

SOME TRENDS IN POPULAR MAGAZINE FICTION
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE USE OF MAGAZINE
FICTION AS A PROPAGANDA AGENCY
IN WORLD WAR I AND IN WORLD WAR II

by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

| | Page |
|---|------|
| INTRODUCTION | 1 |
| MAGAZINES AND PUBLIC OPINION | 4 |
| Editors and the "War Mongers" | 4 |
| Two Phases of the Study of Magazines | 5 |
| Primary Sources | 5 |
| Secondary Sources | 5 |
| The Relative Merits of Methods of Study | 5 |
| IMPORTANCE OF MAGAZINES IN AMERICAN CULTURE | 7 |
| THE TREND TOWARD CENTRALIZED CONTROL | 9 |
| Literacy and the Magazines | 10 |
| Influence of Wartime Conditions | 11 |
| Tabulation of Circulations | 12 |
| Summary | 15 |
| "Propaganda" Defined | 15 |
| Danger of Fallacious Conclusions | 15 |
| FICTION CONTENT OF POPULAR MAGAZINES | 16 |
| <u>McClure's Magazine</u> Examined | 17 |
| <u>American Magazine</u> in World War I | 19 |
| <u>American Magazine</u> in World War II | 20 |
| <u>American</u> and <u>McClure's</u> as Propaganda Sheets | 25 |
| FICTION CONTENT OF GOOD HOUSEKEEPING | 26 |
| <u>Good Housekeeping</u> in World War I | 27 |
| <u>Good Housekeeping</u> in World War II | 33 |

| | |
|---|----|
| Professor McKenzie's Impressions | 35 |
| THE <u>SATURDAY EVENING POST</u> AS <u>PROPAGANDA</u> | 37 |
| The <u>Post</u> in World War II | 38 |
| Summary of Propaganda in the <u>Post</u> | 60 |
| WHAT THE EDITORS SAY FOR THEMSELVES. | 61 |
| CONCLUSIONS. | 72 |
| ACKNOWLEDGMENTS | 73 |
| BIBLIOGRAPHY | 74 |

INTRODUCTION

Solomon said, "Of the making of many books there is no end." Certainly, as long as human beings have the power to think and to express thought in symbols marked upon paper, there cannot be an end of books or bookmaking. A quick walk through any modern drug store or news stand will convince the observer that there is "of the making of many magazines" no end, either. Books, magazines, newspapers, the so-called un-funny "Comics" and various digests of human thought, pile up like mountains year after year. What can they say? What can there be to say, year after year, in such copious quantities?

Popular magazines serve many functions in American civilization. They enable thinking people to "get the load off the chest." They share thoughts and humor, health hints, advertising, handy kinks, and many other little things in which all people have a mutual interest. The fiction magazines entertain, as well as enlighten. Whether fiction be considered in its prima facie sense, often called "escapist," or whether it be considered as a doorway to larger, richer living, it provides a little world within a world for millions of readers every month.

Obviously, in a society so burdened with magazines, composed of people who read magazine fiction as avidly as Americans do, the influence upon the "community attitude" or "public mind" must be a tremendous tool in the hands of the men - or women - who compose and write and arrange these magazines. The question to be considered in this piece of research is this: What do these influential

people do with the power they have over the mind of America? How do they exert or apply this power of public opinion?

Sometimes a reformer gets the public eye and ear with a campaign to clean up advertising. Advertisers who misrepresent their goods and who influence the public through the mass-circulation magazines, can do a great deal of harm to the public purse, to say nothing of possible impairment of public health. But what does the fiction writer do to the mind and to the mental attitude of the avid reader of "stories?"

Some years ago in a certain Kansas city, there was a campaign to inaugurate stricter laws governing the milk and dairy industry. One large city newspaper then picked up the cue and began clamoring for other reforms. Pictures in the papers showed a milk bottle and a morning newspaper lying together on the front doorstep of an "average" American home, and underneath, the caption read: "For the children's bodies, Grade 'A'. For their minds, grade ---?"

The frequent comment heard in informal discussion is that the big publishers are tools in the hands of the manufacturing trusts; that whatever the national advertisers want the public to think, the public will be conditioned to think, through slanted magazine and newspaper content. It is impossible to cover this matter thoroughly in a piece of research of modest proportions. What is intended for this thesis is, then, an examination of the content of certain most popular magazines, to try to determine what evidence, if any, supports that charge.

It will not be possible to cover more than a small segment of the total field. A few of the most popular magazines only, and

of these, only the fiction-story content, will be examined. The object here will be to try to discover whether the fiction is slanted in such a way as unduly to influence the reading public with respect to war sentiment.

It makes sense to say that the so-called "big manufacturing interests" or the "big business trusts" are the promoters of wars. There is not time here to discuss the question whether the common people want war or not. It can be observed in passing, that it appears to be true that whenever America enters into a war, the sentiment of the people has first to be aroused slowly over a period of time and through a series of cumulative small events or situations.

Then, apparently, there may be some validity in the popular assertion that people are influenced - subtly, slowly, by infiltration, as it were, - by their reading, by the radio, the movies, and such other mass media as have a strong bearing upon public opinion. And it may be well enough to charge the magazines with collaboration in a deliberate campaign to sway the people who read magazines, inducing in them sentiments favorable to the desires of the manufacturers who alone seem to have prospects of profiting by war.

There is only one fair approach to such a problem: First, the popular magazines must be read to determine whether anything in the published material is actually slanted. Second, the writers' magazines must be inspected to discover whether editors and publishers have been asking authors to contribute material with a

definite slant or coloration. These two simple approaches have been followed in the research investigation and thesis herein presented.

MAGAZINES AND PUBLIC OPINION

Editors and the "War Mongers"

A question which often occurs in discussions about war and society, or in any discussion which has to do with human affairs generally, is "Why War?" One of the popular answers - popular because it is easy and flippant - is that people go to war against their better judgment because their minds are poisoned against the "enemy" and likewise poisoned, or at least misled, in favor of the "Allies." Now, this answer cannot be dissected entirely in any study of such proportions as must be assumed by this paper. But it would be well to examine one facet of the problem. What sort of influences are brought to bear upon the public mind, inducing a spirit which is willing to take up arms? The popular answer, again popular because easy and flippant, is that the "papers and magazines" which the public reads are owned by big business. Big business wants war because wars make for business prosperity. Therefore, big business exerts its control over the press and spreads deliberate propaganda calculated to incite the masses to go to war.

Two Phases of the Study of Magazines

Is it true? Can there be anything objective and factual, suitable for tagging as "Exhibit 'A'" as evidence in this case? Obviously, there can be. The two-fold approach to just one small phase of this problem which is proposed in this study is as follows:

Primary Sources. First, there is the purely objective approach. By which is meant simply an impartial, disinterested study of a representative number of stories taken from a representative group of popular periodicals. The approach used in this study was to read a total of 1,995 pieces of fiction, appearing in the American Magazine, Good Housekeeping Magazine, McClure's Magazine, (one of the big-sellers during the World War I era) and the Saturday Evening Post.

Secondary Sources. Secondly, there is the secondary type of approach, which for purposes of this investigation consisted in securing whatever available testimony the publishers of popular periodicals had left outside the pages of their own magazines. The demands of the editors for fiction, addressed to professional and would-be professional writers, appear in magazines such as The Writer Magazine, and other publications devoted to the writing profession as a whole.

The Relative Merits of Methods of Study

For actual value, it is hard to say which of these methods predominates. Both are important. The Primary-Source method,

that of reading the actual stories and evaluating them for propaganda, would seem at first glance to be the one and only reliable clue to the problem. On the other hand, there are some difficulties in the way of such an approach. No two people ever get exactly the same impression from reading a story. The investigator in this case has been forced to submit his own impressions, recognizing that anyone else may with perfect validity place a wholly different interpretation upon the "propaganda content" which seems to be concealed in any story.

One thing is certain: No one doubts the importance of the popular periodical as a factor in forming public opinion in America. Americans are a magazine-reading populace. Dr. Mott found that between 1825 and 1850 over 60 periodicals sprang up, devoted to the cause of education alone.¹

Reisner speaks of the growth of new postal routes, favorable postal rates for periodicals, the railroads which developed after 1830, the penny newspaper, which started in the 1830's, the telegraph-news service after 1846 or thereabout, as prime factors in the growth of American culture.²

¹ F. L. Mott, History of American Magazines, p. 490.

² E. H. Reisner, Evolution of the Common School, p. 322-323.

IMPORTANCE OF MAGAZINES IN AMERICAN CULTURE

Laura Katherine Martin quotes from Lin Yutang's book, A History of the Press and Public Opinion in China, in a recent study of popular magazines. Lin Yutang says:¹

Periodicals are the best indications of a country's cultural progress. After all, the function of a periodical, as distinct from that of books, is to serve as a medium for educating the public, surveying the most important tendencies and domestic and foreign situations, introducing or advocating new movements of art and literature and thought, and constantly guiding the current of thought and rectifying its errors. Periodical literature is literature expressly intended for the living generation, as books - really good books, - should be literature for all time. The rise and decline of many periodicals are intimately associated with movements in literary history. In this way it is perfectly natural and proper that many periodicals should come and go, fulfilling a certain function destined for them to fulfill, and then taking their departure from the public with the sense of having done something and also having left a little undone that perhaps might have been done a little better if their editors were gods. In this way a periodical is just like a human being whose life activities cover a limited span of time, both influencing and being influenced by the age in which he lives, contributing so much or so little to his times according to his personality and his talent.

The extent of the influence of periodicals upon public sentiment in America is probably impossible to determine with anything better than a fair degree of approximation. As Morris L. Ernst expresses it,²

There is a tremendous number of periodicals in the United States. Because of the difficulty of definition, nobody seems to know exactly how many there are. A fairly reliable figure (that of the "Publishers' Information Bureau") mentions 700 magazines of a circulation totaling 140,000,000 copies per issue. The Publishers' Information Bureau in New York checks magazine advertising, in all of what they term important national magazines. Their count over the past seventeen years

¹ L. K. Martin, Magazines for High Schools, frontispiece.

² M. L. Ernst, The First Freedom, p. 116-117.

has risen from 72 in 1928 to 106 in 1943. This is a small proportion of the grand total of weekly, monthly, quarterly, publications - including pulps and comics.

If the estimate of the Publishers' Information Bureau be accepted, that there were in 1943 some 700 magazines of national significance, with a total circulation of 140,000,000, that means that in 1943 America had more than one copy of a "national" popular magazine for every man, woman, and child living in the country. For the population of the United States, estimated for 1943 on the basis of regular census figures, was 136,497,049.¹

Mere quantity of reading matter, however, is but one side of the problem of public attitude. It would seem prima facie that a nation so reading-conscious as to support an average of slightly more than one copy of a national magazine for every individual in the entire country must be a very cultured nation. And so it is. America is a widely-read nation. But on the other hand, there are at least two things which immediately detract from the beauty of that situation. As Morris Ernst points out:²

Mere quantity is only one side of the medallion. No one would want to see even twice that circulation if it flowed from only half our present number of publishers. The trend toward increased circulation with a decrease in number of publishers means only one thing: concentration. That is to say, there is a tendency toward centralization of control over the reading matter available to the public.

¹ E. E. Irvine, Editor, The World Almanac for 1949, p. 164.

² M. L. Ernst, The First Freedom, p. 63-64.

THE TREND TOWARD CENTRALIZED CONTROL

The trend since 1909 has been steadily toward centralization in the publishing business, as it doubtless has been in other industries. The United States in 1909 had one newspaper for every 25,000 persons, whereas by 1940 the large publishers had taken over small periodicals to the extent that there was only one newspaper for every 50,000 persons.¹ The number of periodicals had increased, indeed, but the rate of increase of population had by this time so outstripped the rate of increase in number of periodicals that in terms of ratio or proportion, more people were getting their reading material from relatively fewer publishers. Merle Miller puts it this way:²

The mass-appeal general magazines continue to expand in size, advertising content, and circulation, and their control is narrowed into fewer and fewer hands. The "Big Five" of magazine publishing . . . dominate the entire industry. There are: (1) Crowell-Collier, (2) Curtis, (3) McCall Corporation, (4) Hearst's, and (5) Time-Life.

The continuing increase in circulation and concomitant decrease in the number of publishers must be measured against the increase in (1) our national population, and (2) the increased proportion of literacy. The ratio of publishers to the number of literate persons - those capable of absorbing biased attitudes from the magazines, - indicates far more about the possible problem of propagandizing through the press than mere circulation statistics.

¹ M. L. Ernst, *The First Freedom*, p. 63-64.

² Merle Miller, "Freedom to Read: Magazines," *Survey Graphic*, 35:462-467, (December, 1946).

Literacy and the Magazines

This comment calls for another quotation of figures. The number of illiterate persons over 10 years of age, as estimated by the Bureau of the Census in 1930 (the most recent estimate on this subject that could be discovered,) was 5,509,373.¹ This number subtracted from the national population leaves a total of approximately 150,987,676 literate persons in the United States. The word, "approximately," indicates that exact figures for given years are not available, so the estimate cannot be more than a highly probable cross-section of the population. This leaves still the same approximate average of over one copy of magazines per man, woman, and child in the United States able to read such material.

This summarizes the general scope of the nationally significant magazines and their influence upon the reading public. Obviously, the editors and publishers of large-circulation periodicals have an opportunity to present their ideas to many people, in persuasive language, "sugar-coated" with the best psychological appetizers in the form of illustrations and zesty fiction stories. The problem of war-attitudes as fostered by the editors and publishers presupposes another question: To what extent can we say that such periodical publishers might have cause deliberately to slant their magazines? Is there any evidence, circumstantial or otherwise, tending to show that the large national

¹ E. E. Irvine, Editor, The World Almanac for 1949, p. 164-374.

advertisers control the magazines? Would anyone be likely to profit by deliberately using the periodicals to influence the public toward war?

Influence of Wartime Conditions

First, it should be pointed out that in a direct sense the magazines appear to profit by increased circulation. Gasoline rationing during the recent war tended to keep the population at home; magazine reading became a favorite pastime among those who were formerly able to buy tires and gasoline, and thus to go on evening drives, to night-clubs, etc. Again, during the years immediately preceding America's active entry into war a large proportion of the population was employed in war production plants, factories, etc. Tired factory workers preferred to go home in the evening and read magazines, rather than going to movies, night-clubs, etc. This is the reasoning frequently set forth by those who accuse the publishers and editors of taking advantage of the periodicals to propagate war-propaganda.

Is this reasoning fallacious or sound? Are the magazines the tools-in-hand of the munitions manufacturers, and other "war mongers?" The tables on the following page speak for themselves:

Tabulation of Circulations

Table 1. Proportions of advertising content to editorial content, for the year 1940, three leading magazine publishers: Taken from Ernst.¹

| Publication | : Number of : advertising : pages | : Number of : editorial : pages | : Proportion of : editorial to : advertising by : percentage |
|----------------------------------|---|---------------------------------------|---|
| Crowell-Collier Publications: | | | |
| <u>Collier's</u> | 3728 | 1775 | 47.6% |
| <u>Woman's Home Companion</u> | 1362 | 618 | 45.4 |
| <u>American Magazine</u> | 2044 | 539 | 26.4 |
| Hearst Publications: | | | |
| <u>Good Housekeeping</u> | 2588 | 1122 | 43.4 |
| <u>Cosmopolitan</u> | 2128 | 690 | 32.4 |
| <u>Liberty</u> | 3360 | 875 | 26.0 |
| McCall Publications: | | | |
| <u>McCall's Magazine</u> | 1572 | 681 | 43.3 |
| <u>Red Book Magazine</u> | 1958 | 520 | 26.6 |

¹ M. L. Ernst, The First Freedom, p. 117.

Table 2. Growth of circulations during early pre-war years.

| Publication | Circulation | Year |
|---|------------------------|--------------|
| <u>Cosmopolitan</u> (Hearst's) | 1,819,714 1,823,005 | 1939 1941 |
| <u>Collier's</u> (Crowell-Collier) | 2,624,632 2,890,058 | 1939 1941 |
| <u>American Magazine</u> (Crowell-Collier) | 2,175,666 2,279,939 | 1939 1941 |
| <u>McCall's Magazine</u> (McCall Co.) | 2,822,001 3,113,696 | 1939 1941 |

The only periodical showing a noticeable increase in the pre-war era in this table was McCall's, and that increase was not large. These figures are taken from the government "Audit Bureau of Circulations," and are tabulated in Ayer's Directory, for the years indicated above.¹

¹ Ayer's Directory of Newspapers & Periodicals, 1939 & 1941 annual editions. Information compiled from tables in the directories: various pages.

Table 3. Circulations for the year 1915, prior to World War I.¹

| Publication | Circulation |
|------------------------------|-------------|
| <u>American Magazine</u> | 440,000 |
| <u>McClure's Magazine</u> | 533,805 |
| <u>McCall's Magazine</u> | 1,261,426 |
| <u>Saturday Evening Post</u> | 1,950,565 |
| <u>Good Housekeeping</u> | 350,000 |

In addition to the preceding table, some information was given by Ayer's Directory concerning the purely "pulp" magazines.²

The "Newsstand Fiction Unit," an all-pulp collection reported to the Audit Bureau of Circulations as a group, reported a total circulation of 491,587 in 1941. The group did not report at all in 1939. It is startling to observe that this widely known pulp group did not appear to compass over half a million combined circulation: The Newsstand Fiction Group is not considered in this study because the investigation concerns only a representative few of the nationally known big-circulation publications. The pulp group above includes:

Action Stories
 Amazing Stories
 Fantastic Adventures
 Lariat Stories
 Ranch Romances
 Short Stories
 South Sea Stories
 Weird Tales

¹ Ayer's Annual Directory of American Newspapers & Periodicals, 1915. (pages 664, 669, 854, and 768; tables listed.)

² Ayer's Annual Directory of American Newspapers & Periodicals, 1941.

The nature and content of these magazines are apparent from the list of titles. It is obvious that such magazines cannot be covered in a study of representative national popular fiction magazines. In fact, no one seems to know just how many different "pulp" there are. They come and go, some pulp magazines living for only a few issues or a few years at most.

Summary

From this brief study of circulations and advertising content it can be seen that the influence of popular magazines upon the readers of America is a tremendous factor in public attitude toward any question. It will now be necessary to look within a representative few of the largest magazines and to observe objectively just what the editors did include. The study deals not with "articles" but only with fiction stories. The assumption is that fiction stories with a "slant" in favor of any war-protagonist might well comprise a potent factor of propaganda.

"Propaganda" Defined. By propaganda is meant "any organized or concerted group, effort, or movement to spread particular doctrines, information, etc. Also a doctrine or ideas spread through propaganda. Also a plan for the propagation of a doctrine or system of principles."¹ In time of war the word propaganda tends to acquire a connotation of evil or subtlety. The word is used in this study in its largest sense, almost, if not wholly,

¹ Webster's Collegiate Dictionary, 5th Ed., p. 795.

synonymous with the words "colored" or "slanted," to denote a specific doctrine or attitude couched in a fiction story in such a way as to lead the fiction reader to feel sentiments favorable or unfavorable toward peoples, individuals, or nations involved or likely to be involved in war.

Danger of Fallacious Conclusions. A word of caution is in order here, as we enter upon our study of the fiction stories, 1,995 of which were read for this investigation of trends. Logicians sometimes speak of a type of fallacy in reasoning called "Affirming the Consequent." In simple form it means saying something like this:

If the magazines are the agencies of war-mongers, then they will publish stories slanted in such a way as to influence the readers in favor of whatever attitudes the war-mongers wish the public to favor.

The magazines are found to contain stories slanted to influence the reader in favor of the Allied Powers and against the Nazis.

Therefore: It follows that the magazines are (were) dominated by the big munitions makers and War-mongers.

Such reasoning is too obviously fallacious to require comment. It is mentioned here only by way of caution. The trick-reasoning processes are studiously avoided insofar as the investigator is able to avoid them.

FICTION CONTENT OF POPULAR MAGAZINES

In entering upon the strictly primary-source research phase of this investigation, it should be pointed out that the technique employed was a simple one, but designed to give, within its

limited scope, the most accurate resume possible of the actual content of the magazines studied. This is to say that the investigator personally and unaided read or in a few cases reviewed hastily the entire contents of volume after volume of the more popular magazines. Only publications having tremendous circulation were investigated. Elsewhere, attention has been called to the fact that some authorities believe there are at least 700 top-ranking national magazines. No attempt was made in this study to cover thoroughly so much as even a majority of these publications. What was done, however, was to read at least sketchily each and every piece of fiction appearing in each individual issue. The results obtained are described in the following pages.

McClure's Magazine

In the year 1917, the United States was becoming increasingly involved in Europe's battles. On April 6 of that year, the United States declared war on Germany. One of the popular fiction magazines of the era was McClure's Magazine. The attitude of this popular publication toward the war is interesting.

In 1917, McClure's Magazine, in volume #42 for January, February, March, and April, published a total of 17 fiction stories. Not one of these 17 pieces of fiction contained anything about the European War or anything that could be called "propagandistic." If there was any mention made in fiction of the war or its protagonists, or any expression of "attitude" toward the Allied Powers, such propaganda was so well concealed as to be undetectable.

Volume 43 of McClure's, for May through October, inclusive, of 1917, contained a published total of 35 pieces of fiction. There was neither any mention of the war in Europe, nor anything slanted concerning the protagonists of the war, in any one of these 35 stories. If anything, the "slant" was in the direction favorable to the Germans. An article in June, 1917, "The Crime Master and How He Works," by Waldemar Kaempffert, showered high praise upon Dr. Hans Gross, an Austrian detective. Perhaps the editor of McClure's was trying to avoid being accused of favoring the Allied Powers or fostering war. Certainly the Austrian police system was lauded. The article, however, is not admissible as evidence in this study, since the investigation applies to fiction.

In a story entitled "The Radium Robbers," by Edith McVane, in McClure's for July, 1917, volume 43, an American girl was followed through fantastic adventures in France, apparently before the outbreak of war. She was kidnaped by a gangster of Paris. The story does not arouse reader-sympathy toward the French; if anything, it puts the French in rather an unfavorable light.

In a two-part serial, "Wild Honey," by Cynthia Stockley, in the June and July issues of the 1917 McClure's, there is something which an ardent propaganda-seeker might point out. The reader's sympathy lies with an English girl lost in the African jungles. An English young nobleman who becomes the girl's rescuer finally marries her. On the whole, the villain, who is also English, and the somewhat dissolute English hero and heroine, are hardly characters calculated to arouse the reader to pro-British ideals.

"The Honorable Percival," a three-part serial by Alice Hegan

Rice, ran in the July, August, and September, 1917, issues of McClure's. It is possible that a mild pro-British spirit was intended in this story.

The hero, Percival, is a British nobleman who appears somewhat ridiculous at times. Disappointed in love in England, Percival gradually wins the reader's sympathy in a "slick plot" romance with an American sea-captain's daughter, whom he meets aboard a ship traveling from San Francisco to Hong Kong. As pro-British propaganda the story is weak because (1) the characters are not strong, (2) the plot moves too slowly to arouse much emotion, (3) the characters are not close enough to every-day American life to enable the average reader to identify himself with them.

Aside from these three possibly slanted cases, none of the 52 fiction stories in McClure's throughout 1917 contained any propaganda, at least insofar as the student of World War I is able to detect.

American Magazine in World War I

Quite in harmony with the silence of McClure's Magazine for 1917, the prominent Crowell-Collier publication, American Magazine, showed no degree of interest in World War I in its fiction. At least, up until December of that year, it did not. In volume 84, numbers 1 through 6, including July through December of 1917, American presented 40 fiction stories. In volume 83 of American January through June, 1917, not one story had a bearing upon the war in Europe. In the last six months of the year - despite the fact that the United States became an active participant on

April 6, - there was but one story, and that in December, which mentioned the war.

Holworthy Hall's "Straight From Headquarters," American for December, 1917, introduced not only military terminology, but a wounded veteran returned and discharged. This story seemed so frank in its outspoken propaganda that it seemed to be trying to make up for the whole year's silence. The returned veteran, meeting a girl on a streetcar, talks "flag-waving" in no uncertain terms. "Why did you enlist? The girls asks him. "It isn't your war."

"It is, too," is the flag-waver's reply. "It's all our war, only most people over here don't seem to realize it. The United States has been a turkey-buzzard instead of an eagle so far . . ." And so on. Here, with shocking suddenness, after the United States has been openly engaged in the war for nine months, appeared American's first fictional "propaganda." And it is propaganda with all the subtlety of a 1,000-pound bomb. The story borders upon the over-emotional, high-keyed emotionalism of the pulps. It is heavy on action-plot, light on character-development.

American Magazine in World War II

Volume 127 of American Magazine, January through June, 1939, the period when World War II was beginning in Europe, contained a total of 65 pieces of fiction, including "Vignettes", short shorts, and installments of serials. Three of these 65 could be said to have relationship to the war: (1) "The Night Before," by Arthur

Tuckerman, in January, treats of an Austrian girl who, on a trip with her husband, meets a former fiancée who is now a spy for the Nazis. (2) "Salute," by Borden Chase, in February, is a navy story of a hardened destroyer commander and an old tramp freighter captain whom the commander respected as a maritime cavalier. (3) Verner Dixon's "The Captain's Bride," in March, is a navy yarn of a naval officer's wedding aboard the carrier Ranger. Whether these stories were intended to act as navy recruiting propaganda or not, it is undeniable that they gave the reader a good feeling toward the navy and the maritime traditions. The word "propaganda," however, sounds a trifle too strong to apply to them.

Sixty-three (63) pieces of fiction - including installments of serials - appeared in volume 128, July through December, 1939, of the American. H. Verner Dixon came up again with "One Was Enough," in August; the story is about a 'round-the-world bomber flight,' and deals with personnel problems. One member of the crew is selfish, out to make a name for himself regardless of the rest of the crew.

In "Hero Comes Home," by Jacland Marmur, there is a sea story of an old-time skipper, and a lot of romance, but no "war." The story entitled, "Command," by Blaine and Jean Miller, in September, 1939, is a navy story about maneuvers, but does not glamorize the sea enough to sound like an attempt at navy-promotional propaganda, either veiled or open.

American's volume 127 contained, in April, 1939, a story about a press correspondent in the Orient under Japanese occupation of China. "Lady At Sea," by Sidney Herachel Small, presents the

Japanese army in an unfavorable light, but does not brutalize the Japanese soldier; it does not seem to be anti-Japanese propaganda at all.

In addition to the foregoing, American's volume 127 also contains, in May, a story by Dr. Roy Chapman Andrews, the noted archeologist. Dr. Andrews' "Blond Savage," purely fictional, traces the adventures of a white girl whose father was Russian, whose mother was English. Her troubles in Northern China as the Japanese army invades and takes over, it might be said, comprise good pro-Russian propaganda. Dr. Andrews is a man of such professional standing that to accuse him of deliberate propagandizing by means of fiction seems absurd. Had he any motive for propaganda-writing - which is doubtful, - surely his non-fiction channels would have been the logical and more effective means.

Volume 129 of American, January through June, 1940, contained a total of 63 pieces of fiction, of which 4 refer to conditions or places which entitle them to be questioned for their "slant."

(1) "Preface to Love," by Phyllis Moore Gallagher, is about Americans living in wartime Paris. It packs some punches for the "American way of life," but is primarily a love and adventure story. The war is only an incidental "prop."

(2) "Home for Lunch," by Eric Purdon, in February, 1940, is a striking story of a World War I aviator, who on a forenoon patrol sights the German plane known to be that of Mr. Hermann Goering. Being a "gallant knight of the air," the American hero refuses to take unfair advantage and shoot down Mr. Goering. Rather, the

American turns away, hoping to get home in time for lunch. Fantastic, inaccurate, timely, but not propagandistic, surely.

(3) Sarah Elizabeth Roger's, "Into Thin Air" is a story of a girl in love with a professional pilot. Coming in April, 1940, it may well be in response to the public interest in aviation, and it may have been intended to stimulate interest in "Lend-Lease," which, of course, was not actually made a law until March 10, 1941.

(4) A fourth story which is related to the war-time conditions, but can scarcely be called propaganda, is a government-girl-in-Washington story, "Merry-Go-Round," by Brooke Hanlon. As pro-war slanted matter - no!

American's volume 130, July through December, 1940, contained a total of 74 pieces of fiction, counting everything separately. Of these 74, the war appears either in or as background to some 7 stories: "Mass Flight," by Blaine and Du Pont Miller, is a story of the navy, of a long-distance flight project, and of two officers with a personal quarrel. "Danger Zone," also by Blaine and Du Pont Miller, the following month, is a story of U. S. Navy patrol fliers. Written by a Navy Commander in collaboration with his wife, the story, like the preceding one, could possibly have been intended as a stimulus to young readers to join the navy. If it has any propagandistic slant, however, it is very subtly concealed. No bias is made apparent.

In September, 1940, the American ran "Traitor," by Francis Swann, the story of a boy who set a trap for the traitorous collaborator who had betrayed his country into the hands of an

invader. The identity of the invading army is never divulged, and neither is the small country invaded actually identified. The Nazis invaded Norway and Denmark "for their protection" on April 8 and 9, 1940, and Norway immediately declared war on Germany.¹ Mention of snow, mountains, and other factors in the story, "Traitor," might cause the reader to think in terms of the invaded Norwegian countries. The betrayer in the story fits the newspaper descriptions of "Quisling." Mention is made here of the possible news-story background to indicate that this story apparently followed events and public interest, rather than leading public sentiment.

"Lover's Touch," by Paul Schubert, in October, 1940, is a story of a Nazi submarine commander who appears to be a very gallant seaman. In deliberately failing to sink an old steamer, because he himself was once an officer aboard it in peacetime, the Nazi makes himself a gentlemen of the maritime traditions. The story certainly is not anti-Nazi; if it is pro-anything, it is probably pro-maritime-tradition-and-gallantry; no more.

"I Give My Life," by Will F. Jenkins, in October, 1940, issue of the American, is a story of an old woman in Nazi-occupied Slavic territory; the actual country is, of course, never named. A story of heroism and gallantry on the part of a peasant woman whose son has been imprisoned by the invaders. Hardly calculated to inspire war fervor, but inclined to give the reader a deep-

¹ E. E. Irvine, editor, World Almanac for 1949, p. 667.

seated delight in the plain "guts" of the little people.

"The Patriot," by D. L. Champion, in November, 1940, American Magazine, is a strange story of a Bundist reporting a murder to a police sergeant. A Polish immigrant had shot the Bundist when the Bund tried to coerce him into joining. Before collapsing, the wounded Bundist manages to quote the Polish immigrant in some fine down-to-earth phrases of American idealism. "The Exile," by Faith Baldwin, is a story of three European refugee children in an American community. The French girl, the English boy, and the Polish boy, as playmates, sad, wise, and old before their time, comprise a strong sentimental plea for the United Nations idea. Edward Stevenson's "A Woman of the Republic," in December, 1940, is strongly propagandistic in spirit, except for the fact that it followed the news rather than going before it to prepare the public mind. In this story a loyal Frenchwoman who has lost two sons in war, counts as if dead her third, when he turns out to be a Vichy collaborator with the Nazis.

American and McClure's as Propaganda Sheets

It must be obvious to even the critical reader that McClure's and the American have been amazingly free from war-slanted stories in both World War I and World War II. McClure's in 1917 published 52 fiction stories, not one of which dealt with the war. Out of a total of some 80 fiction stories published in 1917, American Magazine was guilty of printing one which had war propaganda in it. And that one appeared nine months after the United States

had declared war. Can any charge be made that either of these publications was "propagandizing" in World War I? Surely not.

Throughout the year 1939, American's output was 128 fiction tales. Of this number, some eight stories were even remotely related to the war developing then in Europe. In terms of percentages, American in 1939 was guilty, then, of publishing .0625 or exactly $6\frac{1}{4}$ per cent of its fiction "slanted." In 1940, a mere possible 8 out of its 137 stories, or .058, almost 6 per cent were even associated with the war. American is becoming less propagandistic!

FICTION CONTENT OF GOOD HOUSEKEEPING

Good Housekeeping Magazine is, strictly speaking, a woman's magazine. One would scarcely expect a woman's periodical to be interested in promoting war sentiment. On the other hand, one of the lines of appeal which always gets a big workout in wartime is the appeal to the mothers and the women who are either expected to "give their sons and husbands," or at least to serve as an inspiration to the warriors. Consequently, it was deemed not a waste of time to investigate Good Housekeeping. "GH" is almost without any exception rated at or near the top in quality - and consequently in influence - among periodicals catering especially to women. The following findings are of some interest, then, regarding this widely accepted product of the Hearst Publishing Company.

Good Housekeeping in World War I

In volumes 58 and 59, covering the entire year of 1914, Good Housekeeping published a total of 84 fiction stories. Not a single one of these, in 1914, could be said to influence the reader for or against the peoples or nations of Europe who were about to plunge into World War I. A strange division of forces occurred in the year 1915. Volume 60, January through June, containing 34 fiction stories, discloses 8 stories which have more or less direct bearing upon the European war situation. Then, strangely enough, volume 61, covering July to December, inclusive, 1915, contains 39 fiction stories, not one of which can be fairly said to have any reader-influence toward the European war.

As a matter of fact, only an ardent propaganda-hunter would be able to see any war-slant in the 8 stories mentioned above, in volume 60 of Good Housekeeping. Six of the stories mentioned are really only separate installments of a serial, "Felix O'Day," by F. Hopkinson Smith. In this serial, an Irish baronet comes to New York searching for his wife, who has run away with an unfaithful friend. Probably the sentiment is pro-Irish, which hardly classifies it as war-propaganda; but because it has a British slant, it is so counted here, just for the sake of complete fairness.

The story, "The Low-Burned Candle," by George T. Buffum, in volume 60 of Good Housekeeping, is a love story of a young English officer and a Dutch girl, in the Africa of the Boer War. The story enlists the reader's sympathy toward both the English and

the Dutch people, and reveals the folly of war; an elastic imagination is called for if the story is to be classified as pro-British propaganda!

The January, 1915, CH magazine contained a story-version of a play which the editors said was highly popular at the time: "Across the Border," by Beulah Marie Dix, is a hard-hitting piece of anti-war propaganda. It is in many respects a tract not unlike "Uncle Tom's Cabin," in its approach. The trouble is, from the classifier's standpoint, that the reader is given no clue as to What war, What armies, What countries, the author has in mind. The weight of the story as a piece of war-slanted fiction is minimized by this indefiniteness.

Good Housekeeping for 1916, volumes 62 and 63, contained a total of 79 separate pieces of fiction, of which installments of serials were counted individually as pieces of fiction. "The Red Planet," by William J. Locke, a serial, begins in September, 1916. "A story of war time but not of war," says the caption accompanying the title. The editors' classifying caption in this case indicates that the magazine was apparently definitely trying to avoid war stories, to be escapist, to divert its readers rather than arouse them. "The Red Planet," as subsequent installments reveal, is a story of an English family, an English girl who repulses the attentions of a civilian gentleman because she considers him a "slacker," and of an English army officer who has been blinded in the war. The reader's sympathy for the English characters and scenes might be grounds for calling the story a

bit of mild pro-British propaganda.

Volumes 64 and 65 of Good Housekeeping, covering the entire year of 1917, contained a total of 73 pieces of fiction. "The Red Planet" continues through August, and in September another serial by the same author, William J. Locke, begins. In this one, "The Rough Road," a pampered, wealthy English youth suffers a love-triangle with an English girl and a French girl; although pampered and soft, the English youth becomes a "man" when he enters military service and goes to France to war. The story is strictly slick-plot, and in tracing the evolution of the English boy's character, the writer draws his readers into deep-sympathy for the English people as a whole.

John Galsworthy has a story, "The Apple Tree," serially appearing in the first half of 1917. The story is slick-plot character-development in style. It is a purely sentimental love-story, dealing with English people, laid in English scenes. Whether intentionally or not, the story gives the reader a feeling of warmth toward the English people and traditions.

"The Continental Sword," by Juliet Wilbor, in February, 1917, deals with an impetuous young girl who believes that a one-armed British youth is a war-wounded army officer. This belief, although mistaken utterly, leads the girl to utter rousing sentiments about fighting for honor and for country, etc. The story is pleasant, amusing, but hardly propagandistic despite its war-coloration.

The difficulty with evaluating stories having to do with war-time ideas or with English scenes and people, is that such stories are readily popular at all times. They are not necessarily related

to the war merely because they appear at a time when war is in the air. For instance, in "Harry," by Elizabeth Jordan, in June, 1917, an army captain and some of his army buddies have a merry mix-up with a civilian rival for the heart of a girl. There is no reference to the war. The mere presence of soldiers in a story cannot validly be taken to presuppose propagandistic motives in the writer.

I. A. R. Wylie has a story, "The Return," in volume 65 of Good Housekeeping, in which a blinded war veteran returns home to a wife who seems to be flippant, trifling, possibly unfaithful. The key to the story is that as the soldier recovers his sight he finds that the reason his wife is trying not to cling to him too closely, is that she has been disfigured in a war-plant explosion, and has lost the beauty for which he loved her. The story is emotional, tends toward the "pulpy" type, and is definitely related to war-adjustment problems. The atmosphere is keenly reminiscent of the present-day "Soap Opera." But, in the last half of 1917, it was hardly propaganda so much as it was a play upon the popular taste for war stories.

The year of 1917 saw also a few other stories having a connection, in one way or another, with the European War. "The Juryman," by John Galsworthy, in September, was a "heart-appeal" story of a wealthy London broker who became acquainted with war-time social problems of the lower strata of society through a session of jury duty. Primarily, this is a "humanity" story, pure and simple. It is sufficiently pro-British to justify considering it as slanted fiction, however.

In October, 1917, I. A. R. Wylie's, "Holy Fire," was about the priests and peasants of Russia, about simple, pious peasants who suffered patiently and forgave generously when German soldiers were vulgar and discourteous. This story was probably prompted by the Russian Revolutionary movement of 1917, and is the first story observed anywhere which had a definite pro-Russian slant. It is, however, rather sharp in its anti-Germanism.

Good Housekeeping, in December, 1917, had "Steady Hardy's Christmas Present," a pulp-caliber story by Cosmo Hamilton, in which a British naval officer is reunited with his estranged wife through the efforts of a small son, perhaps 4 or 5 years of age. The story is probably mildly pro-British and more than mildly war-sentimentality love story. The patriotic speeches of the child sound strangely anachronistic - not like the natural prattle of a child of pre-school years, but more like the cliches of an adult forced into the mouth of the child. The story, however, lacks the "punch" necessary to an effective propaganda agency.

There is another notable story in the December, 1917, Good Housekeeping: "The Sons of God," by Gertrude Brooke Hamilton, appears to be the first of a long line of later stories developing the "United Nations" sentiment. In this story a British soldier, an American soldier, and a Russian soldier are thrown together in Paris at Christmas time. The story ought to have a nice cozy feeling of "one for all and all for one," upon the readers by the fire-side far from the war's front lines. As propaganda - the status of the story is doubtful. It is a little too overdone, too unnatural, but perhaps the people in December, 1917, were eager to

read that kind of sentiment.

In 1918 there was a slightly larger drop of war-sentiment stories in Good Housekeeping. Volumes 66 and 67, covering that year, contained 64 pieces of fiction. Early in the year I. A. R. Wyllie brought out a series of short stories concerning an English nobleman and his romances. The first of them, "Unmaking a Marquis," put the Marquis into such a number of predicaments as to make him seem rather more ridiculous than sympathy-drawing. None of the series, even though laid in England and dealing with English people, generally speaking, seemed conducive to much pro-British feeling in the reader.

"One Chance In a Thousand," by Harold McGrath, was a battle of wits between a young American and a gang of German saboteurs in a steel mill. Early in 1918 the serial, "The Rough Road," which is discussed elsewhere in this treatise, was brought to a conclusion. "Half Past the Eleventh Hour," by Fanny Heaslip Lea, deserves mention as a war-slanted story because it concerns the last-minute romantic adventures of a soldier about to go overseas. "The Man Who Never Was," by William Johnson, is about a hard, bitter old man, who finally became reconciled to his estranged son when the latter was going off to war. Rather maudlin emotionalism pervades the story, but it probably gave some readers a "holy glow" feeling about the war. "The Pretender," by Katharine Holland Brown, in August, 1918, is a tricky tale of a wealthy mother and an unwanted daughter-in-law who become insincerely reconciled - so they would have the soldier think - when the son-and-husband goes off to war.

One of the particularly "pulpy" stories of 1918 was "The Web of the Spider," a serial about a girl who refused to believe in a young man because he wasn't in uniform. She believed him to be a slacker. He had to suffer her scorn because he was catching spies and doing daring deeds in his civvy clothes. Fine propaganda for bolstering up the morale of the homefront, soothing those "who also serve," even though not in uniform.

"Miss Apylla's Furlough," by Corra Harris, is another home-front morale story, which might be even more effective as propaganda than the more direct and obvious war stories. The heroine is a wealthy woman who volunteers as a Red Cross worker and worries herself into a nervous breakdown. Acts as a warning to stayers-at-home against worrying about the war.

In December, 1918, there appeared Margaret Belle Houston's, "Major Bobbin, Spug," in which the military characters are incidental, and not very close to the war. "He That Loseth His Life Shall Find It," by M. R. S. Andrews, is just as sentimental as the title indicates; the return of a soldier from the war stimulates deeply sentimental thoughts in the mind of the mother. It came too late in the war to be classed as propaganda tending to arouse the spirit of the American people with regard to going to war.

Good Housekeeping in World War II

A total of 107 pieces of fiction graced the pages of Good Housekeeping during the year 1939. "The Sound of Wings," by Adela Rogers St. Johns, seems to be the first story to make mention of the war. It appeared in February, 1939. The story deals

with a boy growing up thinking great thoughts of going to war when he becomes old enough. "Cockles for Tea," by Eric Knight, in May, concerns British scenes and characters, and may be taken as mildly pro-British in sentiment. If so, it is the first of this type to appear in the immediate pre-World War II era.

Naomi Lane Babson's, "Quiet Street," in November, 1939, presents the Japanese soldier in occupied China as a simple, home-loving boy with malice toward none in his simple heart. The story was written and published at a time when appeasement was the American watchword, and pre-Pearl Harbor Americans hoped to stop Japan's relentless aggression in the Orient without resorting to violent measures.

In 1940 Good Housekeeping's volumes 110 and 111, covering all the year from January through December, carried a total of 101 pieces of fiction without a single story which bore enough reference to the war or protagonists in the war to arouse the propaganda-hunter's suspicions.

Good Housekeeping showed itself a good housekeeper in keeping the mud from being tracked into milady's mental kitchen, throughout 1941. Volumes 112 and 113, covering the year, reveal a total of 100 pieces of fiction. Only two of these 100 have a slanted bearing upon the war. "In Full Glory Reflected," by James Street, in August, 1941, concerns an English refugee boy living in a dignified old-family Mississippi home. The refugees from blitzed London were popular at the time in American thinking, discussion, and writing. This story, therefore, appears as more of a response than a stimulus to public attitude.

The other of 1941's two quasi-propagandistic stories was Louis Bromfield's "We Are Not In Georgia." Bromfield wrote from his knowledge of France and the French, a story of four aged ladies residing in Paris because their fiery Confederate father had long ago sworn never to set foot again upon his native soil so long as it was ruled by Yankees. These four old ladies in Bromfield's story refused the offer of an American nephew who wished to take them to America. Their ties and friends, said the four old ladies, were all in dear, friendly France. So they stayed. The Nazi soldiers who inspected the home, the Nazi officers who slept there, never appeared to be uncouth fellows. The story is neither strongly anti-Nazi nor markedly pro-French. It has to be weighed in a study of war propaganda only because it is manifestly a World War II story, laid in occupied France.

Running never higher than 8 stories out of 100 containing a propagandistic "slant," out of each 100 slanted or colored with propaganda, Good Housekeeping is certainly clean of hands and pure of heart so far as the war is concerned. The results of the investigation reveal that the investigation was hardly worthwhile - except for the value of a negative result.

Professor McKenzie's Impressions

Mr. Vernon McKenzie, director of the School of Journalism at the University of Washington, published a study of "Treatment of War Themes in Magazine Fiction," in the Public Opinion Quarterly of June, 1941. As early as June, 1941, the United States had not yet had its "Pearl Harbor" attack, and consequently the war was

remote from the general public. On the other hand, Mr. McKenzie found that fiction dealing with the war in Europe had appeared in almost every magazine that publishes fiction.¹ He found, quite as this investigation has already pointed out, that the big "slicks" were keeping relatively clear of war-tainted fiction.

The mass-circulation in-betweens, half-slicks, half-pulps, such as Saturday Evening Post, Collier's, and Liberty, used war-slanted fiction to a great extent, and the real pulps, the slap-stick, slam-bang action story magazines, found their golden goose in the war. Mr. McKenzie quotes Jerry K. Westerfield, assistant editor of a large "pulp" publishing house, as follows:²

We are accepting pulp fiction dealing with the present European war. The former ban on anti-German stories has been lifted. For Air Adventures we would like air story writers to make their heroes English, French, or American adventurers. For Fantastic Adventures and Amazing Stories we will welcome stories dealing with Nazi intrigue in the United States.

The editors of the large semi-slick weeklies and the really big, true slicks, have never been quite so frank about their preferences. As a matter of fact, they have frequently published counsel to writers indicating that they prefer stories which are not war-slanted.

McKenzie states that Liberty is less subtle than the Saturday Evening Post and Collier's in its war-propaganda fiction. Many of the best stories of the war were "Fact-Fiction" stories. They were written in diary style, to simulate fact although purely fictitious;

¹ Vernon McKenzie, "Treatment of War Themes in Magazine Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, v.5:227-232. (June, 1941.)

² Ibid., p. 227, 228.

or they consisted of a synthetic assembly of incidents from news stories, narrated as the activities of a single hero.

Twenty-seven short stories in the Post and twenty-eight in Collier's, published during the first 18 months of World War II, have a pro-British slant. One distinction which appears rather clearly in war-slanted stories in these magazines, as well as in those previously reviewed, is that between the Germans-Nazis and the Allied peoples. Germans may be nice people as individuals. Sometimes Nazi soldiers were polite, even noble. But the national ideals, the over-all character of the people, is always assumed to be undesirable. Englishmen, on the other hand, like Frenchmen and other "Allied" people, may often be depicted as scoundrels individually, although their cultural backgrounds, the general over-all ideals and mores of their type of society, appear as vastly superior. In fact, the superiority of the "Allies'" way of life is emphasized by the fact that it can continue to be superior despite individual degenerates among its devotees.

THE SATURDAY EVENING POST AS PROPAGANDA

Of the 27 war-colored short stories in the 1940 Saturday Evening Post, which are sufficiently pro-British in sentiment to be considered as true propaganda, there is not much of outward chauvinism; rather, the stories appear to have been written primarily for their entertainment value, the favorable attitude toward the British way of life and British conduct of the war being rather tacitly assumed or indicated than actually stated.

The Post in World War II

Out of an over-all total of 316 pieces of fiction which appeared in the Saturday Evening Post for 1940, some 30 appear to deal with the war in some way, although a few are so remotely related as to be negligible as propaganda. Those in particular which are merely army stories, or merely English stories, can hardly be classified, inasmuch as there have always been a few such stories sprinkled through popular magazines, war or no war. Of the 30 stories which are "war-slanted," perhaps it can be said that 27 are in a sense pro-British. A more detailed analysis follows. First, it needs hardly more than pointing out that 27 stories out of 316 means but a total of .085 or some 8½ per cent, which is not a big proportion.

Mention should be made, by way of explanation, of the fact that no volumes of Saturday Evening Post could be found dating back to World War I. The University of Kansas Library and the Abilene Public Library had Post volumes from 1939 to the present. No library listed in the "Union List of Serials" catalog reported any older files.

A complete survey having been made of the Saturday Evening Post for 1939, 1940, and 1941, the following tabulation was made: In 1939 the Post published a total of 325 pieces of fiction, in its volume 211. In 1940, volume 212 of the Post carried a total of 316 pieces of fiction. In its 1941 volume, #213, there were a total of 327 pieces of fiction of which some 37 related to the war. This proportion, 37 out of 327, means a percentage of .113

or a good 11 per cent.

It hardly need be mentioned that each installment of a serial has been counted separately in this survey, which is the reason for giving the publications in terms of pieces of fiction. Obviously, a reader of any issue of a periodical will be influenced at that time by what he reads in that particular issue, and material appearing elsewhere in a given story, in other issues, has no bearing upon the reader's attitude. Therefore, all issues of magazines are evaluated separately, and separate installments of serials are tabulated according to the content of the particular installment. The problem of qualitative evaluation has been waived for the present because the investigator is aware that what may appear to one person as clearly propaganda may seem innocuous enough to another reader. There is no known way of defining exactly the effect of a given piece of printed matter upon all readers at all times.

Marjorie Stoneman Douglas has a story, "Far Up the Black Mountain," in the January 7, 1939, Post, which is a story of the Red Cross after the first World War. It describes the condition of the people in the Balkans regions. Anti-German in spirit, and tending to arouse the readers' sympathy for the downtrodden Balkans Mountains people, the story is propagandistic only as a sideline.

"Pay To Learn," by Borden Chase, in January 14, 1939, Post, is probably taken from the well-known saga of Sergeant York, for it deals with mountaineer cavalymen assigned to take care of a shipload of mules going to France. Not very propagandistic, but

disclosing the valor and courage of the mountain people in war time.

In the February 25 issue, the Post for '39 has William Chamberlain's "Luke Brings Home the Bacon," a comic-farce story dealing with soldiers on maneuvers, which has nothing to do with propaganda unless one could stretch a point and say that it contributed to "softening up" the public mind toward the army.

The March 11 issue saw "Crank Ship," Richard Howells Watkins' sea story which would tend to popularize the merchant marine shipping vocation, but had nothing to do with propaganda toward the actual war. Probably, since there was an increased demand for maritime seamen coupled with the accelerated pace of Lease-lend shipping during this period, this story could be said to help out the war effort by stimulating the imaginations of young men readers.

Walter D. Edmonds in the March 25 issue, told a story entitled, "Tom Whipple, the Acorn, and the Emperor of Russia," which follows the adventures of a youth back in the year 1837. The young man went out to seek his fortune through the world. He traveled in Russia. He had such experiences as would tend to leave the reader favorably impressed with the Russian people as a whole. No other propaganda element is likely, but the story fits into a general pattern of pro-Allied propaganda.

"Not Much Good At Fighting," by Borden Chase, appeared in the April 15 issue of 1939. Here is a story of the black market and merchant seamen who get together with old soldiers of World War I, in a French seaport town, and speak of their adventures in the

good old days. The term, "lincey," is used to designate the British, the first apparent open use of an uncomplimentary epithet for the British.

Alec Waugh's "Soldier From the Wars Returning," in May 6 issue of the Post, is decidedly a pulp-style story with unpredictable action, not related to nor explained by the character of the persons involved. English scenes and people, a lot of talk about "Starving Germany," and a good deal of fidgety jump-around activity, all leave the reader bewildered. Not a very effective piece of propaganda, if intended to be so.

"Madrugada," by Eleanor Mercein, in May 13 issue of the Post, is a story of a ruined village, its children, and its old people, in the recent Spanish Civil War. The story arouses sympathy for the war victims in Spain, resentment toward the protagonists in the Spanish Revolution. But there seems to be no connection at all with World War II unless it is that readers in war time like war stories in general.

"Tell Me About the War," by John P. Marquand, in June 10 Post, is a typical Marquand masterpiece, and a direct World War story. It deals with two wealthy businessmen who were World War I fliers in their youth. They are worried because the 21-year old son of one of them is going to Spain to enlist in the Spanish air forces. There is a good deal of talk about "how it all feels," and much speculation about why young men want to go to war.

In the July 1 Post for 1939, Ruth Rodney King's "The Saved Day," is a story of a German nurse employed by an American family. The nurse, "Fraulein," is isolated and regarded with suspicion by

everyone except the child, Barbie, and her father. The child's mother goes through emotional turmoil, fearing that the German nurse may indoctrinate the child with Hitlerism; but eventually the mother comes to accept Fraulein as a friend, and not "one of the enemy." The editors of Newsweek, vol. 33, #10, for March 7, 1949, p. 94-99, say of writer Marquand: ". . . In his own way, Marquand is one of the most significant social critics of our time. He has, it is true, concentrated on a small segment of society - the upper middle class - but from the mores of this class he has amassed a galaxy of characters in wholly understandable situations, who have, like Harry Fulham or George Apley or Bella Brill, become accepted symbols." "The Saved Day" is another of Marquand's social criticisms - pointing out the evils of public distrust of every German-born person.

P. G. Wodehouse is hardly the type to write propaganda; but his, "The Editor Regrets," in July 1, 1939, Post, is English comedy which would tend to give the reader a warm friendly feeling that might be classed as pro-British.

Also appearing in the July 1, 1939, Post is Agatha Christie's "And Then There Were None," a mystery story laid in England, and worthy of mention only because it furthers the reader's acquaintance with England and the English.

Ethel Vance's "Escape," in the Post for July 8, 1939, is the beginning of a serial wherein an American actress in Germany is interned in a concentration camp. Her escape is due to the mistake of a Nazi doctor who gave her an overdose of digitalis, causing her to appear to be dead. The Nazis are definitely made

to appear dull, stupid, mechanized robots of discipline. The story is pure anti-Nazi propaganda.

I. A. R. Wylie's, "The Piper's Children," in July 8, 1939, issue, is a story of the Spanish Civil War. An American boy leads war orphaned Spanish children into France. A village is bombed but the "enemy" party is not named. "The children are starting on a lifetime crusade to find peace." This is what the story says; it is anti-war propaganda but neither pro-Allies nor anti-Nazi.

Alex Hudson's story in July 15 issue, entitled "Rig for Diving," pictures a submarine rescuing a wrecked airplane at sea by diving and then coming up under it. Navy sales-talk, but not directly propagandistic.

Another P. G. Wodehouse story appeared in the Post for September 2, "Sonny Boy," which is English comedy and continues the Wodehouse traditional entertainment; it may be classed as vaguely pro-British in a long-range way.

A Harquard serial, "Don't Ask Questions," the second installment of which appeared September 30, is rather humorous in nature; An American entomologist, his wife, a German businessman, and a Japanese businessman, are cast aboard a ship bound for South America. The propaganda element is a matter of conversations about "economic penetration" of South America by the Axis; espionage and intrigue run through the story, the Japanese and the Germans always being the offenders, and the American always outsmarting them.

"This Business Needs A Fool," by Joel Sayre, in the October 7 issue of the Post, is the story of a policeman of New York who was of German descent. A few quotations will indicate the propagan-

diatic slant: "Germans is supposed to be serious, hard-working people that if you ordered one to take a dry dive off the roof he'd do it and not even wonder why." Mussolini is mentioned as ordering people around. The cops are concerned with the problem of: "Well, of course, . . . Was Hitler going to jump the Pollocks, and could the Cincinnati Reds hold their lead?" Light, satirical propaganda, but definitely slanted.

Allan R. Bosworth's, "- And Iron Men," in the October 14 issue, is a story of the U. S. Navy armed guard aboard merchant vessels. It emphasizes the tradition, "Wooden ships and iron men," of the old windjammer sailing days. A Nazi submarine is bested by a Yankee sailing vessel in the Atlantic. The unbeatable American Navy, is the underlying theme.

In the October 28 issue appeared the first installment of a two-part serial, "Battle Stations," which is concluded in the following issue, for November 4. Alec Hudson in this story presents obvious propaganda apparently intended to please the land-locked stay-at-homers. The conversations of the characters involved in submarine warfare are entirely too bookish and precise in their diction to convince a veteran. Sea-faring men - even officers with cultural backgrounds - simply do not talk like textbooks, as they did in this story. Therefore, the propaganda element is weakened.

"Sergeant Brideon of the Horse Marines," by John W. Thomason, in the December 23 issue of the 1939 Post, volume 212, #26, is a story of the last of the mounted Marine detachments in Peiping, China. In this first-person narrative, there is sharp criticism

of the Japanese, and a patronizing attitude toward the Chinese, which leads the reader to wonder how long the Pearl Harbor attack was in the making. As long ago as this story, the friction was sharp, apparently.

More good feeling toward the British is introduced in the October 28 issue, with P. G. Wodehouse's "Bramley Is So Bracing." This is a story of the nobility who go to summer resorts, and wealthy old gentlemen have merry mix-ups with young girls. The only possible propaganda element is the far-removed fond indulgence of the reader toward the Britishers.

In the November 25, 1939, Post, Mackinlay Kantor's "How Happy We Could Be," is a strongly sentimental story of a little English boy being evacuated to a country place along with many other refugee children fleeing from the London "blitz." The un-failing bravery of the British is the underlying slant, surrounded by sentiment-stirring little children in trouble.

William Chamberlain's "Pigs In Hibiscus," in the December 2 Post, is a soldier story but with no war-interest. It is a farce comedy of a Colonel who raised prize flowers, and of a greenhorn soldier detailed to guard the Colonel's garden against the marauding pigs which another army officer was raising for wild-hog hunting purposes. No propaganda in evidence.

For the year of 1940 in its entirety, the Saturday Evening Post ran a total of 316 pieces of fiction, counting installments separately, issue by issue. Of these 316, some 30 appealed to the investigator making this study, as containing any war-slant or

propaganda content at all. In terms of percentages, 30 out of 316 means .094+ or approximately 9½ per cent only. Then, of those 30, some 27 were mildly pro-British in slant, as has been mentioned elsewhere in this discussion. So then, between 8½ per cent and 9½ per cent of the total fiction content of the Post for 1940 was actually "propagandistic." This study is not concerned with non-fiction articles. There were, moreover, gaps in the continuity. Many issues of the 1940 Post contained no propagandistic fiction. This fact discredits the charge that the editors or publishers were making any serious attempt to attitudinize the readers.

The Post for January 6, 1940, volume 212, #18, contained Ann Morse's "Suffer Little Children," which deals with a Belgian refugee boy from the first world war, now grown up, who because of his own war background takes a keen interest in the refugee children of the Spanish Civil War. In taking the children of some friends of his as wards, the Belgian young man arouses reader-sympathy for war-victimized children in general, and there is also a good deal of reader-sentiment created against war as a social disorder.

In the Post for January 13, 1940, Royce Howes' story, "Steady As She Goes," is a navy yarn. Conversations between sailors became at times almost anti-British. A quotation will illustrate: "Don't know which the Skipper hates worse - Britishers or Germans!" It may be possible that the editors of the magazine introduced this story to counteract the readers' feeling that too much pro-British sentiment was creeping in; more probably, the story just happened to be that way; the editor liked it and published it.

"Julia Volunteers," by Margery Sharp, in the January 27 Post,

is a strongly pro-British sentiment-mover. It is a story of a young English couple in the London blitz.

"Trapped," by Alec Hudson, in the Post for February 10, 1940 is a story of the British Royal Navy. British submarines are unbeatable, whatever the odds.

The Post for February 24, 1940, has a story of an American civilian air line, which might conceivably have an influence upon youthful readers not quite wholly decided in their aspirations toward the Air Forces. It is Leland Jamieson's "Co-Pilots Don't Talk Back."

Charles Rawlings' "A Peaceful Settlement," in the March 23 issue, is not very "slanted"; it shows an old Newfoundland fisherman who discovers a Nazi submarine and is able to warn a British convoy in time to save the ships. As propaganda: just the fact that everybody works together to beat the Nazis.

Paul Gallico, in the March 30, 1940 issue of the Post, presents his "The Decoration of Perry Brown," in which two American reporters for a newspaper are sent to France. They become involved in what appears to be a deep piece of intrigue, including "the papers," and all the props that accompany espionage. The facts turn out to be that a German has stolen exclusive dress designs which the French need desperately, to sell in America, in order to get money for France. The French award the American reporters a medal for the recovery of the design. Absurdly humorous and fanciful, the story is propagandistic only in that it is keenly partisan: pro-French and anti-Nazi.

On April 13 "Ground Shy," by Sparks Hausman, tells of an army

flying cadet who was about to be "washed out" because of a crotchety general who demanded a certain percentage of washouts among the flying students. The cadet's struggle to survive and succeed makes tepid propaganda for youngsters who are interested in becoming aviation students; it is doubtful if any further significance attaches to the story.

"Your Mom Was A Lady," by R. Ross Annett, in the April 20 issue, is one of a series featuring characters Babe, Uncle Pete, and Little Joe; in this number a Red Cross benefit is given to aid the Finns. The story leaves a bad feeling toward the Russians and arouses sympathy mildly for the Finnish people under the Russian invasion of Finland.

A retired U. S. Army captain uses "strategy" in capturing some bank robbers, in "Blitzkreig In A Tourist Camp," by Royce Howes, in the May 4 issue of Post. The U. S. Army always wins in every situation - that is the only propaganda outside the fact that military terminology is used.

In the June 1, 1940, Post, "Vengeance Reef," by Don Waters, is a story of a fishing schooner which accidentally discovered the hiding place of a submarine on the Atlantic Coast. There is mention of a war in Europe; the nationality of the submarine is never mentioned, but the skipper of the schooner destroys it, and the inference is clearly that it was a Nazi sub. The propagandistic element is that American seamen are invincible.

Leland Jamieson's "Attack," in June 8 issue, is a futuristic imaginary story of a future war, in which American planes and ships battle enemy craft which are trying to establish a base in

South America. The story is full of propaganda: If only we had prepared better; If only "they" had listened to the warnings; etc., But - the unbeatable American air and sea forces win out despite bungling and unpreparedness.

Carter Burnham's "Journey By Moonlight," in the issue for June 15, tells of a fishing schooner, near Havana, used secretly as a fuel-oil carrier for a submarine - evidently Nazi - which is discovered by French officers and destroyed by the infallible French naval officers and their Allies.

In "March On," by John P. Marquand, in the June 29 issue, an American missionary in China helps the Chinese Red Army win a battle against the Chinese Nationalists by telling them about a strategy used in the American Civil War. Not propagandistic unless it indicates American sympathy toward the Chinese.

In the July 6 issue, "Bald Eagle 'Iggins," by Thomas H. Rud-dall, portrays a London cockney who is very amusing and entertaining in his adventures as a peddler of trinkets among the Indians of New England. His impact on the reader is not very pro-British, although possibly intended to be so.

July 6, 1940, saw "Depth Charge," by I. A. R. Wylie, in which a Nazi trooper who had been reared in Norway returns to his old homeland as a spy to prepare the way for the invasion. The Nazi system and the individual Nazis appear vicious, brutal, and deficient in moral standards. Definitely propaganda.

"Wings of Atonement," by Paul Gallico, July 13 issue, is a story of an ex-World War I flier who goes up in an old World War I plane to attack a flight of Nazi bombers. He wants to "atone" for

his failure as a man and for the failure of the World War to eliminate wars. The stoical heroism of the British, true to the last, is the moral or propaganda element.

"On Leave," by Stuart Cloete, in the July 20 Post, 1940 portrays a French foot-soldier going to his home for a leave or furlough. He finds his home in ruins; a cave where he played as a child is now headquarters for a British army battalion. The story is of World War I, but the kindness of the English soldiers and the sorrow of the Frenchman constitute fine pro-Allied propaganda.

"A-Hunting We Will Go," by I. A. R. Wylie, in July 27, 1940, issue, is real British never-give-up propaganda. Fox hunters stumble upon a group of Nazi paratroopers just landing. The elderly British lords and ladies ride upon the Nazis, who imagine themselves being attacked by a whole cavalry. "The ghosts of men whose dust had slept for a thousand years rose up with them and raced with them down that hillside," says the writer; the moral is that England cannot be beaten!

Steve Fisher's "Thunder at Night," in the July 27 issue, is a navy story closely patterned after the news accounts of the Graf Spee incident; the editors' caption says in explanation of the story: "One that the Graf Spee might have written."

"The Face of Gold," by Pearl S. Buck, in the August 24 Post, is possibly a bit of Chinese propaganda. A wealthy young American living in China at the time of the Japanese Invasion gets mixed up with Chinese rebel troops. Like all Pearl Buck's work, it gives the reader sentiment in favor of China.

"Once An Artilleryman," by Clements Ripley, in volume 213 for

August 24, 1940, Post. An American press correspondent in Finland under the Russian invasion "takes over" a battery of field artillery when the Finnish officer is killed. Finnish courage and Russian "dumbness" are portrayed. The Yank is killed but there is no resentment against the Russians for that, for he makes it clear that as a neutral, he takes his own chances in joining the fight.

Some propaganda appears in "East From Botwood," by Leland Jamieson, in the August 31, 1940, Post. An old World War I pilot flying American bombers from Newfoundland to England provides some strong sentiment for the Lend-Lease program.

The second installment of "Sailor Take Warning," by Richard Sale, in the August 31 Post, there is just a hint at Nazi spies and English counter-spies on a Caribbean Island where an American air line has a base. The propaganda element is two-fold: Nazis are spying on us; and the English are our friends.

Naomi Lane Babson's "You Were My Friend," in the September 7 issue, is of a young Nazi in Hong Kong. There is pro-British propaganda in the prayers for peace of the English children of Hong Kong, and in their conversations about having seen Princesses Elizabeth and Margaret Rose in London some time ago. The German boy who has been the playmate of the English children ruins their friendship by becoming a Nazi as he grows up. The Nazi are thus shown to be incompatible with "nice" people.

William Arthur Breyfogle's "Crashaw on Strategy," in the September 7 Post, anticipates the Wavell campaign in Libya. Two British officers in Kenya, old and retired, attempt absurd and

daring excursions against the Italians, find them poor fighters, and show that although the British may at times, be unwise and impetuous, they "always win."

Also in the September 7 Post appeared "Pay To Learn," by Borden Chase. This was reprinted from the January, 1939, Post, because, the editors say in a special note, it was largely wasted on the people at that time, and its moral is one that the public needs: which seems to be, in the words of a Navy gunner who is the hero, "Every American has a God-given right. He can play poker and he can fight. But it costs like hell to learn."

In the September 14 issue, William A. Krauss', "Suspect," is of a Viennese couple who escaped to Haiti, opened a cafe, and tried to live normal lives. The woman is Jewish, the man a well-behaved Austrian; but they are suspected as spies and ostracized because they have business dealings with a man generally believed to be a Nazi spy. Strongly propagandistic, but rather against distrust, prejudice, gossip, and intolerance, then against Nazis.

A serial beginning on September 28, "Enemy Sighted," by Alec Hudson, contains nothing particularly propagandistic. It deals with an American submarine in the Indian ocean, waiting for action, which eventually comes. Not much in it that could be classed as "salanted" except the idea that the Navy can't lose.

September 28's Post also has in it "These Hostages Given," by Ann Morse. A Belgian woman and two little boys are refugees among acquaintances in New York. The woman eventually goes back to her husband in Brussels, leaving the little boys. Her explanation is that she grew up in Post-World War I Europe, that she knows Europe

won't be fit for children any more, and that she has just been looking for a suitable home in which to leave her boys permanently.

The Saturday Evening Post published a total of 327 pieces of fiction in the year 1941. Some 35 of these may be said to have some bearing upon the war, although in some cases the reference is not particularly propagandistic.

In Lawrence G. Blochman's, "The Invisible Bridge," in the January 4 issue, Americans are bombed by the Japanese in trying to deliver road building machinery to the Chinese government. They find the coolies able to salvage the heavy machines from the bottom of a river, and are impressed by the resourcefulness of the Chinese.

The heroism of the R. A. F. is revealed in Arch Whitehouse's, "Spitfire Squadron," in the January 11 issue. A R. A. F. pilot saves a younger pilot by running into a balloon barrage.

In the February 1 issue, a German boy is sent into the Free French zone to spy on the French villagers, in "Child of the Terror," by Helen Fawley. In conversation, the Nazi boy says, "Fools . . . they are stupid as cattle, these French." But the French deceive the lad and he goes back to the Nazi forces in occupied France with false information. The ugly disposition of the Nazi and the inspired cleverness of the French is the "slanted" theme.

"The Piper of Dundee," by R. V. Gery, March 22, 1941, is a story of a Scottish mechanic who became an R. A. F. flier. The slant is toward the heroic, unbeatable character of the Royal Air Force.

Gene Henry's, "Miss Bronska Gives A Party," is the March 15 number in the Miss Bronska series, concerning the Polish refugee maiden lady who does her bit as a hostess in the air raid shelters of London. The Poles and the English never give up, never quit, cannot be licked, the series implies.

Beginning in the March 31 issue there is a serial of six installments, "Murder of the Fifth Columnist," by Leslie Ford. The story deals with a spy case in Washington, D. C., and is definitely anti-totalitarian propaganda.

"Welcome, Stranger," by Burnham Carter, in the April 12 issue, is very clever propaganda. Two young Nazi fliers are billeted in a French noblewoman's chateau; they are extremely polite. The countess and servants hate them in spite of their politeness and helpfulness around the place. Conversations bring out the fact that individual Germans may be very nice, but the whole Nazi system is rotten. In the end, departing, the two young officers leave a lovely cigarette case and some fine Turkish cigarettes as a gift to the countess, and she finds the case engraved, "Compliments of the R. A. F." So the youths were English spies, not Germans.

In the April 19 issue, the serial "Murder of the Fifth Columnist" goes on, sounding more and more like a murder mystery and less and less like propaganda. Also, Arch Whitehouse's story, "A Medal For Albert," appears in this issue. Tremendous heroism is displayed by an R. A. F. youth in this story, when the young soldier sees a pool hall, where he used to spend his leisure time, bombed to ruins by the Nazis. The idea that heroism is all in the day's

work for the R. A. F. is the propaganda element in this story.

In the May 3 issue, a serial, "The Captain From Connecticut," by C. S. Forester, begins with the appearance of a propaganda channel. It is a story of Americans fighting against the British in the War of 1812, and cannot be called propaganda in any very true sense of the word.

"Quite A Special Occasion," by Royce Howes, in the May 10 Post, is a twist-ending story of a young Canadian naval officer eager to get assigned to sea duty. In a shipyard, he tracks a couple whom he believes to be Nazi spies. They prove to be the parents of a Canadian naval hero, solely interested in looking over the kind of ship their son was killed in. The slant or propaganda element in this one is hard to identify. It is pro-Canadian, but hardly propagandistic.

The unbeatable British get a good build-up in Gene Henry's, "Miss Bronska's Miracle," in the May 17 issue. This is a story of an air-raid shelter hostess, of a blinded R. A. F. veteran, and of blitzed London.

In "The Tall Men," by William Faulkner, May 31, there is patriotic "pep talk" when some mountaineers are sought by a Federal agent for dodging the draft. They enlist voluntarily, talk about the old-fashioned American virtues in the pre-New Deal America.

"Last Post," by James Warner Bellah, in the June 14, 1941, issue, is a Commando raid story. Brave, stoic Frenchmen refuse to tell the German Occupation forces anything about "what they know" of a coastal commando raid. The French and English are brave in the face of any threat. This is the slant.

"Go Ahead And Be A Hero," by Joseph Marshall, in the issue of June 14 is a morale-booster for the draftees. A Southern youth who enlisted ahead of the draft gets into embarrassing situations, gets laughed at by his girl and his buddies; but in the end he shows his "stuff" and gets transferred to a better position and also gets more-than-reconciled to the girl friend.

In the June 21 Post, another in the London blitzkrdæg series with Miss Bronska as heroine, plugs the unbeatable Britain. This one is "Miss Bronska Drops A Bomb," by Gene Henry, volume 213, for 1941.

The editors' caption says of "Ocean Convoy", in the June 28 issue, that it is a story "of those who keep Britain's life line intact." "Ocean Convoy" is by "Bartimeus," the pseudonym of Capt. L. C. Ricci, of the British Navy. The story is combined fact and fiction, and plays up - not unduly, perhaps, - the heroism of the plain men on convoy duty in the Battle of Britain.

Volume 213 of the Post covered January through June, 1941, and volume 214 covered July through December, each in two parts; the whole year showed a total of 327 stories. From this number of pieces of fiction not 10 per cent can be called propaganda. However, for the sake of accuracy and fairness, it will be best to examine all those that are even open to suspicion.

Continuing, then, with the July 5 issue, "The Sergeant And The Ship," by John W. Thomason, Jr., is the story of a Marine assigned to "plain clothes" duty in a South American seaport city. He watches a German ship anchored in the port, to see what sort of supplies it takes aboard. When the Germans try to purchase a

shipload of cattle for feeding submarine crews at sea, the American Marine Sergeant cleverly foils their plan.

"And Not A Single Bean," by William Chamberlain, in the July 26 Post, is a short army story about a regiment testing the then experimental K-rations of the army. Hardly propagandistic at all, the story appears to be more a response to increasing public interest in the "new army."

The August 2 issue begins a two-part serial, "Rendezvous," by Alec Hudson. An adventure story of American submarines and Navy patrol airplanes, the story may be a form of propaganda, but is an indefinable, subtle type.

The second part of "Rendezvous" continues in the August 9 issue, and in addition, in this issue begins "Let The Gun Talk," a serial by Lucian Cary, of civilians engaged in developing a new type army rifle, and of espionage and enemy agents attempting to secure the plans.

"Attack Alarm," a six-part serial by Hammond Innes, begins on August 16. This story, by a British author, is about an R. A. F. airdrome and an R. A. F. soldier involved in espionage intrigue. It carries out the propaganda of the unbeatable Royal Air Force of Britain.

"Jonathan Brasenose," by James Warner Bellah, in August 23 issue, is a strongly propagandistic story of a British nobleman and his wife, the wealthy play-boy type, who find their lives blasted by the war. They find within themselves that solid British character that will not go to pieces under any circumstances.

"Miss Bronska Follows A Hunch," by Gene Henry, is the August 30

number in the Miss Bronska series, concerning the little Polish maiden-lady in blitzed London. "Attack Alarm" continues, also, in this issue, with its intrigue on a fighter airdrome of the R. A. F.

The September 6 issue has "Three Hours Flying Time," by William Porter, a story extolling the heroism of the R. A. F. A patrol of R. A. F. airplanes is covering a convoy; under heavy attack, a disabled patrol bomber is deliberately crashed by its heroic pilot and co-pilot, into a German ship.

Walter Havighurst's "Four Lives," in the September 13 issue, is a story of a British ship hit by a Nazi bomber but not sunk. The plot revolves about the life stories of the four crew members killed. The heroism of the British merchant marine, and the "Britain can't be beat" legend, are the essence.

On September 20, 1940, the Post carried the conclusion of "Attack Alarm," a serial by the English writer, Hammond Innes, in which a Nazi spy is finally caught. No other propaganda-story in the issue, and but little "slant" in this one except the bad-Nazi vs. good-R. A. F. attitude.

"The Goddess and Private Gallagher," by Guy Gilpatric, in the October 11 Post, is the story of an American "draftee" on guard duty around the Statue of Liberty. Highly fantastic and purely humorous, it conveys a bit of super-American chauvinism but is hardly propagandistic in its approach.

The October 25 issue had one "slanted" story: Norman Reilley Raine's, "Mr. Gallup Gathers No Moths." This is the story of a British merchant ship hauling supplies across the Atlantic and being attacked by Nazi planes. A British seaman, in an American

port, spots a Nazi spy among the crew. The invincibility of the British maritime service is the slanted essence.

"Hearts of Oak," in the November 1 issue, is writer Walter Havighurst's story of a British seaman, a captain who came to be known as "unsinkable" because of his valiant service. The implication that the whole British navy is unsinkable constitutes the propaganda element; they are all "men with hearts of oak."

"Money In The Bank," by P. G. Wodehouse, a comedy serial of eight parts, begins in the November 8 issue. It has a slight tinge of propaganda in the sense that it indicates that British buoyancy of spirit cannot be beaten.

A story of a canteen girl and the French Foreign Legion is Kay Boyle's "Let There Be Honor." This story in the November 15 issue reiterates the invincibility of the British as it follows the adventures of an Englishman in the French service, escaping from Nazi-occupied France through the repeated assistance of the sympathetic canteen hostess.

"An Egg For The Major," by C. S. Forester, in the December 13 issue, brings out the English penchant for easy living, and indicates that the Englishman will carry on life as usual regardless of war or whatever comes. The setting is North Africa; the English forces are battling the Italians; after a fierce but victorious fight, the English enter town to find an egg for a nonchalant, naive British military officer.

"Night Action," by Alec Hudson, in the December 20 issue, portrays a destroyer and patrol plane in navy protection of convoys

of ships. The only thing propagandistic in the story is that the perfection of plan and execution demanded by the navy brings victory regardless of the cost.

In the December 27, 1941, Post, "Miss Bronska's Christmas Star," by Gene Henry, is another in the series dealing with the little Polish maiden lady who does so much for morale in blitzed London. The theme is the indomitability of the brave, stolid British "little people."

Summary of Propaganda in the Post

From the somewhat comprehensive survey of individual stories herein presented, it will be observed that these factors of popular fiction tend to emerge as propagandistic slant:

(a) The British people can never be suppressed. The words of a song which was popular during World War II sum up the general sentiment of the majority of the slanted stories: "There'll always be an England, and England shall be free."

(b) The Royal Navy and Royal Air Force may be outwitted momentarily. But their cause is the righteous cause, and somehow, in the end, they will always and forever win out.

(c) The French, Austrians, Poles, and other anti-Nazi peoples, although temporarily overrun by the Nazi invader, will never give up their spirit of freedom. They will stand firm and ultimately overthrow the Nazi.

(d) The American Navy, Army, and Air Forces, like the British and the French, can never be overthrown. Despite tremendous setbacks, they will stand shoulder to shoulder with their brothers

under the skin, the French and English, and they will eventually and inevitably win.

WHAT THE EDITORS SAY FOR THEMSELVES

The question of whether editors and publishers do demand of their fiction writers stories that have a deliberate, planned, blueprinted, cut-to-pattern ingredient of propaganda, can be judged only from observation of the objective facts - what appeared in the magazines? Whether the editors ordered their stories beforehand with a certain tint of coloring, there is no apparent way of knowing.

Do editors want slanted, propagandistic fiction? Many discussions in The Writer Magazine indicate that editors were not asking for special kinds of fiction. What they want in wartime or in peacetime is the kind of fiction which they believe will please the readers - "what the public wants," in other words.

The bulk of the war-slanted propaganda does not appear in the fiction stories but in the non-fiction articles. While blatant chauvinism is often frankly expounded in the feature articles of magazines, it seldom occurs in fiction stories, and when it does so, as a rule, it is only because the writer has put rousing speeches into the mouths of his characters. The small percentage of visible chauvinism tends, as a rule, to sound text-bookish and emotionally immature.

Suppose it can be shown that editors do want deliberately slanted fiction. Can a good author turn out deliberately colored or propagandistic stories made-to-order? Would it be possible

for a professional writer to fit his brain-children to the whims of the editor? The answer is purely conjecture, in any case. Probably it would be possible. Probably, while possible, such a thing would be highly improbable. Many of the things that appear in The Writer, a publication devoted wholly to authors' problems, indicate that writers produce stories - good stories, that is, - out of a full heart rather than out of an empty purse.

Unfortunately, it cannot be said that all magazine fiction authors are devoted to art for art's sake. While many of them do pay homage to the Muse of Literature, most of them are compelled to cast an occasional sop to the Idol of the Market Place. For writers, even as bricklayers, have to eat and pay rent.

Another factor closely related to the ideal of "Ars Gratia Artis," tends to discredit the theory that fictioneers could or would conform to editorial blueprints in fiction writing. Every writer seems to hope that his stories will be among those that "endure" as literature. Some writers knowingly produce purely for pay, stories which they recognize as transient. War is a transient thing. A few war stories have indeed become enduring pieces of literature, but generally speaking the writer with a conscience, or the writer with real ambition, will tend to avoid the type of story which is obviously fitted to the momentary situation. Hitler's Ministry of Propaganda proved conclusively that writers can and will produce blueprinted, cut-to-pattern material. But the same evidence also shows that such made-to-order literary material is not of the better grade.

Jean Karsavina, in an article, "Romance Goes Realistic,"

says:¹

Go to the library and get a file of the big circulation "slicks" magazines of 25 years ago and read some of the fiction that appeared there - under Big Names, at that. You will see at once how the standard of all commercial writing has risen. The pulp stories of today are better than the slick stories and the popular novels of yesterday.

In the course of this investigation of trends in popular magazine fiction, the investigator had occasion to read some 2,000 magazine stories, more than half of which were in magazines of 1939-1941, and something a bit less than half of which were in magazines of 1914-1918. The difference mentioned by Miss Karsavina is very obvious. Stories of the World War I period were easily segregated. Those of the later period had to be combed carefully for propaganda content. Now, it seems pretty apparent that if writers have progressed so far in their art, they have graduated from the class of blueprint sketchers. It seems quite improbable that magazine editors would be able to buy propaganda pills sugar-coated with fiction which would appeal to the discriminating modern reader. It is hardly probable.

From volume 54 of The Writer Magazine for 1941, comes some interesting material. In the January issue, pages 29-31, there is a list for the guidance of writers, of 80 "Markets for Short Stories." The names of many popular magazines appear here, and many of the periodicals specify the length of story wanted, but in no case is there any "type" or "slant" mentioned.

¹ Jean Karsavina, "Romance Goes Realistic," The Writer Magazine, vol. 53:300-303: (October, 1940.).

Alan Devoe speaks of the special-type story writer in this way:¹

The literary-aspiring schoolteacher sees in a writers' magazine that Gory Detective wants smash-bang tales, and Balladry wants witty lyrics, and Idea quarterly wants risqué novelettes, and she sits down to be by turns smash-bang and witty and risqué, necessarily failing in every one of such games; when if she would search her own mind and heart, and pour out what she finds there, there might issue forth from that school-teacher psyche of hers a work of unique quality and solid merit.

This bit of discussion is inserted only to bolster the contention that it is improbable that a writer would be able to do good fiction at the whim of an editor.

Esther L. Schwartz quotes an editor as telling her:²

"Editors don't know what they want until you show them," he scolded. "It's up to you to bring us something fresh and new. We don't know what it may be . . . Bring me what you like and what you're enthusiastic about, and not what you think I like!"

A. C. Marple, a professional agent handling the work of successful writers, speaks out in The Writer to warn authors against expecting editors to tell them what to write:³

An agent, you have heard, knows what the editors want. Surely you can Scotch that one. An editor knows what he wants, your agent knows what he wants, and you know what he wants: He wants stories and articles and serials and what-not, and he wants them as good as he can get them. Beyond that all he wants is to be let alone so that he can go on with his reading.

Surely this advice from a professional agent indicates that

¹ Alan Devoe, "The Importance of Self-Discovery," The Writer Magazine, 54:41-42, (February, 1941).

² Esther L. Schwartz, "Just What the Editor Wanted," The Writer Magazine, 54:51-52. (February, 1941).

³ A. C. Marple, "Agent to Author and Vice Versa," The Writer Magazine, 54:131-135. (May, 1941).

there is no under-the-table game between the publishing powers and the writing profession, attempting to propagandize the public. The department called, "The Manuscript Market," in The Writer Magazine, listed in May, 1941, some new markets for "material on the present World War."¹ Here are catalogued exactly 114 periodicals interested in buying manuscripts: 11 of these specified an interest in war adventures, with the stipulation in all cases that the hero must be an American. The rest had not a word to say about wanting a type or color or slant in their manuscripts.

As late as December, 1941, only one magazine was advertising in the writers' guides as looking for war stories.² That one was a purely pulp, "R. A. F. Aces," and the title alone indicates the taste of the publication.

There is something more or less significant in the fact that the popular magazines never, at any time prior to the entry of America into World War I or World War II, actually spoke out in the periodicals directed to writers, asking for colored, slanted, or propaganda-type stories. In The Writer Magazine, for the year 1940, volume 53, there were 384 pages in all, and many advertisements for story manuscripts. In April, 1940, a market listing of 10 general magazines included American, Good Housekeeping, Cosmopolitan, Collier's, Liberty, etc.³ Listed as acceptable were love stories, adventure, romance, young love, domestic life, humor, etc.

¹"The Manuscript Market," The Writer Magazine, 54:161-160. (May, 1941).

²"The Manuscript Market," The Writer Magazine, 54:382. (December, 1941).

³"The Manuscript Market," The Writer Magazine, 53:126. (April, 1940).

66

But not one had a word to say about wanting "war coloration" or any slant which would even approximate propaganda. No magazine wanted war stories of any kind in October, 1940. Even "Our Army Magazine" specified that it wanted no war stories.¹ Sixty-four other periodicals announced practically the same attitude, at this time.

The "Manuscript Market" column listed 92 "pulp" magazines in May, 1939, nearly all of which had requirements that could allow considerable war slant or propaganda in their manuscripts.² Those like Sky Fighters, Air Trails, Aces, The Lone Eagle, Wings, etc. put this definite requirement upon their manuscripts: the stories must be World War air stories. The circulation among a specialized group of pulp-story-readers make these magazines something less than general-interest publications. They may be good reading, but the readers know what they are getting, and the titles and known types of these periodicals classify them so clearly that no one would be "misled" by subtle propaganda in their pages. Therefore, these magazines may be eliminated from consideration here. They are mentioned only to indicate a trend: pulps tend to move in a different direction from that of the "slicks."

Back around World War I days, The Writer Magazine was aware of the public's taste for war-colored fiction. But the "Manuscript Market" department of that publication indicates that publishers

¹"The Manuscript Market," The Writer Magazine, 53:313-316, (October, 1940).

²Ibid., 52:157-164, May, 1939.

and editors were not at all eager to have propaganda wrapped in fiction for feeding to readers.¹ A "corps of contributors" is often referred to as receiving their orders from the editors through agents, which is taken to account for the lack of interest shown by the big-circulation magazines in the work of free-lance authors. However, the statements made by agents referred to elsewhere in this study indicate rather conclusively that the agents employed to handle the production of professional writers have no more idea what an editor wants at a given time than the free-lance writer or the reader may have.

"Short Stories magazine wants good stories, good war stories," says an item in The Writer Magazine.² What type of stories, what coloration the protagonists in war are to have, the nationality of the characters, are factors not mentioned.

"Argosy is in the market for . . . stories. War stories, especially those dealing with spies, are not in high favor, as authors have already seen to it that the magazine shall not suffer for lack of them."³ Here the attitude of the editors of a "pulp" periodical is clearly one of distaste, almost of scorn, for deliberately propaganda-colored war stories.

¹For this viewpoint, the investigator studied "The Writer Magazine", as follows: Volume 29, Jan.-Dec. 1917, 188 p.
Volume 30, Jan.-Dec. 1918, 188 p.
Volume 31, Jan.-Dec. 1919, 188 p.
None of these contained any advice to writers concerning slanting of stories, except as noted in the text of the study, above.

²The Writer Magazine, 29:120, (August, 1917).

³Ibid., 29:122, (December, 1917).

Another purely-pulp-magazine editor spoke out freely in this way:¹

R. H. Davis, managing editor of the Frank A. Munsey Company, says that the sort of stories he needs for All-Story are vital, original stories, particularly humor, with a proper consideration for human emotions.

Professor Vernon McKenzie, of the University of Washington School of Journalism, in a recent study of magazines in wartime, quotes Jerry K. Westerfield, assistant editor of a large pulp-publishing concern, as follows:

We are accepting pulp fiction dealing with the present European War. The former ban on anti-German stories has been lifted. For Air Adventures we would like air story writers to make their heroes English, French, or American adventurers. For Fantastic Adventures and Amazing Stories we will welcome stories dealing with Nazi intrigue in the United States.

This quotation was taken from Professor McKenzie's study of World War II fiction.² It indicates a frank admission on the part of one pulpwood editor that slanted stories are wanted. This clinches the assertion made by some persons, to the effect that readers of popular fiction are softened up, to use the popular term, toward the war and the Allies. However, one pulpwood editor among so many in the field, is hardly evidence proving the point. Fiction centering around persons, scenes, and events associated with the war can be found in every periodical which attempts to

¹ The Writer Magazine, 29:39, (March, 1917).

² Vernon McKenzie, "Treatment of War Themes in Magazine Fiction," Public Opinion Quarterly, 5:227-232, (June, 1941).

keep pace with the immediate vital interests of its readers. The editors of the big "slick" magazines have apparently nowhere ever made known publicly any interest in specialized types of fiction dealing with the war.

"Arthur S. Hoffman, editor of Adventure Magazine, offers some detailed suggestions as to Adventure's preferences. . . . Adventure avoids stories of the war or war preparations."

This is an expression of attitude by another strictly pulpwood editor.¹ Another pulpwood expression is found in the same magazine:²

Short Stories wants some good war stories, with a clear-cut Americanism and human appeal . . . having to do with America's entry into the war.

Thus the evidence is seen to be overwhelming: in either World War I or World War II, there was a diversity of attitude, but the general trend was rather obviously away from war stories in any form, and especially away from war stories that might be suspected of containing sugar-coated propaganda. Editors as a class are seen to be extremely wary of war-slant.

If the evidence submitted so far is not sufficient to convince the most skeptical, here is something pertaining to American Magazine for the First World War period:³

The American Magazine wants some good fresh stories, original short stories that have a "lift" to them. The magazine avoids stories that rely for their interest on the

¹The Writer Magazine, 29:85. (June, 1917).

²Ibid., 29:102. (July, 1917).

³Ibid., 29:119. (August, 1917).

sex note. Horbldy tragic stories are also avoided, but not simple human tragedy, although stories with a happy ending are given preference.

Here there is certainly no indication of a preference for war-slanted or propagandistic stories. Speaking of magazines and the war of 1914-18, a distinguished literary magazine of the day said:¹

It is interesting . . . to read of the attitude of American magazines toward the war . . . One all-fiction periodical advertises itself as "a magazine to make you forget the war;" another bristles with armament like a well-equipped arsenal. A monthly magazine cancelled an order for a series of art papers with the excuse, "We shall run no illustrations for the next six months except war maps." One editor said he was printing "nothing but stories made and laid in America," while another wanted, "anything dealing with crowned heads."

Someone on the New York Evening Post is quoted anonymously in The Writer as having this complaint:²

A palpable change has come over the magazine mind with regard to war manuscripts. The tables of contents this month show hardly an article or story in which the war figures as protagonist. Free-lance authors complain that the editors have placed an absolute embargo on war stuff.

McCall's Magazine has not been specifically inspected for content in connection with this study. Nevertheless, McCall's is one of the truly big-circulation "slicks" dealing with women's interests. The attitude of the editor of this publication might be of interest:³

The editor of McCall's Magazine says that the great mass

¹"Chronicle and Comment," The Bookman, 40:357-360, (December, 1914).

²The Writer Magazine, 29:58, (April, 1917).

³Ibid., 29:104. (July, 1917).

of fiction that comes in to her is mostly made up of made-to-order love stories. McCall's is, of course, interested in love stories, as any women's magazine must be. But at the same time, it is much interested in stories of other types. Stories that really represent what the author wants to say, not what he supposes the editor might want him to say. The editor of McCall's is trying to get away from rule-of-thumb fiction and will print any story that is real.

Here there is seen to be a careful attempt to avoid offering a market for any particular "slant" or coloration of fiction material. McCall's may be stricken off the list of propaganda suspects.

It seems, indeed, that any further accumulation of evidence would be merely a duplication of statements from editors. The objective test: the examination of what was actually published in three of the largest, leading popular magazines in America, has shown what the situation actually was in both World War I and in World War II. American Magazine, Good Housekeeping, and the Saturday Evening Post, have in turn been inspected. Not one of these prime movers of public sentiment has been found to use as much as 10 per cent of propaganda-slanted fiction. These publications stand with clean hands at the bar of examination. McCall's, as a truly "slick among the slicks," has expressed its attitude editorially. The pulps have been shown to be divergent in their policies, but probably not more than half-and-half, at worst. They are not more war-propaganda slanted than they are otherwise.

CONCLUSIONS

In conclusion it can be said that there is no valid evidence, either in the stories published or in the calls put forth by the editors, tending to prove that the national large-circulation magazines have been guilty at any time of deliberately propagandizing their readers by the use of slanted fiction. A large-circulation magazine, any magazine, has its large circulation for one and only one reason: a large number of people like the magazine well enough to buy it.

The periodical market is not exactly like other commodity markets. People have to eat. If "big business" or anyone else can corner the market in an item of foodstuff, people will pay the price demanded, rather than starve. People can get along without magazines. People will not sustain large circulations, month after month, if they are being fed something which they do not wish to be fed via the printed page. An editor can never use duress; he can never coerce his reader-following. No amount of "control" by national advertisers can save an editor if he offends his readers so that they discontinue reading his publication.

The conclusion, then, in the light of the foregoing facts and logic, is that popular magazines do publish something like a meager 10 per cent or less of fiction carrying a "war-slant or coloration." They do not usually anticipate but rather follow events in time; and thus they follow rather than determine public sentiment. There seems to be no valid evidence upon which one may accuse the publishing industry of spreading deliberate propaganda through fiction media.

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