The Minute Man Flag and the Army-Navy "E" Flag: Unifying Symbols for the American Home Front in World War II

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In the summer of 1942, American magazines of all descriptions carried in their pages an advertisement—"A War Message from the United States Treasury Department"—offered free of charge by the publishers. Over a bustling skyline of factories and water towers waved a dark flag bearing a circle of white stars and the silhouette of the famous Minute Man statue of Concord, Massachusetts (Figure 1). The headline read: "Next to the Stars and Stripes… AS PROUD A FLAG AS INDUSTRY CAN FLY", and the copy continued,

> It doesn't go into the smoke of battle, but wherever you see this flag you know that it spells Victory for our boys on the fighting fronts. To everyone, it means that the firm which flies it has attained 90 percent or more employee participation in the Pay-Roll Savings plan… that their employees are turning a part of their earnings into tanks and planes and guns regularly, every pay day, through the systematic purchase of U.S. War Bonds…. Now is the time to increase your efforts…. "Token" allotments will not win this war any more than "token" resistance will keep our enemies from our shores, our homes.[1]

That a branch of the federal government would declare publicly as its proudest honor a decoration granted to civilians, in a time of war, is a telling moment in the history of total war. Throughout World War II, the federal government pursued complete mobilization of American industrial production and financial resources, a program whose enactment would require either persuasion or coercion of individuals. Through a limited amount of government control and a massive propaganda campaign, American workers and their bosses were induced to prodigious feats of war materiel production and voluntary compliance with the financial burdens of taxation and purchase of bonds to pay for

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*Figure 1. War bond advertisement, 1942. (*Industrial and Engineering Chemistry *34, no. 6 [June 1942], 70)*

the war. Among the tools of the propagandists were customized flags, flown alongside the United States flag, awarded for collective achievements in purchasing war bonds and meeting goals of industrial production. Because of the place of flags in the rituals of American civil religion that had been performed since the late nineteenth century, award flags evoked particularly strong sentiment among most of the citizens upon whom they were bestowed. The Minute Man flag for war bond purchases and the Army-Navy Production Award "E" flag stand out as the most prominent flags used to mobilize the American people for total war.

While the United States officially declared war against Japan on December 8, 1941, and against Germany and Italy on December 11, the nation had slowly been preparing for war since the fall of France to German troops in June of 1940. Although the U.S. had pursued a policy of neutrality until then, the conquest of the Low Countries and France raised concerns about German threats to American interests, particularly the maintenance of democratic governance elsewhere in the world. In 1940 and 1941, President Franklin D. Roosevelt (FDR) encouraged the Congress to exchange naval destroyers for British bases in the West Indies, authorize the loan of war supplies to the British Empire, institute a draft to build up the ranks of the armed services, and appropriate funds for purchase of aircraft and other materiel. FDR's decision in 1940 to run for an unprecedented third term was also rooted in concerns that no other Democrat could win election, and that the Republican candidates were not committed to fighting against the Axis powers.[2] The long-term goal of FDR was to come to the aid of the democracies of Western Europe. However, the word used by FDR and his administration for these efforts was "defense".

The term "defense" was a deliberate understatement of the administration's intentions, done for political purposes. There was little agreement among voters about the nature of the Axis threat nor about the appropriate response. Long-standing divisions stemming from FDR's economic program during the 1930s—exacerbated by FDR's own rhetoric calling his opponents "economic royalists" engaged in "despotism" toward the worker—were compounded by fierce arguments over American involvement to save the Western powers in another European war (following the First World War, which had only ended twenty years earlier) when, as isolationists saw the situation, Britain and France had proven unequal to the task of keeping the peace in Europe.[3] That those who opposed FDR on economic grounds owned the factories that were required to produce guns and airplanes meant that a schism over war preparations could

cripple the war-making ability of the country. As Bruce Catton observed, "If the country was to be aroused to meet the danger, the job would have to be done in such a way that the conservatives were not driven into the isolationist camp…. To dwell on that threat [to democracy presented by the Axis]... with the country still at peace, was to risk turning the vast and powerful conservative group into avowed and active allies of the isolationists. So it was the threat to national security that had to be talked about".[4] Among other efforts to patch over the divisions between his administration and its opponents, FDR appointed Republicans to the posts of Secretary of State and Secretary of War.

"Using *Bonds* to Sell the War"

As the "defense" effort ramped up, Secretary of the Treasury Henry Morgenthau, Jr., was faced with the challenge of financing the increased spending. As a confidant of FDR, Morgenthau knew that the president's concerns about alienating certain voters and factory owners had to be taken into account when capitalizing the defense effort. While taxes did increase throughout the war, they did not cover the entire cost of the conflict. Morgenthau proposed to close the gap between revenue and expenditures with aggressive sales of savings bonds, not only to financial institutions but also to individuals. Bonds had two important economic purposes: first, by diverting some of the expected growth in personal income that would derive from a booming wartime economy, they would help curb inflation; and second, funds accumulated during the war would be released to individual bondholders after the war, thus easing the transition to a peacetime economy by stimulating spending for consumer goods.[5] To achieve the economic purposes, any form of bond sales would do—and in fact, some advisors to FDR promoted compulsory savings bond purchases. For example, one plan would have imposed a surcharge on income taxes which would be diverted into savings bonds.[6]

However, Morgenthau was insistent that compulsory bond purchases were "exactly what we don't want".[7] Knowing that many Americans were still wary of the New Deal and its mandates of economic behavior, Morgenthau insisted on voluntary purchases of government bonds. In addition to his calculation that compulsory purchases would depress sales compared to voluntary purchasing, he also wished to promote bonds in a way that would encourage citizens to feel as though they were personally playing a role in the nation's defense. He viewed the fall of France as not entirely a military collapse, but also "a fail-

ure of national will".[8] The Treasury Secretary, as Peter Moreira writes, saw a third purpose for voluntary sales of war bonds, "one he cherished dearly. It was an opportunity for all Americans—laborers, tradesmen, housewives, seniors, children, or anyone else—to participate in the war effort."[9] Morgenthau and FDR concurred in the notion that the war required a cultivation of the sense that every American had a both a stake, and a role to play, in the defense of the nation. And, as James Sparrow points out, the war was carried through without tax revolts, draft riots, or successful postwar isolationist movements, indicating the extent to which Americans complied with the erection of a state dedicated to total war within a democratic polity.[10] This was despite massive dislocations caused by the need to move for war work, shortages of numerous consumer goods, and the deaths or injuries of over a million fighting people (on the other hand, such disruptions were associated with racially motivated violence in cities including Detroit and Los Angeles).[11] Fred Smith, an advertising executive working on bond sales, said "the most important advertising decision [Morgenthau] ever made was the decision to use bonds to sell the war, rather than vice-versa".[12]

The launch of "defense bonds" in May of 1941 was preceded by the development of propaganda intended not only to encourage bond sales but also to inculcate a feeling of personal participation in the nation's defense by bond buyers. Seeking to reassure citizens who had purchased Liberty Bonds in World War I and then seen their value decrease after the war, Morgenthau approved bonds with a fixed interest rate of 2.9 percent, sold in denominations as small as $18.75 (which could be redeemed in ten years for $25.00). For those unable to gather the face value of a bond, "defense savings stamps" were offered. Stamps, purchased for a price between ten cents and five dollars, were pasted in booklets, which were then turned in for a bond when the face value had accumulated. They were suitable for children and low-wage earners.[13]

A bureau of the Treasury Department called the Defense Savings Staff (DSS) was created to coordinate sales at post offices and department stores, provide promotional materials, and organize advertising campaigns.[14] Peter Odegard, the political scientist tapped to head the campaign, envisioned a program that encouraged individuals to make bond purchases on a regular basis—the commitment would not only regularize financial projections, but give the buyers a sense that they were personally involved in the defense effort. The more Americans who felt involved in the defense effort, the easier the transition to a full wartime economy would be. To make regular purchases easier,

Figure 2. War bond posters. (https://www.timetoast.com/timelines/the-road-to-world-war-ii-8b828191-5916-4f54-be39-01812dca25dd; https://www.allposters.com/-sp/This-is-My-Fight-Too-War-Bonds-WWII-War-Propaganda-Art-Print-Poster-Posters_i8850321_.htm)

the DSS worked with employers to develop a plan by which employees could have bond purchases taken directly from their paychecks.[15]

The angle of personal involvement in the nation's defense was hammered home through all means of publicity and propaganda. On the eve of the first bond sales, the president spoke to the nation on the radio about the "national character of this defense savings campaign…. The determination of all the people to save and sacrifice in defense of democracy…" He made a "frank and clear appeal for financial support to pay for our arming, and to pay for the American existence of later generations…. The outward and the visible tokens of partnership through sacrifice will be the possession of these defense bonds and defense savings stamps" and concluded by noting that the program was "an opportunity to share in the defense of all the things we cherish".[16]

After a rousing start, bond sales dipped toward the end of 1941, but were revived by periodic "bond drives" in which massive publicity efforts were undertaken, often involving radio programs, tours by Hollywood stars, and visits home by war heroes. All told, the eight bond drives between 1942 and 1945 enlisted over half the populace as bond buyers and each exceeded its financial goal.[17] As important, the message that bond purchases were a way to play a

part in national defense was disseminated widely and effectively. ("War bonds" replaced "defense bonds" in the publicity materials after Pearl Harbor, and the Defense Savings Staff became the War Savings Staff [WSS] in April 1942.) For example, a radio show in 1942 found Frances Langford telling Bob Hope, "When I see all these boys… it just makes me want to do something for our country… I think everyone has to pitch in," to which the announcer replied, "That's right, Frances… this isn't only a job for the soldiers, marines, and sailors. They're learning to fight—that's their job. Our job is to provide them with the stuff that will knock the stuffings out of the Axis. And we can do that by [buying bonds]".[18] Small towns lacking cinemas were treated to exhibitions of 16-millimeter films showing combat action and emphasizing that war bond purchases had funded the weapons seen in the movie.[19] Children's comic books emphasized that kids "have men's jobs to do" to fill the place of soldiers at the front, and to earn money for war bonds.[20] Pervasive posters—distributed around the country by volunteers such as Boy Scouts in runs of between 75,000 and 170,000—carried slogans such as "Wanted—Fighting Dollars" and "This is My Fight Too!" (Figure 2).[21] Newspaper cartoons also sold the message: a family checkbook kitted out with savings bonds was labelled "a volunteer gets his uniform"; a civilian carrying his defense bond marches next to a column of soldiers in uniform, and is captioned "signed up for the duration"; a summons to "put your weight back of this kick in the panzers" urges consumers to "act now when your country needs your help the most" (Figure 3).[22] As victory appeared near, FDR reiterated that it "was largely due to American teamwork… and every one—every man or woman or child—who bought a war bond helped—and helped mightily!"[23]

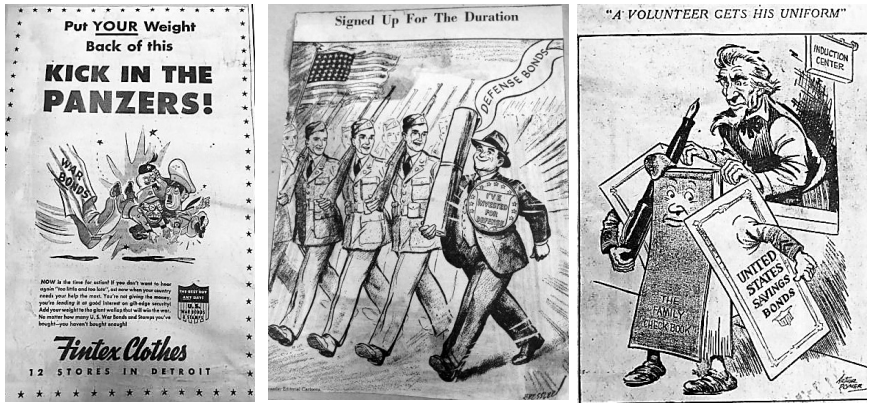


Figure 3. Newspaper cartoons promoting bond sales. (Eugene Sloan Papers, Princeton University Library, Rare Books and Manuscripts Section)

War bond purchases were just one theme among many other messages urging individuals to contribute to the war effort; for example, citizens were urged to reduce consumption of certain foods and textiles, observe rationing rules, pay income tax, and enlist in the armed forces. Many of these were advertisements; they were sponsored by firms which, because of wartime restrictions on raw materials, had little in the way of consumer goods to sell but which could write off advertisements for war bonds and other civic messages as business expenses.[24] Despite the multitude of ideas for supporting the war effort, messages about buying bonds predominated: it was the most common theme of posters and the most commonly mentioned specific action urged in print advertisements.[25]

The Minute Man: A Logo for Defense Bonds

Figure 4. The Minute Man*, by Daniel Chester French. (Jim Goff, flickr.com)*

The dominant symbol of bond sales was an image of Daniel Chester French's statue *The Minute Man* (Figure 4). Odegard adopted the Minute Man over other proposed logos, because it was well known, distinctly American, and embodied the ideal of average citizens playing a part in the defense of the nation.[26] The minute men of the eighteenth century—named for their ability to "be ready at a minute's warning with a fortnight's provision, and ammunition and arms"—were recalled in collective memory as a "courageous band of farmers who responded to a spontaneous call to arms" and through strength of will turned back the British Army in the Battles of Lexington and Concord that began the Revolutionary War in April 1775.[27] (As John Galvin has shown, they were actually a large body of around 14,000 men recruited from well-trained Massachusetts colonial militias who trained in secret throughout the winter of 1774–1775 in preparation for expected hostilities with the forces of the British Crown.)[28] The mythic minute man was useful to the bond drive as a representative of a common citizen doing his part to aid in the defense of the country.

Figure 5. Minute man-themed defense bonds materials: Defense Savings Stamp; poster; matchbook. (National Archives; https://www.mysticstamp.com/Products/United-States/PS11/USA/)

The Concord statue of the minute man had its origins in the celebrations of the centennial of the Battle of Concord, when the town received a bequest to erect a monument on the site of the battle, to complement a previously erected monument that was placed on the banks of the Concord River opposite from the place where the fighting occurred. A committee of townspeople gave Concord resident Daniel Chester French his first commission for a sculpture of a minute man. French, whose later works would include the statue within the Lincoln Memorial, attempted to model his soldier on Captain Isaac Davis, the first officer to die in the Revolutionary War. No paintings of Davis survived, but French looked at pictures of his relatives and examined clothing of the period that had been preserved by townspeople.[29] A telling detail of French's sculpture is the plow, from which the Minute Man turns with gun in hand. This recalls the Roman legendary figure of Cincinnatus, who left his farm to lead the armies of Rome against their enemies, and then surrendered his power to return to his plowing. Cincinnatus was regarded as a paragon of republican virtue in the early United States, an example of the preservation of democratic governance through self-denial—and thus also a fitting symbol for the themes of the defense bond drive.[30]

French's *Minute Man* appeared on defense savings stamps, in advertisements, and on posters (Figure 5); even the official publication of the Defense Savings Staff was titled *The Minute Man*. The name recalled the "Four Minute Men" who gave speeches of that duration during the First World War to encourage bond purchases; the term "Minute Man" and "Minute Woman"

was used in the Second World War for the volunteers who visited neighbors or solicited co-workers to encourage bond sales.

The Minute Man Flag

The use of special flags to reward participation in bond drives seems to have been a wartime creation. Throughout 1941, DSS employees had encouraged publicity in local newspapers for firms which had all of their employees contributing. Some companies, such as Vultee Aircraft of Allentown, Pennsylvania, took the initiative of promoting intra-departmental competition toward achieving that goal by awarding special banners for departments to display in the workplace (Figure 6).[31] It has not been determined which staffer adopted this idea, but on January 24, 1942, the DSS announced that "plans are now being made…for the distribution of special flags or pennants to companies of more than 500 workers in which 90% or more of all employees are participating in a pay roll savings plan".[32]

*Figure 6. Intradepartmental banner, Vultee Aircraft Company. (*Defense Savings Staff, Field Organization News Letter *no. 36 [January 24, 1942]: 13)*

On January 25, 1942, Morgenthau travelled to the Detroit area to present the first two such flags. He offered one to the Great Lakes Steel Corporation in River Rouge, where ninety-nine percent of employees were enrolled in the payroll savings plan, and his wife, Elinor Morgenthau, presented a flag to the Chrysler Corporation Tank Plant in Warren.[33] The navy blue flags had a silhouette of French's Minute Man encircled by thirteen white stars. The DSS issued guidance about awarding the flag:

> The Defense Savings Staff will present certificates [to qualifying organizations]...only on the recommendation of the State Administrator and/or State Chairman…. With each certificate there will be an authorization slip which the company or organization may use to establish its eligibility to purchase the specially designed Defense Savings flag direct from manufacturers whose names will be furnished to State Administrators…. They will come in various sizes, the most popular of which will sell for about $4.50.[34]

Internal guidance for DSS employees, issued on March 7, clarified that the award was to be given to other organizations which encouraged participation in payroll savings plans by their members:

> There will be two Certificates reading, in part, as follows:
>
> No. 1: "This is to certify that over ninety per cent of the employees of _____ (firm) are buying Defense Bonds through the Payroll Savings Plan."
>
> This certificate is to be presented to all eligible firms by some representative of your State or local organization at the determination of the Administrator and Chairman. All certificates must be countersigned and, wherever possible, it is urged that some ceremony attend the awarding.
>
> No. 2: "This is to certify that over ninety per cent of the members of _____ (Union, Local, employee organization, association, etc.) are buying Defense Bonds through a systematic purchase plan."

The certificates were supplied at the expense of the DSS, but each firm or organization was required to purchase flags on its own. (The idea of authorization slips floated in the first announcement was abandoned on the grounds

of being excessively complicated.)[35] The Treasury Department maintained a list of "Licensed Manufacturers of Minute Man Flags and Banners" that was distributed to award recipients.[36]

Variant Designs of the Minute Man Flag

The criteria for the award varied briefly. On September 1, it was announced that the Minute Man flag would symbolize either ninety percent employee enrollment in a payroll savings plan, or pledges exceeding ten percent of total payroll.[37] Within a week, that ruling was reversed, and the unaltered flag was reserved for firms with ninety percent employee enrollment; firms which also had ten percent of total payroll pledged were authorized to add the letter T to their flags (Figure 7).[38] A number of other flags emerged in later years, but are less well-attested in the documents of the DSS. In some cases, variant flag designs may have been improvised by either WSS staff or flag manufacturers. In the summer of 1942, there were a few instances of a Minute Man flag with a small red circle emblazoned with "10%," for those firms that exceeded ten percent of total payroll pledge (the same criterion that later qualified an organization for the T flag)—this design may have been adapted from a poster with a similar design, and definitely mirrored certificates which were given to employee groups with ten percent payroll investment (Figure 8).[39]

A press release of May 28, 1942, authorized employees to wear "an attractive red, white and blue lapel button" in a bullseye pattern if their firms had

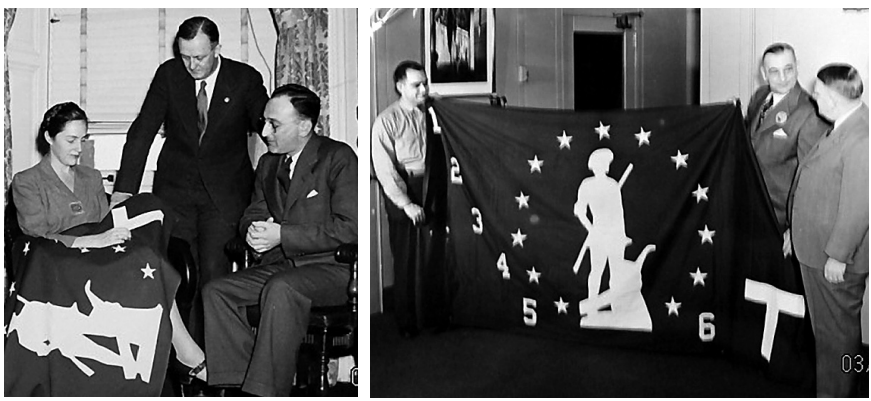


Figure 7. Constance duPont Darden, First Lady of Virginia, sews a "T" on a Minute Man flag; a variation on the T flag, with numbers probably representing the number of months the firm had qualified. (National Archives)

at least ninety percent participation in employee enrollment and at least ten percent of gross payroll investment in bonds.[40] The bullseye symbol was used in promotional materials (also Figure 8).

Figure 8. Variations on the Minute Man flag representing ten percent of total payroll in bonds; promotional posters using the "10%" logo; certificate given to employee groups. (National Archives; The Minute Man *2, no. 10 [October 1, 1942]: 24; https://digital.library.unt.edu/ark:/67531/metadc503;* The Minute Man *2, no. 10 [October 1, 1942]: 13)*

Figure 9. From "A Plan for Diverting at Least 10% of America's Payroll into U.S. War Bonds", circa May 1942. (National Archives)

On August 5, 1942, the Defense Savings Staff announced new criteria for eligibility for the Minute Man flag: "90 percent employee and 10 percent of gross payroll participation in the War Bond campaign". It was also noted that "when units within a branch reach the goal, they will receive… authority to display a triangular pennant similar in design to the flag".[41] An undated promotional brochure that echoes language used in the May 28 press release promises that "every plant and organization that makes the '10% of Payroll' is entitled to fly" two Minute Man flags—the standard version, and the bullseye design (Figure 9).[42]

Ed Sims provides a complete overview of the known patterns; they also include a "bullseye" flag with the Minute Man silhouetted in blue on a white circle, without stars, for organizations with 100 percent of employees participating; and a "T with Star" flag, having a large white star above the T, for firms that met the criteria for a T flag but also exceeded the quota (in dollars) of bond sales assigned to them by the WSS (Figure 10).[43] Because firms contracted independently with flag makers, details of the design varied. In some cases, the Minute Man flag was sewn as a vertical banner; in at least one case, the flag was red instead of blue.

Figure 10. "T with star" for firms with ninety percent participation, ten percent of payroll pledged, and exceeded quota. (National Archives)

For shops supplying the Navy, a special flag was authorized in the summer of 1942. The Commandant's War Bond pennant showed a Minute Man superimposed over crossed anchors. Requirements for this award matched those of the Minute Man flag (Figure 11).[44]

*Figure 11: Commandant's War Bond pennant. (*Navy Dollars are Fighting Dollars, *September 1942: 6–7; National Archives)*

*Figure 12. The "Schools at War" Minute Man Flag. (*Schools for Peace*, September 1945)*

Schools at War

On September 25, 1942, the WSS launched the Schools at War program, encouraging schoolchildren to participate in bond purchases.[45] Schools with ninety percent of students purchasing stamps or bonds regularly throughout a month were entitled to fly a Minute Man flag with the colors reversed—a blue silhouette and stars on a white field (Figure 12).[46] The idea originated in the Los Angeles school district, which approached the Treasury Department for approval; the WSS then rolled the idea out to all schools in the nation.[47] (Schools with ninety percent of teachers enrolled in payroll deduction were entitled to fly the standard Minute Man flag as well.)[48] Colleges and universities were also eligible for the program.

Principals were required to certify that the school qualified for the award, and submit a form to the local or state War Finance Committee. Upon receipt of the certification, the committee would send an authorization to the school, giving it permission to fly the Schools at War flag. Licensed suppliers pro-

vided flags in two sizes: 4x6' for $3.70, or 3x5' for $2.35. Banners for indoor display were available for $1.00.[49] Muslin was used for the white field, and navy blue felt composed the applique.[50] Flag-raising ceremonies, involving the superintendent of schools or the local War Finance Chairman and featuring "a suitable assembly program with patriotic music and a summary of [Schools at War] accomplishments" were recommended by the War Finance Division.[51]

Principals kept monthly tallies of student participation, and were to haul down the Minute Man flag if a school failed to maintain its ninety percent participation rate. At least one manufacturer took advantage of this requirement by creating a banner for school rooms for which there was "no certification necessary". On the obverse it showed the Minute Man and the slogan "90% or more". On the reverse, it pictured a dog in his house. When the class achieved its certification, the obverse was displayed. When the class failed and was therefore "in the doghouse", the banner was flipped over.[52]

In addition to authorization to purchase flags, qualified schools were sent a facsimile of the manuscript of the Bill of Rights. While schools could purchase their flags from authorized manufacturers, the Education Section of the War Finance Division distributed patterns for teachers or students to sew, embroider, or paint their own flags. This served both schools that wished to save money or engage their home economics students in a project, and those that "reported delay in receiving their flags, due to the manufacturers' difficulty in obtaining materials".[53] Recommended dimensions were 3x5' or 4x6', but definitely "about three-fourths as big as Old Glory" that was flown at the school. Recommended methods of fabrication included: "1. Dyes with crayon or paraffin on unbleached muslin. 2. Stencil on cloth with spray gun or toothbrush. 3. Oil paints on heavy cloth or canvas. 4. Embroidery on canvas or cloth over crayon drawing. 5. Blue cloth cut-outs appliqued to white flag. 6. Poster paints on white wrapping paper. (For indoor use.) 7. Crayons on unprinted newspaper or cloth." [54]

Schools which maintained their qualifications for an entire semester were entitled to add an extra star to their flags or banners. The first star was to be "added at the lower left-hand corner and additional stars across the bottom from left to right".[55] The stars were made of blue felt, purchased in bulk by the War Finance Division, and distributed through the state chairmen of the Schools at War program.[56] The stars came in sizes of 1½" diameter for indoor banners, and 3" diameter for outdoor flags.[57]

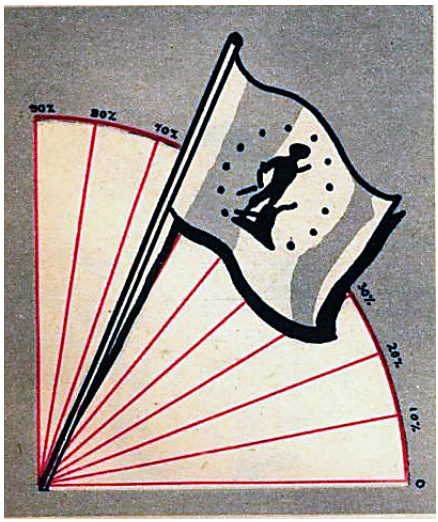


*Figure 13. Minute Man flag (for Schools at War) used as a symbol of progress toward bond-buying goals. (*Schools at Work for Lasting Victory, *December 1945)*

In late 1945, the Schools at War program announced that, for schools and colleges that had maintained their ninety percent status throughout the entire semester, it had designed "a special insignia to be sewn onto the flag…4 inches in diameter, with the legend, Schools-at-War, 1941–1946".[58]

Although the Minute Man flag was only a symbol of the actual achievement of reaching enrollment goals, it quickly became a metonym for the achievement. Promotional materials showed the flag itself as something to be earned, or else as a visual guide to measure progress toward the goal (Figure 13).

The Minute Man Flag in Civil Religion

The awarding of Minute Man flags was frequently accompanied by "some ceremony", as suggested by the DSS internal guidance. One of the earliest presentations was described for the benefit of DSS staff: "Army and Navy officials and many other prominent persons were invited to the ceremonies and to a buffet supper which followed. [A DSS staffer] made the presentation. A photographer engaged by the company as well as newspaper photographers covered the ceremonies pictorially. Press releases prepared by the company helped in securing a great amount of publicity in the daily newspapers."[59] This template was typical—it was common for all the employees to gather for the ceremony, and to enjoy a meal afterward. One creative ceremony arose when so many firms qualified that "a fish bowl was used to select the first concern in the Pittsburgh district eligible to fly the Minute Man Flag"—a ceremony implicitly reminiscent of President Woodrow Wilson's use of a fish bowl to draw out the names of the first men conscripted in 1917, and reinforcing the role of individual bond buyers as contributors to the war (Figure 14).[60] Other ceremonies tied the bond sales effort explicitly to the battles being waged, as

at the East Moline Works of International Harvester, where the Minute Man flag was accepted on behalf of his co-workers by the father of a sailor who died at Pearl Harbor.[61]

*Figure 14. Fish bowl selection of the first Pittsburgh firm to be awarded a Minute Man flag; Woodrow Wilson drawing the names of the first draftees in World War I. (*The Minute Man *2, no. 3 [June 3, 1942]: 39; https://www.upi.com/How-the-draft-has-evolved-in-the-100-years-since-Selective-Service-Act/4031494780649/)*

The ceremonies often called upon dignitaries or war heroes as well. The First Lady of Virginia, Constance duPont Darden, personally appliqued the "T" to the Minute Man flag of the Wise Contracting Co.[62] The flag ceremony at the Atlanta Army Service Forces depot featured a gripping talk from Delbert Gilliam, who flew 52 bomber missions over Europe and was awarded the Purple Heart and the Air Medal.[63] When the municipal employees of Baltimore were awarded a flag, three former mayors were in attendance.[64] One distinctive ceremony saw the Minute Man flag dropped by parachute into the arms of a former employee of Grand Central Air Terminal, Los Angeles, who had lost a leg fighting in Africa.[65] The Jordan Marsh department store in Boston made an entire "Heroes' Day" out of the presentation, hosting one of Doolittle's raiders, Arthur Fiedler conducting members of the Boston Symphony, and a color guard from the Marines, all culminating in the hoisting of the Minute Man flag.[66]

Firms used the Minute Man flag in their advertising, with copy such as, "We're proud of the 100% participation of our employees who are buying War Bonds out of current income. We're proud of their patriotic demonstration in aiding our country's war effort—for every bond bought is a blow at the aggressor."[67] Another message read, "Our congratulations to the men and women in those plants which have been awarded the Treasury Department's Minute Man flag for buying war bonds and stamps! By this added contribution they are backing up the armed forces, their 2,500 fellow workers now in uniform, and the thousands of their sons and daughters also serving."[68] Others simply displayed the flag, sometimes along with other award flags, or the Service Flag indicating that employees were enlisted in the armed forces, while focusing the copy on other messages.[69] As Dannagal Goldthwaite Young has observed, these firms often had little to sell, because most of their production was dedicated to war materiel. Nonetheless, it was necessary to keep their firms in the public eye so that post-war consumers would be favorably disposed to them.[70] And by associating themselves with the sacrifices of the fighting men—which war bonds propaganda had explicitly connected—the firms could stake a claim to the reservoir of goodwill that consumers also extended to returning veterans. Boat maker Chris-Craft urged readers to "put your boat dollars into bond dollars and mark them 'for my postwar Chris-Craft'…. We're 100% on war work now!"[71]

It is significant to note that in all cases, the Minute Man flag was raised on the same halyard as the United States flag (Figure 15). It was not a symbol

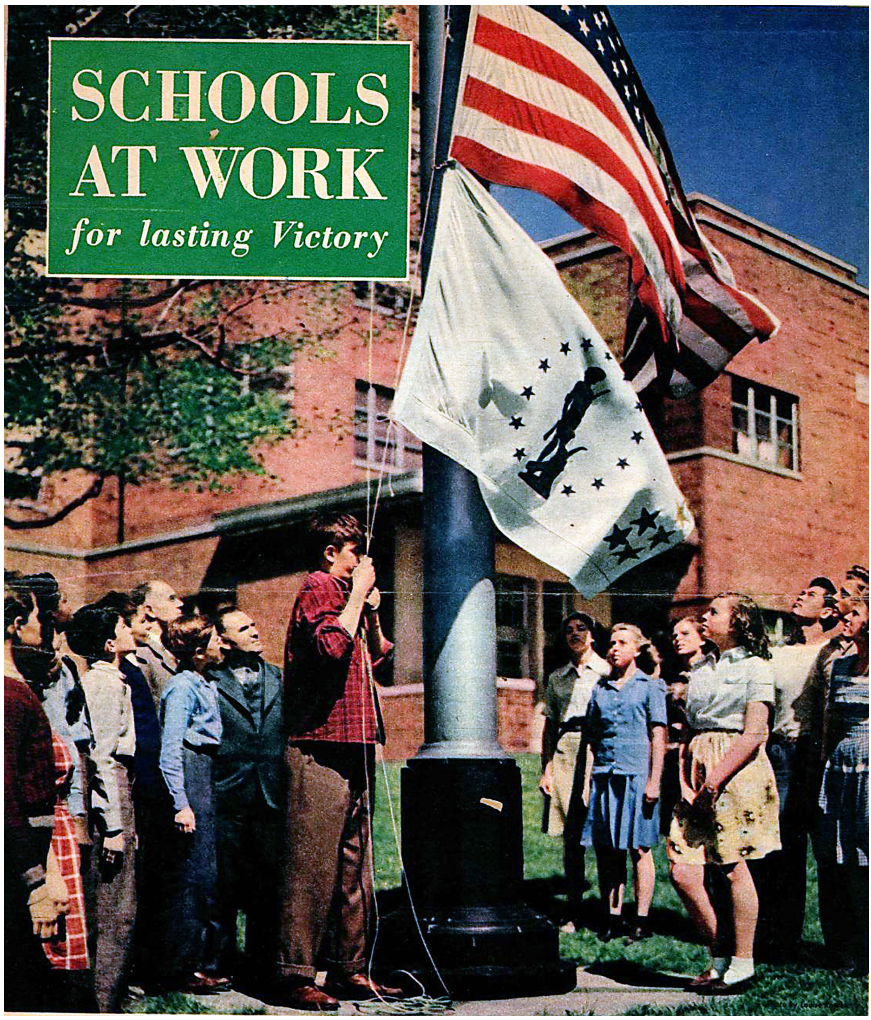


*Figure 15. Minute Man flag raising ceremony. (*Schools at Work for Lasting Victory, *December 1945)*

that stood alone, but rather was always associated with the national flag. The American flag is a symbol that evokes powerful emotions; ceremonies that revolve around the flag are part of what Robert Bellah calls "American civil religion": the "collection of beliefs, symbols, and rituals with respect to sacred things and institutionalized in a collectivity" regarding the nation.[72] Civil religion, through its rites and ceremonies, serves to give meaning to the actions that citizens perform on behalf of the nation. For example, when Abraham Lincoln in his Gettysburg Address declared that the deaths of Union soldiers in the Civil War served the purpose that "this nation, under God, shall have

a new birth of freedom", it was a rhetorical trope that had its contemporary political purposes; but as the ritual of annual recitations of the Gettysburg Address by schoolchildren became embedded in American culture, his words took on the sense of a religious creed. Military service, in the minds of many Americans, became linked with the goal of "freedom". American civil religion often has had a flavor of non-denominational monotheistic covenantalism. There has been expressed the notion that Americans, through adherence to the forms of ritual, through right thinking, and through individual devotion to the nation, can make the United States "a society as perfectly in accord with the will of God as men can make it".[73] The propaganda around defense bonds called upon individuals to devote themselves to the nation through investment of their funds. The covenantal aspect was at times overt. FDR launched the defense bond sales campaign by saying the bonds were "the outward and the visible tokens of partnership through sacrifice"—a direct reference to the catechisms of some liturgical churches, including the Protestant Episcopal Church of which FDR was a communicant, which call the sacraments an "outward and visible sign of an inward and spiritual grace given unto us; ordained by Christ himself, as a means whereby we receive the same, and a pledge to assure us thereof".[74] Buying a defense bond, to FDR, played the same role in American civil religion that partaking of the eucharist did in Christianity.

Scot Guenter has chronicled the ways in which Civil War veterans' organizations drove the late-nineteenth century movement to add ceremonies of flag veneration to the curriculum of American schools.[75] From the 1880s forward, rituals such as flag-raising and -lowering, the Pledge of Allegiance, and the singing of patriotic songs including "The Star-Spangled Banner" were everyday occurrences in the lives of American children. Their purpose was to "inculcate a spirit of patriotism" such that they embraced the notion that "the nobler act of a noble life is to die, if need be, in [the nation's] defense".[76]

For adults living in the 1940s, such sentiments would commonly have been stoked by a flag-raising ceremony. The rituals of high officials and war heroes, communal meals and festive music, all revolved around raising a banner to accompany the national flag. When the Minute Man flag, representative of individual sacrifice for the nation's defense, was raised alongside the Stars and Stripes in an elaborate ceremony, the notion urged by Morgenthau—that purchase of war bonds was a vital contribution to the national good—was surely reinforced. The high honor accorded to the Minute Man flag in the 1942 "War Message from the United States Treasury Department" was both a component

and an effect of the skillful publicity campaign that used the effort to sell savings bonds as a means to overcome internal political divisions about preparing for war, and later to keep civilian morale high in the face of shortages, disruptions, and losses due to the war and its accompanying revival of industry.

Transitioning the Minute Man to Peace

The surrender of Japan on September 2, 1945, did not mean the end of bond sales. One last bond drive, the "Victory Bond" drive, occurred in the autumn of 1945.[77] A supportive newspaper columnist justified it for readers: "There are 11,000,000 boys and men in our services. Most of them are coming home soon, we hope. Some of them will come home to hospitals, for long stays…. We still have to bring them, and get them cared for, or discharged; and when they are back home again we want our America to be the kind of America they have fought for years to keep".[78]

Savings bond sales have never ceased, of course. The Schools at War program became Schools for Peace in September 1945, and then Schools at Work for Lasting Victory in November 1945.[79] Schoolchildren were urged to keep buying bonds to "finish the job" of securing the peace through occupation of surrendered lands and provision of humanitarian aid, as well as providing for the needs of returning service members. The children were encouraged to remember that earning the Minute Man flag was a "symbol of support for permanent peace" that would "help keep Old Glory flying" through their personal investments in savings bonds.[80] After the war, Minute Man flags continued to be awarded to organizations that met a lower threshold of participation, and a new tradition was begun of adding a white star for every year of qualification, and a gold star for five years of qualification.[81] While it is not clear if the program was ever formally discontinued, the Treasury Department notes that "payroll savings began a long decline in the 1980s…. While many savings bonds are still purchased through payroll plans today, the number is a lot smaller than in the program's heyday, which lasted from World War II through the 1970s".[82]

Figure 16. Posters promoting effective war work. (https://xyonline.net/images/men-working-together; https://www.docsteach.org/documents/document/keep-em-fighting-production-wins-wars-stop-accidents; https://hitlerindamai.wordpress.com/2011/07/page/2/)

War Production as a Contributor to Victory

War bonds were a crucial means by which the U.S. government met the monetary costs of war, the greatest of which were for building the machines of destruction—tanks, ships, airplanes, trucks, bombs, guns, and ammunition. In this field, the United States had the potential to make immediate and immense contributions to the Allied war effort. In 1940, the average manufacturing facility was unused more than three-quarters of the time, and more than eight million workers were seeking employment.[83] This unused industrial capacity quickly came into use, so that by 1944, the United States manufactured about forty percent of all armaments in the world (for comparison, its population was only five percent of the total belligerent population, its deaths in battle were less than one percent of total deaths in the war, and the size of its army was twenty percent of the total number in arms).[84] For a period at the beginning of American involvement in the fighting, casualties to war workers exceeded those of fighting men.[85]

Of great concern, however, was using that productive capacity effectively; that is, ensuring that workers were efficient and careful. A variety of means was used to encourage war workers in their labors. Propaganda such as posters encouraged workers to think of their assignments as a crucial part of the war effort, just as it had with war bond buyers. Defense workers were explicitly equated to fighting men, and idleness, inefficiency, and waste were called contributions to the enemies' war efforts (Figure 16). There were also endeavors to encourage the individual worker to form a sense of identity with the goods he or she produced. For example, war news often included a mention that the weapons used in a prominent action were produced in a local factory. Workers often signed or otherwise added messages to the goods they produced—in one example, a seaman who was swept overboard off the coast of Guadalcanal found that his life preserver bore an inspection slip certified by his own mother.[86]

There were also bureaucratic initiatives to ensure that defense production was of high quality and efficiency. One such drive was launched by Lewis Strauss, a successful banker with a commission in the Naval Reserve. In March of 1941, he was called to active duty in the Navy's Bureau of Ordnance, the office responsible for procuring guns and ammunition. He found that the bureau had a profound shortage of quality inspectors, and undertook the efforts necessary to both increase the number of inspectors and consolidate inspection duties across all areas of naval procurement into a single unit.[87]

Navy Bureau of Ordnance Production Award Flags

While discussing naval inspection with Secretary of War Frank Knox, Strauss observed that some contractors were lax in their productivity. Knox thought that a publicity campaign to shame the slackers, such as a black list of offenders, would improve efficiency. Strauss preferred instead to publicize a list of plants that excelled in their production, noting of a black list that "its repercussions would probably become political unless we were engaged in actual hostilities".[88] Instead, an award system would, in the words of the bureau's official history, encourage "the competitive instincts of both capital and labor" while drawing upon "the inherent patriotism of the country".[89]

After soliciting suggestions for a suitable form of recognition for excellence in defense production, Strauss chose the idea of Theodore Ruddock, a fellow officer in the Bureau of Ordnance.[90] Ruddock recalled that the Navy had a tradition, dating to 1906, of allowing ships which had demonstrated exemplary performance in gunnery or engineering to paint the letter "E" on the bridge, conning tower, funnel, or turret, and suggested that exemplary defense plants could also exhibit an "E" on their premises.[91] In the case of contractors for the Bureau of Ordnance, the plants could fly the Bureau's flag—blue with a red lozenge bearing the bureau's seal of crossed guns over an anchor surrounded by a wreath bearing the name of the bureau—augmented with a blue pennant marked with a white "E" (Figure 17).[92] To determine which plants should be honored, a Board of Awards would meet to assess plants' performance in the area of meeting or exceeding scheduled deliveries. The award recognized performance over a six-month period, and plants that continued to excel were authorized to sew a white star on the pennant for each additional period of high performance.[93] Strauss's plan received presidential approval on July 15, the board met shortly thereafter, and the first flags were presented on July 25, 1941.[94]

The first batch of awardees was selected with geographic diversity in mind, so that fourteen plants from ten states were honored. Secretary Knox observed that "in the present defense program we have asked for miracles of industrial production and what's more, we're getting them".[95]

In the next months, those plants saw "a definite improvement of morale [that] was reflected in increased production".[96] Because there was no appropriation in the budget for awards, officers from the bureau paid for the expense of the program out of personal funds, and solicited volunteers from public relations firms to prepare literature, such as a Naval Ordnance Manufacturer's Bulletin,

Figure 17. Bureau of Ordnance flag with Navy "E" pennant. (Ed Sims, "World War II Production Award Flags", NAVA News *no. 189 [January–March 2006]: 3)*

that informed contractors of the awards.[97] Each worker in the award-winning plant was decorated with a lapel pin bearing the "E" emblem. The pins were supplied by the plant, and each plant's pins had a unique design (Figure 18).[98] The awarding of the pennant was accompanied by a brief presentation ceremony.

Figure 18. Bureau of Ordnance "E" lapel pins awarded to workers at the American Locomotive plant, Carnegie Illinois plant, and Naval Gun Factory. (https://www.ebay.ie/itm/WWII-US-Navy-enamel-E-production-award-pin-American-Locomotive-Ordinance-/153051176454?hash=item23a28f9e06; https://www.ebay.ie/itm/WWII-Navy-E-For-Production-Award-Pin-To-Carnegie-Illinois-RARE-/223452822675?hash=item3406d37c93; https://www.ebay.ie/itm/WWII-Sterling-US-Navy-Naval-Gun-Factory-Effort-Pin-for-Production-/183299326932?hash=item2aad7 c3d4)

Production Award Flags from Other Services

The idea behind the Navy Production Awards granted by the Bureau of Ordnance was quickly duplicated by awards from the Bureau of Ships and the Bureau of Aeronautics, each of which authorized plants to fly the bureau's flag with the "E" pennant.[99] By the end of 1941, the Navy saw the need for awards in all areas of naval production, and converted the award from a Bureau-sponsored honor to one covering all branches of the Navy. On January 1, 1942, the Navy began awarding "E" pennants displaying a white anchor with gold rope and a white "E" (Figure 19).[100] Initial plans called for a design in which, after the award was first given, plants that demonstrated continued excellence for six months were entitled to sew a chevron onto the flag.[101] By February 23, 1942, the chevron was abandoned and a white star became the award for six months of continued excellence.[102] Also in early 1942, a standard design for lapel pins was determined (Figure 20).[103]

Plants which had already been authorized to fly the flag of an individual bureau of the Navy were given the choice of retaining the previous award flag, or flying the new Navy "E" pennant, or flying both with the Navy "E" pennant in the senior position.[104] Similarly, the firms were authorized to order lapel pins of the new style if they desired.[105]

Figure 19. Specimen of a Navy "E" Pennant. (National Archives)

Figure 20. Navy Production Award lapel pin, early 1942. (https://www.ebay.ie/itm/VINTAGE-OLD-WWII-US-NAVY-AWARD-E-FOR-PRODUCTION-STERLING-PIN-/400807017481?hash=item5d51f5bc09)

By late 1941, the Army wanted to offer similar awards, and in fact extemporized at least once when its Transportation Division authorized the Skinner Engine Company of Erie, Pennsylvania, to fly two flags in recognition of its excellent production record: one was the flag of the Quartermaster Corps, and the other was "a 4x6' tricolor flag similar to the Army Transport Service flag, with a large blue five-pointed star (to indicate 'star' performance) substituted for the Quartermaster insignia on the white centerpiece".[106] This practice was immediately forbidden once higher-ups learned of it.[107]

Figure 21. Army Production Award "A" Pennant, mockup of design. (National Archives)

A formal program was authorized in May 1942, creating an "A" pennant (Figure 21).[108] The flag was

> of burgee design, and is similar in size and shape to the Navy 'E' Flag. It is made of red wool bunting and bears the head, breast, and shoulder of the American eagle in gold, on a blue field, framed in a white circle. A large capital letter 'A' is adjacent to the eagle. White stars, each five inches in diameter, will be placed in a vertical line parallel to and adjacent to the staff of the pennant to represent additional awards. Symbolically, the red field of the pennant represents the Army, and the white capital 'A' represents an honorary Army award. The eagle in gold represents the golden opportunity of the American people in war work effort, and the blue inner circle forming a background for the eagle symbolizes the field of heaven, where lies the victory. The white circle represents the unity of purpose of all American war work. Each additional star indicates the continuing effort of each individual toward unity of purpose, excellence of product and speed in delivery.[109]

Individual workers also received octagonal lapel buttons showing the main charge of the flag surrounded by the phrase "War Work". The octagon symbolized the eight services of supply of the United States Army.[110] While no record of the flag's designer seems to have survived, an early draft of the lapel pin design was issued from the Heraldic Section of the Office of the Quartermaster General.[111]

The idea of pins for individual defense workers had been circulating within the War Department since early 1941. Bayard Schieffelin of the Tax Amortization Certificate Unit first broached the idea that "in view of the importance of industry, a new medal or decoration be created…for outstanding service towards the furtherance of the Defense program". He suggested it might be awarded to a foreman who develops a process to speed up production, or a union representative who furthers cooperation between labor and management.[112] This idea was considered at several levels of the War Department bureaucracy, along with suggestions that a special lapel button be issued to all defense workers to signify their identity to fellow civilians.[113] At least one union representative, Michael Harris of the Steel Workers Organizing Committee, opined that such buttons should be awarded not for individual merit but to all workers in a given shop, "so as not to create the possibility of any feeling arising in the shop". Harris further noted that they "should be renewable buttons" and "not be something that anyone can get and hold for life".[114] Similar suggestions came to the War Department from the Aeronautical Chamber of Commerce of America, the Scovill Manufacturing Company of Waterbury, Connecticut, and the Korrect Kutting Manufacturing Company of Glen Ellyn, Illinois.[115] The RCA Manufacturing Company's plant in Camden, New Jersey, awarded its own "merit badges for heroes on the production line" in March of 1942, conferring decorations on 84 workers. The award was a shield-shaped pin, bronze in color, with a red star above red chevrons, each chevron representing three weeks of outstanding performance.[116] While no records have been found detailing the process by which it was decided that individual pins should accompany the awarding of the Army 'A' flag, the idea was clearly on the minds of many in the War Department.

Also in early 1942, the Maritime Commission, in charge of shipbuilding, created its M award, and the Army-Navy Munitions Board began awarding its Star flags, all modeled on the Navy "E" flag.[117] Other, non-military branches of the administration also adopted the idea of flags to honor exceptional contributions to the war effort. These included the War Food Administration Achievement Award (a green "A" on a blue flag) and the War Shipping Administration War Service Award (a red-white-red pennant with "WSA" in a blue circle).[118]

The Army-Navy "E" Award

While the welter of award flags for production excellence demonstrated the success of Strauss's initiative, it also testified to the "inherent difficulties of administration" and "the impossibility of setting up standards which would be fair and equitable for the various groups, industries, and sections of the country".[119] Despite these difficulties, officials of the Navy and Army identified the problem of duplicate award systems, which reduced the publicity value of any one honor, and worked together to create a unified award system, in a bureaucratic process detailed by Buford Rowland and William Boyd.[120] After June of 1942, all industrial production for the armed forces was eligible for a single award flag, the Army-Navy Production Award. (The Maritime Commission retained its separate award for shipyard production, which was often dedicated to the merchant marine.)[121] Plants which had been awarded a Navy "E" flag had the choice of continuing to fly it, or accepting an Army-Navy pennant in substitution.[122]

Discussion of a flag design for the consolidated award originated in a meeting between the undersecretaries of war (Robert P. Patterson) and the Navy (James V. Forrestal) and various officers on June 12, 1942. They suggested that it was "felt desirable, if possible, to use the symbol 'E' with the words 'Army and Navy' on the flags, and General [Robert N.] Young offered to have designs prepared for submission to the Under Secretaries."[123]

On July 4, 1942, the War Department announced that a single award would be presented thenceforth, and gave the following details:

> 3. a. The Award will consist of a pennant for the plant and emblems for all employees in the plant at the time the award is made. These will be paid for by the Service making the award.
>
> b. The pennant will be swallow tailed and will have a white capital letter E within a yellow wreath of oak and laurel leaves on a vertically divided blue and red background. "ARMY" will be on the red background and "NAVY" on the blue. The pennant will have a white border (Figure 22).
>
> c. The emblems will have a Capital letter E within a wreath of oak and laurel leaves—all silver—and horizontal swallow tail wings divided in five—red, white, blue, white, red" (Figure 23).[124]

Figure 22. The Army-Navy "E" pennant awarded to Delco-Remy Division of General Motors, Anderson, Indiana. (http://www.delcoremyhistory.com/army-navy-eflag.htm)

Figure 23. Army-Navy "E" lapel pin. (http://www.lindashentonmatchett.com/2016/10/wartime-wednesday-manufacturing-awards.html)

In addition to the obvious symbolism of the E, the oak and laurel leaves are traditionally associated with strength and victory.[125]

It is not clear who designed the resulting flag, but Lieutenant C. W. Hanne of the Heraldic Section of the Office of the Quartermaster General prepared the final drawing (marked "Design no. 3"), which was approved July 3, 1942. Hanne's specifications called for red and blue cotton bunting for the field, white (bleached) cotton bunting for the border, and white percale for the appliqued letters.[126] (In practice, percale was listed as an acceptable substitute if bleached bunting was unavailable for the border.)[127] A technical drawing of July 4,

1942, approved by Arthur E. Du Bois, Chief of the Heraldic Section, specifies that yellow percale was to be used for the wreath, and establishes the exact proportions of the award pennant. It was 48" at the hoist, tapering to 27" at the fly. The letters spelling ARMY and NAVY were 8" tall, while the central E was 10". Stars of 6" diameter were placed 8" below or above the horizontal center line and 16½" left or right of the vertical center line (Figure 24).[128] A revised drawing, dated March 20, 1944, specifies that stars of 3½" diameter were placed 8" below or above the horizontal center line and 17" left or right of the vertical center line.[129]

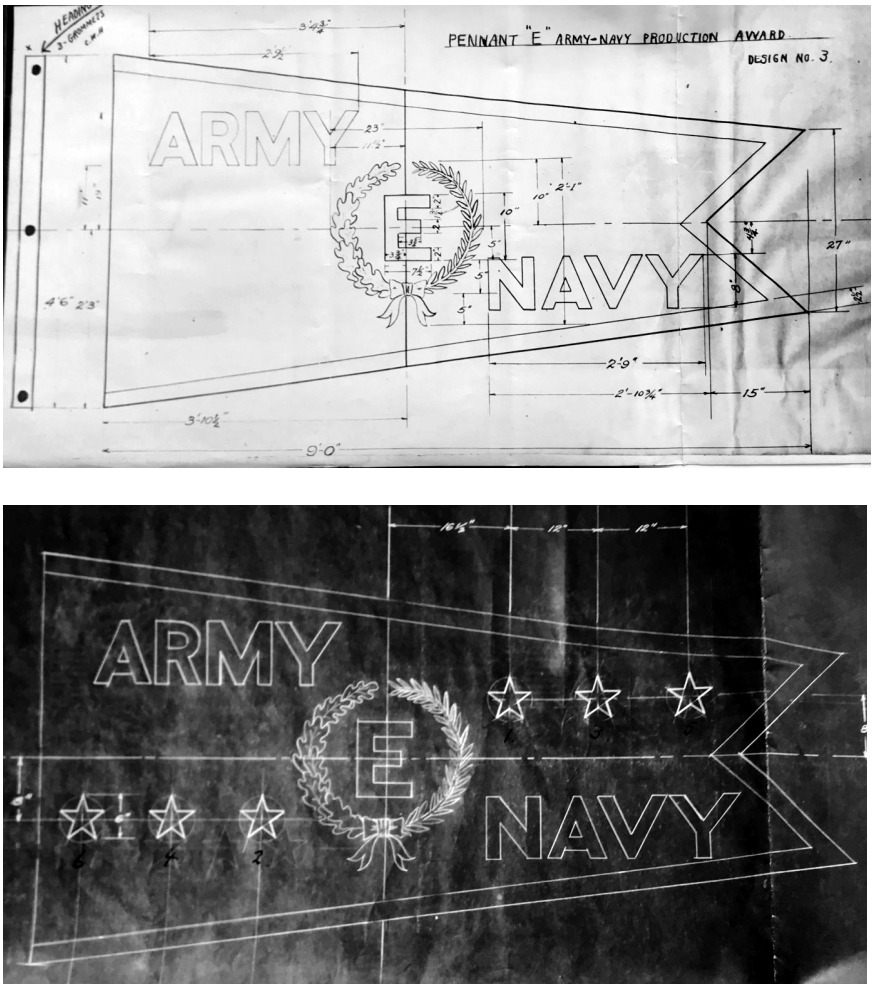


Figure 24. Technical drawings for the Army-Navy "E" flag. (National Archives)

White stars representing six months of continued excellence were sewn directly onto the award pennant. The rule was that "plants which surpass or maintain their high production record for six months after receiving the original Award will qualify for a white Service Star for their Award flag. Other Service Stars may be won for continued high production for succeeding six-month periods until a Fourth Star has been won. After that the interval is increased to one year."[130] The stars, according to Sims, were sewn on in the following pattern: "A plant receiving its first renewal star received a pennant with the star added above the 'N' in 'Navy' and in line with the word 'Army'; the second star was placed below the space between the 'M' and 'Y' in 'Army' and in line with the word 'Navy'. Subsequent stars were added alternatively on the red then blue sections extending out horizontally."[131] Plants that failed to earn a renewal star were expected to haul down their award pennants.[132]

The award flag was to be flown strictly over the plant that received the award. Other facilities of the company were excluded from flying the pennant. It was "best displayed by flying it on the same halyard as and directly beneath the flag of the United States".[133]

Unlike the Minute Man flag, the "E" flag was provided to the honored plants at no charge; however, replacements and additional flags (for use inside the plant) were available through the Awards Branch of the Industrial Services Division of the War Department. Prices started at $9.50, adding twenty-five cents for each star to be sewn on.[134] Fulfillment of "E" flag orders was carried out by the Philadelphia Quartermaster Depot; its contractors included the Standard Flag and Manufacturing Company of Philadelphia, Abacrome of New York City, Louis E. Stilz and Brothers of Philadelphia, Ace Flag Company of New York City (which lost its contract due to "delinquency"), and United Service Flag Company of New York City.[135] As a demonstration of the inflationary pressures of the war, on August 21, 1943, the pennants cost the Quartermaster $9.31; on September 14, 1943, the price was estimated to be $9.82, and by March 24, 1945, the cost was, on average, $10 per flag.[136] The design was patented (number 134,583) by the Departments of War and the Navy on September 15, 1942, and the War Department sent out cease-and-desist notices to firms which were manufacturing flags without authorization.[137]

The award was first given on August 10, 1942.[138] The awardees were nominated by procurement officers or inspectors, and an Award Board for either the Army or the Navy would review the plant's record primarily on "quantity and

quality of production in the light of available facilities", while also considering eleven other criteria including labor practices, absenteeism, health and safety, and conservation of raw materials.[139] Coincidentally, the first recipient of the Army-Navy Production Award Flag, the Chrysler Tank Arsenal in Warren, Michigan, was also one of the first to fly the Minute Man flag.[140]

Tensions arose between the Army-Navy Board for Production Awards and the Maritime Commission, which awarded "M" flags. The Army-Navy Board thought that a single award for all types of production should suffice, while the Maritime Board held to its position of awarding separate flags for shipbuilding excellence. In order to discourage firms from applying for both awards, the Navy Board in late 1943 reiterated its policy of not giving "E" awards to firms already awarded the "M" flag, and in the case when a firm with an "E" award was also given an "M" award, of refusing to offer star awards to that firm. While this decision was kept confidential to the Navy, it was "hoped that when the Boards' action becomes known by the 'grapevine' route to the many plants that they will not accept the 'M' thus debarring their plant from a star award."[141] This decision was reversed in December of 1943.[142]

"E" Flag Presentation Ceremonies

Even during 1941 when the official line was that industrial production was aimed for "defense", the Bureau of Ordnance "E" flag was used to rhetorically identify the worker as a fighting person. At a flag-raising ceremony, Admiral William Blandy, Chief of the Bureau of Ordnance, told the employees of the Westinghouse Electric Elevator Company in Jersey City,

> The ships are cleared for action… And the men are ready too…. But our seamen do not stand alone. Behind the gun captain in his turret [and his shipmates] stand a host of invisible comrades… For it is upon your skill and honest workmanship that our fighting seamen must depend when the time comes…We have a rich heritage of rights and privileges… Free speech, free press, free schools and free churches. The right to a fair trial and the right to vote. Democracy itself, the right of a people to govern itself. All of these things would be destroyed by a Nazi victory…. The people of America are determined that this shall not happen here. And the best assurance that it won't happen is in the fine records being turned in by American industry and Ameri-

> can workers, teamed together to keep our country free… I take great satisfaction in presenting to the company the flag of the United States Navy's Bureau of Ordnance. Fly it proudly over your buildings. Let the world see that here the battle of America is being fought and won.[143]

Presentations of the Production Award flag had, if anything, more ballyhoo than the Minute Man flag ceremonies. The practice was begun in 1941 for Navy "E" flags, and was codified with a "plan book" of guidelines for the Army 'A' flag that influenced the format of celebrations from 1942 onward.[144]

The formal procedure for planning a flag-raising ceremony began with the notification to the plant that it had been awarded an "E" flag. Within forty-eight hours, the Public Relations Officer would visit the plant in person to determine a date for the ceremony, ensure that an appropriate space for the gathering was available, and collect information about desired speakers and distinguished persons to be seated on the platform. The plant was required to fill in a form acknowledging the award and specifying the number of pins needed for its employees. The Public Relations Officer also oversaw seating protocol for the party on the speaker's platform, and negotiated with management and labor leaders about the representatives of each group that would take part in the ceremony.[145]

The Army plan book stated that "the importance of employee participation in the program of the ceremonies cannot be over-emphasized… The program should be designed to bring home to workers the fact that the award is really going to them…it is not a promotion or publicity stunt." Specifications included a speaker's stand capable of seating at least 30, two flagstaffs (one for the national flag, one for the award flag), a color guard of either active duty or retired military personnel, and speeches delivered by Army officers.[146] Similar guidance was provided for the joint Army-Navy awards beginning in 1942, with the addition that an army Public Relations Officer would be assigned to work with each plant to plan its ceremony.[147] To reduce "undue stoppages of production", ceremonies were kept to one half-hour.[148]

Although the ceremony included speakers from the Army and the Navy, wounded veterans from the community, and the presentation of pins, the centerpiece of the event was the raising of the award pennant. The Production Board noted that

> too much emphasis cannot be placed on the necessity of rehearsal by the principals in the correct handling and displaying of the flag. A

> mistake in this phase of the ceremony is most serious, and may well spoil effectiveness of the entire program. The Public Relations Officer should make certain that the flag has been marked on both ends of the top so that there can be no danger of it being displayed upside down or with the wrong side facing the audience. The flag should be folded in accordion-fashion so that it can be pulled out readily by employee and management representatives, when they display it to the audience.[149]

To avoid hauling down the Stars and Stripes in order to attach the "E" flag to its halyard during the award ceremony, two flagpoles were recommended; one to fly the U.S. flag throughout the ceremony, and one upon which to raise the award flag. Another suggestion to avoid the awkwardness was to attach a second halyard to the flagpole; this would allow the national flag to continue to fly while raising the award flag.[150]

Each employee pin was presented with a card, reading, "This certifies that you are hereby authorized to wear the Army-Navy Production Award emblem in recognition of meritorious work performed as an employee of the [name] company. Part of the battle of production is being won through your efforts and the 'E' emblem is visible proof of the Army's and Navy's recognition of your accomplishment. Wear it with pride", and signed by undersecretaries Patterson and Forrestal (Figure 25). On the reverse, it bore a "Message from the President of the United States": "Victory depends in large measure on the increased war production we are able to get from our factories and arsenals…. What has been done so far must be exceeded. This is total war. We are all under fire…soldiers and civilians alike—no one is a spectator. We are all belligerents. To win we must fight—and to fight we must produce", and signed

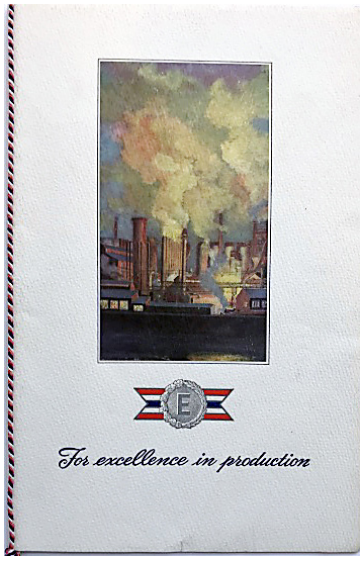

THAT YOU, _____, ARE
(Void if not signed)
HEREBY AUTHORIZED TO WEAR THE ARMY-NAVY PRODUCTION AWARD EMBLEM in recognition of meritorious work performed as an employee of the _____ company.
(Fill in name)
Part of the battle of production is being won through your efforts and this "E" emblem is visible proof of the Army's and Navy's recognition of your accomplishment. Wear it with pride.
(Signed) _____
Under Secretary of War
(Signed) James Forrestal
Under Secretary of the Navy

Figure 25. Card and pin given to workers at a Production Award-winning plant. (National Archives)

by Franklin D. Roosevelt.[151] A different version used later in the war read, "For skill, industry, and devotion on the production front of the greatest war in history, this Army-Navy Production Award emblem is hereby presented to [name] of [company]" and signed by Patterson and Forrestal, with the president's message reading, "An Army-Navy Production Award emblem is a symbol of outstanding service in the greatest production force in the world today—a united and free army of American workers", and signed by Roosevelt.[152] After Roosevelt's death on April 12, 1945, cards bearing his signature continued to be distributed until a supply of cards bearing the signature of his successor, Harry S. Truman, were prepared.[153] Truman's message read, "Wear your Army-Navy 'E' Award emblem with pride. Remember always that it is the symbol of your own individual contribution to the defeat of our enemies."[154]

A sample program from the August 10, 1943, ceremony at Friez Instrument Division of Bendix Aviation Corporation in Towson, Maryland (a full-color booklet on laid paper, bound with a red, white, and blue lanyard) describes an opening serenade of "America" by a band, presentation of the award by a brigadier general to representatives of the workers (in this case, the oldest female worker in the plant) and management, raising of the pennant by a color guard, an address by the plant manager, presentation of the lapel pins by a naval captain, an acceptance speech by the oldest of all employees, and a closing rendition of "The Star-Spangled Banner" (Figure 26.) The entire affair was broadcast on a local radio station. The program included an essay, anonymously prepared by plant management, on "The Meaning of the Army-Navy E", which concluded with these thoughts: "We shall be as proud to wear this symbol of efficiency in supplying the machines and instruments with which to wage war as are the dauntless men of the service who are using them with telling effect against our enemies."[155]

Variations on the ceremony included adding an invocation from a clergyman, introduction of distinguished guests, a separate raising of the American flag, and posting of the colors by a color guard composed of plant employees. Typically, the event opened with "The Star-Spangled Banner" and closed with "America".[156] The ceremonies were a time of great pride for each plant, so much so that by late 1942 it was warned that some plants were staging ceremonies "on a much too elaborate scale", which the undersecretary of war felt "backfires on the intent of the award" by putting on a show rather than giving workers "the serious recognition to which they are entitled during the present critical period".[157]



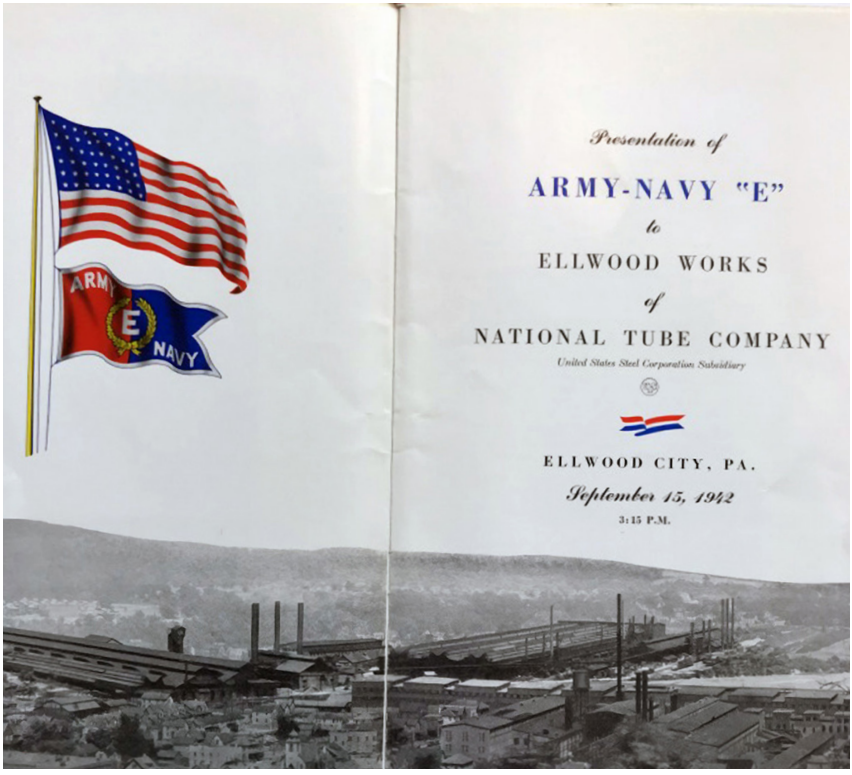


Figure 26. Programs from Army-Navy "E" flag presentation ceremonies. (Dr. Whitney Smith Flag Research Center Collection; National Archives)

In some cases, in addition to the lapel pin, each worker was presented a "Certificate of Meritorious Service to the Nation's War Effort", suitable for mounting near a workstation or at home (Figure 27).[158] In virtually every case, great publicity was given to the flag ceremony. Army-Navy "E" flags, and the predecessor Navy "E" flags, were widely used in advertising. Examples of ad copy include, "[our] employees have won the Navy Production Award for meritorious service on the industrial field of battle"; and "their practical patriotism stands as an example to all Americans".[159] One ad for General American Transportation noted that it had won the "E" flag, but "we don't pat ourselves on the back for doing something expected of us".[160] Firms such as printers developed lines of Army-Navy "E"-branded stationery and stickers to allow plants to trumpet their achievement in the course of everyday business as well.[161] Such use was considered "proper and desirable" by the Board for Production Awards, as long as it was "dignified and in commonly accepted good taste."[162]

The opportunity to turn the "E" award into extra sales was not lost on manufacturers of flags and related materials. Some firms offered "E" award-themed materials to honored plants. Examples included plaques with an enlarged replica of the lapel pin, suitable for lobbies and offices; indoor banners with the "E" lapel pin emblem silk-screened onto rayon; and miniature-

Figure 27. Certificate of Meritorious Service for an individual worker. (Dr. Whitney Smith Flag Research Center Collection)

Figure 28. A souvenir replica of the "E" pennant. (http://www.ubbcentral.com/store/item/wwii-army-navy-e-award-war-production-pennant-banner-flag-with-sterling-e-pin-_321879640139.html)

sized reproductions of the pennant made of felt, "an ideal souvenir and table decoration" (Figure 28).[163]

The "E" Flag and the "Wages of War"

A number of plant managers testified that the recognition of their employees' efforts through an "E" flag ceremony was a stimulus to morale and productivity. To cite a few examples, Gilfillan Brothers of Los Angeles saw its next-month shipments increase twenty-five percent with no additional hours worked; Hercules Powder Company in Mansfield, Massachusetts, reported that a persistent labor shortage was alleviated after the publicity surrounding the "E" award drew the attention of workers who had previously been unresponsive to other forms of help-wanted advertising; Gibson, Inc., of Kalamazoo, Michigan, saw its production nearly triple after receiving the award; and the Mason Can Company observed "a noticeable decrease in labor turnover, which results in a considerably increased production".[164] Individuals often took pride in the award as well. A number of industrial workers who later enlisted in the armed forces asked whether they could continue to wear the "E" pin while in service (as a civilian decoration, it was not permitted on military uniforms); one terminally ill employee asked that the pin be placed on his lapel as part of his last rites.[165]

At first, it was directed that no ceremony should accompany the awarding of a star for continued excellence. However, the lack of publicity surrounding the star awards, and the consequently lower boost in morale, led the Board of Production to rethink that policy. The first suggestion it had was to award special pins or augmentations to existing pins for workers at a plant that received a star award. However, the existing jewelry industry was already overburdened with demands for military medals and insignia, and no suppliers could be found.[166] In 1945, therefore, the Board determined that an additional ceremony could be held; this followed the suggestion of the Incentive Division from 1943 that the ceremony around the star provided an opportunity to present pins to new employees, and because it had been "undeniably proven that the one-half hour… given to an 'E' ceremony is more than made up for by the net increase in spirit, determination and improved morale of the employees immediately, and that results of the ceremony continue to show for some time after."[167]

As with the Minute Man flag, the "E" flag was always flown with the national flag; one government publication linked the "E" flag with national survival, as it urged workers to "keep these flags flying!"[168] (The implication being that failure to excel in production might result in the loss of sovereignty to a foreign power.) In the rhetoric used and in the great pomp afforded its awarding, the Production Award flag may be seen as akin to medals for soldiers—a reward for service beyond one's duty, and thus an example to others. Patrick Vitale argues that honoring exceptional production, which often came through particularly strenuous or painstaking efforts not necessarily compensated at a higher rate than ordinary levels of effort, was part of the "wages of war". In Vitale's reckoning, the American state offered "a sense of sacrifice, contribution, and national belonging to workers and civilians who faced rationing, wage freezes, extended work hours, and emotional distress".[169] Through "heroic" work activities, war workers reaped the benefits of honor and esteem, signified by the "E" flag, and simultaneously built the war-making power of the state. As with the Minute Man flag, a ceremony presenting a flag as an honor for service to the nation served to bind the citizen with the nation in a willing spirit of devotion.

Total war as a concept and in practice depended upon a vigorous national government that commanded the obedience of its citizens. The ceremonies of civil religion which had preceded the Second World War had no doubt shaped many Americans' self-conception, so that they were receptive to the rewards of esteem and institutional favor. In the United States today, ceremonies of civil

religion have waned to some degree. Readers may wish to contemplate how the rhetoric of public service and individual sacrifice in favor of the national interest is employed in the present context of lowered engagement with civil religion.

Proposed "Pacific War Pennant"

In the fall of 1944, the end of the European war seemed imminent, although in fact Germany only surrendered on May 8, 1945 (called V-E, or Victory in Europe, Day). Concerned that the conquest of Germany would lead to a widespread feeling of lowered urgency in war production, the Board for Production Awards devised a plan to raise the "E" awards to renewed prominence. The first proposal, in August 1944, suggested that "'Stars' granted for production accomplishments in the war with Japan as our only enemy, shall be a 'Star' with a bold white circle to indicate distinctive service" (Figure 29).[170] Ideas to increase the prominence of the award included revising the presentation ceremony to make it more "military and dramatic", and to award a special pennant in addition to the "E" pennant for award-winning plants that continued to show excellence during the period of the war after Germany surrendered.[171]

Figure 29. Proposed "star with a circle" for post-V-E Day awards, drawn by John Anderson. (National Archives)

Figure 30. Asiatic–Pacific Campaign Medal. (Source: https://sep.yimg.com/ay/priorservice/asiatic-pacific-campaign-medal-9.gif)

Another idea for recognition of outstanding production for the post-V-E Day phase of the war was to prepare new designs for both flags and pins that incorporated the ribbon of the Asiatic–Pacific Campaign Medal given to soldiers who served in the Pacific (Figure 30).[172] When procurement of new pins proved impossible, a special supplementary pennant, to be flown on the same halyard but below the "E" pennant, was proposed.

Various ideas for a "Pacific War Pennant" were prepared, presumably by staff of the Heraldic Section. One design simply added an orange-yellow border to the "E" pennant; this was rejected because it was "unsufficient change to be noticeable". Another suggested streamers patterned after the Campaign Medal ribbon, but these were thought to be too easily confused with battle streamers awarded to combat units. Also suggested was a guidon of red over blue with a yellow "E", and a narrow streamer, divided horizontally red over blue, with yellow stars.[173] Another proposal was to add a bar beneath each star awarded for production after V-E Day (Figure 31).[174]


ARMY
E
NAVY


ARMY
E
NAVY


ARMY
E
NAVY
E

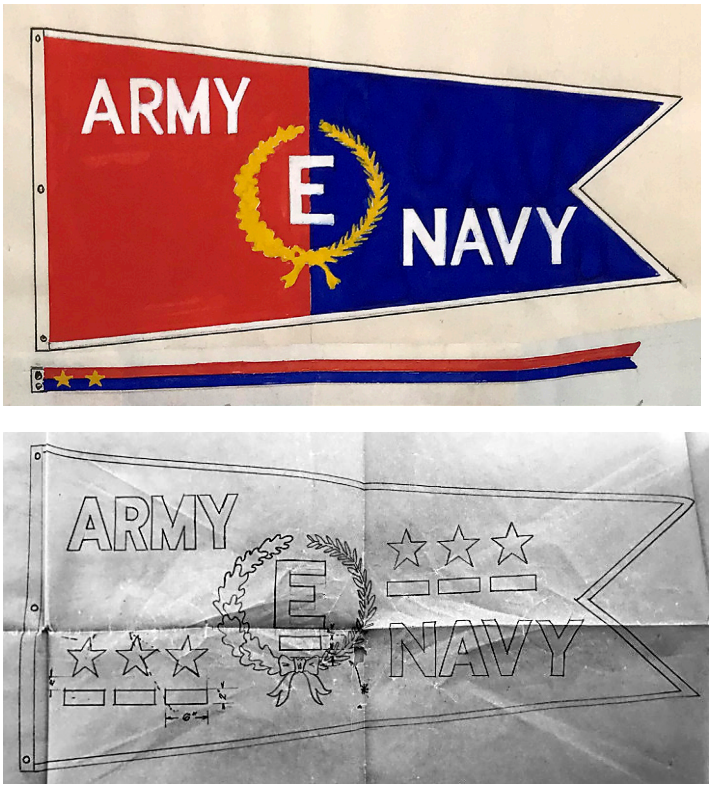


Figure 31. Proposals for the "Pacific War Pennant". (National Archives)

After consideration of the foregoing designs (all submitted by the War Department), the board settled on a design suggested by the Navy.[175] Plans stated that "companies to which awards are made after V-E Day are to receive a small triangular pennant to be flown below the Army-Navy 'E' flag. The pennant is to be orange in color, corresponding to that of the ribbon designating the Pacific Theatre of Operations, and surcharged with a blue 'E'…. Stars designating the renewals granted after V-E Day are to be affixed to the Army-Navy 'E' flag and are to be of the same orange color as the small triangular pennant." (Figure 32)[176] A technical drawing of the final design shows that the supplementary pennant was to be a 2x3' triangle of yellow bunting, with an 11" tall "E" applique of blue sheeting.[177] However, after consideration of the proposal, the undersecretary of war withdrew his approval of the revised plan, and the "E" award flag and pins remained unchanged throughout the war.[178]

Figure 32. Final design for the "Pacific War Pennant", ultimately rejected by the undersecretary of war. (National Archives)

The End of the "E" Flag

The use of Production Award flags was ended with the surrender of Japan on August 14, 1945. The August meeting of the Production Awards Board was the last, and all awards were to be presented by November 15.[179] One of the last was given to Los Alamos National Laboratory, where the work it had performed building atomic bombs had to be kept secret until the destruction of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.[180] 4,283 plants—fewer than five percent of all facilities manufacturing war materiel—were awarded the flag between 1942 and 1945.[181] At least 8,796,191 individual pins were distributed.[182] The feats of industrial production achieved by American industry exceeded all expectations and contributed greatly to the ability of the Allied armed forces to destroy the military power, infrastructure, and civilian population of the Axis nations.

Conclusion

The period leading up to the entry of the United States into the Second World War was characterized by division in the populace over the right course

of action regarding the war. Many were unconvinced that American involvement was in the nation's best interest. The Roosevelt administration endeavored to build support for American belligerence by using the tools of propaganda to persuade citizens to take part in "defense" efforts such as buying bonds or enthusiastically participating in manufacture of armaments. Among such propaganda tools were award flags for collective effort. The Minute Man flag was awarded to organizations which saw a large number of their members buying defense bonds. The Army-Navy "E" flag was awarded to plants which demonstrated excellence in the manufacturing and delivery of war materiel.

As powerful symbols of American civil religion, flags such as the Minute Man flag and the Army-Navy "E" flag came to be highly desired adornments to places of work. Individuals took pride in having exhibited their devotion to the nation, and in turn, the flags earned them the approbation of their fellow citizens. The flags, drawing upon long-standing practices and well-known symbolism, were effective tools to persuade and convince Americans that the war was their personal struggle, and drew responses that Americans saw as standing in the tradition of patriotic sacrifice.

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