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Judith A. Freeman
University of Massachusetts Amherst

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THE DISTORTING IMAGE:
WOMEN AND ADVERTISING, 1900-1960

A Thesis Presented
By
Judith Ann Freeman

Submitted to the Graduate School of the
University of Massachusetts in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of

MASTER OF ARTS

February 1984

History

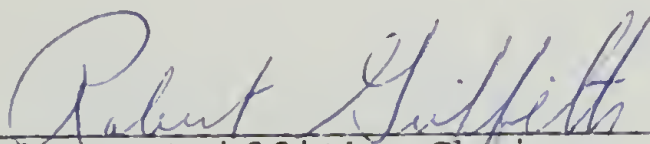
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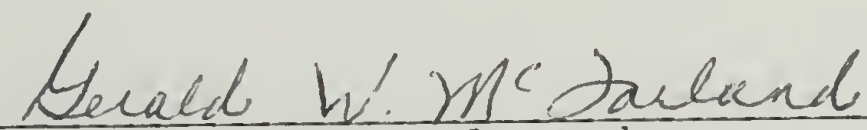
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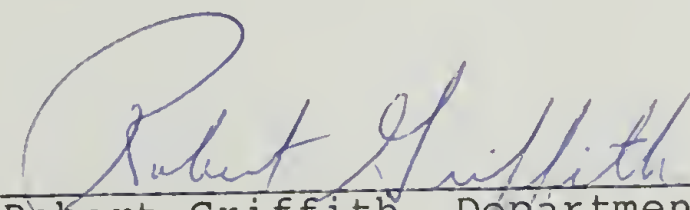
Judith Ann Freeman

Approved as to style and content by:


Robert Griffith, Chairperson of Committee


Joyce A. Berkman, Member


Gerald W. McFarland, Member


Robert Griffith, Department Head
History

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". . . meaning is not inherent within the sign itself, but rather in the social context, whose conventions and rules dictate the articulatory and interpretive strategies to be invoked by producers and interpreters of symbolic forms."

"Symbolic Strategies,"
Sol Worth and Larry Gross.
Journal of Communication,
Autumn, 1974; Vol. 24:4

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INTRODUCTION

Culture is, among other things, a collection of ideas and images, symbols and rituals--a lens through which we interpret and seek to understand our world. In twentieth century America our culture has been shaped to a large, if immeasurable, degree by the institutions of mass advertising. While the operations of these institutions have clearly been motivated by economic drives, their cultural form has been shaped by widely shared social values. The chain of causation does not simply end at this point, however, for those images and values so greatly amplified by mass advertising in turn influence popular attitudes, beliefs and actions. Indeed, C. Wright Mills affirmed that people "are strongly predisposed to see, hear and read what they have been trained to see, hear and read. Yet we cannot overlook the social bases of their fascinated receptivity."¹

Advertising thus serves as a powerful reinforcement of some, but by no means all, of the nation's social imagery.

The extent to which advertising manipulates rather than reinforces this social imagery is difficult to gauge; the purpose of this study is to explore the parameters of that manipulation. Specifically concerned with the imagery of women in the years following World War II, this thesis focuses on advertising in mass market magazines and on the

uses advertising made of that imagery.

Contemporary scholars of mass media observe that magazines have played an important part in American culture for decades. More specifically, "women in America have been considered a specialized audience since at least 1837 when Sarah Josepha Hale editing Godey's Lady's Book."² With few exceptions, American magazine advertising has portrayed women in traditional domestic roles. "Supportive of others and concerned with emotional well-being, woman supposedly strives to please. When she fails to cater to the concerns of others, she is politely damned."³

While advertising's presentation of conventional social imagery could in no way be considered extraordinary, it stood in direct contrast to the employment opportunities that women enjoyed during World War II and beyond. This being the case, it was perhaps this conflict between women's experiences and the images of women in advertising during the post-war years that generated some of the pressures soon to be expressed in a revitalized feminist movement in the 1960s.

This thesis will therefore provide an examination of traditional images of women in advertising and will consider how these images functioned in a mass consumption economy. The influences of such images and realities on the history of American women since World War II are difficult to measure because of their complexities. But these rich and varied reflections of the perceived roles of women are valuable in

that they offer a useful perspective from which to view women's position in American society, both during the immediate post-war period and afterward.

C H A P T E R I

THE GROWTH OF A CONSUMER SOCIETY, 1890-1945

The post-World War II era was a period of uneasy abundance, a "troubled feast" as William Leuchtenberg has called it.⁴ Though the Cold War (and the hot war in Korea) produced anxious if diffuse fears of nuclear holocaust, most of these anxieties were submerged in the massive expansion in the production and distribution of goods and in the emergence of a new consumer society. If the resulting prosperity was uneven and buttressed by military expenditures, it nevertheless stood in sharp contrast to bitter memories of the Great Depression. The prosperity which was a hallmark of the post-war period and which was characterized by a flood of consumer goods was, to a great extent, regulated and promoted by advertising. Indeed, post-war advertising was critical to both the continued economic well-being of the nation and to the continued existence of a consumer society which had been cast in earlier decades, emerging fully modeled in the post-war era.

The bases of the new consumer society were closely aligned with the genesis of American advertising. The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a marked increase in industrial production and a concurrent desire on the part of manufacturers to promote the deluge of goods

resulting from such growth. "With a burgeoning productive capacity, industry now required an equivalent increase in potential consumers of its goods."⁵ Early advertisers, in effect, made a virtue of necessity by promoting a consumerism soon adopted as a way of life by most Americans.

Advertisers helped forge a nation of consumers in several ways: among the most obvious were the promotion of installment buying plans and the extension of consumer credit--buying on "time" quickly became accepted practice. To make these promotions effective, it was necessary to develop an advertising theory that would standardize an approach to selling goods. Toward this end publications such as Printers' Ink began appearing in the late nineteenth century. Founded by George P. Rowell in 1888, Printers' Ink provided a forum for a "continuous stream of advertising thought that eventually permeated the commercial world."⁶ Printers' Ink was joined in 1890 by Profitable Advertising; in 1892 by Brains; in 1896 by Ad Sense and The Poster. Between 1918 and 1923, similar publications made an appearance: Sales Management came out in 1918; Printers' Ink Monthly, and Western Advertising in 1919; Advertising and Selling and Advertiser's Weekly in 1923.⁷ Additional support for the development of a standardized approach to advertising also came in the late nineteenth century with the advent of the Sphinx Club. Founded in 1896, the Sphinx Club declared purpose was "to acquire and disseminate, through the

interchange of ideas, a clearer understanding of the problems of advertising and the betterment of advertising."⁸

Dissatisfied with internally-generated expertise, the advertising executives of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries sought outside authorities to endorse their methods. Reading into the social and behavioral sciences, advertisers discovered that psychology, in particular, was aptly suited to their purposes. By the early 1900s the growing body of information on advertising had incorporated many psychological principles.⁹ Any reluctance to manipulate prospective buyers was soon allayed by discussions of scientific advertising in trade journals, weeklys, and how-to books, and in the increased profits accompanying expanded advertising budgets.

Alex Osborn's A Short Course in Advertising is representative of books dealing with new approaches to advertising.¹⁰ Osborn encouraged the use of psychology and the use of the name-brand concept; neither of which were immediately embraced by early promoters of consumer goods, but which later came to be readily accepted means by which to increase sales.¹¹ Alex Osborn was a vice-president of a successful New York City advertising firm, Batten, Barton, Durstine and Osborn.

Throughout the 1920s and 1930s many Americans began to accept advertising as the proper tool with which to build (then reconstruct) a more prosperous nation. In 1926, Calvin

Coolidge enjoined business and industry to utilize the great potential offered by advertising, reminding his audience that "Advertising . . . is the most potent influence in adapting and changing the habits and modes of life, affecting what we eat, what we wear and the work and play of the whole nation."¹² While this message was addressed to the already-converted--the American Association of Advertising Agencies convention--it is nevertheless clear that most successful businessmen agreed with Coolidge's statement about advertising as a critical factor in their success. Less than a decade later, American business and industry operated under drastically reduced circumstances. Advertising continued, however, to be the centerpiece of plans for stabilizing the nation's economy, and spokespersons for advertising reassured listeners about America's economic future.

Advertising and Selling contributing editor, Earnest Elmo Calkins, was one such spokesperson who referred to the stock market crash of 1929 as a way of emphasizing the need for more effective advertising. ". . . we found what many suspected, that production was already beginning to outstrip consumption . . . the problem has become how to persuade the people to consume more goods."¹³

While the Depression years witnessed a concentrated effort to re-establish economic stability through the use of advertising, the onset of World War II saw the Federal government employ advertising in order to motivate Americans

to patriotic behavior. The nation was exhorted to buy war bonds, to observe rationing plans, and to support the war effort by working in defense plants.¹⁴ Similarly, private business and industry encouraged conservation of limited consumer goods while predicting a more prosperous future. Advertising was used extensively to maintain public morale for the duration of the war, and both the Federal government and American manufacturers made extravagant promises about the quality of life people could expect after the war was over.¹⁵ Presumably, the buying public listened carefully to advertising messages, anticipating a return to pre-war social conditions devoid of the economic deprivations associated with the Depression years. These advertising messages reflected the assumptions shared by most Americans concerning the future: life would be prosperous, comfortable, supportive or traditional (i.e., conservative) values while promoting progress and expansion in the economic sector.

Although the Depression and the war interrupted large-scale production and distribution of goods, advertisements during and after the war reflected the country's desire to resume normal activities. It appears that most Americans had remained committed to the concept of consumerism with which they had been since the early 1900s thanks to the efforts of advertising to depict an ideal society, the model family, the perfect woman. Advertising played a critical role in this new, post-war economy, as it was by means of advertising that

the desires and dreams of individuals were harnessed to the productive capacities of American business after 1945.¹⁶

In the late nineteenth century and very early twenties century, the captains of industry had sought to organize production; in the twentieth century, what Stuart Ewen calls the "Captains of Consciousness" sought to organize consumption.¹⁷ To a degree no less real for being difficult to measure, advertising sought to create desires and shape buying behavior. If many of these desires would have existed without advertising, it is nevertheless clear that advertisers gave these desires their specific form and focus.

If it was obvious in the early 1900s that an understanding of psychology could better enable advertisers to effect this shaping process, by 1945 a relatively more complex and sophisticated approach to using psychology in advertising had surfaced. Ernest Dichter, founder and president of the Institute for Motivational Research, presented a lucid picture of manufacturers' dependencies on the "appropriate strategy to bring about desired results and goals."¹⁸ During the post-war era Dr. Dichter examined the motives of consumers by conducting over 2,500 studies; the findings of which were used by those who wished to refine their marketing techniques and thereby better ensure successful advertising campaigns. Betty Friedan devoted attention to Dr. Dichter's work in The Feminine Mystique. Despite some authorities' reluctance to lend credibility to

the results of motivational research,¹⁹ Friedan nonetheless feels that this type of in-depth analysis of women consumers is, in part, responsible for perpetuating the myth of the happy housewife.²⁰

While motivational research was by no means embraced by all advertisers, it serves as an example of the degree to which many sought to manipulate the consumer by catering to perceived needs. Advertising created a dream world which had promised, as early as the 1920s ". . . shining teeth, school-girl complexions, cornless feet, distinguished collars, wrinkle-less pants, odorless breaths, regularized bowels, punctureless tires . . ." ²¹ These items and conditions were for sale, and many Americans hoped someday to live in the dream world advertising created. Statistics demonstrating an increase in median family income from \$3,042 in 1947 to \$5,688 in 1950, and a doubling in expenditures on food, household durables, etc., suggest that a large number of Americans had perhaps reached that goal (see Appendix A).

C H A P T E R I I

WOMEN IN A CONSUMER SOCIETY

American women have, for the most part, led lives bounded by domesticity with few opportunities to exercise their individual talents and abilities outside the home. Women's traditional domestic roles were transformed by industrialization, and in some respects mechanization lightened the double burden of housework and child-rearing. Nonetheless, even after the Industrial Revolution, responsibilities of home and family remained primarily those of women.²²

In early twentieth century American society, women's roles were especially ambiguous. On one hand, many women--especially lower class, black, and immigrant women--had always been a part of the labor force, working long hours in mostly less-skilled and less-well-paying jobs. Conversely, married middle class women were expected to limit their activities to the traditional sphere of home and family. In times of national emergency, however, such proscriptions for single women of middle class families were eased. During World War I it became not only acceptable but temporarily necessary to hire women as replacements for men who had entered the armed services. The nation's need was great enough to break down barriers which had heretofore kept

middle class women out of certain areas (notably the business office) and out of certain jobs (such as that of streetcar operator or elevator operator). Statistics show that the number of women in such jobs nearly tripled between 1910 and 1920 (see Appendix A).

Although the majority of Americans maintained that women were best suited for homemaking, after 1919 women found that they were slightly more employable. However, it continued to be unusual, or unacceptable, for middle class women to work outside the home. Interviews with prospective employers generally elicited negative responses to the question of whether or not they would hire women. This is clearly stated in a volume, published in 1928, that addresses issues of concern to middle class women--both those who worked outside the home and those whose activities were of the more traditional variety.²³ By virtue of its attention to these two alternatives, the book acknowledged a relatively recent social phenomenon: the middle class, working wife. This issue was surrounded by an ambivalence generating pressure for both the working wife and her husband. The latter's attitude was often dependent upon his social and economic status and his self-image as principle breadwinner.

Women with a college degree or professional training confronted similar attitudes. By the 1920s, women graduating from four-year colleges were increasing in numbers. In fact, between 1900 and 1920, there was nearly a 300 percent

increase in the number of B.A.s awarded to women. M.A.s and Ph.D.s quadrupled during the same period (see Appendix A). But the mere completion of a degree was no passport to freedom from sex-stereotyping. Twentieth century American society found it nearly impossible to ignore the idea of traditional roles for women. Popular literature of the period following World War I pondered this dilemma in its accounts of women who sought increased personal opportunities and self-fulfillment. Sinclair Lewis focused on this problem in Main Street. The main female character in Lewis's book, Carol Kennicott, states ". . . if you have got a college education, you ought to use it for the world." This was met with the masculine retort "I know, but you can use it just as well at home."²⁴ A woman's place was circumscribed by centuries-old tradition; though the employment barriers had been lowered somewhat since 1900, an education was an ineffectual weapon with which to defy that tradition.

In 1927, William A. Nielsen, then president of Smith College, commented that "the outstanding problem confronting women is how to reconcile a normal life of marriage and motherhood with intellectual activity such as her college education has fitted her for."²⁵ Those harkening to President Nielsen's words would be left with few illusions as to their primary responsibilities. That Nielsen spoke on behalf of educators throughout the country is clear when one notes that in 1920 only 12.2 percent of professional women

were married. Furthermore, between 1877 and 1924, 75 percent of all female Ph.D.s were married.²⁶ This suggests that opportunities for the employment of middle class wives were limited, and that educated middle class wives faced a dichotomy--one that permitted professional or post-secondary training, but which seemed to contradict itself by also expecting fulfillment of traditional domestic roles.²⁷

Married women who either anticipated entering the workforce or who actually held jobs, found minimal acceptance. This difficulty can be attributed both to the ambiguity of their position and to the ambivalence with which they accepted that ill-defined role. American society gave nominal approval to working wives who belonged to the lower class. In an article published in March, 1932, wives in the "industrial group" (i.e., working class) were supported in their efforts by their husbands.²⁸ The economic imperative was the only reasonable explanation for accepting a working wife. In contrast, middle class wives were neither encouraged to seek employment (despite post-secondary training) nor rewarded when they did, but were constantly bombarded with reminders of their "proper" place. Even by the mid-1930s, the lukewarm support available to employed women of the middle class was reserved for those without husbands to support them. In 1934, Ruth Waldo, an advertising executive at J. Walter Thompson in New York City, expressed her views of the prospects facing married women who

anticipated a return to the workplace. "Married women who have had previous advertising experience often continue very successfully. If they are very competent, they can sometimes do this on a free lance basis so that they do not have to be away from their homes for long and regular hours."²⁹ Her implications are clear--women's primary concern should be her home and family. No allowances were made for a woman who may have been committed to her career and who wished to combine that career with marriage. Married middle class women were apparently faced with an either-or choice.

While not impossible for highly motivated women, many found the establishment of careers outside the home fraught with impediments. The most insurmountable of these barriers took the form of gender discrimination and stereotyping. The president of the National League of Nursing Education stated that "nursing is distinctly a woman's vocation."³⁰ This is almost automatically relegated it to a lower pay scale than a career open to male employees as well. The problem of direct competition with men in the marketplace was underscored by the statement ". . . when competing with men for a position or promotion, especially in the industrial world, the preference will be given to men."³¹ In addition, for married women, as described in Grace Coyle's Jobs and Marriage, published in 1928,³² there were pressures and prejudices to be faced by all women working outside the home, no matter what their theory or ideal might be. Until after 1941, when

the entrance of the United States into the war expanded employment opportunities for all American women, working wives of the middle class were generally unfashionable and unacceptable.

One of the chief difficulties facing women in the pre-World War II years was the belief that they entered the workforce only out of economic necessity. While this was perhaps true for a great number of women, the assumption that women of the middle class lacked commitment or interest in jobs or careers may have enhanced an already cautious attitude on the part of employers. Those who might otherwise have hired middle class women in greater numbers continued to view them as belonging more appropriately in the home and as venturing out into the labor force only when absolutely (i.e., economically) necessary. When they did so, they were in danger of losing their middle class status; the pressure to remain "at home" was a two-sided imperative. To consider outside employment was an acknowledgement of both a fiscal and a status crisis, affecting not only the wife, but the entire family, notably the self-image of a husband whose efforts as breadwinner were inadequate. This difficulty grew for both husbands and wives during the Depression years, when unemployment plagued the nation.

But when a job was available to her, the employment of a single woman of the middle class was acceptable insofar as she was unlikely to have the responsibilities of home and

family. She was expected to marry, eventually, and to leave her job. The interpretation that a single woman sought financial security in marriage helped to put middle class working women in proper perspective. As William Chafe noted, "labeling a woman's job temporary served as a convenient and credible explanation for employment."³³ Perhaps married women, prior to 1941, lent credence to this argument by their behavior. Married women made up only 16.7 percent of all female workers in 1940 (see Appendix A). It was certainly true that these women faced a lack of encouragement when they contemplated remaining in or returning to a job. Those defying convention and tradition were most often seen as followers of financial imperatives. The ambiguity here is plain--middle class women were welcome in the workforce only on a temporary basis before World War II. This, despite the fact that they may have received an education preparing them for a career and despite the inconsistency that accepted working class wives and minority women as more or less permanent members of the labor force.

With America's entrance into the war in December 1941, the employment picture for women of all classes changed drastically. During World War II it became a point of patriotic honor and national necessity for women to work outside the home. They entered defense plants and other industrial sites replacing male workers who had joined the armed services. Even in October 1941, before the bombing of

Pearl Harbor, a New York Times article helped persuade the public that war work was, in fact, appropriate for women. Suggesting that cartridge inspection was a "natural woman's job," the article emphasized similarities between defense industry work and activities traditionally associated with women. ". . . . they sit at benches that might well be dressing tables, and work with tools no larger than a manicure set."³⁴

Women responding to statements like these found that it was to their advantage: pay scales in war-related work were excellent, especially since women had previously been limited to less highly-skilled and less-well-paying jobs. In Mobile, Alabama, for example, a woman working as a shipbuilder could earn \$37.00 a week, while she would be able to take home only \$21.00 a week as a salesgirl or \$14.00 as a waitress.³⁵ These financial and psychological factors were of a sort previously unknown to women, and were therefore more appealing because of its novelty.

Because of war-time needs, the rigid stereotyping that had severely limited a woman's choice of jobs earlier in the century became less stringent.³⁶ But while America's involvement in World War II provides an explanation of why six million women (of whom 50 percent were married) entered the workforce between 1941 and 1946, it is more difficult to determine the reasons behind the increase in working wives and mothers after the war, particularly when that group was

not among the majority of those employed outside the home prior to 1941 (see Appendix A).

In a 1951 New York Times Magazine article, Gertrude Samuels states simply that "they are working for the same reason that men work--because they need the money."³⁷ According to Samuels, married middle class women who were interviewed felt that they were contributing to their home life by working, rather than detracting from the quality of that home life. In 1946, Frieda Miller, chief of the Women's Bureau in Washington, D.C., had suggested that married women employed during the war were anxious to return to the home--providing that their GI husbands could support them. While this earlier article emphasized women's desires to maintain the welfare of their families, it also provided Secretary of Labor Schwollenbach a forum in which to express views in favor of equal pay for equal work so as to enable women to "choose the way of life that permits them to make their fullest contribution to the world's upbringing."³⁸

The attitudes surround the question of the working middle class wife can perhaps be partially explained by economic conditions immediately following World War II. Middle class women had served as needed replacements for factory workers during the war and had become used to earning money outside the home. But the double fear of unemployment for returning GIs and the drastic changes that an absentee mother suggested for family life haunted those who supported

the idea of working wives.

Dire predictions besieged those women who insisted on combining employment and a family. The team of Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham championed the idea that women, in order to find true personal fulfillment, needed to subordinate themselves to their husbands and to be psychologically dependent upon men.³⁹ Speaking to Smith College graduates in 1955, Adlai Stevenson emphasized the importance of traditional values.⁴⁰ Similarly, Dr. Benjamin Spock, on whose child-rearing book many parents leaned during the post-war years, was emphatic in his view of a mother's responsibility to her children. Noting that all children needed a "steady, loving person" to nurture them, Spock asserted that "the mother is the best one to give him this feeling of belonging, safely and surely."⁴¹

The post-war years echoed with admonitions such as these, contributing to an existing ambivalence accompanying women who combined a family with outside job responsibilities.

Warnings from social scientists, politicians, and those in the medical profession were augmented by statements from leaders in business and industry. Noting a reluctance on the part of some women to return to the domestic sphere after World War II, manufacturers made impassioned calls for a resumption of pre-war employment patterns. As one conservative industrial leader, J. Earl Schaefer, wrote to President Eisenhower in 1954, "We all should work closely

together in an effort to get our women back in the home where they, and they more than anyone else, can make it the shrine it should be and the solid foundation it has been for building real Americanism."⁴²

In a desire to restore a family-centered way of life, men like Schaefer relied on traditional patterns of behavior within the existing consumer society. By so doing, these manufacturers and promoters perpetuated the long-established mode of appealing to women as homemakers, regardless of whether or not that image was congruent with women's real activities, goals, and needs.

C H A P T E R I I I

ADVERTISING'S WOMEN

Advertising, between 1890 and 1945, had become the principle instrument for the manipulation of consumption in America. The imagery presented in that advertising generally reflected the needs of society as perceived by those who wrote the ads. Despite the ambiguity characterizing much of women's lives and labor in the post-war era, advertising executives seemed to have no real doubts about what women were like, what they ought to be, and what they wanted to become. Throughout the twentieth century, married women were portrayed in close identification with the home and rarely, if ever, pictured holding meaningful jobs outside the home. In addition, advertisers consistently showed these women in subservient positions, both in their personal relationships with men and in their roles as homemakers.⁴³

The range of stereotypes in advertising did not, in most cases, accurately reflect the society to which it appealed. This is especially true of women's images.⁴⁴ Roles in advertisements were exaggerated and distorted so that mothers appeared to suffer from paranoia about germs and dirt, wives became obsessed with fears of facial wrinkles, and most women seemed preoccupied with weight loss. The unfortunate outcome of this barrage of false imagery was that by the post-war era

large numbers of American women had come to accept the stereotypes as accurate portraits of themselves.⁴⁵

Since the early years of this century, advertisers had appealed to what they felt were women's natural desires and inclinations. That advertisers responded to a culturally defined view of female behavior is indisputable, but it is also true that such definitions tied women closely to home responsibilities rather than aiding their integration into the labor force. One important tool advertisers used to facilitate their abilities to play on the perceived needs of women was psychology. Despite its relatively recent advent as a social science, psychology was accepted by a large number of advertisers even prior to World War I. Walter Dill Scott emphasized what he felt was a critical factor in effective advertising and, at the same time, acknowledge the utility of psychological principles--"Women are, in general, more susceptible to suggestion than men."⁴⁶ According to Scott, successful advertising to women necessitated an appeal to female suggestibility rather than to intellect. The treatment of women of inferior mental creatures concurred with the need for domestic consumers who acquiescent and unquestioning identification with the home could provide a steady market for consumer goods.

The pronouncement, early in the century, of sentiments such as Scott's helped establish guidelines that advertisers subsequently seemed to accept without question. Alex

Osborn's comments further illustrate how rigid advertisers views were. "The pastel shades and dainty tints we see most often in the advertising of toiletries and silks conduct to the readers' minds an alluring picture of feminine charm."⁴⁷ While Osborn's was perhaps an accurate description of some women, it was surly not universally applicable. The constant reiteration of this limited image did little to allow for the development of alternate views. By the 1920s, many women were attending college, they were more active politically (the Nineteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution was the result of such activity), and a large number were working outside the home in professional or business positions. It can hardly be said that Osborn's concept of feminine charm led to an awareness of female intellect or individual capability. The prospective advertisers who studied with the help of Osborn's textbook were instilled with a single, inflexible image of women, one that would help perpetuate their traditionally domestic, and largely passive, role.

From 1930 until 1941, advertisers' depiction of women remained unchanged. A quiescent portrait of the dutiful, loving wife and mother was the standard and was used by promoters of everything from crackers to paint and wallpaper. With the onset of World War II, that image was redefined, but only temporarily. Underlying the aggressive messages urging women to work in support of America's war effort was the clear understanding that women would relinquish their jobs

after the war. This return to the domestic sphere was, however, dependent upon the returning GI's ability to support his family on one paycheck (the traditional model for family financial support--father and husband bringing home the bacon), and Frieda Miller, Women's Bureau head, emphasized the fact that women would defer to the male breadwinner's need in this respect. In a New York Times Magazine article, Miller asserted that "women workers do not want to get ahead at the expense of veterans. In fact, they have never regarded their work as a substitute for that of men."⁴⁸

Miller's conclusion that women were returning home after their tour of duty and content to do so must be qualified in several ways. To be sure, the percentage of all working women dropped to 29.8 percent in 1947 after having risen from 27.4 percent in 1940 and 35 percent in 1944 (see Appendix A). But this attrition did not continue after 1947, as Carl Degler has pointed out, stating that "in the first year after the end of the war 2.25 million women gave up their jobs voluntarily Many observers, however, were not prepared for the 2.75 million women workers who joined the labor force at about the same time the others were leaving."⁴⁹ Moreover, the post-war percentage of women in the workforce was higher than the 1940 rate suggesting some permanent carry over in the general wartime boom in employment opportunities for women.

In spite of its limitations, Miller's view that women

would return to the home after the end of the war was a conventional expectation widely shared by advertisers. Indeed, at times stereotypical expectations led advertisers to curious conclusions. Carroll J. Swan, managing editor of Printers' Ink responded to a McCall's survey in 1955, and noted that the magazine had stated that sixteen percent of advertising men's wives worked outside the home. Swan observed that this percentage was lower than the national average for working wives, but his stereotyped expectations led him to state further that sixteen percent "would seem high for families in which the breadwinner is at an executive level."⁵⁰

Expectations tended to become self-fulfilling prophecies. Writing in 1964 former Assistant Secretary of Labor, Esther Peterson, reported that while many occupations had opened up for women during World War II, sex-role stereotyping had prevented easy access to positions not traditionally associated with women's activities and abilities. "The 1960 census showed that there were some women workers in each of the 479 individual occupations listed, but that is not to say that all fields were readily open to women . . . The very fact that most newspapers divide their classified ads into 'Help Wanted-Men' and 'Help Wanted-Women' attests to this fact. When this view is held by school counselors and teachers, there is little likelihood that young women will be alerted to the new fields for which

they might have aptitudes."⁵¹ It was Peterson's contention that, as late as 1962 the American woman continued to follow standard patterns of behavior. She asserted that ". . . despite concern in many quarters over the number of wives and mothers in the work force, we are still far from a situation in which most women work outside the home during their child-bearing and child-rearing years."⁵²

During the late 1940s and early 1950s, advertisers and advertising agencies had supported the conventional view regarding the place of women in the home and the special function women held as consumers. Wives and mothers were to lead the consumption parade, and should they display any hesitance about playing this role, advertising was to inculcate them with the idea that buying was a most appropriate form of behavior. Avon executive Marshall Beuick attributed much, if not most, of his company's success in appealing to women as both customers and salespersons to the fact that "The great majority of them are housewives."⁵³ Members of this group, he believed, had time to fill, money to spend, and an interest in enhancing their personal appearance. That these factors were congruent with the company's needs helps explain Avon's continued focus on women as traditionally feminine caretakers rather than career-oriented professionals.

Similarly, Printers' Ink associate editor Nathan Kelne revealed the views of some ad executives at J. Walter

Thompson, a New York agency. In a promotional story aimed at boosting the flagging profits of Alexander Smith Carpet Co., it was suggested that a way to improve business was by ". . . plying your wife with . . . sales promotion literature designed to make your life miserable unless and until you buy her a new carpet."⁵⁴ The reliance here was on the concept of a wife as the not-so-subtle manipulator, a wife who was dependent upon her husband's financial success for her personal satisfaction.

In an apparent attempt to reassure themselves that this manipulation was, in fact, effective, McCall's gathered 100 women together for what was termed a Congress on Better Living. By this means, advertisers could monitor to their satisfaction whether their marketing focus was on target. They could, in addition, use the results of delegates' debates in a promotional way. Accordingly, they arranged a series of discussions for the women, discussions which centered around "draperies that don't pull shut . . . hard-to-reach kitchen cabinets."⁵⁵ Although the women participating in these discussions expressed likes and dislikes concerning their roles as homemakers, one cannot assume that these roles were their only roles. It is safe to say, however, that advertisers reading a report from this Better Living Congress would be inclined to recognize its delegates as typical American women and to fashion their ad campaign images in a likeness of these women.

Advertisers reiterated such narrow views throughout the 1950s in their journals as well as in mass-market magazines. Otis Lee Wiese, editor and publisher of McCall's, shared his impressions of the American woman with Printers' Ink, impressions which surely did little to modify convention attitudes.

When the pioneer woman reached for a gun to ward off the marauding Indian she didn't stop to think that she belonged to the down-trodden sex. And when those young women are confronted with the automatic gadgets--and the push-button tensions--of today's living, they don't either. The integration of their grandmother's [sic] mind with the stress of contemporary life seems to have been thoroughly accomplished.⁵⁶

The trade journals providing a forum for the exchange of such ideas had little to gain by suggesting that the selling approach to women be altered. Advertising agencies and their clients were satisfied with conditions as they existed--products were selling; the ads were doing their job. Gallup poll findings, the basis for an article in Advertising Age, stated that, "according to the study, an 'overwhelming majority' of Americans--75%--like advertising, and 65% think things would be 'more difficult' without it."⁵⁷

Clearly, advertising was accepted as a positive agent by most Americans. Despite its persuasive purposes, there was little indication that it was viewed during the late 1940s and into the 1950s as a manipulative, and potentially suspect, force.⁵⁸ It was not until later that critics such as Vance Packard or Jerry Della Femina publicly expressed

criticism and ridicule of advertising strategies which were designed specifically to manipulate the consumer with little regard for his or her personal needs.⁵⁹

The manipulation in magazine advertisements was both subtle, in its uses of familiar imagery, and forthright in its rather stubborn adherence to convention and unwillingness to encompass new values. Advertisers constantly told each other about various characteristics of women's personalities so as to maintain a generic definition acceptable to all, as in Beuick's Avon article emphasizing the housewife role, or Kelne's discussion of wives conspiring to persuade their husbands to buy carpeting. Many of these characteristics appeared in advertising images. An article in Advertising Age, "When a Woman Shops, What's on Her Mind?," attempted to illustrate the point that although the American woman was a caretaker of the home, she neither demanded nor enjoyed a great deal of autonomy. The article refers to women's desires to "get home and take care of the kids and everything else" and that they don't "like to have the paycheck turned over to" them, implying that women in the 1950s deliberately abdicated fiscal independence and prefer a subordinate role within the family.⁶⁰ Actual advertisements of the period bear this out in images which portray wives deferring to husbands in financial matters as well as in decision-making about children.⁶¹

Advertisers seemed convinced that women saw themselves

in this limited role, and by the latter part of the decade, commercial images of women assumed a rigid quality bordering on caricature. Speaking at the Second Annual Summer Workshop on Creativity in Advertising, Charlotte Montgomery gave a pep-talk to its attendees and outlined ten characteristics of the "changed woman." She mentioned that this changed woman was "over resenting her role as a housewife." In addition, Montgomery stated, "she belongs to a generation that grew up with detergents . . . synthetic fabrics . . . instant mixes You'll have to find more than this to excite her." Further, "she expects business to serve her richly, fully, endlessly. She wants specialized products designed for the . . . needs of her family."⁶² Clearly, Montgomery, who eventually became editor of Good Housekeeping Magazine, saw no need to question the designation of the American woman as a housewife, and one is left to ponder exactly what about that woman had changed compared to previous decades.

Montgomery's description conjures up an image of voracious consumers who were satiated with mundane, run-of-the-mill household items. Statements such as "You'll have to find more than this to excite her" show that producers were encouraged to design and manufacture goods the sole purpose of which was to perpetuate high levels of consumption. One of the most startling examples of the level of success producers achieved was in the concept of the supermarket.

Shopping in a supermarket in the postwar years was like walking into an Oriental bazaar. The housewife

clutched her shopping list as though she were trying to hold onto her senses as she wheeled a shopping cart down the canyons of multicolored, multisized, and multibranded goods. Everything was 'one grand shout,' as one researcher described its impact on the housewife . . . 'a more promising promise,' was the way The Wedge, an ad agency house organ, described it.⁶³

It was estimated that "more than 165 different kinds of consumer products were in convenient push-button containers in 1960, which ranged from cream soaps to candy-flavored vitamins." Also, a marketing study indicated "packages that featured convenience enjoyed a sales rise of 124% between 1952 and 1956, while competing items with little or no convenience rose only 10%." ⁶⁴

A preoccupation with maintaining or increasing sales is apparent in the comments of Judson Sayre, president of the Norge Division, Borg-Warner Corporation. They highlight the problems facing producers--the necessity of continually cultivating consumers through advertising while at the same time enhancing production capabilities to meet increased demand. "Only the ones that have initiative will survive," Sayre warned. "We've lost the knack of selling . . . if we sold features, we'd be amazed at how people would buy." Sayre approached marketing and selling with the belief that dealers should be given the opportunity to tempt customers with "something new and different: something demonstrable."⁶⁵

Producers like Judson Sayre, or those concerned with advertising like Nathan Kelne or Ernest Dichter, were involved in promoting idealistic standards of behavior, the

attainment of which were unreachable goals. This careful application of psychology was so effective that men and women look to advertising for personal definition. The ideal that the commercial media presented to the American woman fostered a perpetual dissatisfaction with her personal reality which, in turn, encouraged the need to consume--and this was exactly what advertisers intended.

C H A P T E R I V

IMAGES OF WOMEN IN ADVERTISING

Since the late nineteenth century, the face and form of an attractive woman has proved irresistible to advertisers hoping to draw attention to their products. By the end of World War II, the practice of using a female figure in advertising reached a frequency and sophistication not previously evident. The following discussion of post-war advertising easily is divided into several sections, each concerned with the use of the female form, and each providing a topical analysis of specific advertisements. These sections include: sexual objectification; sex-role stereotyping; women's maternal and marital roles; and the division of labor both within the home and in the workplace.

In the post-war period, more than ever before, the aim of increasing numbers of products was to change, supplement, glorify or alter a woman's appearance so that she might seem younger, sweeter, prettier, shaplier, smoother. In the process of promoting these transformations, the utilization of a female figure or face for its attraction potential changed the image of women. This change over time resulted in an objectified presentation.

Women had initially appeared in advertisements due to their feminine (albeit stereotypical) charms. By the 1950s,

the image of woman in advertising, while remaining bound to traditional role identification, had lost some of the personal attributes which were formerly relied upon in selling. In place of personal qualities, there appeared an image which was in itself becoming a commodity, resulting in a new conceptualization of what being female really meant. It remained true that a photo of a beautiful woman often accompanied ad copy, and this photo was used to attract attention to the product. However, the nature of the reader's identification with that photo was assumed to have changed, and by the post-war period this change can be detected by an increased emphasis on the perfectability of the female face and figure.

By the 1950s, the reader of an advertisement did not see a woman. The reader saw a faultless object, a symbol of some desirable condition. This objectification was the result of decades of woman's images appearing as attention-getters in ads; in many cases an obvious display, but in others, the ruse was more subtle. In any case, blatant or not, a woman was often depicted as an object, with a definite emphasis on her sexual characteristics. The following discussion refers to advertisements contained in Appendix B.

Magazine advertisements used parts of a woman's body to draw attention to their products; in the case of Ivory Snow, legs were the object of both sexual appeal and patriotic pride. (American women's legs had assumed a mythical

perfection during the Second World War, due in part to the numerous pin-up photos of movies stars such as Betty Grable.) The Ivory Snow ad cleverly teamed economy with vanity, since nylon stockings were scarce after the war. Use of this soap was a way to insure the stockings' long life and acted as an encouragement to women who envisioned themselves with "famous legs."

Clairol pandered to the desire the attaining physical perfection. Dissatisfaction with their physical qualities made some women more susceptible to the promise of transformation, which was in this case even more personal than in the ad previously discussed. To realize a dream-like perfection with the change of one's hair color was surely a powerful inducement to buy the Clairol product. Those women who responded by covering grey hair with a rinse or a tint, or by making a more dramatic change from brunette to blond, did so under the assumption that they would become someone more viable than who they already were.

To be attractive was not a wish unique to the post-World War II era, but it was one which received wider and more approving coverage by advertisers than in previous years. Various personal hygiene products emphasized their value in terms of enhancing sexual attractiveness. Calox tooth powder promised to make the user "outstanding" and implied that this quality was a prerequisite for attracting the opposite sex. In addition, it implied that attractive teeth were sufficient

to find (and keep) a partner.

Car advertisers were not adverse to the use of a beautiful woman as an attention-getter. Body by Fisher ads sponsored by General Motors specified "winning beauty" but the automobile promotion was downplayed. The car sketch is somewhat obscure, bearing little relation to the center page photo of the young women. The latter's relevance to the phrase "Body by Fisher" is both minimal and subliminal.⁶⁶

The caption under the Shaler Oil Company ad is another example of car ownership and maintenance as a sexual metaphor. This motor oil advertisement was undeniably suggestive in its presentation and referred to the woman in the photo as an object from which to expect a certain performance. There was little regard for her human qualities; as an individual, her appeal rested in her passivity and the fact that she could be manipulated as easily as the car in which she was seated.

Manufacturing companies found an effective approach in advertising by depicting role stereotypes--objectifying women and thereby minimizing their human qualities. The emphasis on femininity in the ad for Cyana fabric finishes stressed identification with a narrow, traditionally feminine definition of women's roles.

Transmission of traditional values from mother to daughter was encouraged by this and similar ads showing women and girls dressed in identical outfits. The readers was

expected to identify with a mass-produced style and to eschew individual preference in dress or behavior.

Appeals to a desire for conformity or the desire to be more acceptable in the eyes of others form the basis for ads promising women a more youthful appearance. As a sexual object, a woman could not afford to age, therefore Helena Rubenstein's statement that "women over 35 can look younger" by using certain cosmetics appealed to women convinced of their physical shortcomings. Ads like this one emphasize the desirability of a more youthful appearance and suggest that the most important thing a woman could do to ensure a successful marriage was to look young. Since a woman was merely an object, only appearance mattered.

In the United States, a preoccupation with youth and staying young was a necessary precondition for selling large quantities of cosmetic products. Germaine Monteil understood this and their advertisements stressed the youth-retaining properties of their body lotion. Fear of age and resultant loss if sexual appeal was behind the success of such ads emphasizing a product's rejuvenating abilities, both perpetuating and supposedly solving the problems associated with age.

Sexual attractiveness was the focal point of objectification. In order to be attractive, one was obliged to cover up one's human frailties and inconsistencies. Only by meeting the standards catalogued by advertisers could one

hope to be beautiful or desirable. Listerine had found most people responsive to the campaign against "halitosis" earlier in the century, and continued to make extravagant claims for their mouthwash right up through the 1950s. The photo accompanying this ad shows a glamorous woman suggesting that Listerine is responsible for her sexual appeal. To be charming in the eyes of others is the most sought-after quality; attributes such as humor, intelligence, kindness, are of secondary importance. Charm, it was suggested by the makers of Listerine, could be found in a bottle of their best-selling product.

A woman was not limited to cosmetics or personal care products in her search for physical appeal and perfection. She could rely on Pepsi-Cola to ensure a slender, trim body which, according to the ad, was the ideal. A woman might guarantee her happiness by drinking Pepsi, since she would then reach perfection.

In the event that soft drinks failed to bring about the desired "flattering lines," it was possible to improve one's shape by other means. Warner's advertised a long-line bra which tried to create a new standard of physical perfection. This long-line bra would minimize mid-torso bulge and help a woman achieve a smooth, thinly curvaceous figure. It tried to force a feeling of personal inadequacy and the prompt the purchase of an undergarment designed to make a more "womanly" figure. The ad suggested that specific physical traits were

imperative for a woman to be considered attractive. It reinforced the concept that external, artificial forces could provide a woman with sexual success by relying on deception. In stressing the artificial, the ad underlined the absurdity of its goal since it created a fantasy to which all women might aspire but which was impossible to realize without the Warner's product.

Appeals to a woman's sense of personal worth and sexual attractiveness were accompanied, as well, by an emphasis on women's maternal role. Advertisers recognized the opportunities offered by appeals to the maternal instinct (an instinct that advertisers were all-too-willing to enlarge upon), and by the 1950s there was no mistaking the emphasis on being a perfect mother. As with standards of physical beauty, the criteria for faultless performance as a mother ensured a continual striving to "do better." There seemed to be almost no way that a mother could achieve the standard set for her by advertisers. She was continually admonished to provide more nutritious meals, cleaner clothes, a safer environment, all in the name of Motherhood. Advertisements of the period played on a woman's sense of responsibility to her children, a fact illuminated in Drano ads which made certain that a germ-free environment was imperative. The suggestion that a child's health might otherwise suffer was implicit in these ads which were the outgrowth of a focus on scientific management of the family. This "domestic science"

had its origins in the early twentieth century. Sociologists Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein stated unequivocally that a "cult of Homemaking and Motherhood is fostered by press and propaganda,"⁶⁷ in referring to such a focus. Likewise, they suggested that a built-in contradiction existed in advertising's encouraging women to utilize all of the time-saving items on the market. For although advertisements suggested that these labor-saving device and products might be improvements, there was a hidden message. Basically, this was that wives and mothers were ultimately to be held accountable personally for the quality of their family life. They could not expect to cut corners without having caused a definite qualitative deprivation. "Though glossy journals may be full of alluring advertisements illustrating luscious dishes prepared in a jiffy out of a tin, there is, nevertheless, still a certain stigma attached to the use of a tin-opener as a kitchen utensil."⁶⁸

In a related discussion of advertiser's attempts to endorse more convincingly a woman's domestic role, Betty Friedan stated, "For fifteen years and longer, there has been a propaganda campaign, as unanimous in this democratic nation as in the most efficient of dictatorships, to give women 'prestige' as housewives."⁶⁹ Her chapter, "The Sexual Sell" in The Feminine Mystique explores the connection between American business' need for consumers and the plight which Friedan perceived women to be in during the 1950s. "Someone

must have figured out that women will buy more things if they are kept in the underused, nameless-yearning, energy-to-get-rid-of state of being housewives."⁷⁰

Entwined with women's housewifely role, their maternal role received similar attention from advertisers. One result of the 'cult of Homemaking and Motherhood' which grew out of that attention was certainly the ubiquitous Baby and Child Care, by Dr. Benjamin Spock, first appearing in 1946. In this volume, Spock clearly stated objections to working mothers and provided detailed guidelines for parental behavior.⁷¹ It is little wonder that advertisements appealing to the maternal role relied on standards which had been previously established and subtly, but rigidly codified to a degree which required continual self-evaluation and improvement on the part of American mothers.

Along with the sanitary environment promoted by Drano products, the importance of clean clothes was emphasized. In the Rinso ad, the mother of identical twins felt that her reputation as a careful, responsible parent was dependent upon the condition of her children's clothing. The mother's identity was connected to the physical perfection of those clothes, and as such she was obliged to spend endless hours trying to prove herself by laundering and ironing. The forcefulness of the message is particularly apparent in the Rinse ad due, in part, to the gimmick of "twin-ness" which required twice the work (but which would, presumably, render

her a doubly effective mother).

The portrayal of motherhood as a vital, necessary activity was accomplished by ads for various food products as well. In the Sunkist ad, it is clear that a woman was expected to have planned carefully for her family's health and nutritional welfare. Food preparation was clearly defined as a woman's job; advertisers were appealing to traditional definitions of motherhood, and by so doing, were reinforcing those boundaries. In the case of the Sunkist ad, the mother would have been blamed if her family's diet had been found lacking. The message was unmistakable--the maternal role (with which many if not most women in the post-war period identified)--required constant vigilance and selfless dedication.

The seriousness of the task was underscored by the United Fruit Company ad which appealed to a scientific, rational approach to child-rearing. Motherhood and a woman's identification with that role was closely tied to the desire to be a perfect parent. In this ad, the woman could not afford to ignore any aspect of her child's development, since misinformation could lead to future health problems, problems for which she would then be held responsible. (It is interesting to note that in this, as in the majority of ads of this period, the medical authority is a male.)

Another traditionally maternal activity has been the furnishing of clothes for the family. The contemporary woman

continued this pattern of buying new clothes for different seasons, thus satisfying conventional mandates for her behavior as well as serving the needs of a consumer society. Ads such as the McCall's promotional served to underscore the traditional mothering role and suggested that a woman unable or unwilling to shop for her family's clothes could easily be castigated by society for being unfit.

In addition to illustrating the various ways in which a woman could be a better mother, ads showed how husbands and wives were expected to act toward one another. By using pictures showing husbands and wives in different settings, or by descriptions of the treatment of or by spouses, ads attempted to sell a product via an appeal to the readers' interest in their marriages. Generally, if a product could be described as nuptially beneficial, the advertiser could hope for a positive response to that product. Sometimes an ad merely implied the attitudes of husbands and wives through pictures rather than stating the connection between the product and the marriage. In this case, the reader was expected to identify with models representing a married couple. But no matter whether they used photographs or copy, it is certain that ads reinforced many traditional values and helped to perpetuate specific behavior stereotypes such as the frivolous wife or the husband who was all thumbs in the kitchen.

In some ads, the relationship between husband and wife

appeared to be similar to that between parent and child. In others, there is a clear indication of an adolescent narcissism in which the wife is constantly fearful that she will not be beautiful and will therefore not please her husband. This is directly connected to advertising's emphasis on perfection in the female face or figure. A wife who is lovely to look at (lovely being defined by fashion magazines, ads for cosmetics, and similar authorities) would presumably be better able to retain her husband's affection. Most ads which focused on this attraction between man and wife did so with a blithe disregard for any other facets of the relationship; an attractive physical appearance was promoted as crucial, particularly for the woman. This can be clearly seen in the Universal Laboratories' advertisement for Beauty in the Morning facial cleanser. This ad implied that a husband's attention could be guaranteed by the use of a particular cream. Women are characterized with an emotional dependence on their husbands, a reliance which was only encouraged by the accompanying copy. In addition to the infantile attachment of a husband, the woman in the target audience must have been viewed as having considerable leisure time; the most pressing thought for the entire afternoon concerns 'the dreaded phone call.' Ads like this one encouraged a woman's constant concern with her appearance, and further obscured the obvious fact that her personality was also a factor contributing to the success or failure of

her marriage. Far from drawing him 'right home night after night,' one might argue that a woman's obsession with physical perfection could repel a husband. This point seems to have been entirely obscured by the ad in question.

This simplistic approach was taken by many cosmetic and toiletry companies; among them, Jergens, whose lotion was supposedly endowed with the power to 'keep your husband faithful.' The fact that smooth hands might not have been enough to ensure the stability of a marriage was carefully and judiciously avoided by the creators of the ad, who apparently assumed that women buying Jergens lotion were purchasing security along with the hand cream.

The parent-child aspect of the marital relationship was given full coverage by Gold Bond Building Products in an advertisement for kitchen remodeling. In it, there is a clear suggestion that a woman who acts like a child will be granted certain material pleasures. This fostered the idea of an unequal partnership in which a male benefactor rewards the female recipient for her behavior. There can be little question that a mature couple would find this type of relationship unacceptable by today's standards. That such a connection was openly advocated by advertisers suggests that it was considered acceptable, since most marketers surveyed attitudes and preferences of potential customers before launching an ad campaign. The Gold Bond ad was an accurate reflection of how advertisers viewed couple behavior during

the post-war period and this view, whether totally accurate or a distortion, was certainly among the factors and forces which perpetuated the idea of a woman as a helpless, child-like creature in need of direction.

While it is not unusual for an insurance company to emphasize the security engendered by the sale of its product or service, it is telling that the Prudential advertisement ties the notion of security to the concept of a girlish, unprotected wife. The ad clearly portrays a husband as the provider and protector relegating the wife to a passive role. It is obvious that wives were viewed as having no resources upon which to draw in the event of their husbands' death; their dependence on a husbands' income is both emotional (the need for security found externally) and financial (the need for an income generated by someone else). Ruel McDaniel addresses the financial issues in Printers' Ink in a article which describes a sales contest, the success of which was directly related to the pressure wives brought to bear on their salesman husbands. "The more hubby sells, the better chance she has of winning a new car."⁷² Women as described here were in a powerless financial situation which would only exacerbate their emotional helplessness.

A wife's dependence on her husband was a theme utilized by many advertisers. In the Pacific fabrics ads, the implication was plain and simple: without a wife's careful attention to the fabric of her husband's suit, both his and

her future might be in jeopardy. If the husband failed, the wife would also fail--her identity was submerged and overshadowed by his. Clearly, a wife had little chance of establishing herself as an independent person due to her social, financial and emotional reliance on her spouse.

The division of labor in the family is illuminated in a KitchenAid dishwasher advertisement. This ad emphasized the need for cooperation and partnership, an unusual angle in that it acknowledged the barriers that traditionally existed between husband and wife in terms of their roles. The advertiser appears to minimize the rigid division of labor by the means of an egalitarian appliance in the kitchen. In a less obvious way the ad promotes a newer, suburban lifestyle emphasizing casual entertainment and a degree of affluence. There is a suggestion that this newer lifestyle was the harbinger of a newer type of marriage in which both partners could share equally.

The wives who purchased various cosmetics or creams in the hopes of improving their marriages also were persuaded to buy certain products so as to get approval from their husbands. The Owens-Illinois advertisement (a bottle company) assumes that wives want their husbands' approval, and will do, say, or buy, anything in order to garner such approval. The wife in the ad is very much a propitiating figure; she is a person who does things in order to please another. The unwritten message is that this is appropriate

and acceptable behavior in a wife.

Ads did more than infer which behavior was appropriate for wives or for husbands; advertisers often made very clear the sexual division of labor within the home and the family. Many of the post-war ads were based on traditional assumptions about male and female activities. Wives were generally thought of and portrayed as nurturers, as subordinate, as being invested in the care of the home. But there were limits to domestic activities, and in the Kellogg's ad, promoting cereal energy, men and women clearly do not share tasks. The wife engaged in safe, domestic chores while the husband took his strength and skill outside where he chopped down trees. His is the active, vigorous role; hers is one of passivity and more covert vitality.

'Like any woman, I dreamed of new conveniences in my new refrigerator.' This ad for Servel gas refrigerators shows both husband and wife purchasing the appliance together, but each having separate and very different thoughts concerning reasons for the purchase. Each considers the refrigerator in terms of his or her sphere of labor within the home. The wife anticipates fulfillment now that she has a convenient new refrigerator. The husband concerns himself with the repair aspects of the appliance rather than food preparation and storage. It is obvious that he considers it his wife's responsibility to manage the family meals. She, likewise, relegates upkeep and maintenance to him.

Other traditionally feminine tasks within the home have to do with the care of family clothing, and the All laundry detergent advertisement plays on a woman's sense of responsibility for this. The woman in the ad is placed in a position of having to apologize for time spent away from her home, and it is obvious that women reading the ad would be expected to identify with the guilt feelings expressed. The underlying assumption is clear--woman's work is in the home; it is distasteful, and it is endless.

Along with household chores and the responsibility of overseeing her family's physical environment, the wife and mother of the post-war period was expected to take care of social obligations. The Remington Rand advertisement makes the tasks clear, and just as succinctly emphasizes the woman's restricted sphere. She is charged with the smooth-running of the home, a person whose day is filled with miscellaneous duties which leave her little or no time to exercise individual options or inclinations.

The woman's role as homemaker was emphasized in the Bell telephone ad showing wives in the kitchen when doing their work. In this ad, the husband is again shown as the bestower of gifts, and the person on whom a wife is dependent. The telephone ads consistently portrayed women in a home-making capacity so as to provide an easily identifiable model, and attempted to enhance that model role by promoting a product which would make the jobs associated with it more enjoyable.

With respect to her responsibility for keeping a house clean, a woman was given many encouraging images against which to measure herself. The proliferation of cleanser ads was no exception. The Bon Ami company was diligent in presenting wives with many justifications for buying its products. It is apparent that wives were expected to be either capable or attractive. One could not hope to achieve both beauty and capability. The idea that house cleaning was not a task for husbands comes across clearly in this ad. It is clear that women were limited in their self-expression to certain prescribed roles, and that these women could hope for little in terms of more than one identifying characteristic or quality.

That a woman was bound by certain conventional ideas concerning her behavior as a wife and mother comes through clearly in the De Soto ad. Again, a picture of a woman's day illustrates her primary responsibilities--nurturing tasks. The ad also presents a standard of relative affluence: purebred dogs, comfortable suburban living. This was a lifestyle which contained an inherent leisure for a woman who was not obliged to work outside the home. As such the ad presents an ideal rather than a reflection of reality, if one can rely on employment statistics for information about working wives.

Sexual division of labor within the home and family was matched by similar stereotyping in the workplace outside

domestic confines. It is obvious that advertisers were unwilling or unable to view women in other than traditional employment: these acceptable, traditional positions included clerical jobs, teaching, nursing, home economy, unskilled labor. Swift and Company devoted much of an ad to praise Martha Logan, their resident home-economist. Martha Logan was a motherly type, and this corporation was able to convince the public that women belonged in a traditional role, one that emphasized feminine capabilities. A home economist position supposedly professionalized homemaking. This was reflected in the upsurge of college home-economics courses offered across the nation.

In the FTD ad, nursing is promoted as an appropriate career for women. It states that 'Your training covers many interesting subjects that will prove valuable to your career as a nurse and to a happy home life when you marry,' and suggests that marriage is the ultimate career for all women. While reinforcing sex-segregation in the medical field, this advertisement also indicates that women were expected to marry, relinquishing their career for matrimony. The profession of nursing would supplement a woman's skills and add to her ultimate accomplishment--marriage--without supplanting it in terms of importance or priority.

There were only limited opportunities open to middle class women who wished (or found it necessary) to work outside the home, at least according to conventional

standards portrayed in advertising during the post-war period. The Silver Counselor ad acknowledges the need or desire to work outside the home, but it definitely encourages women to seek a job allowing them to use their feminine capabilities. Selling to other women, in their homes, appeared to be a less threatening alternative than actually entering a factory or a business office, both of which were alternatives open to women with limited skills. It seems that women were thought of as needing some sheltered type of employment, implying that competition, pressure, and the demands of work requiring contact with a wide-range of people were degrading or distasteful.

An ad clearly illustrating female subordination is the Western Electric ad. The assembly line is all female, in one respect predictable in that these jobs are held in relatively low esteem and pay very little.

'The O'Sullivans at home' is illustrative of limits imposed on women in the workplace and at home. The woman is in a support position acceptable for a female but out of the question for any of the men in the photography. In addition to the woman's job outside the home, it is clear that the traditional domestic responsibilities must also be shouldered by the woman. Pouring coffee is an indicator of her real priority--the home. These wifely tasks are taken care of before she goes to work, giving the clear impression that her work outside the home is secondary in importance.

Ads showing women in clerical positions were unanimous in their assessment of female capabilities and limitations. The Burroughs Calculator ad shows, by means of an accompanying photo, the division of labor which existed in the business office. None of the Burroughs ads, not any other office machinery ads of the period, showed a woman in a supervisory position or a man in a clerical position. This ad states that women are only acceptable in low-level, support positions requiring little independent decision-making and which return relatively little in terms of prestige or financial reward.

Advertising reflected and reinforced larger assumptions about women's capabilities when it failed to show working women in positions of any real power or importance. It further supported inferences contained in other categories of advertising: that a woman's most important job was the one that she did inside the home.

The way that advertisers depicted women in the work force can be considered simply another way of perpetuating traditional views about where women's true occupations were to be found. As Ashley Montagu indicated in 1958, "being a good wife, a good mother, in short, a good homemaker is the most important of all occupations in the world . . . no woman with a husband and small children can hold a full-time job and be a good homemaker at one and the same time."⁷³ Clearly, advertisers ascribed to this line of thinking when

presenting images of women in the work force during the post-war years. They intended that those images would in no way detract from 'that most important of all occupations' nor seriously contradict the imagery so carefully drawn to encourage the preservation of a domestic role for women.

C H A P T E R V

CONCLUSION

The issues basic to this study are not new ones. Woman's place in society, particularly a modern industrial society, has long been the subject of debate. Likewise, advertising has endured careful, if sporadic, scrutiny since its inception. Despite the skepticism which accompanied its early efforts, advertising grew rapidly into a multi-million dollar business with advantages so obvious that it had few detractors by the 1920s. There exist, however, relatively few assessment of the combined impact of rapid, post-war economic expansion in America on the institution of mass advertising and on the role of women as affected by that institution. For it is clear that women's lives were changed irrevocably by World War II and America's subsequent enjoyment of rapid technological advances. It is equally obvious that advertising was insensitive to the adjustments that society in general, and women specifically, were making after the war.

While advertisers contributed to the public statements assuming women's return to the home after 1946, reality proved that married women with children were flocking to the workplace in record numbers. The imagery with which producers and advertisers alike approached marketing and the

engineering of consumption had, by the post-war years, reached proportions obscuring this fundamental change in women's behavior. The result was an inconsistency which can be described, at best, as a double standard. In retrospect it seems relatively simple to point to advertisers as one of the major causes of women's confusion and unrest which culminated in the strident protests of the 1960s and beyond. One of the historian's tasks is to be able to assess certain facts and draw conclusions based on those facts. In this case, one cannot avoid the conclusion that, in their eagerness to avoid post-war recession and with an understandable desire to promote an ideal America, advertisers nevertheless served the American woman very poorly. Striving to convince society that women could be most effective members of that society in the role of housewife and mother, advertisers deliberately misrepresented American women to a distinct disadvantage.

Failure to observe changes in lifestyles after the war seems to be connected to the need to insure a market for consumer goods. While in advertisers' eyes it was critical to the national economy to maintain production and consumption levels, it was not possible for all American families to consume without a wife's financial contributions. Hence, the double standard. A woman was told by advertisers to purchase an increasingly spell-binding array of goods so as not to cheat her family. But the only way for her to do

this was by going to work outside the home, thereby (according to advertising's imagery) cheating her family in another way. It is this paradox which emerges from an analysis of advertising in the post-war period. Those responsible for creating ads during this time can scarcely be held individually responsible for the difficulties facing women in contemporary America. But advertising as an institution that transmits cultural images can be taken to task for its failure to project accurate reflections of the society it purports to replicate. Advertising perpetuates a large body of conventional behavior patterns; standards and values which are an integral part of the culture. But it is clear that when an institution such as advertising avoids certain images in preference for others questions must be raised as to the rationale behind that avoidance.

Herein rests the value of continued study into the role that advertising plays in the distortion of the American woman's reality. Since until now this particular juxtaposition of advertisements and women's roles has received only minimal treatment, its investigation will further de-mystify the issue of the commercial media's impact on society.

FOOTNOTES

¹C. Wright Mills, White Collar. (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1951), p. 339.

Stuart Ewen views that shaping of a consumer society in narrowly manipulative terms--"the basic impulse in advertising was one of control, of actively channeling social impulses toward a support of cooperation capitalism and its productive and distributive priorities." Captains of Consciousness. (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1976), p. 18; David Riesman discusses the American consumer's susceptibility to advertising messages in The Lonely Crowd. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950); See Walter Dill Scott, The Psychology of Advertising. (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co., 1908) for useful early commentary on appropriate advertising imagery; In Mirror, Mirror. (N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1977), Kathryn Weibel questions whether diverse images of women will replace "the wholesome housewifely and passive images which have been firmly entrenched in women's magazines since the end of the 19th century." p. 138; Likewise, D. B. Lucas and S. H. Britt, Advertising Psychology and Research. (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1950) suggest that "the appeals which advertising make to the reader's fancy and imagination are in harmony with the editorial content of general magazines and are appropriate to the attitudes of the reader as he approaches the publication." p. 661.

²Gaye Tuchman, Arlene Kaplan Daniels, and James Benét, Hearth and Home: Images of Women in the Mass Media. (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1978), p. 117.

³Ibid., p. 93.

⁴William Leuchtenberg, A Troubled Feast. (Boston: Little, Brown & Co., 1979), revised edition.

⁵Ewen, op. cit., p. 18.

⁶Frank Presbrey, History and Development of American Advertising. (Garden City: Doubleday, 1929), p. 319.

⁷Presbrey, ibid., p. 321.

⁸Presbrey, ibid., p. 350.

⁹Some early works in this area include Walter Dill Scott's The Psychology of Advertising, op. cit.

John Brisbane Walker, editor of Cosmopolitan magazine addressed, in 1902, the use of psychology in Kodak advertisements; See also, Walter Dill Scott, the most significant of his works being The Psychology of Advertising, op. cit.

¹⁰Alex Osborn, A Short Course in Advertising. (N.Y.: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1921).

¹¹Presbrey, op. cit., p. 481, indicates that in 1928, four top women's magazines (Ladies' Home Journal; Women's Home Companion; Good Housekeeping; and McCall's) enjoyed a circulation of 2,500,000 each with combined advertising revenues totaling nearly \$75,000,000 per annum.

¹²Calvin Coolidge, in an address to the American Association of Advertising Agencies, cited in Presbrey, op. cit., p. 614.

¹³Roy Sheldon and Egmont Arens, Consumer Engineering: A New Technique for Prosperity. (N.Y.: Harper, 1932), p. 6.

¹⁴Numerous examples of these advertisements can be found in any mass market magazine of the war-time period. Some of the best of these are in Saturday Evening Post, McCall's, and Ladies' Home Journal.

¹⁵For a general discussion of wartime economic conditions, see Richard Polenberg, War and Society. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1972). More specifically, James D. Scott discusses how advertising coped with the wartime economy in two articles in the Harvard Business Review, XXI, Nos. 2 & 4, "Advertising When Consumers Cannot Buy," pp. 207-229; and "Advertising When Buying is Restricted," pp. 443-454.

¹⁶For a critical evaluation of advertising's role in manipulating consumers to perceive a need when none was apparent, see The Image: A Guide to Pseudo-Events in America, by Daniel Boorstin, (N.Y.: Atheneum, 1975).

¹⁷A discussions of early twentieth century consumerism and its origins can be found in Stuart Ewen, Captains of Consciousness, op. cit.

¹⁸Ernest Dichter, The Handbook of Consumer Motivation. (N.Y.: McGraw-Hill, 1964), p. vii.

¹⁹See Joseph Seldin, The Golden Fleece. (N.Y.: Marzani & Munsell, 1965), pp. 235-242, for a discussion of the debate over motivational research.

²⁰Betty Friedan, The Feminine Mystique. (N.Y.: Dell Publishing, 1963), pp. 218-219.

²¹Stuart Chase, "The Tragedy of Waste" in The Twenties; Fords, Flappers, and Fanatics, George E. Mowry, editor. (Englewood, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1963), pp. 15-17.

²²Ruth Schwartz Cowan, in "A Case Study of Technological and Social Change: The Washing Machine and the Working Wife," Hartmann and Banner, Clio's Consciousness Raised, (N.Y.: Harper, 1974), makes a convincing argument for the further oppression of women by domestic appliances. She contends that, far from lessening the burden on women, modern technology increased the number of hours women spent on household tasks by raising standards of cleanliness, etc.

²³Grace Coyle, Jobs and Marriage. (N.Y.: The Women's Press, 1928), p. 84.

²⁴Sinclair Lewis, Main Street. (N.Y.: Harcourt, Brace and Howe, 1920), p. 9.

²⁵Carl Degler, "Revolution Without Ideology: The Changing Place of Women in America," in The Woman in America, Robert J. Lifton, ed. (Boston: Beacon Press, 1964), p. 209.

²⁶William H. Chafe, "Looking Backward in Order to Look Forward: Women, Work, and Social Values in America" in Juanita Kreps's, Women and the American Economy. (N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1976), pp. 12-15.

²⁷A discussion of married women's emergence in career and professional positions can be found in Carl Degler's At Odds. (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1980), pp. 410-417.

²⁸Viva Boothe, "Gainfully Employed Women in the Family," Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, Vol. 158, (March 1932), pp. 75-85.

²⁹Doris Fleischman, An Outline of Careers for Women. (N.Y.: Doubleday, 1934), p. 20.

³⁰Ibid., p. 371.

³¹Ibid., p. 461.

³²Coyle, op. cit.

³³William H. Chafe, The American Woman, Her Changing Social, Political and Economic Roles, 1920-1950. (N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 1972), p. 37.

³⁴Paul V. McNutt, "Women in Democracy's Arsenal," New York Times Magazine, October 15, 1941.

³⁵Chafe, op. cit., p. 144.

³⁶Popular author Edna Ferber described the type of wartime employment opportunities available to women in "Grandma Isn't Playing," written in 1942. Part of a collection of short stories, it appears in One Basket. (N.Y.: Mcfadden Books, 1964), pp. 553-569.

³⁷Gertrude Samuels, "Why Do Twenty Million Women Work?", New York Times Magazine, September 9, 1951.

³⁸Freida Miller, "What's Become of Rosie the Riveter?", New York Times Magazine, May 5, 1946.

³⁹Ferdinand Lundberg and Marynia Farnham, Modern Woman: The Lost Sex. (N.Y.: Harper and Brothers, 1947).

⁴⁰Adlai Stevenson, Woman's Home Companion, Sept. 1955.

⁴¹Benjamin Spock, The Commonsense Book of Baby and Child Care. (N.Y.: Duell, Sloan and Pearce, 1946).

⁴²J. Earl Schaefer to Dwight D. Eisenhower. Shaefer Papers, Box 1, Dwight D. Eisenhower 1943-Present (1), Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas.

⁴³Erving Goffman, Gender Advertisements. (N.Y.: Harper and Row Publishers, 1976).

⁴⁴Ibid.

⁴⁵Friedan, op. cit.

⁴⁶Scott, op. cit., p. 87.

⁴⁷Osborn, op. cit., p. 56.

⁴⁸Miller, op. cit.

⁴⁹Degler, op. cit., p.422.

⁵⁰Carroll J. Swan, "Family Man Replacing Huckster in Ad Alley," Printers' Ink, Nov. 11, 1955, p. 86.

⁵¹Esther Peterson, "Working Women," in Lifton, op. cit., p. 150.

⁵²Peterson, op. cit., p. 147.

⁵³Marshall Beuick, "It Pays to be Friendly," Printers' Ink, August 1, 1952, p. 25.

⁵⁴Nathan Kelne, "Bring Housewife into your Conspiracy," Printers' Ink, October 14, 1955, p. 28.

⁵⁵Better Living Newsletter, Printers' Ink, November 11, 1958, p. 52.

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷"Most Intelligentsia Have Favorable Attitude to Ads," Advertising Age, October 19, 1959, p. 3.

⁵⁸C. Wright Mills's definition of manipulation is as follows: "Manipulation is a secret or impersonal exercise of power; the one who is influenced is not explicitly told what to do but is nevertheless subject to the will of another." Mills, op. cit., p. 109.

⁵⁹Vance Packard, The Hidden Persuaders. (N.Y.: David McKay Co., 1951); Jerry Della Femina, From Those Wonderful Folks Who Gave You Pearl Harbor. (N.Y.: Simon and Schuster, 1970).

⁶⁰"When a Woman Shops, What's On Her Mind?", Printers' Ink, January 20, 1955, pp.25-27.

⁶¹Examples can be found in the Kellogg's and the Gold Bond products advertisements in Chapter IV.

⁶²Charlotte Montgomery, "Charlotte Montgomery Sees Changed Woman Emerging on the Buying Scene," Advertising Age, October 5, 1959, pps. 102 and 104.

⁶³Seldin, op. cit., p. 63.

⁶⁴Seldin, op. cit., pp. 147-148.

⁶⁵"Two Pie Plates, Tuna Fish Can, Give Norge its New Features in Washing Race," Advertising Age, July 16, 1956, p. 2.

⁶⁶Car advertisements were not the only ones to take a sexually provocative tone. An advertisement for ceramic mugs, depicting a young woman undressing, was for a minor gift item (The New Yorker, July 1948). It nevertheless suggested that women were a focus for sexual gratification and is a good example of an ad for a product which objectified women.

⁶⁷Alva Myrdal and Viola Klein, Women's Two Roles. (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1956), p. 146.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 144.

⁶⁹Friedan, op. cit., p. 244.

⁷⁰Friedan, op. cit.

⁷¹Spock, op. cit.

⁷²Ruel McDaniel, "Salesmen's Wives Make this Contest Click," Printers' Ink, December 23, 1955, p. 58.

⁷³Ashley Montagu, "The Triumph and Tragedy of the American Woman," Saturday Review, XLI, September 27, 1958, pp. 13-15.

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A P P E N D I X A

Table 1
Wholesale Price Indexes, All Commodities

1940	40.5
1945	54.6
1947	76.5
1950	81.8
1951	91.1
1952	88.6
1953	87.4
1954	87.6
1955	87.8
1956	90.7
1957	93.3
1958	94.6
1959	94.8
1960	94.9

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series E 23-39.

Table 2
Gross National Product
(in billions of dollars)

1940	99.7
1945	211.9
1947	231.3
1950	284.8
1955	398.0
1960	503.7

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series F 32-46

Table 3

Median Money Wage or Salary Income of Primary Families
(families with male head, married, husband present)

1939	1,319
1947	3,042
1949	3,194
1950	3,486
1951	3,773
1953	4,324
1954	4,286
1955	4,467
1956	4,858
1957	5,033
1958	5,107
1959	5,478
1960	5,688

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series G 353-371

Table 4
Personal Consumption Expenditures

Year	Food	Clothing	Household Durables
1946	49,018	18,796	7,516
1947	54,405	19,344	9,532
1948	56,061	20,654	10,416
1949	54,112	19,824	9,835
1950	55,238	20,125	11,531
1951	61,507	21,690	11,964
1952	64,369	22,416	11,752
1953	65,241	22,527	12,101
1954	66,213	22,532	12,026
1955	67,942	23,976	13,781
1956	71,237	25,107	14,554
1957	75,566	25,339	14,344
1958	76,599	26,435	14,314
1959	77,679	28,221	15,443
1960	79,500	28,952	15,447

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series G 191-218

Table 5
Clerical and Kindred Workers
(female, in thousands)

1900	212,000
1910	688,000
1920	1,614,000
1930	2,246,000
1940	2,700,000
1950	4,502,000
1960	6,497,000

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series D 182-232

Table 6
Women Receiving Degrees from
4 Year U.S. Colleges and Universities

Year	B.A.	M.A.	Ph.D
1900	5,237	303	23
1910	8,437	558	44
1920	16,642	1,294	93
1930	48,869	6,044	353
1940	76,954	10,233	429
1950	103,217	16,963	643
1960	138,377	25,727	1,028

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series H 751-765

Table 7
Total Female Population in the U.S.

Year	Single	Married
1900	8,319,285	13,784,538
1910	9,826,911	17,667,119
1920	10,608,384	21,301,014
1930	12,465,795	26,159,771
1940	13,963,000	30,090,000
1950	11,139,000	37,633,000
1960	12,295,000	42,575,000

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series A 160-171

Table 8
Total Female Workforce in the U.S.
(age 14 or older)

Year	Single	Married
1900	3,307,000	769,000
1910	4,602,000	1,891,000
1920	6,427,000	1,920,000
1930	5,735,000	3,071,000
1940	6,710,000	5,040,000
1950	5,621,000	9,273,000
1960	5,401,000	13,485,000

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series D 49-62

Table 9

Total Female Workforce in the U.S.

As a Percentage of the Total Female Population

Year	Single	Married
1900	43.5	5.6
1910	51.1	10.7
1920	46.4	9.0
1930	50.5	11.7
1940	48.1	16.7
1950	50.5	24.8
1960	44.1	31.7

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series D 49-62

Table 10
Married Women in the Labor Force
(husband present, in thousands)

	With children 6-17 years	With children under 6 years
1948	1,927	1,226
1949	2,130	1,285
1950	2,205	1,399
1951	2,400	1,670
1952	2,492	1,688
1953	2,749	1,884
1954	3,019	1,808
1955	3,183	2,012
1956	3,384	2,048
1957	3,517	2,208
1958	3,714	2,399
1959	4,055	2,471
1960	4,087	4,474

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series D 63-74

Table 11
Labor Force Participation Rate for Married Women
(husband present)

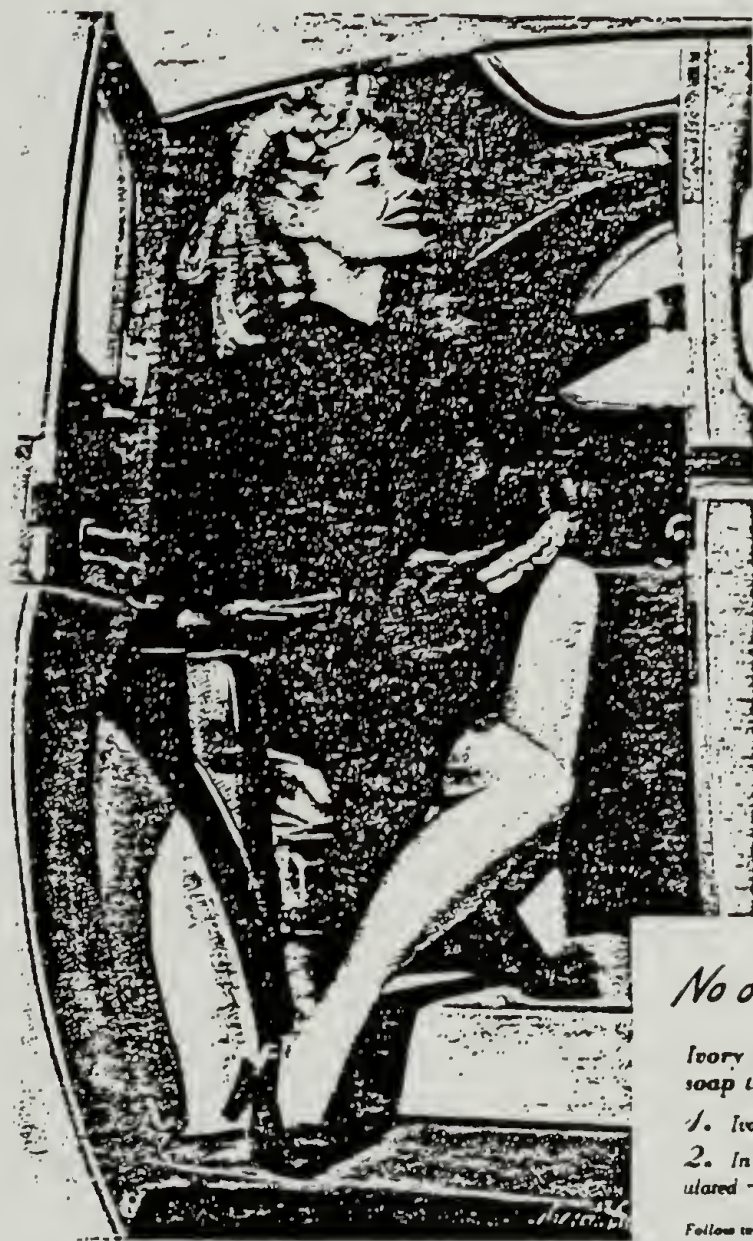
	With children 6-17 years	With children under 6 years
1948	26.0	10.8
1949	27.3	11.0
1950	28.3	11.9
1951	30.3	14.0
1952	31.1	13.9
1953	32.2	15.5
1954	33.2	14.9
1955	34.7	16.2
1956	36.4	15.9
1957	36.6	17.0
1958	37.6	18.2
1959	39.8	18.7
1960	39.0	18.6

SOURCE: Historical Statistics, Colonial Times to 1970,
series D 63-84

A P P E N D I X B

Precious Nylons!

GIVE THEM **Longer Life** WITH AMAZING
COOL-WATER IVORY SNOW



Longer Life

FOR NYLONS, RAYONS, SILKS, WOOLENS

NEW! DIFFERENT!

*It carries stocking protection
a step farther!*

Snit, misty-beige nylons are back on those famous American legs. She helps keep them color-bright... color-right for her new "Vintage Red" frock with Ivory Snow! Ivory Snow care every night guards color and fit... means longer stockings too! Different from cake soaps... newer than flake soaps... those granular "snowdrops" make instant suds in lukewarm water—even in cool water. Softer suds that carry protection a step farther than soaps not Ivory-mild. Longer life for stockings! Wonderful Ivory Snow!



No other Soap Like it!

Ivory Snow is the only soap that is both

1. Ivory-mild
2. In quick-sudsing granulated "snowdrops"!

Follow tested directions on the box! Don't waste wonderful Ivory Snow—it's made of vital materials.



99 44/100% Pure



Couture by Michel of Helene Robinsons • Diamond and Topaz Jewelry by Karpies

The hair color of your dreams

is more often Clairol's® magnificent color achievement, than nature's. For Clairol shades are not only most natural-looking, but match nature's most exciting shades.

In the Sparkling Sherry® head pictured, Clairol matched one of the rarest shades in nature.... a glorious light

Auburn. It's typical of Clairol's color triumphs. It typifies the color-excitement men love to see in a woman's hair.

Among Clairol's 23 colors, there's one just as exquisitely right for you, as for the girl in the picture.

And remember, Clairol is also good for the hair because it reconditions and cleanses as it tints every gray or drab hair.

Beauty note: Your hair color keynotes your complexion

... make-up to your new hairtone. Write for free booklet

"11 Secrets for Beautiful Hair."

Clairol, Inc., Dept. 210, Stamford, Conn.

Adapted with Clairol's Clairol, Auburn & 13 A—trademark.



WINNING BEAUTY

It's good to know you've picked a winner — as you have when your choice is a car with Body by Fisher.

You're confident its smartness is better by far. You are certain, too, of the ultimate in comfort and safety — of security assured by Body by Fisher's Unisteel construction.

Be sure there's a Body by Fisher emblem on the new car you're considering. It symbolizes an achievement made possible by devotion to fine coachcraft for more than 38 years.

Body by Fisher



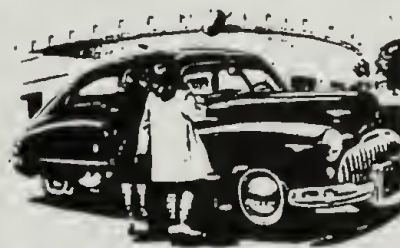
BETTER BY FAR

Thousands of dollars in university scholarships and cash awards for best miniature Napoleonic coaches or model cars submitted by boys of 12-19 years inclusive. For information, write: Fisher Body Craftsman's Guild, General Motors Bldg., Detroit 2, Michigan.

On the Air HENRY J. TAYLOR, coast to coast, twice weekly. See your local newspaper for time and station.

You get Body by Fisher
only on
GENERAL MOTORS CARS

CHEVROLET • PONTIAC
OLDSMOBILE • BUICK • CADILLAC



1946 Buick Super Sedan

Change to
CALOX
 for the
tonic
effect
 on your smile



To make your smile outstandingly attractive, you need firm gums as well as bright, sparkling teeth.

Calox Tooth Powder works two ways to *tone up your smile*:

1. Calox helps remove dull film ...and bring out all the natural lustre of your teeth.
2. Dentists say massaging gums is most beneficial. Special ingredients in Calox encourage regular massage ... which has a stimulating, tonic effect on your gums... helps keep them firm and rosy.

Tone up *your smile*...with Calox!

McKESSON & ROBBINS, INC.,
 BRIDGEPORT, CONN.



MORE POWER and a SMOOTHER ENGINE

RISLONE, the Oil Alloy:—

Frees Sticking Valves.

Restores Lost Compression and Power.

**Facilitates Quick Starting and
Improves Acceleration.**

**Permits Driving New Cars At Normal
Speeds Immediately.**

Prolongs Engine Life.

**Assures a Quieter,
Smoother Running Engine.**

Have RISLONE added to your regular engine oil today
and whenever having an oil change—at the better garages
and filling stations.

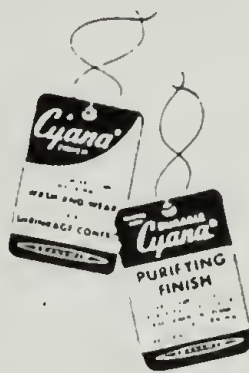


play
time...



is time to play safe...with Cyana® Finishes

All the girls are being more feminine this year. So these new Fuller-knit prints offer not just beauty but lasting protection. First, there's fabulous Cyana Shrinkage Control that lasts washing after washing. And for the truly fastidious, Cyana Purifying Finish—the *only* durable treatment of its kind—gives garments lasting freshness, even in warmest weather, up to fifty washings. Mother's dress by *Loomtoqs*. Daughter's "Sunny Lee" dress by *Borgenicht*. Available at Lord & Taylor in New York, and other leading department stores throughout the country.



CYANAMID

American Cyanamid Company • Textile Chemicals Department • 111 West 40 St., New York, N.Y.
PRODUCERS OF THE WORLD'S FINEST TEXTILE CHEMICALS

HOW WOMEN OVER 35 CAN LOOK YOUNGER

A Frank Statement about Estrogenic Hormones by Helena Rubinstein

"Estrogenic Hormones are the most effective agents yet discovered for helping women to look younger."

I believe, with all my heart, that Estrogenic Hormones can make you look younger. So I have taken this space to tell women over 35 what they can expect from my Estrogenic Hormone preparations.

While leading scientists have carried out exhaustive experiments with Estrogenic Hormone Cream, I have been using my own skin as a testing ground.

More than 20 years ago I started applying Estrogenic Hormone Cream to my own skin. Since then I have observed the effects on thousands of other women. All this time, too, I have kept abreast of hormone studies in universities, and in my own laboratory.

Dramatic Proof

We now have dramatic proof that Estrogenic Hormones can often bring about a decided improvement in the appearance of dry, oldish skin.

One of the many important tests which have contributed to this proof took place recently at a leading university in New England. I think you may be interested in a summary of this test:

1. The hands of twenty-five women between the ages of 45 and 55 were placed under scientific observation for six months.
2. Two different creams were applied to their hands daily. One cream contained Estrogenic Hormones. The other did not. The creams looked identical. Even the doctors making the study did not know which hands received Estrogenic Hormone Cream.
3. At the end of 6 months the doctors formed their conclusion: "The skin of the left hands (with one or two exceptions) looked fuller, less wrinkled, more youthful."
4. It was then learned by the experimenting doctors that Estrogenic Hormone Cream was the one which had been used on these younger-looking left hands.

Yes, we now have proof that Estrogenic Hormone preparations can safely give women younger-looking skin.

Important to Women Over 35

If you are over 35, then you must realize that your skin is steadily losing its youthful appearance.

Estrogenic Hormones are natural substances. And they really work in a very simple way. When gently massaged into your skin, they make your under skin fill out. This in turn stretches the outer skin. When this happens, fine lines become less visible. Your skin, as the doctors reported, looks "fuller, less wrinkled, more youthful."



"YOUR HUSBAND LOOKS AT YOU WITH NEW INTEREST."

Works in Two Ways

My Estrogenic Hormone Cream works in two ways to help your skin look more youthful. It works from within—as your skin absorbs the natural estrogenic hormones. And it works from without—as its rich emollients smooth away dryness, and help you to capture that lovely young look.

But these admirable results don't happen overnight. Even though women have told me they noted an improvement after only one week—I always advise women to put my Estrogenic Hormone Cream and Oil on their face at least 4 months.

But even at the end of 30 days, I am sure you will not want to change to younger-looking skin.

A Thrilling Experience

If you are over 35 it is a thrilling experience when you begin to look younger. Compliments come your way. "What have you been doing to yourself?" Ask your friends. You yourself are glad.



truly aware that you look prettier. You have a new assurance. And you know your husband looks at you with new interest. Life suddenly more exciting.

What woman doesn't want to enjoy such happy fulfillment? You can keep up the work by continuing to use my Estrogenic Hormone beauty products.

MRS. SARIE MARY ROBERTS OF SAN DIEGO WRITES

"I have Helena Rubinstein Estrogenic Cream and Oil since marriage. Even though I was more than 30 when I began to use them, I definitely experience a remarkable difference in my skin."

INTRODUCTORY OFFER*

Helena Rubinstein makes this 30-day beauty offer to every woman who begins younger-looking skin.

ESTROGENIC HORMONE CREAM \$12.00

ESTROGENIC HORMONE OIL \$12.00

NOW ONLY \$8.50.

You can now obtain this beauty bargain your favorite cosmetic counter. But hurry, because supplies are limited.

*Offer valid from 1/1/50 to 1/31/50.

— Helena Rubinstein, Inc.



keep your skin young and soft all over — with
Super-Smooth body lotion

... the easiest, quickest way to keep your skin from growing old before its time.

Steam heat, harsh water, or exposure to sun and wind rob the skin of youthful moisture

Super-Smooth Body Lotion puts it back.

Use it daily all over your body after your bath and watch your skin grow softer, smoother,

Germaine Monteil

662 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK 22, N. Y.

So much a part of her
Charm



About her there seems to be a fastidious freshness, a lasting sweetness that is so much a part of her charm. Like many another popular woman she knows that halitosis (unpleasant breath) could cancel all her good points . . . and so, Listerine Antiseptic, morning and night, and before any date, has become a ritual never, never to be omitted. Perhaps should be one for you, also. Unpleasant breath, you know, may be absent one day and present the next . . . and without your realizing it. And, when this condition is not of systemic origin, there is no more efficient, more delightful or *extra-careful* precaution against offending than trustworthy Listerine Antiseptic.



Slim
and Trim...

with the *Light*
refreshment

NO MATTER what she wears, today's woman shows nothing but flattering lines. The reason is simple. She follows the modern, sensible trend toward lighter, less-filling food and drink. And Pepsi-Cola is right in step.

Today's Pepsi-Cola, reduced in calories, refreshes without filling. Never heavy. Never too sweet. It's the modern, the *light* refreshment. Have a Pepsi.

Pepsi-Cola

refreshes without filling

Take WARNER'S
to your bosom, darling, for
fashion's higher, rounded look

THE PERFECT PARTNERSHIP for the up-most in fashion—you and Warner's. Especially true this fall, when the emphasis (and it's about time) is back to the bosom . . . the higher, rounder one shown here so elegantly above the dome skirt of Harvey Berin's Ice Blue Chantilly lace over satin. Warner's®, as always, gives fashion the lift it deserves with a special long line strapless bra that raises you to the height of beauty, rounds you with half shells of softest foam, tapers your waist to a hand span. So lush looking, too, in soft-to-your-skin Ban-lon lace. This and many other new Warner wonderfals—at your nicest stores.

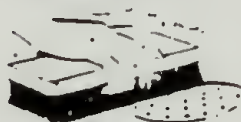
#1342. Low backed long line bra in power net and Ban-lon lace. White or black. \$13.50.





unh...unh,
Mama!

Have a card just 2 inches from where you're washing the jam-sticky little toy, your drain is seething with nasty, filthy SEWER GERMS! (Molner Laboratory Survey.)



Don't expect scrubbing to scare away these noxious creatures.



And as long as they infect your sink drain they keep on breeding more of their unsavory kind.



It takes Drano to beat 'em out... to make your sink safe and sanitary. And Drano opens clogged drains, too. Keeps them free-running, free of SEWER GERMS. So, for health's sake, use Drano regularly!

Drano

© 1946, Dr. A. Paul, Dr. H. The Drano Co.

**OPENS CLOGGED DRAINS
CLEARS OUT SEWER GERMS**



Never over 15¢ at hardware, drug, and grocery stores.

Harmless to septic tanks; makes them work better—cuts down odors.

46 July 1946



Mrs. James C. Cooke of Sunnyside, Long Island says: "I HAVE TO KEEP
BARBARA'S AND CATHERINE'S CLOTHES SPARKLING CLEAN ALL THE TIME
—EVERYBODY NOTICES TWINS!"

The Cooke Twins are 3 years old and full of fun. Cathy is impulsive and curious. Bobby is cautious, shy with strangers. Their Dad is teaching them to swim. They make up games to play with their twin baby dolls and their brother, Jimmy, who is just 4. Jimmy is the doctor; they're nurses.



"These make you right," says Mrs. Cooke. "When one gets her dress dirty I have to change both. But clothes wash clean as a whistle in Rinso's soap-rich suds. Unless you're Rinso-BRIGHT, it's all over colors come Rinso-BRIGHT."



Leave for Mommy (the Rinso's soap-rich suds make your work of washing). Besides playing with the turtle, the twins like to play. But with chairs, Jimmy is driver, they're passengers.



The Twins love to wash their dolls' dishes or clothes in Rinso. But they'll drop anything to go in the car with Dad who's in the real estate business. Their favorite outing is a picnic at the beach. Dad's teaching them to swim.



RINSO IS ANTI-SNEEZE

PATENTED PROCESS

— the only guaranteed soap 99% free of irritating laundry salts—dye

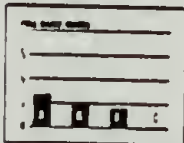


DO YOUR BREAKFASTS MAKE THESE MISTAKES?

DO THEY SKIMP?

Breakfast means just that. More than any other meal, it must build up pep and energy. You'll do that, and get many vitamins, too, from a cereal with milk, buttered toast, and an egg. But without orange juice, even this substantial breakfast gives your family almost no vitamin C. And because so few foods are good sources of C, health authorities say it's best to get your full day's share at breakfast.

With California orange juice, breakfast supplies the much of day's vitamin needs!

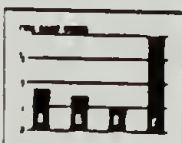


DO THEY SKIMP?

Don't miss your California orange juice. Besides supplying many added health values, it fills your day's quota of vitamin C. You need this vitamin every day to fight fatigue and infection, protect teeth and gums, and keep looking young.

So let every breakfast start with California orange juice — even when you have other fruit. There's no brighter, cheerier, more delicious start for the day.

With California orange juice, breakfast supplies the much of day's vitamin needs!



DISPOSABLE TIP: Always the summer berry, small oranges are your best bet! Merry round, thin-skinned, they're big but full and late. Sunkist Oranges are the fruit from 14,500 independent California and Arizona grove owners.

CALIFORNIA ORANGES

Sunkist

BEST FOR JUICE — and Every use!

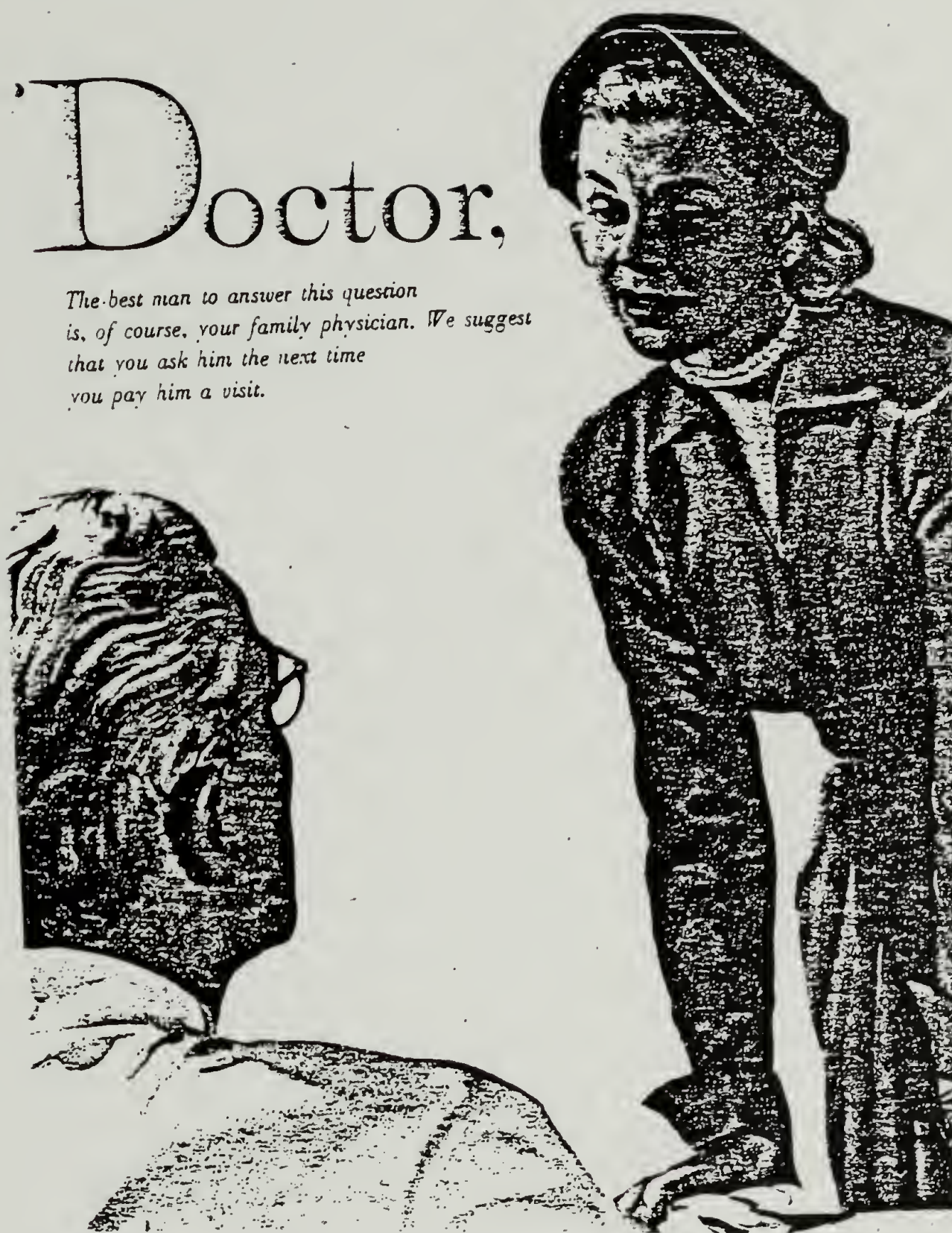


NO FANCY RECIPE NEEDED

—start with orange slices, add any other fruits you choose. Easy-to-peel California oranges are favorites for the lunch box and eating between meals too. For free Orange Recipe Book, write to Sunkist, Dept. 508, Los Angeles 55, Calif.

Doctor,

The best man to answer this question is, of course, your family physician. We suggest that you ask him the next time you pay him a visit.



Togetherness inspires her buying decisions...



Buying the new Easter outfits

New spring outfits for Easter are a wonderful family tradition — they make each member of the family proud of being a family, and proud and happy to be together. Whether it's dresses, shoes, suits, or any other family fashion, it's Mother who inspires the buying decisions.

The magazine of Togetherness reaching more than 4,800,000 families... **McCall's**

how to
escape the
dreaded phone call

I won't be home
tonight!"



Take a look in your morning mirror. See the memory your husband carries with him day after day. Is it a magnet alluring enough to draw him right home night after night? Or do you spend your afternoons dreading that hated phone call "I won't be home tonight."

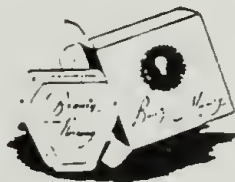
Try *Beauty in the Morning*. Use it faithfully. You will notice a flattering change almost immediately — no long wait for results.

Beauty in the Morning is so much more than a soap. It's a complete all-in-one facial treatment—a new idea, created after years of research by a group of chemists and beauty experts. It uniquely combines the costly ingredients they finally chose as the finest safeguard for your complexion.

Beauty in the Morning helps correct skin dryness that makes three out of four women unhappy. It helps remove the reasons for too oily skin. It hygienically and thoroughly cleans your skin, leaving it protected by a soothing film — tingling with a new aliveness that you feel at once.

Get *Beauty in the Morning* today. Put it to work doing wonderful things for your skin. It's easy, so very easy to bring back the look he loves.

Beauty in the Morning care takes only a few minutes. For less than 2c a day it provides beauty never offered before. At fine toilet goods counters. 1.00



A COMPLETE HOME FACIAL
CLEANSER AND BEAUTIFIER

Beauty IN THE *Morning*

UNIVERSAL LABORATORIES, INC.



THIS LOVELY NEW CREAM DEODORANT—JERGENS DRYAD—
—A BEAUTY BONUS TO YOU WHEN
YOU PURCHASE JERGENS LOTION—SEE OFFER BELOW.



*"Let's always
Love
Each Other"*

No other man—

"Never another woman—"

So—of true faith—you promise each other. Now
and in all to come—never to be broken.

There's a new woman born—the touch of feminine
smooth soft hands can make an aching heart
for a man. And the best-loved women are for their
hands generously with Jergens Lotion.

Your very dearest can be sweeter to
him now—a new way—with Dryad, Jergens new kind
of deodorant cream.

Now try new Dryad at Jergens expense. Buy a 50c
size bottle of the famous Jergens Lotion and—
with your lotion—receive a regular 25c jar of Dryad
without extra cost. While this offer lasts—pay only
39c for your Jergens Lotion plus a generous jar of
Dryad, Jergens' daintier new kind of deodorant cream.

KEEP HIS DEVOTION... Have new Dryad plus
famous Jergens Lotion—both for the price
of Jergens Lotion alone.



While this special offer lasts
—pay only 39c plus tax for a regular 50c
size bottle of Jergens Lotion plus a regular 25c jar
of Dryad, Jergens' daintier new deodorant
cream. This combination offer won't last long.
Ask for it at your cosmetic counter today.
Full 75c value for 39c plus tax.

New DRYAD DEODORANT

New kind of deodorant cream
Special sweet ingredients keep Dryad soft, smooth
Stays under skin color instant
Heals chink perspiration spots
Safe for tender skin and hair
Daintier—more luxuriously scented—texture
like a face cream—easy to apply
Created by Skin Scientists at Jergens after 10 years of study

SEE CHESTER, DAY, LEE — THE DRYAD



Famous JERGENS LOTION

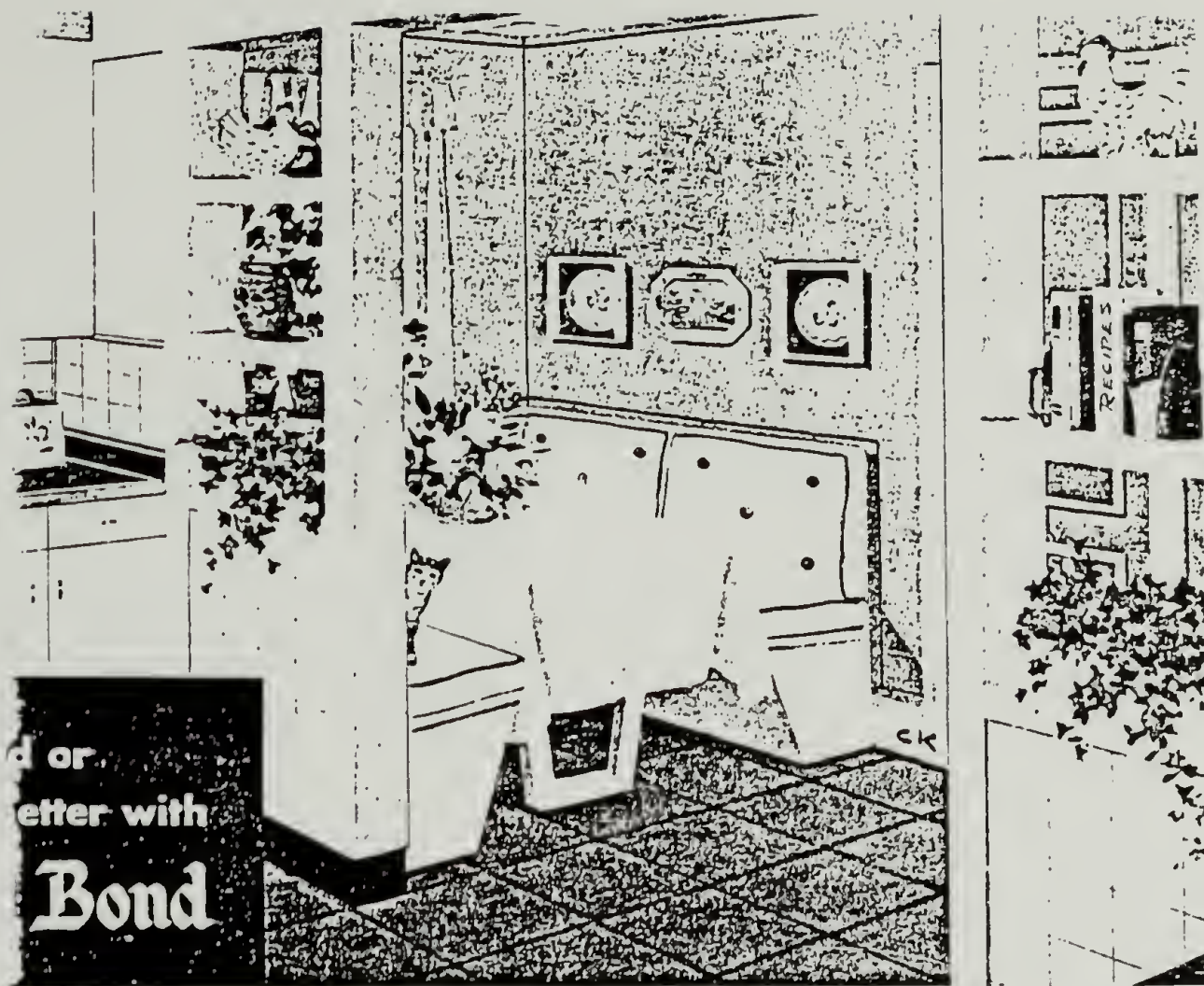
Preferred by the loveliest women. For instance—
Hollywood stars use Jergens Lotion. So do
Young Matrons use Jergens Lotion. Nearly 1 to 1.

Now more effective than ever—thanks to extra research
for smoother, softer hands—extra longer protection.

Contains 2 ingredients—no harmful irritants—that make
hands soft and smooth.

Extra skin softener—no more dry, cracked, rough skin.

FOR THE SOFTEST, MOST PLEASANT HANDS USE JERGENS LOTION



Ask your local Gold Bond dealer how you can remodel your old kitchen!

Look what I got for being a crybaby!

one from visiting friends in their shiny, modern kitchen...and when I told my old one, I just put down my book here, 'said Joe. 'If this old one, let's do something about it!' even my friends who have new ones!"

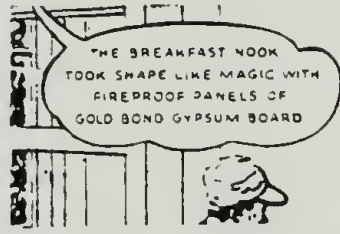
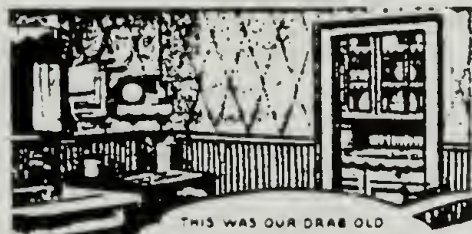
wonderful things these days to modernize old houses. And with Gold Bond building materials longer the time-consuming up-to-be. A single room or a whole

house can now be done quickly and at low cost. In the room above the walls are made of Fireproof Gold Bond Gypsum Wallboard. It goes up like magic in big wall-covering panels, and takes any decoration. If you're planning an addition or new building don't miss Gold Bond Fireproof Gypsum Sheathing. It gives you a stronger, safer wall under clapboards, brick or other finish.

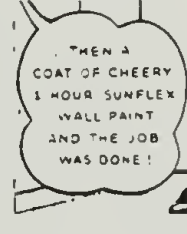
If you want to increase summer comfort and lower winter heating costs in any house, new or old, simply insulate with new high-efficiency Gold Bond Rock Wool. Owners say it pays for itself

by saving as much as 30 percent in heat. These are just a few of the 150 research Gold Bond building products that are produced in normal times. Today even our whole plant can't keep up with demands. Even so, 10,000 local Gold Bond lumber and material dealers are on the job, helping you get homed, helping their customers in they can. See your Gold Bond dealer for you plan to build or remodel. He can be a better job, not always today but tomorrow. National Gypsum Company, Buffalo 2, N.Y.

150 tested Gold Bond Building Products for new construction or remodeling add greater permanence, beauty and fire protection. These include wallboard, lath, plaster, lime, sheathing, wall paint, insulation, metal and wood control products.



GOLD BOND GYPSUM BOARD APPLIED RIGHT OVER THE SHABBY OLD MATERIAL GAVE THE KITCHEN NEW LIFE FOR THE WAINSCOT.



"Will you marry me?"

"I haven't got much to offer
you. But I love you and
I'll work hard. And someday——"

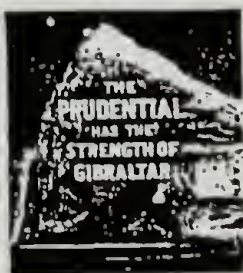
"Is that enough for marriage?
That's all it is. With her love and help,
I'll be no stopping you.

"And you've chosen wants
more than wealth and
positions. And if she's like most wives,
a deal of her happiness will
be on a simple feeling of security.

Prudential's business is providing
it. You will find that the
deal—through a life insurance
within your means—enables you
to give your wife guaranteed protection
in the future which is worth a very
deal in terms of happiness now.

"If the advantages of seeing a
representative of the Prudential is that
I show you how you yourself can
meet your own needs for protection.

★
The Prudential Family Hour, with
Nightson—Sunday afternoons, CBS.
The Jack Berch Show—Every morning,
through Fridays, NBC.



THE PRUDENTIAL

INSURANCE COMPANY OF AMERICA

A mutual life insurance company

OFFICE: NEWARK, NEW JERSEY



THE FUTURE BELONGS TO THOSE WHO PREPARE FOR IT

Does your husband look as smart as he *really* is?

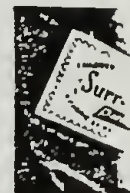
FUTURE—AS WELL AS YOURS—MAY DEPEND ON HIS APPEARANCE!

How able your husband really is. But it's the people in his business or social life so important to his success? Nature can't judge a book by its cover, but it helps when a man's *outward* appearance reflects his *inner* qualities.

If you want your husband to look his best at all times—and still have money for other things you both need—tell him about Surretwill. Here's a smartly tailored suit that can be worn on so many different occasions—at the party tonight, or the office tomorrow, or that trip next week end

a complete wardrobe.

Surretwill, tailored exclusively by Pacific Brothers of fabrics woven only by Pacific, now available, for the first time, in a soft 100% worsted twill. And it also comes in becoming shades of flannel or novelty weaves, all with the Surretwill label.



P.S. to Husbands:

Your Surretwill dealer has the suit for you—in popular shades, including the new Admiral Blue, shown below only \$50. Surretwill slacks for matching—\$15.50.

PACIFIC Craft Fabrics

For free tips on better dressed husbands, or names of Surretwill dealers, write to: Pacific Craft Fabrics, Dept. 119, 261 Fifth Ave., N.Y. 16





We ended the 2-party system!

"No one ever planned it that way. My husband says the ladies usually dash out to help wash the dishes and the men just naturally drift into a huddle. Now our parties are really co-ed, because everyone wants to see our new *KitchenAid*. There's a lot of hilarious kidding about our 'new maid.'

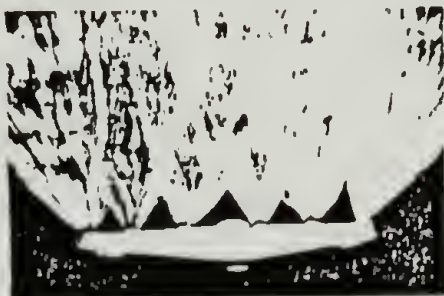
but dishwashing will never again break up our parties or our family fun!"

For information, write Dept. KT, KitchenAid Dishwasher Division, *The Hobart Manufacturing Co.*, Troy, Ohio. Canada: 175 George St., Toronto 2.

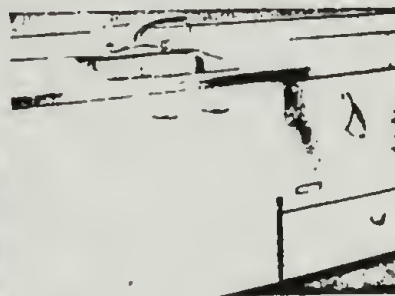
KitchenAid...the finest dishwasher made!



Completely washes dishes, glasses, silver, pots and pans—and no pre-rinsing. Lipstick, sticky food, and dried milk completely disappear. Individual sliding racks for true convenience.



Exclusive, Hobart revolving wash-arm power washes everything most thoroughly. Two power rinses. Separate motor and hot-air blower-fan electrically dries everything!



Decorator stylings in gleaming White Enamel, Stainless Steel, glowing Antique Copper fronts. Your dealer kitchen specialist can arrange for color to suit your kitchen decor.

The Finest Made...by



KitchenAid®

The World's Largest Manufacturer of Food, Kitchen and Dishwashing Machines

LIDAY
MING UP:



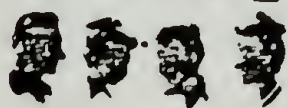
The wife most likely to be kisse

And she buys it in glass bottles...

No-Deposit bottles you don't take back.

What's Your Family's E.Q.?

[Energy Quotient]



DO YOU KNOW how much extra energy you can give each member of your family by adding the crisp, whole-wheat goodness of Kellogg's PEP, with strawberries, milk, and sugar, to the ordinary skumpy breakfast* ...?



... THIS TEMPTING Kellogg's PEP combination can supply enough extra energy for you, Madame, to wash a whole-day's dishes for a family of four.



... ENOUGH EXTRA energy for Junior to race around without stopping for 30 minutes.



... ENOUGH EXTRA energy for Pop to saw wood vigorously for nearly half an hour.



... ENOUGH EXTRA energy for Sister to dig busily in the garden for about 1 1/4 hours.



P.S. AND EACH DISH of Kellogg's PEP, "The Sunshine Cereal," supplies a day's need of sunshine vitamin D—plus energy vitamin B₁. It's better than whole wheat nutritionally! Get a REGULAR SIZE package of Kellogg's PEP from your grocer today!

6 DELIGHTFUL Cereals for extra energy—Kellogg's VARIETY



ALL in one carton, Kellogg's VARIETY brings you 10 generous packages of 6 famous Kellogg's Cereals—PEP, CORN FLAKES, CRISPIES, RAISIN BRAN FLAKES, REDNEO WHEAT, KRUMBLER. Some flaked, some pooped, some shredded. Fun to choose in! Delicious to eat! All foods for extra energy—plus valuable whole-grain protein nutrients. Get Kellogg's VARIETY for your family today!



* All statements in this advertisement about extra energy are based on authoritative scientific sources, considering the ordinary skumpy breakfast is about 200 food-energy units. Calo meter analysis.

"THE GRAINS ARE GREAT FOODS"—W. H. Kellogg



FOR OUR NEW HOME WE BOTH CHOSE THE ONE TH.

Stays Silent Lasts Longer!

(no moving parts in the freezing system)

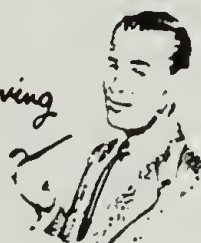


*I looked for
every new
convenience*

Like any woman, I dreamed of new conveniences in my new refrigerator. "Give me plenty of room for frozen foods, lots of ice cubes that pop out," I said. "Moist cold and dry cold for fresh foods."

Soon as I saw the beautiful new Servel Gas Refrigerator, I said, "That's for me!" (And I didn't know then that Servel's different, simpler freezing system would make it stay silent, last longer, too.)

*I wanted no moving
parts to wear
or make noise*



I said, "The freezing system counts most!" So I talked to friends. And I found one refrigerator never made a sound, never gave any trouble... even after 20 years! It was a Servel Gas Refrigerator. Only Servel has no moving parts in its freezing system. No motor or machinery. Just a tiny gas flame does the work. So I said, "It's Servel for us!" (And I hadn't even seen its new conveniences! Now we're getting the one permanently silent, longer-lasting refrigerator... and it's a beauty!

HECK FOR YOURSELF

- frozen food compartment
- of ice cubes in trigger-release trays
- and dry cold for fresh foods
- instant meat storage tray
- dew-action vegetable fresheners
- egg tray
- interior with clear-across shelves



A TINY GAS FLAME TAKES
THE PLACE OF MOVING,
WEARING PARTS

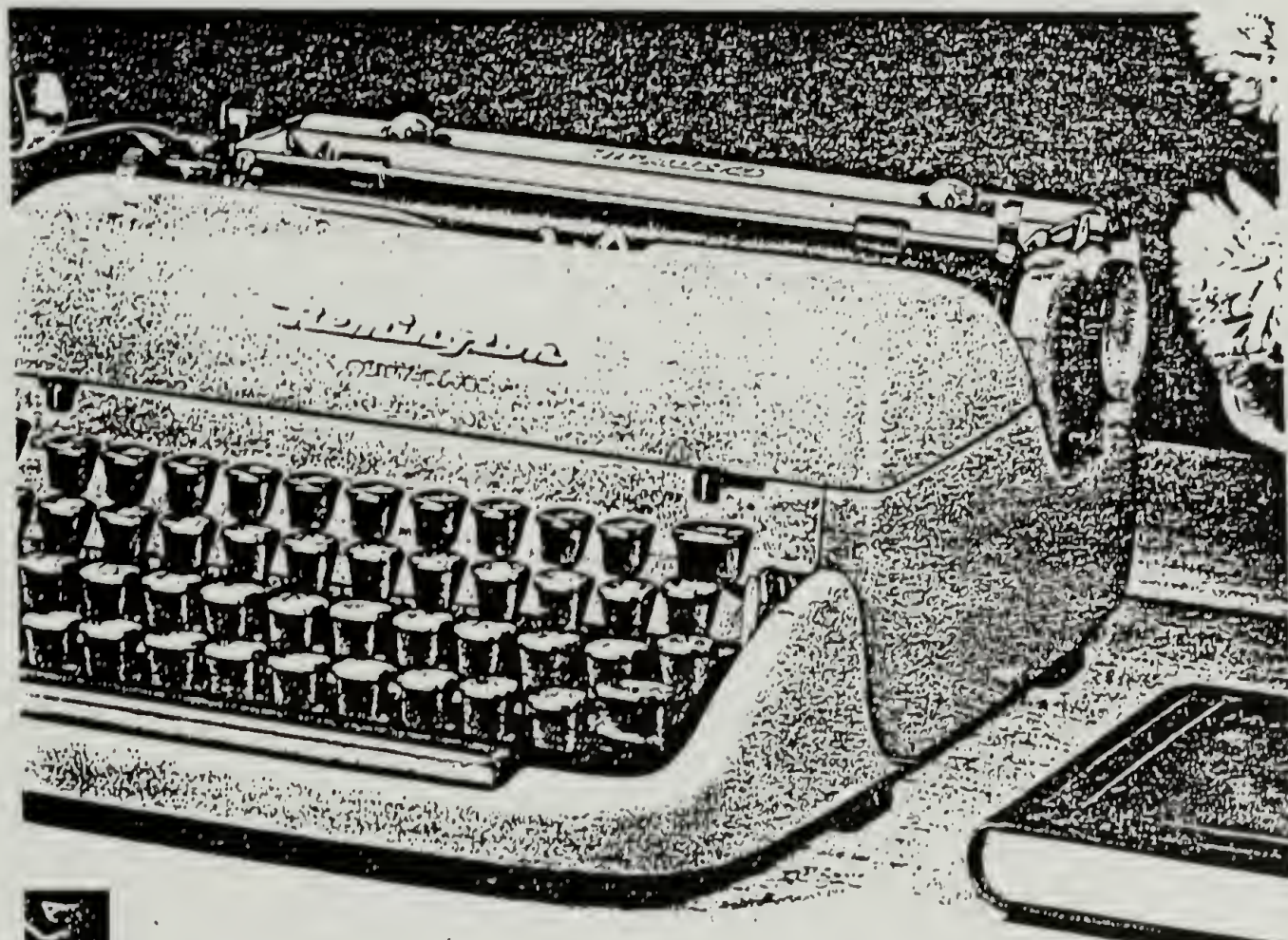
STAYS SILENT... LASTS LONGER

Servel

The GAS Refrigerator

Servels at your Gas Company or Dealer. For farm and country homes, Servel runs on Butane Gas. Tank size 100 lbs. or more. Servel also runs on Propane Gas. Tank size 30 lbs. or more. Servel also runs on Natural Gas. Servel Inc., Evansville 20, Indiana. In Canada, Servel is sold by Servel Canada Ltd., 100 York St., W.

PERFORMANCE NEVER BEFORE PORTABLE TYPEWRITER



zing fea-
ps when
figures.
e remov-
rd — sets
rely.



It's smart to type social correspondence these days, and Quiet-rriter is handy for club notes, address lists, recipe files — and a dozen other household typing needs!

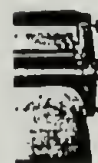


SEE THESE PRACTICAL FEATURES:

Standard Typewriter Keyboard with Finger-Speed keys for faster, easier typ-
Patented Simplified Ribbon Changer, you change ribbon in a matter of seconds.
New Direct-Set Visible Margins let you see where to set both right and left margins and set them with finger tip ease.

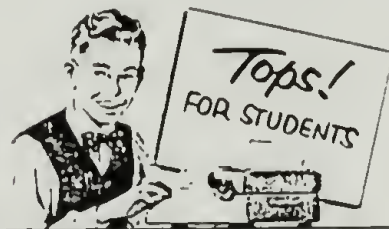
Super-strength Frame keeps working in perfect alignment, gives years and more service. Plus 33 other important features for your typing convenience!

Deluxe Luggage Type Carrying Case. Touch Method Instruction Book included.



DER — the
ble type-
feed...
rintwork
carbon

Quiet-rriter has the action and printwork of an office typewriter. Perfect for typing letters, envelopes, cards, reports at home.



A recent survey proved that 87% of students stepped up their grades by using a Remington Portable. The New Quiet-rriter helps finish homework faster — better than ever. And studying for exams is easier with neatly-typed notebooks. Yes, the Quiet-rriter can mean better grades and more time for extra-curricular activities, too!



TE TYPEWRITER IN PORTABLE SIZE • A Product of **Remington-Rand**

"So I said to myself, 'Why shouldn't I have a workshop telephone?'"



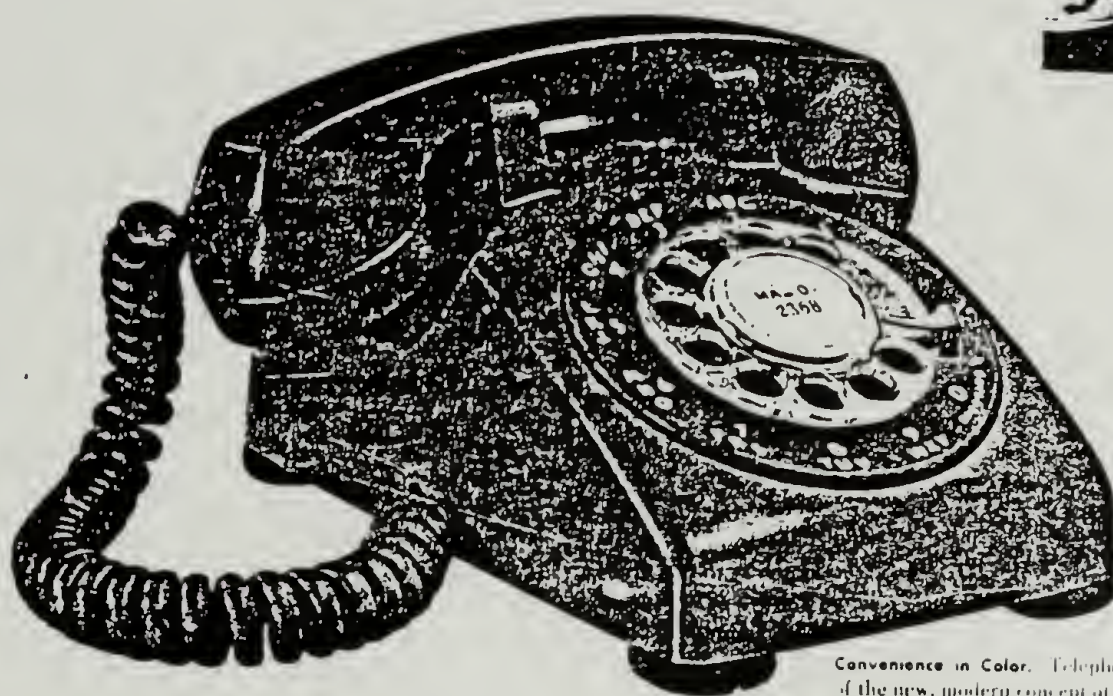
"And the more I thought about it, the more I thought that my wife ought to have one in the kitchen, too."



"Then Joanie piped up and said, 'How about a nice blue one to go with my bedroom?'"



"So we wound up with everybody pleased and happy. Best investment I ever made for the whole family."



Convenience in Color. Telephones in color are a part of the new, modern concept of telephone service. Choice of ivory, beige, green, blue, gray, brown, red or yellow.

More and more people today are having us put in telephones around the home to meet all the family's needs. There are so many things to be gained by having telephones handy wherever you sleep, work, play and relax. . . . Upstairs and down they save steps, provide greater privacy and protection and add a distinctive touch to any room. Especially in those eight handsome colors. **BELL TELEPHONE SYSTEM**





HE: How can anyone
so cute
be such a wow
at cleaning?

SHE: With Bon Ami, silly! A fast
cleanser that doesn't leave
dirt-catching scratches.

HE: Help, honey—this is something
Mother didn't tell me! Never leaves what?

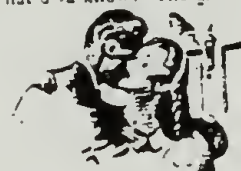
SHE: Scratches, darling! Most cleansers
leave scratches that trap dirt and make
your cleaning twice as hard.



HE: And Bon Ami doesn't do that?

SHE: Goodness, haven't you heard that
Bon Ami "hasn't scratched yet!"? It just
slides dirt and grease away, as smooth and
easy as you please—and polishes, too.
Shines tub and sink, quick as a wink!

HE: What'd ya know? The girl's a poet!



SHE: Well, I could get poetic over the
way Bon Ami treats my hands—it never
makes them all rough and horrid.

HE: Then it gets my vote, sugar! And just
because you're smart as well as pretty,
you get two zood-oh-kisses this morning.

USE: On all things—pure, white Bon Ami comes
in two forms. There's Fluorine for sinks, tubs,
tubs and pans, enamel, chrome, refrigerators;
Gels for making windows and mirrors sparkle.

 **Bon Ami**



THE SPEEDY CLEANSER that
"hasn't scratched yet!"





Lines—purebred

Interiors—tailored and tough

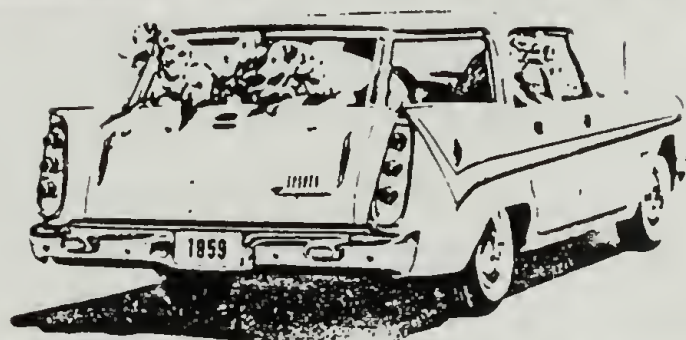
Ride—Torsion-Aire terrific

Engines—choice of three

Performance—spirited

Capacity—nothing bigger

Rating—best of show



PUPS OR PEOPLE—there's plenty of extra room in a De Soto wagon. No other wagon gives you more. Full 95 cu. foot capacity. Room for camping equipment or do-it-yourself hauling. Rear-facing Explorer seat gives back-row passengers full headroom, leg room and a wide rear view. Kids love it!



The smart way to go places... **DE SOTO**

s why we call her

Swift & Company

is an all-important job as part of Swift's great Research Laboratories. In these days when careful cooking is so vital in making the most of Martha Logan's work and her recipes, featuring Swift's branded products, can render a highly valuable contribution to your family nutrition.



monly thought of as an
ugh the cookstove didn't
al use until 1830. From
ooking techniques have
adly that many methods
ted even a generation ago
t to be far from the best.
erly planned meals are
e living standard of our
ssful, perfected recipes
make the waste of food
ast. Attractive ways of
ng glamor and appetite-
the most humble dishes.
n of the American home-
arts and skills is the job
on, Swift's home econo-
nationwide test kitchens.

The recipes and service suggestions illustrated in Swift's advertising are her work. To prepare them, she uses the same equipment that you use in your own home. Thus, they are always practical, always economical, always good eating. Each dish that she recommends is tested, tasted and re-tested many times before her recipe is passed on to you.

Busy Martha Logan!

In addition to planning meals and recipes, Martha Logan also makes contributions to Swift's Quality Foods that give her unique importance among Swift's 73,000 employees.

She and her staff of graduate home economists work in close cooperation

with other scientists from Swift's Research Laboratories. They, together with many other Swift people, maintain the uniform, high quality for which all foods branded Swift's Premium and Swift's Brookfield are famous. She assists with problems of food processing and refrigeration. She is consulted on packaging, cooking procedures, on new products before they are brought to market.

These varied activities with Swift's branded foods make her the busiest "homemaker" in America — and probably Swift's most valued woman employee.

SWIFT & COMPANY



SWIFT'S PREMIUM TABLE-READY MEATS



SWIFT'S BRANDS OF VEAL



This Swift Quality Seal
identifies a family of food products which you can buy with complete confidence that each is the finest of its kind. All of Swift's resources, its 63 years of experience, the technical skills of its operating people and of its great laboratories with their test kitchens, stand behind this pledge.



a real opportunity for a three-year education that will lead to a career as a professional Registered Nurse. To enter this training, you must be under 35, in good health, and a high school graduate.



2. Your training includes working with professional men and women — surgeons, physicians, dietitians and other nurses — and covers many interesting subjects which will prove valuable to your career as a nurse and to a happy home life when you marry.



3. When you learn, you live in comfortable quarters, enjoy pleasant parties with time off every week, and, of course a vacation. You have much the same friendships and good times as you have at any school or college.



4. Being a Registered Nurse is ideal preparation for marriage and family life. It develops poise, gives you experience in handling people, and, above all, the satisfaction of making a contribution to the welfare of humanity, at a very good salary.

GIRLS... Here is your opportunity!

Nursing offers you
a present with a future!

...d profession with
opportunities. Your
from hospital work
psychiatry, child and
Veteran's Admin-
Public Health Service,
vy.

...e being filled now.
... the hospital where

you would like to enter nursing.
A friendly adviser is waiting to tell
you more about the future a career
in nursing can offer you.

FORMER SERVICE WOMEN:

If you qualify as a student nurse,
your allowance under the G. I. Bill
of Rights may cover your entire
nursing education.



F.T.D. members have always played a part in
the cheering of convalescent patients by deliver-
ing beautiful Flowers by Wire sent by friends.
The 7718 F.T.D. members in the U.S. and Can-
ada take this opportunity to salute the wonder-
ful accomplishments of the nursing profession.



FLORISTS' TELEGRAPH DELIVERY ASSOCIATION, 149 Michigan Ave., Detroit 26.

"I can buy my new car with One Month's Pay Check!"

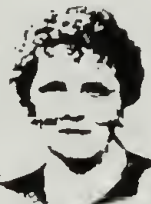


"Being a Silver Counselor is a wonderful career for any woman," says Mrs. Clevie Eddins, of Center, Texas! (Home Decorators' National Contest Winner)

"Last August, I had no idea of becoming a Silver Counselor. After all, I was a school teacher, and happy with my work. But I'd heard so much about Silver Counselors from a friend, I thought I'd try it between Summer school and the Fall term.

"I did so well, and loved it so much, I decided to give up school teaching completely! Why in the month of September alone, I had *more than enough* to pay for my new car.

"It seems to me that any woman would love to be a Silver Counselor. It's such a pleasant, agreeable profession. First, you're trained in the etiquette of silver under the consultant direction of Emily Post. Then you go out with another Silver Counselor in your locality, until you get your feet on the ground.



EMILY POST



"Finally, you make your first call on your own. You show folks some of the world's most beautiful silver...advise them on patterns...help them assemble their place settings to fit their personal needs...tell them how they can save as much as 25% and more of the cost...show them how they can become Life-time Members of Emily Post's Consultation Service.

"I can't recommend Silver Counseling too highly as a career. If you would like further information on our wonderful silver—or, if you own a car, can work six hours daily, need money, are between 25-45 years, and consider yourself qualified to become a Silver Counselor, do exactly what I did! Simply write a short note to Jane Evans, Personnel Consultant at:



HOME DECORATORS, Inc.

NEWARK, NEW YORK STATE

COPYRIGHT 1950 HOME DECORATORS, INC.



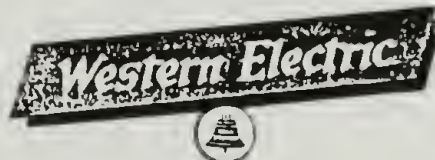
One assembly line at our Indianapolis

'These are Telephone Girls ?

Sure, because they're making telephone dials you use in Bell telephone service. It's their regular job here at Western Electric, manufacturing unit of the Bell System.

Altogether, we have some 31,000 women at Western Electric . . . in our shops, our offices, our distribution centers . . . and about 70,000 men, too. They all help carry on our 71-year-old job. That job is to supply good telephones, switchboards, wires, and other things which go to work for you every time you make a Bell telephone call.

Teamed-up with Bell Laboratories people who *design* the equipment and Bell telephone company people who *operate* it, Western Electric men and women help give you good, dependable telephone service at the lowest possible cost.



A UNIT OF THE BELL SYSTEM SINCE 1882



HOME. Clarence M. O'Sullivan, construction foreman with thirty-four years' experience; daughter-in-law Marilyn, clerical assistant O'Sullivan's sons: Don, a telephone installer with seven years' service, and Clarence C., cable repairman with thirteen years' servi

Fifty-nine Years of Telephone Service

FATHER, TWO SONS AND DAUGHTER-IN-LAW ALL WORK FOR THE TELEPHONE COMPANY



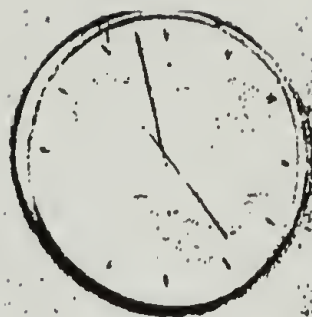
When Clarence M. O'Sullivan started to work for the telephone company, back in 1919, he started a family tradition. Since then two sons and a daughter-in-law have also decided on telephone careers. They have a total of fifty-nine years' service.

A recent U. S. Government survey gives some interesting figures on the length of time men and women have served with their present employers.

By comparison, the length of service for women in the Bell System is twice the average for women in other industries. For telephone men it is nearly three times the average for other industries.

A pace to stop a clock!

(thanks to Memory Dials)



Girl genius? Not at all. And she doesn't have a soft job.

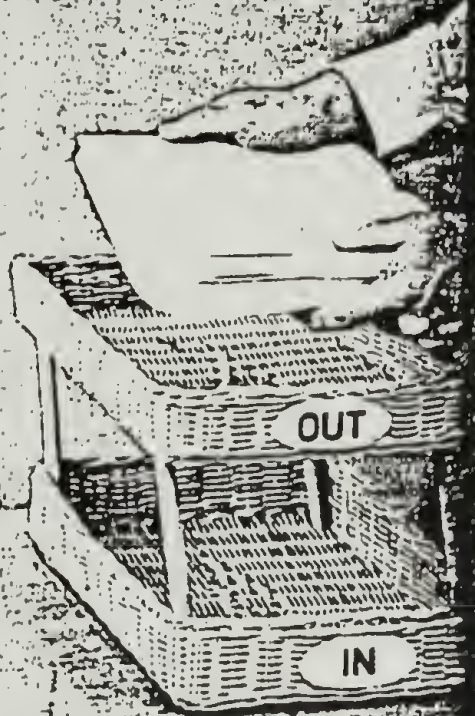
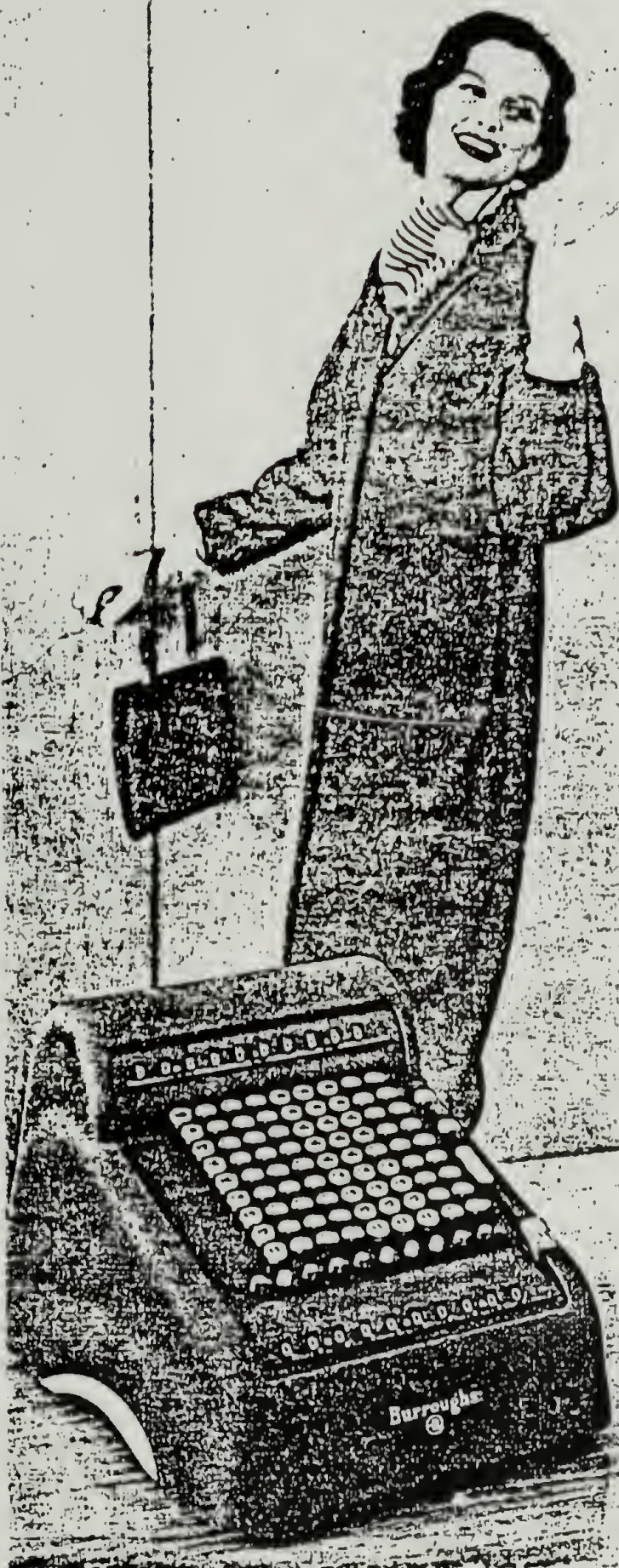
What she *does* have, however, is a *Burroughs Calculator with Memory Dials*—the machine that makes *any* girl a fast operator! (As for the clocks, they just *seem* to stop—she does so much work in so little time.)

Actually, this calculator is faster by far—all-electric, with a simplified, instant-action keyboard. You touch a key and get an answer . . . instantly! Every key is powered and every key stroke counts.

What's more, this time-saving Burroughs has a second set of answer dials (Memory Dials) for automatic grand totals or net results. There's no rehandling of figures, and no time lost.

So if the clocks in your office are too fast for the girls, call our branch office. Or write to Burroughs Corporation, Detroit, Michigan.

"Burroughs" is a registered trademark.



Burroughs Calculator
with
Memory Dials

