New Errands

Welcome to New Errands!

The Eastern American Studies Association and the American Studies Program at Penn State Harrisburg are pleased to present the third issue of *New Errands*, an online journal that publishes exemplary American Studies work by undergraduate students.

Seeking to develop the next generation of Americanists, *New Errands'* mission is both to provide a venue for the publication of important original scholarship by emerging young scholars and to provide a teaching resource for instructors of American Studies looking for exemplary work to use in the classroom.

New Errands will be published semi-annually, after the end of each academic semester. The goal of this timetable will be to collect and publish essays produced during the previous term, so that they can be made available as quickly as possible for use in the following term.
We encourage both self-submission by undergraduate students and nominated submissions by instructional faculty. They must have an American focus, but can employ a variety of disciplinary methods. Submissions can be emailed as Word documents to newerrandsjournal@gmail.com.

Essays can be of any length, but they must have a research focus. Any visual images should be placed at the end of the manuscript, and tags should be placed in the text to indicate the intended placement of each image. Manuscripts should conform to MLA guidelines.
Papers found in this volume were presented at the Undergraduate Roundtable of the Eastern American Studies Association Annual Conference in March of 2013.

For further information about the Eastern American Studies Association, including the annual undergraduate roundtable and the EASA undergraduate honors society, please visit:
http://harrisburg.psu.edu/eastern-american-studies-association.

A Message from the Editor—

We at *New Errands* are proud to present the outstanding papers from the Undergraduate Roundtable of the Eastern American Studies Association Annual Conference, held in March 2013. These papers have been selected because they represent exemplary
undergraduate research and demonstrate an appreciation for and critical understanding of American culture.

Encouraging undergraduate study and research of American culture and society is our goal at *New Errands.* By recognizing and publishing the exceptional work of undergraduate
students, we are able to meet this goal. Our hope is to inspire a new generation of American Studies scholars and provide a forum to share their work.
We look forward to continuing this tradition in the years to come.

Tiffany Weaver

Table of Contents

The Effect of the Holidays on Eating Disorders

Kaitlin Dannibale
Rowan University

The holiday season, the time from Thanksgiving to New Year's Day, is a period filled with many joyous occasions, including family, friends and food. However, one must also consider the negatives that come along with these moments. Family feuds, financial difficulties and personal issues tend to heighten during the holiday season. For the average person, this provides an abnormal amount of stress. However, for someone suffering from an eating disorder, the holiday season is more difficult than one can imagine. With about thirty million people battling an eating disorder in their lifetime, it is important to remember the ongoing fight these people deal with, especially during Thanksgiving and Christmas. While the holidays prove to be difficult for many people, it can be concluded that the holiday season tends to have a more considerable effect on those suffering from eating disorders, due to the significant emphasis on food and elevated levels of stress.

There is no denying the fact that one massive part of the holiday season is the food. Considering the Thanksgiving Feasts many Americans prepare, the endless amount of Christmas treats, and the countless alcoholic beverages consumed on New Year's Eve, it becomes clear that food is everywhere. To some people, it would simply not be the holiday season without the constant supply of delicious foods and sweets. According to the US Bureau of Labor Statistics on any given day in November or December of 2011, at least 95% of Americans spent over an hour eating or drinking (US Bureau of Labor). Thanksgiving, Christmas Eve and Christmas are only three days out of the two month span, but still a majority of Americans focus on food during this time period. In fact, Thanksgiving and Christmas are two of the "eating holidays" during which the average American will consume up to 14% more food (O'Callaghan). Compared to other holiday groupings, such as civic holidays, like Martin Luther King Jr. Day, and mixed holidays, like the Fourth of July or Labor Day, eating

holidays are known as the point of highest caloric consumption in the United States.

Thanksgiving may be the holiday most widely known for its correlation to a large feast. From children being taught in elementary school about the First Thanksgiving to the holiday movies adults watch every year, it is drilled into the minds of all that Thanksgiving is all about the food. Today a typical American Thanksgiving Day feast includes turkey, stuffing, potatoes, yams and a variety of vegetables and desserts. The History Channel Online cites that, "close to 46 million turkeys are eaten at Thanksgiving" and "nearly 88% of Americans eat turkey at Thanksgiving" (History). With Thanksgiving rating as American's second favorite holiday, it is easy to conclude that one of the reasons for this is the meal that comes with it.

In comparison, food is just as relevant to Christmas as it is to Thanksgiving. The Indiana Business Research Center released statistics relating to Christmas and the prominence of sweets during this holiday. According to the IBRC, during the Christmas season, "In 2007, eggnog consumption nationwide was 122 million pounds," while, "more than 1.8 billion candy canes will be made for the winter holiday season" (Indiana Business Research Center). And what would Christmas be without the chocolate? It is reported that, "70 percent of adults give or receive a box of chocolates [during the winter holidays]," and there will be approximately, "150 million chocolate Santas mass produced for Christmas" (Christmas by the Numbers). While Thanksgiving may focus on one single feast that occurs on one specific day, Christmas brings an indulgence in sweets and treats that lasts an entire month. Regardless of which people prefer, it is clear that the holiday season is defined for many by the amount of meals, beverages and treats they will consume during this time.

For people who view Christmas as a time for family and faith, they may find it hard to believe that so many place food at a higher value than these two traditional elements. However, according to the Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture, published by The University of California Press, "Food and drink have always starred in Christmas celebrations" (Kaufman 17). From Anglo Saxon times, "[when] wassail and lambs' wool flowed at boisterous December outings," there has always been a major focus on food during the Christmas

season (Kaufman 17). By 1796, holiday recipes began to be published in America and emphasis on the ideal Christmas dinner became even more prominent. When Christmas was declared a legal holiday in 1860, "Christmas observances were gaining momentum," and choices for holiday feasts continued to transform into something new. No longer was mince pie a popular favorite. Instead, the focus moved on to things that represented holiday totems, such as, "pears cut like Christmas trees" (Kaufman 22). Regardless of the time period, it is clear that food has always been placed on a pedestal during Christmastime. Without the ideal Christmas dinner, it is hard to predict what the holiday would become. It is safe to say Americans will never know a Christmas without the feast.

To fully understand the effect of the holiday season on eating disorders, one must have basic background knowledge on the topic of eating disorders in general. In the United States alone, twenty million women and ten million men suffer from an eating disorder at one point during their lives. Included in this category are anorexia, bulimia, binge eating disorder and EDNOS, eating disorder not otherwise specified. For the purposes of this paper, anorexia, bulimia and binge eating will be the three eating disorders examined.

The Lancet, which is cited as the world's leading general medical journal, focuses on the various symptoms that one experiences while suffering from an eating disorder. It states, "Briefly, anorexia nervosa is characterized by extremely low bodyweight and a fear of its increase; bulimia nervosa comprises repeated binge eating, followed by behaviors to counteract it…" (Treasure 583). While there are some significant differences between anorexia and bulimia, the goal is the same amongst most eating disorder patients. The need to be in control and find comfort within destructive behaviors pushes sufferers to continue forward in these harmful disorders.

According to the National Eating Disorder Association, anorexia nervosa is defined as, "a serious, potentially life-threatening eating disorder characterized by self-starvation and excessive weight loss" (National Eating Disorder Association). Some of the symptoms that may manifest are a resistance to maintain a normal body weight, an intense fear of gaining weight or being "fat," disturbance in the experience of body weight and the loss of menstrual cycles in females post-puberty (National Eating Disorder Association). People suffering from anorexia normally obtain control of their disorder in one of two ways: caloric restriction or over-exercising. Either one of these options allows the person to feel "empty" and in control. Janet Treasure, author of Eating disorders in The Lancet, adds additional symptoms and categorizes them by types of behavior. For example, in the restrictive behavior category, she includes, "strict rules about eating, little variety in foods, avoidance of social eating and secret eating" (Treasure 584). All three of these behaviors will play a role in the difficulties those suffering from anorexia experience during the holiday season. Bulimia is on the opposite end of the eating disorder spectrum. The National Eating Disorder Association cites bulimia as, "a serious, potentially life-threatening eating disorder characterized by a cycle of bingeing and compensatory behaviors such as self-induced vomiting designed to undo or compensate for the effects of binge eating" (National Eating Disorder Association). Symptoms included within bulimia are a regular intake of large amounts of food combined with a feeling of losing control, extreme concern with body weight or shape and regular use of inappropriate compensatory behaviors, such as purging or use of laxatives (National Eating Disorder Association). Those suffering from bulimia also have the risk of becoming compulsive exercisers in order to compensate for the binges in which they participate. To add to these symptoms, Eating disorders' author, Janet Treasure, says, "eating more rapidly than normal, eating until uncomfortably full, eating alone because of embarrassment and feeling disgusted, depressed or very guilty because of eating," are also likely signs of bulimia (Treasure 584).

While there are specific symptoms for each type of eating disorder, there are also general behaviors which most eating disorder sufferers embody. For example, almost all people living with an eating disorder will engage in body checking behaviors such as, "repeated weighing, checking that specific clothes fit and [comparing themselves] with others' bodies," as well as body image disturbance behaviors like, "overvaluation of shape and weight in determination of self-worth and minimization or denial of symptom severity" (Treasure 584). Some of these behaviors are

6

obvious to those on the outside but denial is a common response from the eating disorder patient. To live inside an eating disorder is to escape from reality and most people suffering from eating disorders will do whatever is takes to avoid facing the truth.

Binge eating, which is similar to bulimia without the constant inappropriate compensatory behaviors, is another eating disorder that rears its head during times of stress and unhappiness. An article published by Todd Heatherton in the Psychological Bulletin in July of 1991 discusses the idea that binge eating may be used as an escape from reality and self-awareness. Prior to introducing the thesis, Heatherton explains, "binge eating is a paradoxical, self-defeating pattern of behavior," because, "it contradicts the presumed rationality of human behavior" (Heatherton 88). In relation to binge eating, the actual action of binging is a paradox because those suffering from eating disorders have the desire to control their weight and become anxious of the thought of gaining. However, binge eating, also known as eating large amounts of food in a short amount of time without purging, goes against this ideal. But, Heatherton insists, there is a valid reason behind this. According to the escape theory, he believes that those suffering from binge eating do this to lose touch with reality.

The article dissects the concept that, "people sometimes find it burdensome and aversive to be aware of themselves, so they seek to escape" (Heatherton 88). It goes on to explain that those who binge have a very high level of self-awareness. High levels of self-awareness lead people to, "evaluate themselves according to demanding criteria [and] they will tend to fall short periodically" (Heatherton 89). This then leads to feelings of inadequacy and a low self-worth. Because of these feelings, the person wants to escape. To do this, one must focus on low levels of meaning involving only concrete or narrow awareness. In contrast to high levels of meaning, which lead to, "comparison of events (and the self) against broad standards such as norms and expectations," it is clear why a person who is struggling with an eating disorder would desire low levels instead. Rather than compare themselves to society or the image that the media portrays as "ideal," they push themselves away from reality and

revert back to a place of ignorance. By escaping their thoughts and self-awareness, they are able to find a sense of comfort in the binging behavior.

With the prevalence of eating disorders at an all-time high, it is not uncommon for everyone to have someone in their life who may be suffering. Although this person may not choose to reveal their struggles, there is still a great chance that everyone knows someone. I personally have two friends who have experience with eating disorders. They have agreed to allow me to interview them for this paper and to provide support and valuable information. The first interview I chose to conduct was with my friend, MK. MK is still in the process of battling her eating disorder, anorexia nervosa. She identifies as "being in recovery," and says it has been part of her life for a little over two years. Every day is a constant struggle for her but she continues to fight. The second interview I chose to conduct was with my friend K. K, "battled mostly bulimia and excessive workout disorder on and off for about 12 years," and was classified as having EDNOS (Eating Disorder Not Otherwise Specified) because her BMI never fell below the average for her height (MK). She has been recovered for almost seven years now although she never received actual treatment. Instead of going to treatment, she chose to surround herself with positive mentors, friends and family who helped her see the potential of a life without an eating disorder. While recovering fully from any kind of eating disorder without professional help is highly unusual, K is proof that it can be done. Both of these women are an incredible source of hope and inspiration for those suffering from eating disorders and have lent their voices to help my research reach a new high.

With the significance of food during the holiday season and the high prevalence of eating disorders in the United States, it is clear that those suffering from eating disorders will find it difficult to make it through Thanksgiving and Christmas. Over the years, there has been a massive amount of research done to examine the correlation between the holidays and their effect on eating disorders. From newspaper articles to interviews to case studies, the relationship between the two must be known and deeply considered when celebrating the holidays.

The most obvious reason behind the difficulty of the holidays for those suffering from an

eating disorder is the extreme emphasis put on food. In the article "Holiday food is not fun for everyone," published by The Deseret News, in November of 1998, Sharon Haddock takes the time to interview many women who have eating disorders. They share their thoughts and very real fears about spending time around family and food from Thanksgiving to Christmas. Randy Hardman, a doctor at a regional Center for Change explains, "This is the time of year that sort of amplifies the anxieties for these women. The emotional intensity and the food is a double whammy for them…most family members think it is about food and weight, but it is about self-rejection" (Haddock 1). Doctor Hardman goes on to add, "Anorexics dislike having anyone watch them eat anyway. Added on to the guilt they already feel about any kind of food indulgence, the emotional weight becomes too great" (Haddock 1). Those with anorexia and those with bulimia may handle food in a different way, but the stressors are often the same.

While the average person may view the holidays as a positive time spent with family, a majority of eating disorder patients have unresolved familial issues that can resurface. Being surrounded by family, "brings up all the issues, fears, conflicts and worries that feed the eating disorder that causes everyone so much pain" (Haddock 1). As one can imagine, it is a vicious cycle in which the eating disorder, food and stress feed off one another, all three only becoming more and more painful. To show just how painful it is to eat around other people during the holidays, some eating disorder patients declare they, "would rather jump off a cliff without a parachute than to have somebody watch them eat food" (Haddock 1). With the large quantities of food consumed from November to December, it is now more obvious as to how this could be a serious issue for many.

To further examine the negative effect of the holidays on eating disorders, it is important to compare the thoughts and behaviors of an eating disorder patient to an average person. An average person may look forward to a large meal on Thanksgiving or Christmas, focusing not only on time with their family and friends, but also the enjoyment of eating the holiday feast. However, for those suffering from eating disorders, it is a completely different story. For someone who suffers from anorexia or bulimia, "holidays can be perceived as a dangerous threat to their need to control their bodies," and for those who binge, "festive meals are an excuse to indulge" (Young 1). But the real challenge comes after the holiday meal is complete. The behaviors that take place at the completion of festivities vary drastically from a normal eater.

After a holiday meal, a normal eater will be able to leave the table, content and relaxed. They may, "feel a little guilt when they push back from a table after eating a very large meal…but that guilt feeling should dissipate by morning" (Young 1). However, this is not the case for an eating disorder patient. Dr. Timothy Walsh, who is a psychiatrist at the New York State Psychiatric Institute says, "For people with eating disorders, guilt feelings become so distorted they lose all perspective" (Young 1). The destructive thoughts consume every inch of their brain and the meal becomes the only thing they can obsess over for a fixed period of time. This is when the compensatory behaviors will most likely begin. For those with anorexia, they may restrict dramatically over the next day, week or month. Those who over-exercise will try to compensate by participating in vigorous physical activity. People with bulimia will attempt to purge their meals immediately after completion. While each eating disorder is unique and the compensatory measures are different, they are all serious and harmful. Because of the excessive amount of food and quantity of meals during the holiday season, there is an immense pressure on those suffering from eating disorders. With the additional stress, it is not uncommon that their eating disorders may become more vicious and they may fall deeper into them.

Another valid way in learning about the effect of the holiday season on eating disorders is by interviewing those who have first hand experience with them. Interviews are a valuable technique that can be used to gain personal insight and provide a new way of looking at the situation. While case studies and newspaper articles provide important information, sometimes it is more powerful to talk to those who have dealt with the issue. To provide more support and information, there have been three personal interviews conducted on the topic.

Ginean Crawford, a Licensed Professional Counselor and a National Certified Counselor, is a

therapist who specializes in eating disorders. She graduated from Rider University with a degree in psychology and has been counseling in her own practice for many years. Crawford offers a unique outlook on this topic not only because she is a therapist who focuses on helping those that suffer from eating disorders, but because she has been recovered from her own eating disorder for years. Because of her experience, Crawford offers a look into eating disorders that many other professionals may not have. She can give the professional standpoint of the disease, but also has personal experience to back up her claims.

When asked what the hardest part of the holiday season for those suffering from eating disorders is, Crawford explains, "Not only are there food triggers everywhere (i.e. Halloween candy to Christmas dinner), but the company of family can bring up painful emotional baggage" (Crawford). For some people, the holiday season can be extremely lonely. Furthermore, many people who have eating disorders use them as mechanisms in an attempt to forget about trauma. Trauma is, "anything that changes the trajectory of one's life," and for some people this takes the form of familial abuse. For most people the holiday season means being around family and those who have history of familial trauma will then turn to the copious amounts of food to cope. The cycle only continues from there. Crawford stresses how unbelievably difficult it is during the holidays by stating that having an eating disorder, "is not the same as recovering from other addictive-like disorders in that one cannot simply abstain completely from food. One has to battle the eating disorder monster three or more times per day" (Crawford).

Crawford was also asked what types of unhealthy coping mechanisms people may use during the holiday season. As many sources have stated before, she listed restriction, binging, laxative use, over exercising and abuse of dieting pills. She also mentions another dangerous way to deal with the feelings that are brought up during the holidays. She states, "People with eating disorders also use other defense mechanisms that are unhealthy to deal with anxiety or other emotions…people pleasing, numbing, shutting down, blaming others, or performing other compulsive rituals such as cleaning" (Crawford). Because of the fact that underneath the eating disorder lays anxiety and

shame, people will often find other ways to soothe their feelings of instability. The anxiety will manifest itself in many different, unexpected ways, and many average people may not know to look for these signs. Crawford brings up the important point that not all coping mechanisms may be typical or "normal" for those suffering from eating disorders.

But, Crawford assures, there are ways people battling this disease can prepare themselves for the holidays. The most crucial step they can take is to, "go into the holidays with 'eyes wide open' and to expect the eating disorder to be triggered" (Crawford). By creating a preventative plan and understanding that these things will happen and anxiety will rear its head, those suffering from eating disorders can ready themselves before it occurs. Crawford also stresses the importance in a strong support system, which should include family, friends, a therapist, and other people in the recovery team. While the support system can hold their loved one accountable during the holidays, they can also, "provide support and [validation] for how hard it really is in recovery" (Crawford). While the holidays will not be easy for those suffering, Crawford gives a certain sense of hope that it is possible and the holidays can be a safe, enjoyable time.

Personal interviews with those in recovery from eating disorders are another critical resource. Research and studies can only show so much, and it is important to learn from people who have truly lived it. The average person may never fully understand what it feels like to experience the holidays with an eating disorder, but they are one step closer when they can talk to someone that does. The two interviews conducted with MK and K can truly open the eyes of many to what it feels like to battle a disease and try to focus on the family, food and festivities.

When asked what the most difficult part of the holiday season is for them, both girls give very different answers. MK explains that what makes it hard for her is the specific time at which her family eats. She says, "We eat around four. To me, four is not a time to eat a large meal because it throws me off for the entire day. I like to eat dinner and be done for the day and go to bed two hours later so that I do not think about food. If I eat too early that leaves a lot more time to think about food and think about if I'm hungry or not" (MK). She also

expresses anxiety over how healthy the food actually is, the amount of carbohydrates she consumes and the sugar she eats. Conversely, K decides that the ignorance of others is actually the most difficult challenge. Because many people are not educated on the topic and do not fully understand, she says, "people can be so judgmental if they don't know what you're going through" (K). Being surrounded by people all holiday season who cannot even grasp the stress and pressure of an eating disorder is very exhausting and stressful. Many eating disorder sufferers do not tell their families and friends about their struggle and must deal with this ignorance all year round. The holidays only magnify their issues. K also adds that when dealing with holiday food, "There's never a right answer and no matter what you choose, you feel guilty about the decision later on...Decisions are skewed, guilt is always inflicted and everything made ten times more difficult than it needs to be" (K). While many normal people feel their stress levels rise during the time between Thanksgiving and Christmas, it is only magnified for sufferers of eating disorders.

Both girls also provide very truthful answers about their own unhealthy coping mechanisms during the holiday season. Since MK suffers from anorexia nervosa and K is recovered from bulimia, it is interesting to see how their answers differ but ultimately accomplish the same thing. MK admits to saying "I'm not very hungry," or "That's not healthy so
I'm only going to have a little." She also claims, "I have asked my dad to cook separate/extra food for me, too" (MK). This goes back to the idea of restriction and only eating foods which are viewed as "healthy" in the eyes of the eating disorder patient. K, on the other hand, says she used to, "binge and purge, but there were times where [she] would eat minimally and workout extra hard in hopes of burning all of the extra calories" (K). K would purge everything she had eaten in hopes of losing those calories and not gaining any weight during the holiday season. Both girls have their own unhealthy coping mechanisms, but they are unique to their individual eating disorder.
While the holiday season can be difficult for those with eating disorders, it is very important to focus on the healthy, safe ways these people can deal with their feelings and anxiety. MK and K end their

interviews by explaining the strategies they use to get through the holiday season. MK focuses solely on being present with her family because she does not see them very often. By distracting her thoughts and being present in the moment, she is hopeful that she can enjoy this holiday season more than those in the past. She also declares, "Maybe I'll share the truth with more of my family that way they can support me through this!" (MK). K agrees with MK and also adds to focus on portion sizes and, "consuming healthy foods when available" may help clear out the negative, self-loathing thoughts (K). Both girls are inspirational and have been fighting to get their lives back for years. By using their healthy coping mechanisms and staying present in the moment with their families, they both seem to think this will be the best holiday season yet.

But normal, everyday people are not the only ones who deal with eating disorders and the stress of the holiday season. Many celebrities have revealed their struggles to the public in hopes of raising awareness and promoting recovery and health. One of these celebrities is Demi Lovato. Demi Lovato is best known for her start as an actress on the Disney Channel as well as her musical career. Lovato entered treatment for many mental health issues, including self-harm, drug use and an eating disorder, in the fall of 2010. By January of 2011, Lovato was released from Timberline Knolls, completing her treatment and continuing recovery for many of her mental health issues. Lovato has continued to be vocal about her many struggles, is an advocate against bullying and is always proving her strength to the world. In 2012, Lovato released a documentary titled "Stay Strong," in which she shares her personal life and continued struggles while on the road to health and happiness. Part of this documentary broadcasted her first Thanksgiving post-rehab and shows Lovato engaging in a large feast.

At the beginning of the segment, Lovato is in the car and explains, "Sometimes it's hard to be back in Dallas because the entire time I was there I used to be unhappy" (Lovato). This statement alone relates to what Ginean Crawford mentions in her interview about the holidays bringing up negative feelings of the past. As she is driving to her family's home in Dallas, Lovato receives a call from a friend and she informs the friend she, "is going to tackle

food today," but she is, "kind of scared" (Lovato). The segment continues to show Lovato spending time with her family, joining in a group prayer and making her way towards the large spread of Thanksgiving food. She is visibly uncomfortable and anxious as she tries to avoid taking a plate for as long as possible, instead leaving the kitchen, filling up her glass with ice water and taking a call from a friend who is also in recovery. As she talks to her friend, she tells her, "Okay, you call me, too, if you need me, don't hesitate. I love you, too. Stick together today" (Lovato). This models one of the healthy coping mechanisms therapists have encouraged as Lovato attempts to stay in touch with her support system. She is not only receiving support, but giving it, too.

In the last moments of the clip, Lovato finally fills her plate with food and sits down to dinner. She is silent throughout most of the meal and, about halfway through becomes visibly anxious again. She begins to play with her hair and a look of discomfort appears on her face as she slows her eating. Lovato truthfully announces, "I'm uncomfortably full" (Lovato). Once again, Lovato engages in another healthy coping mechanism which is being honest about her feelings and talking about her anxiety with her family. Rather than keeping the negativity inside, she is able to hold herself accountable by telling her family and realizing she is not alone.

In another one of the segments, which takes place a few days after Thanksgiving, Lovato makes her most groundbreaking statement yet. She reveals that although she was able to conquer Thanksgiving and make it through without purging, the night after was rough. Lovato states, "Right before I went on stage, I was, like, crying in my dressing room and I just didn't feel good enough. I know it's silly to the average person, like you don't think you can gain ten pounds from eating a lot of food one day. But, to me, it, like, really messed with my head…and I'm thinking 'People are going to see everything I ate'" (Lovato). This is not an uncommon thinking pattern for people with eating disorders. Those suffering believe others will base their self-worth on how much they have eaten, purged or exercised that given day. They believe others will only like them if they weigh a certain weight or look a certain way. They fear being rejected or unwanted because of what they eat or the control they have. Demi Lovato

took a brave step when she decided to broadcast this documentary but there is no doubt she has helped thousands of people who struggle with the same things she does. This is the same for other celebrities who reveal their personal struggles to the public in hopes of helping others become healthier and happier.

Perhaps the most important to remember during the holiday season is the risk for those suffering from eating disorders. Food is not the only battle that is to be fought. Holidays also provide elevated stress levels for most people, as this paper has proven. However, the average person can deal with this stress in a healthy way. For those who are battling an eating disorder, they are more likely to revert back to unhealthy coping mechanisms, falling deeper into their eating disorder or, those who are in recovery may relapse.

This is why it is crucial to examine the correlation between stressful like events, like the holiday season, and the chance of relapse for those in recovery. The International Journal of Eating Disorders published an article titled, "Stressful Life Events Predict Eating Disorder Relapse Following Remission: Six-Year Prospective Outcomes," which reveals some truly startling statistics. Their findings, "suggest that the occurrences of negative stressful life events, most notably higher work stress and higher social stress, represent significant warning signs for relapse among women in remission," which is why it is important for eating disorder patients to know and acknowledge when they feel stressed or anxious (Grilo 190). By keeping their anxieties inside, they are only heightening the chances of a relapse. The article goes on to say that while stressors have harmful effects on the average person, they are worse for those with eating disorders because of the chance for relapse. But, like most psychologists, the group who presents these findings does offer a way to lessen the chances. They decide that therapists can, "consider integrating relapse prevention and coping skills methods for dealing with stressful life events," with their patients suffering from anorexia, bulimia, binge eating disorder or EDNOS (Grilo 190). By doing this, they have a preventative plan and know how to deal with what may come from the holiday season.

Anthropologists research with the goal of understanding humans. To do this, they focus on the

11

way people think and behave, as well as the way society works. In Catherine Bell's, Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions, the author focuses on the idea of ritual. She looks at ritual in-depth, focusing on what makes a ritual what it is. In Chapter Five of the book, Bell explores the certain elements that make up a successful ritual. One of these elements is invariance. Invariance also plays a large role in the topic of this paper.

Invariance is one of the most common characteristics of a ritual and described as, "precise repetition and physical control" (Bell 150). In simpler terms, to be invariant means to do the same things over and over again, day after day, year after year. When a person is invariant, they feel the sense of control and are more content within their lives. Invariance is used in many positive ways, such as Alcoholics Anonymous and meditation, but it can also be used in negative ways as well. One of these ways is in an eating disorder.

For those who suffer from eating disorders, it is very clear they focus on invariance. To easily understand the idea, anorexia and bulimia can both be focused on specifically. When someone battles anorexia, they feel the need to either restrict or over-exercise. Restriction day after day, week after week, is invariance. By repeating this action over and over and having physical control over their actions, it gives them a sense of peace within themselves. If they choose to over-exercise they must exercise for excessive amounts of time each day. In most cases, the person cannot skip their exercise or a sense of failure, disgust or self-hate will rear its head. If they disrupt this cycle, they will become overly anxious and be unable to deal with it.

When someone suffers from bulimia, their invariance comes with either the behavior of purging or laxative use. After every meal, someone who has bulimia must purge and get rid of the food. Most people do this after every single meal, every day of every week of every year. Sometimes they feel the need to purge even if they have not eaten directly beforehand. Once again, this is invariance. It becomes part of their life and they must repeat the actions over and over to find a sense of control. The same goes for laxative use. Once they eat, they must take a laxative to clear out their body of everything they have just consumed. If they do not compensate for the meal, they become highly agitated and uncomfortable.

There is no doubt that the anthropological idea of invariance fits perfectly within the topic of eating disorders and the holidays. During the holidays, especially, people who have eating disorders will use their behaviors over and over, possibly even more than usual. This provides them with a sense of peace during the stressful time filled with family and food. Invariance becomes a coping mechanism within the disorder and the longer it is practiced, the harder it becomes to stop.

There are many things that could be done to further research this ritual. If time and money were no problem, there are two things I would focus on to help myself and others better understand this topic. The first thing I would do is conduct more interviews. I believe that interviews are one of the most crucial pieces of research a person can do when wanting to understand something like eating disorders and the holidays. Everyone has personal experience with the holidays and there are millions of people who are suffering from eating disorders daily. A lot of these people want their voices to be heard and want to help the best they can. By interviewing them and learning about their feelings, thoughts and beliefs, it can open many doors that have not been explored before. For example, in my interview with K, she talks about the hardest part of the holidays being ignorance. There is no piece of information from any of my secondary sources that talk about ignorance as a trigger. I may have never known that if it was not for my interview with K. By talking with people who suffer from eating disorders, doctors and average people can understand more deeply the struggles and fears of the holidays.

The other thing I would do to further research this topic is to look into different programs or seminars. I would like to use my resources to create seminars and programs for those suffering from eating disorders and their families and friends. Eating disorders are a very difficult thing to understand, even for those people who have them. In many cases, the support systems of eating disorder patients can never truly grasp what they are going through, as badly as they may want to. This puts a tension between the person suffering from the eating disorder and their family and friends. The feeling of being misunderstood puts a tension between the person suffering from the eating

disorder and their family and friends. By creating seminars or programs that eating disorder patients and their family and friends could attend, it would help spread awareness and provide them with helpful information. More specifically, there could be seminars around the holiday season which would provide healthy coping mechanisms and tips on how to deal with Thanksgiving and Christmas, avoid massive amounts of stress and anxiety and enjoy the time with family. I think education is the best way to diminish ignorance and the families, friends and support systems of those suffering from eating disorders need it the most.

The holiday season is a time that excites a majority of people because of the food, friends and festivities. But, there is another side to this story. And that is the experience of someone suffering from an eating disorder during the holiday season. Where average people see a delicious feast, an eating disorder patient sees thousands of calories and a large helping of anxiety. Where average people see a chance to spend time with family, an eating disorder patient sees the opportunity for painful trauma to be resurfaced. Where average people see the possibility of stress, an eating disorder patient sees the opportunity to use unhealthy coping mechanisms. Everything positive during the holiday season turns into a difficult battle for those suffering from eating disorders. The idea of having hot chocolate and Christmas cookies does not excite them. The chance they might engage in a typical family argument around the dinner table is something that awakens negativity within them. The mirror hanging on the wall at their parents' home is a reminder of everything they are not. The holidays are a very real, very hard challenge that millions of people in America must deal with every year. While there are thousands of sources, journals, interviews and documentaries that are used to explore the topic, there is a harsh truth. Unless a person is actually suffering from an eating disorder, they will never fully understand what it is like to have one. And they will never understand the struggles that are faced during the holiday season. Because of the emphasis on food and the elevated stress levels during the holidays, it can be concluded that the holiday season is considerably more challenging and has a more significant effect on those suffering from eating disorders.

References

Bell, Catherine. Ritual: Perspectives and Dimensions. Oxford University Press, 1997.

Crawford, Ginean. Personal Interview. Nov 2013.

Grilo, Carlos. "Stressful Life Events Predict Eating Disorder Relapse Following Remission: Six-Year Prospective Outcomes." International Journal of Eating Disorders. no. 2 .

Haddock, Sharon. "Holiday food is not fun for everyone." The Deseret News, November 23, 1998.

Heatherton, Todd. "Binge eating as escape from self-awareness." Psychological Bulletin. no. 1 .

History, "Thanksgiving By The Numbers." http://www.history.com/interactives/thanksgiving-by-the-numbers.

Indiana Business Research Center, "Christmas by the Numbers." Last modified 2007. http://www.ibrc.indiana.edu/studies/factoiddec09.pdf.

Kaufman, Cathy. "The Ideal Christmas Dinner."Gastronomica: The Journal of Food and Culture. no. 4 .

Lovato, Demi. "Stay Strong: The Documentary" Recorded 2012. MTV. DVD, http://www.mtv.com/videos/news/746202/demi-lovato-stay-strong-first-thanksgiving-out-of-treatment.jhtml

MacMaster, Mary Katlyn. Personal Interview. Nov 2013.
National Eating Disorder Association, http://www.nationaleatingdisorders.org/.

O'Callaghan, Tiffany. Time, "Have another cookie, it's the holidays! Why our eating habits vary on weekends and special occasions Read more: Have another cookie, it's the holidays! Why our eating habits vary on weekends and special occasions." Last modified December 24, 2009. http://healthland.time.com/2009/12/24/have-another-cookie-its-the-holidays-why-our-eating-habits-vary-on-weekends-and-special-occasions/.

Treasure, Janet. "Eating disorders." The Lancet. no.

US Bureau of Labor, "Food for Thought." Last modified November 2010. http://www.bls.gov/spotlight/2010/food/pdf/food.pdf.

Weinstein, Kristin. Personal Interview. Nov 2013.
Young, Gayle. "HOLIDAYS CONFOUND
         EATING DISORDERS." Sun Sentinel,
         December 07, 1986

Painting a Picture of Womanhood: Images of Rosie the Riveter

Julia Chain
Penn State Harrisburg

World War II is often thought of as a revolutionary time for change in the lifestyles of women. Men were duty bound by their country to join the War, and this left a gap in the workforce for the war productions industry. Into this chasm fell women, who were allowed to carry the mantle of male work outside of the house.   This marks a significant change in American history, for the first time women had an acceptable and encouraged reason to function outside of the domestic sphere. Women were recruited specifically in the defense industry and were responsible for creating and maintaining essential military goods.

Media and popular culture follow and document this change in lifestyles for women. Such evidence can be found in clothing, music, and newspaper articles, but none embody the movement as well as Rosie the Riveter. Most Americans imagine the "We Can Do It!" image of Rosie the Riveter. However, this historical myth is the combination of several artistic works; Redd Evan's song "Rosie the Riveter" and album cover, Norman Rockwell's Rosie the Riveter, and Howard J. Miller's 'We Can Do It". These three forms of popular imagery form a common history that unites several unique portrayals of women. This "Rosie the Riveter" character will later serve to inspire modern women, but during the time period it did little to celebrate women's empowerment. This essay will explore the way the mediation of these images fails to accurately represent women of the time and ultimately undercuts the importance of women in World War II.

The first form of media that introduced Rosie the Riveter to mass culture was of the musical variety. Writers Redd Evans and John Jacob Loeb joined the war movement in the way that many artists of the time did, by centering lyrics on aspects of war life. In "Rosie the Riveter" Evans and Loeb craft a story that will function as the basis for mass culture's understanding of women in the war. This song seems positive, and for the most part it celebrates the life of a girl working for the defense industry, but lying beneath the song's benign exterior are some undeniable stereotypes. By claiming, "That little frail can do more than a/male will do/Rosie the Riveter" (Evans 1943) the authors assert women's underlying weakness, and even surprise in their abilities. Furthermore, as the song states, "Rosie's got a boyfriend, Charlie/Charlie, he's a Marine/Rosie is protecting Charlie/Workin' overtime on the riveting machine"(Evans 1943). By relating Rosie to Charlie, her importance is only linked to her ability to work while he is away. This hints at the assumption that women in the workforce are only a temporary adjustment. Such feelings are compounded by the artwork that accompanies this song. It is important to note that an album cover would have reached a wide audience, as it was on the slip envelop for the record. This means people would have examined the cover far more than in today's digital age. The Rosie that is presented in the album is really the first image that the public saw. She is extremely sexualized, with protruding breasts and red lips. In addition, her make-up and hair are flawless, and she appears dressed for shopping in a fitted blouse and slacks. Finally, she is not working hard at all, and she appears completely without muscle. These physical characteristic enforce the idea that beauty is the most important part of a ladies life.

Both the song and resulting album cover speak to the way the public is being presented with the idea of women in the defense industry. This cover was produced before the following iconic images that history pairs with the name "Rosie", but all of these images will relate and draw reference from the corresponding song cover. The mediating influence is seen not just in the way it presents women, but also in the precedent it will set for the next images.

The next image that tackles the portrayal of women in the World War II work force was created by an artistic giant of time, Norman Rockwell. Rockwell was well known for humorous images portraying life in America. Critics assert he often portrayed life as he wished to see it, and had very little time for advancement of women in his work (Kitch 256). However, Rockwell put the full force of his work behind World War II support, and used his position as artist for Saturday Evening Post to depict positive war propaganda. Rockwell created the first artistic representation of Rosie the Riveter on the May 29, 1943 cover. As Kimble suggests, the image was rife with symbolism, "Rockwell's print depicts women in the workforce as a vital part of patriotic war efforts, suggested by the flag enveloping the entire background as well as the symbols across the top of this Rosie's bib overalls, such as a V button for Victory and a Red Cross button" (Kimble 593). This complex image also features a masculine physique, which demonstrates strength, but this negativity is offset by some feminine accents such as a delicate hankie in her pocket. Rockwell's Rosie also recognizes and challenges the enemy, as Rosie's foot is balanced upon a copy of Hitler's Mein Kampf. Such a defensive move invokes power and portrays Rosie as capable and necessary to the war movement (Kimble 356). The audience for this image was relatively large, but was mainly middle class, white families. The Rockwell's Rosie patently ignores minorities, and does not address the many immigrant workers of the war movement. Despite these failings, Rockwell's portrayal seems to promote a positive aspect of women in the work force.
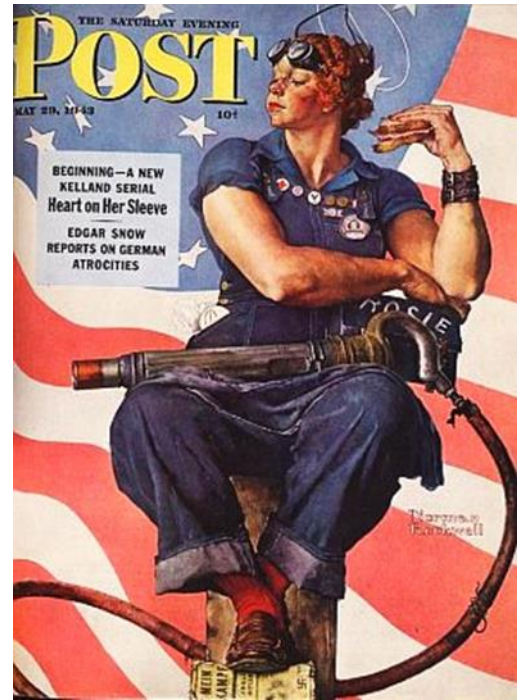
However, the grim reality is that this image was taken to be fairly humorous. The Saturday Evening Post cover images were mostly made for people to laugh at and enjoy without much seriousness (Kitch 257). The most telling aspect of Rockwell's image's importance is that it is relatively unknown in today's culture, and never associated with Rosie the Riveter. This positive mediation was not celebrated nor reflected by what history chooses to remember. While this poster embodied reality for many women, it did not become a collective historical image.

In comparison, the "We Can Do It!" poster gained far more popularity, but is the best example of the way women's empowerment was undercut by media. The image that most of America associates with the name "Rosie the Riveter" was in fact never originally associated with Rosie. While this image might invoke feminist feelings today, it was unknown by the public in World War II. The "We Can Do It!" poster was created by artist Howard J. Miller, for the Westinghouse Company (Kimble 539) .This company produced many war products, and was therefore crucial to the country's success. Westinghouse commissioned images from Miller for a series for the Westinghouse War Production Committee. At first glance, Miller's image appears to be a positive image and a supporter of women's rights. The lady is pulling her arm up and seemingly making a fist to show off her muscles. Such a position implies strength and a collective desire for

the improvement for women. The text furthers this assumption by implying the rally call "We Can Do It!". The composition of the image is far more elementary than the Rockwell Rosie, and features only a few colors.

Despite all of the positive symbols, even a visual assessment of the image raises some stereotypes of women. Her hair is well coiffed and the prominently displayed eyes, lips and cheeks are "made-up" with cosmetics. Her fingernails are well manicured with a long dainty nail that has obviously never held a real riveter gun. These characteristics question the ability of this poster to help further women in the workforce. To fully understand the historical significance of this image the context in which it was released must be examined.

Unlike the Rockwell Rosie image on the cover of Saturday Evening Post, the "We Can Do It!" poster had an extremely limited audience. This poster was shown in the company for a limited amount of time, instructed to be posted "FEB. 15 TO FEB. 28" on the original poster. Since it was never publicly displayed, the public never would have been exposed to the image, and it would not have been displayed to any riveters. In fact, the image does not surface publicly until the 1980s (Kimble 536). This still leaves the position and text's meaning in question. Both of these aspects also undercut the importance of the image. Since the words are addressing workers of the Westinghouse Company, they fail to incite women to action. Instead, they are encouraging factory workers to continue their drudgery. Furthermore, the arm symbol had little to do with empowerment,

> "Because the gesture took place on the backstage for Westinghouse employees' eyes in the presence of management, it was a sign of their team unity within the organization. However, the gesture may be mistaken today as a front stage performance by one self-possessed woman, transforming the gesture from a vernacular performance unifying men and women workers alike into an individualistic, feminist icon" (Kimble 554).

As Kimble demonstrates the information that puts this image in context detracts from its revolutionary air.

While all of these factors paint a far different impression of Miller's image, perhaps the best way to understand this time period is found in other images that would have accompanied "We Can Do It!" Miller created many more war themed posters to go along with this one. However, this is the only example of an image with any sort of feminist leanings (Kimble 538). Few posters even featured women, and were mainly aimed towards men. Kimble suggests that the few female images, "revealed a clear pattern of traditional and conventional femininity, including some characters who were emphatic in their devotion to home life over work life" (Kimble 555). Examples of these include "Make Today a Safe Day" (1945) which feature a man going off to work while his wife waves from the front door of the home, or "It's a tradition with us Mister!" (Shown right) which invokes Revolutionary War imagery. This poster is especially limiting because it compares the women with their conservative and restricted forbearers. The model for this poster is also eerily similar to the "We Can Do It!" image, and may have even been the same person.

IT'S A TRADITION WITH US, MISTER!

WAR PRODUCTION CO-ORDINATING COMMITTEE

All of the images discussed helped to form the creature that is Rosie the Riveter. However the stories that these images tell fail to impress upon the public the importance of the actual women who worked in the defense industry. New York University has begun to collect video interviews of such women in their project entitled "The Real Rosie the Riveter Project". Within these videos unfolds a story that is not about make-up or dramatically burly women, but instead tells of the fantastic opportunities and independence these jobs afforded women. Several interviewed women speak of their joy at leaving the house and working, but also the pride they felt doing something significant and worthy for their country. But these stories also tell of the harsh post-war reality, which handed the jobs back to men. This is where mediation of images becomes truly significant. They failed to convince the public that women in the workforce were a necessary and vital aspect of society.

These images were recycled by a different generation of women in the 1980s, but the images that graced feminist posters, such as "We Can Do It!" were only significant in a modern and forward thinking context. As Kimble summarizes "'We Can Do It!' has become part of our collective memory …. Rosie has ascended into the timeless category of 'culturetypes'—tangible 'fiction which often passes for history' even as they 'remind us of what

it means to be American'" (Kimble 535). Such stardom allows women to identify with feelings of independence and empowerment when thinking of Rosie the Riveter, but it is important to note only our modern social structure allows such an interpretation.

References

Evans, Redd, John Jacob. Loeb, Mack Gordon, and Harry Warren. Rosie the Riveter. Bluebird, 1943. MP3.

Kimble, James J., and Lester C. Olson. "Visual Rhetoric Representing Rosie the Riveter: Myth and Misconception in J. Howard Miller's "We Can Do It!" Poster." Rhetoric & Public Affairs 9.4 (2006): 533-70. Print.

Kitch, Carolyn L. The Girl on the Magazine Cover: The Origins of Visual Stereotypes in American Mass Media. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 2001. Print.

Miller, Howard J. We Can Do It. 1943. Westinghouse War Productions Comittee, n.p.

"The Real Rosie the Riveter Project." Homepage. New York University, n.d. Web. 13 Nov. 2013.

Rockwell, Norman. Rosie the Riveter. 1943. Saturday Evening Post, n.p.

Rosie the Riveter Sheet Music Image. N.d. University of Missouri-Kansas City. LaBudde Special Collections. Web. 17 Nov. 2013.

City Country: The Paradox of Country Music in Urban America

Molly Fay
LaSalle University

No other genre in American music has maintained such a popular presence on the national conscience as country music. Though it is not the only distinct "American" style of music in the United States, this genre has consistently maintained a strong listener base and standard themes of content, more so than any other variation of music. Country music as a commercial industry began between 1920 and 1925 in the rural South.[1] Since those grassroots beginnings, the genre has become synonymous with the city of Nashville and songs about love, loss, and drinking. In the 21st century, the popularity of country music hit a new peak with skyrocketing presence in American cities. This once distinctly, rural musical style has evolved to appeal to all Americans, rural and urban alike, leaving one to wonder why that is so. Country music's popularity in American cities results from the *urbanization* of the genre especially by mass media and contemporary country artists integrating their music with other genres.

After the harrowing events of September 11, 2001, the nation reached out for an outlet where all could express heartbreak, anger, and patriotism at once. Country music provided the perfect sound for America's mood. In a July 2002 *USAToday* article, the Executive Director of the Country Music Association, Ed Benson, explained the rising popularity: "In today's world, when almost every day there's another story that shakes our belief in our cultural institutions, it's a time when our music gives people solace and encouragement, allows them to place their feelings." Benson cited country music as offering core values of authenticity and believability.[2] Alan Jackson particularly captured these sentiments with his 2002 hit "Where Were You (When the World Stopped Turning)." The lyrics ask the listener where they were when they saw the images of the Twin Towers falling: "*Did you shout out in anger, in fear of your neighbor/Or did you just sit down and cry?...Did you go to a church and hold hands with some strangers/Did you stand in line and give your own blood?*" The strength of songwriting for this hit paid off for Jackson when his album *Drive* became one of two country albums that debuted at the top of *Billboard* album charts.[3]

In September of 2002, another article appeared in *USAToday* that further made a case for the rise of country music in post-9/11 America. The overwhelming popularity of Jackson's hit and Toby Keith's "Courtesy of the Red, White, and Blue (The Angry American)" shadowed the moderate airplay of other patriotic songs by pop artists. Paul McCartney's "Freedom," Neil Young's "Let's Roll," and Bruce Springsteen's album *The Rising* never received strong responses, whereas the country hits achieved great radio success.[4]

For the first time, country musicians were writing songs specifically for American cities, for urban people in addition to their rural fan-base. The artists knew they could not ignore the extensive impact of September 11, 2001 so they delivered new music that adapted to what *all* American people wanted to hear as evidenced by the success of both Jackson and Keith. Despite sad conditions, country music put itself on the radar of urbanites across the nation.

An unforeseen consequence of country music's reaction to September 11th was the over-politicization of the genre. Though the songs released by Jackson and Keith saw great success, they laid a foundation for a revival of protest music in country music. No group displayed this trend more than the Dixie Chicks.

The Dixie Chicks released their album *Home* in 2002, that included two successful singles in "Long Time Gone" and "Landslide" and another steadily climbing the charts with "Travelin' Soldier."[5] That success slipped away after March 10, 2003, a date that forever rocketed the Dixie

---

[1] Richard Crawford, *America's Music* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001), 373.

[2] Brian Mansfield, "Christian, Country Music on Upswing," *USA Today* (2002).

[3] Ibid.

[4] Brian Mansfield, "Country Music, in 9/11 Time," *USA Today* (2002)

[5] Chris Willman, *Rednecks & Bluenecks*, (New York: The New Press, 2005), 23.

Chicks into controversy. At a concert in London, Dixie Chicks singer Natalie Maines famously said, "Just so you know, we're ashamed the President of the United States is from Texas."[6] A firestorm followed, especially from traditional conservatives making up a significant portion of country music's fan base. The media attention on the country music group was significant, as it pushed the genre deeper into America's mainstream culture.

Soon after the controversial comments and the subsequent response, the Dixie Chicks were regular features in American media. Perhaps most famous was their eye-brow raising cover on *Entertainment Weekly*, when all three members of the country group appeared naked while covered in "brands" of responses.[7] The words included "Dixie Sluts," "Proud Americans," "Free Speech," and "Traitors." Between 2003 and 2006 the Dixie Chicks—the biggest selling ''girl group'' of all time in any genre—all but disappeared from country radio. Their comeback single, ''Not Ready to Make Nice'' (2006), simply reignited the controversy, and landed at a weak number 36 on the Billboard country chart.[8] For better or worse, country music became a central outlet of political opinions after the Dixie Chicks.

As an election loomed in 2004, country music stars filled American news networks with interviews or recent displays of political opinion. Sara Evans was one such star thrust into the political realm when she was invited to CNBC to comment on the recent "Vote for Change (Support John Kerry)" music tour in which the Dixie Chicks participated.[9] Seemingly on accident, Evans pointed out that most of her fans were Republicans and received a backlash of her own for aligning herself with one party. As more politically-infused controversies occurred, the genre became more and more mainstream, pushing stars and country music's hometown of Nashville toward increased fame.

When Americans began to take more of an interest in country music, they encountered the force of Nashville, country music's epicenter. The

moment of conception for Nashville's country music scene occurred in 1925 when the WSM Barn Dance radio show was established.[10] Soon after, the overwhelmingly popular show was renamed the Grand Ole Opry. As the show broadcasted from Nashville, country music acts from the region travelled into the city to appear on the show. Soon, a network of publishers and recording studios set up shop in the city. By the 1950s, Nashville was America's center for country music.[11]

The romantic notion of Nashville presents an interesting paradox: an urban center grounded in an industry of rural music; a city based on selling the country to consumers. The huge success of radio broadcasting across the rural South created a specific type of music that Nashville producers and recording studios wanted to cash in on, regardless of the development of their artists. Tension between artists and the stereotypical "Nashville" sound heightened at the end of the 20th century and at the advent of the 2000s. Technology blurred the lines between rural and urban as artists rose in popularity for both segments.

In 2002, the *New York Times* reported a backlash against Faith Hill for straying from the traditional Nashville sound with her album *Cry*.[12] Logically, Hill pointed out that she had fans all over the world, not just in the rural South, so she thought her music should appeal to a wider market. The backlash for the rock-country album is a little hypocritical considering the roots of Nashville as a hub of rock and roll as well as country music.[13] Nashville's unnamed identity crisis can be found in many other places.

Contemporary country artist Jason Aldean released a hit song in 2010 describing Nashville. In "Crazy Town," Aldean called the city: *"Hollywood with a touch of twang."* This urban description shows how Nashville's music industry has been shaped, in part, by executives from New York or other major market cities.[14] The urban style leaks into the songs created in Nashville because it is a *city*, despite what some traditionalists want the

[6] Ibid, 24-25.
[7] Ibid, xviii.
[8] Andrew Boulton, "The Popular Geopolitical Wor(l)ds of Post-9/11 Country Music," *Popular Music and Society*, Vol. 31, No. 3 (2008), 375.
[9] Willman, 7.

[10] Crawford, 373.
[11] Fabian Holt, *Genre in Popular Music*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), 63.
[12] James Hunter, "MUSIC; Redrawing Country's Borders," *The New York Times*, (2002).
[13] Holt, 64.
[14] Ibid.

music to represent. Country music that comes from Nashville will always be touched by other genres that live in the urban environment. Both Hill and Aldean represent a new breed of Nashville artists. They are adapters: They recognize that their fan base has changed and have tailored their music accordingly.

Now in 2014, the world has taken notice of the city of Nashville. The popularity of country music, economic success, and a hit television show also named *Nashville* have all contributed to the city's latest boom.[15] GQ Magazine, a widely circulated mainstream publication, regards the city as "Nowville."[16] These very urban conditions cannot help but overflow into the music created in this city. The latest country hits have strong pop or rock influences, as the description of Taylor Swift's latest album can attest: "The banjo pluck of the title track and acoustic ballad 'All Too Well' will resonate with country fans, but glossy singles like 'We Are Never Ever Getting Back Together' and 'I Knew You Were Trouble' seem destined for a broader audience—one that is just as vivid as the title (Red) suggests."[17] Big Machine Records, headquartered in Nashville, released this album.[18] The editor drafting this description for iTunes may have been unknowingly describing Nashville's music scene in addition to Taylor Swift's music.

Media has played a large role in urbanizing country music. Through radio, cinema, and television, the genre has exploded in cities across the United States. Of the three, radio stands as the oldest and most reliable force in bolstering country music popularity.

In post-9/11 America, country music flowed over the airways of 2,028 radio stations while the next closest competitor, talk radio, held only 1,318 stations.[19] Based on those figures, the listenership of country music was at approximately 45,500,000 adults per week, with 35% living in the 25 top

markets when compiled.[20] Though these statistics are from 2003, they have only seemed to grow in the United States. By 2011, MRI research indicated that a whopping 42% of the population is country music fans.[21]

In January 2013, the urban epicenter of American culture, New York City, joined the country radio craze with *Nash FM*, the first country music station in the city after seventeen years.[22] The previous station had switched from country music to pop music in the mid-1990s. The opening of this radio station marks an important milestone for the urbanization of country music in the United States. As *New York Times* columnist Ben Sisario pointed out:

> New York may be the ultimate symbol of American urbanism, but it is a large market for country music. Last year…more country albums were sold in the New York metropolitan area than anywhere in the United States — although as a proportion of all music sales in the region, New York ranks far below less populous areas in the South and Midwest.[23]

New York is not alone in the success of country music in a major urban market. Other major cities have encountered consistent success with their country radio stations:

> 'If you look at the other major markets that have a successful country station — Boston, Philadelphia, Chicago, Detroit — those stations planted a stake in the ground and stayed with it, and now those stations are practically iconic,' said Mr. Borchetta, of Big Machine. 'The country radio audience doesn't spike. It grows in a beautiful, slow arc.'[24]

As an executive with Big Machine Records, Borchetta's comments reinforce the notion that country music can be and is successful in urban

---

[15] Kim Severson, "Nashville's Latest Big Hit Could Be the City Itself," *The New York Times* (2013).
[16] Ibid.
[17] *iTunes Music Store*, "Editor's Notes: Taylor Swift, *Red"* (2012)
[18] "Big Machine Records About," Big Machine Records, accessed May 2, 2013, http://www.bigmachinelabelgroup.com/label/Big_Machine_Records.
[19] CMA (Country Music Association). "MRI Country Listener Analysis," (Nashville: CMA, 2003).

[20] Ibid.
[21] Vernell Hackett, "New Statistics About Country Music Fans Revealed at *Billboard* Country Summit," *Billboard* (2011).
[22] Ben Sisario, "Country Returns to City Radio: After 17 Years, a Home in New York," *The New York Times*, (2013).
[23] Ibid.
[24] Ibid.

areas. This success indicates that country music has become relevant to city listeners as much as the stereotypical rural fan. The presence of country music in cinema in 1980 and 2010 shows this important shift in the identity of country as an urban genre holding to rural roots.

Country music and popular American cinema have an interesting relationship with one another. For a long period of time, country music appeared in scores for "Westerns," a film genre depicting cowboys, Native Americans, and the American West. This dynamic shifted in 1980 with *Urban Cowboy*, starring John Travolta.[25]

Urban Cowboy depicts a young man from rural Texas, moving into the city for employment. Travolta's character, Bud, finds himself joining the local "honkytonk" scene where he meets his future-wife, Sissy. Through the duration of the film, country music remains a constant theme reflecting popular images of the genre itself—the archetype American cowboy needing to find work and must leave the country behind. Though he is in the city, the music at the honkytonk reminisces of his rural life. The film follows a simplistic storyline: Hero, villain, damsel in distress, and a happy ending. Despite the film's setting in the American city, the problems faced by the characters lack typical complexities associated with urban life.

Urban Cowboy represents the beginning of the relocation of country music in regards to cinema. After the film's release, the impact was substantial for country music. The film reached completely new audiences, as it was targeted to urbanites, made clear in the title. In the years that followed, notably "un-country" areas of the United States started opening country themed nightclubs and dancehalls, such as Whiskey Café in Lyndhurst, New Jersey, established in 1992.[26] With these new audiences, country musicians inherently needed to urbanize to maintain popularity.

Thirty years after *Urban Cowboy*, Hollywood released another country music themed blockbuster with *Country Strong*.[27] This film, a

near opposite of *Urban Cowboy*, marks the vast changes in country music. Main character Kelly Canter, a former superstar trying to rejuvenate her career after an arrest and stint in rehab, is the *new* country star. Made clear by this film, country music no longer resides in highway bars and honkytonks. In a conversation between Kelly's manager-husband, James Canter, and show opener, Beau Hutton, the shift is made clear when Canter says, "Why don't you come out on the road with us? Get out of these honkytonks and step into the big leagues."[28] The "big leagues" refers to the national tour of Kelly Canter to all the major American cities.

In comparing *Urban Cowboy* and *Country Strong*, the urbanization of country music is clearly defined. In 1980 when *Urban Cowboy* came out, popular stereotypes of country music fans and musicians included small town transplants coming to the big city, and local musicians playing for their groceries. In 2010, country music is incredibly popular, glamorous, and mired by urban issues such as substance abuse, adultery, suicide, and constant tabloid attention. The conclusion of *Country Strong* defines the shift best when Beau Hutton (Gerrett Hedlund) abandons the "big-time" national tour to bounce from honkytonk to honkytonk playing authentic country music.

These depictions of country as an urban style of music reinforce the presence of country music on city radio stations. The genre is being shown on the silver screen as mainstream American music and has the radio presence to back that up. Yet, the media outlet with the most visible and consistent presence of country music in mainstream popular culture is television.

In 2005, CBS broadcasted both the Grammy Awards and the Country Music Association Awards. The former achieved 18.8 million viewers while the latter contended with 18.4 million.[29] Statistically, the difference between the two is nearly insignificant, suggesting that country music was just as important to the American people as the multi-genre music award show during 2005. Not surprisingly, this particular instance comes hand-in-hand with the unprecedented success of *American Idol*.

[25]"Urban Cowboy" Internet Movie Database, accessed May 3, 2013 http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0081696/
[26] Marc Ferris, "Country Music, Above the Mason-Dixon," *The New York Times*, (2001).
[27] "Country Strong," Internet Movie Database, accessed May 2, 2013, http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1555064/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1

[28] *Country Strong*, directed by Shana Feste (2010; Culver City, CA: Screen Gems Productions), DVD.
[29] Willman, 6.

From the 2003-04 television season through 2010-11 season, *American Idol* has been the most-watch prime-time program in the nation.[30] The show, styled to mirror Britain's highly successful *Pop Idol*, auditions people in major cities across the country, passing along potential talent to future shows. As the season progresses, the pool becomes smaller as contestants are judged weekly. In the finale, a winner is crowned "American Idol" and receives a recording contract and numerous financial royalties.[31] Country music has reaped the benefits of *Idol*'s success with two winners, Carrie Underwood and Scotty McCreary, joining the genre. In addition to the winners, other singers have found success in country music from the show's overwhelmingly popularity. Bucky Covington, Josh Gracin and Kellie Pickler all enjoyed Top 10 country hits in the subsequent years following their appearances on *Idol*.[32]

In the second decade of the 21st century, *American Idol* has declined while other television shows have stepped forward to replace it. In April of 2013, NBCs *The Voice* starring enigmatic country star Blake Shelton, and ABCs *Dancing with the Stars*, with previous mentioned Kellie Pickler, have pushed *Idol* down to third in "competition" show category of television ratings.[33] The high popularity of these three shows constantly maintains country music's presence in mainstream American culture.

Television network ABC has cashed in on the urban popularity of country music with the show *Nashville*. The plot revolves around the glamorous lifestyles of two country music superstars living in Nashville. It is a much brighter depiction of city life than what was shown in *Country Strong*. Holding a primetime slot, *Nashville* is another highlight of the popularity of country music in America right now.

The strong television presence of country music solidifies the genre's status as a mainstream fixture in America. To reach that coveted place,

country music has undoubtedly urbanized to appeal to the broad audiences of American television. The stars and Nashville, a city depicted as being run by the music industry, are highlighted constantly to make strong connections with urban markets.

The future of country music appears even more urbanized. As early as 2004, country stars began teaming up with hip-hop artists to reach higher levels of popularity in urban areas. Tim McGraw and Nelly achieved success with their fast-rising Top 40 hit "Over and Over."[34] In an interview, hip-hop artist Nelly described why he and McGraw partnered to make the song:

> …Everybody knows hip-hop was born within the inner city and the urban community and it's become one of the most popular forms of music on the planet. And country's the same way— they both come from those kind of poverty-stricken communities and expand out. So putting those together, it's gonna work—it just has to be done right.[35]

Unfortunately, some artists encounter immense opposition when attempting to combine country music and hip-hop.

In April of 2013, country singer Brad Paisley and hip-hop artist LL Cool J joined forces with their song, "Accidental Racist." The media's negative response came swiftly within hours of the song's release. *Rolling Stone*, *Gawker*, and even *CMT.com* spoke out against the song using phrases such as "questionable," "horrible," and "clumsily written."[36] The outcry from the collaboration reached the highly popular *Saturday Night Live* in a spoof during the show's weekly segment of "The Weekend Update with Seth Myers."[37]

Within the song, Paisley explores the mistrust between a white southern man wearing a rebel flag shirt and the African-American barista at Starbucks. Regardless of the lyrics, the subject of the song shows the new clash between country

[30] Douglas Rowe, "Full 2010-11 Ratings: CBS Tops Viewership, Fox is No.1 in Demo and *Idol* Remains Most-Watched," *TV Guide* (2011)

[31] Edward Wyatt, "'Idol' Winners: Not Just Fame but Big Bucks," *The New York Times*, (2010).

[32] Craig Shelburne, "Ten *American Idol* Singers With Country Success," *CMT News,* (2011).

[33] David Bauder, "'American Idol' is now 3rd-rated Competition Show," *US News*, (2013).

[34] Willman, 181.

[35] Ibid,182.

[36] Leonard Pitts Jr., "Brad Paisley's 'Accidental Racist' Not Honest," *The Miami Herald*, (2013).

[37]"Brad Paisley's 'Accidental Racist' Gets 'Saturday Night Live' Spoof Treatment," Yahoo Music, accessed May 4, 2013, http://music.yahoo.com/blogs/our-country/brad-paisley-accidental-racist-gets-saturday-night-live-160106262.html

music and hip-hop in urban culture. Though hip-hop has become mainstream and expanded beyond its roots in African-American inner-city neighborhoods, the genre is still associated with African-Americans. Country music on the other hand has historically been a "white" genre. As recent as 2008, CMA released a study of consumer segmentation citing the "Core Country Music user" as likely to be Caucasian and more affluent than the average American citizen.[38] As country music progresses in urbanization, the genre now faces similar racial tensions to those plaguing American cities.

A new generation of country musicians currently lead the charge to blur boundaries between country, pop, rock and hip hop. Based on the foundation of Garth Brooks, artists in this second decade of the 21st century are integrating genres as a norm, rather than an exception.

In the 1990s, Garth Brooks was at the height of his career with record album sales and sold out shows across the nation. Shockingly, Brooks decided to retire just after the millennium to spend time with his family. As he temporary left the world of country music, Brooks left a legacy of a new style of performance for his successors. Most every show Brooks performed included covers of songs from other genres that Brooks was influenced by or simply enjoyed. For the fans, hearing Brooks perform a cover of a classic rock song or current popular hit added more entertainment for their ticket price. In 2009, Steve Wynn coaxed Brooks out of retirement to play a stint in Las Vegas. For three years, Brooks played sold out shows from the Wynn Resort that were entirely based on the multi-genre musical influences of Brooks throughout his life. These shows broke down the barriers of "genre" for musicians and fans alike.[39]

Following in the pioneering footsteps of Garth Brooks, many country musicians have since altered their sound to include nods to other artists outside of this genre. In 2013 especially, a trend of song lyrics that include references to hip-hop artists

permeated throughout the airwaves of country radio. Tim McGraw, possibly the first major country star to delve into hip-hop as discussed earlier, released his song "Truck Yeah" that opened with the lines "*Got Lil' Wayne pumpin' on my iPod, Thumpin' on the subs in the back of crew cab.*" Lil' Wayne is a popular rapper in many of the major markets. Similarly, country duo Florida Georgia Line released a song with Luke Bryan titled "This is How We Roll" that began with the lyrics "*The mixtape's got a little Hank, little Drake, A little something bumping, thump, thumping on the wheel ride.*" They are referencing famous country singer Hank Williams Jr. and Drake, a contemporary hip-hop artist. These songs are just two of many country hits from 2013 that include allusions to other genres. By nodding to other popular artists, country musicians make their music more accessible to urban listeners.

The duo of Tyler Hubbard and Brian Kelley of Florida Georgia Line skyrocketed to major country and pop success in 2013. Their first single "Cruise" set the all-time record for highest number of country digital downloads, though almost 40% were of "Cruise Remix" featuring Nelly, a previously mentioned hip-hop artist.[40] Florida Georgia Line's music is relevant to more people than just rural listeners. They sing with popular hip-hop stars and sing about listening to country and hip-hop music. Though the pair only has one album, many of their newest radio releases have elements of hip-hop or pop music. The popularity of Florida Georgia Line indicates a clear shift in what country is and what fans like. The future appears very bright for this pair as they have access to multiple markets of fans across the country.

Beyond the visible stars of country music, another essential group of artists in the business, songwriters, are also demonstrating an urbanization of this genre. Sam Hunt, a relatively unknown songwriter, openly discusses his influences in a self-published YouTube video on his website. Growing up in rural Georgia, the only music Hunt was exposed to came from the radio and eventually affected his song writing:

In the country world, I was drawn to
the stories and the lyrics, and the song

[38] Wendy Pearl, "CMA Releases Major Consumer Research Segmentation Study," *American Chronicle*, (2009).

[39] "Great American Country Specials: Garth Brooks: Blame It All on My Roots—5 Decades of Influence," Great American Country, accessed February 26, 2014, http://www.gactv.com/gac/shows_spl/episode/0,,GAC_26200_90106,00.html

[40] Wade Jessen, "Florida Georgia Line's 'Cruise' Sets All-Time Country Sales Record," *Billboard,* (Jan. 6, 2014).

writing devices that were prevalent in that music. I was attracted to the beats and the rhythmic nature and phrasing of hip-hop and as I got a guitar and started to write—the cadence of what I was singing and what I was saying is more associated with the hip-hop thing but the lyric and the content have to do with the country culture that I came from.[41]

Further into Hunt's personal video he addresses the blurring of genres specifically as a consequence of the internet, the rise of YouTube, and a generation growing up that has been exposed to multiple styles of music. Hunt's name may not be well known but the material he has written includes a number of chart topping records including Kenny Chesney's "Come Over" and the rising hit "Cop Car" by Keith Urban.[42] Hunt plans to release an album in 2014 of his own that will continue to blur the dividing lines of musical genres.

The intense popularity of country music in the 21st century is undeniable. A stereotyped style of music that was once considered overwhelmingly rural has infiltrated mainstream American culture and become nearly as popular in large cities as it is in small towns. An "urbanization" of country music has occurred to achieve this monumental shift. No single factor catapulted country music into popular culture. Instead, a combination of national events, politics, media and artist styles formed country music into the urban musical genre it is today. Following September 11th, country musicians reached out to the American people, connecting emotional lyrics to the national mood. Soon after, these same musicians were faced with the polarizing effects of politicization when stars became prominent features on national news conglomerates. Further urbanization came into country music as the genre ties with the city of Nashville became more prominent. No force was stronger in de-ruralizing country music than mainstream media. The radio presence of country music increased in cities across the United States, causing musicians to adjust their sound to appeal to the new audiences. Hollywood produced successful

films about country music, depicting it as dully glamorous and plagued by typically urban plights. American television solidified the genre's place in the mainstream with the overwhelming popularity of *American Idol*, *The Voice*, and *Nashville*. Currently, the success of contemporary country has caused new territory to be sought. Musicians are now attempting to cross between country and hip-hop to reach new levels of urban popularity. The artists that do this like Tim McGraw, Luke Bryan and Florida Georgia Line push themselves deeper into mainstream music, rather than remaining solely in "country." The future may have the emergence of a new urban musical genre if Sam Hunt and others continuing their rising popularity.

References

Bauder, David. "'American Idol' is now 3rd-rated Competition Show." US News, 30 April 2013.

"Big Machine Records About." Big Machine Records. Accessed May 2, 2013. http://www.bigmachinelabelgroup.com/label/Big_Machine_Records.

Boulton, Andrew. "The Popular Geopolitical Wor(l)ds of Post-9/11 Country Music." Popular Music and Society. Vol. 31, No. 3, July 2008.

"Brad Paisley's 'Accidental Racist' Gets 'Saturday Night Live' Spoof Treatment." Yahoo Music. Accessed May 4, 2013. http://music.yahoo.com/blogs/our-country/brad-paisley-accidental-racist-gets-saturday-night-live-160106262.html

CMA (Country Music Association). "MRI Country Listener Analysis." Nashville: CMA, 2003.

"Country Strong." Internet Movie Database. Accessed May 2, 2013. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt1555064/?ref_=fn_al_tt_1

Country Strong. Directed by Shana Feste. 2010. Culver City, CA: Screen Gems Productions. DVD.

Crawford, Richard. America's Music. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, 2001.

iTunes Music Store. "Editor's Notes: Taylor Swift, Red." (2012).

Ferris, Marc. "Country Music, Above the Mason-

---

[41] Sam Hunt, "Who is Sam Hunt?" YouTube, accessed February 27, 2014, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U8AZid77guM
[42] Ibid.

Dixon." The New York Times, 16 September, 2001.

"Great American Country Specials: Garth Brooks: Blame It All on My Roots—5 Decades of Influence." Great American Country. Accessed February 26, 2014. http://www.gactv.com/gac/shows_spl/episode/0,,GAC_26200_90106,00.html

Hackett, Vernell. "New Statistics About Country Music Fans Revealed at Billboard Country Summit." Billboard, 08 June 2011.

Holt, Fabian. Genre in Popular Music. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007.

Hunt, Sam. "Who is Sam Hunt?" YouTube. Accessed February 27, 2014. http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=U8AZid77guM

Hunter, James. "MUSIC; Redrawing Country's Borders." The New York Times, 24 November 2002.

Jessen, Wade. "Florida Georgia Line's 'Cruise' Sets All-Time Country Sales Record." Billboar, 6 January 2014.

Mansfield, Brian. "Christian, Country Music on Upswing." USA Today, 15 July 2002.

Mansfield, Brian. "Country Music, in 9/11 Time." USA Today 06 September 2002.

Pearl, Wendy. "CMA Releases Major Consumer Research Segmentation Study." American Chronicle, 03 April 2009.

Pitts Jr., Leonard. "Brad Paisley's 'Accidental Racist' Not Honest." The Miami Herald, 14 April 2013.

Rowe, Douglas. "Full 2010-11 Ratings: CBS Tops Viewership, Fox is No.1 in Demo and Idol Remains Most-Watched." TV Guide 01 June 2011.

Severson, Kim. "Nashville's Latest Big Hit Could Be the City Itself." The New York Times, 08 January 2013.

Shelburne, Craig. "Ten American Idol Singers With Country Success." CMT News, 23 March 2011.

Sisario, Ben. "Country Returns to City Radio: After 17 Years, a Home in New York." The New York Times, 22 January 2013.

"Urban Cowboy." Internet Movie Database. Accessed May 3, 2013. http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0081696/

Willman, Chris. Rednecks & Bluenecks. New York: The New Press, 2005.

Wyatt, Edward. "'Idol' Winners: Not Just Fame but Big Bucks." The New York Times, 23 February 2010.

Splish Splash, Splish Splash: Concepts of Hygiene in Women's Prescriptive Literature Making of the Middle Class

Anna Lacy
Richard Stockton College of New Jersey

On March 1, 1808, William and Rebecca Porter of Middleboro, Massachusetts gave birth to a son named James. As a child he attended Pierce Academy and Kent's Hill Academy. At the age of nineteen, Porter reached a formative moment in his young adulthood as he converted to join the Methodist church. By the 1840s, Porter had risen to prominence as a member of the New England Conference of the United Methodist Church with pastorate appointments in Lynn, Worcester, and Boston, Massachusetts. Aside from his duties as a pastor, Porter was an accomplished author publishing both religious texts such as *The Compendium of Methodism, The Winning Worker, and Helps to Officers of the Church*, and advice guides (Harmon 579-580).

As the author of the conduct guide, *Hints to Young Ladies*, Porter is significant for several reasons. First, Porter's geographic situation and proximity to the Boston publishing market is important because this essay examines early nineteenth century urbanization and the expansion of the book industry in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic. Changing demographic patterns as Americans moved to urban areas renewed debates over how one should fashion their appearance as a marker of socioeconomic status. Because this essay draws from prescriptive literature, it is also important to trace the growth of the book industry to understand where these works were published and distributed. In addition to locale, the content of Porter's guide is equally important. For instance, in *Hints to Young Ladies*, Porter offered his readers the following advice:

> Frequent ablutions are of the greatest importance. As in sickness, good nursing is often more useful,

medicine, so in health, and under slight affections, frequent washings, combing the hair, cleaning the teeth and nails, contribute as much to health and vigor, as food, and sometimes even more (Porter 93).

Porter's advice typified the ideas about hygiene and appearance recommended in nineteenth-century prescriptive literature. Promoting ideas about personal hygiene and ideas about body presentation, prescriptive literature emphasized class differences in nineteenth-century America. In the second portion, this essay addresses examines early nineteenth-century prescriptive literature in terms of its recommendations regarding bathing, skin care, dental care, and hairstyles, to understand how it highlighted differences based on class and gender, and contributed to the making of the middle class.

Methodology

Ultimately, this project examines fifty-five advice guides published between 1790 and 1850 in the United States. Using qualitative analysis, it uncovers how advice literature encouraged middle-class women to present themselves. Although these ideas about appearance and behavior are at the core of the project, numbers are important too. In order to determine which behaviors and ideas about body presentation prescriptive literature deemed important, I carefully tracked how many guides addressed particular topics. The chart included at the end of this essay offers an overview of this data.

Ultimately, the main purpose of prescriptive literature was to establish social order and promote a specific social hierarchy. Directed towards a primarily white, middle-class audience, early nineteenth century prescriptive literature provided explicit guidelines for proper behavior and helped to define gender roles for the emerging middle class. Conduct literature stressed ideas about how a middle-class American woman should fashion her appearance by offering recommendations concerning issues such as bathing, dress, and hair care. These ideas served as visual markers of class and allowed women to pronounce their socioeconomic status.

Urbanization and the Book Industry

Between 1820 and 1860, urbanization in the United States occurred at the fastest rate of any

period in American history. While the national population increased 226 percent during this period, the number of people living in urban areas surged 797 percent. Moreover, the number of American cities with populations exceeding ten thousand residents increased more than eightfold between 1820 and 1860 (Halttunen 35). Coinciding with shifting population demographics, "new modes of speech, dress, body carriage, and manners" gave "an entirely new cast to the conduct and appearance of the American gentry" and resulted in the emergence of polite society, a term denoting the etiquette and manners of the upper and middle class (Bushman xii). Urbanization drastically altered patterns of social organization in the United States, as more Americans resided in urban areas where they knew little about their neighbors. Prior to the surge in urban populations, most Americans residing in urban areas knew their neighbors well. However, shifting demographic patterns pushed the issue of urban anonymity into the mix as more Americans entered a world of strangers, where they knew little about their neighbors. Thus, people "were coded largely on the basis of personal appearance" and judged by "costume manner, body markings, and linguistic patterns" (Halttunen 34). Prescriptive literature dealt with this issue of appearance, offering recommendations about how middle-class women should not only conduct themselves in public, but also present their bodies.

Because this paper deals with ideas about appearance and presentation in prescriptive literature, it is necessary to consider the development of the print industry in early-nineteenth century America. While the nineteenth century marked an important turning point in terms of urban development, the print industry also underwent a period of profound change as the number of publishing houses and number of books printed in the United States surged. John Tebbel, author of *A History of Book Publishing in the United States*, notes: "In 1755, there had been only fifty printing offices in the colonies; in 1856, there were about 385 publishing houses. Between 1830 and 1842, before the great leap forward of mass distribution, an average of about a hundred books a year had come from presses in America. This figure increased to 879 in 1853" (Tebbel 221). Moreover, it is necessary to recognize the regional distribution of the book industry, which was predominantly

concentrated in the Northeast and Mid-Atlantic. An 1804 catalogue from the American Company of Booksellers illustrates this distribution with the following breakdown of books printed in the United States: New England (Massachusetts, Connecticut, New Hampshire) 45 %, New York 20%, Philadelphia 29%, South (Maryland and Virginia) 3%, and non-specified 3% (Gross and Kelley 95). By the 1840s, the publishing industry had expanded south and westward. The following table includes data about the printing industries for seven cities in the United States.

Table 1. Number of Printing Offices and Publishers in the United States in 1840

City	# of Printing Offices	# of Publishers
New York	113	32
Philadelphia	47	24
Cincinnati	32	11
Boston/Cambridge	38	24
New Orleans	18	2
Baltimore	19	7
Washington, D.C.	12	1

Source: *Statistics of the United States…Sixth Census* (Washington, D.C., 1841), in Robert Gross and Mary Kelley, *A History of the Book in America*, 120.

These numbers are significant when examining conduct literature because they relate to the geographic distribution of readership of prescriptive literature, which was largely concentrated in the urban areas of the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast (Hemphill 5). In terms of the fifty-five advice guides used for this project, their publication locations reflected this trend. For the vast majority of the works analyzed, the texts were published and distributed in the Mid-Atlantic and Northeast. The following table includes data pertaining to the cities where these guides were published.

Table 2. Publication Location

Place of Publication	Number of Guides Printed
Boston and surrounding area	18
New York and surrounding area	13

Philadelphia	11
United Kingdom	7
Baltimore	3
New Hampshire (Nashua and Portsmouth)	2
Not Listed	1

Source: Data adapted from prescriptive guides used for this project.
*A complete listing of sources is provided in the bibliography.

The Emergence of the Middle Class

As increasing numbers of Americans moved from rural to urban areas, the issue body presentation emerged as a marker of one's socioeconomic class. Nineteenth-century prescriptive literature provided advice about personal hygiene geared not only toward upper class readers, but also for the emerging middle class. The objective was to provide a standard for "controlling the body and achieving a graceful, civilized demeanor" (Brown 119). Cleanliness served as a mechanism for social mobility marking a clear distinction between the working and middle class. On one hand, conduct literature implied the potential for upward mobility and "that all Americans could become ladies and gentlemen, if only they learned the proper behavior" (Brown 119). On the other hand, conduct literature solidified class distinctions, especially those between the working and middle class. It is important to note that the authors of these guides did not exclusively address the wealthy. Instead, they addressed a broader population segment. As a whole, conduct literature principally focused on both the middle and upper class, without providing different models of behavior for either class (Hemphill 134).

When examining the issue of class in relation to prescriptive literature, one must consider the role of printed word in nineteenth-century America. Those studying the history of the book note the occurrence of a "reading revolution" in the nineteenth century as literacy rates increased and the amount of printed material available surged. Mary Kelley describes these changes noting that, "print constituted a ubiquitous presence in everyday life" (Gross and Kelley 524). Yet, Kelley acknowledges that people did not uniformly experience printed materials in the same way. She explains this difference writing: "individuals and groups, not to mention entire regions, differed in their exposure to and involvement with print culture (Gross and Kelley 524). Literacy rates varied by region and regions like the south and west had considerably higher illiteracy rates. The 1840 census marked one of the first attempts to access literacy rates in the United States. The study on literacy in the census did not account for slaves. According to census data, "Above the Mason-Dixon line and east of the Appalachians, few people, no more than five or six in a hundred, lacked the skill…For the South as a whole, the literacy rate was 20 percent, compared to 8.5 percent for the entire nation" (Gross and Kelley 525).

While this data provides a window into literacy in early America, it is by no means a comprehensive view. Definitions of literacy varied from being able to read and write one's name to a more involved definition like having the ability to comprehend legal documents like wills and deeds and read the Bible. Typically the ability to read was drawn along racial and class lines, with racial and ethnic minorities and members of the lower class having higher rates of illiteracy. Class and literacy rates are crucial to understanding the role of prescriptive literature, which primary addressed those who were highly literate. Conduct guides present multiple indicators as to what was the intended readership. In Cathy Davidson's *Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America*, she presents a technique for accessing audience. In particular, Davidson remarks: "Prefatory material or any other such reading clues also serve as *reader* clues and indicate something of the gender, age, class, and level of literacy of the first audience to whom the book is addressed" (Davidson 7). In many instances, prescriptive guides contained prefaces, which offer a hint about their intended audience. For instance, in his 1838 guide *The Young Wife*, William Alcott explains his purpose to the reader: "In a word, I have endeavored to take her to be precisely what in the present state of things a wife is, and to give such advice and instruction as, in my own view she needs for the better discharge of her varied duties to herself, her husband, and others" (Alcott 17-18). From these opening remarks, it can be inferred that the Alcott is referring to a reader who is highly literate.

Moreover, the intended audience of these guides is easily discernable because conduct literature frequently contained references about how to behave in relation to domestic servants. Most early nineteenth-century guides did not contain instructions addressed to servants, rather directing their advice toward masters and mistresses. On the topic of servants, one guide offered the following statement asserting that in dealing with servants "the most important precept to be observed is, not to be afraid of your servants" ("The Laws of Etiquette" 120). Hence conduct literature afforded those caught between the middle and upper class the opportunity for social mobility, while at the same time accentuating the divide between the middle and working class. During the nineteenth century, as "the rising classes began to imitate the dress and conduct of older elites" and language grew increasingly standardized, identifying a person on the basis of appearance became almost impossible (Halttunen 37). Conduct literature provided those in the emerging middle class the opportunity to learn how to behave as members of the upper class, a class many aspired to join.

Hygiene: The Marker of Morality

Associating physical cleanliness with moral virtue, prescriptive literature provided clear instructions urging readers not only to keep morally pure, but also to maintain bodily cleanliness. Equating uncleanliness with corruption, etiquette guides made little distinction between hygiene and moral purity. As Kathleen Brown, author of *Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America*, explains: "Sin threatened to corrupt the soul and society much like rotten matter infected the body" (Brown 59). In Harvey Newcomb's *The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of the Christian Character* published 1841, Newcomb asserted the link between bodily cleanliness and morality. "It becomes the *duty* of every Christian," he wrote, "to use all proper means to maintain a sound, healthful, and vigorous bodily constitution" (Newcomb 146). Consequently, prescriptive literature equated personal hygiene with purity, embodying the notion cleanliness is next to godliness. Virginia Smith further explores this concept in *Clean: A History of Personal Hygiene and Purity*. "To the religious mind," she contends, "the two worlds were fused as one, and could not be separated" (Smith 3).

Nineteenth-century conduct guides contained messages influenced by Christian religious tradition. Authors emphasized the connection between moral character and tidiness, as "personal cleanliness took on new evidence of a person's inner life and personal habits, and as an entrée to establishing new social identity" (Hoy 5). Fusing ideas of proper behavior with Christian religious tradition, conduct guides promoted a model of genteel behavior linking moral virtue with ideas about cleanliness.

Bathing

At the most basic level, the notion of regular bathing served a practical purpose: as a safeguard against disease. Shifting population demographics and urbanization increased the risk of disease in the early nineteenth-century. It was quickly recognized that improving personal hygiene and public cleanliness drastically reduced the risk of illness (Hoy 5). In disease ridden nineteenth-century America, cleanliness became the beacon of good health. Advice guides extolled the benefits of daily bathing, describing it as one of "the most effectual means of guarding against colds, and all interruptions of the system" (Thornwell 21). Emily Thornwell's *The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility*, included an anecdote about Sir Astley Cooper's exemplary health, which he attributed to his habitual bathing. According to the tale, Cooper frequented "hot, crowded places at all times, night and day, without making any addition to his dress, yet he never caught a cold" (Thornwell 21). Other advice guides provided more medically based explanations for keeping the skin clean. As *The Young Woman's Book of Health* explained, the skin "is not a mere wrapper; it is vastly more than a covering to the parts beneath it" (Alcott 58). Yet, some advice guides went one step further and encouraged the middle-class to distance itself from the professedly unclean working class, thus, further emphasizing class divisions. Initially published in 1784, Scottish physician William Buchan's medical guide, *Domestic Medicine*, provided instruction on both household hygiene and health-care practices. With twenty-two editions published, *Domestic Medicine*, gathered international appeal drawing readers from England, Scotland, and the United States during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries (Brown 131). Buchan's guide

embodied the tactic of avoidance. "If dirty people cannot be removed as common nuisance," he explained, "they ought to at least be avoided as infections" (Buchan 101).

Conduct literature extolled the benefits of frequent bathing to "beautify the skin" and enhance complexion. Proper bathing techniques included the use of cold baths to reduce the risk of dry skin and called for the use of grooming aids like soft brushes and horse-hair gloves. For daily bathing, prescriptive literature advocated the use of tepid baths for their "remarkable soothing effects upon the internal organ" and called for water temperatures ranging between ninety-four and ninety-eight degrees (Thornwell 28). For other purposes, other authors advocated the use of cold baths to improve circulation and muscle function. In some instances, authors "recommended the use of the cold bath every day for patients seeking to restore their health, and at least three times a week for those seeking to preserve it" (Brown 201). Despite debates about water temperature, bathing techniques were relatively homogenous, calling for washing the entire body at least once daily followed by "brisk rubbing with a coarse towel" (Newcomb 156).

Hand Care

Hand care also emerged as visible marker of gentility. According to these guides, middle-class Americans should endeavor to preserve the delicacy of their hands by avoiding physical labor. As *A Manual of Politeness* explains, "The formation of the hand, in the first instance, of course comes from nature, and if not distorted in early life by rough usage and hard work, it of course will retain its form as it may be ("A Manual for Politeness" 156). Thus hand-care practices in conduct literature became a marker of socioeconomic class creating an impossible standard for working class women. For those who performed manual labor, maintaining delicate hands was inconceivable, since physical labor rendered their hands "distorted in shape and make, rough and course, as by their constant use" ("A Manual for Politeness" 156). In addition, women were encouraged to keep their nails properly shaped, rounded and cut short. Again, they were advised to keep their nails free of dirt by "the use of hot water, and the employment of a corner of the towel in turning it back every time you wash"

("A Manual for Politeness" 162). Published in 1837, *A Manual for Politeness*, accentuated the importance of nail care, implying that after complexion, "the nails attract the most attention to the hand" ("A Manual for Politeness" 162).

Conduct literature provided practical instruction for hand care. Authors emphasized the importance of frequent hand washing, not only as a safeguard against disease, but also to protect the delicate skin of the hands. These manuals included detailed instructions for hand washing calling for the use of warm water and fine soaps. After washing the hands, the skin was to be gently rubbed dry to avoid turning the skin red. Freshly washed hands were then to be gloved ("A Manual for Politeness" 160.) *A Manual of Politeness* explained the importance of wearing gloves asserting, "Gloves too, by ladies, should always be worn in the house; it is a very elegant fashion, and tends much to preserve the delicacy of the hands ("A Manual for Politeness" 160). Consequently, the call for grooming aids and accessories reflected class-based ideas about personal hygiene, as fine soaps and gloves were luxuries likely only to be owned by members of the middle and upper class.

While guides discussed the importance of soft skin, they also regarded skin discoloration as a mark of the lower and working class. Negligent hand care could manifest itself in skin "of a bad colour," which could be treated with home remedies like washing the hands in hot water and oatmeal. Similarly, conduct literature advocated the implementation of skin bleaching techniques including the use of lemon juice naturally to lighten skin color ("A Manual for Politeness" 160). When home remedies produced unsatisfactory results, etiquette guides often recommended commercial alternatives. For instance, *A Manual of Politeness*, offered the following recommendation, "With regard to soaps, I have heard many very high encomiums bestowed upon Riggie's scented soap, for the pleasing effect it has in softening and whitening the skin" ("A Manual for Politeness" 162). Complexion distinguished "white from black and the leisured from the laborer (Brown 132). Thus, middle-class women strove to make their skin as light and smooth as possible to pronounce their class status.

Skin Care

Furthermore, conduct literature frequently dealt with common skin concerns including acne and signs of aging. Clear complexions enhanced beauty and as one guide clarified: "A young woman with very indifferent features, but a fine complexion, will from ten persons out of twelve, receive spontaneous and warm admiration" ("Etiquette for Ladies 117). Women were warned to take care of their skin to avoid blemishes which "with the exception of the small-pox, pimples are the most destructive enemies to beauty" (Thornwell 25). According to these guides, the most effective cure for acne included the use of warm water to improve circulation. Women were also warned not to use certain remedies like lead based cold creams and "the use of large doses of vinegar" (Thornwell 25). Moreover, skin care advice encouraged women to take precautions against signs of aging. Women were instructed to prevent wrinkles by maintaining a healthy diet, frequent washing with cold water, and regular exfoliation. Some guides even made lofty claims about the effectiveness of their skin care instructions. For instance, one claimed that following their directions "will insure to persons ten years' exemption from the invasion of these disagreeable reminders of mortality, beyond the period that unassisted nature would have imparted" (Thornwell 26). Moreover, prescriptive literature linked ideas about hygiene and cleanliness with morality. In *Etiquette for Ladies, With Hints on the Preservation and Display of Female Beauty,* the connection between moral virtue and skin care is made clear. The guide explained, "A fine clear skin, gives an assurance of the inherent residence of three admirable graces to beauty; wholesomeness, neatness, and cheerfulness" ("Etiquette for Ladies 118). Other guides were less overt in their messages, such as William Alcott's *The Young Woman's Book of Health*. Commenting on female beauty, Alcott remarked: "She desires to *appear* well-to be regarded as beautiful. Perfectly right. It should be so. Beauty is almost virtue" (Alcott 14). Placing a great deal of emphasis on appearance, guides emphasized the idea that outward beauty reflected what was on the inside and served as a means for gauging a woman's moral character.

Ideas about appearance in prescriptive literature rested upon the concept of the transparency of beauty. Following this notion, "true womanly beauty was not an accident of form; it was

the outward expression of a virtuous mind and heart" (Halttunen 71). While conduct literature asserted ideas about maintaining a state of natural beauty, they also valued the use of cosmetics to enhance appearance. In many instances, prescriptive literature offered an evaluation of different cosmetics for their efficacy and value. Again the advice was class based as women were instructed to use luxury cosmetics, which were deemed the least damaging to the skin. Of these products, pearl powders and blush were regarded "the least hurtful to the complexion" and when used properly were evaluated to "give the most beautiful appearance" (Thornwell 28). Regular scrubbing of the face with a mixture of brandy and rose-water helped the skin maintain softness while washing away impurities ("Etiquette for Ladies" 123).

Dental Care

In addition to skin care, conduct literature provided models for dental hygiene as well. Commenting on the teeth, one guide explained, "No gift is more acceptable from Nature than good teeth. To appreciate, to value them fully, their loss must first be previously felt" ("A Manual for Politeness 164). After the 1800, new ideas about dental care emerged with the popularization of the toothbrush. Prior to the invention of toothbrush, most Americans relied on primitive techniques rinsing their mouths with water and cleaning their teeth with rags. Toothbrushes represented just "one of many specialized grooming aids, most of which far exceeded the ordinary person's arsenal for personal care" (Brown 136). Similar to skin care, women were instructed to avoid discoloration of the teeth. Authors commented on the common causes of discoloration: sugar laden foods, infrequent cleaning, and "the biting of threads among girls when sewing" ("A Manual for Politeness" 165). Furthermore, they argued that regular brushing of the teeth guarded against not only enamel decay, but also bad breath. Conduct literature also included medically based explanations for tainted breath listing lung disease, nasal ulcers, tobacco use, and habitual drinking as common causes. For severe cases, guides called for the use of remedies like consuming "a teaspoonful of yeast, mixed with a little luke-warm water" or "ten grains of powdered charcoal, in a glass of spring-water" ("A Manual for Politeness" 175). Encouraging women to pay

attention to their teeth, etiquette guides relegated oral hygiene to the same realm as skin care, making it an indicator of middle class status in nineteenth-century America. Yet, these ideas were class based because not all women had the resources to support these habits.

Hair Care

In addition, hair care remained the focus of prescriptive literature, instructing women how to style their hair in accordance with the latest trends. In most guides, natural hair color was preferred. As with makeup, prescriptive guides encouraged women to emphasize their natural beauty noting that, "the native colour of our hair is, in general, better adapted to our own complexions than a wig of a contrary hue" ("Etiquette for Ladies" 129). Guides advised women to style their hair with neatness, taste and propriety, yet, they warned against spending too much time on hair care. They implied that women should strike a balance between excessive styling and not styling their hair at all urging them to "give just as much thought and attention to the subject as will enable her to do it, and no more" (Arthur 93). In addition, specific hairstyles signified a marker of social class. Conduct literature alluded to this notion, asserting that hairstyles demonstrating "a regard for external order, beauty, and propriety," shall render "presence welcome in circles of taste and refinement (Arthur 94). While women were instructed to bathe daily, hair washing occurred less frequently. In between washes, women were urged to sleep with their hair covered to prevent contaminating their otherwise clean bodies (Alcott, "The Young Woman's Guide to Excellence" 266). Combining ideas about cleanliness and moral virtue, hairstyles served as another maker of social class.

Dress

Lastly, prescriptive literature emphasized the importance of proper dress as a visual marker of one's socioeconomic status. Linzy Brekke notes the significance of clothing as a status symbol. "The color, fit, texture, and quality of cloth," she suggests, "conveyed messages about status occupation, gender, wealth, and age, as well as individual personal characteristics such as modesty (or lack thereof), sexuality, religious orientation, and urbanity" (Brekke 113). Conduct literature provided women with clear instructions on dress,

providing them with models of not only what types of clothing to wear, but also how to wear them. Similar to hairstyles, dress emerged as a marker of class because it "was worn before an observing and censorious public" (Brekke 127). The 1836 guide, *The Laws of Etiquette*, commented on the importance of dress, explaining, "First impressions are apt to be permanent; it is therefore of importance that they should be favourable. The dress of an individual is that circumstance from which you first form your opinion of him" ("The Laws of Etiquette" 25). Similarly, the new emphasis on women's appearances coincided with an era of population growth, urbanization, and mobility, at a time when one's social life became increasingly public. Brekke notes how during this period, "locations to see and be seen proliferated: taverns, coffee houses, parks, boulevards line with retail outlets, national fêtes, revivals, and older social rituals life baptisms, courtships weddings, and funerals were becoming increasingly commodified" (Brekke 128).

Dress

Similar to bathing, conduct literature considered proper dress to be a matter of good health. Authors insisted that women wear seasonally appropriate clothing some even lamented the use of stays and corsets. For instance, *The Philosophy of Common Sense* warned readers about the numerous health consequences women risked from their use including cancer, spinal deformities, compression of the ribs, respiratory problems, and digestive issues (Carey 66). At the end of this essay are images from the *Philosophy of Common Sense* of two skeletons: one who regularly wore a corset, and another who did not.

Merging ideas about morality with concepts of proper dress, advice guides encouraged middle class women to dress modestly. In terms of its recommendations for proper dress, conduct literature instructed women to choose their clothing while considering their age and figure. Authors also noted the importance of possessing "neatness of dress and taste" when selecting clothing colors. For instance, *Etiquette for Ladies*, commented on the issue of color selection with the following statement:

If a lady does not possess a good eye
for colour, she ought never to rely

upon her own judgment in the selection of her patterns, or in their arrangement upon her person, else she will be nothing more than a walking violation of all the harmony of light and shade; and however expensively dress, she will never appear either genteel of fashionable. ("Etiquette for Ladies" 60-61).

It is important to note that prescriptive literature "almost required that the use of bright colors should be more restrained in the clothing of the American gentry" (Bushman 70). Moreover, prescriptive literature noted the importance of wearing clean clothing with assertions like "propriety requires that we should always be clothed in a clean and becoming manner, even in private" ("Etiquette for Ladies 61). Similarly, women were encouraged to adopt modest dress styles. Commenting on revealing clothing, William Alcott asked his readers in *The Young Woman's Guide to Excellence* "Does the world in which we live, contain sources enough of temptation, and avenues enough to vice, seduction and misery, without increasing their number by our dress" (Alcott 273). Merging ideas about morality with concepts of proper dress, advice guides encouraged middle class women to dress modestly.

In sum, prescriptive literature helped to shape the formation of the middle class through its remarks on topics such as hygiene, cleanliness, and appearance. Providing specific instruction for elite women about bathing, skin care, dental care, hairstyles, and dress, these guides emphasized specific ideas about appearance for middle-class Americans. These ideas served as visual reminders of socioeconomic class and distinguished the emerging middle class from the working class. Conduct literature linked notions of bodily cleanliness with moral virtue to produce a model of gender specific middle-class behavior. Consequently, these ideas about appearance presented in these books provided the aspiring middle class the opportunity to emulate the behavior of the upper class. Their standards for polite behavior served as both a catalyst and a barrier. Ideas about appearance presented in these books provided the aspiring middle class the opportunity to emulate the behavior of the upper class. Conversely, their rules for social conduct

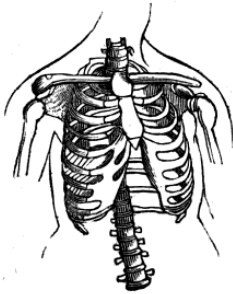further distanced the middle class from the working class.

Figure 1- Illustration from the 1838 *Philosophy of Common Sense* about corsets

34

CONTRACTED CHEST.
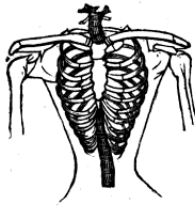
" An outline is here presented of the chest of a female, to show the actual condition of the bones, as they appear after death, in every lady who has habitually worn stays.

SKELETON OF A WELL-FORMED FEMALE CHEST.

" By comparing the accompanying plan of a well-developed and naturally-proportioned female chest, with the frightful skeleton appended to the preceding note, the difference is strikingly apparent. Here is breadth—space for the lungs to act in; and the short ribs are thrown outwardly, instead of being curved and twisted down towards the spine, by which ample space is afforded for the free action of all those organs, which in the other frame, were *too small to sustain life.* The first may be

Source: Matthew Carey, Philosophy of Common Sense: Practical Rules for the Promotion of Domestic Happiness Containing Rules for the Married (Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1838), 70-71.

References

A Handbook of Etiquette for Ladies. New York: Leavitt and Allen, 1847. E-book. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=uc2.ark:/13960/t0zp48s8c;view=2up;seq=5.

A Manual of Politeness: Comprising the Principles of Etiquette, and Rules of Proper Behaviour in Genteel Society, for Persons of Both Sexes. Philadelphia: W. Marshall & Co., 1837. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/reader?id=hVoEAAAAYAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PA3.

Etiquette for Ladies: With Hints on the Preservation, Improvement, and Display of Female Beauty. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1840. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/Etiquette_for_Ladies.html?id=G8FAAAAAYAAJ.

Ladies' Vase: or, Polite Manual for Young Ladies. Lowell: Dayton, 1843. E-book. https://archive.org/details/theladiesvase16802gut.

My daughter's manual: comprising a summary view of female studies, accomplishments, and principles of conduct. New York: Appleton, 1837. E-book. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=nyp.33433081636783;view=1up;seq=13.

The American Lady's and Gentleman's Modern Letter Writer: Relative to Business, Duty, Love, and Marriage. Philadelphia: Henry F. Anners. E-book. http://digital.library.pitt.edu/cgi-bin/t/text/text-idx?c=nietz;cc=nietz;view=toc;idno=00abh6702m.

The American Letter Writer, and Mirror of Polite Behavior. Philadelphia: Fisher and Brother, 1850.

The Art of Good Behavior; And Letter Writer on Love, Courtship and Marriage. New York: C.P. Huestis, 1846.

The Book of Manners: A Guide to Social Intercourse. New York: Carlton & Phillips Publishing, 1851. E-book. https://play.google.com/store/books/details?id=Pf9ZAAAAMAAJ&rdid=book-Pf9ZAAAAMAAJ&rdot=1.

The Family Book: Or Instructions Concerning All Relations of Life. New York: D. Appleton, 1835. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/The_Family_Book.html?id=HD0vAAAAYAAJ..

The Female Instructor. Liverpool: Printed by Nuttall, Fisher, and Dixon, 1815. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/The_Female_Instructor_Or_Young_Woman_s_C.html?id=EZ5TAAAAcAAJ.

The Laws of Etiquette: Or, Short Rules and Reflections for Conduct in Society. Philadelphia: Lea & Blanchard, 1836. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/The_Laws_of_Etiquette.html?id=0ao9AAAAYAAJ.

The Women of England: Their Social Duties, and Domestic Habits, in the Family Monitor and Domestic Guide. New York: Henry S. Langley, 1844. E-book. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/001055277.

Abbot, John Stevens Cabot. The Maternal Duty. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1833. Microfilm 4459, Reel 1, The Schlesinger Collection of Etiquette and Advice Books from the Arthur and Elizabeth Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, The University of Pennsylvania's Van Pelt Library Microfilm Collection.

Abell, L.G. Mrs. The Skillful Housewife's Book; Or Complete Guide to Domestic Cookery, Taste, Comfort, and Economy. New York: D. Newell, 1846. E-book. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.32044087415543;view=2up;seq=8.

Adams, Catherine Lyman. Daily Duties Inculcated in a Series of Letters Addressed to the Wife of a Clergyman. Boston: Crocker and Brewster, 1835. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/Daily_duties_inculcated_in_a_series_of_l.html?id=y0EOAAAAYAAJ.

Alcott, William. Letters to a Sister: Or, Woman's Mission. Buffalo: Derby, 1850. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/reader?id=oLhYAAAAcAAJ&printsec=frontcover&output=reader&pg=GBS.PR8.

Alcott, William. The Young Mother, or Management of Children in Regard to Health. 8th edition. Boston: George Light, 1839. E-book. https://archive.org/details/youngmotherorman00alco.

Alcott, William. The Young Wife. Boston: G.W. Light, 1838. E-book. https://archive.org/details/youngmotherorman00alco.

Alcott, William. The Young Woman's Book of Health. New York: Miller, Orton, and Mulligan, 1855. E-book. https://archive.org/details/youngwomansbooko00alco.

Alcott, William. The Young Woman's Guide to Excellence. Boston: G.W. Light, 1840. E-book. Duke University Libraries.

http://archive.org/details/youngwomansguide00alco.

Arthur, Timothy. Advice to Young Ladies on their Duties and Conduct in Life. Boston: Phillips and Samson, 1849. E-book. https://archive.org/details/advicetoyounglad00arth.

Arthur, Timothy. The Young Wife's Book: A Manual of Moral, Religious, and Domestic Duties. Philadelphia: Carey, Lea, and Blanchard, 1838. E-book. http://libcdm1.uncg.edu/cdm/ref/collection/tb1/id/4226.

Atmore, Charles. Serious Advice from a Father to His Children; Respecting Their Conduct in the World; Civil, Moral, and Religious. Philadelphia: J.H. Cunningham, 1818.

Bakewell, Mrs. J. The Mother's Practical Guide in the Early Training of Her Children Containing Directions for their Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Education. London: Hamilton, Adams, and Co., 1836. E-book. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/009733405.

Bowen. Abel. The Young Lady's Book; A Manual of Elegant Recreations, Exercises, and Pursuits. London: Vizetelly, Branston, and Co., 1829. E-book. https://archive.org/details/youngladysbookma00londiala.

Brekke, Linzy. "The Scourge of Fashion': Political Economy and the Politics of Consumption in the Early Republic." Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal 3, Number 1 (Spring 2005): 111-139.

Brown, Kathleen. Foul Bodies: Cleanliness in Early America. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009. Print.

Buchan, William. Domestic Medicine, Or, A Treatise on the Prevention and Cure of Disease by Regimen and Simple Medicines With an Appendix Containing a Dispensatory for the Use of Private Practicitioners. Edinburgh: A. Strahan, 1790. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/Domestic_Medicine_Or_A_Treatise_on_the_P.html?id=SGYFAAAAQAAJ.

Burton, John. Lectures on Female Education and Manners. Baltimore: Published by Samuel

Jefferis, 1811. E-book. https://archive.org/details/lecturesonfemal00burtgoog.

Bushman, Richard L. The Refinement of America: Persons, Houses, Cities. New York: Knopf, 1992. Print.

Carey, Matthew. Philosophy of Common Sense: Practical Rules for the Promotion of Domestic Happiness Containing Rules for the Married. Philadelphia: M. Carey, 1838. E-book. http://books.google.com/books/about/Philosophy_of_Common_Sense.html?id=67kaAAAAYAAJ.

Carter, Susannah. The Frugal Housewife, Or, Complete Woman Cook. Philadelphia: Matthew Carey, 1802. E-book. https://archive.org/details/frugalhousewifeo0cart.

Chapone, Hester. Letters on the Improvement of the Mind: Addressed to a Lady. London: Printed for John Sharpe, 1829. E-book. https://archive.org/details/lettersonimprov04chapgoog.

Coale, Edward. The American Lady's Preceptor: A Compilation of Observations, Essays, and Poetical Effusions Designed to Direct the Female Mind in a Course of Pleasing and Instructive Reading. Baltimore: Benjamin Edes, 1810. Claire T. Carney Library, University of Massachusetts Digital Research Resources. E-book. http://archive.org/details/americanladyspre00balt.

Crocker, Hannah Mather. Observations on the Real Rights of Women With their Appropriate Duties Agreeable to Scripture, Reason, and Common Sense. 1818.

Davidson, Cathy. Revolution and the Word: The Rise of the Novel in America. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986. Print.

Eliot, William. Lectures to Young Women. Boston: Crosby, Nichols, and Co., 1856. Print.

Ewell, Thomas. Letters to Ladies, Detailing Important Information, Concerning Themselves and Infants. Philadelphia: Printed for the author, 1817. Print.

Farrar, Eliza Ware. The Young Lady's Friend. Boston: American Stationer's Co., 1836. Print.

Ferguson, Anna. The Young Lady or Guide to Knowledge, Virtue, and Happiness. Nashua, NH: J.M. Fletcher, 1850. Print.

Fry, Caroline. A Word to Women; The Love of the World, and other Gatherings. Philadelphia :Carey & Hart, 1840. E-book. https://archive.org/details/wordtowomenloveo00fryc.

Gillet, Robert. The Pleasures of Reason; Or, the Hundred Thoughts of a Sensible Young Lady. Boston: T. Wells, 1809. Print.

Gisborne, Thomas. An Enquiry into the Duties of the Female Sex. 6th Edition. London: T. Cadell and W. Davies, 1805. E-book. https://archive.org/details/anenquiryintodu02gisbgoog.

Grant, Anne MacVicar. Sketches of Intellectual Education, and Hints on Domestic Economy, addressed to mothers. Baltimore: Edward J. Cole, 1813. Print.

Hall, David D., Robert A. Gross, and Mary Kelley. A History of the Book in America: An Extensive Republic Print Culture, and Society in the New Nation, 1790-1840. Vol. 2. Chapel Hill, NC: U of North Carolina, 2010. Print.

Halttunen, Karen. Confidence Men and Painted Women: A Study of Middle-class Culture in America, 1830-1870. New Haven: Yale UP, 1982. Print.

Harmon, Nolan B. The Encyclopedia of World Methodism, Vol. 2. Nashville: United Methodist Pub. House, 1974. Print.

Hawes, Joel. A Looking-Glass for Ladies, or, The formation and excellence of the female character. Boston: William D. Ticknor, 1845. E-book. http://catalog.hathitrust.org/Record/008375610.

Hemphill, C. Dallett. Bowing to Necessities: A History of Manners in America, 1620-1860. New York: Oxford UP, 1999. Print.

Hoy, Suellen. Chasing Dirt: The American Pursuit of Cleanliness. New York: Oxford University Press, 1995.

Miller, Robert. Short Advices to Young Women on the Subject of Courtship. Notingham: Printed and Sold by H. Barnett Miller, 1809. Print.

Moore, John Hamilton. The Young Gentleman and

Lady's Monitor. New York: Daniel Smith, 1824. E-book. https://archive.org/details/younggentlemana00unkngoog.

Muzzey, Artemas. The Young Maiden. Boston: William Crosby, 1840. E-book. https://archive.org/stream/youngmaiden02muzzgoog#page/n4/mode/2up.

Newcomb, Harvey. A Practical Directory for Young Christian Females; Being a Series of Letters from a Brother to a Younger Sister. 7th edition. Boston: Sabbath School Society, ca. 1833. https://archive.org/details/apracticaldirect17934gut. E-book.

Newcomb, Harvey. The Young Lady's Guide to the Harmonious Development of Christian Character. Boston: James B. Dow Publisher, 1841. E-book. https://archive.org/stream/youngladysguid00newc#page/n7/mode/2up.

Parkes, Mrs. William. Instructions to the Young Married Ladies on the Management of their Households, and Regulations of their Conduct in the Various Relations and Duties of Moral Life. New York: J & J Harper, 1829. E-book. https://archive.org/details/domesticdutiesor00parkrich.

Pierce, Charles. The Portsmouth Miscellany, or Lady's Library Improved. Portsmouth, N.H.: Peirce, Hill, and Peirce, 1809. E-Book. Villanova University Falvey Memorial Library.

Porter, James. The Operative's Friend, and Defence; Or, Hints to Young Ladies, Who Are Dependent on Their Own Exertions. Boston: C.H. Pierce, 1850. Print.

Sanford, Mrs. John. Woman, in her Social and Domestic Character. Boston: Leonard C. Bowles, 1833. E-book. https://archive.org/details/womaninhersocia02sandgoog.

Smith, Virginia. Clean: A Personal History of Hygiene and Purity. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007. Print.

Taylor, Ann Martin. Practical Hints on the Duties of a Wife, a Mother, and a Mistress of a Family. Boston: Wells and Lilly Publishing, 1820. E-book. https://archive.org/details/practicalhintsto00tayl.

Tebbel, John. History of Book Publishing in the United States: V. 1: The Creation of an Industry, 1630-1865. S.l.: Bowker, 1972. Print.

Thornwell, Emily. The Lady's Guide to Perfect Gentility. New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856. https://archive.org/details/ladysguidetoper00thorgoog. E-book.

Weaver, George Sumner. Hopes and Helps for the Young of Both Sexes. New York: Fowles and Wells Publishers, 1855. E-book. https://archive.org/details/hopesandhelpsfo01weavgoog.

By Hook or By Crook: A History of the Hudson River Sloop Clearwater
Chapter 8: Growing Pains

James Malchow
Rutgers University

[Note: this paper is one chapter of an honors thesis which focuses on the development of the Hudson River Sloop Clearwater and the organization of the same name between the mid-1960's and the early 1980's]

Internal debates over the focus of the Clearwater organization again came to a head in 1977 and 1978. During that time, several attempts were made to more clearly define the organization's role in the environmental movement, and in each case controversy erupted. These cases included proposals to align the group with advocates of organized labor or civil rights. The largest issue in question was whether or not the Clearwater should sail to Seabrook, New Hampshire to take part in large protests against the construction of a nuclear power plant. At the heart of each of these controversies was the question of whether the Clearwater organization should identify with the more mainstream elements of the American environmental movement or the more radical elements, as well as whether its focus should be strictly regional or more broad. In the minds of many Clearwater members, the debate went to the core of the organization's mission, and each issue prompted passionate arguments on all sides of the issue. Because these debates came about in quick succession and lasted for several months, it seemed to many that too much effort was spent arguing and a bad impression was left in the minds of many casual participants in the organization. The Seabrook controversy and others hurt the organization in terms of its reputation for uniting people with mixed interests, but at the same time the organization was strengthened by establishing a more clear focus and mission as it approached the end of the Clearwater's first decade on the Hudson River.

When the initial proposal for the Clearwater to sail to Seabrook first arose, the Clearwater organization was just emerging from a smaller but similar controversy over its mission. As a result, many members were already displeased with the direction the organization was trying to move toward. The smaller debate revolved around the possibility of a formal alliance between environmental organizations like Clearwater and organized labor, with particular focus on Brown Lung disease. An article titled "Can We Find a Common Bond?" in the July, 1977 North River Navigator wrote that the Clearwater office was taking "a first step toward establishing on-going working relationships between public-interest organizations and labor unions in New York State."[1] 1The proposal sparked a series of letters to the organization that were published in the monthly newsletter and reflected the deep differences of opinion within the membership that later manifested themselves again during the debates over Seabrook.

Some members expressed opposition, saying "I cannot believe that the environmental problems of the Hudson River are so close to solution that you have to go this far afield to find issues to deal with,"[2] and others simply stated "you lost my interest when you took on other good causes than the main one - the specific one of this organization. Just take my name off your list."[3] Supporters of the proposal described it as "sorely needed," and explained that "the system has always attempted to separate blacks from whites, men from women, workers from students, and so on down the line. Clearwater's work can only help in the ongoing struggle of all, to act together in our own best interests."[4] For many, there was a need for the Clearwater organization to become acquainted with larger environmental issues than the Hudson River. For others, such endeavors were a betrayal of the mission that they had signed on to support. Despite the existence of support for the proposal, the plan

---

[1] "Can We Find a Common Bond?" North River Navigator (July 1977): 1;3-4. Print. Maryellen Healy Papers (MHP), Pine Bush, NY.

[2] Cummins, Robert J. Letter to the Editor. Oct. 1977. North River Navigator. pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[3] Fisher, Walter Taylor. Letter to the Editor. Dec. 1977. North River Navigator. pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[4] Gidaly, Glen. Letter to the Editor. Oct. 1977. North River Navigator. Pg. 2. Print. MHP (Pine Bush, NY)

was never pursued. It fell out of the organization's focus as new and larger controversies began. As the focus of the organization almost immediately shifted to other debates, the dispute over an alliance with labor nevertheless indicated that many members were reconsidering their allegiance to Clearwater at the time as it struggled to find its own focus.

One of the debates that came to overshadow Clearwater's attention to Brown Lung Disease and organized labor was a proposed shift to give more focus on race relations and environmental justice. Spearheaded by an original Clearwater crew member and noted civil rights activist Frederick Douglass Kirkpatrick, a group of Clearwater members proposed a plan to alter the organization's mission. At the 1977 Clearwater Annual Meeting, a workshop was held titled "Racism & The Environment." During the workshop, a set of recommendations was approved calling for the Clearwater to board to reinterpret its definition of the environment to include "the right to a decent, well paid creative job for all persons from the teen years up; the right to housing in one's place of choice; the right to live free of fear from death, especially at the hands of the police; the right to a non-racist education, especially in the areas of history and culture, so that education will be complete and not partial."[5] The proposed plan would have meant a radical shift in Clearwater's approach to environmentalism.

The organization had up until then been, according to the definition of Robert J. Brulle, a product of the environmental reform movement. Its perception of environmentalism was that "human health is linked to ecosystem conditions. To maintain a healthy society, ecologically responsible actions are necessary." Reform environmentalism differentiated Clearwater from the other notable environmental organizations on the Hudson such as Scenic Hudson, which focused on preservation and adhered to the theory that "nature is an important component in supporting both the physical and spiritual life of humans. Hence, the continued existence of wilderness and wildlife, undisturbed by human action, is necessary." Instead of embracing Clearwater's method of reform environmentalism,

Kirkpatrick sought to create a paradigm of environmental justice, under the premise that "ecological problems occur because of the structure of society and the imperatives this structure of society and the imperatives of this structure creates for the continued exploitation of nature. Hence, the resolution of environmental problems requires fundamental social change."[6] The proposal prompted letters of support and opposition, and showed the existence of both a desire to refocus the attentions of the organization onto more broad environmental issues such as the environmental implications of racism and poverty, but also highlighted the widespread unwillingness within the organization to undergo such a deep shift. Similar to the debate over Clearwater and labor unions, the issue of confronting racism from an environmental perspective exposed tensions in the organization over its intended purposes. No action to pursue the workshop's recommendation was taken however, which is a sign that racism and environmental justice were not issues against which the organization's general membership felt the sloop Clearwater should sail and fight. Instead, it would remain largely white and middle class.

The debates over labor unions and racism were both overshadowed by more intense fights within Clearwater. The largest debate to occur within Clearwater in 1977 and 1978 was the debate over anti-nuclear protests at Seabrook, New Hampshire. Environmental actions at Seabrook had been closely followed in the national media for months before any mention of it appeared in relation to the Clearwater. In spring, 1977, thousands of activists organized by a group called the Clamshell Alliance engaged in nonviolent acts of civil disobedience at the proposed construction site, which was situated along the Atlantic coast between Boston and Portsmouth. In May, one thousand four hundred activists were arrested. For weeks the protests remained in the news. The nationwide media coverage drew more support for the Clamshell Alliance, which vowed to continue its actions.[7]

[5] "Racism & The Environment: Workshop Report." North River Navigator IX (Jan/Feb. 1978): 7. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[6] Brulle, Robert J. Agency, Democracy, and Nature: The U.S. Environmental Movement from a Critical Theory Perspective. p. 98. Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2000. Print.
[7] Lynch, Mitchell C. "Clamshell Alliance Gains Strength Following Seabrook." Wall Street Journal [New York, NY] 6 June 1977: 16. Print.

In October, 1977, four Clearwater members, including Clearwater captain Peter Willcox, published an open letter in The North River Navigator to members of the organization calling for immediate action regarding the Clamshell Alliance and its continuing activities at Seabrook. The letter proposed sailing the Clearwater to New Hampshire in June, 1978 to coincide with another large scale occupation of the power plant construction site. The letter stated that "with the Clearwater visible offshore and perhaps a few people with celebrated names to present some music, the possibility of drawing the number of people necessary to toll the death knell of the plans for the nuclear power plant at Seabrook might well be in reach!"[8] With the possibility of winning the most public battle over nuclear power in the country, the authors of the letter hoped that a Clamshell Alliance victory would reverberate back to the Hudson River and affect the status of nuclear power there, as well as across the United States. For that reason, and because the Clearwater would increase public awareness of the Seabrook protests, they felt that the organization should make the sacrifices necessary to ensure their participation in the June occupation. It was also suggested in a Clearwater office memo that the sloop might be used not only as a visible symbol for the environment, but also as a physical obstacle to the power plant's construction as part of a blockade to prevent construction materials from entering the site from the sea. For Clearwater to participate in the blockade and occupation would mark a shift in tactics for the organization. At no point had they chosen to violate laws or civil disobedience. To do so would mark a shift away from mainstream environmentalism and toward more radical tactics.

The Clearwater organization was already openly against nuclear energy when the Seabrook proposal was made. It had opposed the expansion of the existing Indian Point nuclear plant in Buchanan, New York, and at the same time as the Seabrook protests began, was working to prevent the construction of new nuclear plants at Red Hook, Cementon, and Esopus; all towns along the Hudson River. With the threat having the number of nuclear plants in the Hudson Valley quadrupling, opposition to nuclear power was a high priority.

In addition to their anti-nuclear work, Clearwater's approach to environmental action was also similar to the Clamshell Alliance. Its Polluter Reports, People's Pipewatch, Riverkeeper, and education programs were based on direct action, as opposed to other Hudson River environmental groups that focused on litigation such as Scenic Hudson and the Hudson River Fishermen's Association. Despite its connections to the Clamshell Alliance in terms of its aims and methods however, there were several reasons why participation in the Seabrook protests could hurt the organization, and opposition to the plan appeared almost immediately.

Opponents of sailing the Clearwater to Seabrook were a minority within the organization but ranged from rank and file members to members of the Board of Directors. In their statements and letters they highlighted the myriad reasons why the boat should not go. The most basic reason was that the organization could scarcely afford such a trip. The voyage would take approximately one month during a time when the Clearwater would be busiest doing its school and summer camp sailing programs. At the time school programs made up more than one fifth of Clearwater's income each year, and the organization was heavily in debt. In 1977 there was a fundraising campaign to pay off outstanding debts and each month the progress was reported to the membership in the newsletter. In June the total debt reported was $42,450.[9] By October, the same month that the Seabrook proposal was made, the debt was still high at $23,040.[10] Worse yet, the Treasury Report at the 1977 Clearwater annual meeting showed a budget shortfall of nearly $8,000 for the year, and it was reported that a $15,000 loan had to be taken out to be able to pay for winter maintenance for the sloop.[11] The staff and membership were acutely aware of the fiscal position of the organization, and the notion that sailing to New Hampshire was wiser than doing sails locally and earning some

[8] Killian, Bob, et.al. Letter to the Editor. Oct. 1977. North River Navigator. Pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[9] Whyatt, Tom, ed. "Where Have All The Dollars Gone" North River Navigator VIII (June 1977): 8. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[10] Whyatt, Tom, ed. North River Navigator VIII (Oct. 1977): 8. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[11] Verb, Howard I. "From The Treasurer." North River Navigator VIII (Dec. 1977): 5-6. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

much-needed income was unthinkable to many of them.

In addition to the financial implications of the voyage, it seemed to many to be a distraction from more important environmental problems on the Hudson River. Clearwater was firmly opposed to nuclear energy, but they were also deeply engaged in other struggles as well. The controversy over PCBs in the Hudson was barely two years old and required staff resources to pursue the issue. PCBs remained constantly in the news both because of agitation on the part of groups like Clearwater and because of the responses from the government. In May, 1977 the Food and Drug Administration considered banning the Hudson River shad fishery based on levels of PCBs in the fish, and had already placed prohibitions on striped bass, eels, and other fish.[12] PCBs were the most public environmental battle on the River, which furthered the feeling that Seabrook was a diversion. Clearwater was also engaged in opposition to the proposed interstate highway known as Westway, which was planned to run along the Hudson River waterfront through Westchester, Putnam, and Dutchess Counties and was in its early stages of development.[13] Other important included the continuing cleanup of the Foundry Cove in Cold Spring, New York where fish had been discovered with more than one thousand times the levels of cadmium, a toxic heavy metal, than "might normally be expected."[14] Also in 1977 the ship Ethel H crashed in the Hudson Highlands and spilled over four hundred thousand gallons of oil into the river, requiring months of cleanup work and devastating the wildlife and shoreline of a thirty mile stretch of the river.[15] With the array of problems on the Hudson and the amount of attention each one demanded, it was not a difficult case for the opponents of the voyage to

Seabrook to make.

The most important argument against going to Seabrook, however was that it was not in line with the mission of the organization. After all, the Clearwater sailed for the Hudson River. Seabrook, New Hampshire was hundreds of miles away. Many Clearwater members found it difficult to believe that bringing the sloop to New Hampshire would make an impact on the state of affairs in New York. In addition to questions about the broadness of Clearwater's focus, there were also issues regarding how radical their tactic should be. Some members felt that Clearwater should identify more closely with radical environmental groups like the Clamshell Alliance or Greenpeace. Others hoped for Clearwater to stick to legal action and education for the public. In one letter, a member decried any tactics were disruptive or broke the law. Priscilla Leith wrote:

> the [New England Anti-Nuclear Alliance] has gone to COURT, rather than to the fields on the issue, and has hopes of stopping the plant that way. This is the route that I believe needs to be taken by groups opposing nuclear power plants...the tactics of the Clamshell Alliance...continually pressure and harass existing organizations to engage in "actions" (demonstrations, sit-ins, picketing) of protest which divert much-needed member labor and resources to their own cause.[16]

Leith's sentiments were echoed in more than a dozen other letters published in the North River Navigator about the plan to sail to Seabrook. The letters reveal the existence of a contingent within the organization who sought to curtail Clearwater's radical shift. Their arguments echoed those made by conservative members of the organization in 1970, when the Vice President of the Board of Directors resigned over Clearwater's reputation as a "hippie-type" group, saying they would not be taken seriously if they did not maintain a more polished image.[17] By 1978 however, Clearwater had long

---

[12] Whyatt, Tom, ed. "Last Shad Season? Beginning of the End." North River Navigator VIII (May 1977): 3. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[13] 13Blumenthal, Ralph. "WESTWAY PLAN WINS FINAL U.S. APPROVAL; BOON TO CITY IS SEEN." New York Times [New York, NY] 5 Jan. 1977: 64. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Web. 5 Dec. 2013.

[14] Lyons, Richard. "3 Fish Caught Near a Battery Factory on the Hudson Contain Up to 1,000 Times Normal Cadmium." New York Times [New York, NY] 13 Jun. 1971: 23. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Web. 5 Dec. 2013.

[15] Whyatt, Robin. "The Wreck of the Ethel H." North River Navigator VIII (Mar. 1977): 1,6. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[16] Leith, Priscilla. Letter to the Editor. Jan/Feb. 1977. North River Navigator. pg. 6. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[17] Hudson river group aide quits in protest on seeger. (1970, Sep 28). New York Times (1923-Current File). Retrieved from

embraced its "hippie type" image, and the debate that remained was whether they could make a bigger difference in courtrooms, classrooms, or holding rooms.

Though many members expressed opposition to Clearwater action in Seabrook or any shift toward radical tactics in general, there was also an outpouring of support for the plan. Many members felt a rising tide against nuclear power and were eager to participate. For them, the Clamshell Alliance protests in Seabrook posed a unique opportunity to utilize one of the United States' most recognizable symbols of the environmental movement, the sloop Clearwater, to both provide and generate support in a critical hour. Furthermore, there was a deep feeling that, in addition to giving aid to the Clamshell Alliance, Clearwater itself would benefit from the voyage in the long run. Member Calvin Grimm wrote "the fact is that the largest representation of nuclear opponents in U.S. History plans to assemble...these people are going to Seabrook because that is where their collective stand is being made...by supporting Clamshell's non-violent activities we will gain both experience and friendships, and we will next be able to move to action in the Hudson Valley and Long Island Sound."[18] Grimm's letter, along with others, reflected the opinions of a clear majority of the organization, and instead of simply arguing with their opposition, supporters of the plan began to organize.

The effort to mobilize supporters of the Clearwater's voyage to Seabrook developed rapidly. The trip required logistical planning and approval of the Board of Directors over the opposition's protests. Additionally, all the work would need to be done in a matter of months during the busy springtime. Planning for Seabrook had to be done in addition to winter boat maintenance, and while all the standard office work was done. School programs for the spring and summer still needed to be planned, and the work on PCBs and other issues needed to continue. In order to secure Board approval, the organizers sought participation from the general membership.

The first step taken towards sending the Clearwater to Seabrook was to begin raising money to pay for the voyage. A special fund was created to allow members to earmark donations to support the trip. The fund would both prove to the Board of Directors how much the membership supported the idea by showing how much had been raised. It also showed that the organizers were willing to do the work necessary to make the journey possible rather than stand back and demand that the office somehow make the project materialize. To get a jump start on paying for the voyage, proponents planned concerts in New York and Long Island to coincide with the voyage.

One of the original co-authors of the Seabrook proposal, Bob Killian, called on supporters to write letters expressing support to the Clearwater office in Poughkeepsie to help pressure the Board of Directors to vote in favor of the trip. He wrote, "you, the members, must make YOUR opinions heard."[19] Consequently, hundreds of letters, both in favor and against the plan, were sent in over a six month period between January and June, 1978, when the occupation was to take place.

During the same period that support was being expressed through letters of casual Clearwater members, important leaders also weighed in. One letter from six families who were closely affiliated with Clearwater and included several past Board members, including Pete and Toshi Seeger, stated "when a neighbor's barn is burning, you go to help them put it out. A year from now residents along the Hudson may be very grateful to have New Englanders come over and help up stop the nukes that threaten life in and alongside this river. Clearwater must bravely stick out her mast and go to Seabrook, or ship will disappoint thousands of us who have supported her through the years." The message was clear; the Seabrook plan was in keeping with the vision of the organization's founders, and they considered it imperative. Included with the note was a contribution earmarked for the Seabrook trip.[20]

To gather support among the membership, a workshop was held at the Clearwater Annual Meeting to discuss the plan, as well reasons why the boat should go or not. A report from the workshop

http://search.proquest.com/docview/118737207?accountid=13626
[18] Grimm, Calvin. Letter to the Editor. Jan/Feb. 1977. North River Navigator. pg. 6. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[19] Killian, Bob. Letter to the Editor. Dec. 1977. North River Navigator. pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY
[20] Seeger, Pete and Toshi, et. al. Letter to the Editor. Apr. 1978. North River Navigator. Pg. 8. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

stated that more than thirty people attended and "unanimously agreed that Clearwater should support the Clamshell Alliance in every way possible."[21] While the unanimity of thirty members might be considered an insignificant in an organization whose membership count at the time was listed at four thousand six hundred, those who attended the Annual Meeting could reasonably be considered the core of the membership.[22] They were likely the people who attended the previous year's Annual Meeting and would attend the meeting the following year. It was the core of the membership that could be counted on to volunteer in the office or on board the sloop, and for the workshop attendees to support the plan unanimously sent a clear message.

The Board of Directors voted March 19, 1978 to approve the voyage to Seabrook, with conditions. Eleven members voted in favor and five voted against. Five additional members did not vote.[23] Board President Myra Aaronson later wrote that "what the board approved was a motion to send Clearwater to Seabrook pending a clarification of the legal safety of the act, simply to be present in the harbor during the weekend of June 24-25 as a symbol of support for the occupation. We did not endorse the recommendations of the Annual Meeting Clamshell Alliance Workshop, nor did we approve participation in a blockade or other illegal action."[24] The decision marked a compromise between the differing attitudes within the organization, but with a heavy emphasis on the the side of the proponents of the plan. The boat would sail to Seabrook in spite of the finances and its typical springtime routine. But instead of aligning with the Clamshell Alliance and other radical groups like Greenpeace, the Clearwater and its crew would not participate in actions that would get them arrested. The organization therefore had a clear solution to an issue of contention that it had been dealing with for months; it would support radical groups and participate in actions, but it would do everything short of breaking the law.

Aaronson's letter also addressed two other questions posed by the debate. One was whether the Clearwater was changing its focus to be broader than the Hudson Valley, and the answer was no. The Seabrook voyage would be viewed in terms of its connection to the Hudson River, and after the sail was done, the Clearwater would continue to focus on the Hudson. Aaronson wrote "sending the boat to Seabrook and working on the river are not mutually exclusive...I believe that what we will learn at Seabrook will strengthen our efforts at home, not weaken them….I voted to go to Seabrook because

I believe it is a contradiction to be an environmental 'separatist.'" In the same way that the sail to New Hampshire was seen as a way of helping to advance the cause of cleaning the Hudson, after the return of the vessel it would be the case that Clearwater's work on the Hudson would be its way of working to help the environment everywhere.

The third issue addressed in Aaronson's note was the role that that Clearwater's financial problems played in the decision. She wrote "financial considerations go into every decision we make...but the Clearwater at Seabrook Committee has committed itself to making up [the cost]...I voted to go to Seabrook because I believe that for the long term we cannot afford not to go." By explaining the approach to the situation taken by the board, Aaronson revealed that the organization would not allow financial considerations to be the sole factor in determining whether or not to participate in actions. In other words, even when there was no money at hand, they would find a way to make it work. This approach followed the organization's tradition of operating without being beholden to its financial status and not changing course to make more money by sacrificing its goals.

The passion that was reflected in the membership letters throughout the early months of 1978 also manifested itself in the actions of the Board of Directors. After the vote, board member Dan Grischkowsky resigned on grounds that the Clearwater should not leave the Hudson, writing "it is time we start to say NO to Clearwater's involvement in areas outside of our primary concern for the Hudson River." Similar passions were felt by supporters of the plan. Toshi Seeger suggested that she might leave if the vote failed. It was later

[21] Killian, Bob. Letter to the Editor. Dec. 1977. North River Navigator. pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY
[22] "Clearwater Update" 5 March, 1979. Memorandum. Nancy Papish Papers. University at Albany, Albany, NY
[23] Magill, Angela. "President's Report." North River Navigator IX (Mar. 1978): 3. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY
[24] Aaronson, Myra. Letter to the Editor. Mar. 1978. North River Navigator. pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

reported that Seeger over the past decade had "baked acres of casseroles for Clearwater functions, licked stamps, agonized over financial crises and haggled with concert managers over contracts. Some see her as the glue that keeps the Clearwater people together, so when she rumbled that she might quit if the sloop didn't sail to Seabrook, the board sat up and listened."[25] Such passions, particularly on the part of Clearwater's most committed members, indicate the degree to which the Seabrook debate was about more than nuclear power or whether it was a good idea. The issue went to the heart of the organization's mission and exposed differences that had up until then remained hidden.

With the approval, planning for the journey continued, as did the back and forth commentary in the North River Navigator. Though the disputes continued through June, the decision had been made, and in many ways the controversy ended months before the voyage even took place. The Clearwater left New York on June 16th and arrived in Seabrook one week later. Instead of a blockade, the sloop participated in a flotilla near the construction site.[26] In addition to that change, more serious alterations were made the Clamshell Alliance's plans before the protests took place. Instead of allowing a situation where mass-arrests would occur as they had the year before, New Hampshire officials, along with the Public Service Company of New Hampshire, who sought to build the plant, allowed the protestors to use the site for three days. Because they were there with permission, the twenty thousands demonstrators present were not illegally occupying the site as they had planned. After the three days, the Clamshell Alliance left the site and ended the weekend with a march in Manchester, New Hampshire, where the Nuclear Regulatory Commission and Environmental Protection Agency were holding hearings about the plant. After the weekend, both the Clamshell Alliance and the Public Service Company of New Hampshire claimed victory.[27]

After the protests, the construction of the plant was delayed for various reasons until it finally opened fully in 1990.[28] The Clearwater returned to a busy season on the Hudson.

In the months after the voyage to Seabrook, the journey's effects began to be felt. One member called the efforts to ally with the Clamshell Alliance, organized labor, and civil rights groups a 'destructive fungus"[29] in a letter resigning his family membership. He was not alone. According to office memoranda, the organization had more than five hundred fewer members in March, 1978 than it had had one year prior, a loss of more than ten percent of the membership.[30] Some left on ideological grounds, others because the seven straight months of fighting gave the appearance of a dysfunctional organization. Nevertheless, the events emboldened the members who remained. In October, 1978, more members voted in the elections for the Board of Directors than ever had before. In another workshop about Seabrook at the 1978 Annual Meeting, the number of attendees doubled from the same workshop the year before, and those present approved a resolution by a vote of twenty two to two calling for continued actions like Seabrook.[31] After over a year of disputes and the departure of many who objected, the organization was finding unity in its focus. Its anti-nuclear work continued, though almost entirely with a focus on Indian Point and the Hudson Valley. Only once did the sloop leave New York waters for anti-nuclear actions after 1978.

Also at the 1978 Annual Meeting, the financial effects of the Seabrook voyage were given. The organization raised more money in 1978 than it had the year prior, and emerged with a surplus roughly equal to the previous year's deficit. While expected expenses kept the staff wary of calling the year a financial success, it was clear that

---

[25] O'Reilly, David. "Dissension on Deck." Environmental Action 15 July 1978: 4. Web. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[26] Gallanter, Marty. "Clearwater Sails to Seabrook to Make Friends & to Stop Nukes." North River Navigator IX (Aug. 1978): 1-2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[27] Nuclear Demonstrators End Rally With March in Manchester, N.H.: Left by the Deadline." New York Times [New York, NY] 27 Jun. 1978: A10. Proquest Historical Newspapers. Web. 5 Dec. 2013.

[28] "Seabrook at Full Power." New York Times (1923-Current file): 6. Jul 21 1990. ProQuest. Web. 28 Feb. 2014 .

[29] Lane, C.R. Letter to the Editor. May. 1978. North River Navigator. IX pg. 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

[30] "Clearwater Update" 5 March, 1979. Memorandum. Nancy Papish Papers. University at Albany, Albany, NY

[31] Grimm, Calvin. "Seabrook: Implications to Clearwater's Region." North River Navigator IX (Nov. 1978): 5. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

the decision to sail to Seabrook had not left them worse off than they had been the year before.[32]

More importantly than the controversy's effect on Clearwater's money was the effect on its mission. Fortunately for Clearwater the Seabrook debate, along with the debates about labor unions and civil rights, ended up helping the organization rather than hurting it. Despite the loss of memberships, Clearwater emerged at the end of 1978 with a clearer image of its focus for the future. The fights proved to be necessary growing pains as the organization matured, and in many ways the questions debated in 1978 would have arisen sooner or later, whether there had ever been a proposed sail to Seabrook or not.

The sloop entered its second decade on the Hudson with deeply renewed energy and a better knowledge how it would pursue its goal of a healthy Hudson River. It would take its stance on nationwide issues through the lens of each issue's relation to the Hudson. It would focus its activism locally, with a main focus on Westway, PCBs, and anti-nuclear work at Indian Point and the other proposed Hudson River sites. It would identify with more radical elements of the environmental movement but would not itself take part in unlawful actions. It would also not engage deeply in issues of environmental justice or racism.

With the clarifications made to its operating formula, as well as new developments like the new annual festival, the Great Hudson River Revival, the organization was prepared to move into a new decade, the 1980's, as well as a new era for its own work.

---

[32] Mylod, John. "Clearwater 1978 Annual Meeting Report." North River Navigator IX (Nov. 1978): 2. Print. MHP, Pine Bush, NY

Phish Fanhood: Phish.net as a Distinct Virtual Fan Community With Offline Significance

Patrick Mallon
Franklin and Marshall College

Introduction

The band Phish, founded in 1983 in a college dorm, holds a strange place in the popular culture of modern music. Known for their experimental 'jamming' style of music, Phish has never enjoyed widespread popularity, yet they have a large group of extremely loyal fans, leading to tremendous success with live tours. This devout fan following comprises a unique group of individuals from geographically diverse areas that share a common interest and often common values. Using newly emergent media and communication technologies Phish fans have created internet-based communities that act as centers for information sharing and social support. The focus of this essay is one such group, Phish.net, which labels itself as "for phans, by phans." I will determine the site's status as a community, explore the norms reinforced online, and establish the effects resonating offline. As Henry Jenkins states, "…fandom has both been reshaped by and helped to reshape cyberculture."[1] This essay will go beyond looking at how fandom and cyberculture intersect and delve further, into how this established online fan community and information hub generates coordinated action from its members in the offline world. By first analyzing previous works on Internet communities, this paper will establish Phish.net as a legitimate, distinct community. Next, using the structure of and forum posts from Phish.net, I will outline the values reinforced by this community. Finally, I will apply research on the offline effects of online communities to evaluate the extent to which Phish.net influences members' actions offline. I argue, based on previous research and the analysis of Phish.net's virtual community, that this site is an online community with defined norms and a considerable impact on member's social and political views offline.

Establishing Phish.net as an Online Community

Since the rise of computers and the onset of the Information Age, there has been scholarly debate over whether emergent online social groups count as 'real' communities. Many of the arguments against 'fake' communities cite geographic locality as a requirement for communities. However, it is clear that the notion of geographic locality being essential in community formation is outdated in a globalized world. Modernity has led to increasingly dispersed social networks. Individuals belong to and interact with many communities[2] and lately the term has become more associated with social networks than isolated, geographically local groups.[3] As Steven Jones, a theorist on online community, remarks, "It is worth asking how often we feel part of a global community compared to a more local one."[4] The idea of a small village society based on face-to-face interactions is antiquated and unrealistic; it is no longer the only way to build community. In retrospect, the nature of community began to change long before the Internet age. 'New' technologies such as the telephone change communities[5] the Internet is merely the next step in the evolution of community from the idealized pastoral village to the modern world of Skype and Facebook.[6] Using this perspective, community will be defined as "networks of interpersonal ties that provide sociability, support, information, a sense of belonging and social identity"[7] for the purposes of this paper.

Speaking to the nature of online interactions as a form of both public and private communication, Nancy K. Baym succinctly captures the power of the Internet as a community-building tool: "[the] overlap between interpersonal

---

[1] Henry Jenkins, *Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture*, (NYU Press, 2006), p.5

[2] Wilson, Samuel M., and Leighton C. Peterson, "The Anthropology of Online Communities," (2002), p. 455

[3] Wellman, Barry, and Milena Gulia, "Net Surfers Don't ride Alone: Virtual Communities as Communities," (1997), p. 2

[4] Steven G. Jones, "Information, Internet, and Community: Notes Toward an Understanding of Community in the Information Age," (SAGE 1998), p. 7

[5] Wilson, Samuel M., and Leighton C. Peterson, "The Anthropology of Online Communities," (2002), p. 454

[6] Barry Wellman, Jeffrey Boase, and Wenhong Chen, "The Networked Nature of Community: Online and Offline," *IT & Society*, 1, no. 1 (2002), p. 153

[7] Ibid., 153

and mass communication provides the potential for otherwise disconnected individual voices to establish a community."[8] The web is able to bring together a diverse group of individuals from different geographic areas, that otherwise would not have a community in common. Applying the definition of community to Phish.net's extensive forum makes it clear that this site embodies Baym's theoretical conception of the web as a perfect tool to create a sense of community among disparate people. While the site contains far more than forum threads and a chat room, including song histories, live shows/setlists, and a store, this essay will only focus on those aspects that are involved in member-to-member communicative practices.

As a computer-mediated communicator, or CMC, Phish.net inherently features the sociability and information components of our definition of community. The forum by definition is a sociable environment and used as an information-sharing network. In his chapter, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.net Fan Community," Nessim Watson describes the other components to the definition. In the section, *Intimacy and Population Growth*, Watson examines the site's requirement that all users have an I.D. that attaches to any and all posts.[9] This use of I.D. relates directly to the social identity component of our definition and indirectly to the availability of social support for users. Phish.net's requirement that posters have an account with a user-id means that all members of the site must create a virtual identity, which inevitably develops into an online social identity. In a recent thread titled "We Don't Really Need Money, Corporations, or Laws," the second responder, Wonka, addresses the Original Post (OP) directly, saying, "I understand you (rabblenans) have a persona to maintain on .net (and btw you are my favorite .netter)…"[10] The acknowledgement of social identity and its importance in this thread strongly supports that

component of community. Similarly demonstrated in this thread post, the creation of a social identity lends itself to members creating relationships with each other as they communicate using their user-ids. Another example of the formation of relationships is forum threads like "Public Speaking Advice," which further demonstrates that users of Phish.net rely on the relationships they make online for social support.[11] In this way, the site offers support similar to that of an offline community to its members.

For the final component of this definition of community, a sense of belonging, one major factor indicating its presence on Phish.net is the popularity of the site. If Phish.net were unable to successfully create a sense of belonging, it would not be a popular forum for fans. Looking beyond this basic logic, the sense of belonging on Phish.net is evident in the tone and subjects of many forum posts. One example is the thread titled "1st ANNUAL .NET SECRET SANTA- Giving & Receiving," which organizes the site's first ever Secret Santa.[12] The thread engages willing members across geographic distances in a gift giving exchange. The presence of such threads indicates that there is a strong sense of belonging to this virtual society; indeed events like a Secret Santa are often thought of as community events, specifically because they foster a sense of belonging. In all of these ways, Phish.net firmly establishes itself as an intricate, distinguished Internet community, according to our working definition.

Defining the Norms of the Phish.net Fan Community

Now that Phish.net has been established as a virtual community, it is necessary to define the norms of that community. By analyzing the inherent structures of the site as well as forum threads posted to this online community, I will uncover the behaviors and values constructed and reinforced in this environment. Previous work on Phish.net by Nessim Watson has revealed some of the values purported on this community. While Watson studied Phish.net's socialization of norms,

---

[8] Nancy K. Baym, *Tune In, Log On: Soaps, Fandom, and Online Community*, (SAGE, 1999), p. 13-14

[9] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net Fan Community ," chap. 4 in *Virtual Community: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, ed. Steve Jones (Sage, 1997), p. 108-111

[10] Wonka. "we dont really NEED money, corporations, or laws." (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

[11] "Public Speaking Advice" (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

[12] "1st ANNUAL .NET SECRET SANTA- Giving & Receiving," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

his study was published in 1997 making it rather outdated. Since his chapter's publication, Phish.net has changed in many ways, expanding its role and influence. The non-profit Mockingbird Foundation has adopted the site, greatly changing its form and function. These changes warrant a new examination of Phish.net, including the norms and values of the site and the site's influence offline. For these reasons, my analysis of Phish.net remains highly relevant.

Existing research indicates that there is a definite process of socialization found in online communities. A recent study on User Generated Content (UGC) examines the mechanisms that initiate new members into a community and encourage those new members to participate in the sharing of information. Specifically, the study focused on the ways in which member feedback can affect new member activity and the expectations and goals new members have when joining a community. The results of the study confirm that processes of socialization are at play in online communities much the same way they are in offline communities. Furthermore, this study is significant in thinking about Phish.net because it reveals that not only do members influence the community, but that they are also invariably influenced by the community.[13] Going off of this study, it then becomes clear that UGC communities, of which Phish.net is one, have a clear process of socialization contained within their content and structure. By analyzing these features of the Phish.net forum, the norms of the site can be uncovered.

In her work with r.a.t.s. (rec.arts.tv.soaps), an online soap opera fan community, Nancy K. Baym explores the acceptable cultural practices established in this particular social group. In relation to the nature of online communities she finds that, "It is to meet the needs of the community, needs both given and emergent, that standards of behavior and methods of sanctioning inappropriate behavior develop."[14] This statement holds true when applied to the Phish.net

community. In his work studying the site, Nessim Watson examines how the needs of Phish.net have led to the adoption of various ideological and behavioral norms. Watson investigates how the natural growth of the website clashes with the desire to maintain an intimate community leading to standardized norms. Old members' concern over the growing size of Phish.net's community led to the formation of various norms for behavior aimed at preserving the close-knit community feel of the site.[15] Thus, the emergence of Phish.net's community norms can be seen as stemming from a need to maintain intimacy, connecting back to Baym's framework for looking at norms.

In addition to outlining the emergence of online community as a product of need, Nancy Baym also describes in her work on r.a.t.s., how the structure of online community has a tremendous impact on the communicative practices used by its members and on the norms that those members reinforce.[16] Similarly, the structure of Phish.net lends itself to the adoption of certain norms and the rejection of others. For the analysis of the structures of Phish.net, the focus will remain on the forum threads. The chat room is less often used and has less variety in structure making it overall less relevant to how structure impacts norms.

The influence of structure on the norms of the forum starts with its placement under the "Community" tab on the website, a clearly intentional association designed by the site managers. The forum itself is presented as a list of individual threads, each one with a topic of discussion. The threads appear in the order of last activity, making the order of the threads a reflection of both time of creation and relative popularity. Site managers encourage member participation by evaluating the threads based on level of commenting activity. From this it is evident that the fan community values the exchange of ideas. Topics that are initiating a high level of communication stay relevant; the site is clearly attempting to coax members into adopting active participation as a community norm.

---

[13] Lee Sungwook, Park Do-Hyung, and Ingoo Han, "New Members' Online Socialization in Online Communities: The Effects of Content Quality and Feedback on New Members' Content-Sharing Intentions," (2013)

[14] Nancy K. Baym, "The Emergence of On-Line Commuity," (SAGE 1998)

[15] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net Fan Community ," chap. 4 in *Virtual Community: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, ed. Steve Jones (Sage, 1997), p. 109-110

[16] Nancy K. Baym, "The Emergence of On-Line Commuity," (SAGE 1998), p. 43-45

Within a thread, the original post is at the top with all subsequent comments listed below. Users can comment either on the original post or on any of the other comments listed. Often when commenting on a side comment, users will include a quote of the comment they are responding to. The effect of this is the encouragement of the creation of interpersonal relationships by allowing for direct back-and-forth communication between members, highlighting this as another structurally created norm. Examples abound of members using this function to express empathy,[17] disagreement,[18] solidarity,[19] and many other intentions to fellow members.

A final structural feature of Phish.net's forum that influences community norms is the ability to up-vote or down-vote a comment. This anonymous form of feedback provides a mechanism for members to voicelessly respond to posts. In addition, this component is an easy means of participation that encourages 'lurkers,' site visitors that do not typically participate, to be active without committing to a virtual identity or risking negative reactions from other members. This feature is yet another that attempts to instill active site participation as a social norm. Based on the structure of the Phish.net forum threads, the site defines community participation and personal member-to-member communication as important.

More significantly than the structures of Phish.net, the actual information being exchanged on the site acts as a source of community norms. That is to say, the discussions members are having are the most significant source for the adoption of certain values and behavioral patterns as acceptable. After analysis of the many forum threads, going back as far as 2009, the norms and values expressed on this site can be broken into basic categories. The most prevalent basic categories defining Phish fans' behavioral and ideological norms are freedom, ethical consumption, and most significantly, authenticity. These groupings are loose associations between threads with an innumerable range of topics; they represent the most basic

commonalities between those topics that were a significant presence on the forum.

The first category of norm established on Phish.net, freedom, covers a wide range of behaviors and discussion topics exhibited on the site. A thread entitled "Police Brutality in Rochester" displays this value clearly as members engage in discussion on the role of police. The consensus is that police have too much power over a scared public and that there has been a slow erosion of our freedoms following 9/11.[20] This desire for political and social freedom also translates into free drug use among members. "Your Stance on Marijuana Legalization"[21] and "Lysergic Acid Diethylamide"[22] are two examples of threads that call for widespread decriminalization of drug use, demonstrating further the prevalence of freedom as a norm on Phish.net. Another aspect to the social and political freedom valued by members is tolerance. Watson touches upon this briefly as he describes the markers of community belonging, "On Phish.net race, gender, and sexual orientation are non-issues."[23] The thread "Any Other Gay Phans?" received tremendous support with almost a hundred upvotes, and while not many other members responded in the affirmative, it still supports Watson's conclusion on tolerance.[24] The general norm of freedom constructed on Phish.net is done so through a value of social and political autonomy expressed by members in a variety of ways on a variety of thread topics as shown above.

Not only do Phish fans reinforce freedom as an ideological and behavioral norm, but they also demonstrate a premium on ethical consumption. Similarly to freedom, this norm can be broken down into various forms and components. One way in which ethical consumption is conveyed as a norm is in thread posts attacking corporate and individual

---

[17] bostonron. "10 year old dog is sick…," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[18] Rebe_. "What's with all the hate on Alaska?," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[19] Choda. "@bostonron is the MAN," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

[20] "Police Brutality in Rochester," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[21] "Your Stance on Marijuana Legalization," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[22] "Lysergic Acid Diethylamide," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[23] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net Fan Community," chap. 4 in *Virtual Community: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, ed. Steve Jones (Sage, 1997), p. 108
[24] "Any Other Gay Phans?," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

greed. "Backwards Down the McResource Line,"[25] and "Boycott Walmart."[26] are threads that obviously combat corporate greed in America, in doing so, they purport the norm of ethical consumption. A thread that speaks out about Black Friday also contains a plea to members to support Small Business Saturday.[27] In these ways, members' calls to fight capitalism display an underlying desire to consume ethically. Another way in which ethical consumption is lofted as a norm of this community is through how members feel about Phish's own efforts to give back. One member posted a thread, "Phish and Philanthropy," inquiring about how Phish is involved in volunteer work. Members were eager to respond, pointing out various instances of Phish donating profits to a cause.[28] Further investigation led to the discovery of the FAQ What causes does Phish support? The inclusion of this as an FAQ on the site is a prime example of how Phish fans want to see Phish as good for the world. There is a desire, possibly driven by the implications of following a band, to see money spent on Phish as money going towards improving the world. These thread examples demonstrate how the ideological norm of ethical consumption is perpetuated in this online social setting. In these ways, site users promote the ideological and behavioral value of ethical consumption.

There is a great deal of hypocrisy in the value of ethical consumption. Borrowing Bryant Simon's framework for analyzing the same norm as a component of the Starbucks Moment, it is clear that Phish.net users have a false sense of this norm. In Everything but the Coffee, Simon looks at how consumers' desire for ethical consumption played a big part in Starbucks' commercial success. He describes ultimately that the company put on a face of ethical business practices to play off of consumer interests, but ultimately did not follow through on its promise to improve the world with their profits.[29] This same consumer desire to view spending as

ethical is a driving force in the creation of this norm online and consequently many aspects of it are hypocritical when thinking about the nature of fanhood and looking at other community values. Yes, members on Phish.net discuss supporting the world and only spending money on small businesses and any number of other positive consumption habits, but in the end, concerts are a prime example of conspicuous consumption. In addition, as this paper previously describes, one of the major values of this community is drug use, which is inherently unethical as a mode of consumption. It is important to think about the ways in which the community norm valuing ethical consumption has many underlying hypocrisies embedded in it. These inconsistencies connect directly to Bryant Simon's work on Starbucks, showing that this norm may stem from an offline psychological tendency. Users feel a need to justify their consumption as moral, despite the glaring contradiction that exists when this attitude is applied to concerts and drug use, both of which are also major components of being a Phish fan.

In addition to instituting ethical consumption as a community norm, Phish.net also generates a premium value on authenticity in its many forms. This final category of norm is by far the most significant in its prevalence on the site and influence on member behavior. In much the same way as the other two categories, authenticity's importance on the site is demonstrated in a number of ways. Behaviorally, authenticity plays a role in the dynamics of interaction between members. Watson describes a hierarchy of fanhood centered around social cues that determine a user's status based on "Displayed knowledge, repeated presence… large lists of collected tapes… closeness to the band, extensive fan experience, and Internet experience."[30] The social cues Watson lists are indicators of authentic fanhood. On the site there is a notion of 'real' fanhood as something members should strive towards. The struggle by members attempting to define their world as authentic is demonstrated in the use of language on the site. By creating their own terminology, which includes song abbreviations, band member nicknames, and

[25] "Backwards Down the McResource Line," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[26] "boycott walmart.," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[27] "RC: is DISGUSTED by black friday," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[28] "Phish and Philanthropy," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/
[29] Bryant Simon, *Everything but the Coffee*, (Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2009), 201-219.

[30] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net Fan Community," chap. 4 in *Virtual Community: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, ed. Steve Jones (Sage, 1997), p. 108

classifying terms such as the 'real vs. fake' mentality, members on Phish.net are establishing their world as exclusive. Members thus have to adopt this terminology in order to be perceived as authentic by their peers, acting in new ways to retain social status. The creation and adoption of a new set of terms points to a firm belief in authenticity as a desirable component of this community.

Authenticity as a behavioral norm is also indicated by the ways in which music is valued and discussed online. When discussing Phish on the forum, members have formed a widespread consensus that Phish's best material emerged from their early years. Realistically, there is no way to quantify this debate, however, the four members only get better at playing as time goes on. In addition, recording technology has improved vastly, resulting in significantly better quality recordings. This would lead many to believe that modern Phish is in their prime. However, that would go against the valued authenticity that fans seek, leading to the opposite belief firmly taking root. The notion that Phish was best twenty years ago is a sign that members of Phish.net need to feel a sense of authenticity when talking about the band. Not only does music discussion encompass Phish, but it also applies to many other bands that have gravitated towards the 'Jam Band' genre. Bands such as Government Mule, the Grateful Dead, Dave Matthews Band, and many other smaller groups are talked about and listened to in the Phish.net forum. These bands are all talked about by users in the similar language of authenticity established for Phish, further showing how the desire to be an authentic fan effects members' actions online.

Authenticity presents itself on Phish.net as the most influential norm based on how it impacts members' actions, perceptions, and treatment of other members. This norm establishes itself as a way to think about other fans, as the thread "I Have a Question About Being a 'Real Fan'"[31] shows. The poster is expressing knowledge of the value of authenticity and concern that they do not embody that value in some way. Members are forced to comply to the standards of authenticity already present on the site if they want authority and respect

with other members. Just as with ethical consumption, Bryant Simon also approaches the concept of authenticity in his book on Starbucks. Simon finds that authenticity is a factor driving the coffee giant's success as consumers seek an authentic coffee-buying experience. Similarly, it can be said that users on Phish.net seek an authentic forum-using experience. Starbucks and Phish.net convey authenticity through the use of their own specialized language, as well as displayed knowledge of coffee and Phish respectively. While Phish.net's value of the authentic is comparable to patterns of authenticity Simon describes, it ultimately does not have the negative connotations of Simon's work.[32]

The norms of a community are a powerful force dictating members' adoption of values and behaviors. Phish.net, as an online community, has many norms defined in its forum through various structural features as well as the ideas and behaviors expressed by members. Analyzing the site's forum reveals three major categories of norms, freedom, ethical consumption, and authenticity. Each category has many characteristic components including a range of displayed behaviors by members and a wide array of subjects and perspectives being disseminated. Understanding the norms established online is essential in thinking about the effect this virtual community has on its members' offline actions.

[31] "I have a question about being a "real fan," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

[32] Bryant Simon, *Everything but the Coffee*, (Los Angeles, California: University of California Press, 2009).

Identifying the Significance of Phish.net as an Online Community

After exploring and defining the norms of Phish.net, it is time to identify what is significant about this community. The essay will now delve into how this online community affects the offline world. It will examine Phish.net as an organizational tool enabling people from geographically distant areas to coordinate action based on similar interests and values. As an online community, Phish.net has a definite, substantial impact on the actions of its members in the offline world. Phish.net as an online community is important to study because of its potential influence as a new medium of communication, a new means of representation, and a tool for organizing and coordinating social and political action.

One way in which to look at the influence of Phish.net is as a newly emerging form of communication. Previous work using this approach finds a number of effects of the Internet as a new way to interact with others. In "Net Surfers Don't Ride Alone: Virtual Community as Community" the researchers explore the impact of online on offline. They conclude that the Internet is just another form of communication, comparing it to the emergence of the telephone. They find that people use the Internet to sustain both strong and weak emotional ties with others. As relationships develop online, the virtual community becomes essential in maintaining those relationships.[33] Other research into the offline implications of the Internet as a tool for communicating includes an experiment conducted called Netville. This study took a real offline community of 109 single-family homes and analyzed how both local and long-distance community was established and maintained through the Internet by comparing 'wired' and 'non-wired' residents. The results of the study suggest that online community not only helps in maintaining long-distance contact with friends and family, but also actually helped foster a sense of community in the offline neighborhood. Residents who used the Internet had greater levels of informal interactions with other residents and were found to know more names of their neighbors than residents not using the web. The Netville experiment provides substantive proof that using the Internet as a means of communication actually has positive effects on an offline sense of community.[34] Proof of this offline sense of community being strengthened on Phish.net is in threads like "Let's Help Reading PA"[35] which urges concertgoers to support local business in the Reading community. There are also innumerable threads urging .netters to meet up at concerts, showing that the site acts as a way to coordinate offline action. By applying the results of these two studies to Phish.net, it becomes clear the site is significant as a means of communication, maintaining personal ties on the Internet.

In addition to looking at Phish.net as a new means of communication, it can also be seen as an emerging means of representation. Phish.net has a significant impact as a way for people to display or represent themselves to a larger audience. This can take the form of consumer feedback, which Nessim Watson explores in his work. Phish.net, Watson finds, is a perfect outlet to air consumer grievances. He details how the site changed the music industry, forcing the inclusion of "Jam-band" as a genre as well as impacting the success of groups like Dave Matthews Band.[36] "…Being a part of a community is necessary to gaining representation. A group must be recognized from above as carrying enough importance to have its demands assessed and sated."[37] As Watson concludes, Phish.net is a perfect means to bring together members with a common interest for common representation. Without the web, these geographically dispersed people would never be in the same representative group. "Fast Food Protests" is a thread that exhibits how Phish.net acts as a tool for representing consumer preferences by serving as an example of members participating in a process of consumer feedback.

---

[33] Wellman, Barry, and Milena Gulia, "Net Surfers Don't ride Alone: Virtual Communities as Communities," (1997)

[34] Barry Wellman, Jeffrey Boase, and Wenhong Chen, "The Networked Nature of Community: Online and Offline," *IT & Society*, 1, no. 1 (2002)

[35] "Let's help Reading PA," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

[36] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net Fan Community," chap. 4 in *Virtual Community: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, ed. Steve Jones (Sage, 1997), p. 126

[37] Nessim Watson, "Why We Argue About Virtual Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net Fan Community," chap. 4 in *Virtual Community: Identity and Communication in Cybersociety*, ed. Steve Jones (Sage, 1997), p. 126

Not only can Phish.net be seen as a means of representation, but it can also be viewed as an organizational tool for coordinating political and social participation among its members. This is perhaps the most significant aspect of Phish.net's offline influence. The idea that online communities are being used to generate political and social action, often in the form of protest, is introduced in "Movement Societies and Digital Protest." This article details how online protests have emerged on a whole range of topics, from fan protests to serious petitions. The study attributes the rise of Internet use in protests to its ability to bring people together, regardless of spatial concerns, in a cheap, low consequence way, enabling discussion and coordinated action.[38] The study's finds on the Internet influencing the ways political and social action take place apply strongly to Phish.net, seen in the site's forum threads. The threads "Ghost Petition to Whitehouse"[39] and "Petition to Protect State's MJ Laws,"[40] which received widespread support from the community, are direct examples of how Phish.net acts as a tool for organizing political action. Members' rely on common interests and values to get support for various causes and to instigate action from other members. This characteristic of Phish.net is also exemplified through a focus on international aid. Threads call for action from users to help the victims of the Haiti Earthquake, Japan's tsunami, and Joseph Kony in Uganda. These three instances of Phish.net involving its members in international issues demonstrate the site's potential as a rallying place for social action. The political protest threads, along with those calling for social participation, speak to the validity of "Movement Societies and Digital Protest" and its conclusion that online community can act as a tool for organizing social and political action.

Conclusion

The emergence of online communities has many worried over the impact they will have on our sense of community offline. There is a concern that the Internet is replacing face-to-face relationships with something that is somehow inferior. The thought is that online community cannot capture the nuances of support and sociability present in 'real' communities. The analysis of Phish.net reveals that this is not actually the case. Evidence on the offline consequences of virtual communities suggests that interactions online translate to a strengthened sense of community offline. Phish.net supports this notion by being a place where members engage in conversation on innumerable topics. While much of the topics are not exceedingly relevant, there are many examples of discussion threads that exhibit social concern and support and encourage members to take action. As the world gets more and more globalized, sites like this will become important centers for information sharing and the organization of social and political action. Users of Phish.net are aware of the community they have created and often appeal to that community's values to garner widespread, international support. Studying sites like this one becomes important in understanding how the Internet serves to connect geographically distant people and instigate their active participation in a variety of social and political contexts.

References

Baym, Nancy K. The Emergence of On-Line Community. Cybersociety 2.0: Revisiting Computer- Mediated Community and Technology. Edited by Steve Jones. SAGE , 1998. http://books.google.com/books?id=pmMSzuT61DQC&printsec=frontcover

Baym, Nancy K. Tune In, Log On: Soaps, Fandom, and Online Community. SAGE, 1999. http://books.google.com/books?id=XKmwYKs6_1sC&printsec=frontcover

Jenkins, Henry. Fans, Bloggers, and Gamers: Exploring Participatory Culture. NYU Press, 2006. http://books.google.com/books?id=jj2eKl3NcBEC&source=gbs_navlinks_s (accessed December 17, 2013).

Earl, Jennifer, and Katrina Kimport. "Movement Societies and Digital Protest: Fan Activism and Other Nonpolitical Protest Online." Sociological Theory. no. 3 (2009): 220-243.

---

[38] Jennifer Earl, and Katrina Kimport, "Movement Societies and Digital Protest: Fan Activism an Other Nonpolitical Protest Online," (2009)

[39] "ghost petition to Whitehouse," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

[40] "Petition to protect State's MJ Laws," (online forum message). *Phish.net*. http://forum.phish.net/

Jones, Steven G. Information, Internet, and
        Community: Notes Toward an
        Understanding of   Community in the
        Information Age. Cybersociety 2.0:
        Revisiting Computer-Mediated Community
        and Technology. Edited by Steve Jones.
        SAGE , 1998.
        http://books.google.com/books?id=pmMSzu
        T61DQC&printsec=frontcover

Phish.net, http://forum.phish.net/

Simon, Bryant. Everything but the Coffee. Los
        Angeles, California: University of California
        Press, 2009.

Sungwook, Lee, Park Do-Hyung, and Ingoo Han.
        "New Members' Online Socialization in
        Online Communities: The Effects of
        Content Quality and Feedback on New
        Members'   Content-Sharing Intentions."
        Computers in Human Behavior. no. 30
        (2013): 344-54.

Watson, Nessim. Why We Argue About Virtual
        Community: A Case Study of the Phish.Net
        Fan Community . Virtual Community:
        Identity and Communication in
        Cybersociety. Edited by Steve Jones. Sage,
        1997.
        http://books.google.com/books?id=ieSYfJP3
        a4oC&printsec=frontcover&source=gbs_atb

Wellman, Barry, Jeffrey Boase, and Wenhong
        Chen. "The Networked Nature of
        Community: Online and Offline." IT &
        Society. no. 1 (2002): 151-65.
        http://homes.chass.utoronto.ca/~wellman/pu
        blications/Networked_Nature_of_
        Community/Vol01-1-A10-Wellman-Boase
        Chen.pdf (accessed December 17, 2013).

Wellman, Barry, and Milena Gulia. Department of
        Sociology and Community Studies,
        University of Torontoentre for Urband, "Net
        Surfers Don't ride Alone: Virtual
        Communities as Communities." Last
        modified August 1997. Accessed December
        17, 2013.
        http://groups.chass.utoronto.ca/netlab/wp-
        content/uploads/2012/05/Net-Surfers-Dont-
        Ride-Alone-Virtual-Community-as-
        Community.pdf.

Wilson, Samuel M., and Leighton C. Peterson.

Department of Anthropology, The University of
        Texas, "The Anthropology of Online
        Communities." Last modified June 14, 2002.
        Accessed December 17, 2013.
        http://jrichardstevens.com/articles/wilson_peterson.
        p

Happiness, Womanhood, and Sexualized Media: An Analysis of 1950s and 1960s Popular Culture

Bridget O'Keefe
Ramapo College of New Jersey

America during the 1950s and 1960s was grounded in and centered on the conception of the nuclear family. The suburbanization of white middle class families after World War II yielded unique conditions for both media outlets and the U.S. government to push explicit messages on gender roles to preserve the sanctity of the nuclear family. The widespread affluence of millions of suburban, white middle class families served as a marker of success for the U.S. in the international community, which was a matter of national security during the Cold War. The preservation of the nuclear family, however, was highly dependent on women in their traditional roles as wives and mothers. Women across the nation were responsible for raising the next generation of Americans, approximately 76 million baby boomers from 1946 to 1964. [1] American greatness was to be determined in the choices and actions of these baby boomers and therefore many messages on gender roles were strictly dictated to ensure that the nuclear family and capitalism would be upheld for generations to come.

These messages of tradition and stability were also mixed with the modernity and affluence of a postwar nation. Advertisements, television shows, films and songs all showcased American technology and innovation. The mixed messages of preserving the country through the nuclear family, while still attempting to be glamorous and modern by keeping up with Hollywood trends proved to be confusing and stressful for young women and girls. All forms of media promoted marriage as the ultimate goal for the American female. Some showed "true love" as the catalyst, while others insinuated exciting yet dangerous premarital sex. Any deviation from the capitalist blueprints of the nuclear family, however, was faced with societal shame. Popular culture and media outlets of the 1950s and early 1960s raised young women to be sexually charged and hyperaware of their public appearances, but ultimately women were told to channel their sexuality into marriage and procreation.

Girls growing up in the 1950s experienced a flood of media unlike any other moment in the United States. The sensation of Walt Disney films captures the gendered messages of fairy tales, princesses and their virtues. The most popular Disney films of the 50s include *Cinderella* (1950), *Alice in Wonderland* (1951), *Peter Pan* (1953), *Lady and the Tramp* (1955), and *Sleeping Beauty* (1959). All of these films star a princess or virtuous female character, one with beauty, passivity, kindness, gentleness, and a peculiar knack for getting into trouble. The precious damsel in distress being saved by a handsome prince to live happily ever after famously characterizes these princess films. The fairy tale endings in these films play a larger role in the psyche of young women. True love and marriage are presented as the only goals for a female and the only path to happiness. [2] In both *Cinderella* and *Sleeping Beauty*, the main characters barely have a conversation with their princes before the men are smitten. Their beauty is what attracts the princes to them, but their hardworking, docile, pure and innocent temperaments is what make the female characters marriage material.

Besides the damsel in distress narrative, these films also present other gendered messages. In all of the films, the villains or disliked characters are single females who have become evil because of their power or independence. Cinderella is plagued by an evil, widowed stepmother who unrightfully abuses her because she has control of property. Owning property is a distinctly male attribute in the traditional sense, so a female who obstructs this important patriarchal element is deemed villainous. The Queen of Hearts in *Alice in Wonderland* menacingly taunts Alice and is depicted as mad. She also emasculates the King of Hearts (in size and personality) in a way that is laughable to the audience, but most importantly her fits of rage and

---

[1] "Just How Many Baby Boomers Are There?" Population Reference Bureau, last modified December 2002.

[2] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995), 28.

tyrannical rule of the kingdom make her the villain of the film. Tinkerbell is not the villain per se in *Peter Pan*, but her jealousy of Wendy is presented negatively and envy is often attributed as an undesirable female trait. Aunt Sarah's character in *Lady and the Tramp* is an old spinster who takes too much control of Lady's house while her owners are away. She is deemed the villain for her overbearing personality. Lastly, in *Sleeping Beauty,* Maleficent plays the villain as an evil witch who tries to take over Aurora's kingdom. The Disney films of the 1950s feature this single, overly powerful female figure that is created to send the message that marriage and the private sphere are the only acceptable futures for women.[3] Their independence is extremely threatening and painted in a negative light.

These films reach an impressionable audience and media has been determined as a "major means by which children assimilate culture".[4] Disney films would be the earliest form of media that children of the late 1940s into the early 1960s were exposed to. Therefore, the large masses of white, middle class suburbanite children who had access to these films and would identify with the white, beautiful characters are learning that appearances and a pleasant demeanor are essential to future happiness, and if one rejects those attributes she is doomed to a life of loneliness and evil-doing as the Disney villains are.

Messages of the female societal role are seen elsewhere in 1950s media as well. The most popular television shows at the time provided similar nuclear family type narratives, where the father is the breadwinner and the mother is dutiful and pleasant. Sitcoms like *I Love Lucy, Adventures of Ozzie and Harriet, Leave it to Beaver, The Donna Reed Show* and *Father Knows Best* created the illusion that American homes were dominated by the nuclear family with the wife staying at home to raise the children. In reality, thirty-eight percent of women over the age of sixteen held a job by the year 1960, including twenty percent of mothers who had children under the age of six. 1950s television did not show this growing truth of U.S. households.

Television shows of this era presented average Americans with the perfect family, highly dependent on the perfect housewife. The character, Donna Stone of *The Donna Reed Show* (1958-1966) is the prototypical housewife; she dons heels and pearls to perform chores and has a positive temperament when disciplining her children. Most importantly, Donna Stone is very active in her community, helping to organize charity events and local theatre productions. This particular representation of the American housewife is carefully constructed because it shows Donna being able to perform an important societal role of community leader, i.e. something intellectually stimulating enough to keep her content, but is not radical enough to show Donna competing with men in the workforce. *Leave it to Beaver* (1957-1963) also represented the housewife, June Cleaver, in a traditional role, even more so than Donna Stone. June also wears pearls and heels when doing housework and the Cleaver life is dependent on traditional and formality with the family always eating dinner in the formal dining room. She has impeccable hair and makeup, but is never seen tending to it, implying that beauty and selflessness should go hand in hand and that her beauty is something expected. These female characters were beautiful, but not necessarily sexy or glamorous. 1950s television was largely sterile in its excitement or dangerousness. The virtue of 50s television housewives is similar to that of Disney princesses; all of the positive representations of women in the 1950s were ones where the female is effortlessly beautiful, kind, innocent, and a protector of the family.[6]

Television and film of the 1950s aimed to reach a wide audience, so universal messages were used to instill conformity. As Andrea Press notes, these representations "presumed a unified American majority identity"; an America without minorities, social problems, or poverty.[7] Television and film was sometimes used as a tool to present the "best aspects" of America, even though they were not

[3] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995), 29.
[4] Lori Baker-Sperry and Liz Grauerholz, "The Pervasiveness and Persistence of the Feminine Beauty Ideal in Children's Fairy Tales," *Gender and Society* 17, no. 5 (Oct. 2003).

[5] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995), 43.
[6] Ibid., 27
[7] Andrea Press, "Gender and Family in Television's Golden Age and Beyond," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 625, (Sep. 2009): 140.

particularly accurate. In the height of the Cold War, the display of perfect families on television was important to make Americans feel safe. The government and media executives tied the nuclear family and capitalism into one, so that both are dependent on each other. With heavy importance placed on women to be beautiful and perfectly domestic, there was a huge commercial market for female products ranging from makeup to kitchen appliances.

The ever-popular *Ladies Home Journal* was a magazine for women that featured articles on proper cooking, cleaning, and maintenance of one's marriage, but advertisements throughout the magazine cued women to connect domesticity with capitalism and buying products. An NBC advertisement in a 1955 edition of *Ladies Home Journal,* for instance, reveals a strictly gendered message for housewives. The advertisement features a doll-like woman dressed in an apron and heels with a baby-boomer child playing on the floor. There are seven small television sets displaying different shows throughout the day. The excerpts for each television show image are in the housewife's voice, giving appreciation to the shows for helping her get through her long day of chores. [8] The advertisement gives the illusion that being a woman in the private sphere is fun and effortless. It also places a heavy value of television and media into women's daily lives. While *Ladies Home Journal* is targeted at the generation of housewives during the 1950s and early 1960s, it serves as an example of the types of messages girls and young women were receiving about their role in society dictated by their gender.

Conformity was the over-arching theme of the 1950s, but there were still seeds of rebellion throughout America. Smaller acts of rebellion pushed the status quo without going too far. These actions, as displayed in popular culture, helped develop later feminist rebellions that came about by the mid 1960s. Rock n' roll and pop music captured the attention of millions of baby boomer teenagers by the late 1950s. Both styles of music were developed from African-American rhythm and blues and jazz. The music was rougher and less tidy than boring, traditional love songs from earlier

years. Teens were excited about "issues of sex, race, and class in a culture dedicated to ignoring them and [they felt] liberat[ed] because of it".[9] Rock stars usually represented the working class and always insinuated sexual promiscuity.

Elvis Presley, for example, used hair grease, a tradition taken from African-Americans who, "had their hair straightened and curled into curious shapes", as Wini Breines notes. [10] He danced and gyrated his hips on stage as to illicit sexual fantasies from his predominantly young, white, middle class female fan base. Girls went into hysteria over Elvis's music, feeling as though they too were rejecting "the calculated, pragmatic sexual repression of teenage life."[11]

Elvis's persona was seen as a marker of rebellion, but his actual songs were more ambiguous. Titles including, "I Need Your Love Tonight", "A Big Hunk O' Love", "Love Me Tender" and "Baby, Let's Play House" promoted romantic affections between young lovebirds and skirted the line of promoting premarital sex. "Love Me Tender" described eternal love and commitment, while the message of "I Need Your Love Tonight" was a bit more immediate in sexual and romantic satisfaction. The conflation of love and sex in these lyrics gives a confusing message to the young women fawning over them. Elvis, and other male rock n' roll stars, sang lyrics such as "I've been waiting just for tonight/ To do some lovin' and hold you tight" or "I ain't askin' much of you/ Just a big-a big-a hunk o' love will do"[12]. These lyrics, and similar ones from the era, promise true love, but only if premarital sex is given first. Disney fairy tales originally promoted true love and fantastical romance, but rock n' roll and other forms of media sexualized it. Rock n' roll was an attempt to rebel against the conformist nature of domestic life as shown in *Leave it to Beaver* or *The Donna Reed Show.* Because the lyrics of this genre were so obsessed with relationships, love, and sex, young women were still receiving the message that these aspects of life were the most important. Through the

---

[9] Wini Breines, *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 157.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Ibid.
[12] Sid Wayne, *I Need Your Love Tonight* (1959); Aaron Schroeder, *Big Hunk O' Love* (1959)

---

[8] "Where Did The Morning Go?", NBC Advertisement, *Ladies Home Journal* (1955).

seemingly rebellious music at the time, young women and girls are told to celebrate true love so they "scrutinize[ed] every pore, every gesture, every stray eyebrow hair, eradicating every flaw, enhancing every asset" in an attempt to mimic the objects of desire in rock n' roll songs.[13] In reality, this fan base of young women was looking for love to justify natural tendencies to sex. [14]

Pop music emerged by the early 1960s to capture these confusing messages as well. The song "Will You Love Me Tomorrow" (1960) by the girl group, The Shirelles, marketed toward young, love-stricken teens. Lyrics include, "Is this a lasting treasure?/ Or just a moment's pleasure?/ Can I believe the magic of your sighs?/ Will you still love me tomorrow?".[15] The theme of the song describes a universal, female question of whether premarital sex is worth the in-the-moment pleasure, or if the negative societal stigma against it will cause the man to leave. Music producers wanted to capitalize on girls' confusion and ambivalence about sex. Susan Douglas argues that for the young women: some of [them] wanted to be good girls, and

> some of [them] wanted to be bad. But most of [them] wanted to get away with being both, and girl group music let [them] try and act out a host of identities, from traditional, obedient girlfriend to brassy, independent rebel, and lots in between.[16]

Popular culture capitalized on young women's struggle between preserving the family and being an object of desire.[17]

Just as music began challenging conventional sexual mores for women, 1950s films could also be considered groundbreaking in their attention on female characters and actresses in their glamour and sexuality. For the first time, females were the focus of the plot and overshadowed their male counterparts. Many films, such as *Susan Slept Here* (1954), and movie stars, such as Doris Day,

Marilyn Monroe and Elizabeth Taylor, represented an increasing consciousness in women seeking out their own satisfaction or pleasure. *Susan Slept Here* was a controversial film at the time for its depiction of a middle-aged man housing and marrying a seventeen-year-old female delinquent so she can avoid jail. Susan develops a crush on the upper class man and convinces him to fall in love with her and engage in an actual marriage (including sexual relations). The tagline, "it's all about a man-about-town and a girl about 18… and the things he learns about love from <u>HER</u>!", suggests that a young woman does not have much to offer besides domesticity and sexual fulfillment for men. The female characters in films were not seen as sterile, pretty, passive, and domestic as in Disney movies or 50s family sitcoms, but were idols of beauty, glamour, risk, and sex.

Even the idolizations of women's bodies were changing because of these films. Marilyn Monroe, Elizabeth Taylor and most pin-up models had curvy frames with large busts and hips but cinched waists. Their clothing was more revealing as well. This challenged and conflicted with portrayals of women in family-centered media outlets, which kept the female body thin, but not flashy. This reflects the decade's affluence and promotion of abundance. [18]

Marilyn Monroe has been remembered as the biggest sex symbol and movie star of the 1950s and early 1960s. Her breakout role in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* (1953) established the dumb blonde persona that men fawned over and women tried to emulate in millions of dollars in cosmetics every year. The bright pink evening gown Monroe wears in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes* was the epitome of femininity and sex appeal, as with many of her iconic looks (the white dress above the subway grate in *The Seven Year Itch* and her cropped and sculpted platinum hair). The ditzy blonde role is used mostly for comedic relief but her seduction of male co-stars is usually the focus of the plot. She gained international success because of these roles and her celebrity status, glamorous outfits, and popularity among men were envied and admired by almost every young woman growing up in the United States. In the 1950s and 60s, teens made up

[13] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995), 27.
[14] Chester Pach, "Rock n' Roll is Here to Stay," *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 4 (Jul. 2004)
[15] Gerry Goffin and Carole King, *Will You Love Me Tomorrow* (1960)
[16] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995), 88.
[17] Ibid., 87.

[18] Charles Winick, "The Beige Epoch: Depolarization of Sex Roles in America," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 376, (Mar. 1968): 19.

three quarters of moviegoers, so the roles and messages of beauty were largely aimed at that age group. Hollywood gained its notoriety as a fantastical entity by the 1950s and Monroe represents the ultimate celebrity. [19]

Rebellion as seen in pop/rock n' roll songs and film posed contradictory ideas to a young female audience. Female celebrities were designed to be objects of desire; men want to be with them and women want to be like them. Their narratives in the media are more playful by the 1950s because of the abundant and affluent nature of the Cold War economy and lifestyle. Leisure time promoted more purchases, such as movie tickets, music albums, lipsticks to emulate movie star trends, etc. These kinds of purchases were becoming more popular into the late 1950s, while the old "June Cleaver" paradigm, consisting of kitchen and home purchases existed as well. The existence of these two ideals of womanhood largely benefitted advertisers and media executives because they could capitalize on young women trying to have fun and attract a husband, while still capitalizing on the consumerist needs of the "Cold War Mother" and family.

Because there was a flood of sexist media during the 1950s, young girls tried to escape the monotony of conformist suburbs with more thrilling narratives. *Marjorie Morningstar* (1955) by Herman Wouk was a best-selling novel during the decade that described a Jewish teen's journey from a sheltered girl on the Upper West Side in Manhattan to her daring attempts of becoming a Broadway star and falling in love.

Set in the 1930s, Marjorie's family lives in Manhattan after Marjorie's father recent success as a wealthy businessman. Her parents have plans for Marjorie to find an acceptable provider for her to marry so she can eventually become a housewife. Marjorie aspires to be an actress and creates the stage name "Marjorie Morningstar" to break away from her Jewish identity. Eventually, she falls in love with a budding playwright, Noel Airman. Noel challenges Marjorie's upper middle class lifestyle and taunts her consumerism, virginity, and observances of Jewish traditions. This pressure

pushes Marjorie into a sexual relationship with Noel, even though he has no intention of ever marrying her or settling down, something Marjorie has been told to want in the future. The banality of the relationship and unsteady work proves to be too much for Noel and he flees to Paris. Marjorie is distraught with heartbreak but ultimately decides to wait for Noel to change his mind and she follows him to Paris a few months later. Along the way she meets a helpful young man who charms her so much that she realizes "that there was really more than one man in the world- the piece of knowledge that more than anything divides women from girls".[20] Noel is excited to see Marjorie once she finally reaches Paris and offers to settle down with her in America, but the proclamation of commitment comes too late and Marjorie leaves by herself. Back in New York, Marjorie finds a nice, Jewish man and quickly settles down, marries and becomes a housewife. [21]

Marjorie's journey, while exciting and a bit dangerous, is ultimately lackluster by the end. The resolution of the novel is no better than the Disney fairy tales. She had set out to be different and to be glamorous, but Marjorie finds herself in the same gendered narrative as her peers. Marriage is the only acceptable outcome for Marjorie. The novel does, however, represent the gnawing ambiguity that young women in the 1950s were facing; the divide between societal content through marriage and new desires for danger or rebellion. Marjorie is someone young women would identify with, better than the cookie-cutter characters in television sitcoms. Even an academic review of the novel from 1957 reveals the "exceptional insight, especially in [the author's] portraits of women."[22] Some forms of media, as shown by Marjorie Morningstar, were capitalizing on the confusing messages between both societal pressures to protect virginity and pressures to have sex. Young girls felt that they aligned themselves "romantically and morally with the rebel hero; [they could] proclaim [their] independence from society's predictable expectations about [their] inevitable

[19] Wini Breines, *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 92; Gabriel Miller, "The (Sex) Symbol: Marilyn, Primetime and the Nielsons," *Literature/Film Quarterly* 12, (1984).

[20] Herman Wouk, *Marjorie Morningstar* (Boston: Back Bay Books, 1955)
[21] Ibid.
[22] Laurence Davies, "Some Novels on Minorities," *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 16, no. 2 (Jan. 1957): 217.

domestication."[23]

Messages in "Will You Love Me Tomorrow?" and *Marjorie Morningstar* more accurately displayed the reality of teenage sexuality in the 1950s and early 60s. The catalyst for better understanding these societal pressures was the Kinsey Reports. Alfred Kinsey's 1953 report, *Sexual Behavior in the Human Female,* was groundbreaking in its scientific argument that men and women were equal sexual beings, meaning that women desire sex just as much as men do. The Kinsey Reports discredited the postwar gender roles that kept men as the authoritarian breadwinners and women as nurturing mothers. Kinsey's focus on sex and marriage bolstered controversy around his findings, but ultimately changed the way academics viewed sexuality. Previous psychologists, usually followers of Freudian beliefs, "emphasized sexuality as an impulse rooted in the unconscious".[24] There was more of a concentration on women's mental link between sex and motherhood, but Kinsey found that both men and women's sexuality was mostly biological and complex. The study was comprised of 17,500 interviews and largely asked questions on how participants reached orgasms, either through nocturnal sex dreams, masturbation, heterosexual petting, heterosexual intercourse, homosexual intercourse, or contacts with animals. [25]

One of the biggest findings in the study was Kinsey's debunking of the Freudian map of the sexual female body, which argued "that the vagina gave women orgasms and the clitoris led them into psychological degeneracy".[26] Second Wave feminist literature would later elaborate on the patriarchal system of female sexuality with books such as *Sexual Politics* by Kate Millet or "The Myth of the Vaginal Orgasm" by Anne Koedt. While the Kinsey Reports were not being read by the average American, the ideas became more normalized into

the 1960s. The studies further developed the sexual paradox of the 1950s where young people were being told to save sex until marriage but also receiving more sexual messages through media. [27]

Various forms of media were voicing concern over the growing public displays of sexuality as a means to undermine the patriarchal system and the nuclear family. By the mid-1960s the paradox was very visible for young people. In 1966, Yale University distributed an unofficial booklet at freshmen orientation on campus promiscuity, safe sex, birth control, venereal diseases and provided information on campus groups for women's liberation and gay rights. Students mostly wrote the booklet but some faculty oversaw the making of it. While most students on campus either welcomed the information or did not mind it, others saw it as controversial. This was one of the first times that an institution for young people was acknowledging that premarital sex was occurring and instead of demonizing it the booklet was giving information on how to be safe. [28] Numerous sources argue that sexual behavior, for the most part, did not change, but the attitudes did. Because of the growing market of sex in advertisements, television, films and music, many Americans became desensitized. This does not, however, mean that large numbers of young people were engaging in more premarital sex. Those statistics remain relatively constant throughout the 1950s and 60s and even by 1969 two thirds of college women were married within eighteen months of graduation. [29] By the mid 60s, however, many women that engaged in premarital sex reported that they did not feel guilty or remorseful. [30] Throughout the 1950s and 60s, women were still expected to marry quickly as to preserve the nuclear families, but attitudes about sex were easing largely because of its public visibility.

[23] Susan Douglas, *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media* (New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995), 92; Wini Breines, *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 89.

[24] Jane Gerhard, Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 57

[25] "Data from Alfred Kinsey's Studies", Indiana University: The Kinsey Institute, accessed December 2, 2013.

[26] Ibid., 58.

[27] "Data from Alfred Kinsey's Studies", Indiana University: The Kinsey Institute, accessed December 2, 2013; Jane Gerhard, Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001), 52-104

[28] Joseph Treaster, "Unofficial Sex Booklet Draws Mixed Notices at Yale," *New York Times*, September 17, 1970, accessed December 1, 2013.

[29] John Corry, "A U.S. Sex Revolt? It's Mostly Talk," *New York Times*, July 11, 1966, accessed December 1, 2013.

[30] Tom Buckley, "All They Talk About is Sex, Sex, Sex," *New York Times*, April 20, 1969, accessed December 1, 2013.

Starting from Disney princesses to descriptions of sexual rendezvous in *Marjorie Morningstar* or girl group songs, young women growing up in the 1950s and early 60s had difficult decisions regarding their sexuality. To "give it up" meant to possibly tarnish one's reputation and ruin chances of marriage in the future. Conflations between sex and true love in the media, however, made sex seem glamorous and exciting, albeit risky. Girls had to find a balance of their sexual presence in public, "doling out just enough to be popular with boys and never enough to lose esteem of the 'right kind of kids'".[31] The ideas and messages in the media paralleled with young women's actions as well. More felt comfortable with premarital sex by the early 1960s, but ultimately marriage and domesticity was the most suitable future. Media was used to both push messages that preserved the nuclear family and conservative sexual values, like in Disney films or advertisements for daytime television, and also messages that exploited the confusion and ambivalence teens were feeling about their own sexuality. The media, because it was so encompassing, sought "to create desires in order to satisfy, rather than, as the parent, teacher, or minister must often do, to discipline, restrict or deny them. The advertiser is, thus, is on the side of the teenager"[32]. Girls became obsessed with the fantasy of risky behaviors that satisfied personal growth or got the attention of handsome men as seen in *Marjorie Morningstar* or Marilyn Monroe films, but ultimately these were just daydreams for most girls. Young women of the 1950s generation had to balance expectations from both the "rebellious" sides of media and the traditional paradigm of womanhood in domesticity, with both forms of popular culture equally dependent on beauty.

References

Baker-Sperry, Lori and Grauerholz, Liz. "The Pervasiveness and Persistence of the Feminine Beauty Ideal in Children's Fairy Tales." *Gender and Society* 17, no. 5 (Oct. 2003): 711-   726.

Breines, Wini. *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the 1950s.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.

Buckley, Tom. "All They Talk About is Sex, Sex, Sex." *New York Times*, April 20, 1969. Accessed December 1, 2013.

Corry, John. "A U.S. Sex Revolt? It's Mostly Talk." *New York Times*, July 11, 1966. Accessed December 1, 2013.

"Data from Alfred Kinsey's Studies". Indiana University: The Kinsey Institute. Accessed December 2, 2013.

Davies, Laurence. "Some Novels on Minorities". *The American Journal of Economics and Sociology* 16, no. 2 (Jan. 1957).

Douglas, Susan. *Where the Girls Are: Growing Up Female with Mass Media*. New York: Three Rivers Press, 1995.

Gerhard, Jane. *Desiring Revolution: Second-Wave Feminism and the Rewriting of American Sexual Thought* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2001).

Goffin, Gerry and King, Carole. *Will You Love Me Tomorrow* (1960).

"Just How Many Baby Boomers Are There?". Population Reference Bureau. Last modified December 2002.

Miller, Gabriel. "The (Sex) Symbol: Marilyn, Primetime and the Nielsons." *Literature/Film Quarterly* 12, (1984).

Pach, Chester. "Rock n' Roll is Here to Stay." *OAH Magazine of History* 18, no. 4 (Jul. 2004).

Press, Andrea. "Gender and Family in Television's Golden Age and Beyond." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and SocialScience* 625, (Sep. 2009).

Schroeder, Aaron. *Big Hunk O' Love* (1959).

Treaster, Joseph. "Unofficial Sex Booklet Draws Mixed Notices at Yale." *New York Times*, September 17, 1970. Accessed December 2, 2013.

Wayne, Sid. *I Need Your Love Tonight* (1959).

"Where Did The Morning Go?". NBC Advertisement. *Ladies Home Journal* (1955).

Winick, Charles. "The Beige Epoch: Depolarization of Sex Roles in America." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 376, (Mar. 1968).

Wouk, Herman. *Marjorie Morningstar* (Boston:

---

[31] Wini Breines, *Young, White and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the 1950s* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992), 131.
[32] Ibid., 92.

Back Bay Books, 1955).