

WHEN GROWTH WAS GOOD: IMAGES OF PROSPERITY IN MID-TWENTIETH CENTURY AMERICA

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ABSTRACT: This paper examines a set of promotional map brochures produced by small cities and towns across the United States in the 1960s, to identify images of prosperity created by their civic leaders. Chambers of Commerce, local business associations and civic boosters are well-known for advertising the successes and potential of their communities in order to attract new businesses and industries. They have produced local maps and promotional materials which provide a written record of the messages designed to create a favorable image of a community. In the 1960s, before the crises of energy shortages, sprawl, air and water pollution, and post-industrial economic restructuring gripped urban and rural places across America, unlimited growth was a primary goal of many communities. Growth, both economic and demographic, was a mark of progress, a source of pride, and a centerpiece of many communities' identities. In their promotional materials, some communities highlighted their favorable location for trade, while others adopted a catchy nickname including the concept of growth or opportunity. Describing local industries and locating them on the map could also illustrate a community's vitality. Assets such as an atomic power plant provided evidence of progress, as could data on population growth and infrastructure. In the content and positioning of text, maps, photos and drawings, manufacturing and industry were portrayed as compatible with a desirable lifestyle and attractive recreational amenities. They were part of the appeal to businesses or residents who might be persuaded to join the community's march to progress and prosperity.

More than 30 years ago, Lewis (1972) lamented the passing of small towns such as Bellefonte, Pennsylvania, saying that "Everyone knows, after all, that small towns have been dying for a long time, and that optimistic statements to the contrary will not postpone their demise. Why not pronounce the requiem and be done with it?" (p. 324). He then explained that not everyone agreed with this view, especially after examining the facts. A number of studies of population growth and employment in small towns and villages showed that, despite the belief held by most Americans, small towns were not dying, even into the 1970s (Hart and Salisbury, 1965; Hart, 1988; Hart, Salisbury and Smith, 1968, Hart, 1984). The "nonmetropolitan population turnaround" or "rural renaissance" of the post-war decades was surprising to many (Fugitt 1985). The impression remained that "Main Street is dead. The stately bank on the corner has become a beer tavern. Some stores have been boarded up; others have been converted into private residences; the handful still open for business are struggling" (Hart, 1988, p. 272).

Whatever the facts about the health of American small towns in the 1960s, and whatever the public's beliefs, one thing was unchanging: civic boosters, business leaders and Chambers of Commerce never failed to paint a rosy picture about the people, economy and amenities of their towns. Indeed, that was their charge, part of their quest to lure new residents, more tourists, more businesses, more jobs—in short, to produce more growth. In the 1960s, before the crises of energy shortages, sprawl, air and water pollution, and post-industrial economic restructuring had gripped urban and rural places across America, unlimited growth was a primary goal of many communities. Growth, both economic and demographic, was a mark of progress, a source of pride, and a centerpiece of many communities' identities. The images and messages sent forth to attract new residents and investors represented the ideals and aspirations of the time. Today, with greater sophistication, more experience and larger amounts of money at stake, civic leaders continue to promote growth of one sort or another. In some cities, attracting manufacturing and industry is still a

priority. In other places, anti-growth coalitions and macroeconomic changes of the past few decades have shifted the goals toward controlled growth or development of other industries. Nevertheless, place marketing remains an important component of planning and community life in small towns and large cities alike.

Images of prosperity and local attractions interest geographers and others who study place promotion or place marketing. Much has been written about boosterism in promoting frontier settlement and nineteenth-century towns, efforts of railroads and tourism boards to attract tourists, and urban re-development schemes in large cities in the 1980s and 1990s (Gold and Ward, 1994, Kearns and Philo, 1993, Ward, 1998). However, place promotion by smaller cities and towns of the United States, especially for the 1960s and 1970s, has not received as much attention.

The 49 promotional map brochures analyzed here are part of a much larger collection of road maps, travel guides and related memorabilia gathered informally by a former geography student and generously given to the SUNY New Paltz Geography Department. Those used in this study were chosen for their text, images and messages about prosperity and growth in small cities and towns. The places they portray ranged in size in 1960 from 2,306 residents to about 290,000, but almost all were smaller than 100,000 in population. Most were produced by Chambers of Commerce in the 1960s and very early 1970s. Unfortunately, because of their large size and/or poor quality, the street and road maps themselves cannot be reproduced here.

CHARACTERISTICS OF PROMOTIONAL MAP BROCHURES

The map brochures vary widely in size and content, providing a refreshing alternative to the free, standardized road maps that were widely distributed by oil companies and the American Automobile Association at that time. They were local productions and included fascinating facts about the community, photographs and aerial photographs, business directories, advertisements from local sponsors, and an abundance of slogans such as "Make your Mark in Bismarck". Their cartographic quality varies greatly, as do their visual imagery and

textual elements (Greenow and Mano, 2003). The street maps in the brochures served as bait, luring visitors in need of a map to have a look at the wealth of local information and advertising arranged around the map.

Map brochures such as those studied here typically targeted several audiences at once. Getting the attention of tourists and prospective residents could be the brochure's primary goal, and these productions often included outrageous examples of "unique" features and hyperbolic claims to fame, such as "Pancake Hub of the Universe" (Liberal, Kansas), or "America's Most Historic City" (both Charleston, South Carolina and Fredericksburg, Virginia). Ironically, many of these places also claimed to offer the typical ideal life of a wholesome, stable community of gracious living, church-going residents, fine schools and good jobs (Mano and Greenow, 2004).

Somewhat different messages were sent to audiences of businesses or industries that might be attracted to the area, bringing their employees who were thus prospective residents. Rather than playing up the local climate or breath-taking views, these materials often provided text, statistics and graphic images portraying the community's already thriving economy and its potential for future growth. Oswego County, New York, provided a list of 52 firms located within its boundaries; similar lists appeared on many map brochures throughout the country. It is not surprising that a local business association would advertise its area's economic success. The information and images serve as a fascinating reminder of what people considered to be progress, prosperity and good living during the transition period between the end of World War II and the deep economic and cultural shifts of the early 1970s.

IMAGES OF PROSPERITY

One is immediately struck by the emphasis given in these map brochures to both industry and outdoor recreation as necessary for the good life. For example, Las Cruces, New Mexico [1967] advertised its aerospace industry along with its climate, scenic wonderland, and unlimited recreation (Figure 1a). Lorain, Ohio, [1969] called itself "An Industrial Empire in Ohio's Vacationland," evoking what seem today to be incompatible land uses (Figure 1b).

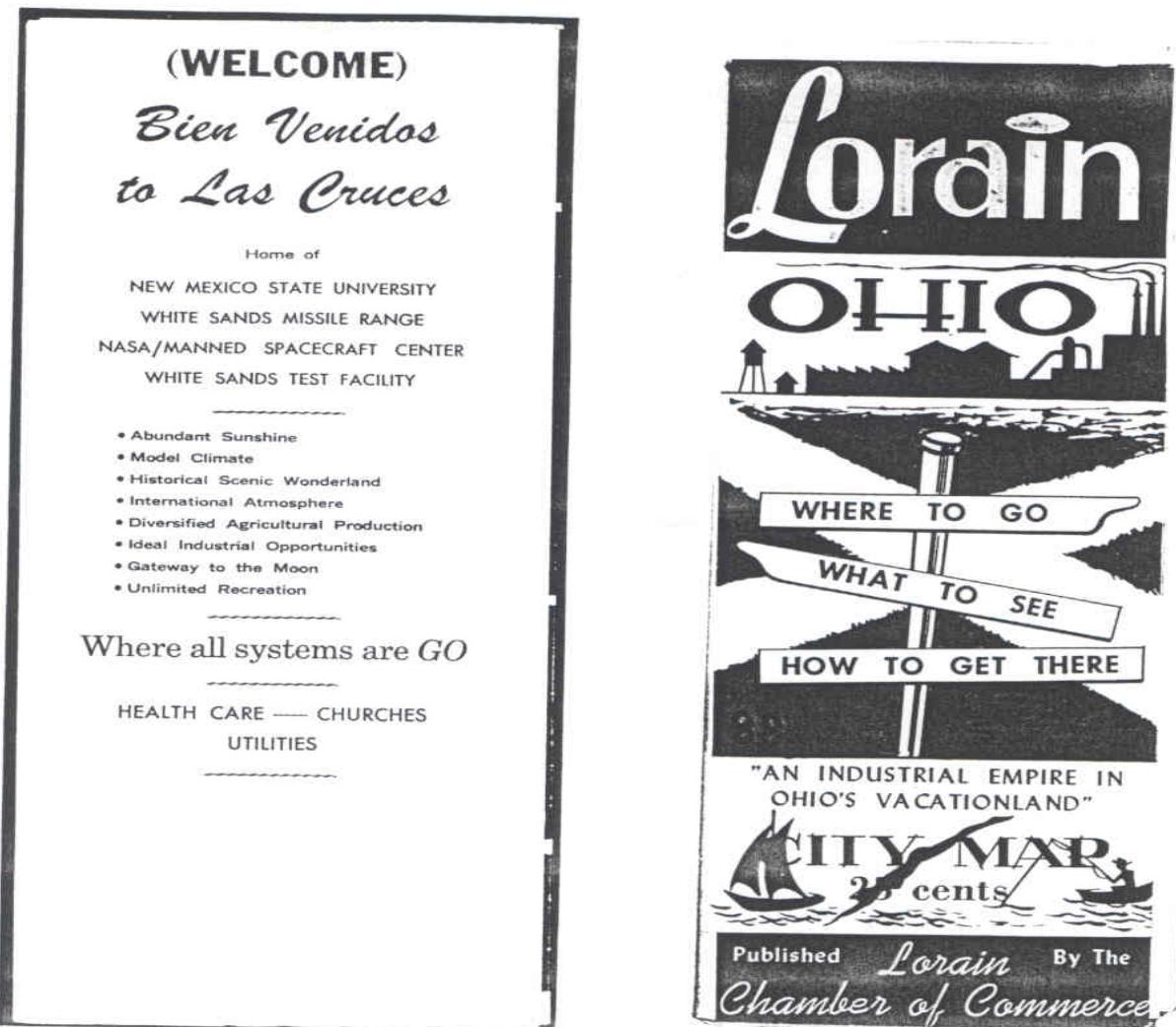


FIGURE 1a. Las Cruces, New Mexico and 1b. Lorain, Ohio

The cover of Lorain's map brochure shows drawings of both an industrial skyline complete with smokestacks sending out waves of polluted air over the waves of Lake Erie, and, below that, the waves of Lake Erie bearing a sailboat and fishing boat. The Lorain Chamber of Commerce, which produced this brochure, advertised a number of local businesses and sponsors on the back of the map, including manufacturers of pipes for sewers and culverts, Nelson Stud Welding Products, and the Freuheuf Trailer Company. A. J. Miller's Housewrecking and the Lorain Slag Company also appeared. These

advertisements were interspersed with others for motels and the Urbas Café. Today, this combination of recreational activities and heavy industries might easily be seen as incompatible or at the least unappealing, but apparently in the 1960s, economic growth, vacationlands, industry and outdoor recreation all belonged to one big package of progress in which a community took great pride. In many manufacturing and industrial cities, tourism was not yet pursued as an alternative path to economic survival. And the environmental impact

of industry on recreation had not yet fully permeated the public's consciousness.

A similar example of the significance of both industry and outdoor recreation comes from the early 1960s. At that time, Zanesville, Ohio, had 60 physicians, 25 dentists, and three fire stations. The Chamber of Commerce portrayed its town as an attractive mixture of industrial opportunities and social amenities, an "All-America City". Colorful panels outlined the town's history and its educational and recreational facilities. Another panel described Zanesville's industrial base, employing 8,600 in industry, and over 18,000 workers in business and industry. A list of names of 36 of the biggest employers is provided, along with a direct appeal to "bona fide" firms to purchase sites and expand the industrial base. The street map is surrounded by drawings to emphasize both industry, in the form of ceramics products and a steelworker with tongs and protective mask, and recreation in the form of fishing, beaches, swimming and sailing.

Since industry and social amenities were both considered essential for prosperity, it was not unusual to find text or facts about these two very distinct features of a community positioned next to each other on a map or in a brochure. Salem, Oregon called itself "The City of Orderly Growth ... Gateway to the Great Northwest Market" with "Unexcelled Opportunities for Business and Industry." But it also called itself "Charmed land of unequalled beauty, timber and wildlife, a fisherman's paradise," with "scenic splendor" and a "fisherman's delight". Altoona, Pennsylvania, provided a list of 39 area industries, such as clay products, coal mining and electric products, right next to information about the Welcome Wagon and Historic Scenic Attractions. Elyria, Ohio, placed a close-up photo of a smokestack and another of a heavy truck between photos of the local swimming pool and children studying in a library. Clearly industry and outdoor recreation were considered equally essential for good living.

METHODS FOR CREATING AN IMAGE OF PROSPERITY

These promotional map brochures illustrate four methods used to create an image of prosperity in order to generate additional growth. First, a snappy

nickname or slogan could suggest a community's economic vitality (Kenosha, Wisconsin, "City on the Grow"), or its advantageous location for commerce ("Highways, Railways, Airways all ways lead to Swanton" Ohio). Second, an allusion to an impressive array of manufacturing or industrial firms might be provided in a nickname based on a local product, or in narrative descriptions, photographs or drawings of industries or products. Third, highlighting local technological wonders such as an atomic energy plant signaled a community's position on the threshold of scientific and economic progress. And fourth, a direct invitation to investors could be quite effective. In analyzing each of these methods, the content of the text or image, its position relative to other information in the brochure, and the degree to which it dominated the brochure as a whole are considered.

GROWTH AND OPPORTUNITY

A pointed reference to growth or opportunity in a community's nickname was a direct way to paint an inviting picture for future investors and residents. Two of Iowa's cities, Ames ("A City of Opportunities") and Iowa City ("The City of Opportunity") competed with Chesapeake, Virginia, another "City of Opportunity." More original were Texas City, Texas ("Your Port of Industrial Opportunity") and Sandusky, Ohio ("The City that's Growing Places"). The Public Information Center claimed that Joplin, Missouri, was the "Fastest-Growing Chemical Center in the Great Midwest" and the Chamber of Commerce of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, claimed that it was the fastest-growing city of Pennsylvania. The Chamber of Commerce of Charlotte, North Carolina, boldly proclaimed that "Charlotte's growing so fast we don't dare print a skyline picture" on their map brochure, lending a sense of urgency to any future plans one might have to visit Charlotte. The village of Swanton, Ohio, called itself "Your Key to Opportunity" and displayed a somewhat alarming drawing of factories and smokestacks next to a residential neighborhood (Figure 2a). This was especially important considering that the map inside was used for zoning purposes. Swanton was direct in its welcome: "In short, if you want a fast-growing, friendly community

in which to locate your family or an industry, you'll like Swanton!" The tiny community of Frankfort, New York (population 3,872 in 1967) invited the world to "The Town with a Future - Watch Us Grow", certainly a more encouraging message than the one printed on a Hays, Kansas, map brochure: "Don't Lose Interest in Hays." (The Hays map brochure was published by the Farmers' State Bank, but the play on words may well have backfired.)

Some communities gave themselves nicknames that highlighted their geographic location and transport links or short distances to major cities. A market area that reached beyond state boundaries, while awkward to describe, could sound impressive. McCook, Nebraska, called itself "The Retail Center of Southwest Nebraska and Northwest Kansas," and Worthington, Minnesota was "The Business Heart of Southwestern Minnesota and Northwestern Iowa." Lubbock, Texas went all-out on this theme, calling itself "The Hub of the Plains", derived from declaring itself the hub of eleven different activities such as



"Hub of Education!" and "Hub of Industry!" (Figure 2b).

Sioux City, Iowa, used two such references, as "The Activity Center of Northwest Iowa" and "Port of Sioux City Now Serving the World."

MANUFACTURING AND INDUSTRY

A city's entire economic base might be captured in one phrase centering on a principal local product. Thus, Wilmington, Delaware congratulated itself on being the "Chemical Capital of the World", Akron, Ohio became the "Rubber Capital of the World" and Green Bay, Wisconsin, a double-header, was the "Tissue-Paper Capital and Cheese-Processing Capital of America." North Carolinians seem to have been particularly fond of this approach in Lenoir ("The Furniture City"), Mt. Airy ("The Granite City"), Rocky Mount ("The Red Carpet City"), Thomasville ("The Chair City") and Winston-Salem ("The Industrial Capital of North Carolina").

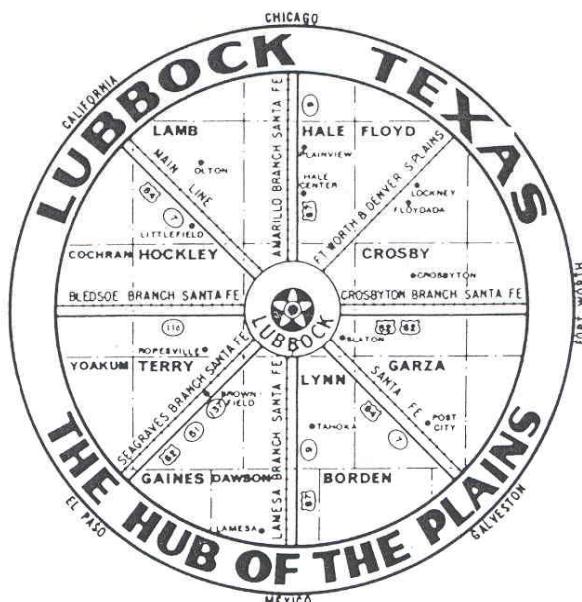


FIGURE 2a., Swanton, Ohio: "Your Key to Opportunity" and 2b. Lubbock, Texas: "The Hub of the Plains"

Some communities clearly had more specific evidence of their industrial success, or at least employed the facts to convince future manufacturers to join their march to prosperity. The Warren (Ohio) Area Chamber of Commerce (1970) produced a hard-hitting and upbeat map brochure focused almost exclusively on manufacturing and industry of the area. The brochure's cover includes a group photo of leaders of the Chamber of Commerce, Jaycees, and Rotary Club standing beneath Warren's motto: "Best Today, Better Tomorrow." Below this photo are aerial photos of unidentified industrial plants hard at work. The Chamber's own recently completed studies showed that Warren was "one of the most rapidly growing industrial communities in the state and even in the nation" and they attributed this success to "the growth of long established industries as well as the opening of many new ones in the area." These included producers of machinery, rubber, bronze, aluminum, iron and steel, electrical equipment and tools, among many products listed. The Chamber of Commerce explains that the area's "expanding industrial economy" had brought population growth, a ten percent increase during the 1960s, clearly a good omen. The map itself is an unusual one among the map brochures of this era, showing only a few important public buildings such as the courthouse and post office, and some golf courses and country clubs. But none of the usual features in other promotional map brochures appear in Warren's, such as schools, churches, hospitals, cemeteries, museums or parks. The map is completely dominated by 53 industries and manufacturing plants, whose names and locations are listed prominently.

In 1966, the Badger Lumber Company produced an ambitious local map of the area of Parkersburg, West Virginia and Belpre, Ohio, calling it "The Mid-Ohio Valley Region." Along with the usual street maps of local towns, a regional map spotlights the industries of this region as the "New Industrial Heart of America," clearly a good thing. Information shows that this area produced everything from oil well equipment, chemicals and concrete blocks to ice cream and infants' wear. The Ohio River Valley from Point Pleasant to Moundsville is shown, along with 58 industrial plants, their locations, names, and products. Individual plants are located on the map along with small icons showing steam shovels, smokestacks, and chemical beakers.

Shading indicates the locations of coal deposits, natural gas fields, and salt deposits. This remarkable map brochure, a cartographic tribute to heavy industry, also provides limited information about the area's schools, hospitals, parks and government offices. There are no references to scenic views or good fishing spots.

Waterloo and Cedar Falls, Iowa [undated], where "Living is Fun", provided names and street addresses of local schools, hospitals, restaurants and hotels. However, other than the local map, the dominant panel by far in the brochure is a list of names and addresses of its 90 manufacturers and industrial plants. They produced such items as doughnut machines, pellet crumbilizers, athletic uniforms, manure spreaders, refrigerator shelves, concrete pipes and caskets.

LOCAL TECHNOLOGICAL WONDERS

Many children of the 1950s were exposed to media coverage and school activities invoking the terrors of nuclear attack, fallout shelters and air raid drills. Twenty years later, some of them may have found it difficult to imagine atomic energy as a symbol of progress and prosperity. However, others were promoting nuclear power as a clean source of energy with "peaceful uses" for meeting constructive goals. In the 1960s, some communities made only the merest mention of such facilities. The Chamber of Commerce in Pullman, Washington relegated its plant to a small black blur at the edge of the map, labeled simply "nuclear reactor" and instead splashed photos of Washington State University and a Business Directory across its brochure. Monroe, Michigan, only listed the Enrico Fermi Atomic Energy Plant as one of 24 points of interest on its Chamber of Commerce map, in tiny letters. However, the 1960s belonged to the Space Age, and some communities with a nuclear or atomic energy plant played up this asset in their map brochures. The Chamber of Commerce of Sioux Falls, South Dakota ("The Crossroads of the Nation") explained that "Modern industrial development is the key to progressive growth" and displayed photos of its atomic plant, a very modern jet and a downtown parking ramp, described as a unique feature of the city and "another example of progressive, futuristic

city planning.” Interestingly, these photos share space with text reading “Amidst a wholesome environment and way of life” and photos of golfers, the zoo, and local parks.

In upstate New York, The County Tourism Board invited the public to “Visit Cattaraugus County,” a very rural area of southwestern New York State. Its map and brochure were adorned with photos of ski lifts, wildlife, and Allegany State Park, described as 60,000 acres of “natural forest playground” which was “nestled among picturesque, wooded mountains.” Also nestled among the wooded mountains was a Nuclear Fuel Reprocessing Plant near West Valley. The aerial photo and accompanying text explained that “Out of the atomic age a new industry has come to Cattaraugus County, the Western New York Nuclear Service Center ...” And that was only the beginning. The County expected to attract additional “nuclear-related industries” to its natural forest playground, including “facilities for extracting neptunium and plutonium isotopes from the recovered uranium fuel” of the reprocessing plant.

Oswego County, New York, considered itself the “Gateway to the 1,000 Islands, the Adirondacks and Canada.” Indeed, the Greater Oswego Chamber of Commerce publicized the county’s natural wonders with photos of nearby beaches, fishing, sailing, canoeing and horseback riding. Historic sites, the state college, and the port and harbor of the city of Oswego were touted as evidence of “A growing, progressive county for business, industry and modern living.” One panel of the map brochure was devoted to listing the industries of the county, including frozen foods, the Huron Portland Cement Company, the Hammermill Paper Company, and the Nestle Company. A drawing of the atomic power plant at nearby Nine Mile Point was featured in a special panel, with an additional drawing of its Observation Center to win over any reluctant visitors. Ironically, these drawings are positioned on the county map next to a drawing of a gorgeous bass leaping from the waters of Lake Ontario. Only a very few years later, students in Gordon Matzke’s environmental geography course at the State University College at Oswego studied the Nine Mile Point plant to learn about thermal pollution and negative impacts of nuclear power plants on local fish and aquatic life.

Idaho Falls, Idaho, was proud of its diverse economy in 1960, and boasted about its potato crop as both an agricultural and manufacturing product. Local industries also produced meat products, farm equipment, pre-fab houses, folding banquet tables and fishing flies. But all of this took a back seat to the area’s “atomic energy mileposts”, the very first item of text to strike one’s eye upon opening the map brochure. A photo shows the National Reactor Testing Station, located about 50 miles west of the city. The photo is accompanied by a full description of the NRTS Experimental Breeder Reactor, its role in generating the prototype of the power plant used by the first atomic submarine, and the processing plant that recovered fissionable material from spent reactor fuel. Placed just below this photo was a photo of Old Faithful Geyser, and an invitation to visitors to stop off at Idaho Falls on the way to Yellowstone Park. Unfortunately, Old Faithful’s steam rises into cumulus clouds that resembled, at the moment the photo was taken, a very large mushroom cloud. This was apparently not considered a possible deterrent to visitors in the 1960s. In any case, inside the brochure one encounters more pleasant aspects of life in Idaho Falls—baseball, golf, the municipal swimming pool, and the Idaho Falls L.D.S. (Mormon) Temple. Altogether, this brochure was probably perceived by 1960s audiences as a very positive picture of Idaho Falls.

Few communities could compete with the space-age assets that The Home Builders Association of Las Cruces, New Mexico had at its disposal in designing its map brochure of 1967. The cover of the brochure welcomes everyone in English and in Spanish and points out that Las Cruces was home to the White Sands Missile Range, the NASA/Manned Spacecraft Center, the White Sands Test Facility, and ideal industrial opportunities. In case these features did not sufficiently dazzle visitors, the Association also claimed that Las Cruces was the “Gateway to the Moon,” and a place “Where all systems are GO”. The opportunities generated by such space-age assets were undeniable. Las Cruces had “a thriving and rapidly expanding economy” with “an attractive balance of agriculture, space and missile development, higher education, retail and wholesale trade, tourism and manufacturing.” Indeed, the Association explained that this city of 45,000 people had “more than 50 contractors building spec and custom built homes”, 26 mobile home parks, and 30

motel-hotels with more than 1,000 rooms. As one would expect from a Home Builders Association, the only visible features on the street map are shaded areas representing twelve housing developments inside the city limits, their names and the names of the developers. All in all, this map brochure created a sense of great vitality, growth and opportunity in Las Cruces. One would not want to miss the excitement in this community's future, missile range and test facility notwithstanding.

Communities that were not fortunate enough to have an atomic energy plant could publicize any other modern technological marvels they could claim. Alice, "The Wonderland of South Texas", supplied a list of "Eight Reasons the Alice International Airport should be in Your Plans", including a lighted runway, available on request. Pierre, South Dakota, the proud "Home of the Giant Oahe Dam", featured a diagram and description, front and center, of "the world's largest compacted rolled-earth dam," part of a "mighty effort to tame the Outlaw Missouri River." The Security National Bank and Trust Company of Norman, Oklahoma, produced a rousing map brochure promoting the University of Oklahoma and at the same time disentangling the mysteries of its "Auto Walk-In Bank", designed to serve four customers at once. Amarillo, Texas, provided a helpful diagram showing customers how to navigate their cars through First National Bank's "motor bank" and its seven drive-up windows.

INVITATIONS TO INVESTORS

Some maps were clearly designed to generate investment. Eastern Palm Beach County, Florida, includes world-famous vacation resorts and retirement communities such as Palm Beach and Boca Raton. However, on the cover of the map brochure produced in 1970 by the Palm Beach County Development Board, tourism shares the spotlight with agriculture, ocean science and industry as the four pillars of life in this presumably tropical paradise (to be fair, the official seal of the Board shows only palm trees and sand dunes). The text refers exclusively to industry. Lists of representative industries are grouped according to the number of employees of each; the Research and Development Center of Pratt & Whitney Aircraft shares top billing with the Radio Corporation of America's data

electronic processing facility, each employing over 3,000 workers. The only other text is a cautious disclaimer by the Board, which had made "every effort ... to list major industrial parks and sites" and apologizes for any omissions. The map's content reveals the Board's most likely intention. Nearly all the streets and buildings of the eastern part of the county are, unsurprisingly, located within a few blocks of the coast. Large triangles in the empty interior beckon investors and developers, clearly the Board's target audience. This exclusive emphasis on potential industrial parks is somewhat surprising considering the current and historical faith in tourism, retirement communities and spin-off service industries as coastal Florida's economic foundation.

The Chamber of Commerce of Nashua, New Hampshire, may have revealed more than it should have in its map brochure featuring advertising from many local businesses. A narrative called "Facts about Nashua" outlines the community's "economic breakdown" of 1948 when the largest employer, a textile manufacturer, decided to close and sell its mills. The Nashua Industrial Committee was formed to acquire and liquidate the property, and to encourage "every industry, regardless of size, that expressed an interest" to locate in the community in order to prevent a "reoccurrence" of the events of 1948. The Business Directory assures the audience that Nashua has developed into an "excellent shopping, industrial and residential city". But for some, the references to the 1948 breakdown may cast a pall over the principal message.

CONCLUSION

At mid-century the idea of growth, with no bounds or limits, seemed to hold universal appeal, at least for local business and civic leaders. The ideal community prospered by maintaining a mix of both industry and recreational amenities, along with social institutions such as churches and schools. The marketing pitch was based on economic and cultural characteristics, and in that way it was similar to pitches for frontier towns, railroad towns, and investment projects in other times and other places. Lewis (1972) and others described the public perception of the decline of small towns in the 1970s, a time when small towns were actually experiencing a demographic revival. Place promotion intersects

these two seemingly contradictory trends; its purpose is to achieve growth by attracting industries and people, and its method is to create positive messages that counteract images of decline.

These particular map brochures raise several questions that are worth pursuing. Our reactions to positive images of the past through the lens of today's values and preferences tell us that those values and preferences may have changed significantly. In many places, the pursuit of industry and growth has not slowed since mid-century, and in fact has become more visible in some ways. How does the content of the place promotion messages of the 1960s compare to the content of place marketing by Chambers of Commerce and other civic boosters today? How and in what ways did our collective ideals about prosperity and quality of life change? Short et al. (1993) documented the initial resistance of residents in Syracuse, New York, to efforts to "reconstruct" the city, a process that included new marketing of the city for external consumption, a changing internal debate about the meaning of the city, and the creation of new urban spaces. Has the use of web-based promotional materials changed the promotional message along with the method of delivery? What has happened to the street map—the bait—in the development of web-based promotional materials? The wealth of material in these promotional map brochures establishes a baseline for examining such changes in the images of prosperity constructed by American cities and towns.

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