victorian families probably stayed intact because of societal restrictions. Some of the societal restrictions in the Victorian era prevented women from retaining custody of their children after a divorce, and divorced females faced chastisement from friends and family.[33]

[33] May, *Homeward Bound*, p. 165; Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, p. 29 and 31; and Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, pp. 273-288 and 300-03.

Popular culture outlets—like women's magazines, advertisements, and newspapers—attempted to counteract the image of working wives by saying that workingwomen came from ethnic and working class backgrounds. Cultural representations blamed the husband for a working wife. Spouses of workingwomen were said to not be able to control their women, that they (men) were weak, or that they had no respect for womanhood and femininity.[34] These forced notions of male superiority and economic dominance derived from production and growth. As societies embrace modernity cultural concepts and constrictions must change so that the growth process can occur, but when these modifications relate to economic relations of men and women patriarchy often reigns.[35] The 1950s emerged out of a culture of war and militarization with "our boys" ready to assume the mantle of national authority and international leadership, and the ascendancy of men prevailed as a crucial element for this cultural construction to exist. Furthermore, cultural stereotypes trained men to cheer on their team (country) because loyalty would bring continual good times, a future with their company, a faithful and loyal wife, and their team would never fail.[36] This masculinized culture heightened patriarchal relations, and the reinforcement of gender codes exemplified this cultural manifestation. These stereotypes of the 1950s prevail into the current era. A popular television drama on NBC, "American Dreams," promotes the 1950s as a decade "when a nation came of age," and trailers tell the audience that they will learn to "believe again." These messages, along with the show's

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[34] Coontz, *The Way We Never Were,* p. 28.

[35] Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History,* Revised (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988 and 1999), p. 35.

[36] Susan Faludi, *Stiffed*, pp. 16-27.

content, instruct the audience to believe the 1950s were a Golden Age for society.[37]

Confining Women

While modern television and popular memory may construe the 1950s to be a happy and "perfect" time for US life, the true meaning of a person's or nation's actions can only be understood when studied within the context of the time and place that the original action occurred. Accordingly, men and women of the 1950s may appear fixed and stable on the surface, but their private actions reveal their altered, denied, and suppressed emotions and definitions of themselves.[38] Changes in US society enabled many individuals to explore new social and professional venues, but two of the biggest changes to shape US culture in the postwar years relates to the birth of a "youth market" and the confinement of women.

The birth of the drive-in, the accessibility to privacy when dating, and the overall prevalence of a "dating culture" enabled youths to explore their sexuality and the limits of societal codes in newfound ways. While young men were expected to show their masculinity, through sports, physical strength, and overall confidence, society expected women to maintain an image of delicacy and purity. They had to "draw the line" in sexual situations, while still enticing prospective marriage partners, and women expected to engage in "heavy petting" with steady boyfriends. Even though general social beliefs stigmatized women who had pre-marital sex, females of the decade knew that their chances of obtaining a boyfriend greatly decreased if they refused sexual advances. Couples justified their "heavy petting" on the principle that "as long as a penis had not entered the vagina, [the

[37] NBC's "American Dreams" debuted in September 2002, and it aired three seasons. The show ended its run in May 2005.

[38] Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, p. 49.

woman remained] a technical virgin." Additionally, stereotypes portrayed women who refused sexual advances as weak, deviant, irresponsible, and immature, but at the same time girls engaging in pre-marital sex faced the stigmas of being cheap, loose, and not suitable for marriage.[39]

In this repressive atmosphere of sex acceptable forms of behavior included "normal" types of sexual conduct that led to penetration and heterosexual activities. This acceptability focused on heterosexual couples because sex had to have a purpose; here the intent of intercourse culminated in marriage and children.[40] "Heavy petting" became a cultural norm of the era, and the idealized picture of sexual constraint fails to hold its ground with statistics showing that the number of pregnant brides doubled in the 1950s.[41] Additionally, doctors throughout the country refused to prescribe birth control to unmarried women, and many females used the prevailing medical attitude as a justification for their behavior. Women of the 1950s reported that they preferred the fear of a missed period to having to seek out a physician to prescribe birth control, and many females stated that using birth control made them admit that they were planning to have sex but not children. Within this climate of conflicting standards for sexual behavior, a girl who planned on sex but not parenthood

[39] Brett Harvey. *The Fifties: A Women's Oral History* (New York: HarperCollins Publishers,1993), p. 9; and May, *Homeward Bound*, p. 94.

[40] May, *Homeward Bound*, pp. 127-8; and Benita Eisler, *Private Lives: Men and Women of the 1950s* (New York: Franklin Watts, 1986), p. 138.

[41] Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, p. 39. Statistics show that in 1957 ninety-seven of one thousand brides between the ages of fifteen and nineteen were pregnant. Yet, popular culture has continually portrayed teen-age sexual behavior of the era as constrained—representing idealizations of purity and chastity. But, in 1983 only fifty-two of one thousand girls, of the same age group, were pregnant before marriage.

challenged the feminine ideal of the era because societal standards denoted women as mothers and caregivers.[42]

Michel Foucault has remarked that "sex was not something one simply judged; it was a thing one administered."[43] Accordingly, 1950s society produced a sexual culture based upon notions of complacency, submission, contentment, and silence. Cultural stereotypes called women without husbands unfeminine and unfit, and sexual roles and functions maintained gender norms culminating in marriage and children. With this prevailing message that the family fostered happiness a queer and often unspoken emphasis on sex remained. The rhetoric of the period conveyed the message that petting games enabled a marriage to occur, but after the wedding the couple had to learn how to have pleasurable sex. This matrimonial sex solidified identity and gender norms by creating pleasures emanating, or residing, in the penis, vagina, and breasts, and men provided these pleasures to their wives.[44]

Marriage manuals said good sex began with scrubbing and bathing and the instructions told readers to perform their pre-sex rituals alone. Proper bathing, before and after sex, along with separate beds for the husband and the wife fostered cleanliness and stability. These books continued to emphasize cleanliness by telling couples to change their sheets before and after sex, and the language of the texts portrays a strong message of fear.[45] Culture critic Benita Eisler remarks that people in the 1950s were more obsessed

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[42] Eisler, *Private Lives*, p. 135 and Harvey, *The Fifties*, p. 9.

[43] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, p. 24.

[44] Butler, *Gender Trouble*, pp. 89-90.

[45] Eisler, *Private Lives*, p. 128.

with bodily secretions and smells than any other decade, and she asserts that this attitude created an atmosphere of sexual repression. Individuals appeared afraid to admit that they enjoyed sex, inside and outside of marriage.[46] The Bloom ad told women to douche for cleanliness and odor, and it portrayed the message that the natural state of the human body was not meant for civil society. To obtain and secure happiness a woman had to continually manufacture an ideal image. Women constructed themselves in similar manners to the way that suburbia symbolized a "perfect" home and community, the US government cleansed society of radicals, and the US military made the world safe from communism.

Modern society has sought to reduce sexuality to the couple—the heterosexual pair—because they create the traditional picture of happiness and security. Most importantly, the man/woman pair procreates which enables the growth of humanity, and with the institution of continual rules and regulations to define the binary group a homogenous whole is produced.[47] The combined fears of McCarthyism, subversives, Cold War anxieties, gay and red-baiting, and sexual "perverts" equaled the terror instituted with the Truman Doctrine. Individuals feared being stigmatized by associating with outcasts and loveless marriages to forestall or silence attacks of real or suspected deviance (political or sexual) often occurred. Once a person entered a heterosexual union, previous stigmas and stereotypes either softened or faded from the individual's reputation, but a mother was still responsible for the actions of her children. If a person acted outside of the realms of expected and accepted customs his or her mother took the brunt of the blame because the culture of the period made women responsible for creating productive and "normal"

[46] Eisler, *Private Lives*, p.128.

[47] Foucault, *The History of Sexuality*, *Volume I*, pp. 45-6.

children. These strict lines for behavior caused many individuals to suppress their sexuality, contain sex to the heterosexual marriage, and attempt to raise mainstream children.[48] Hence, in the same manner that a man provided his family security through his home and a woman adhered to her sex, individuals suppressing their true identities acted within the mainstream patriotic ideal. They supported the nation by not showing deviant behavior.

The general consensus of the era states that individuals believed that affluence, consumer goods, satisfying sex (even with the restraints of cleanliness and not admitting pleasure), and children would strengthen families and society.[49] In light of this mythic belief structure, women who could not or refused to adhere to the codes of domesticity and femininity found themselves scorned and subject to severe medical treatment. Aside from popularized tales of housewives being addicted to Valium and liquor, psychiatrists across the country treated women for depression and a lack of interest in "womanly duties." In extreme cases these medical professionals would treat these women with electric shock treatments in an effort to cure them of their desire to leave the home or ignore their familial obligations. Assumptions about a working mother's sexuality, life decisions, and ability to satisfy a man prevailed, but women still worked and ignored gender codes.[50]

In 1956 *Life* magazine entitled one of its commemorative issues "The American Woman," and the issue focused on an article by five leading psychiatrists. The article, "Changing Roles in the Modern Woman," blamed feminism as the "fatal error" of the twentieth century. These individuals claimed that women used notions of feminism to

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[48] May, *Homeward Bound*, pp. 94-6 and 121; and Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, pp. 32 and 39.

[49] May, *Homeward Bound*, p. 12.

[50] Coontz, *The Way We Never Were*, p. 32; Harvey, *The* Fifties, p. 89; and May, *Homeward Bound*, p. 159.

exploit their friends, families, and husbands.[51] In conjunction with this anti-feminism sentiment, Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham's best-seller *Modern Women: The Lost Sex* defined femininity as "receptiveness and passiveness, a willingness to accept dependence without fear or resentment, with a deep inwardness and readiness for the final goal of sexual life—impregnation."[52] Manufactures and advertisers utilized a variety of techniques to instruct women on the necessity of complacency for a happy marriage, and the brand of feminism in Lundberg and Farnham's book, and one of the more unique examples of these devices are cookbooks.

Writers of cookbooks, like the authors of sex manuals, reassured readers that adhering to the book's instructions would produce a happy marriage and home, but more often the attitudes from cookbooks leaned toward a condescending tone of contempt for women who did not adhere to societal codes. Cookbooks often informed women that cooking for their family should be a natural and fulfilling experience, and they called wives who served food from the can "unwomanly." Cookbooks instructed women to "doctor" canned food in order to retain their position as the only real chef in the family because only a mother would know to add chopped watercress and milk to a can of potato soup to make "Watercress Vichyssoise." The strength and creativity of a woman's cooking ability mirrored her responsibility and ability to hold the family together.[53]

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[51] Harvey, *The Fifties*, p. 73.

[52] Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham, *Modern Women: The Lost Sex* quoted in Harvey, *The Fifties*, pp. 89-90.

[53] Jessamyn Neuhauss, "The Way to A Man's Heart: Gender Roles, Domestic Ideology, and Cookbooks in the 1950s," in *Journal of Social History* 32, no. 3 (Spring 1999), pp. 3 and 4; and Freidan, *The Feminine Mystique*, p. 221.

In contrast to the gender constraints of women, men of the 1950s could easily ignore their wives and children without disrupting their identity construction. Fathers embodied the image of role models, authority figures, teachers, companions, and “contributors to the species,” but a man’s ability to provide for his family overrode other familial responsibilities. A man having a woman at home, while maintaining his separate sphere of identity, perpetuates Theweleit’s contention of fantasy objects and fantasy being linked. They are linked because women were not equal actors in the state, even though they did have the franchise. [54] Women were still portrayed as home actors, for the care and service of men. Male relationships with women represented political domains because as the woman faded from sight a man’s image sharpened.[55]

The difference between the definition of femininity and masculinity is that the latter represented everything femininity did not.[56] As women were taught to marry for their natural duty and calling—childbirth—men were instructed to marry as a sign of maturity. Additionally, as women were to give up freedom and independence, men gave up these ideals for the “happy” family unit. Ideals taught them to make a life within the home with the barbecue, the yard, weekend ball games, and children. These actions, of conformity, fell within the rhetoric of patriotism because these individual benefited the larger society. Yet, just as women felt conflicting notions on femininity and domesticity, men faced their own dilemmas. In December of 1953 *Playboy* debuted on US consumer shelves. The feature article depicted “Miss Gold-Digger 1953.” The article, and the magazine, personified the

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[54] Griswold, *Fatherhood in America,* pp. 207-8; and Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, pp. 45, 49, and 66-69..

[55] Theweleit, *Male Fantasies*, p. 35

[56] Faludi, *Stiffed*, p. 5.

male drive for freedom, the ultimate bachelor, and the male dream—free from responsibility, free sex without consequences and responsibility, without having to marry because of life cycle or impending babies, wealth and prosperity.[57]

Domesticity represented the key to middle class status and mobility, and it reflected a woman's dedication to her country, and for men it represented a well-adjusted man full of competency and health. Both sexes were viewed as unhealthy, with subversive agendas, for not adhering to the ideal of married life.[58] The 1950s regulated women to the home in order to maintain an idealized image of society through childbearing with men providing prosperity through their hard work, and both sexes momentarily (and idealistically) united to promote national ideals.

Wonder Woman and Postwar Ideals

Just as advertisements and governmental propaganda campaigns targeted their messages to postwar ideals, the *Wonder Woman* comic book series changed its storylines and messages to promote the domestic ideal. By 1948 comic books, in general, had taken a nosedive in sales because superheroes were associated with World War II and crime and western genres skyrocketed in sales. In 1949 the writers of *Wonder Woman* began to give the series a more romantic tone, and the question of Wonder Woman marrying Steve Trevor appeared more in the books. The original purpose of her dual identity, as Diana Prince and Wonder Woman, was so she could be close to Steve Trevor, but it gradually evolves into a justification for her fighting against evil. In March 1953 the writers had Wonder Woman

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[57] Barbara Ehrenreich, *The Hearts of Men: American Dreams and the Flight From Commitment* (New York and London: Anchor Books—Doubleday, 1983): pp. 19-25.

[58] J. Howard Miller, *We Can Do It!*, Westinghouse for War Production Co-Coordinating Committee, circa 1940: NARA Still Picture Branch (NWDNS-179-WP-1563). See figure six.

explain her dual identity as "Revealing my secret dual identity would hinder me in my battle against crime and injustice—because it would rob me of the element of surprise when I change from one identity to another."[59] Her "man's world" jobs changed, beginning in the 1950s. With her incorporation as a full length book she took on the identity of Diana Prince, a nurse. Within a few episodes she is a secretary for Steve Trevor, and in 1958 she becomes a lieutenant for military intelligence.[60] These subtle changes also reflect the personality and origin changes of Wonder Woman in the 1950s and subsequent decades.

As her writers struggled with the survival of the genre, her storylines became more hybrids of action and soap opera verses the traditional comic story of action and suspense. Covers showed her being carried by Steve Trevor, as if she is helpless (all the while she is still smiling), and story titles like "Hollywood Goes to Paradise Island" and "Hollywood Stunt Queen" show part of Wonder Woman's new identity. She also modeled the latest fashions and was a "lonely hearts" newspaper woman.[61] In the 1950s her Princess title was dropped, and by 1959 it was completely gone from the storyline. When she returned to Paradise Island, she did so as Wonder Woman.

Other oddities in her 1950s storyline involve the development of Wonder Teen (a teenage Wonder Woman) and Wonder Tot (her child version). These storylines claimed that

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[59] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, p. 93 and "Seven Days to Doom" *Wonder Woman* 58(DC Comics, March-April 1953), n.p.

[60] Michael L. Fleisher, *The Original Encyclopedia of Comic Book Heroes: Featuring Wonder Woman*, Volume Two (New York: DC Comics, 2007)—originally published as *The Encyclopedia of Comic Book Heroes: Volume Two—Wonder Woman* (1976): p. 219 and "Top Secret," *Wonder Woman* 99 (DC Comic, 1958): n.p.

[61] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, p. 98; "Hollywood Goes to Paradise Island," *Wonder Woman* 40(DC Comics: March-April 1950): n.p.; "Wonder Woman, Romance Editor," *Wonder Woman* 97(DC Comics: May-June 1950): n.p.; and "Wonder Woman: Hollywood Stunt Queen," Wonder Woman 61(DC Comics: September-October 1953): n.p.

Wonder Woman knew even as an infant that she would one day leave Paradise Island to battle the forces of good and evil. These narratives help explain her "deep-seated devotion to democratic principles."[62]

In 1950 *Wonder Woman* featured a public service ad encouraging children to eat milk and cereal, as part of a balanced diet. Cereal, a newer food on the market, was probably pushed on many children of the era. Also, advertisements aimed at adults encouraged parents to introduce their children to comic heroes like Wonder Woman because the stories were "not only entertainment, but worthwhile information and high inspiration as well." One advertisement shows prominent women from history, like Amelia Earhart, Louisa May Alcott, Madame Curie, and others, while the text tells readers that Wonder Woman has continually taught youngsters about history amidst her battles for good.[63]

The wholesome image of Wonder Woman continued to do service to her adopted country, but unlike the World War II years, she was not routinely fighting monstrous foes. Instead, she was often saving swimmers from bolts of lighting, cars from falling over cliffs, and rescuing Steve Trevor. Her battles had slowed down so much so that on Paradise Island's 100th Anniversary Wonder Woman fretted that "our hundredth anniversary—and nothing exciting has happened to me!" Then in her first escapade of the story she saves a space shuttle from going awry, but the cloud of exhaust fumes obscured her from the video cameras built into her bracelets. Paradise Island sent her a message saying they needed

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[62] Fleisher, *The Original Encyclopedia of Comic Book Heroes*, pp. 217-8 and 220.

[63] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, pp. 92-100; "It's Fun to Be Healthy," *Wonder Woman* 40 (DC Comics: April-May 1950), n.p.; "When I Grow Up . . ." The National Comics Group. Circa 1950s. Reprinted in Les Daniels, *Wonder Woman: The Complete History*, p. 92.

another adventure for their archive and anniversary celebration. Comic book moments passed, Wonder Woman worried about not having an adventure for her sisters and of revealing her dual identity, and then she saves a skin diver and battles an octopus. Yet, again, Paradise Island's cameras could not see through the octopus' black ink. So Wonder Woman had to find another adventure. This time, just in the nick of time, a tidal wave approaches Paradise Island. With her magic lasso, Wonder Woman sends the tidal wave back to sea and saves the island.[64]

The fret and fear that Wonder Woman would not have an exciting adventure for Paradise Island's 100th Anniversary reflects the image of the 1950s. The era of complacency and restraint aimed to give the image of being calm and peaceful, but bomb shelters and civil defense campaigns continually let individuals know that the postwar world was one of different political makings. As advertisements and articles instructed women to stay at home to maintain their families and ensure family unity, comic books and heroines like Wonder Woman and other comic superheroes came under fire. In 1954 Dr. Frederic Wertham published *Seduction of the Innocent*, which stemmed from a series of articles he first published in *Ladies Home Journal*. He argued that comic books corrupted young readers. He remarked that *Wonder Woman* contained lesbian innuendos, and he called the Holliday Girls "gay party girls." Wertham's book is noted to have given fuel to the critics calling for a ban on comic books.

On April 21, 1954 the Senate Subcommittee to Investigate Juvenile Delinquency began its hearings to examine the comic book industry. This event was not the first time

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[64] "Wonder Woman's 100th Anniversary!," *Wonder Woman* 100 (DC Comics: August 1958): n.p.

comics had come under political fire. In 1948 the industry devised its first "Comics Books Code," which prohibited sexy comics, scenes of torture, vulgar or obscene language, discussion of divorce, and ridiculing religion.[65] The Senate hearings on comic books were overshadowed by the sensationalized Army-McCarthy Hearings, which began on April 22, 1954, but Wertham and other civic groups continued to argue for legislation against comic books. The comic book industry feared that it would be shut down under such heavy criticism from a noted psychologist, and it established its Comic Code Authority in 1954 to govern such matters. *Ladies Home Journal* and other magazines began to publish "respectable" comic type books of their own.[66]

Wertham testified before state legislatures and the US Congress that comic books would encourage delinquency and crime among youthful readers, but congressional leaders could not come to a precise consensus about the harm in comics. J. Edgar Hoover said that comic books could encourage crime, but he also said that they most likely had more of a chance of derailing it. Even though no consensus could be made, Wertham continued his battle against comics. He said male heroes, like Superman, promoted blind faith among youth. He evoked the children of Nazi Germany. His critique of female superheroes was no better. He said that Wonder Woman gave an undesirable ideal for young girls because she

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[65] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, p. 103; Fredric Wertham, "Comic Books—Blueprints for Delinquency," *Reader's Digest*, May 1954: pp. 24-29; Frederic Wertham, "What Parent's Don't Know About Comic Books," *Ladies Home Journal*, November 1953: pp. 50-53 and 214-20; Frederic Wertham, "Readers Write," *Ladies Home Journal*, February 1954: pp. 4-6; Nyberg, "Comic Book Censorship in the United States," in *Pulp Demons,* pp. 42-50; Nyberg, *Seal of Approval*, pp. x and 104-106; Wright, *Comic Book Nation*, pp. 154-55; and Association of Comics Magazine Publishers Code. Adopted 1948. Reprinted in Nyberg, *Seal of Approval*, pp. 269. Some of the groups to advocate regulation of comic books were the General Federation of Women's Clubs, the American Legion, and the Catholic National Organization for Decent Literature.

[66] Nyberg, "Comic Book Censorship in the United States," in *Pulp Demons*: 42-50 and Wright, *Comic Book Nation*, pp. 156-157.

was the opposite of what they were supposed to be. Wonder Woman was strong, powerful, assertive, and dominating.[67]

The US Senate adjourned its hearings on June 4, 1954, and it said it would release its findings in early 1955. There was no official stance after the hearings, but an increased desire to curtail comic books and horror literature prevailed. Reacting to increased pressure from civic groups, wholesalers, and retailers the comic book industry announced a new code in September 1954. It devised the Comics Magazine Association of America (CMAA), and New York City magistrate Charles F. Murphy was appointed to head the new organization. The CMAA differed from the ACMP because it associated with smaller comic publishers, and it attempted to bring in all elements of the comic industry. On October 26, 1954 the CMAA released its new code for publishers, and the new guidelines were more restrictive. The revised code prohibited racial slurs, kidnapping, excessive violence, and the use or the words horror or terror in title. In February 1955 the Senate subcommittee released its findings. While it did not wholly embrace Wertham's findings, it did declare a need to regulate and curb the production of literature promoting crime. The committee defended its report by asserting that the juvenile mind and "America's image overseas" needed to be protected.[68]

Partly battling critics, and partly reflecting ideals of the era, Wonder Woman's creators gave the idea of her marrying Steve Trevor even more of the storyline after 1955.

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[67] Wright, *Comic Book Nation*, pp. 157 and 159-160.

[68] Wright, *Comic Book Nation*, pp. 172-174; Senate Committee on the Judiciary, *Comic Books and Juvenile Delinquency*, Interim Report, 1955 (Washington, D.C.: United States Government Printing Office, 1955); and Code of the Comics Book Association of America, Inc. Adopted 26 October 1954. Reprinted in Nyberg, *Seal of Approval*, pp. 269-272.

The increased presence of this storyline helped silence critics who said Wonder Woman gave young girls an unfavorable image of womanhood. Trevor called Wonder Woman "Angel," and in numerous episodes he expressed his desire to marry her. In a 1958 story he exclaimed his exasperation at her avoidance of his marriage proposals, while holding an outstretched hand toward the fading tail of her robot plane. As Wonder Woman took off Steve exclaimed, "Someday I'll marry that Angel! If I can only get her to stop in one spot long enough—without her having to answer some SOS or another!"[69] The exasperation of Trevor is shown in continuous stories when he asks, begs, and tries to trick Wonder Woman into marring him. In 1954 Wonder Woman comes very close to marring Trevor. The story began with him saying that if Wonder Woman was not needed for three days to battle justice then they would get married. Wonder Woman lay idle for three days, promised to marry Trevor, but at the last moment she was needed to fight off a foe.[70] In "Top Secret" Steve Trevor actually attempts to trick her into marrying him. He tells her that if he can find her three times in one day then she will have to marry him, and he gives her an engagement ring. She tells him he must keep the ring until he has won, but unbeknownst to Wonder Woman Trevor lined the ring with a glow-like substance. He easily found her on the beach and in a costume contest before she realized what he had done. Instead of getting enraged at him, she decides to find a better way to conceal her identity from him. This she does by competing for a lieutenant position in the military. She wins the competition and becomes his new assistant, as Lt. Diana Prince.[71]

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[69] "The Forest of Giants," *Wonder Woman* 100(DC Comics: August 1958): n.p.

[70] "Wonder Woman's Wedding Day," *Wonder Woman* 70(November 1954): n.p.

[71] "Top Secret," *Wonder Woman* 99 (DC Comic, 1958): n.p.

While the text of "Top Secret" contradicts the earlier version of Wonder Woman's dual identity, her desire to avoid marriage with Trevor prevails.[72] The storylines show fantasies of Wonder Woman being overtaken by Trevor, as if the implication is that she wants Trevor to love her only if she can be freed of the responsibility for falling for a man. Her frequent excuse, aside from needing to fight for good, was that the law of Aphrodite said she could no longer be an Amazon if she married. Therefore, Trevor had to fall in love with Diana Prince so that Wonder Woman could marry.[73] This concept made the subject of her identity a strong subject matter because similar to superheroes like Superman, who hid his identity from his love interest of Lois Lane, Wonder Woman kept her identity from Steve Trevor.[74] Her dual identity compared to women of the 1950s. Women who left the workforce for the home, women who longed for a return to work, and women who worked for the benefit of their families all showed elements of Wonder Woman. They longed for something that went against the status quo, and sometimes (like Wonder Woman did everyday) they kept their aspirations or work hidden from those closest to them.

These women, through civil defense literature of defending the home from nuclear attack, purchasing goods for the family, and supporting a bread-winning husband, continued the tradition of domestic ideology. Wonder Woman, even though fictional, also represented this mindset because she could not/would not marry if she could not work. Hence, she continued to fight for the forces of good and democracy so that she would not have to give

[72] See "The Return of Diana Prince," *Wonder Woman* 9 (DC Comics, September 1942): n.p.

[73] Fleisher, *The Original Encyclopedia of Comic Book Heroes*, p. 224 and Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, p 101.

[74] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, p. 100.

up her job. Women post World War II represented the new face of the patriotic female: the face of the ordinary woman, who served her family, and lead a seemingly happy and healthy home life.

Chapter Five:

Bra Burning and Other Misdemeanors

The late 1960s and early 1970s saw protests that captivated the nation; some became more debated than others. Historians have often cited the catalyst for social uproars of the era as the increasing media coverage of the Vietnam War, rising death rates of American draftees, and the Tet Offensive. Factions within the home front began actively questioning and demanding answers for political actions. Much like the Korean Conflict Congress never officially declared war with North Vietnam. Even without an official declaration of war US forces actively engaged in a militarized zone, and the military relied upon the draft to supply continued manpower. The 1960s provide a perplexing and provocative look at the changes in American civil liberties and shifting perceptions of patriotism.

The decade's events helps explain the passing and failure of the Equal Rights Amendment, changing perceptions of women, and why the patriotic female further declined from view. Combined and continual actions of protest act as social misdemeanors, leading to major category shifts in national rhetoric and cultural thought. A key aspect of literature from the 1960s is that surging patriotism, seen during earlier war periods, disappeared from soldiers' letters in the Vietnam era—even though media and Congressional portrayals demonstrated an urgent need and desire for patriotism. This dichotomy plays heavily into

patriotic impulses and iconography. Soldiers of the Vietnam War did not have the same emotional pull as men fighting in World War I and World War II because the Vietnamese had never made a direct threat to the US homeland. More importantly, the political struggles in Vietnam were internally based, not directly affecting outlying regions.[1]

This chapter continues this discussion of the patriotic female's image, but its particular importance concerns her removal from mainstream popular culture. During World War I and World War II the patriotic female permeated patriotic iconography, while serving as a unifying agent for the nation. Her decline partially occurred because the Korean War was a smaller war and expectations for family life took precedence in the discourse, but civil rights movements and complexities of the Vietnam War further shattered existing frameworks. Eisenhower's deployment of National Guard troops to Little Rock, Arkansas, forced the nation to acknowledge its racial divisions. These disputes, and others, rippled to force civil and legislative action.

Americans had grown tired of sending their boys abroad; they were tired of sacrificing them for the "betterment of the nation," and they did not desire to continue using their national resources in foreign lands. These belief structures can be easily identified in several popular images from the period to demonstrate discursive threads of thought in 1960s culture and society. The backdrop of the argument rests on the 1968 through 1973

[1] Soldier's letters home, during the Vietnam War, still showed love, respect, and longing for their families, but in contrast to World War I and II they lack the patriotic and emotional pull calling for home front women to stand strong and wait patiently for their man's return. Instead, many of these letters express disdain for the military, the conditions of the warfront (an element seen in most wartime letters), and perceptions about why the United States should not be in this conflict. For examples of such war letters see: Carroll, *War Letters,* pp. 391-443.

Wonder Woman storyline and on the Luis Jimenez's 1969 *Barfly-Statue of Liberty* sculpture. These images demonstrate elements of unrest, chaos, and misunderstanding that pervaded the era. The 1968 to 1973 *Wonder Woman* storyline removed her from patriotic dress and superpowers. She became a mortal woman, a woman looking for love and trying to fulfill her role and place within mainstream society. Just like so many other female images of the era, Wonder Woman became average, commonplace, and normal. In contrast to *Wonder Woman,* the Jimenez statue's imagery, stark contrast, and relevance to the politics of the era make *Barfly* a mirror and tangible piece of evidence. She is a drunken depiction of the Statue of Liberty, which makes her a drunken image of the nation. The chaotic appearance and disheveled nature of *Barfly* directly correlate to US patriotic women because their public imagery had declined. Women were more vocal about voting, living alone, working alongside men, and demanding equal rights. They had been acting and living in the public sphere for centuries, but the later half of the twentieth century saw the issues of women's rights capture the public's mind.[2]

Anti-war protests reflect national fears and anxieties concerning US foreign policy, soldiers' letters denouncing the US military continually reinforced these trends, and the lack of a central female patriotic figure correlates to the disharmonious and disconnected chords of US national rhetoric. Expanding an analysis of the late 1960s and early 1970s, connecting political protests and the women's rights movement with concepts of patriotism clearly demonstrates why a central image of the patriotic female continued to exist. While portrayals of women burning their bras captivated popular culture, standard notions of

[2] For an image of *Barfly* see Figure 11.

women challenged these newer notions. Much like beliefs saying that working women failed to meet their gendered expectations, the Vietnam era saw gender coding remerge in various forms of discourse. These divisions of society emerged with the ERA and the gendered integration of the military, and it also reflected the civil rights movements of the period.

Patriotic women, in previous eras, had always been white. Even though whites maintained mainstream authority the 1970s civil rights movements had transformed the public perception of the nation. Before, non white groups were considered peripheral and non-important. By the 1970s they forcefully sought, demanded, and gained exposure and recognition, so the national face of unity and patriotism could not reside in the likeness of a single woman. Furthermore, the United States has never had a federal office for patriotism or propaganda development, and this element of governmental restraint led to a sense of apathy. As chapters two and three discussed, centralized wartime propaganda posters often came from volunteer artists working with the War Labor Board, and image creators often did so by request. Advertisers, print avenues, and artists were not being asked, or told, to produce images promoting the war.

Advertisements are not used in this chapter because their content differs little from the 1950s. They do not call for acts of patriotism, like those of World War I and World War II, and they follow the established format of selling beauty products and endorsing products with recipes and benefits for families. Three examples are "Max Factor created Tried &True so you have Soft Color for your hair . . . <u>for keeps</u>," "Why did Wendy Vanderbilt who could afford any sewing machine want one a Kenmore from Sears?," and "Take a cut

up chicken. Take a can of soup. Now look what you can do."[3] The Max Factor ad features an attractive blonde woman posed by her, with a man, and with a family. The text tells the reader the product will be gentler and keep hair softer and colored longer. The Sears advertisement features Wendy Vanderbilt, of the wealthy family, in stylish clothes, with rich surroundings, and in front of her sewing machine. Underneath her picture the reader learns that she chose Kenmore Sewing Machines for their quality and durability, even though they are considered to be thrifty products. As the title states, she could afford anything, so her endorsement appeals to the middle class ideal of thrift within the home. The last piece, for Campbell's Soups, gives the viewer recipes for using canned soup to make a complete meal. Again, middle class notions of thrift are captured by telling the reader how to make a quick and easy meal with minimal ingredients. These pieces do not address the politics of the era, nor do they promote patriotism. They showcase women, or imply female usage in the case of Campbell's, providing goods, beauty, and services for the family. This is the same framework of the patriotic female seen in the 1950s.

Even though advertisements did not overtly portray women in patriotic regalia or ask women to work for the war, female symbols continued to uphold the male principle of exclusion. This exclusion occurred through boundaries of separation and self sacrifice. These continual references to women kept the forces of modernity grounded within tradition

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[3] "Max Factor created Tried &True so you have Soft Color for your hair . . . for keeps," Max Factor Tried and True Hair Color, *Good Housekeeping*, February 1969, accessed from Adflip. http://www.adflip.com/addetails.php?adID=1040. Last accessed 16 October 2007; "Why did Wendy Vanderbilt who could afford any sewing machine want one a Kenmore from Sears?," Sears Kenmore Sewing Machines, *Good Housekeeping,* February 1969, accessed from Adflip. http://www.adflip.com/addetails.php?adID=1050. Last accessed 16 October 2007; and "Take a cut up chicken. Take a can of soup. Now look what you can do," Campbell's Soup, *Good Housekeeping*, January 1962, accessed from Adflip. http://www.adflip.com/addetails.php?adID=984. Last accessed 16 October 2007.

and stability because history had proven her imagery to hold the nation steady in times of turmoil and conflict. The female, her breasts, and her allure for the male gaze reminded men and women that men made culture and society function and push forward, while women acted as nature. The mother and a woman's breast equated zones of power for reproduction and nurturing—key elements that were needed to keep the state alive and productive.

The female had rallied the fledgling nation to fight against Great Britain and other perceived aggressors. Vietnam proved to be too much of a politically charged and divided war to permit national rallying around its battlefronts. Also, the military began actively integrating women in non-combat positions, and women successfully staged public protests throughout the nation. The perplexing and evocative imagery of *Barfly* and Wonder Woman continue this discussion of the changing face of patriotic women. Their inclusion in this discussion provides coherence for a decade iconized for its jubilant and scornful displays of protest, perceived honor and dishonor, and changes in fundamental social treatments of women. Their inclusion also provides concrete imagery for the fluctuating depiction of women in the national sphere.

Bringing Out the Women

In "Wonder Woman's Rival" the beginning of Wonder Woman's superpower decline emerges when villain Alex Block calls her a freak. Labeling her a freak indirectly compared Wonder Woman to females who did not fit the gendered expectations of the era. Marston created Wonder Woman as a valiant female, with heroic powers. Even though he made her valiant through her super powers and desire to fight villains without violence, her actual intentions are unknown. Individual and consumer beliefs frequently dictate cultural meanings for objects and events, and Wonder Woman clearly took the role of a female

heroine, savior, and role model. In 1968 DC Comics drastically changed her appearance and mission. The company stripped her of her powers making her a mortal. Books 178 and 179 (titled "Wonder Woman's Rival" and "Wonder Woman's Last Battle," respectively) remove Wonder Woman from her patriotic dress and superhero status, and made her a student of I Ching. I Ching was a martial arts specialist who trained Diana (Wonder Woman's "human" name) for the next five years. The premise of Wonder Woman's loss of powers stems from her love for Steve Trevor and her Amazon home moving to another magical realm. In the story line the Amazon women had consumed their magic and needed to relocate to another secluded island to rest. Wonder Woman received a message to return home, did so, learned the fate of her sisters, and the Amazon women gave her the choice of staying with them or joining the ranks of citizens as a mortal. She relinquished her powers because Steve had commented on his attraction for her alter ego, Diana Prince. Wonder Woman removed her patriotic garb, immersed herself in the fashions of the era, and attempted to live the life of a normal woman.[4] In her "civilian role," she continued to appear perfectly manicured, dressed, and mannered (see Figure 12).

Wonder Woman's new look placed her in go-go boots, tunics, mini skirts, multi colored and brightly colored outfits, and in "chic" fashion of the era. Her long and lustrous hair hung down her back, her eyebrows showed a fashionable arch, and her makeup remained flawless. She represented the 1960s women, just as Rosie the Riveter (see Figure 6) represented the needs of World War II society. Rosie also maintained perfectly manicured looks, but her clothing—of pants, overalls, and work shirts—represented a

[4]Daniels, W*onder Woman*, pp. 19, 33, 34, and 36-37; "Wonder Woman's Rival," *Wonder Woman* 178 (DC Comics, September/October 1968), n.p.; and "Wonder Woman's Last Battle," *Wonder Woman* 179 (DC Comics, November/December 1968), n.p.

national need for women to enter factories, leave their homes, and interact with society in previously unacceptable ways. Propaganda of the 1960s did not need a woman to leave her home, or socially interact on the professional or political level, like she had in World War II. Even though gender codes relegated women to the home, they entered colleges and universities, graduate programs, and professional fields in increasing numbers. With female emergence into academic and financial spheres, with higher rates in the 1970s, they became more visible. Fashions slimmed the female figure, and pant-suits gradually became more acceptable.[5]

The premise of the revised *Wonder Woman* story rests on Diana Prince, not Wonder Woman, coming to the aide of Steve Trevor and rescuing him from jail. Trevor has been falsely imprisoned for the murder of Alex Block because Trevor was the last person seen with Block. Through a complex story of deceit, the reader learns that Trevor went into a local hippie nightclub, Tangerine Alley, and had a momentary flirtation with a young blonde girl. Throughout the trial the girl could not be identified, but Diana Prince searches the downtown streets to find the girl's identity—her only clue is a cat face ring. After a day of searching she locates the ring at a local thrift store along with the girl's address, and upon arriving home she contacts Trevor's friend Roger Seely (who is supposed to be abroad in Europe). He has coincidentally sent her a telegram saying that he is returning from Europe

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[5] Kessler-Harris, *Out to Work*, pp. 300-301 and 305; and Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, pp. 171-172. By the 1960s women who did not work for wages were steadily entering the workforce, with 29 percent of married women working in 1950, 35 percent in 1965, and 40 percent in 1975. Furthermore, in 1950 one third of married women worked, half at full time positions, and by 1975 almost half of them worked with seventy percent at full time. Even with progress women were still regulated to "women's jobs"—i.e. teacher, secretary, nurse, and discouraged from taking professions. In 1970 fewer women held PhDs than in 1940, women complied fifty-one percent of the population, and they made half that of a man (average yearly income for women at $4,000). In 1960 the median annual income of full time working women had fallen by sixty percent to that of men.

because he heard the news about Trevor. Once Seely arrives at Diana's apartment, he pretends to call the jail warden to alert Steve about the found ring, and subsequent location of the girl. They then set out to find the girl, get her, and on the car drive to the jail Seely pulls out a gun, forces Diana to drive over a cliff, and he attempts to escape in a waiting plane. But, Diana releases herself from the car, turns herself into Wonder Woman in mid air, stops the car's decent, manhandles Seely's plane to detain him, and later brings him to the proper authorities. The episode ends with Wonder Woman and Trevor cozy on a couch discussing the events, and Trevor remarks that he sees Diana in a different light—he must get to know her better.[6] Diana saving Trevor from jail proves to be her last act as Wonder Woman for some time. The episode ends with the tie-in to her loss of superpowers. Steve having affection for Diana causes her to shed her legacy. The storyline of Wonder Woman's transformation might seem shaky, but the end result of her actions draw out the social references of the day—particularly that of her appearance.

Wonder Woman is jealous that Trevor would have an attraction for Diana (because she is mousy and unattractive), and Diana saves the day by transforming her natural attire into the trendy "chick" fashions of 1968. She adorns herself in go-go boots, lets her long brunette locks down, wears a tunic, and blends in with the "hippie culture." Diana is no longer the mousy, dull looking woman that Trevor has known for years. She is a young attractive woman, and her alter ego—of valor and determination—is also gone. She is a natural woman, looking for and needing a man to love and support her. Wonder Woman's loss of powers reflects the comic industry and media outlets attitudes concerning Women's

[6] "Wonder Woman's Rival," *Wonder Woman* 178 (September/October 1968): n.p.

Lib. They dismissed it with a sense of bemusement.[7] This oddly construed transformation of Diana fits in nicely with the social and political struggles of the era—particularly those concerning the national front and of women's rights.

Protesting

Protest movements prospered throughout the United States in the 1960s, many of these carrying over from the 1950s Civil Rights Campaigns and from earlier legislative battles. The war protests of the 1960s are, and were, most visible in popular culture with Women's Liberation taking a close second—if not coming in as number one. By the late sixties, and early 1970s, Women's Lib had taken on a national stance and its entry into national politics was a battle to say the least.

The disempowering of Wonder Woman, in 1968, highlights and exemplifies these debates because of her beauty is and her feminine mystique becomes the central focus of her storyline. Wonder Woman ceases to exist, leaving Diana Prince to find love and happiness as a mortal woman. Diana's new job is as a secretary. Even though her powers were removed, Diana still held an element of prowess and mysticism—she learns kung fu, karate, and jujitsu under I Ching (a man) to defend herself as a single woman. As *MS. Magazine* remarked "she became a female James Bond, but without his sexual exploits. The double standard applied to her."[8] This double standard denoted her as a woman of purity and

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[7] Wright, *Comic Book Nation*, pp. 350-351. In 1972 Marvel Comics published *Shanna the She-Devil, Night Nurse,* and *The Cat*. These femme characters, and books, were crafted from all female writers. The sales of all three lagged behind other publications, including *Wonder Woman,* and they each only survived for five published episodes.

[8] Joanne Edgar, "Wonder Woman Revisited," in *MS. Magazine* 1:1 (July 1972), p. 55.

chastity, one that would not break social boundaries and confines, and one that sought the love and affection of a man.

Continual protests movements highlighted the changing social place of women, much like the drastic change in the *Wonder Woman* storyline. In 1970 women marched down New York City's fifth avenue to demand equality, mothers boycotted for peace in NYC and elsewhere, and the went on strike to protest the lack of women's rights in the workforce and home.[9] Each of these protests brought out scores of women, and key leaders of the women's movement guided their efforts. Leaders like Gloria Steinem and Betty Freidan provided national faces of cohesion and recognition for the movement—essentially they were the unifying and patriotic faces that led the female protest movements of the late 1960s and early 1970s. The female protesters act in the same manner that their World War I and suffragists counterparts did. Their actions were for the betterment of the nation, and their gender, which falls into the guise of patriotism. These women served their country by forcing legal and social changes. But, mainstream society did not consider them to be patriotic women, and they were not endeared like the "poster women" of World War I and II were. Instead, they were chastised and ridiculed in the public spotlight, opponents said that they were mocking the female sex, and devaluing society. More importantly, mainstream media tended to focus on the appearance of women protestors instead of the issues at hand, and a three-part news special by CBS in March 1970 did little for the women's movement. A reoccurring theme of the series focused on women protesting against sex-segregated bars and *Playboy* magazine, but the footage often focused on jiggling breasts of models and

[9] "It Was A Day for Women to March," *NYT* 30 August 1970, p. 4; Marylin Bender, "Turning Tribute to Mothers to Boycott for Peace," *NYT* 8 May 1970, p. 47; and Linda Charlton, "Women March Down Fifth in Equality Drive," *NYT* 27 August 1970, pp. 1 and 30.

Playboy bunnies. Later the series remarked that feminists like Alice Denham once posed as models and *Playboy* bunnies. The tone of the series warned in disbelief, and contempt, that feminists were no more than "sour grapes."[10] Just as many women collectively united to rally for Women's rights in a public manner—other women "fought" for equality through silent action and career choice.

On September 7, 1968 approximately 100 women—of mostly middle aged careerists and housewives—picketed the Miss America pageant in Atlantic City, New Jersey. These women denounced the sexism of the show, and the female protestors spoke out against "objects of enslavement." These articles were bras, girdles, false eyelashes, and various other articles. The central artifact of contempt focused on a puppet swimsuit model. Here, the women were deploring the commercialization of a woman's body. The women refused to speak to men and male reporters, and when one protestor mistakenly did so she was jeered by the others until she ceased. Furthering their manipulation of the media, and drawing attention to their public spectacle, these protestors increased their displays of contempt when local news crews arrived on scene.

These female protestors crowned a sheep as "Miss America" to show that the pageant denoted women as nothing more than animals, held up a poster of a naked woman labeled "rump" and "loin," and provided numerous other antics to ensure their visibility to the crowd and media outlets covering the event. Throwing bottles of pink detergent into the "Freedom Trash Can," they denounced having to do dishes, and abhorring confections of cosmetics and nail polish the women relied upon the symbolic burning of a bra to focus the

[10] Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, pp. 168-175.

media's attention—particularly after the counter protestors arrived. One of the counter protestors was the 1967 Miss American runner-up, who wore a sign (affixed to her dress with a Nixon-for-President pin) declaring "There's Only One Thing Wrong With Miss America. She's Beautiful."[11] While these women protested and acted out their social disappointments they did not necessarily believe that they were acting in the light of patriotism. Rather, they perceived their actions within their rights of public discourse, being American, and for the empowerment of women. Their actions, in the words of Benedict Anderson, perpetuate, create, and solidify an "imagined community."

In January 1969 Rebecca Helen Marie Littlepage joined the Women's Army Corps in an effort to obtain education, financial gain, and see the world.[12] Littlepage came from a poor and large family, in central Colorado, and her situation (at the time) left little opportunities for her. Her demographics, and financial situation, called for her to get a job—any job, and usually low paying, and quickly get married, but Littlepage did not want this life. Instead, she chose to wear a uniform, commit herself to the US military, and "see the world." Littlepage enlisted from 1969 until 1981, traveled throughout the United States and Germany, and she recounts her Army service with pride and self respect.

Her accounts of the military reflect a spirit of sisterhood, and unity, for a larger cause—even though she may not directly state it. She joined the military to better herself, achieve successes and obtain options that would not have been readily available to her, and

[11] Charlotte Curtis, "Miss America Pageant Is Picketed by 100 Women," *NYT* 8 September 1968: p. 81; and Douglas, *Where the Girls Are*, p. 139-141. Robin Morgan, a popular TV star, organized the protest.

[12] The Women's Army Corps was incorporated in 1942, under President Roosevelt, and it fully united with the US Army in 1948 (via an act of Congress). In 1978 the WAC officially dissolved, and hence became known as part of the regular Army. For the sake of brevity, Littlepage's service will be referred to as with the US Army hereafter.

even for a sense of education. She readily admits that she wanted see if the ocean was really blue—like her school books showed—and to see if southern stereotypes were true. She quickly learned that the ocean *is* blue, and that most southerners *do not* live in abject poverty.[13] She did not burn her bra, or march in social protests, but she fought against the grain by entering a man's world.

Women were not, nor are they in the present era, expected to serve in the US military. Rather, men must sign up for selective service, and it was men in the 1960s and 1970s carrying draft cards (and sometimes burning them). These women that signed on for military service, and many of the protestors of the era, all fit within the categories of womanhood discussed in previous chapters. Merch Kazmierczak, Kate Richards O'Hare, and numerous others all acted in manners that they deemed necessary and vital for their well being and that of the nation. Kazmierczak worked in a steel factory during World War II, danced as a USO girl, and held those memories dear until her death in 2000. Kate Richards O'Hare, not deemed a patriotic women within the guidelines of popular media accounts like Kazmierczak, fought for women's rights via voting and later female prison reform. These women, like Littlepage, did what they thought was best for themselves, and at times the nation. Their actions, going against and representing the national ideal, helped construct society's patriotic center. Protests and resisters—like O'Hare and Gloria Steinem—enabled the image of the patriotic female to evolve. The female's continual acts of public disobedience and support for the nation forced society to reconstruct her image for each generation. Women like Littlepage who did not want to "fight" in a man's war, but wanted

[13] Rebecca Helen-Marie Littlepage, Interview with the Author. 2 February 2005; and Rebecca Helen-Marie Littlepage, Correspondence with the Author. Various dates: 2004-2005. Littlepage was born 30 July 1949 in Clifton, Colorado, and she was the third of nine children.

to experience life on her own terms, fit the Kazmierczak and O'Hare mold. Her actions benefited herself and the nation. Justly, she remembers the time of her enlistment with joy, some fear and regret, but mostly with a sense of pride and satisfaction—much like female reformers have expressed their emotions over the years.

Detailing moments of her military service, Littlepage tends to capture some of her more humorous memories—like when she united her barracks mates to end nightly fire drills. While stationed at Fort Sam Houston, Texas, in 1969, she was in charge of the barracks located next to the twenty-four hour laundromat. A Littlepage tells it, various male soldiers had taken a propensity to calling in faux fire drills at "ungodly hours of the night." So after a few nights of these unwelcomed interruptions to their sleep, Littlepage rallied her women together to "fight" off these male aggressors. She instructed her women soldiers to put their PT (physical training) clothes on over their nighttime attire. The catch about the women covering their nighties with their PT clothes resides in the fact that they were a dull and dingy shade of blue, the shorts were made from polyester, and the entire ensemble was far from flattering. Accordingly, after the laundromat soldiers got a view of the women in their PT uniforms instead of their more revealing, alluring, and form fitting pajama's the fire drills ceased.[14]

Littlepage's account does not demonstrate a mainstream political protest, but it does correlate to the era's activities on the domestic front. Littlepage, and the other women in the barracks, united to end nightly pranks and the ridicule of their bodies. These activities occurred in 1969, a few months after the 1968 Miss America protest, and Littlepage says

[14] Rebecca Helen-Marie Littlepage, Interview with the Author. 2 February 2005; and Rebecca Helen-Marie Littlepage, Correspondence with the Author. Various dates: 2004-2005.

that her actions were not a form of feminine protest. She asserts that they derived from a lack of sleep and dwindling patience on the matter. The actions Littlepage speaks of show how some women interacted with their new surroundings, and artist like Louis Jimenez portray angst and uneasiness with women and society in general.

The Jimenez piece portrays a robust woman, looking downward, slightly laid back on her stool, her left hand resting under her left breast, and her left leg is bent so that her foot rests slightly below her right knee. Her pose is seductive, but it is not obtrusive. With her right arm outstretched above her head, she grasps the handle of a foaming beer glass. She appears drunk. *Barfly* has blonde hair, pulled on her head in a bun-type style with it trailing over her right shoulder; she wears classic pumps, a red form-fitting spaghetti-strapped tank top, and a blue short skirt. Her feminine curves are clearly exposed, her cleavage showing (while also keeping her breasts unrevealed), her flesh is clean and crisp, and her body shows a stomach "poodge" and waistline curves that most commercialized images of women ignore. In essence she represents the "real woman," or as the Victorians or Progressives called their upcoming generations of women the "New Woman."[15]

Luis Jimenez grew up in El Paso, Texas, and he is most noted for his working class fiberglass sculptures. In his pieces he focused on capturing stereotypes of Mexican-Americans, but pieces like his 1969 *Barfly* parodied the predominant image of the white female. As a child he worked in his father's neon sign shop and in the 1960s while at the University of Texas at Austin he began using fiberglass in his works. To paint his pieces he airbrushes jet aircraft acrylic urethane paints, and since these paints only come in a limited

[15] For *Barfly* see Figure 11.

range of colors his pieces showcase red, blue, and purple. His earliest large-scale sculpture is *The Barfly—Statue of Liberty* (1969). The piece is nearly five feet tall, and it was created in response to the Vietnam War.[16]

Barfly's facial cosmetics also reflect this aura of a "real woman." Her rouge is pink and heavily applied, her blue eye shadow is thick making her eyes look weighted down, and her lips are a near cherry red. She is of patriotic and anti-patriotic importance through her imagery and beneath her legs resides an American flag. This flag is painted on a curved cylinder filling the air between *Barfly's* legs and the barstool, and stark symbols of protest to the war are the skulls replacing the stars.[17] At first glance the flag appears to be an afterthought, but when it is taken in continuity with the entire piece it exemplifies *Barfly's* theme. She, like her subtitle asserts, is the Statue of Liberty—the new statue for the new century, the new social order, and the "new woman."

Accordingly, the image of *Barfly* exemplifies many of the social schisms of the decade. Her drunken stance, her tight clothing, and her red, white, and blue coloration remark upon gendered notions of patriotism and cultural expectations on how the nation should be viewed. The list of flag desecration cases circulating the courts in the late 1960s and early 1970s, and the changes in advertising, also show that social thought does not derive from a centralized source.[18] Instead, it is a continual process, changing and evolving. Beliefs flag desecration, home front political discourses, female protests, and other social

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[16] Charles Dee Mitchell, "A Baroque Populism—Luis Jimenez," in *Art in America* (March 1999), http://findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_m1248/is_3_87/ai_54099527. Last accessed 18 October 2007.

[17] For a clearer depiction of *Barfly* go see the piece at the El Paso Museum of Art: El Paso, TX. Here the stars look like stars, but once a viewer sees the piece up close he or she will see the skull replacing the star image.

[18] For a discussion of flag desecration cases see Robert Justin Goldstein, Saving "Old Glory."

misdemeanors aptly reflect their national and cultural heritage to eloquently portray generational shifts within the national ethos. These actions united, divided, and frightened the American public and government, and for these reasons a change in patriotic culture occurred in the 1960s. These combined actions allowed the image of the patriotic female to fade because social shifts no longer needed her idealized image to guide and support the nation. Instead, the continually evolving rhetoric and imagery of American patriotism further divided to create a culture of fear and uneasiness.

Images like *Barfly* reinforce gendered social notions, albeit in an odd manner. The failure of the 1950s mentality of contentment, the disappointment of World War II women, women demanding and gaining their right to vote post World War I, the continual changing image and role of the female (and de facto the male) all set the stage for the upheaval of the 1960s. This era represents the apex of post war patriotic propaganda failures. A war without a declaration, a draft without an official war, a war without direct threats to the homeland, and a war without consistent victories or an end in sight exasperated the American public to a point when it betrayed itself. Albert Boime remarks that, "Flags are symbols through which independent countries proclaim their identity and sovereignty, and they can inspire soldiers to sacrifice their lives for the glory and honor of their nation."[19] The conception of the flag as a symbol extend to home front imagery—particularly that of the female—because the sensual image of the woman encourages men to fight. As the previous chapters have shown, a large part of soldiers pledging their allegiance and devotion to nation during times of war centered upon the idealist and angelic image of the woman.

[19] Albert Boime, *The Unveiling of National Icons: A Plea for Patriotic Iconoclasm in a Nationalistic Era* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 20.

The female could no longer be upheld as a fetishized symbol because she no longer represented the quiet passive female. Her compulsive repetition, in patriotic display, finally reached a crossroads. The ideal of her desire sharply contrasted her behavior.[20]

On March 22, 1972 a 49-year battle to obtain an Equal Rights Amendment succeeded in winning Congressional approval, and within 32 minutes of Congress approving the amendment and registering its approval, Hawaii ratified the ERA in its legislature.[21] Despite the initial success of the amendment, it failed to be ratified. In 1982 the ERA reached the end of its run. On June 30, 1982 only 35 of the required 38 states had passed the amendment, and the ERA had run out of time. [22] Thus, the amendment died, and it has yet to be enacted as part of the US Constitution.

The fight for the ERA proved tiresome and troublesome as many critics sought to deconstruct the amendment for hidden meaning and intent—rather, than looking at it for social security and prosperity. Fears abounded that prohibitory laws would be devalued, men and women would lose sanctity and security in society, and that basic elements of daily life would be eroded. For instance, a common claim of opponents to the amendment was that single sex bathrooms would become unconstitutional, that women would be forced to

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[20] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, pp. 184-189.

[21] Eileen Shanahan, "Equal Rights Amendment is Approved by Congress," *NYT* 23 March 1972, pp. 1 and 21.

[22] Eileen Shanahan, "Equal Rights Amendment is Approved by Congress," *NYT* 23 March 1972, pp. 1 and 21; Mansbridge, *Why We Lost the ERA*, p. 1. The ERA has been reintroduced into Congress every session since the 1982 expiring, and On 15 March 2005 both houses of Congress nodded at the passage of the ERA by sending it to the Committee of the Judiciary, and currently only three states need to ratify the amendment before Congress will make it law. The House of Representatives also enacted House Resolution 155, which states that all legislative measures will be taken to pass the ERA once states have ratified it. This latter development stems from House Resolution 38 (108th Congress, 1st session, 28 January 2003) stating that all measures will be taken to implement the amendment once it has been ratified by the states—which also derives from precedent set in 1992 when the "Madison Amendment" passed 203 years after its presentation to the states. The Madison Amendment concerns congressional pay raises.

pay child support and alimony, no longer be guaranteed custody of their children upon divorce or separation, and that women would be forced into mandatory overtime because laws prohibiting working hours for women would be invalidated. Proponents for the legislation continually reinforced the notions that these beliefs, and others, would not come true. Instead, bathrooms would stay single sexed because of privacy laws, women and men would be held equally liable for custody and child support, and laws designed on the premise of safety and security would not be invalidated for equality. These battles all revolved around the central element of the notion of the female—her beauty, her social importance, and her familial place all came into contested boundaries with the ERA debates. In this context, battles concerning the ERA reflect fears that men and women would be equated as one—not just politically and professionally but sexually as well. Accordingly, centralized and glorified images of the female needed to be restructured—especially those images that had evolved with time, showed progress in a woman's activities, and images that could be perceived as a role-model to other women and girls.

Reviving Wonder Woman

The disempowerment of Wonder Woman, or the birth of "The New Wonder Woman" as many dubbed the 1969 to 1972 storyline, saw sales decline by its fifth issue. In 1972 feminist activist Gloria Steinem vocalized opposition to the disempowered heroine. Steinem, no stranger to comics, edited *Help* magazine in the early 1960s. *Help* was a humor circular with cartoons, comics, and *feinetti* (photos in comic book form). Also, Steinem was a self-proclaimed fan of the original Wonder Woman since it debuted in her youth.[23] In

[23] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, pp. 129 and 131.

1972 Steinem steered the publication of *Wonder Woman*, a collection of thirteen "Golden Age" books and she wrote the introduction. She said that the original Wonder Woman stories showed strength in their feminist message, and she asserts that Wonder Woman gave young girls a strong role model to reach adulthood. Even though Wonder Woman was not perfect, as racists overtones played into the story in the 1940s when she encountered a Japanese or German foe, she still strode forth. According to Steinem her feminist message of strength and perseverance needed to be resurrected, even if her character did often get derailed by her love for Steve Trevor. The article ended by saying that Wonder Woman would be reborn in 1973.[24] Originally Dorothy Woolfolk was intended to be the new editor of *Wonder Woman*, but at the last minute she was turned down for Robert Kanigher. Official *Wonder Woman* histories give no precise reasoning for this change, but in the first episode a female editor is the first victim of death. [25]

In July 1972, *Ms. Magazine* premiered, and its first cover featured a larger than life Wonder Woman towering over a street, knocking planes from the sky, with the title "Wonder Woman for President." Amidst articles entitled "The Value of Housework," "Sex Manuals: The How to That Failed," and "Body Hair: The Last Frontier" a brief discussion of *Wonder Woman* occurred. The article by Joanne Edgar gave a brief overview of *Wonder Woman*, and it included an insert with the origin of the original Wonder Woman. Edgar

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[24] Gloria Steinem, "An Introduction," in *Wonder Woman* (New York, Chicago, and San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston and Warner Books, 1972): n.p. and *Wonder Woman* (New York, Chicago, and San Francisco: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston and Warner Books, 1972).

[25] Daniels, *Wonder Woman*, pp. 132-133. The Comics Code also changed again in the 1960s and 1970s. Just as the 1954 Code reflected Cold War values, the 1960s and 1970s saw the comics industry become more lenient with the code. Scenes of death started to be shown, but they were still shown as horrid events.

declared that Wonder Woman would rise again in 1973, and she voiced hopes that the heroine would address politics and be more assertive than submissive this time.[26] Wonder Woman*'s* rebirth did not necessarily address women's lib politics, but it did indirectly address the image of the patriotic female.

In the January/February 1973 issue Wonder Woman was reincarnated as her superhero self. The story begins with sniper fire, with a newlywed's car crashing into Diana and I Ching's restaurant. The sniper kills I Ching, who dies in Diana's arms, and he kills a woman's magazine editor (Dottie Cottonman). Diana chases the sniper, fights with him, and she awakens in the hospital with amnesia. She leaves the hospital because she claims that she has a subconscious calling to go somewhere, even though she does not know where. She then steals a military jet, is chased by military pilots, gets shot down over the sea, battles a shark, comes to the surface unconscious, and a boat of Amazons rescue her. They recognize her as one of their own, and they take her back to Paradise Island.[27]

When she awakens, she is in her traditional red, white, and blue costume, but she does not recognize her mother Queen Hippolyte. The Queen sends her to the Amazon Memory Bank, and Wonder Woman is shown all but three tapes of the Amazon history (as well as her own history as Wonder Woman). Wonder Woman receives a new beginning in this episode, as the tapes reveal that the Queen brought a clay statue to life to create her daughter. Just as she begins to remember who she is a warrior in armor, with her face

[26] Edgar, "Wonder Woman Revisited," in *MS Magazine* 1:1 (July 1972): pp. 52 and 55 and "*Ms*. Presents the Origin and Classic from the Original Wonder Woman!," in *MS Magazine* 1:1 (July 1972): pp. 53 and 54.

[27] "The Second Life of the Original Wonder Woman," *Wonder Woman* 204 (DC Comics, January/February 1973), n.p.

covered, challenges Wonder Woman to a duel. This event greatly upsets the Queen, but the duel must proceed according to Amazon custom that Wonder Woman must duel any challenger to her title. The two women duel, the masked warrior breaks Wonder Woman's sword, but she hesitates long enough for Wonder Woman to disarm her. The Queen calls the match a draw, and she demands the masked warrior to remove her face covering. The warrior reveals herself to be Nubia, the "Wonder Woman of the floating island." The Queen sends Diana back to the "man's world," and she arrives just outside the United Nations building. She obtains a job as an interpreter, and she decides to a get an apartment with girls that were hired with her. The episode ends with Wonder Woman exclaiming, "I feel as if I've been reborn! I wonder what's going to happen to Wonder Woman the second time around?"[28]

The altered history of Wonder Woman's rebirth is customary in comics, as writers continually alter storylines to keep readers interested, but the insertion of Nubia gives the comic a convoluted storyline that helps deter the reader from conflicts in the 1970s. Nubia, the "Wonder Woman of floating island," is a black woman and in the next book she reveals herself to be Wonder Woman's sister.[29] Nubia, like Wonder Woman, was created from a clay statue, but the comic book never gives substantial details to explain why Mars (the god of War) raised her instead of the Queen. Also, until Nubia's entrance in "The Second Life of the Original Wonder Woman" only white women lived on Paradise Island. Looking at

[28] "The Second Life of the Original Wonder Woman," *Wonder Woman* 204 (DC Comics, January/February 1973), n.p.

[29] "War of the Wonder Women," *Wonder Woman* 206 (DC Comics, June/July 1973), n.p.

the two women, see image 15, the two females look the same except for their skin coloring. Wonder Woman is still in her red, white, and blue outfit, and Nubia wears a yellow and black spotted corset style dress. The visual imagery of Wonder Woman's sister is that of a white woman in colored skin. Their hair is the same, their bodies are the same, and their facial expressions are the same. Nubia takes such a minimal role in the story that her character does not really add anything. Instead, the lack of physical definition of Nubia and her minimal appearance leads the reader to conclude that Nubia cannot be on the same level as Wonder Woman because she is not white. She does not fit the standard stereotype of the patriotic female—the white female—and her upbringing on a secluded island with men provides the impression that she does not have the same purity level as Wonder Woman.[30]

MS. Magazine's 1972 discussion of Wonder Woman honed in on this point. Author Joanne Edgar remarks that while Wonder Woman reigned supreme in battle, in love she was "lassoed back into conventionality, became the simpering romantic maiden, willing to relinquish her Amazonian birthright to follow a man."[31] US media focused on the physical appearance of female protestors, and artists, but a "good looking" woman did not necessarily relegate a woman into the female sphere. Also, the women shown were usually white. For instance, Gloria Steinem told the American Newspaper Publishers Association that the continual lack of coverage about women's rights and the ERA reflected badly on the nation because it perpetuated the mindset that women remained second-class citizens, without a

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[30] See Figure 13 for Nubia and Wonder Woman.

[31] Edgar, "Wonder Woman Revisited," in *MS Magazine* 1:1 (July 1972): p 55.

viable public voice, and that basketball scores and other mundane avenues of daily life appeared to take precedents over matters of national concern.[32]

Steinem's disgust for the media's manipulation of the feminist movement can also be seen in advertisements of the era that downplayed female protests with fashion trends. The *New York Times* ran a piece discussing the bra industry's reaction to female protestors burning their bras. Even though little bra burning actually occurred during the height the women's movement, the media still made it a focus of public concern because it heightened viewer and reader appeal, brought about notions and images of women running amuck by disregarding "good fashion and taste," and the footage of bra burning honed in on the standard image of the woman as prim, proper, perfectly composed and constructed. This newspaper article discussed how the bra industry managed to deflect a potential loss in clientele by implementing an ad campaign that instructed women on how to wear a bra while looking like they were not wearing one. These ads told women to convert to the unwire bras for a more natural look, choose one from a variety of colors, and wear a backless one for dresses that "leave little to the imagination." Most importantly, advertisements and articles like this one said that women needed to wear bras because the weight of their winter clothes would flatten their breasts, causing sagging and distortion over time, which would later make them unattractive.[33]

Women not only demanded social justice and recognition, but she began to alter their appearance in ways that shocked and frightened the "old guard." These acts of resistance do not differ from previous methods of female protest. In the early twentieth century, women

[32] Deirdre Carmody, "Gloria Steinam Says Press is Failing Women Reader," *NYT* 26 April 1973: p. 27.

[33] Isadore Barmash, "Bra Industry Reacts to Women's Lib," *NYT* 13 September 1970, p. F11.

embraced new fashion designs and began wearing bras instead of corsets, and the reduction in layers of fabric caused social stir, discontent, and fear in the early twentieth century. These women were called modern jezebels. Just as social guards denounced women as being too modern, revealing too much, and straying from their natural place, society expressed the same antagonism and fear in the late 1960s and early 1970s.[34] Jimenez's 1969 construction of *Barfly* shows these fears and desires in an eye assaulting manner. His female statue leans half-drunk, scantily clad, obviously wearing a "new bra" of the era, and represents many of the perceived social threats against US liberty. Her loose and suggestive pose, overdone make-up, and carefree appearance show a stark contrast to the national image of the woman. She is the Statue of Liberty undone. Just as women and their ideal portrait evolved, works like Jimenez forced an acknowledgement of social change. Social depictions of women could no longer hold them to a higher ideal. Columbia, even in her goddess form, shows restraint and social self respect because she is covered and leaving her home only for the betterment of the nation during a time of need. The World War I and World War II images and posters discussed in earlier chapters do the same. The women of this era broke social boundaries through their public demands and deceptions. Previously, their employment outside the home fell under the guise of patriotism and helping the nation, but without a centralized image women's actions began to reveal personal motives.

Suffrage women protested publicly for the female vote, but they did not burn their bras, drastically alter their clothing from existing norms, and even though they picketed the White House during wartime they remained peaceful. Rather, the nation was shocked that

[34] See: Fields, "*Fighting the Corsetless Evil*: Shaping Corsets and Culture, 1900-1930," in *Beauty and Business*, pp: 109-140.

women were subjected to prison terms for their public actions, and once World War I ended they *did* obtain their treasured vote. After all, their sisters served the nation as nurses and factory workers during the war months—as they did again during World War II. After World War II the nation had nothing left to give women as a token of appreciation and thanks for their hard work and continual service. Instead, the fifties arose with its "culture on complacency and conformity" left women feeling betrayed for the lack of national gratitude. They were adamantly, and regularly, told to and forced to leave their jobs, "return" home, and live the life a happy housewife. But then the 1960s came.

Wonder Woman was stripped of her powers, growing distress and disbelief concerning the war in Vietnam, and despairing political agendas riveted and continued to divide the nation. A society struggling with continual unrest and changing faces for political unity (albeit for foreign wars or internal civil rights) could barely grapple with itself, and its national face of unity and prosperity was quickly dissolving. Reality was being forced into the public spotlight, and ideals of perfection and angelic qualities for the nation could no longer withstand public scrutiny. The patriotic woman was no longer the factory worker during wartime. She was no longer the Roman Goddess. She was no longer a symbol via a piece of cloth. She was the nation herself through economic and political turmoil, on the faces of magazines, newspapers, and television screens. Her face could no longer be pinned to one likeness because each decade, year, month, and day brought a new issue to the surface of the American mind—issues that made the nation continually reexamine its past, present, and future.

Chapter Six:

Glory Undone

Writing a conclusion to the story of patriotic women is perplexing at best and a bit aggravating at the least. Unlike traditional events in history the story of patriotism and gendered iconography has not ended. The study of the patriotic female does not permit concrete boundaries. Instead, the public role of women—within mainstream society and for the face of patriotism—continues to perplex and confuse the nation. In 1973 the military removed the draft, again making its ranks a voluntary force, the Vietnam War ended in 1975, and in 1982 the ERA failed to reach passage. Gendered politics changed when the ERA passed Congress, and the debate for and against it in the states permanently altered the state of gendered equality. The 1972 ERA is also the same year that Wonder Woman regained her superhero powers. Just as the ERA failed in 1982, Wonder Woman never regained her previous sense of honor and duty for "the last arsenal for democracy." Instead, she became a fighter in The Justice League, and she battled aliens and other extraterrestrials.[1] Much like American politics, and the misunderstandings and concerns about women's role in society, Wonder Woman's storyline often confused the reader and

[1] Daniels, *Wonder Woman,* p. 105. The Justice League began in 1960 with Superman, Batman, Aquaman, Flash, Wonder Woman, Green Lantern, and Martian Manhunter. Other characters have been added and subtracted from the league, and the group has several subsection like The Justice League of Europe or The Justice League Task Force.

demoted her to a subservient role. These events and numerous others have continued to reshape the nature of American patriotism and the way society has constructed itself. Most importantly, the gendered face of patriotism still exists within modern society, but the new female face is no longer centralized in popular culture. Instead, the patriotic female has become an introvert of sorts. She is no longer the “Rosie,” the portrait of femininity and beauty seen in Howard Chandler Christy’s artistic expressions have faded from the popular mind, and Wonder Woman barely holds her marker among newer comic book characters of Japanese Anime and male heroes who fight until the death.[2] Instead, the new woman lies beneath the surface, and her sacrifice and patriotic honor are seen through familial service and key public roles in the nation.

With the 2001 War on Terror, and the 2003 invasion of Iraq, the nature of warfare and the face of the military have changed. Propaganda posters have evolved to encourage women (and men) to join the services, but discourse divides about the role that women should play in combat zones. Much of the debate about women in combat concerns their

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[2] The Death of Captain America is an example of the death of superheroes. In “Fallen Son: The Death of Captain America,” *Captain America*, 25(Marvel Comics, November 2007) Captain America (aka Steve Rogers) is killed by a snipers bullet in front of the court house. The ensuing story line follows the five stages of death, directly ties in with post 9-11 political conventions, and the death of this superhero seemed so shocking that it made the front cover of *The New York Times*. Though, Marvel Comics revived the character, about six months later, when it brought back Bucky Barnes as the new Captain America. Bucky Barnes was Captain America’s sidekick during World War II, and he died at the end of the war. George Gene Gustines, “Captain America Is Dead: National Hero Since 1941,” *NYT*, 8 March 2007: front page; Larry Holmes, Jonathan O’ Beirne, and Glenn Perreira, “Shocking Event for Captain America,” CNN.com. (March 2007. Accessed on line 9 April 2008); available from http://www.cnn.com/2007/SHOWBIZ/books/03/07/captain.america/index.html; Internet; Jimmie Tramel, “Super Bad: Comic Book Artist Takes Deadly Aim at Resurrection Plotlines,” in *Tulsa World* (14 March 2008): GE3.

The death and quick rebirth of Captain America prove to be a striking contrast to the legacy of the patriotic female. Especially, when Captain America’s key female counterpart has never gone out of publication or died. The patriotic female has certainly declined in usage, and critics of Marvel Comics can certainly connect the recent events of Captain America to the War on Terror. These events show the next era of patriotism, and perhaps Captain America’s rebirth shows another gendered element national imagery.

ability to handle the job, and traditional notions of gender still apply. Political actions correlate to this debate, as female losses and achievements continue to reflect gendered boundaries. The ERA's failure and the appointment of the first female Supreme Court Justice provide two examples of this new trend in gendered patriotism. The image of the woman as wife, mother, and housekeeper no longer guides society. Instead the image of the woman as judge, advocate, professional, wife, mother, divorcee, villain, and martyr all structure the female's image in late the twentieth and early twenty-first centuries.

Moving the Woman Outside Expectations

The ERA's failure to obtain passage forced society to reexamine its gendered stereotyping, and by default racial profiling. This long and slow process has brought some elements of change to national leadership, legislation, and military roles for women. On July 7, 1981 President Ronald Reagan nominated Sandra Day O'Connor to the US Supreme Court, and with her appointment in September 1981 she became the first female justice for the Court. O'Connor was not the first female to be appointed to Court. In 1971, Mildred Lillie, nominated by President Richard Nixon, withdrew her nomination shortly after it was made public. The nomination of a woman to the Court shortly before the Senate's vote on the ERA and just before the ERA's passage deadline proves striking. Concrete reasons behind these actions cannot be fully expressed, but critics have generally remarked that appointing a female to the Court was a tactic to stop the ERA. O'Conner continually received strong support from the American public for being on the Court, but her appointment also helped inflate the image that women and minorities no longer needed extra legal protection.

O'Connor's appointment, just before the clock expired on the ERA, reflected discussions concerning Women's Liberation in the 1970s and in the current era. A July 1981 cover of *Time* ran a portrait of O'Connor with the phrase "Justice at Last," and various other publications celebrated O'Connor's Supreme Court appointment in similar manners. The statement "Justice at Last" coincides with news articles stating social fears about women in power, and it proves perplexing since the ERA failed in the light of a newly appointed Supreme Court Justice.[3]

Media coverage of O'Connor, with her appointment in 1981 and retirement in 2005, did not overtly call her a patriot. Instead, discussions praised her for opening doors for women. Several news accounts focused on O'Connor's symbol for the changing role of women, her dead-pan humor, conservative-Republican views, and her public poise. Even before the Senate confirmed her nomination to the nation's highest court, the buzz in Washington DC placed O'Connor as the next justice. Headlines discussing her appointment, or imminent one, showed a kitschy flare with titles like "When Woman Justice Took Witness Chair" and "O'Connor Captures Washington's Heart." In comparison the headlines for Antonin Scalia, the justice appointed immediately after her, read "The Supreme Court: Man in the News; the Judge with Tenacity and Charm: Antonin Scalia" or "Rehnquist and Scalia Take Their Places on the Court"[4] These titles did not highlight the

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[3] "Justice at Last," *Time,* 20 July 1981: cover page.

[4] "When Woman Justice Took Witness Chair," *US News and World Report*, 21 September 1981: p. 13; "O'Connor Captures Washington's Heart," *US News and World Report*, 27 July 1981: p. 6; Linda Greenhouse, "Sandra Day O'Connor: A Different Kind of Justice," *NYT*, 9 October 1981: p. A24; Irvin Molotsky, "The Supreme Court: Man in the News; the Judge with Tenacity and Charm: Antonin Scalia" *NYT*, 18 June 1986, late city final edition, A31; and Stuart Taylor, JR., "Rehnquist and Scalia Take Their Places on the Court" *NYT* 27 September 1986, late city final edition, 1p8. Antonin Scalia took his oath on 26 September 1986. As of print he is still serving on the Court.

sex of the candidate, nor did they attempt to invoke connotations of change. The titles, and articles for O'Conner, mirror the pieces aimed at women from earlier periods. They play upon notions emotion and the duty of women. O'Connor represented the astute female, of the white ideal, with a happy family. During her confirmation hearings she made point to acknowledge her husband and three sons, who sat in the Senate chambers. She also remarked that family should be of high importance and that marriage gave "hope to the world and strength to [the] country."[5] This sense of commonality and contentment aptly reflected American culture. She represented what political parties desired, while also attesting to social needs for contentment. O'Connor was the exception to the rule because social ideals still held women within the home. She could step into the public sphere because she continually made note of her family. She still adhered to (partly) traditional values of maternity and marriage. More so, the image of the ideal American female has remained white, middle class, and suburban.

Another key woman to help reshape the face of the patriotic female is Geraldine Ferraro. To date she is the only women to represent a major political party in the bid for president. In July 1984 Walter Mondale, the Democratic Candidate, appointed her as his Vice-Presidential nominee. The campaign was already behind the Republican one, but critics have cited Ferraro's bumbling with releasing financial statements as a key downfall. She released her tax returns, but her husband only released a tax statement. After the election the House Ethics Committee cited her for mishandling campaign funds. The failure of Ferraro to reach the Vice-Presidency cannot be blamed solely on her, and media venues

[5] "When Woman Justice Took Witness Chair," *US News and World Report*, 21 September 1981: p. 13.

gave her intense scrutiny. Her views on abortion, being pro-choice, were put under fire from the Catholic Church, and her role in the family continually made way into media headlines. Studies show that the Vice-Presidential candidate does not weigh heavily into election returns, and President Ronald Reagan entered the arena with a high percentage of pledged voters. His campaign won by the largest electoral advantage in history. Several commentators asked what Ferraro's husband would do while she served as VP, and she took personal hits about financial disclosure and for being the first woman in such a high profile position.[6]

Campaign losses and the aftermath of the ERA's failure to achieve ratification forced politics to include more pointed debates concerning Affirmative Action and equality in the workplace. Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1991 created the Federal Glass Ceiling Commission. This bi-partisan commission, of twenty-one members, set out to study and set forth plans of action to advance women in business, leadership, and roles of national importance. The Commission, headed by René Redwood, showed that women and minorities continue to hold fewer positions of power to their white male counter parts, and these sub groups also continued to earn less than white men. The US Department of Labor set up national programs to provide funding and institutional support for businesses and

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[6] Barnard Weinraub, "Geraldine Ferraro is Chosen by Mondale as Running Mate, First Women on Major Ticket," *NYT* 13 July 1984, late city final: A1; Jane Perlez, "Husband Plans Tax Disclosure with Ferraro" *NYT* 19 August 1984, late city final: 1p.1; Kathleen A Frankovic, "The 1984 Campaign: The Irrelevance of the Election," in *PS* 18:1 (Winter 1985): 39, 41, and 43-46; Robert A. Nacoste, "Affirmative Action in American Politics: Strength or Weakness?," in *Political Behavior* 9:4 (1987): 292-3 and 301-302; and Jake Tapper, "Ferraro Steps Down From Clinton Campaign," ABCNews.com (12 March 2008. Accessed 9 April 2008); available from http://abcnews.go.com/Politics/Vote2008/story?id=4440551&page=1; Internet. Ferraro also served on NY Senator Hillary Clinton's campaign for the White House. On 12 March 2008 she stepped down as surrogate and financial adviser to the campaign because of racial comments made about Illinois Senator Barack Obama. To date, the campaign has not decided who will be the Democratic nominee for the 2008 election.

corporations to promote, train, and recruit women for leadership roles, but as of 1995 women and minorities still held less than fifty-percent of power positions within corporate America.[7] The Commission's findings reflect the same trends and beliefs that have been discussed in this dissertation. That is, the Commission's report occurred in 1995 after the US Supreme Court held two female justices, women stood and won political election, First Lady Hilary Clinton headed a national commission for health care reform, and women had made great strides in numerous other areas. The second female US Supreme Court Justice is Ruth Bader Ginsburg. She took the oath of office on August 13, 1993, and as of publication she is still serving in the Court. In light of these women in national leadership roles hard evidence continued to show that mainstream society regulated women to the same roles they had been living in for decades and centuries. Most importantly, the existing social image of women remained as the prevalent means for male power and support in society.

Susan Jeffords popular culture renditions of war and gendered imagery address the issue of women within the war narrative, and by default the function of the patriotic female. In her book *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* she focuses her discussion on the revitalization of male images and that women appear as pitiable and contemptible. Her assertions place sexualized images into the foreground of war literature, and the female serves as a constant reminder to the ideology and collective identity that gendered markers denote. Most importantly, a defining aspect of American war literature resides in it being a man's story—an account that excludes women, leaving "gender [as] the assumed category of interpretation, the only one that is not subject to interpretation and

[7] US Glass Ceiling Commission. *A Solid Investment: Making Full Use of the Nation's Human Capital* (Final Report of the Commission). Washington DC: US Government Printing Office, 1995.

variations of point of view, experience, age, race, and so on."[8] This concept of women being excluded from the war narrative has proven true throughout this dissertation. Women, while showcased on the home front as providers for the family home and supporters of men, rarely existed in the war front narrative. Women served as nurses, and various other support roles, in World War I, World II, the Korean War, and the Vietnam War, but the popular image of war resided with groups of men, bonding, and collectively existing together. Just as women are subtexts and reason to fight in male narratives, men remain as reasons to encourage women to perform for the nation. To heighten the image of men and the battlefront war accounts of females depict them as tramps, weak, and as enemy combatants.

Women's Role and Contested Place

In 1970 women comprised 1.4 percent of the military, by 1980 the number increased to 8.3 percent, in 1990 women comprised 13 percent of the services, and in 2005 they tallied 15 percent. These numbers reflect the 1942 creation of separate military services for women, and the 1948 professional status of women in the services when President Harry S. Truman signed the *Women's Armed Services Integration Act* in 1948. This act also limited the number of women in uniform to two percent of the military, and it prevented women from serving in combat areas. Prior to World War I, and between World War I and II, tradition and law prohibited women from serving in the military. In 1991, Congress repealed the restriction preventing women from flying in combat zones, but women are still not allowed to serve on naval combat ships or in front line locations. Also the 1948 act forbade women with dependent children from serving and allowed only one female Navy

[8] Susan Jeffords, *The Remasculinization of America: Gender and the Vietnam War* (Bloomington and Indiana: Indiana University Press, 1989): pp. xii, 49, and 61.

Captain or Colonel (in other branches). Public Law 90-30, in 1967, detached the two percent female cap for the military, and it removed the officer cap (while still keeping restrictions on flag officers). It also banned women from combat areas, except for women in the Army. This exclusion has never been fully explained.[9]

In 1989 women flew in combat zones under Operation Just Cause (Panama), and in the 1990-91 Operation Desert Storm/Shield/Fox women flew combat aircrafts. The ban on women in combat had been lifted in 1991, and 40,000 women served in the First Gulf War. Even though the Pentagon repealed the "risk factor" for women in the military, military guidelines and federal law continue to prohibit women from directly serving in front-line defense.[10] The increased use of women in conflict zones made national headlines in 1991 when during the First Gulf War Air Force Major Rhonda Cornum (a flight surgeon) and another woman were taken captive by enemy forces. Prior to her deployment Cornum had been a proponent for women in combat, but four years after her capture she finally released the full details of her ordeal. Her capturers sexually assaulted her. With this revelation, shortly after the Department of Defense repealed the "risk factor" for women, critics argued that had Cornum released this information to the press earlier the debate concerning females in combat may have looked drastically different. With the second Iraqi War (Operation Iraqi Freedom), beginning in 2003, and deployment of troops to Afghanistan under the US's

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[9] Aline O. Quester and Curtis L. Gilroy, "Women and Minorities in America's Volunteer Military," in *Contempory Economic Policy* (20:2 April 2002): p. 114-115; and Jake Willens, "Women in the Military: Combat Roles Considered," Center for Defense Information. 7 August 1996. accessed on line. http://www.cdi.org/issues/women/combat.html 2 July 2006; *Women's Armed Services Integration Act of 1948*, Public Law 625—80th Congress, Chapter 449—2d Session. S. 1641. 12 June 1948. The US military has the highest percentage of women in the world. Flag Officers are officers with a rank higher than Colonel.

[10] Willens, "Women in the Military," online. The National Defense Authorization Act FY 1992-1993 repealed female combat exemption laws.

War on Terror, public debates have reopened concerning women in combat and combat zones. The capture and subsequent release of US Army Private Jessica Lynch accelerated this debate.

Lynch, a 19-year-old private, served in Iraq with the 507th, a rear guard unit of mechanics and support personnel connected with the Third Infantry Division, when her convoy came under fire. Initial reports claimed that Lynch valiantly fought until her weapon ran out of ammunition, and when rescued from an Iraqi hospital near Nasiriya she had several gunshot wounds. Shortly after her highly publicized rescue, that was filmed and later aired on numerous news networks, the story began to break down. Later accounts reported that she did not have gunshot wounds. Her injuries came from the vehicle crash she endured when overtaken by Iraqi fire, and several accounts that hospital staff intended to kill her, abused her (in various forms), and treated her harshly have been disputed. Instead, hospital staff claim that they were enchanted by the blonde soldier from West Virginia who entertained them with her humor and laughter. Lynch, who remembers little of the ordeal, disputes claims that she fired her weapon or that her capturers were brutal. She has stated that her weapon jammed at the beginning of the fire fight, and she remembers little of her capture.[11]

Lynch has made public statements concerning her time in Iraq, and she has also noted that the media portrayal of her is exaggerated. Yet, the biggest gap in the Lynch story concerns Private First Class Lori Piestewa, a Native American, and Specialist Shoshona

[11] Melani McAlister, "Saving Private Lynch," *NYT* 6 April 2003: Section 4, p. 13; Alessandra Stanley, "A Nation at War: The TV Watch; In Hoopla Over POW, A Mirror of US Society," *NYT* 18 April 2003: p. B9; David D. Kirkpatrick, "Jessica Lynch Criticizes US Accounts of Her Ordeal," *NYT* 7 November 2003: p. A25; Frank Rich, "Pfc. Jessica Lynch Isn't Rambo Anymore," *NYT* 9 November 2003: Arts and Leisure p. 1; and Nicholas D. Kristof, "Saving Private Jessica," *NYT* 20 June 2003: p. A23.

Johnson. Johnson, an African-American, and Piestewa were also found with Lynch. Piestewa died in the attack, and Johnson has since spoken at various events and on NPR about her capture. The latter two women received very little media attention, and critics like Jesse Jackson publicly remarked that their racial status is why the media ignored them. In newspaper accounts Johnson's rank was even omitted, when those of her fellow POWs were given.[12] The Lynch story, and the omission of the two other females with her, demonstrates the perpetual evolution of the patriotic female. The patriot and patriotic female still remains white, even though the military was desegregated under President Truman's Executive Order 9981 in 1948.[13] Alongside racial issues, the prevalent dialogue still captures the public—that women need to be protected and that they are fragile.

Remarks from US soldiers exemplify this contested issue. Several interviewees asserted that when a soldier is in his fox hole and his male comrade goes down anger sets in. The soldier feels a stronger urge to kill the enemy, and the same sentiment occurs when general fire happens. Essentially, the belief that men can protect themselves prevails, but a woman still needs defense. They further remarked that when a woman is next to you, and fire occurs, you have the urge to cover her first and then shoot. In contrast, when two men are side-by-side they will not fight the urge to place their body over the others. Instead, they will fight and then look for the wounded later. The conversations that I had with several veterans of Iraq and Vietnam generally took the same tone concerning females in the

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[12] Alessandra Stanley, "A Nation at War: The TV Watch; In Hoopla Over POW, A Mirror of US Society," *NYT* 18 April 2003: p. B9. Stanley did not give Johnson's rank in her article, and she merely denoted her as "the unit's cook."

[13] Harry S. Truman. Executive Order 9981. *Federal Register* 13, no. 4313 (26 July 1948): 4793. The last segregated units were abolished in 1954.

military and women in combat and combat support roles. The most frequent remark made concerned war being a male zone of power. One man put it aptly, when he told me that men scratch, fart, and cuss, and a woman around would prevent men from doing what they do best . . . bonding, being gross, and developing a collective sense of unity and cohesion. This sense of community enables the group to enter battle, protect each other, and (hopefully) annihilate the enemy.[14]

US Army Specialist Coron Nesreddin Tsurara told me that he did not want to offend me with his thoughts and remarks concerning women in combat. His approach for

[14] Personal Conversations with Paul J Dyson II. January 2005. Nesconset, NY; Personal Conversations with Paul J Dyson II. April 2007. Stony Brook, NY; Personal Conversations with Ricardo Molina. March 2005. Hofstra University: Hempstead, NY; Personal Conversations with Anonymous. July-August 2005. VA McGuire Hospital: Richmond, VA; Personal Email from Coron Nesreddin Tsurara to the author. 27 June 2006; and Personal phone Conversation with Paul Sumrell. Conducted by Jaime N. Warren. 11 February 2005. Fort Wainwright, Alaska.

Many of my interviewees refused to let me use their words for this project, and some of their remarks are too foul for print. I say too foul for print because of guidelines for academic discourse. I am not particularly offended by their language, and graphic descriptions, but I fear that many readers would be. Also, I do not want to convey an untrue image of the military. Others cleared me to reference their name as an interview subject, as long as I did not use direct quotes. One such person who is purely paraphrased is a former student of mine and a former US Marine—Ricardo Molina. Molina spent four years in the US Marines, reached his End Term Service date, and went on the Marine's Inactive Reserves rosters so he could complete his college education. While Molina did not spend time in Iraq or Afghanistan, he told me that he was literally packing his bags when his orders were recalled—twice. He graduated (with a Bachelor's Degree) from Hofstra University in May 2005.

At the time of his deployment, Dyson was a Staff Sergeant in the Massachusetts Army National Guard, and he has served a tour under Operation Iraqi Freedom. He is currently a Sergeant First Class with the MA Guard. His "day job" is teaching English Literature and Writing classes at the University of Massachusetts at Boston. Dyson is my Renaissance-Lit friend who reads John Milton, and since we are friends I promised him he could see the final results of this study. He tells me that he does not want readers to misunderstand his dignity as a scholar and a soldier. Paul is deeply committed to both avenues of his life, and I cannot think of the correct words to convey this message. So, I hope my stating that here will let the reader know that he takes great pride in his military service, as well as his academic life.

Tsurara is a Blackhawk Mechanic for the US Army, and he returned from his tour in the summer of 2007.

Paul Sumrell is a Specialist in the US Army. He returned from Iraq in October 2004.

Additionally, Jaime N. Warren helped me with research for this section. She provided me with invaluable soldier interviews concerning women in combat and combat zones.

gentility indirectly reflects the core of this issue—that men do not want to offend women with their actions in combat areas.[15] Much in the same manner that society instills gender coding—allotting females qualifiers like delicate, beautiful, and graceful—the language of discussing politics and battle becomes gendered.

These gendered statements are not unusual, and further remarks about women in combat areas are crass, harsh, and to the point. The soldiers I interviewed admitted that they had limited contact with women in combat zones, but they did witness the actions of some fellow comrades. They also knew of the actions of some female soldiers. Women are not officially used in front-line zones of combat, but they have been used in combat areas. Kayla Williams's remarks on the actions of female soldiers when individuals like her team leader announced to the group that she intended on cheating on her husband. Williams also talks about the Army's colloquial term of "Queen for a Year." Women in warzones are scarce commodities, and on deployment they are in high desire. A female's "hotness" scale is increased on deployment. The military does not have a strict no-sex policy for deployed soldiers, but they are told to just not get caught. Hence, with women being about fifteen percent of the military, females are easily outnumbered by men. Women can use this information to their advantage by flirting with men, having sex, or making promises of sex to get extra amenities.[16] Sex on the warfront becomes a supply and demand issue, and on occasion actions can be misperceived or outright acts of aggression can occur.

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[15] Personal Email from Coron Nesreddin Tsurara to the author. 27 June 2006.

[16] Kayla Williams, *Love My Rifle More Than You: Young and Female in the US Army* (New York and London: W.W. Norton and Company, 2005), pp. 18-23 and 261-263.

The military's statistics on sexual assaults show a rising concern among the ranks. According to statistics from the Department of Defense, the First Gulf War saw 24 cases of sexual assault (from 1990 to 1991), and the sexual assault numbers for Operation Iraqi Freedom (OFI) and the War on Terror reveal 118 cases from August 2002 to October 2004. To add murk to these waters, the Miles Foundation (a non-profit group for military victims of domestic violence and sexual assault) reports 258 cases for the same time frame.[17] Accounts from soldiers who have returned from Iraq a show disregard for anti-fraternization policies among the troops, and several females attest that they endured perpetual unwanted advances from male soldiers. Also, factoring into this equation of sexual misconduct is that not all sexual advances are unwarranted or rejected.[18]

As earlier chapters have attested these wartime sexual acts are not uncommon, nor are they new to Operation Iraqi Freedom. A look at the home front culture of OIF shows similar slogans to those of World War II. While the "Victory Girls" slogan is not used in the current era, similar slogans like "Be Safe, Sleep With a Soldier" are colloquially used. Items with the "Be Safe" slogan, and others like "Army Issued Wife," can be purchased at internet stores like Café Press, and a quick Google search will enable an individual to find blinkies and other banners to attach to personal web pages, email programs, and so forth. Thus, these sexualized slogans are still prevalent in US culture. *The Sunday Paper*, a small

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[17] Pamela Martineau and Steve Wiegand, "Women at War: Sexual Combat," *The Sacramento Bee* 7 March 2005: p. A1.

[18] Pamela Martineau and Steve Wiegand, "Women at War: Sexual Combat," *The Sacramento Bee* 7 March 2005: p. A1. In May 2005 the debate about women in combat reopened in Congress, but an amendment the 2006 Defense Appropriations Bill did not pass the Senate. This amendment would have prohibited women from combat areas, but it failed because proponents for the military noted that recruiting would continue to fall with such a restriction. The military—particularly the US Army—has faced mounting problems obtaining (and retaining) recruitment numbers because of the ongoing war.

circular in Atlanta, Georgia, captured a photo of a returning OIF vet kissing his pregnant wife's stomach. The background displayed an American flag, with the image of another couple embracing in the distance.[19] This image captures the essence of the continuing role of women to the nation—that of wife and mother. Her image may not be celebrated like it was in World War I and II, and prior to Women's Liberation, but her cultural relevance is still pertinent. She still stays home to keep the home fire burning, and she welcomes home her military spouse upon his return. The glory of the patriotic female is now undone because there is no central face for her. She can be a soldier, a judge, or nearly anything else. The face of the soldier still remains predominantly male, but the female's face still shows up in the background. Now, it is in uniform holding a weapon with men.

Declining Wonder Women

During Wonder Woman's disempowerment from 1969 to 1972 her long-time love, Steve Trevor, was killed, but in the 1980s he was resurrected. The storyline became bolder, but sales continued to fall. Finally, in "Of Gods and Men" Steve Trevor married Wonder Woman, but in the "Crises on Infinite Earths" episode Wonder Woman is killed on Earth One.[20] In 1986 DC Comics revamped its comics, and it erased its histories so they could start anew. In "Crises on Infinite Earths" the DC Comics stars all died, Wonder Woman died in episode twelve, and upon their rebirth (in the following episode) its storylines and mission changed. DC Comics took this drastic move to make their characters have continuity. Before the twelve episode "Crises on Infinite Earths" series no character had a

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[19] "Sweet Freedom: Four Georgia Soldiers Who Risked Their Lives for Democracy," *The Sunday Paper* (Atlanta, GA) 30 January-5 February 2005: cover photo.

[20] The storyline that allowed Wonder Woman to marry and still keep her powers occurred on one of the parallel Earths.

consistent history.[21] DC Comics' killing off of characters, on separate Earths, allowed the writers to ignore the history of the heroes and heroines, and it started each character from scratch. Comic book history denotes the post 1986 era as the "Post Crisis" period, and these new storylines have made Wonder Woman an ambassador of peace.[22] The storylines have focused on more science fiction, and she fights epic battles with villains from various planets and universes.

These new storylines have Wonder Woman fighting alien villains, and in 1997 she moved to fictional Gateway City to fight crime and promote peace.[23] She takes on similar storylines to other comic book stars, like *Batman* and *Superman*. *Batman* lives in Gotham City, and Superman is from Smallville, a town near Metropolis. These drastic changes in Wonder Woman's storyline remove her from her patriotic roots. When she began, in 1941, she left Paradise Island to come and "save the last arsenal for democracy." These post 1986 storylines reflect part of the idealism of a global world, and the idealistic nature of the United Nations that future wars can be prevented. Yet, Wonder Woman's removal from the United States merely reflects the nature of the patriotic female. She has been undone by changing gender ideologies and political expectations. She can no longer be stationary. The factory worker, the goddess, and other incarnations continually evolve to suit patriotic needs of the moment and refined gendered ideals.

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[21] "Of Gods and Men," *Wonder Woman,* 329 (DC Comics, January/February 1986), n.p; "Crises on Infinite Earths," *Crises on Infinite Earths Series,* 12 (DC Comics, March 1986), n.p. At some point in the early 1980s DC Comics developed the storyline of Earth One and Earth Two. As the story progressed there were multiple Earth realities, and in some on some of these spheres Wonder Woman was non-white.

[22] DC Comics killing off its characters and then reintroducing them acts differently than the "Civil War" in Marvel Comics that killed Captain America. When Captain America returned he do so as another person continuing the mission.

[23] "Time Out of Mind," *Wonder Woman*, 120 (DC Comics, April 1997), n.p.

This newer face of American patriotism still looks like traditional views. Gerald Leinwand describes American patriotism as a desire to put national interest ahead of self-interest, and he furthers asserts that patriotism should be taught and mandated throughout society because loss of it is a loss of character. Leinwand reinforces his contentions with discussions on patriotic symbols of the United States—symbols like Uncle Sam, the US flag, the Bald Eagle, and others. These symbols represent the nation through their use, emotional pull, and use in everyday life. Leinwand notes they should be upheld and respected because a person without unfaltering allegiance to the nation poses a threat to its security, prosperity, and growth.[24] Even though OIF and the War on Terror have not used Columbia-like or "Rosie" images to rally the general public, the lack of concrete female imagery has not halted the role of the patriotic female. Her image is captured in news photos waiting for her husband to return home, and the gendered ideals of the sexes (while under contest) still show the masculine ideal of war and the feminine ideal of the nation. The glory of the ideal woman, the housewife, and the mother has been undone and redone to bring the woman outside of the home, put her in public office, and in other places of prominence.

[24] Gerald Leinwand, *Patriotism in America: Democracy in Action* (New York, London, et al.: Franklin Watts, 1997): pp. 8, 14, 133, and 149.

Figure 1

Little Earth Belt Buckle. Circa 1995.

Figure 2

Howard Chandler Christy, *Clear the Way! Buy Bonds, Fourth Liberty Loan"*
Poster for Victory Liberty Loan
Circa 1917-1919
US Food and Drug Administration. Education. Advertisement.
Oil on Canvas, 41 ½ x 31
NARA Still Records Branch—National Archive at College Park—Archives II (College Park, MD)

NAIL Control Number: NWDNS-53-WP-10B

Figure 3

Howard Chandler Christy, "*Fight or Buy Bonds : Third Liberty Loan*"
Poster for Victory Liberty Loan
US Food and Drug Administration. Education. Advertisement.
1917
Oil on Canvas, 41 ½ x 31
NARA Still Records Branch—National Archive at College Park—Archives II (College Park, MD)

NAIL Control Number: NWDNS-4-P-207

Figure 4

Howard Chandler Christy, *Gee!! I Wish I Were A Man I'd Join The Navy*
Poster for the US Navy Recruitment
1917
Watercolor on paper, 32 x 38
NARA Still Records Branch—National Archive at College Park—Archives II (College Park, MD)

NAIL Control Number—NWDNS-4-P-55

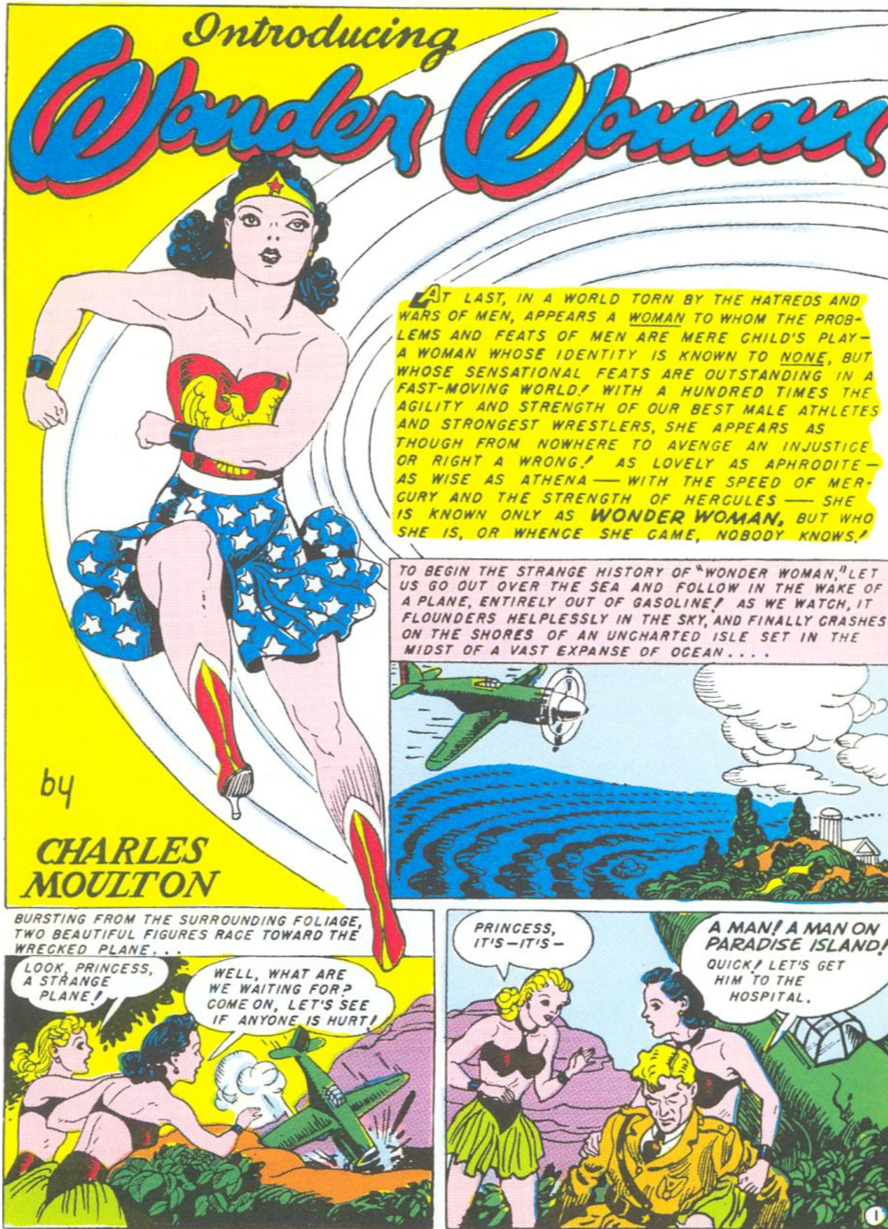

Figure 5

Wonder Woman—first cover
"Introducing Wonder Woman." *Wonder Woman*. 8: DC Comics, 1941-42.

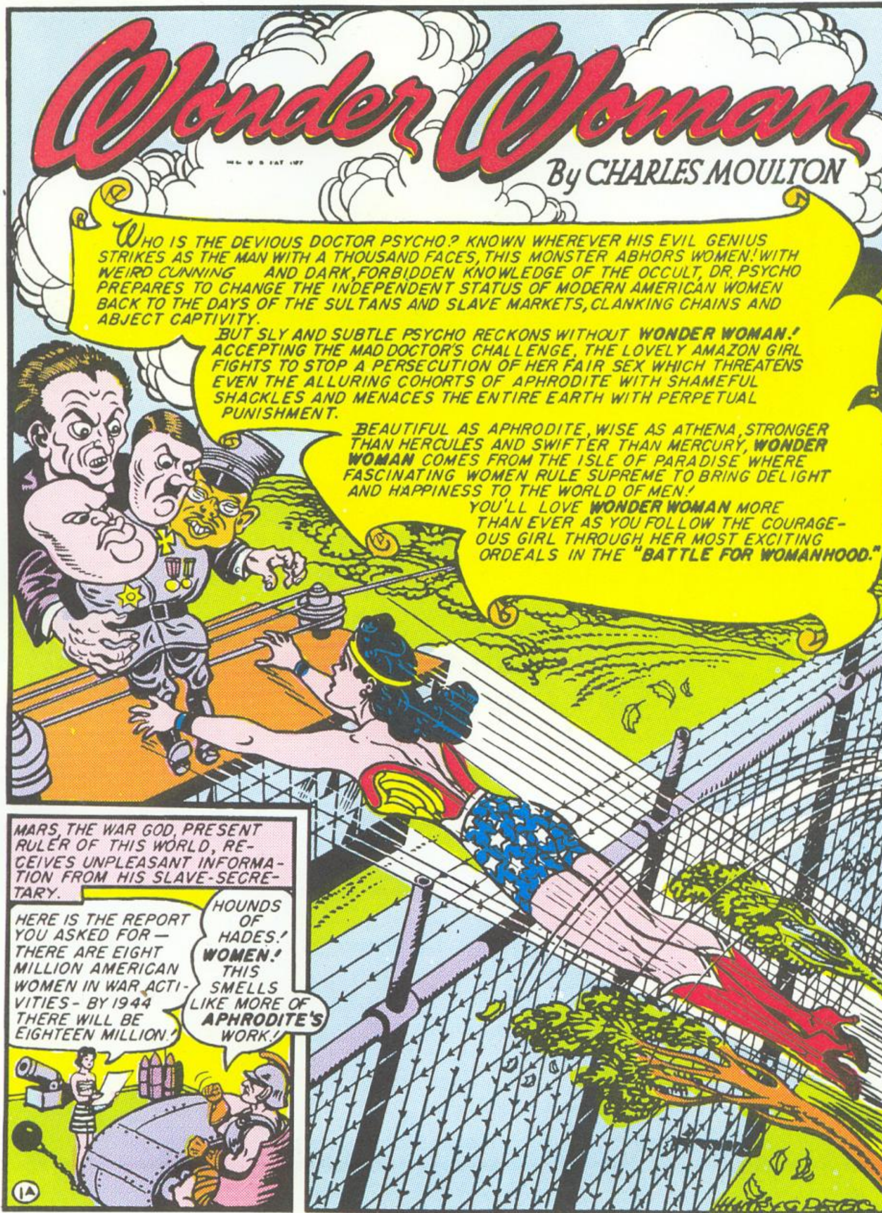

Figure 6

Wonder Woman—second cover, with shorts
"The Battle for Womanhood." *Wonder Woman*. 5 DC Comics, summer 1943.

Figure 7

US War Production Board
J. Howard Miller, *We Can Do It!*,
Westinghouse for War Production Co-Coordinating Committee,
circa 1940
NARA Still Picture Branch—National Archives—Archives I, Washington D.C.

Nail Control Number: NWDNS-179-WP-1563

Figure 8

“Merch” Kazmierczak and Theodore Williams with unidentified baby.
Circa 1944
Hammond, IN
Photo Courtesy of Andrew J. Babic

Figure 9

"Merch" Kazmierczak dressed as "Rosie the Riveter"
circa 1943-4
Hammond, IN
Photo courtesy of Andrew J. Babic

Figure 10

Stanislavasu “Stella” Kazmierczak, Stephanie “Steffie” Kazmierczak, and Maria “Merch” Kazmierczak
Circa 1944
Hammond, IN

Photo Courtesy of Andrew J. Babic

Figure 11

Maria “Merch” Kazmierczak, Adam Kazmierczak, Sandra “Sandy” Kazmierczak
Circa 1944
Hammond, IN

Photo Courtesy of Andrew J. Babic

Figure 12

Luis Jimenez, "Barfly—Statue of Liberty," 1969
El Paso Museum of Art: El Paso, Texas

Figure 13

Wonder Woman
"Wonder Woman's Rival." *Wonder Woman*. 178 DC Comics, September/ October 1968.

Figure 14

"War of the Wonder Women." *Wonder Woman. 206*: DC Comics, June/July 1973.

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Maria "Merch" Kazmierczak, Adam Kazmierczak, Sandra "Sandy" Kazmierczak. Hammond, IN: circa 1944. Courtesy of Andrew J. Babic.

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