

Secure Your Fallout Shelter:
Radiation from the Cold War Conscience is Closing in

Harrison Wallace

December 4, 2008

HIST 4635

“In the event of an attack, the lives of families which are not hit in a nuclear blast and fire can still be saved—if they can be warned to take shelter and if that shelter is available. We owe that kind of insurance to our families—and to our country,” said President John F. Kennedy on July 25, 1961 regarding the ever-growing threat of nuclear war between the United States and the Soviet Union. Kennedy was of course referring to fallout shelters, and there would soon be a national shelter program administered by the Department of Defense.¹ The desire for fallout shelters had been around since the end of World War II, but it was the early 1960s that saw a boom in their production and popularity. However, the “shelter skelter” would go just as quickly as it came, especially with the resolution of the Cuban missile crisis and the Berlin crisis towards the end of 1961. Kennedy, who was sometimes scrutinized for having caused the shelter craze in the first place, later said, “let us concentrate more on keeping enemy bombers and missiles away from our shores and concentrate less on keeping neighbors away from our shelters.”² Kennedy offered further insight on the situation when he said, “when the skies are clear no one is interested...then when the clouds come, and after all, we have no insurance that they will not come, everyone will wonder why more wasn't done.”³ Nothing captures the emotion of the early 1960s better. Naturally, people want to be protected, but when danger is out of sight, it is out of mind. As nuclear war became less of a threat, which happened almost suddenly, the presence of fallout shelters dropped proportionately. However, just as fallout shelters had been around before the 1960s, they would be around afterwards as well. Even though fallout shelters came into the national spotlight with a bang and left silently, it is easy to see that they were the single greatest cultural product of the Cold War. The purpose of this paper is to examine the history of the fallout shelter during the 1950s and 60s, including survival narratives that sparked interest in the

shelters, “do-it-yourself” shelters, prefabricated shelters, public shelters, the controversy surrounding shelters, and shelters in entertainment.

Even though the speech by President Kennedy in 1961 sparked the largest shelter boom, there were two other events that caused interest in fallout shelters to spike. The first occasion was in late 1949 after the Soviets successfully tested their first nuclear bomb. The second peak came in the mid 1950s after the development of the Hydrogen bomb.⁴ Right after news broke of the Soviet test in 1949, survival guide pamphlets were almost immediately distributed to the public. One of the first pamphlets to come out was *Survival Under Atomic Attack: The Official U. S. Government Booklet* in early 1950. The pamphlet only mentioned “war” a few times and never mentioned the Soviet Union. Instead, it focused more on the effects of nuclear fallout and what to do to survive. All of these pamphlets and guides were part of the larger Civil Defense initiative which aimed to inform the public on how to prepare for atomic warfare. Of course fallout shelters were not designed to protect people from the blast of a nuclear explosion. Instead, the purpose was to protect from the effects, as in the radioactive fallout that comes from a nuclear explosion. The Civil Defense initiative and survival pamphlets focused on survival—that is, through surviving, we will overcome. “In Civil Defense pamphlets, the battles of atomic warfare were not waged against the enemy, but against the effects of the enemy’s bombs, if you survived, then the United States had survived.”⁵ The various Civil Defense pamphlets are littered with rhetoric that makes survival almost seem like a duty. In *Survival Under Atomic Attack*, it said “if you follow the pointers in this little booklet you stand far better than an even chance of surviving the bomb’s blast, heat, and radioactivity.”⁶ Another pamphlet, *This is Civil Defense*, said, “the outcome of modern war is not necessarily decided by armies in the field. Wars today can be won or lost on the home front. The home front cannot be hidden, and it cannot retreat—

not if we are to survive as a free people. That puts the problem squarely up to you.”⁷ The pamphlet also stated, “as a defender of the home front, you must learn to protect yourself and keep on working. One of the chief aims of civil defense is to help you to stay at work no matter what may come. Unless all of us kept at our jobs in the face of attack, the enemy would win the war.”⁸ These survival narratives told stories about the personal life and emphasized personal character traits. Survival of self meant survival of America, and for this reason, it was stressed that it is possible to survive a nuclear attack.

In fallout shelter propaganda, women were given a big role. Playing into the idea that the survival of the family would guarantee the survival of America, women were given the task to make sure their family shelter was stocked and prepared. Since during this era homemaking was considered a woman’s full time job, maintaining the fallout shelter was naturally her assignment. Jean Wood Fuller was one of the most famous women in the Federal Civil Defense Administration. Fuller devised the concept of “Grandma’s Pantry” and, with help from the National Grocer’s Association, pharmaceutical companies, and the American National Dietetic Association, “Fuller drew up guidelines for withstanding a nuclear holocaust.”⁹ The idea behind Grandma’s Pantry was a stocked and ready home bomb shelter for the family. Fuller wrote that “Grandma’s pantry was always ready. She was ready when the preacher came on Sunday or she was ready when the relatives arrived from Nebraska.”¹⁰ Fuller’s point was that, if you kept a well stocked bomb shelter, just as Grandma stocked her pantry, you would be ready for nuclear attack. The family was stressed as being what would keep America together after an attack. The strength of the nation depended on the strength of the family. Survivors were hardly ever portrayed as being at work or school, or even worse, in traffic. The idea was to be at home with your family in your personal shelter.

Much of the government's advice said that you might have to stay safe in the shelter for days or weeks until you heard over the radio from experts that the radiation levels were low enough to come out. Some experts even insisted on laying down so you could better brace for the blast. In his book *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb*, Richard Gerstell—a former radiation monitor at Bikini in 1946—addressed the issue of laying down for up to an hour, which admittedly would be very boring. Gerstell suggested reciting jingles or even trying to recall all of the safety tips in his book. His advice was written simply, just for this very purpose, with rules such as “always shut windows and doors. Always seek shelter. Always drop flat on your stomach. Always follow instructions. Never look up. Never rush outside after a bombing. Never take chances with food or water. Never start rumors.”¹¹ Lying down and keeping quiet was fundamental advice even if you were affected by bombings. The Naval Radiological Defense Laboratory in San Francisco recommended “anyone exposed to radiation from an atomic bomb explosion...should lie down and keep quiet.”¹²

Seeing as personal survival and victory for the nation were interwoven, there was little reference to actual nuclear attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Personal character traits had very little to do with survival in those attacks. The reality was that survival was determined mostly by geographic location in relation to ground zero. Even though Civil Defense propaganda was not afraid to paint bleak futures, it was not designed to portray just how unlikely it was to survive a nuclear attack if you were in close proximity to detonation. After all, the fate of the nation would depend on those who survived attacks from the enemy. One Civil Defense pamphlet, called *What About You and Civil Defense?* portrays this concept quite well in a picture of a woman and a dead child in a post-nuclear war setting. The caption reads “to win—the enemy must smash our MORALE.”¹³ This reinforces the idea that even though the United States may be attacked, as

long as people survived, the enemy can be defeated. And survival of course depended on fallout shelters. Though Hiroshima and Nagasaki were rarely mentioned in government pamphlets regarding a nuclear attack, Americans looked to the media for stories about the Japanese survivors. The residents of these Japanese towns were viewed differently from the rest of Japan, as their status as nuclear victims “redeemed” them from being the enemies we knew during World War II.¹⁴ Fat Man and Little Boy instantly killed 150,000 people, but many of the 100,000 who were injured did indeed survive, and these were the case examples Americans looked to for hope. John Hersey in his article *Hiroshima* would bring Americans their first major taste of the aftermath of the bombs in an August 1946 issue of *The New Yorker*. One of Hersey’s accounts was of Miss Sasaki, a clerk at the East Asia Tin Works. He writes of her,

“She thought that before she would begin to make entries on her list of new employees, discharges, and departures for the Army, she would chat for a moment with the girl at her right. Just as she turned her head away from the windows, the room was filled with a blinding light...Everything fell, and Miss Sasaki lost consciousness. The ceiling dropped suddenly and the wooden floor above collapsed in splinters and the people up there came down and the roof above them gave way; but principally and first of all the bookcases right behind her swooped forward and the contents threw her down, with her left leg horribly twisted and breaking underneath her. There, in the tin factory, in the first moment of the atomic age, a human being was crushed by books.”¹⁵

Many of Hersey’s accounts were much more horrific. The atrocities of the bomb would fuel fear of the bomb in to Americans. Though the aftermath of the nuclear attacks in World War II did not itself spark one of the fallout shelter crazes, it did show Americans just how real an attack could be and certainly paved the way for bomb shelters and fallout shelters in the decades to come. With Hiroshima and Nagasaki in the public conscience, scientists with political agendas began drawing up what future nuclear wars could be like. This movement, known appropriately as the “scientist’s movement” served to “issue broad public warnings about the nature of atomic explosions” and to also help pass bills such as the Atomic Energy Act of 1946. The Atomic

Energy Act established that nuclear weapon and power management would be ran by civilians rather than the military, and established the United States Atomic Energy Commission.¹⁶

As noted, Kennedy's speech in 1961 was the biggest peak for fallout shelters. Many companies started up just to sell fallout shelters after they received the presidential plug. Business was so well that some companies franchised, such as the Wonder Building Company based out of Chicago. One Los Angeles company sold 236 units in a month and the Lancer Survival Corporation in Long Island sold 200 units in two weeks. It is reported that by 1962, an estimated 200,000 fallout shelters were sold or built in all. The general range for the price of prefabricated shelters ran from about \$13 for a basic enclosed shelter, to \$5,500 for lavishly furnished shelters that included luxuries such as telephones and toilets.¹⁷ With legitimate fallout shelter suppliers and contractors, con artists would unfortunately come as well. Many in Long Island complained about paying up to \$1,000 dollars to contractors who would come dig a hole in their backyard and then disappear. One customer in Dallas complained of the roof collapsing in a purchased shelter. Of 30 shelters inspected in Tennessee at one point, only 3 of them met civil defense specifications. In response to some of these questionable practices, one shelter salesman is reported as saying, "what's the difference? They won't be coming around to complain if it doesn't work." If anything positive can be made of this, it is that the fallout shelter business at least stimulated the economy. At one point, Wall Street said that the shelter trade could gross up to \$20 billion dollars.¹⁸ In addition to fallout shelter companies, "Survival Stores" also sprung up which sold everything from flashlights, to first aid kits, to food and water, and of course fallout protection suits. Even though only 200,000 private fallout shelters were sold, it is estimated that by 1960, only 1,500 shelters were actually stocked and ready for use. Polls also showed that only 40% of Americans were still contemplating building or buying a shelter.¹⁹

On the flip side of prefabricated shelters were the “do-it-yourself” shelters. A lot of these shelters were simply walled off basements or cellars stocked with food and a radio, despite the government warning that such loose precautions could “broil its occupants to a crisp or squeeze them like grapefruit.”²⁰ Even though people were building their own shelters, “fewer than 3 per cent of Americans built fallout shelters.”²¹ Despite this fact, “the government requested citizens, through a series of publications reinforced by the mass media, to furnish their own security, and fallout shelters presented homeowners with a do-it-yourself activity that combined home improvement with family safety.”²² Many Civil Defense booklets warned against the dangers of fallout, including 1955 pamphlet, *Facts About Fallout* which stated “IT WILL HURT YOU! IT MAY EVEN KILL YOU.”²³ The do-it-yourself program really kicked off with Eisenhower with the issuing of his 1958 National Shelter Policy. Magazines like *Good Housekeeping* also helped promote the use of shelters. A November 1958 issue included an editorial called “A Frightening Message for a Thanksgiving Issue” which said “your only hope of salvation is a *place* to go.”²⁴ In 1959, the Office of Civil and Defense Mobilization (OCDM) distributed *The Family Fallout Shelter* pamphlet. It included step-by-step instructions on how to construct your own shelter. Do-it-yourself projects were popular at this time and building fallout shelters was promoted as just another leisurely activity. A 1962 book titled the *Fallout Shelter Handbook*, said that the first requirement of shelter construction is “a sharp pencil and a lot of paper.”²⁵ Educational films were another way the government circulated how to build a shelter. The film *Walt Builds a Family Shelter: A How-To-Do-It Project* was financed by the National Concrete Masonry Association and the OCDM. In the film, Walt uses *The Family Fallout Shelter* pamphlet as his guide and opts to build the “Basement Concrete Block Shelter.” The estimated cost of this model was \$150 and required materials that could be easily found in the hardware store. The specific

materials included 535 concrete blocks, 5 bags of mortar mix, 6 wooden posts, 95 feet of board sheathing, and 6 pounds of nails. Walt lays out the plans and explains that building it will only take a few weekends to complete. Walt says that “anybody who isn’t all thumbs can do it.”²⁶ On average, these do-it-yourself shelters were small. The typical concrete basement shelter frequently featured by the OCDM “offered four feet of head clearance and, although presented as capable of housing up to six persons, it measured only sixty square feet.”²⁷ Fallout Shelter kits were another popular option for do-it-yourselfers. In 1961, *Life* magazine featured the low cost Kelsey-Hayes shelter kit. “Assembled from a kit of four modular steel panels, the 2 x 66 x 8 foot shelter, available at Sears that autumn, could reportedly be erected by two men in four hours with only a screwdriver and a wrench.” Fathers and sons were often depicted working together on the home fallout shelter. “Fathers engaging in do-it-yourself were deemed to set ‘a fine example’ for boys, especially at a time when society considered teenagers at high risk of juvenile delinquency and homosexuality.”²⁸

If private shelters were not an option for somebody, there were public shelters as well. Some speculated over underground caves or mineshafts which could serve as giant public shelters. Sweden built an underground cave shelter for 20,000 people. A similar program costing \$32 billion was put before Congress, but it was deemed too expensive.²⁹ Even though there would be a few large underground shelters, they would be almost exclusive to government use. Many public buildings were tagged as fallout shelters for regular citizens, including schools. The first school to be built that was intended to also serve as a fallout shelter was the Abo Elementary School, built in 1962 in Artesia, New Mexico. The OCDM noted that “hidden by an inconspicuous steel door in each entry is a decontamination detour room equipped with a shower...Even the school’s combination cafeteria and auditorium can be used to feed 2,100

people on a staggered schedule...The nurse's office, the teacher's lounge, and the book storage room can be converted into a hospital." To the public, the school was expressed as having superior learning environments, such as "ventilation control" or "extra wall space for teaching."³⁰ In 1964, the *Christian Science Monitor* reported that "nine schools had been built following Abo's success."³¹ Of course schools would not be the only public buildings that would be built as fallout shelters. The American Institute of Architects held national contests for double-duty malls. "The winners of the contests designed expansive reinforced concrete buildings with few windows and little height that were nonetheless attractive and did not at first glance reveal their military purpose." By 1967, the OCDM had a list of hundreds of buildings that could serve as fallout shelters, including fire stations, high schools, banks, churches.³²

One of the more interesting phenomena to come from fallout shelters was the distrust and privacy that citizens sought from their neighbors. Many planned their shelters in secret. Some builders in the Boston area recalled being asked to build shelters for their clients during the night. If asked about the new construction, many would tell their neighbors they were simply installing a wine cellar or some other addition to their home. Self defense was another issue on top of the secrecy. "Once he took the leap of faith in fallout protection, a man's shelter promised to be, if not his castle, at least his moat protecting the family from nuclear siege. But what if the shelter door was besieged not just by bombs?"³³ A Chicago man is credited as saying, "when I get my shelter finished, I'm going to mount a machine gun at the hatch to keep the neighbors out if the bomb falls."³⁴ A Texas man admitted to stocking his shelter with four rifles and a .357 Magnum in addition to the regular supplies.³⁵ A Hartford, CT man put it bluntly when he told one of his neighbors at a community meeting that he would shoot her and her child if they tried to get in his shelter. Furthermore, In 1961, J. Carlton Adair, the Civil Defense director in Las

Vegas, proposed a 5,000 person militia to fend off people looking for refuge, as they would try to pour in “like a swarm of locusts.” Likewise, Civil Defense coordinator Keith Dwyer of Riverside County told officials in Beaumont, CA to expect 150,000 people from Los Angeles to come looking for shelter. Dwyer advised that everyone should include a pistol in their survival kits.

Many would turn to religion regarding the issue of shelter defense. Predictably, even the responses from Churches were varied. Some clergy defended the right to protect yourselves against your neighbors, calling them unjust aggressors, while others cited Jesus’s compassion. In a 1961 *Time* magazine article, six religious authorities gave their input on the subject, and one of them—Father Francis Filas, chairman of the department of theology at Loyola University in Chicago—was in favor of defending your fallout shelter, however he stressed that “the method of restriction would have to be moral—namely barring the entrance, and not the use of violent means unless intrusion itself was threatened.”³⁶ That’s not to say that every man of the cloth did not advocate the use of violence. Father L. C. McHugh, the associate editor for science for the Jesuit magazine *America*, wrote in an article that it was okay for Christians to use “protective devices” to defend against panicky aggressors.³⁷ Naturally, many in the Christian community were appalled by McHugh’s advice. Episcopal Bishop of Washington DC Angus Dun, in direct response to McHugh’s article said “the kind of man who will be most desperately needed in a post-attack world is least likely to dig himself a private mole-hole that has no room for his neighbor.”³⁸ Completely opening your shelter to your neighbors or violently fending them off are opposite ends of the spectrum, so of course there was a middle ground opinion in the religious community. In another religious magazine, *Commonweal*, the editors wrote “if we do not address ourselves to the problems raised by Bishop Dun, we may one day be forced to address ourselves to the problems raised by Father McHugh.”³⁹ As far as places of worship having their own

fallout shelters, the Rabbinical Council of America proposed that all new synagogues built should be fitted with shelters. It is speculated that only one Church ever built its own private shelter bunker to serve the congregation—the Green Mountain Christian Church in Colorado.⁴⁰ Fortunately, the fallout shelter craze would come to an abrupt end, which saved neighborhoods from having to worry about turning on each other for a piece of safety. Kenneth Rose, in his book *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture*, suggested that the morality debate “badly damaged the reputation of the home shelter.”⁴¹ Even President Kennedy, who is largely responsible for sparking the biggest boom in shelter popularity is quoted as saying, “let us concentrate more on keeping enemy bombers and missiles away from our shores, and concentrate less on keeping neighbors away from our shelters.”⁴² In an ironic sense, many fallout shelters would become wine cellars or used for storage and other things, so those neighbors who tried to keep their shelters a secret were not exactly lying.

Even the entertainment industry would weigh in on the moral issues of fallout shelters. *The Twilight Zone*, a science fiction anthology series, ran from 1959 to 1964 during the highest point of fallout shelter popularity. As it was, the show would of course have episodes involving fallout shelters and nuclear war from time to time. In the episode “The Shelter,” *Twilight Zone* creator Rod Serling takes on the moral dilemma of fallout shelters directly. In the episode, neighbors are visiting the community doctor on his birthday. During the party the radio announces impending nuclear attack. The doctor and his family secure themselves in their shelter and the guests plead for entry, as the doctor is the only one in the neighborhood with a shelter. The neighbors, desperate for entry, begin behaving violently and unite to break down the shelter door, despite many of the party members disliking each other. Just as the neighbors break through the door, the radio announces that it was a false alarm. The neighbors quickly regain

themselves and offer to pay for the damages they have caused. The doctor questions the whole situation and comments on how quickly his neighbors turned when he calls them “naked wild animals who put such a price on staying alive that they’ll claw their neighbors to death just for the privilege. We were spared a bomb tonight, but I wonder if we weren’t destroyed even without it.” Serling’s closing words for this episode were “No moral, no message, no prophetic tract. Just a simple statement of fact: ‘For civilization to survive, the human race has to remain civilized.’”⁴³ Another famous *Twilight Zone* episode deals with a man emerging from shelter after the world has been devastated by Hydrogen Bomb attacks. The 1959 episode, “Time Enough at Last,” comes only years after the development of the Hydrogen Bomb and deals with a man who loves to read and enjoys his solitude. He takes his lunch break in the bank vault where he works and notices the newspaper headline “H-Bomb Capable of Total Destruction.” Moments later he hears explosions and the intense shaking of the building knocks him out. When he emerges he sees a devastated landscape and cannot find a single survivor. Accepting his losses, he realizes he has plenty of time to read now. Unfortunately, his glasses break and he utters one of the most famous lines delivered in the original *Twilight Zone* series: “That’s—that’s not fair. That’s not fair at all. There was time now. There was, was all the time I needed! It’s not fair!”⁴⁴

The popularity of the Cold War and the fallout shelter phenomenon would not be limited to just the Cold War era, however. Even today the entertainment industry turns to this topic for movies, television, books, and other media. The idea of sharing your fallout shelter with your neighbors or not came up in the 1995 *Simpsons* episode “Bart’s Comet.” Though the means of destruction in this scenario is a comet, there is still a Cold War vibe. When approached by the entire town, the devout Christian neighbor Ned Flanders says “you know, I may regret this when

our air runs out and we can't whistle or stay alive... but oh, what the hey” and proceeds to let everyone in, and even volunteers to leave the shelter when they find that there is one person too many.⁴⁵ One of the more recent films that directly deals with fallout shelters is the 1999 comedy “Blast from the Past.” In this movie, which starts out in the 1962, deals with a paranoid father who has a fully stocked fallout shelter. They turn on the television and see the news about the Cuban missile crisis. In an isolated incident, an Air Force pilot is forced to eject from his plane due to engine failures. The paranoid father rushes his pregnant wife into their shelter just as the plane accidentally crashes into their home, and they believe it is a nuclear attack. The wife has her child, and for the next 35 years live in the shelter. Their son, who was born and raised in the shelter, is sent out to look for supplies believing that nuclear war actually happened in 1962. The family believes that the 1990s civilization is a result of the nuclear war and fallout radiation.⁴⁶ In 1997, the video game *Fallout* came out to much praise and spawned two sequels and many spinoffs. In these games, nuclear war with America was actually started by Communist China in the 2050's, though the games design takes in many elements from 1950's American culture such as the clothing, music, and architecture. In this alternate reality, the United States government contracted a private corporation to build large underground “vaults” for people to take shelter in incase of nuclear attack. In these games the player starts off in one of the vaults where life is safe and secure, but is eventually sent out to gather more supplies. When the player leaves the shelter, he is met with a devastated United States where he finds survivors, some of whom have mutated. These games are considered some of the best and most successful in Computer gaming, and *Fallout 3* which was released on October 28th 2008, had already grossed \$300 million by the writing of this paper (November 2008).⁴⁷

By the mid 1960s, the idea of home fallout shelters was practically dead. Criticism of fallout shelters began as early as 1961, the same year Kennedy gave his famous speech. In a *New York Times* piece, Rabbi William F. Rosenblum said that “kind of thinking will make moles and mice of men instead of human beings created in the image of God.”⁴⁸ Another 1961 article, “Survival: Are Shelters the Answer?” from *Newsweek* questioned the morality of the high cost of shelter construction, by saying that it favored the survival of the wealthy. It also claimed that the optimistic claims of shelter supporters were misleading. “The facts of nuclear war, fallout, and shelter life are far more complex and sobering.”⁴⁹ A group of women from Berkeley, California started a movement to mail the pamphlet *Fallout Protection: What to Know and Do About Nuclear Attack* to the White House with a note requesting a “more positive approach to world problems.”⁵⁰ Additionally, lack of government funding hindered the shelter initiative, leading to the “more economical alternatives of mass evacuation and the elementary school initiatives of ‘duck and cover.’”⁵¹ Despite the decline of shelter popularity, fallout shelters would continue to live on in the minds of Americans and continue to serve as a popular memory of Cold War America.

Notes

1. *Speech To The Nation, July 25, 1961* in *Papers of the President, 1961* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1962), 533
2. Bruce Watson, "We Couldn't Run, So we Hoped we Could Hide," *Smithsonian*, March 1994, 12.
3. *Ibid.*, 13.
4. Robert A. Jacobs, "There are No Civilians; We are all at War: Nuclear War Shelter and Survival Narratives During the Early Cold War," *Journal of American Culture* 30, no. 4 (2007): 402.
5. *Ibid.*, 403.
6. U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *Survival Under Atomic Attack*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950), 31.
7. U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *This Is Civil Defense*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1951), 31.
8. *Ibid.*, 4.
9. Elaine Tyler May, "Explosive Issues: Sex, Women, and the Bom." In *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988), 91.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Richard Gerstell, *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb* (New York: Bantam Books, 1950), 138-139
12. "Be Quiet After Explosion," *Science News Letter*, 1950, 120.
13. U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *What About You and Civil Defense?*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1953)
14. Jacobs, 411.
15. John Hersey, "Hiroshima," *The New Yorker*, August 1946, 20-21.
16. Jacobs, 412.
17. Watson, 3.
18. *Ibid.*, 7.
19. Marta Schaff, *Bomb Shelters & Fear of Nuclear War* (New York: Great Neck Publishing, 2005), 1.
20. Watson, 4.
21. Sarah A. Lichtman, "Do-It-Yourself Security: Safety, Gender, and the Home Fallout Shelter in Cold War America," *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2006): 51.
22. *Ibid.*, 39.
23. U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *Facts About Fallout*, (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1955), 2.
24. "A Frightening Message for a Thanksgiving Issue," *Good Housekeeping*, November 1958, 61.
25. Chuck West, *Fallout Shelter Handbook* (Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, 1962), 50.
26. *Walt Builds a Family Fallout Shelter: A Do-It-Yourself Project* (National Concrete Masonry Association, 1961).
27. Lichtman, 46.
28. *Ibid.*, 48.
29. Watson, 5.

30. Kristina Zarlengo, "Civilian Threat, The Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age American Women," *Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 24, no. 4 (1999): 987.
31. Eubanka Blecknell, "Schools Hold CD Tryouts Underground," *Christian Science Monitor*, July 11, 1964.
32. Zarlengo, 938.
33. Watson, 10.
34. "Gun Thy Neighbor," *Time*, August 1961, 58.
35. Watson, 11.
36. Gun Thy Neighbor, 58.
37. S. J. McHugh, "Ethics At the Shelter Doorway," *America*, August 1961, 825.
38. "Civil Defense: The Sheltered Life," *Time*, October 1961, 23.
39. "Shelter Morality," *Commonweal*, November 1961, 109.
40. Watson, 10.
41. Kenneth D. Rose, *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 97.
42. Jacobs, 410.
43. *The Twilight Zone*, "The Shelter," episode 68, September 29, 1961.
44. *The Twilight Zone*, "Time Enough at Last," episode 8, November 20, 1959.
45. *The Simpsons*, "Bart's Comet," episode 117, February 5, 1995.
46. *Blast From the Past*, directed by Hugh Wilson, New Line Cinema, 1999.
47. Stephany Nunneley, "Fallout 3 Ships 4.7 Million Copies During Launch Week," 1Up, <http://www.1up.com/do/newsStory?cId=3171152> (accessed November 10, 2008).
48. "Rabbi Scorns Temple Shelters As Yielding to Moscow Threat," *New York Times*, October 22, 1961.
49. "Survival," *Newsweek*, November 1961, 19.
50. "Shelters: Jitters Ease, Debate Goes On," *Newsweek*, January 1962, 51.
51. Lichtman, 41.

Bibliography

- “A Frightening Message for a Thanksgiving Issue,” *Good Housekeeping*, November 1958.
- “Be Quiet After Explosion.” *Science News Letter*, 1950.
- Blecknell, Eubanka. “Schools Hold CD Tryouts Underground.” *Christian Science Monitor*, July 11, 1964.
- “Civil Defense: The Sheltered Life.” *Time*, October 1961.
- Gerstell, Richard, *How to Survive an Atomic Bomb*: New York: Bantam Books, 1950.
- “Gun Thy Neighbor.” *Time*, August 1961.
- Hersey, John. “Hiroshima.” *The New Yorker*, August 1946.
- Jacobs, Robert A. “There are No Civilians; We are all at War: Nuclear War Shelter and Survival Narratives During the Early Cold War.” *Journal of American Culture* 30, no. 4 (2007): 401-416.
- Lichtman, Sarah A. “Do-It-Yourself Security: Safety, Gender, and the Home Fallout Shelter in Cold War America,” *Journal of Design History* 19, no. 1 (2007): 39-55.
- May, Elaine Tyler. “Explosive Issues: Sex, Women, and the Bomb.” In *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*, 80-99. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
- McHugh, S. J. “Ethics At the Shelter Doorway.” *America*, August 1961.
- Nunneley, Stephany. “Fallout 3 Ships 4.7 Million Copies During Launch Week.” 1Up. <http://www.1up.com/do/newsStory?cId=3171152> (accessed November 10, 2008).
- Rose, Kenneth D. *One Nation Underground: The Fallout Shelter in American Culture*: New York: New York University Press, 2001.
- Schaff, Marta. *Bomb Shelters & Fear of Nuclear War*: New York: Great Neck Publishing, 2005.
- “Shelter Morality.” *Commonweal*, November 1961.
- “Shelters: Jitters Ease, Debate Goes On.” *Newsweek*, January 1962.
- Speech To The Nation, July 25, 1961*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1962.
- “Survival.” *Newsweek*, November 1961.

- U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *Facts About Fallout*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1955.
- U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *Survival Under Atomic Attack*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1950.
- U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *This Is Civil Defense*. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1951.
- U.S. Federal Civil Defense Administration, *What About You and Civil Defense?* Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1953.
- Watson, Bruce. "We Couldn't Run, So we Hoped we Could Hide." *Smithsonian*, March 1994.
- West, Chuck. *Fallout Shelter Handbook*: Greenwich, CT: Fawcett Publications, 1962.
- Zarlengo, Kristina. "Civilian Threat, The Suburban Citadel, and Atomic Age American Women," *Journal of Women in Culture & Society* 24, no. 4 (1999): 925-958.