SEX APPEALS AND WARTIME MESSAGES
IN BEAUTY AND HEALTH PRODUCT
ADVERTISING: 1941-1946

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ABSTRACT

Health and beauty product advertising from American women’s magazines during World War II exhibits a unique combination of sex appeals and wartime messages. Ad campaigns from *Ladies Home Journal* and *Collier’s*, from the years 1941-1946, were selected and analyzed for their use of sex appeals in conjunction with war-related messages. Ads from these campaigns from 1941 and 1946 were included to compare and contrast the use of these messages. Several trends emerge. Examination of these campaigns shows a distinct trend to idealize enlisted men as romantic partners. Also, the campaigns studied contain messages to address home front issues, such as conservation of materials and labor shortages. After the war’s conclusion in 1946, the men depicted in advertising become increasingly civilian as the ads begin to refrain from including war-related messages and themes. At this point in time, these campaigns for health and beauty products in these women’s magazines continue to run, but are mostly scrubbed of their wartime context.
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1. INTRODUCTION

After the Japanese attack on Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941, the United States, having abandoned isolationism, entered World War II. The transitory effects of the shift from isolationism to interventionism, and the inherent cultural and economic changes, can be observed in the advertising of the time. The massive military buildup combined with the loss of manpower to conscription led industry to reach out to middle-class women, encouraging them to seek manual labor jobs. According to Karen Anderson, “In order to provide the materials necessary to prosecute the war and meet civilian needs as well, women . . . assumed economic roles traditionally ascribed to men, undercutting conventional notions regarding their abilities.”¹ Mass media messages during World War II overwhelmingly supported the war effort, naturally lending to a tendency in advertising to convey pro-war messages. One purpose of the advertising was to address the cultural tensions created when a labor shortage jeopardized traditional feminine roles.

Maureen Honey wrote that advertising during World War II addressed concerns of the industry and the general public. She wrote, “Through psychological manipulation and emotional appeals, propaganda could perhaps accomplish what enrollment and registration drives were failing to do: make more orderly the relationship between labor supply and demand.”²

During the war, advertising functioned to address more than just the labor shortage.

Advertising contained messages that fostered patriotism and a sense of pride in self-sacrifice. According to Honey, propaganda was viewed by the federal government as a useful tool in manipulating public reactions to all wartime hardships, not just labor demands, but also “rationing, forced separations, housing shortages, strained community services, and overcrowded transportation facilities.” Patriotic themes in wartime advertising served to address wartime problems. Whether it was entering the work force, planting a victory garden, or refraining from purchasing black market goods, patriotic themes in wartime advertising provided a moral backdrop for doing the things that the government was going to require any way.

Victory garden programs are an example of a successful, widely advertised campaign affecting public behavior. In 1943, 20 million American households, through popular victory garden programs, produced in gardens more than 40 percent of vegetables eaten.

War bond advertising, also for example, addressed warfront living conditions. D. G. Young has suggested that wartime advertising encouraged Americans to look forward to a postwar future where consumer products could be purchased in abundance with money saved from war bonds. Wartime industry sought to address issues of peacetime consumption by promising postwar prosperity. Marketers hoped to stimulate demand for washing machines and other modern conveniences that would be widely available when wartime rationing ended.

From the pre-war military buildup to war’s end, an increasing number of married women entered the workforce. Single women, who already made up a significant portion of the workforce, could not meet the demand for military and industrial labor. Anderson has written that “married women constituted a significantly larger proportion of the wartime increase in

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3 Honey, 29-30.
female employment than did single women. Between April 1940 and March 1944, the number of married women gainfully employed increased by 2 million, 72.2 percent of the total increase.”

War work created conflicts with traditional family roles. Women were working outside the home at an unprecedented rate, upsetting traditionalists who feared the fall of the traditional nuclear American family. Anderson noted, “the changes in women’s roles caused by the war created considerable anxiety about the stability and durability of the family, as working mothers were blamed by many for a rising divorce rate, child neglect, an ostensibly increasing rate of juvenile delinquency, and a host of other ills supposedly exacerbated by the women’s newly acquired independence.”

Also according to Anderson, “Between 1940 and 1944 the number of women employed in manufacturing increased 141 percent, while those in domestic service declined by 20 percent. Women’s share of the jobs increased from 22.0 percent to 32.7 percent in manufacturing and from 19.4 percent to 38.4 percent in government.” The influx of married women into traditionally male jobs created social tensions that advertising addressed. In her study of propaganda during the war, Honey wrote that women war workers depicted in advertising came to represent a national desire for unified participation and sacrifice. “This image both idealized women as a strong, capable fighter infused with a holy spirit and undercut the notion women deserved and wanted a larger role in public life,” wrote Honey. While the women depicted in wartime advertising were taking on jobs, the advertising reinforced the stereotype that war work was a temporary necessity and that a woman’s priority was in the home. Women were not shown

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7 Anderson, 10.
8 Anderson, 6.
9 Honey, 6.
as willing or eager to work. Rather according to Honey, the advertising of the time tended to “discourage individualistic, self-interested attitudes in order to produce a collective spirit of self-sacrifice on the home front.”\(^{10}\) It was as if a goal of the war effort was to return everything back to normal after the war. Honey wrote, “The central role of the family in wartime propaganda, with the vulnerable homemaker as its figurehead, led easily into the idealization of the male breadwinner/female hearthkeeper at the end of the war.”\(^{11}\)

The media during World War II took a decisively pro-war tone. After the Japanese attacked Pearl Harbor, interventionism overtook isolationism as the nation’s foreign policy. The media’s pro-war tone was as much a result of circumstance as it was choice. The film industry provides a good example. The government rationed movie-making supplies like celluloid. In addition, “when the United States entered the war, many young men and women left their jobs and enlisted in the armed forces. Military enlistments of producers and technicians certainly hurt the industry and became a pressing problem for Hollywood in the early months of the war.”\(^{12}\) When Hollywood produced a film about American soldiers or sailors, it had to be first cleared by the branch of military depicted. The State Department had to clear all movies depicting Allied combat forces.\(^{13}\) “By 1943 three out of ten films made in Hollywood were connected with the war.”\(^{14}\)

Considering the apparent success of wartime advertising in affecting the attitudes and behaviors of Americans, it is important to study the appeals used in those advertisements. It is within this context of patriotic WWII home front activities that this study examines sex appeals

\(^{10}\) Ibid.
\(^{11}\) Honey, 7.
\(^{13}\) Mellen., 95.
in advertising. While Honey and others have examined WWII-era advertising, no studies exist on sex appeals from the time period. Sex appeals have been used in American media since the mid-19th century to sell consumer products. It seems natural for WWII advertisers to have used such appeals. This study seeks to examine how advertisers used sex appeals in women’s magazines to promote patriotism and address social tensions.

Literature Review

Women’s Magazines

Women’s magazines of the 1940s contained editorial content targeted towards the contemporary woman. Just who that woman was, what she looked like and did, is debatable. But the editors of those mid-century women’s magazines felt that their intended audience was the homemaker. Magazines targeted at homemakers such as Ladies’ Home Journal had the highest readerships and volume of advertisers of all the women's magazines of the 1940s.¹⁵ Content in these magazines included short fiction, poetry, fashion, household tips, news, and film and book reviews. Advertising also took up a considerable portion of the space in women's magazines. Magazine historian Nancy Walker wrote that, “the most prominent feature in each issue of each magazine was advertisements, which occupied far more space than any other kind of material.”¹⁶ Walker also noted that by keeping subscription prices low, magazine publishers were able to attract a glut of advertising. By the time the 1950s began, some magazines exceeded three hundred pages in length per issue.¹⁷

It is important to note that magazines were a much more prominent medium before television than after. Television during the 1940s lacked the variety and volume of today's

¹⁶ Walker, 2.
¹⁷ Walker, 2.
programming and did not take on widespread adoption until the 1950s. Therefore magazines played a more significant role in a 1940s individual's media diet than today. Magazines could impact a woman's goals and lifestyle through content without having to compete with incoming messages from other media.\textsuperscript{18}

Since the turn of the twentieth century, women have been the primary target for consumer goods advertising. Carolyn Kitch wrote that early magazine advertising is one of the roots for female stereotypes in mass media. “Current media definitions of, and debates about, femininity, masculinity, class status, and Americanness have their origins in media of a century ago.”\textsuperscript{19}

Historians think women’s magazines can have real impact on their readers’ lives. Walker acknowledged the difficulty in knowing the precise impact magazines had on the lives of women. Yet, as she noted, “there are several important indications that they had a significant part in defining women’s aspirations regarding work and family, appearance, health, and happiness.”\textsuperscript{20} Walker also pointed out that advertising could affect editorial content in magazines. Cautious editors hesitant to risk precious advertising dollars did not want to spark controversy and therefore avoided advertisers who might use “topics of sexual health and nude images.”\textsuperscript{21} In women's magazines from the 1940s, femininity is often characterized by marriage and domestic life. Walker wrote, “The pages and pages of advertising depict women using electric mixers, washing machines, and various cleansers, but seldom depict women driving a car or shopping for a business suit.”\textsuperscript{22}

Women’s magazines are peculiar in the sense that their male counterparts during World

\begin{footnotesize}
\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{18} Walker, 1.
\item \textsuperscript{20} Walker, 4.
\item \textsuperscript{21} Walker, 14.
\item \textsuperscript{22} Walker, 8.
\end{itemize}
\end{footnotesize}
War II were non-existent. Walker noted that there was no men’s magazine that detailed the instructions of masculinity the way women’s magazines laid out the roadmap to all things feminine. It was not editorial content alone containing these instructions on everything from beauty to health to employment. Advertising also carried such instructions, functioning to mold the “woman-as-consumer” by idealizing consumer products.\(^{23}\)

Advertising in women’s magazines of 1941-1946 contained what Honey called “cultural information,” which explained to women what their role in the home front would be and what to expect in post-war conditions. According to Honey, advertising contains similar cultural information to magazine fiction because “advertisers cannot afford to alienate potential consumers and so stay within conventional social frameworks.”\(^{24}\)

**Government Propaganda**

The American government took an active interest in what messages advertising sent to women. The U.S. Government used propaganda to raise support for the war, creating radio broadcasts, pamphlets, movies, and using publicity to instill patriotic pride in its citizenry by glorifying U.S. values and industry.\(^{25}\) These messages echoed Roosevelt's moral motivation for American intervention in the war in Europe and abroad.\(^ {26}\) Other government agencies promoted the war by organizing home front war effort activities. The Office of Civilian Defense organized air raids, morale boosters, and formed local councils to co-ordinate home front events.\(^ {27}\)

Honey wrote that the War Advertising Council encouraged women to apply for jobs and the military. The Office of War Information and the council concerning female labor recruitment

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\(^{23}\) Walker, 5.


\(^{26}\) Winkler, 29.

\(^{27}\) Winkler, 30-31.
collaborated in early 1944 to launch the national “Women in the War” program. The Women’s Army Corps requested that advertisers run ads about women war workers. Women were seen as essential to war labor, yet their presence might have been only temporarily welcome.

Advertising directed towards women, while functioning to fulfill a war front purpose, also instilled inaccurate conceptions of women doing war work. Industry and government leaders expected the movement of women into industrial jobs would last only as long as the war. Honey wrote, “They fully expected that new workers would be drawn from homes in which wives did not need to work and therefore would leave the labor market at the war’s end. These assumptions provided a framework for the recruitment campaign that reinforced false beliefs about working women.”

While it is unclear to what extent the government’s advertising efforts were effective, historians do know conclusively that the government thought that their propaganda efforts would have some impact on the national morale. Given that government agencies during World War II took such an active interest in advertising content, it befits the historian to do the same. “It was thought that propaganda could help the government control public responses, not only to the labor shortage but to unsettling wartime phenomena as well—rationing, forced separations, housing shortages, strained community services, and overcrowded transportation facilities.”

Wartime advertising not only sold products, it sold a war.

Sex Appeals

Sex appeals in mass media advertising date back to over a century and a half. As the publication of magazines grew after the Civil War, advertisers became increasingly sophisticated

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28 Honey., 34.
29 Honey, 24.
30 Honey, 61.
31 Honey, 29-30.
in the application of the erotic appeal. Sex appeal researcher Tom Reichert described the growth of advertising as a chance to more creatively apply sex appeals to the craft of mass persuasion.\textsuperscript{32} As people encountered more advertising, they invariably encountered more sexual appeals. To advertisers, proper application of a sex appeal meant increased visibility and emotional suggestion. Sex appeals in advertising since the Civil War have often been an advertiser’s key to break through the clutter, and therefore, very useful. But what defines a sexual appeal in advertising?

Reichert identifies sexual appeals in advertising as making a sexual promise. He identifies three commonalities in sexual promises. According to Reichert, sexual promises appeal to “(a) sexual attractiveness for the consumer, (b) likely engagement in sexual behavior (and more enjoyment from these encounters), and (c) feelings of being sexy or sensual.”\textsuperscript{33}

Advertisers use sexual content and imagery to arouse the consumer’s sexual and romantic emotions. Appeals can be vague and do not necessarily require a visual component. Nor do they require images of individuals in varying stages of undress. Sex appeals simply need to appeal to sexual or romantic emotions for the purposes of promising sexual attractiveness, sexual activity, or the feeling of being sexy.

Advertising from 1850-1900 contained sex appeals at their crudest. These appeals functioned purely to arouse the sexual impulses of male viewers, thereby catching their attention. Prime examples of this use of sex appeals can be found in early tobacco advertising. “More often than not, the images featured illustrations of women with partially exposed breasts or the alluring draping of clothing that compelled the viewer’s mind to complete the disrobing.”\textsuperscript{34}

The early twentieth century ushered in a new era in advertising: emotional appeals.

\textsuperscript{32} Tom Reichert. \textit{The Erotic History of Advertising}. (Amherst, New York: Prometheus Books, 2003), 48.
\textsuperscript{33} Reichert, 38.
\textsuperscript{34} Reichert, 49.
Advertising began appealing to women’s desire for courtship. When the makers of Woodbury’s Facial Soap realized that lofty promises of benefit and prurient imagery failed to boost sales, the soap manufacturer turned to the J. Walter Thompson agency in 1910. The Thompson-created ads combined beauty instructions with a strong romantic appeal, thus linking skin care and courtship. The ads ended the falling sales of Woodbury’s soap and demonstrated one of the earliest examples of successful use of sexual appeals to establish romantic promises.35

Sex appeal is pervasive in American society and its function has changed over time. What used to purely function as attention-grabbing ploys evolved into sophisticated tactics. It should be noted here that advertising in women’s magazines during World War II did not depict a wide cross-section of women. Rather, as Honey writes, “The predominant media portrayal of women war workers was that they were young, white, and middle-class; furthermore, that they entered the labor force out of patriotic motives and eagerly left to start families and resume full-time homemaking.”36

The focus of this study is to examine the use of sexual appeals in regards to addressing social tensions surrounding women in nontraditional jobs and glorification of the war effort.

Research Questions

1. How do ads in women’s magazines from 1941-1946 use sex appeals? Literature suggests that sex appeals have been used in advertising since at least the middle of the 19th century. It would be natural for advertisers to continue using them during wartime.

   a. How did wartime advertising sexualize soldiers?

   b. How did advertising containing sexually glamorized soldiers depict women?

   c. How did wartime advertising sexualize women war workers?

35 Reichert, 72-77.
2. How did sex appeals change from 1941-1946, if at all? Honey noted changes in war work appeals from the war’s beginning to end. These changes reflected social tensions surrounding post-war life. For example, women were encouraged to return home once the war ends.

3. How was sex used in advertising to cope with traditional concepts of feminine work conflicting with increasing demand for women to enter labor force?

**Methodology**

This study is a traditional historical analysis examining the ads in two women’s magazines from 1941-1946. 

*Collier’s* and *Ladies’ Home Journal* were chosen because of widespread circulation. In 1941, *Ladies’ Home Journal* boasted in newspaper ads that their circulation reached 4 million.\(^{37}\) In fact however, the women's magazine had reached a circulation of 3,547,652 in 1941, according to N.W. Ayer and Son's *Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals*.\(^{38}\) According to the agency's directories, *Ladies' Home Journal* did not reach a circulation of 4 million until 1943, when it reached 4,136,069.\(^{39}\) *Ladies' Home Journal* maintained a circulation above 4 million through 1946.\(^{40}\)

From 1926 to 1941, *Collier’s* circulated more than one million copies per year.\(^{41}\) For the years 1941-1946, *Collier's* maintained circulation numbers just below 3 million. In 1941, the magazine circulated 2,890,058 magazines.\(^{42}\) For the years studied, *Collier's* topped out circulation in 1943, with 2,938,306 magazines purchased.\(^{43}\) In 1946, *Collier's* circulated

\(^{41}\) Peterson, 63.
2,846,052 magazines.\textsuperscript{44} These magazines at the time were well established and circulated, making their advertising potentially ideal for this study. These magazines contained content appealing to the middle-class, married woman. This is the demographic towards which the advertising under study was directed.

This study identified different applications of sex appeals used in conjunction with wartime themes and messages. The years 1941 and 1946 were chosen for examination to compare to the ads that appeared in magazines during the duration of the war. By examining the range of 1941-1946, this study will show changes that occurred in health and beauty product advertising with sex appeals in relation to the increase and later decrease in wartime messages.

The advertising examined in this study covers a broad range of products from the health and beauty product category. From preliminary examination, it was determined that advertisements for health and beauty products from the time frame studied would contain a satisfactory amount of sex appeals and wartime messages. The campaigns chosen as case studies in this thesis were picked because at some point between 1941 and 1946, the advertisements used sex appeals with wartime messages. For the purposes of this study, it is not completely necessary for an advertisement to contain an explicit wartime message, such as encouraging the purchase of war bonds or addressing wartime production needs and the resulting materials shortages. Some of the campaigns examined only contain an enlisted man as a romantic partner and vary little from their pre-war and post-war counterparts.

Some considerations in the analysis were: Does the appeal occur in the body copy of the ad or is it set aside from the rest of the ad? Does the ad appeal to wartime social tensions such as labor and materials shortages? Does it appeal to home front activities, such as recycling,

planting Victory gardens, or morale activities such as USO dances? Is the wartime appeal relevant to the rest of the ad, or is it simply added as a side note? Do the advertisements appeal to an individual's sense of patriotism and duty to country?

Another important purpose of this study is to examine the appearance and disappearance of soldiers, sailors, and other enlisted men in wartime advertisements as ideal romantic partners. The study will compare the idealized men in campaigns from 1941. With that image in mind, this thesis then contrasts and compares that early image to later advertisements from the campaign from 1942-1945, and then 1946. When examining the idealized enlisted man, this study looks for the following: if the enlisted man depicted is a real person mentioned by name or is fictionalized, if he is presented in a military or war setting, and if he is involved in romantic activity, such as dancing, dating, or kissing.

It is important to define certain applications of the sex appeal. For example, this study differentiates an appeal to attractiveness and an appeal to beauty. For this study, attractiveness is defined as making an explicit appeal to attracting a partner. An appeal to beauty makes an appeal to improving one's appearance without an explicit appeal to finding a mate. This difference is important when discussing advertisements for beauty products, because many will appeal to loneliness and rejection or make promises of potential romantic activity, while others simply make claims about improving beauty without appealing to the desire to find a partner.

Appeals to marriage are also examined in this study. Many examples from these campaigns from women's magazines make explicit appeals to marriage and engagement. Do these ads depict military men as ideal husbands/fiancées? If so, the study then asks the aforementioned questions about the depiction of the sexualized enlisted man. This study will also determine if the marriage appeal mentions “wartime brides” or any other message relating to
wartime marriage, moving, or separations. Is the bride depicted in the ad, and if so, is she a real bride or fictionalized? By examining the use of marriage appeals appearing with wartime themes, this study will provide insight into how advertising addressed the concerns of wartime brides as well as appealed to unmarried individuals’ desire to find permanent mates.

Another application of the sex appeal examined in this study is the reunion of fighting men with their lovers. The reunion appeal is particularly interesting because it is a synthesis of wartime themes and sex appeal. This kind of union of sex appeal and wartime theme creates a unique message not found in advertisements in 1941, but throughout advertisements from 1942-1946. This study seeks to find examples of this kind of reunion appeal and the application thereof. For example, the campaign for Jergens lotion contains a strong reunion theme reinforced by a visual image of romantic activities and appeals to marriage desires. Specifically how each ad applies the reunion appeal will be discussed in detail in later chapters.

Some campaigns contain sex appeals that do not make explicit promises about beauty or attractiveness, marriage or reunion. These appeals simply portray an individual with an accentuated figure for purposes of attracting the eye, but are otherwise irrelevant to the rest of the ad. These “skin appeal” ads can be observed adopting war theme messages of patriotism or involvement in wartime activities.

The remaining chapters are organized by campaign and product line, followed by a concluding chapter and discussion. The next chapter will begin the examination of soap and lotion advertising from women’s magazines during World War II.
2. SOAP: PALMOLIVE, CAMAY, JERGENS, AND LUX

This thesis studies four soap campaigns appearing in Ladies’ Home Journal or Collier’s from 1941-1946. Ads for Palmolive, Camay, Jergens, and Lux demonstrate the combined use of romance and war themes. In some cases, the war messages address real home front issues, such as materials shortages. In others, advertisers can be observed positioning use of beauty products as a patriotic act. However, the consistent war message among these ads is the romanticized enlisted men depicted in the ads’ imagery. As the war progresses, the male love interest in these ads’ narratives increasingly takes on military themes. After the war concludes, a transition back to civilian themes can be observed.

Palmolive

Palmolive ran a campaign in Ladies’ Home Journal throughout 1941-1946. These full page, full color ads for Palmolive promoted use of the product as part of a daily beautifying ritual. While keeping the daily use of Palmolive as a consistent theme, three distinct stylistic changes in the advertising occurred within this time frame. The distinction is in the application of the sex appeal. In early prewar ads, the advertising promised attractiveness and romance.

The ad shown in Figure 1.1, from the July 1941 issue of Ladies’ Home Journal makes explicit appeals to romance and attractiveness. In the visual element, a woman is shown having received a bouquet of roses from her lover with the accompanying card as the advertisement's headline. “Darling—you've made me the happiest man in the world,” reads the header, making the reader’s first impression a reaction to the desire to find companionship. The body copy reads, “Happy the girl who faces life's sweetest moments with proud confidence. When the dream she's dreamed comes true...when the man she loves speaks.” The ad in Figure 1.1 also positions Palmolive as a premium brand because of its costly ingredients. The ad promises the enhancement, or at least the retention of, attractiveness through daily use, but is devoid of
wartime themes. There is no mention of the war, home front activities.

The first occurrence of a wartime theme marks a stylistic shift in the creative execution of the Palmolive campaign running in *Ladies' Home Journal* and appearing in the June 1942 issue, as shown in Figure 1.2. It is important to note that the ad in Figure 1.2 encourages women to maintain their beauty as part of their patriotic duty to the men fighting overseas. The headline in Figure 1.2 reads “For him . . . and him . . . and him . . . I pledge myself to guard every bit of Beauty that he cherishes in me.”45 Beside each “him,” is a picture of a locket containing a soldier or sailor's photograph representing all branches of the military. The main visual element is a make-up laden blond, blue-eyed woman who longingly looks skyward, as if savoring a moment of nostalgia for a loved soldier gone off to war. The body copy reads, “Today, those moments with him are fleeting, rare, and infinitely precious. For his sake, and yours, be at your lovely best, whenever you're together.” Maintaining a youthful complexion, therefore, becomes a home front activity.

In the next month's issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, a Palmolive ad appearing on page 10 of the July 1942 issue contains no references to the war. But the wartime themes pick back up in the August issue. In the ad shown in Figure 1.3, the advertiser promotes attractiveness by depicting a young woman's “schoolgirl complexion” attracting the fond gazes of a naval officer, an army soldier, and an air force pilot.46 The men illustrated in the ad can be identified as members of their corresponding branches of military from their clothing and regalia. As the object of the military men's affection, the young woman is characterized as dutifully beautiful. The body copy reads, “With Cupid on a wartime schedule, a girl can't even guess when she'll

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Figure 1.1 Palmolive. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. July 1941: 10
Figure 1.2 Palmolive. *Ladies' Home Journal.* June, 1942: 10 meet the Romance of her life. 'Be
Prepared’—that must be your beauty motto!” Again, as in Figure 1.2, the Palmolive campaign promotes use of the product as part of a patriotic duty and as a means of attracting the World War II ideal man: a military man. Examination of Figure 1.4 shows a shift in the creative approach to the Palmolive campaign. The attractiveness-as-patriotism theme is abandoned in the Palmolive ad from the October 1942 issue of *Ladies’ Home Journal*, yet it retains the depiction of a soldier as the romantically ideal man.

The ad in Figure 1.4 contains a highly sexual illustration of the bare-chested Egyptian queen Cleopatra. This ad, a rare occurrence of nudity in 1940s advertising, relates Cleopatra’s mythical attractiveness to her maintenance of beautiful, youthful skin with oils. The ad continues to suggest that the modern woman may too capitalize on Cleopatra’s secret by maintaining her own skin with a daily regimen of washing with Palmolive soaps. The body copy reads, “Legend tells us that, daily, Cleopatra’s handmaidens bathed and massaged her from tip to toe with gentle Olive and Palm oils. The result was beauty no man could resist!” The copy goes on to promote daily applications of the product as essential to attracting the desired mate. The ideal mate depicted is a soldier. In the final illustration in the ad, the woman is shown in the embrace of a fictionalized soldier.

Figure 1.4 makes no mention of war or home front activities. The only hint that there might be a war going on exists in the sexualized depiction of a fictional soldier. This is an important change in the creative approach to the Palmolive campaign, an approach that would be continued in future ads: a de-emphasis on war-time conditions accompanied by retention of the sexualized soldier.

A Palmolive ad appearing on page 10 of the November issue of *Ladies’ Home Journal*

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47 “Cleopatra has nothing on me!” *Ladies' Home Journal*. October 1942: 10.
Figure 1.3 Palmolive. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. August 1942: 10
Cleopatra had nothing on me!

1—This was Cleo's Beauty Secret. With her dark, disturbing loveliness, Cleopatra conquered the man who conquered the world. Her beauty secret?—The oldest and best ever known! Legend tells us that, daily, Cleopatra's handmaidens bathed and massaged her from tip to toe with gentle Olive and Palm Oils. The result was beauty no man could resist!

2—This is My Beauty Secret. I use a gentle soap, Palmolive, made with Olive and Palm Oils—the only soap, among the beloved few, made with these cherished beauty oils. And, my mirror tells me that a fragrant cake, with its olive color, is the world's favorite beauty aid.

3—A Two-Minute Facial tops off my beauty care. I find that Palmolive's lather is different, smooth as silk and so warm. It cleanses my skin thoroughly...helps awaken it to lovely radiance. Then a quick, cool rinse and I'm glamour-ready for whatever the evening brings!

4—You take Julius Caesar—I'll Take My Bill! What the evening usually brings. If Bill's not so long on pretty speeches, but there's a light in his eyes, when he looks over at me and tells me that Palmolive works' Lady, maybe you'd better switch to the one leading brand that's made with Olive and Palm Oils! Cleo and I and millions of lovely women can't be wrong.

Figure 1.4 Palmolive. *Ladies' Home Journal.* October 1942: 10 does, however, make slight
reference to war work. In the ad in Figure 1.5, the body copy begins by saying:

_To rate these days, a girl's complexion must be a honey. Your skin must be prepared to take the punishment of long hard hours of wartime work. Yet, at a moment's notice, it must be fresh, alluring, kissable...and ready to delight your fighting man, your "one-and-only" warrior! (November 1942, 10)_

The top half of the page is a photograph of a young woman in the loving embrace of a naval officer, which is designated by the symbols on his uniform jacket. As in Figure 1.3 and Figure 1.4, the advertisement appeals to women seeking to attract men, the man being in the military. Also, as in Figure 1.3, the ad promotes the use of the product as part of a patriotic duty to maintain attractiveness. Figure 1.5 combines appeals to patriotism with a theme of war work, thus addressing the labor shortage, a pressing social issue at the time. However, as mentioned before, the Palmolive campaign will later depart from appeals to patriotism, as is demonstrated in an ad from June 1943.

The ad shown in Figure 1.6 clearly demonstrates a shift from beauty-as-patriotism appeals to more logical, reason-driven appeals to attractiveness. Like previous Palmolive ads in _Ladies' Home Journal_, the ad in Figure 1.6 retains the theme of presenting a military man as the ideal romantic partner. In contrast to preceding ads, these new ads, like in Figure 1.6, make practical appeals to the realities of skin care.

One clear difference in Figure 1.6 from earlier ads is the inclusion of a “real-life” story, a departure from the fantasy situations from earlier in the campaign. This adds a sense of reality to the overall effect. The headline reads, “Doctors Prove 2 out of 3 Women now get More Beautiful Skin in 14 Days!” The body copy begins with, “Read this true story of what Palmolive's proved new beauty plan did for Miss Angel Delia of New Orleans.” The ad goes on to describe Miss Delia's loss of youthful complexion and how it was regained through a 14-day treatment of

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48 “Doctors Prove 2 out of 3 Women now get More Beautiful Skin in 14 Days!”
Figure 1.5 Palmolive. *Ladies' Home Journal*. November 1942: 10
Doctors Prove 2 out of 3 Women now get More Beautiful Skin in 14 Days!

Figure 1.6 Palmolive. *Ladies' Home Journal*. June 1943: 2
washing with Palmolive soap three times daily, combined with a massage. The 14-day massage treatment is then backed up with un-cited medical studies and a list of skin improvements, such as “brighter, cleaner skin, finer texture, and fewer blemishes,” that can be achieved in a fortnight's use of the advertised product.

Rather than appeal to fantasies of romance, the ad in Figure 1.6 appeals to the realities of skin care and then relates those to romance. In the largest picture in the ad, Miss Delia is pictured slow-dancing with a uniformed military man. It can be assumed that the soldier is fictional, because he is not mentioned by name in the ad, whereas the female character is clearly identified as a real person. Nowhere else in the ad does it mention combat, home front activities, or any other war themes. Reality-driven appeals combined with idealized military mates dominate the Palmolive campaign through the war's end in 1945. Outside of the soldier in the ad, the Palmolive campaign avoids mentioning war, combat, the home front war effort, shortages, or any other aspect of World War II-era America. This changes in 1944 as the Palmolive campaign begins to contain short messages addressing materials shortages in addition to appeals to logic and romance.

The ad shown in Figure 1.7 is from the January 1944 issue of *Ladies’ Home Journal.* Similar to previous ads in the campaign, the ad begins with the “Doctors Prove...” headline accompanied by a real-life testimonial of a woman who saved her skin's complexion with the 14-day Palmolive soap and massage treatment. Also like previous ads produced in the same vein as Figure 1.6, the ad in Figure 1.7 depicts the ideal romantic pursuit as a soldier, this time a Marine as can be determined by his uniform and cap. In contrast to previous “Doctors Prove...” advertisements, the ad in Figure 1.7 contains a message pertaining to the war effort. A box in the bottom right-hand corner reads, “DON'T WASTE SOAP! Vital materials needed to win the war
are used in making soaps.” Interestingly, the copy does not promote accelerated use of the product, but rather miserly conservation. The copy goes on to give suggestions about how one might conserve precious soap. It says, “Don't let soap soak in water because soap in water washes away,” and, “Always moisten the last sliver and put it on a new cake. This way you use every bit of soap.” Soap conservation messages appear throughout Palmolive's 1944 advertising in *Ladies' Home Journal.* The campaign does not run in the magazine for 1945. It picks up again in 1946, but this time contains no war messages.

An ad appearing on page two of the January 1946 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal,* shown in Figure 1.8, is a continuation of the reality-based “Doctors Prove...” campaign. While the visual composition differs from earlier ads, like its predecessors the ad in Figure 1.8 depicts a woman's “true-life story” of how two weeks of Palmolive soap massages restored her skin's beauty. The ad suggests potential romantic encounters by including a photograph of the woman, Rosalind McDonald of Detroit, in close quarters with an attractive man. In contrast to Figs. 1.7 and 1.6, the ad in Figure 1.8 contains no indication that the idealized man is or ever was involved in the military. In fact, there is no suggestion anywhere in the ad that America was even involved in a war. It is important to note this absence of war messages, because it demonstrates an effort by the advertiser to return to normal, prewar advertising settings.

An ad, shown in Figure 1.9, from the June 1946 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* also avoids mentioning the war or depicting a soldier. Rather than a military uniform, the man in the ad shown in Figure 1.9 wears a dark tie and plaid sports jacket as formal wear. Figure 1.9 does contain one sentence relating to shortages. It reads, “Don't waste soap—it contains scarce materials.” This copy echoes earlier ads, such as copy from the message in Figure 1.7, “DON'T WASTE SOAP! Vital materials needed to win the war are used in making soaps.” The message
in 1.9 lacks any wartime connotation. It addresses a postwar social tension, materials shortages, without explicitly mentioning the war. With the war effort complete, the Palmolive campaign refrained from including wartime themes in its advertising in *Ladies’ Home Journal*. 
Doctors Prove 2 out of 3 Women can have More Beautiful Skin in 14 Days!

14-DAY PALMOLIVE PLAN TESTED ON 1285 WOMEN WITH ALL TYPES OF SKIN

Figure 1.7 Palmolive. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. January 1944, LHJ: 2
Figure 1.8 Palmolive. *Ladies' Home Journal.* January 1946: 2
Figure 1.9 Palmolive. _Ladies' Home Journal._ June 1946: 2
Camay

The campaign for Camay Mild Soap running in *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1941-1946 maintains stylistic consistency in its application of sex appeals. Each advertisement for Camay Mild Soap from 1941-1946 in *Ladies’ Home Journal* contains explicit appeals to improve one's beauty and to the desire to marry. The campaign accomplishes this by making the star of the ad a real-life bride who testifies that Camay's beauty product helped her attain clear, beautiful skin. It should be noted that none of the Camay ads sampled for this study contained appeals to attractiveness.

Rather than make promises of attracting a mate or depicting romantic activities such as kissing or embracing, the Camay campaign simply emphasizes an improvement in the user's skin. Nowhere in any of the Camay ads studied are any explicit claims made about changing or maintaining the interest of the opposite sex, but simply that the product enhances one's overall beauty. One could argue that these ads contain no true sex appeals. However, because the ads portray a bride in bridal gown, there is an implicit appeal to unmarried women to identify with the pictured bride. The campaign implies to unmarried women that the secret to this real-life bride's beauty is Camay Mild Soap, and if used, they too may become “real-life” brides. The ad shown in Figure 2.1 from the September 1941 issue of *Ladies’ Home Journal* demonstrates this implied sex appeal.49

The bride in Figure 2.1 is Mrs. John B. LaPointe, according to the caption under her picture. A real-life bride, Mrs. LaPointe testifies that going on the “Camay Mild-Soap Diet” did “wonders” for her complexion. “Whenever I see a lovely woman whose skin looks cloudy, I can hardly help telling her about it,” she says in the testimonial. The body copy makes promises of enhanced beauty.

49 “Wake your skin to New Loveliness with Camay.” *Ladies’ Home Journal*. September 1941: 3.
Figure 2.1 Camay. *Ladies' Home Journal*. September 1941: 3
“You can be lovelier! You can help your skin—help it to a new beauty, to a cleaner, fresher, more natural loveliness by changing to a 'Mild-Soap' Diet.” (September 1941: 3)

This ad predates the bombing of Pearl Harbor and America’s entry into the war. It contains no wartime messages. Even after America enters the war, wartime messages do not begin to appear in the campaign until 1944.

A Camay ad from January 1943, shown in Figure 2.2, demonstrates no wartime themes or messages. Figure 2.2 maintains the stylistic consistency of the campaign by depicting a real bride and her testimonial of bridal beauty. As in Figure 2.1, the ad in Figure 2.2 offers the reader suggestions as how to apply the Camay product. Also like its earlier counterparts, Figure 2.2 conveys no messages about the war or home front activities. The absence of war messages in the Camay campaign ends in the February issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*.

Shown in Figure 2.3, this half-page Camay ad maintains the bridal-testimonial theme, but this time also addresses a wartime social tension by adding a wartime message concerning shortages. In the bottom right corner of the ad, the wartime message reads: “Treasure your Camay, these war days—for soap is made of vital war materials. Use just enough Camay to work up a good lather. And keep your soap dish dry—so the cake will last longer!” This appeal to conservation is the first mention of home front conditions and war for the Camay campaign.

Camay continued to include appeals to soap conservation throughout the duration of the war. For example, in the March 1944 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* the conservation message gives three suggestions for preserving soap and making it last. The next month's ad in the April 1944 issue goes one step further by listing soap conservation suggestions and stating that “It's patriotic to save soap in wartime!”

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51 “Look...Softer, Smoother Skin with just One Cake of Camay!” *Ladies' Home Journal*. March 1944: 177.
Figure 2.2 Camay. *Ladies' Home Journal*. January 1943: 16
Figure 2.3 Camay. *Ladies' Home Journal*. February 1944: 56 contains messages pertaining to
the conservation of soap as part of the war effort until November 1945.

The ad shown in Figure 2.4 contains the classic Camay bride and testimonial. A close-up inspection of the appeal to conservation, seen in Figure 2.5, shows a subtle, but important change in the campaign’s message. Whereas previous conservation messages stated the importance of “war materials” that go into soap, the message in Figure 2.5 makes no mention of the war. The message reads, “Be saving—with everything! Make your Camay last—it’s made from precious materials.” Note that the message does not say “precious war materials” but simply “materials.” This is an important shift in the campaign. While still addressing war-related shortages, the ad refrains from mentioning the war. Also different from earlier Camay ads, the ad in Figure 2.4 depicts the bride engaged in romantic situations with her husband. This type of appeal to romantic activity is new to the Camay campaign. In keeping with the departure from war themes, the husband is shown wearing civilian clothes. From this point on through 1946, the Camay campaign too takes on a civilian character.

52 “Just One Cake of Camay and your Skin is Softer, Smoother!” Ladies’ Home Journal, March 1945: 4.
53 Ibid.
Figure 2.4 Camay. *Ladies' Home Journal.* November 1945: 4
Figure 2.5 Camay. *Ladies' Home Journal.* February 1946: 78
Jergens

The Jergens brand appears in advertising in *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1941-1945. The campaign is discontinued in 1946. These advertisements consistently made strong appeals to romance and attractiveness. During the war years, the campaign began to include images of sexualized soldiers and appeals to reunion with a fighting man. Ads from the Jergens campaign in 1941 do not contain any wartime messages nor depict the male love interest as a soldier.

The ad shown in Figure 3.1 contains explicit appeals attractiveness combined with a visual image of a couple engaged in hand caressing, a romantic activity. The headline reads “I'm so in Love with your HANDS!” This headline sets the tone of the ad, which promises younger looking hands. The subhead below the photographed couple reads, “What is the 'Age of Romance' for a Woman's Hands?” This text suggests that youthful hands are the keys to romance. The body copy reinforces this idea. It begins with,

“There's Sally in her 'twenties' --but don't her hands look older? That's because they're so often rough. But busy Mrs. B in her 'fifties' has the gracious soft, smooth hands that are charming, romantic at any age. Her secret? Just simple, regular care with Jergens Lotion!”

The allusion to a woman in her fifties having better hands than a woman in her twenties indicates that this ad is directed towards older married women and younger unmarried females, to whom themes of youthful attractiveness will both resonate. Targeting to these two different demographics can be observed in another ad from December 1941.

The half-page ad shown in Figure 3.2 repeats the appeals used in Fig 3.1. Promises of attractiveness and romance are used to target older married women and younger unmarried women. The headline makes an explicit appeal to the ultimate romantic activity: marriage. It

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"I'm so in Love with your HANDS!"

What is the "Age of Romance" for a Woman's Hands?

I wonder Otto in her "twenties"—but
I don't her hands look older? That's be-
tertheless, so often rough. But busy
Mrs. B in her "forties" has the gracious
soft, smooth hands that are charming,
romantic, at any age. Secret? Just—
simple, regular care with Jergens Lotion!
It's almost like professional hand care.
Two ingredients in Jergens Lotion are used
by many doctors to help hard, harsh skin
to rose-leaf smoothness.
Your poor hand skin—so often water
dried, wind-dried! Jergens Lotion furnishes
new softening moisture it needs. No stuffy-
ness! Easy and quick! 5¢, 25¢, 1.00—
$1.00, at beauty counters. Start now to
use this favorite Jergens Lotion.

JERGENS LOTION
FOR SOFT, ADORABLE HANDS

FREE! PURSE-SIZE BOTTLE
MAIL THIS COUPON NOW

Figure 3.1 Jergens. Ladies' Home Journal. October 1941: 66
"My Ring on your soft little HAND"

Romance is ageless as the "Eternal Feminine" of soft, smooth hands

Keep this ageless charm in your hands! Have almost professional hand care right at home, by using Jergens Lotion regularly. Jergens treats your skin with 2 ingredients, an "special" oil helping soften and smooth hand skin that many doctors use them.

Your hand skin may lose its youthlike pliancy from constant work with water. (This tends to dry out nature's softening moisture.) Just every use of Jergens supplements nature's moisture. Easy to use! Jergens Lotion isn't sticky. Smooth on after every handwashing. Get this favorite Jergens Lotion today.

"Mrs. Sikes has a 'royal' hand," says Sonia Earlimington, New York Neighbors.

"This hand indicates an enthusiastic, sympathetic and very smart nature," the famous palmist says, "with a lively, friendly interest in people."

Mrs. Sikes, Atlanta, Ga., written, "Regular and gentle use of Jergens Lotion has made my work easier and my hands wonderfully soft."

Figure 3.2 Jergens. Ladies' Home Journal. December 1941: 77
reads, “My Ring on your soft little HAND.” The subhead reinforces the sex appeal made in the headline, “Romance is ageless as the 'Eternal Feminine' of soft, smooth hands.” This ad, like others in the campaign, promotes the idea that a woman's feminine charm is essential to attracting a mate. According to the Jergens campaign, a woman's soft hands are essential to maintaining femininity. The body copy further reinforces this concept. It reads, “Keep this ageless charm in your hands! Have almost professional hand care right at home, by using Jergens Lotion regularly.”(77) This sentence identifies the targets of this ad as older women seeking to regain youthful attractiveness, as well as younger women seeking to maintain their feminine charm.

None of the ads from 1941 for the Jergens campaign demonstrate any wartime messages. In both Figure 3.1 and 3.2, the male love interest is affluent, well-dressed, white, and not in the military. Beginning in January 1942, the Jergens campaign began to include soldiers as the idealized romantic partner.

As in Figs. 3.1 and 3.2, the ad in Figure 3.3 contains appeals to romance and attractiveness targeted to a wide age range of women. Unlike its predecessors, Figure 3.3 clearly presents the male love interest as military, indicated by his uniform. This is the first wartime theme used in the Jergens campaign. No other wartime themes are present in Figure 3.3. However, beginning in 1943, Jergens began to target only younger war workers, as the advertising expressed messages pertaining to war work without appeals to older women.

A close-up of a Jergens Lotion ad from the April issue of Ladies' Home Journal clearly indicates the campaign's shift to target the war worker segment, as shown in Figure 3.4. The body copy in the ad reads, “A man is proud when his girl's hands work hard and are still

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Figure 3.3 Jergens. *Ladies’ Home Journal.* January 1942: 38
Figure 3.4 Jergens. *Ladies’ Home Journal.* February 1944: 58
feminine, soft to touch.” Captions below the pictures describe different war work situations that could be harsh on a woman's skin. This shift in demographics, from a wide range of women to war workers, and the addition of war messages reflects the advertiser's need to capitalize on societal situations as a result of the war. Jergens decision-makers apparently felt it necessary, and profitable, to position their products to young war workers, possibly as a result of the mass movement of women into jobs traditionally held by men and the explosion of marriages between 1940-1943.

Jergens, like many other advertisers who ran magazine ads in 1943, also positioned itself as a patriotic brand by including messages like “Buy War Bonds and Stamps.” It should also be noted that Jergens continues to portray male lovers as soldiers. They are always shown engaged in romantic hand-holding, perhaps as an implied reunion appeal. A Jergens ad in 1944 shows a different, very explicit reunion appeal.

In the ad shown in Figure 3.5, a soldier is shown kissing the hand of a woman who is presumably his wife. The insignia on the man's collar indicates that he is military. The reunion appeal is contained in the body copy, which reads:

“Expect me on the fifteenth,” your wire said. Oh, darling, you'd been away so long! So much to do to have things ready for you. I almost forgot about my hands. Until I suddenly saw them, grimy and rough. “Watery” jobs do take the natural softeners from the skin. How I ran for my Jergens Lotion. Used my Jergens faithfully. And my hands—well--you kissed my hands, darling, in the way I'll always love. (49)

It should be noted that Figs. 3.4 and 3.5, while containing messages pertaining to war work, they do not explicitly promote war work. Rather, war work is something that women in ads from 1944 do while waiting for their lovers to return from war. By depicting war workers, Jergens targets them as a consumer market with identifiable images and romantic themes. At the time,

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millions of women were in similar situations as the women depicted in the ads. Jergens’ use of sex appeals, especially the reunion appeal, proposes that returning soldiers want to touch feminine hands. This reinforced the notion that it was important to the men returning home that women maintain soft skin. In turn, use of this sex appeal positioned the Jergens brand as the war worker’s choice for maintaining attractive hands.
Figure 3.5 Jergens. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. September 1944: 49
The campaign for Lux Toilet Soap ran in *Ladies' Home Journal* during the years studied, 1941-1946. In the advertisements, Lux maintained a consistent market demographic: young unmarried women. Lux surrounded its product with glamour, often making claims that Hollywood actresses used the products and even included endorsements from screen stars of the time. In these ads, women are shown engaging in romantic activities, often kissing or embracing men. These ads appeal to young women's desire to be glamorous and as attractive as a movie star. Like many toiletries ads from the time, Lux ads promise enhanced attractiveness and romantic experiences as a result of using the product. Wartime themes are not present in the campaign until 1944, when messages appeared about materials shortages.

Figure 4.1 is a typical ad for Lux from 1941 that ran in the July issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*. In this ad, Lux soap carried the endorsement of Paramount star Dorothy Lamour. She was shown in various bathing scenes with speech bubbles containing messages about Lux Toilet Soap's beautifying properties. One bubble reads, “Screen stars know a thing or two! Lux soap makes a wonderful beauty bath—leaves skin sweet.” Another reads, “I wouldn't dream of going out on a date without my daily Lux soap bath!” And third reads, “Lux soap makes me sure of daintiness and every girl knows that's important!” The messages in the speech bubbles convey the necessity of maintaining constant feminine charm. In the bottom right-hand portion of the full page ad, a picture demonstrates the promise of romantic activity as a result of improved attractiveness. Lamour is shown smiling as she dances with a man. The tagline on the bottom reads, “9 out of 10 Screen Stars use Lux Toilet Soap.” The ad suggests that one can be as attractive as a screen star simply by using the soap that 90 percent supposedly use.

Figure 4.2 from the Lux campaign promotes similar values: a necessity for daintiness,

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Figure 4.1 Lux. *Ladies' Home Journal.* July 1941: 51
Figure 4.2 Lux. *Ladies' Home Journal.* November 1941: 50

the attractiveness of film stars, and
possible romantic situations. The headline reads, “They know how to keep skin SWEET! They're Lux Girls.” The ad carries the endorsement of Ida Lupino, who is depicted as saying in a speech bubble, “Daintiness wins romance! And any girl can have this charm! A daily Lux soap bath makes you sure—leaves skin fresh and sweet—fragrant too!”

Lupino's “quote” very clearly promises romance from improved attractiveness as a result of using the product. Again, as in Figure 4.1, the Lux ad portrays movie start as the pinnacle of daintiness, appealing to women who wish to attain similar charms.

Figure 4.3, an example from October 1942 of the Lux campaign, maintains the dainty movie star motif. In the ad, Columbia Pictures star Marlene Dietrich is shown in a shower robe fresh from a Lux beauty bath. The headline reads, “It's easy to make daintiness SURE—just use Lux Soap for a luxurious daily beauty bath.” Like the ads in figures 4.1 and 4.2, the ad in 4.3 reinforces the idea that daintiness is essential to romance. This is demonstrated in the body copy which reads:

“You can't neglect daintiness and then expect Romance,” says fascinating Marlene Dietrich. And tells you how she and so many other famous screen stars protect this important charm. “It's easy to make sure, I just use my complexion soap for my daily bath too.” (51)

It should be noted that Figs. 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3 contain no war messages. The Lux campaign did not begin to include such messages until 1944.

In an ad appearing in the January issue of Ladies' Home Journal, Lux inserted a wartime message into their traditional movie star campaign. The ad stars Paramount actress Paulette Goddard, shown wrapped in a towel. The headline makes the typical Lux appeal to daintiness,

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"It's easy to make daintiness SURE—
just use Lux Soap
for a luxurious daily
beauty bath"

MARLENE DIETRICH
COLUMBIA PICTURES STAR

"You can't neglect daintiness and then expect
Romance," says fascinating Marlene Dietrich.
And tells you how she and so many other famous
screen stars protect this important charm. "It's
easy to make sure. I just use my complexion soap
for my daily bath soap, too." Lux Toilet Soap's
creamy ACTIVE lather gently caresses the skin,
swiftly removes every trace of dust and dirt. You
will want to try this simple way to make sure of
skin that's fresh and sweet!

YOU will enjoy the luxury of a daily
beauty bath with fragrant white
Lux Toilet Soap. You'll love the
delicate perfume it leaves on your skin!

SCREEN STARS ARE
RIGHT! A Lux Soap
BEAUTY BATH MAKES
DAINTINESS
SURE!

9 out of 10
Screen Stars use
Lux Toilet Soap

Figure 4.3 Lux. *Ladies' Home Journal.* October 1942: 51
“A Lux girl? You bet I am! It's the soap that leaves the skin SWEET!” The body copy describes the charming scents “that men adore” left behind after bathing with the product.

As can be seen in the bottom right-hand corner of Figure 4.4, the message reads, “It's patriotic not to waste soap! Use only what you need. Keep soap dish dry. Moisten last sliver and press against new cake.” This message is very similar to war messages in the Palmolive campaign, in that it promotes conservation of soap as part of a patriotic duty. The message is different from some of the Camay ads, which promoted actual use of the product as part of a patriotic duty to maintain beauty. The Lux campaign makes no such association between using the toilet soap and patriotism. Rather, not using the soap in excess is what a patriotic American girl should do, according to Figure 4.4.

Lux continued to run similar conservation as patriotism messages until 1946. An exception can be found in the February 1945 ad shown in Figure 4.5, which followed the Lux formulaic combination of movie star glamour and appeals to attractiveness. The ad differs from earlier ads in that it contains no explicit war message. The ad does, however, show an illustration in which the male love interest is a military man. The ad contains no other war theme. Other Lux ads from 1945 did contain messages promoting the conservation of soap as a patriotic activity.

Lux ads in 1946 remained similar to their predecessors. The campaign kept using movie stars and promoted daintiness as essential to romance. However, the ads in 1946 either contain abbreviated non-war messages concerning conservation or contained no such message at all. The ad shown in Figure 4.6 contains no message about conservation.

A close-up of the ad shown in Figure 4.7 shows a message about saving soap. It reads, “FIGHT WASTE—Lux Toilet Soap uses vital materials. Don't waste it!” It should be noted that

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the message in Figure 4.7 is consistent with changes in the Palmolive campaign at the same time in 1946. There is an appeal to conservation, but no mention of the war or war effort.

Soap and skin care ads from the period studied show some consistent themes. First, these ads appeal to their audiences’ desires to get married or find companionship. To do so, they make strong appeals to romance, positioning the product as a means to attracting a desirable husband. Lux’s claim that “daintiness wins romance” is a clear example of this type of sexual promise. Appearing concurrently with these appeals to romance are war messages. As American involvement in the war escalates, the men appearing in soap and skin care ads are increasingly enlisted men. These ads demonstrate the high sex appeal of men in the military during the time period. Furthermore, these ads contain messages to address home front tensions, such as materials shortages, rationing, and financing the war. These ads make appeals to conserve soap and buy war bonds. After the war ends, soap ads in women’s magazines 1946 shed their wartime themes.
Figure 4.4 Lux. *Ladies' Home Journal.* January 1944: 47
It's 1 part Beauty and 9 parts Beauty Care

Loretta Young

Lux Toilet Soap

“What a wonder of feeling... when you know your skin feels smooth and lovely. That's why I never neglect my daily Lux Face-fresh facial with Lux Soap. Feels like soothing beauty in when I cover my face with that creamy lather, and work it in thoroughly.”

“In any man's vocabulary it's 'glamour'... skin that's lovely to look at—soft to touch.” And our star concludes: “After you've rinsed with warm water, then cold, and patted your face dry with a soft towel, you know your Lux Soap facial's a beauty care that works!”

The man in your life, "says this lovely star, "just takes it for granted you were born beautiful if your hair is shining, your eyes are bright, and your skin is soft and smooth. But we women know how important every day care is in order to look good and keep looking our prettiest.”

This Beauty Care really makes skin lovelier—no wonder 9 out of 10 Screen Stars use it!

Figure 4.5 Ladies' Home Journal. February 1945: 71
"Be lovelier Tonight!"

"My Beauty Facials bring quick new loveliness"

"It's wonderful the way Lux Soap facials leave skin softer, smoother," says Gene Tierney. "Feels like smoothing beauty in as you work the creamy Active lather well into your skin. Rinse with warm water, then cold. As you pat to dry with a soft towel, skin takes on new loveliness!"

Don't let neglet cheat you of Romance. This gentle beauty care Gene Tierney recommends will make you lovelier tonight.

9 out of 10 Screen Stars use this Beauty Care
LUX Girls are Lovelier!

Ladies' Home Journal. February 1946: 96
Figure 4.7 Lux. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. June 1946: 71
3. HYGIENE: IPANA, COLGATE, PONDS, AND GEM

Four hygiene product campaigns are examined from *Ladies’ Home Journal* and *Collier’s* from 1941-1946. Like the soap ads previously discussed, campaigns for Ipana, Colgate, Ponds, and Gem demonstrate the combined use of romance and war themes. In these campaigns, the advertisers create romantic narratives involving the return of an enlisted man from war to a lovelorn woman. These ads also serve to address labor shortages by depicting women patriotically pursuing war work.

**Ipana**

Ipana's “pink toothbrush” advertisements ran in both Collier's and Ladies' Home Journal, primarily in the latter magazine, for the years examined in this study, 1941-1946. These advertisements appeared as full-page, black and white display ads. The campaign typically appealed to dental health, containing warnings about gum disease along with dentists' recommendations to use Ipana's products. Within this range of magazines, five different campaigns can be observed. These campaigns are distinct in target market, stylistic execution, functionality to serve social needs, and application of sex appeals and wartime messages. Along with this appeal to health, many examples can be found in the Ipana campaign making appeals to attractiveness, marriage, and reunion with a soldier-lover. Also within this time frame, the Ipana campaign addressed the labor shortage with non-product messages, as well as presented images of romantically idealized military men.

In the first observable campaign, Ipana appeals to women and parents with appeals to
Figure 5.1 Ipana. *Ladies' Home Journal*. July 1941: 1

Q. Will he like my bridesmaid’s bonnet?
A. Yes, decidedly.

Q. Does that put me “next in line”?
A. Well, any bride-to-be should have a lovely smile.

Q. What can a girl do to have a lovely smile?
A. Ipana and Massage can help make it sparkling.

A BRIDESMAID’S costume with its flattering bonnet—soft, alluring colors—how romantic—how becoming it can be! But wise the girl who remembers that clothes only help... that it takes the spell of a lovely smile to keep romance alive.

Yes, a girl can be dressed in the height of fashion and still win pity instead of praise... if her teeth are dull, her gums dingy... if she ignores “pink tooth brush.”

“Pink Tooth Brush”—a Warning!
If you see “pink” on your tooth brush, see your dentist! It may not be serious! He may say yours is just a case of “lazy gums”—gums denied exercise by today’s soft foods. And he may suggest “the healthful stimulation of Ipana and massage.”

For Ipana is specially designed not only to clean teeth thoroughly but, with massage, to aid the gums. Every time you brush your teeth, massage a little Ipana onto your gums. That exhilarating “tang” tells you gum circulation is increasing—helping gums to become firmer.

Get a tube of economical Ipana today.
Let Ipana and massage show you one way to brighter teeth, a more sparkling smile.
Do you see little Billy?
No, I see the future Captain William Steers.
Is the Captain a Good Soldier?
Yes. He has Courage and the Respect of his Men.
His Smile inspires Confidence—a Bright. Appealing Smile
that owes so much to his Lifelong use of Ipana and Massage.

Don't risk the charm of your smile! Let Ipana and Massage help keep
your gums healthy, your teeth bright and sparkling

Q. Why do so many dentists strongly urge the importance of
daily gum massage?
A. Because these dentists know that the soft, creamy foods
we eat these days deny our gums the natural work and stimu-
lation they need for health.

Q. Are strong gums important to sound, sparkling teeth?
A. Indeed they are! That's why it is so important never to
ignore "pink tooth brush"... because that tell-tale trace of
"pink" on your tooth brush may be a sign of weak, tender,
unhealthy gums—gums that need attention.

Q. Does "pink tooth brush" always mean serious trouble?
A. Not necessarily. But only your dentist can decide that
question. Often, he may merely say that your weakened gums
need work and exercise. And, like thousands of dentists these
days, he may very well suggest "the healthful stimulation of
Ipana Tooth Paste and massage."

Q. Can Ipana and massage really help ward off the threat of
"pink tooth brush"?
A. Indeed it can. You see, Ipana Tooth Paste does more than
clean teeth thoroughly, brilliantly. For this unique dentifrice
is specially designed, with massage, to aid the gums to
healthier firmness. That is why the daily use of Ipana and
massage is a sound, sensible habit... to help you have
stronger gums, more sparkling teeth, a lovelier smile... to
help guard you against "pink tooth brush."

Ipana Tooth Paste
“O.K.! Big Boy—you’re the Champ—but I spell it C-h-u-m-p!”

“Help keep your gums firmer, your teeth brighter, your smile more sparkling with Ipana and Massage!”

For Ipana Tooth Paste is designed to do two important things: (1) to cleanse the teeth thoroughly and (2) with massage, it promotes better health of the gums. So each time you brush your teeth, be sure to massage a little Ipana onto your gums.

So get yourself a tube of economical Ipana Tooth Paste at your druggist’s today. Let Ipana and massage be a regular, daily routine. Start now, with the help of Ipana and massage, toward firmer gums, brighter teeth—a lovelier and more attractive smile!

Figure 5.3 Ipana. Lade's Home Journal. July 1942: 1
marriage and child-rearing. This campaign's stylistic distinction is the “Question-Answer” format. An ad from the July 1941 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, as shown in Figure 5.1, illustrates an application of the appeal to marriage within the “Q&A” motif.\(^{61}\)

The headline in Figure 5.1 reads “Q: Will he like my bridesmaid's bonnet? A: Yes, decidedly. Q: Does that put me 'next in line'? A: Well, any bride-to-be should have a lovely smile.” The body copy goes on to describe a healthy smile as essential to a bride's charm and “pink toothbrush” as the enemy of such a smile. The ad encourages the reader to apply Ipana along with a vigorous gum massage to avoid “lazy gums.” Figure 5.1 demonstrates no wartime theme.

The Ipana campaign begins making allusions to war themes, however, as early as May 1941, as can be seen in an ad shown in Figure 5.2 from the May 24, 1941 issue of *Collier's*. The headline reads “Do you see little Billy? No, I see future Captain William Steers. Is the Captain a Good Soldier? Yes, He has Courage and the Respect of His Men.”\(^ {62}\) While similar to previous ads in the campaign, this ad hearkens to parental hopes for children, respect for military officers, and contains no explicit sex appeal. However in a December 1941 ad appearing in *Ladies' Home Journal*, distinct appeals to attractiveness can be observed being used with illustrations of sexualized, fictional soldiers.

For 1942, Ipana discontinued running ads in *Collier's*. Ipana did not use a wartime theme in their campaign running in *Ladies' Home Journal* again until May 1942 with another ad containing a serial narrative in Figure 5.3. In Figure 5.3, the male protagonist is the Navy squadron's prized boxer whose smile scares off the ladies on shore. The champ decides to consult a dentist (a reoccurring theme in the Ipana campaign). At the dentist's recommendation,

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\(^{62}\) “Do you see little Billy?” *Collier's*. May 24, 1941, 3.
the sailor combines brushing with Ipana toothpaste and gum massage. His new smile lands him a girl on each arm.

The ad demonstrates an explicit promise of attractiveness leading to romantic activity (dancing and kissing) with a wartime theme. It makes no appeal to home front activities or social tensions. Rather, the wartime theme exists in the characters and setting of the fictionalized story. The setting, boot camp, is military in nature, but not set in a war or fighting situation. The ad in Figure 5.3 sexualizes the soldier without mention of the war abroad or home front war effort. 63

As in Figure 5.2, “Billy”, the “Champ’s” narrative in Figure 5.3 does not allude to actual combat. The “Champ” capitalizes on the notion of a romantic soldier without mention of suffering, sacrifice, or other unpleasant aspects of the world war.

The ad in Figure 5.4 appears in the November issue of Ladies' Home Journal. 64 Unlike Figures 5.2 and 5.3, the serial narrative in Figure 5.4 is not set in a war-related setting. The female protagonist is a romance column writer who seeks personal advice about her own romantic misfortune. At the recommendation of a peer she sees her dentist and begins the Ipana regimen of brushing and massage. Her new smile wins the heart of an attractive soldier at the dance. Examination of the final panel in the narrative clearly shows that the protagonist's new dance partner is a soldier by the insignia and regalia on his jacket. Figure 5.4 presents the soldier as a sexually ideal partner without making any other references to the war. Ipana ads in the September, October, and November 1942 issues Ladies' Home Journal contain similar serial narratives of lovelorn individuals who at the advice of their dentists use the product and attract the attention of the opposite sex, resulting in a union of a soldier and a hopelessly romantic

64 “Imagine, Dan Cupid's Ablest Assistant-.” Ladies' Home Journal. 11 November 1942, 1.
"Imagine! Dan Cupid’s Ablest Assistant—and yet you can’t land a man of your own!"

These are the facts, young lady! Soft foods
are apt to rob gums of needed stimulation.
That’s why I advise moisturizing the gums
every time you brush your teeth. (Note: Re-
cent survey shows dentists prefer Ipana for
personal use as a way to keep your other dentifrices.)

"Hurray—for my frank friends and my den-

tist! It’s massage with Ipana for my gums—
from now on. My teeth are brighter already!
I like Ipana’s fresh taste. And that gentle as
I massage my gums seems to say: “You’re
headed for a brighter smile, young lady.”

"Wake up, Darling! Your routine. Don’t a
lot of falsehoodsweeten the air, but
beautifying often gets the straight sight in the mirror. I learned that gums color is an important
incredibly our teeth. We even had clashing
nothing to gums anymore!"

Help keep your gums firmer, your teeth brighter—your smile more sparkling with Ipana and Massage!

First time you see “pink” on your tooth
brush—see your dentist without delay.
He may simply tell you your gums are
“saw”—green weak and sensitive because
today’s soft foods have robbed them of vig-
erous exercise and chewing they need for
health. And so many dentists today, he
may very likely suggest “the helpful stimu-
lation of Ipana Tooth Paste and massage.”

For Ipana is specially designed not only
to clean teeth thoroughly but, when used
with massage, to help the health of the
gums. Each time you brush your teeth with
Ipana, massage a little more Ipana onto
your gums. You’ll notice a pleasant, invig-
orating “ting”—exclusive with Ipana and
massage—that tells you circulation is tak-
ing up within the gums, helping to make the
tissues firmer and stronger.

Start now to make Ipana and massage a
daily habit. With the aid of this sensible,
modern dental routine, help yourself to
have firmer gums, brighter teeth, a more
sparkling, attractive smile!

IPANA TOOTH PASTE

Figure 5.4 Ipana. "Ladies’ Home Journal." 11 November 1942: 1
Figure 5.5 Ipana. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. November 1943: 1
woman. None of these ads make reference to combat, home front activities, or any other aspect of WWII-era American life besides dating. Later advertisements from the Ipana campaign running in *Ladies' Home Journal* contain more explicit wartime themes and increasingly mention home front activities.

The ad in Figure 5.5 appears in the November 1943 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*. This ad, as its predecessors, promotes the use of Ipana toothpaste and massage. In contrast, Figure 5.5 departs from the serial narratives in earlier Ipana ads. Figure 5.5 depicts a photograph of a smiling model. Behind her are six images of various women war workers and volunteers. The headline reads “After Hours – turn heads and hearts with a sparkling smile!” Also different from earlier Ipana ads in this magazine, Figure 5.5 addresses the labor shortage, a social tension created by the massive outflow of male laborers to the war fronts. This marks a change in the tone and function of Ipana campaign.

Earlier ads refrained from mentioning social tension resulting from the American entry into World War II. Almost two years after the bombing of Pearl Harbor, the American public was deeply entrenched in the war effort and Ipana executives apparently felt it necessary to begin addressing pressing social needs, primarily the labor shortage.

Americans participated in the war effort through war work, volunteering, and reclamation of important resources such as metal and fiber. This nationwide participation resulted in what Winkler describes as “a sense of identification with a common cause.” Americans were participating in collective home front activities like never before. By inserting messages related to the war effort into advertising, advertisers capitalized on this national commonality as well as gained respect from audiences for encouraging war effort activities.

These activities addressed pressing issues created by the war, such as labor and materials

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shortages, rationing, and fund raising. Americans participated in various campaigns that functioned to better facilitate collection of necessary war resources and to unify the country in the citizenry's daily activities. Alan Winkler describes scrap metal drives, tire and rubber drives, Victory gardens and campaigns supporting the purchase of war bonds as important unifying activities during World War II. The federal government, through information disseminated by the Office of War Information, used mass media to encourage a unified, patriotic national response to wartime conditions. In response to these changes in the national mood, the Ipana campaign shifted its functionality to address home front issues. This shift can be observed in Figure 5.5.

Part of the body copy in Figure 5.5 reads, “Your Country needs you in a vital job! 3,000,000 women are needed to serve on the home front- to carry out the tasks of men gone to war – to release more men for wartime duties.” Figure 5.5 also makes appeals to attractiveness, promises of romance and more dates as a result of use of the advertised product. This time the ad puts romance and dating into the context of wartime work, a home front activity.

Ipana advertisements in Ladies' Home Journal in 1944 and 1945 contain a mix of “After Hours” ads like Figure 5.5, with images of women war workers and ads like Figure 5.4 with serial narratives about romance with soldiers. An exception to the “After Hours” and the serial narratives can be found in the May 1944 issue of Ladies’ Home Journal. The ad shown in Figure 5.6 demonstrates a reunion appeal. The headline in Figure 5.6 reads,

“Last night I listened to the clock...” [The body copy goes on to read], “Have you a clock that talks? Ours does-has ever since I married Jack. ‘Hap-py...Hap-py...Hap-py!’ that’s what it said to me until the time he left to fight. Then we—the clock and I—were

66 Ibid., 31-32.
67 Ibid., 29.
left alone...Since then it haunted me. “How long?...How long?...How long?” (May 1944: 1)  

The appeal to the reunion of soldier and wife is strong in Figure 5.6. Further, the body copy goes on to suggest a remedy for separation: war work. Figure 5.6 invokes a sense of duty within the reader, referring to the “millions of our men out there who are counting on us helping here.” The final paragraph of body copy instructs the reader to seek work in their communities, regardless of previous job experience. The closing line reads, “The more women at war...the sooner we'll win.” This combination of anxiety brought on by the reunion appeal and resolution with the appeal to war work make for a powerful, convincing message. In contrast to other ads from the Ipana campaign 1941-1946, the ad in Figure 5.6 makes no appeals to attractiveness, dental health, or even the purchase of toothpaste. Figure 5.6 does not even contain one mention of “pink toothbrush.” The ad in Figure 5.6 functions as non-product advertising. The absences of commercial appeals in Figure 5.6 lend an air of patriotism and selflessness to the Ipana brand.

After 1945, Ipana's use of wartime themes tapered off. An ad in the January 1946 edition of *Ladies' Home Journal*, as shown in Figure 5.7, tells the biography of a real-life pin-up model who is married to an aircraft communicator and mother of a seven-year old daughter. In Fig 5.7, the model, Laura O'Banion, is shown participating in parenting activities, all the while demonstrating to her daughter the importance of avoiding “pink toothbrush” with Ipana's signature combination of toothbrushing and gum massage. Future 1946 Ipana ads expand on the “model as mother” theme, emphasizing beauty and appeals to maternity, but abandoning wartime themes.

It should be noted that the Ipana campaign from 1941-1946 targets both sexes. The serial

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69 “Last night I listened to the clock...” *Ladies' Home Journal*. May 1944: 1.
70 “Pin-up girl...model mother...” *Ladies' Home Journal*. January 1946, 1.
"Last night I listened to the clock..."

In disguise. In me, that's all I need to know. Yesterday I got a job. Not very glamorous. Just a job. Last night I looked into the mirror. No outward things. No habit. No resemblance to Joan of Arc. But the clock knew the difference. It wasn't frightening me now. Last night I heard it saying Jack's words—words spoken by millions of our men our wives who are waiting on us helping here.

"Good grief! Good grief! Good grief!"

Remember that whether you or not you've ever worked before—"are skilled or sustained makes no difference. In your community there's a job waiting for you..."

Millions of women are already doing work that is new to them. In war plants, on the armed services—in the hundreds of different jobs in essential industries—you are needed to overcome this desperate emergency.

See the Help Wanted advertisements in your newspapers—want the local editors of United States Employment Service or Army and Navy Recruiting Stations—make inquiries among your friends...

There's work to be done—there's a war to be won!

The more women at war... the sooner we'll win

PUBLISHED IN CO-OPERATION WITH THE DEPOT, CONSERVATIVE AND ALUMINUM INDUSTRIES BY

IPANA TOOTH PASTE
A Product of British Drug Co.

Figure 5.6: Ladies’ Home Journal May 1944: 1
PIN-UP GIRL...MODEL MOTHER

Beautv winner turned model says:
“My dental ‘beauty secret’
is no secret to my daughter!”

You might think that being a model,
secretary and singer would be career enough
for any woman. Especially when you add
“steady prices and an officers’ Pin-up Club”
the South Pacific.

But not for Phoebe’s lovely Laura O’Banion.
Her major interest lies in her Idaho, 7-year old
dughter Patty, whose wholesome smile al-
ready reflects her mothers virtues.

For Laura’s modeling career has taught her
the importance of a smile. And she’s making
sure that Patty practices the same dental
“beauty secret” she herself follows: Regular
brushing, followed by gum massage with extra
Ipana. A brilliant smile you see, depends on
sparkling teeth. And sparkling teeth call for
firm, healthy gums.

A third-grader at seven is Patty. And smart enough
to realize the importance of her nightly workout
on teeth and gums with Ipana. For Mother has ex-
plained that gums should be massaged every time she
drubs her teeth with the famous teeth paste. Thus
sends up needed circulation within the gums, thus
helping to safeguard her future smile.

World’s two brightest smiles, according to proud father
William O’Bannon, a government aircraft communica-
tor. One reason they’re such charmers is because the
O’Bannon teeth and gums are proper ones. Mother knows
that today’s soft, crummy foods don’t give gums the
attention they need; that Ipana is specially designed, with
massage, to help gums to healthier condition.

The way to train a smile is this: First, Patty brushes
her teeth. Then she washes with Ipana, too, to
guard against tender gums. Among whites, sensitive
gums often herald their warning with a tinge of
“pain” on your tooth brushing—a sign to use your den-
tist’s night away. He may merely suggest an over-use
drug, “the helpful simulation of Ipana and massage.”

Firmer Gums—Brighter Teeth with
Ipana and Massage
699978 09

Should parents go to school to learn what so many chil-
dren already know—the value of gum massage? For
proper care of teeth and gums is being taught in thos-
ands of classrooms today. Not only that! In 10 den-
tists recommended gum massage, as shown in a nationwide
survey. Some surveys now that dentists prefer Ipana
8 to 2 over any other dentifrice for their own use!

Figure 5.7 Ipana. Ladies’ Home Journal. June 1946: 1
narrative in Figure 5.3 starring the “Champ” seaman with a girl on each arm is very clearly targeting men. In contrast, Figure 5.4 depicts the opposite situation. In Figure 5.4, the girl gets the guy, not the other way around as in Figure 5.3. The application of sex appeals in both ads similarly glorify the product as the key to enhanced attractiveness. Also similarly, both Figure 5.3 and 5.4 portray the male romantic interest as a member of the military. The serial narratives make strong appeals to romance and attractiveness, whereas its chronological counterpart, the “After Hours” campaign, tones down the sex appeals.

The changes in campaigns reflect changes in the advertiser's needs. Ipana's decision-makers apparently felt it necessary to appeal to both men and women while simultaneously addressing the labor shortage. Wishing to capitalize on the sexiness of soldiers, they augmented the existing serial narrative campaign and ran those ads with images of romantically idealized fictional soldiers in women's magazines. When the need to address the labor shortage became pressing, the advertiser began alternating out the sexualized soldiers for women war workers in their advertisements. After the fighting men returned home, Ipana shifted its target towards the married mother and away from the single unmarried woman. This shift is consistent with societal changes; as Winkler points out, between 1940 and 1943 there were over 1.1 million more marriages than projected for that time period.  

Colgate

The Colgate campaign appeared in Collier's magazine from 1941 to 1946, the first in the February 15, 1941, issue. Colgate targeted this advertising to a wide range of demographics, men and women, young and old. The campaign maintained a consistent appeal to romantic insecurities. The sex appeal in each ad is a promise that bad breath is the cause of rejection and that improving one's breath using Colgate toothpaste will lead to sexual activity. Each Colgate

ad told a narrative in which a protagonist offends their partner with bad breath. Colgate ads tended to point out that bad breath is a condition that one could have and never know it. In addition, Colgate ads recommended consulting a dentist about bad breath, as if it were a serious dental malady.

Colgate did not use war messages to address social issues such as labor and materials shortages, promote home front activities such as morale boosters, or encourage the purchase of war bonds. However, Colgate did consistently depict sexualized soldiers in the advertising. Beginning in the February 13, 1943 issue of Collier's, the men in Colgate ads cease to be well-dressed husbands and boyfriends, and become uniformed military men. Colgate soldiers were never shown in combat situations, nor mentioned fighting. In fact, the main difference between the men shown in prewar and postwar Colgate ads compared to wartime ads was the clothing.

The ad in Figure 6.1 from the February 15, 1941, issue, is the first Colgate ad to appear in Collier's. It depicted a husband who rolls his eyes when his wife smiles. In a blatantly explicit appeal to breath insecurity, the headline reads, “Husbands don't TALK about it but you can't afford to risk it!” The ad goes on to reinforce the appeal by implying that bad breath could be the cause of marital unhappiness. The body copy begins by reading,

> Many a charming woman undermines her happiness by carelessness about bad breath. Such a dangerous, yet common fault...a fault you may very well have yourself? (30)

The ad finishes by promoting Colgate toothpaste as a delicious solution to bad breath. It should be noted that the husband in the ad is well-dressed. He wears a suit and tie like a white-collar worker. Another ad from the March 15, 1941 issue of Collier's demonstrated similar use of sex appeals and male wardrobe. The ad shown in Figure 6.2 tells the story of a lovelorn young lady named Mary. The headline and body copy read,

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72 Colgate. *Collier's.* February 15, 1941: 30
Husbands don't TALK about it

but you can't afford to risk it!

Many a charming woman undermines her happiness by carelessness about bad breath. Such a dangerous, yet common fault... a fault you may very well have yourself! After all, dentists say...

Doesn't Colgate's penetrating foam make your mouth feel clean and refreshed? Aren't your teeth brighter, more sparkling? Such a grand tangy flavor, too! What a pleasant way to combat bad breath!

TESTS SHOW THAT 70% OF ALL PEOPLE OVER THE AGE OF 17 HAVE BAD BREATH. THAT'S WHY DENTISTS RECOMMEND COLGATE DENTAL CREAM.

“See, Colgate's has an active penetrating foam that gets into the hidden crevices between your teeth... helps clean out decaying food particles and stop the obnoxious saliva odor that causes such bad breath.”

Play Safe!

THERE’S A DAY AND BEFORE EVERY DATE—USE COLGATE DENTAL CREAM.

Husbands don't TALK about it.

The Actress is Never Right

Paramount still showed interest and wanted some still photographs of her in a bathing suit. They turned out badly. Brenda insisted with experts that it was the photographer's fault! Paramount suggested politely that it was. Brenda smiled bravely... but Paramount got the last word. She didn't like the photographer; they didn't like the legs. Let's pretend, said Paramount, and hastily withdrew.

Then, just to show how irrational Hollywood can be, her agent took the Paramount test and the same stills. By pictures ordered to Warners and they promptly went much and began writing that Warner had the last word. They didn't want her for Espionage Agent with Joel McCrea. This was pleasing enough but when she landed in Hollywood she was not thinking of Mr. McCrea and her future career. She was still with Paramount.

"Get me a photographer," she cried. "Get me a bathing suit." The press department boys could scarcely believe their ears because most new arrivals are wary of their attractions and prefer to speak of their Art. They had her swimming from the steps of a swimming pool almost before one could say Edward Everett Horton. "Oh, no, not bad." they murmured sagely, when the negatives were developed.

This took away the memory of the Paramount suit and she threw herself into her screen career with ardor, but that was the last independent gesture she enjoyed in some time. Acting upon the old Warners' principle that those who can't swim deserve to drown, the Espionage Agent wrung her hand with gratitude when it was finished, and then hurled her into the arms of the magnificent Errol Flynn in The Sea Hawk.

The speed of all this was not good for her and things were not bettered by the fact that her first shot with Flynn was to be a love scene. To make it worse she was confined with the great man in a horse-drawn coach, with no chance to move around and nothing to do but act like one filled to the ear lobes with amorous affection. As a wife and mother (the little one had been born in Peterboro three years before) she should have been easy for her, but Flynn was obviously not one to be taken lightly. He looked at her possessively.
Figure 6.2 Colgate. *Collier’s*. March 15, 1941: 32
Moonlight means nothing to Mary! For Mary has a bad breath condition she condemns in others, never suspects in herself. It's a tragic mistake, and a common one. Even you may be guilty of it. (32)

In Figure 6.2, Mary gains the affection of a handsome man in a tuxedo. A box in the bottom reads, “Play Safe—Twice a day and before a date—Use Colgate dental cream.”73 Like the ad in Figure 6.1, Figure 6.2 reminds the reader that brushing with Colgate safeguards one's romantic charm.

An ad from the December 26, 1942, issue of Collier's is an example of a Colgate ad targeted towards men using similar appeals to bad breath anxiety. In Figure 6.3, the headline makes an explicit appeal to men. “Why pick on women? Men Have Bad Breath Too!” the headline reads. A woman, suggestively posed, in the bottom right hand corner of the ad sends a strong sex appeal. She is shown saying in a speech bubble, “If it's kissin' you're missin' use Colgate Dental Cream.”74 There is a man shown in Figure 6.3, but he is a dentist and not shown as anyone's romantic interest. In 1943, the campaign made stylistic changes, but retained its appeals to insecurity and promises of attractiveness.

The ad shown in Figure 6.4 marks a change to comic book style serial narratives with speech bubbles. The protagonist in the narrative is a young lady, Sue, who has lost the attention of a young man named Bob in her first aid sessions. As the story unfolds in speech bubbles, the Colgate message comes out. Bad breath is the cause of her romantic troubles and is cured, at a dentist's recommendation, by brushing with Colgate toothpaste. In the second panel, Sue friend gives some familiar advice. “Could be Bob thinks you need some first aid Sue...some instruction

73 Colgate. Collier's. March 15, 1941: 32
74 Colgate. Collier's. December 26, 1942: 42

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Men Have
Bad Breath Too!

That's right, men—and she may mean YOU!
So here's a tip on what to do... Use Colgate Dental Cream—the toothpaste that cleans your breath while it cleans your teeth!

Colgate Dental Cream, you see, has an active penetrating foam that gets into the hidden crevices between teeth—helps clean out decaying food particles and stop the stagnant saliva odors that cause much bad breath.

And Colgate’s has a soft, safe polishing agent that cleans enamel thoroughly, yet gently—makes teeth naturally bright, sparkling! Besides, Colgate’s delicious, wake-up flavor makes it a favorite with children and grownups alike.
Figure 6.4 Colgate. *Collier’s*. January 16, 1943: 33
from your dentist...on bad breath!”75 At the narrative's conclusion, Sue wins the affection of a well-dressed, well-groomed Bob. In the next Colgate ad to appear in Collier's on February 13, 1943, as shown in Figure 6.5, the male in the narrative is dressed in a military uniform.

Figure 6.5 is the first appearance of a sexualized soldier in the campaign. In this ad, the G.I., Johnny seeks romance with a reluctant nurse. Johnny says in the headline speech bubble, “What I lack is vitamin Y-O-U.” To which the nurse replies, “Take off Johnny, you can't promote yourself with me.”76 The story takes a course very similar to previous Colgate ads. Johnny consults a dentist, brushes with Colgate, and wins the nurse's heart. It is important to note that the ad made no references to fighting, war, or wartime conditions. The soldier is the war theme. This ad, like many others from the campaign from 1943-1945, sexualizes the warrior without even mentioning the war.

An ad from the February 12, 1944 issue of Collier's, shown in Figure 6.6, used the Colgate advertising formula to target older men with appeals to attractiveness and marriage. The protagonist in this narrative is a sergeant who is all alone on Valentine's Day. In the first panel, the loveless sergeant holds a Valentine's card that reads:

To our Valentine. If it's kissin' you are missin' and you yearn to bill and coo. Get hep, Sargie! Ask your dentist what a guy like you should do! From Co. F. (32)77

At a private's recommendation, Sarge consults his dentist and gets engaged. By repeating the Colgate formula, the advertiser gave its audiences implied instructions. It is as if every Colgate ad said to the reader, “You might have bad breath and not know it. Your friends and lover might not tell you, and if they do you should thank them. Bad breath is a serious dental condition. You should consult your dentist. If you brush with Colgate, the girls/boys will not reject you

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75 Colgate. Collier's. January 16, 1943: 33
76 Colgate. Collier's. February 13, 1943: 25
77 Colgate. Collier's. February 12, 1944: 32
WHAT I LACK IS VITAMIN Y-O-U!

Figure 6.5 Colgate. Collier's. February 13, 1943: 25
Figure 6.6 Colgate. *Collier’s*. February 12, 1944: 32
anymore.” This simple formula takes on many permutations to gain the attention of a wide range of different target markets.

An ad from the September 1945 issue of Collier's targeted young men. In the Colgate ad shown in Figure 6.7, a young sailor sees a dentist at the advice of his girlfriend's little brother Tommie. Tommie's sister says, “You don't understand Tommie. There are some things you just can't tell people—and bad breath is one of them.” Tommie replies, “But Jack wasn't mad I told him to go see his dentist. He even gave me a quarter, see?” Colgate narratives tend to include a part of the story where a friend informs another of their bad breath, as Little Tommie does in Figure 6.7. It can be inferred from the advertising that the advertiser felt it necessary to address the issue of telling a friend about their breath. The advertising encouraged the reader to become more conscious of their own breath and that of others. It also functions to prime the reader to encounter situations where they might be telling a friend about their breath, or vice versa.

After the war, the men in Colgate ads became civilians again. None of the Colgate ads from Collier's in 1946 depicted military men. As can be seen in the ad in Figure 6.8 from the January 26, 1946 issue of Collier's, the only uniformed man on the page is a cab driver. Since none of the depictions of military men in Colgate's advertising in Collier's from 1941-1946 contained any combat or wartime conditions, the transition to civilian advertising is merely a change in men's wardrobe.

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78 Colgate. Collier's. September 22, 1945: 45
In Mid-Afternoon, the admiral went on an inspection tour beside a few of his officers. He found himself before a row of planes, all halted beside him on the steel concrete that was the end of the island. The admiral glanced at the navy yards beyond the sky and saw. Members of his staff gathered at the gangway, then saw the admiral come out of the first row of them in his car. He was talking to the chief of staff. "Heard anything new about coast defense?" he said to the chief of staff. "Nothing," said the admiral. "Nothing." He then turned and walked away.

Figure 6.7 Colgate. *Collier's*. September 22, 1945: 45
Figure 6.8 Colgate. Collier's. January 26, 1946: 67
Ponds

“She's Engaged! She's Lovely! She uses Pond's!” reads the headline in advertisements for Pond's brand cold cream, which appear in Ladies’ Home Journal, but not Collier's, for the time frame studied. The campaign remains consistent from 1941-1946 in using appeals to young women's marriage desires. The advertiser used these ads to position the brand towards upper class white high society women. This can be inferred from the consistent inclusion of high social elements, such as only displaying testimonials from women marrying rich, well-known, socially elite families. The ads in the Ponds campaign always mention the bride's popularity, family, and overall emphasize her social status.

Ads in the campaign depict real-life débutantes and brides-to-be of the social elite. The biographies presented in each ad mention the family to which the bride is born and the family to which she is marrying. The ads read like wedding announcements followed by instructions on how to apply cold cream to achieve bride-like beauty. The copy in Figure 7.1 from the September 1941 issue of Ladies' Home Journal begins with “HELEN HENDRICKS JONES of the well-known Atlanta family. Her engagement to Patman Moore Dobbins was announced on August 3rd” and goes on to explain how Pond's cold cream gave her a soft, smooth complexion. The copy then provides step-by-step instructions for a daily skin cleansing ritual with the product.

To further appeal to desires to marry upward socially, the caption below the bride's picture details the bourgeois environment in which she lives.

INVITATIONS TO HELEN'S WEDDING are being eagerly awaited by Atlanta society. Daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Winfield Payne Jones, of Atlanta's fashionable “North” side, Helen is on of Atlanta's prettiest, most popular girls with a soft-smooth complexion as lovely as the gardenias in her beautiful Southern garden. (35)
Figure 7.1 Pond's.  *Ladies' Home Journal*.  September 1941: 35
She's ENGAGED!
She's Lovely!
She uses Pond's!

SALLY, her fiance, Lucius Booe, Jr., of the Philadelphia Boecks, Sally's brother and father, dancing at the Barclay Hotel in Philadelphia. Sally is exquisite in romantic white—perfect with her wild-coloured and milk-white skin.

SALLY BRANNON
of the distinguished Dallas family
Gifted as she is beautiful, Sally speaks Spanish fluently, has been majoring in Romance languages, and plans to take her last year of college at the University of Mexico.

Another Pond's Bride-to-be

See what Sally's SOFT-SMooth
Glamour Care will do for your skin

She says, "I love my Pond’s cleansers—they’re so simple and they do so much.

First—SLATHER my face all over with Pond’s silky-soft Cold Cream. I put it in briskly up from my temple, over my cheeks and nose, on my forehead—so my face feels all glossy. Then I sponge off. This softens and takes off dirt and old make-up.

Second—I RINSE my face with lots more Cold Cream. Then sponge off again. My skin is inclined to be a little dry and this second cleansing softens it still more and leaves it clear as clean!"

Do this yourself! You'll love this Pond's SOFT-SMooth Glamour Care, too. The radiant clean look it gives your skin. The soft-smooth feel your face has after it.

Use Pond’s Cold Cream this way every night—for daytime clean-ups, too. See what a splendid cleanser it is. Very softening!

You'll see, too, why so many more women use Pond's than any other face cream at any price. Buy a jar today—at any beauty counter. Five popular-priced sizes. The most economical—the lovely big jars.

SALLY BRANNON'S ROMANCE is a military story.
Her engagement was announced July 29th by her parents, Captain and Mrs. E. H. Brannon, stationed near Philadelphia. Her fiancé, a member of a famous Philadelphia regiment and a trained pilot, is now flying for the R.C.A.F. "We probably won't be married very soon," she confided, "but we wanted our engagement announced before Lucius left for Canada."

Sally is tall and willowy, with dark brown hair, gray eyes and white, fine-textured skin. She believes her daily Pond's cleaning is a lot to keep her complexion so52ishly soft and smooth. It's an accident to many thousands of lovely engaged girls use Pond’s.

Send this
ROMANCE Coupon Today

POND’S. Dept. 5.15, Chicago, Ill.
Send me my special Pond's SOFT-SMooth Glamour Cold Cream for free sample. I am anxious to try your unique Pond’s for my complexion. (Please print my name and address, otherwise Pond's shall not be responsible for lost coupons.)

Address:

Figure 7.2 Pond’s. Ladies’ Home Journal. November 1941: 39
Accompanying her socialite pedigree is a photograph of her engagement ring, complete with description of the stone, cut, and metal used. From 1941-1946, the Ponds campaign retained this formula for catching the eye of the upper class: a photograph and biography of a real bride-to-be, instructions on how to use the cold cream, mentions of the family into which the bride is marrying, and a photograph and description of the bride's engagement ring.

Ponds Cold Cream advertisements from 1941 also contained “Romance coupons,” which were mail order coupons for a sample of the product. These coupons served to reinforce the notion that enhanced skin complexion could land one a husband in high society. Above the coupon, there is an illustration of Cupid with bow and arrow with the message “Pond's Girls Belong to Cupid.” Cupid's message is an explicit appeal to attractiveness and romance. The copy in the coupon reads, “Please send me quickly a generous sample of Pond's SOFT-SMooth Glamour Cold Cream, used by so many lovely engaged girls and by society beauties like Mrs. Nicholas Ridgely du Pont and Mrs. John Jacob Astor.”79 The combination of Cupid's message and society women's endorsement was designed to further stimulate the desire to marry, and marry well-to-do.

In an ad from November 1941, shown in Figure 7.2, the bride is marrying a military man. This is the first wartime theme to appear in this campaign. While not pictured (the Ponds campaign does not show images of the husband-to-be), the body copy signifies his military status. In the last paragraph in Figure 7.2, the copy reads:

SALLY BRANNON'S ROMANCE is a military story. Her engagement was announced July 28th by her parents, Captain and Mrs. E. P. Brannon, stationed near Philadelphia. Her fiancé, a member of a famous Philadelphia regiment and trained pilot, is now flying for the R.C.A.F. (39)

It is important to note the fiancé is not an American soldier, but rather, a Canadian soldier.

79 “She's ENGAGED!” Ladies' Home Journal. September 1941: 35.
Perhaps Ponds was trying to attract a Canadian audience. It is also possible that they wanted to use a military theme without making references to the war in Europe. Regardless, this use of an enlisted man carries the connotation of war to American audiences.

An advertisement in the July 1942 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* contains the campaign's first distinct American war message. In the ad, shown in Fig 7.3 depicts a war volunteer. This is the first mention of any kind within this campaign of war work. The biography reads:

> ANN HARE, beautiful young daughter of Mr. and Mrs. Emilio Spencer Hare of Park Avenue, New York...is Navy-minded. She works hard with Bundles for Bluejackets and the Navy Relief Society. (35)

Later ads from the Ponds campaign in 1942 would continue to include war messages in advertising. An increase in the depiction of military husbands can be observed. Also, the biographies in the Ponds campaign increasingly describe the bride-to-be's war effort activities.

An ad from the September issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* illustrates this phenomenon, as shown in Figure 7.4.

The scenario in Figure 7.4 is familiar. A young, pretty socialite is engaged to a member of the upper class. This time the bride, Marylin Bauer of Virginia, is a war volunteer who credits Pond's cold cream for helping her maintain her beauty while participating in “Canteen Duty” and volunteering for the “Motor Corps.” A sentence reads, “She's hardly had time even to dream about her wedding in September.”

This is an important change in the overall tone and message of the campaign in response to changes in American society. As more women began entering war work and volunteering, it became necessary for the Pond's campaign to respond by reflecting those changes. The advertising through the war's end depicts war volunteering as not only socially responsible, but also desirable. It should also be noted that Miss Bauer's fiancé is a

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Figure 7.3 Pond's. *Ladies' Home Journal*. July 1942: 35
Figure 7.4 Pond's. *Ladies' Home Journal*. September 1942: 37

medical student who will join
the U.S. Medical Corps. It is commonplace throughout the Pond's campaign for the brides depicted to be marrying military officers and other non-combatant personnel. In 1943, the campaign takes a more explicit appeal to the war effort.

A full-page ad from October 1943, shown in Figure 7.5, takes on a new style. Rather than spotlighting one bride, this ad contains five. Each bride depicted is shown engaged in some kind of war work. This is different from previous ads in the campaign. In earlier ads, the bride is shown in a glamorous pose along with a smaller picture of her in a social setting. Figure 7.5 is different in that it shifts more attention to war work than on glamor and popularity. The campaign abandoned the “She's Engaged! She's Lovely! She Uses Ponds!” headline for one that very clearly and explicitly addresses the labor shortage caused by the war. It reads, “These engaged girls are all war workers! You are needed too!” This ad effectively targets marriage-seeking young women by continuing to show real-brides in real-life situations. Figure 7.5 departs from its predecessors in that it devotes the bulk of the advertisement's body copy to addressing the war effort. Rather than include instructions on how to use the cold cream product, the body copy gives instructions on how and where for women to look for wartime jobs. The body reads:

Slim and pretty Anne Nissen, engaged to Larry Van Orden (now in the Army), sums it up like this: 'I couldn't have Larry do all the fighting, I wanted to do my share'...so she took the job a man left behind! What are you doing? Right now there are hundreds of different war jobs for women and girls—especially necessary home front jobs that need to be filled because the men who held them are now with our armed forces. The ad also effectively puts the product into the context of the times. Some copy in a sidebar reads, “A war job doesn't leave much time for fussy beauty care—so it means a lot to have a luscious, soft-smooth cream like Pond's to help keep your face bright and fresh and soft to touch.” By including this statement, Pond's presents its product as a solution for war workers.
Figure 7.5 Pond's. *Ladies' Home Journal*. October 1943: 45
Figure 7.6 Pond's. *Ladies' Home Journal.* April 1944: 47
Also bolstering the war effort theme in Fig 7.5 is a banner across the bottom that reads, “The more women at work—the sooner we'll win.” Next to the banner is a drawing of a hand holding a torch surrounded by the words “women war workers.” By including so many appeals to the war effort, Pond's positions itself as a patriotic brand and the choice of patriotic people. Pond's continues to pursue patriotic themes in 1944.

The ad in Figure 7.6 returns to the “She's Lovely!” motif augmented to include war messages. Instead of the headline reading “She's Engaged!” as in earlier ads, it instead reads “Cadet Nurse Engaged.” By showing brides involved in the war effort, the campaign continues to capture the marriage-seekers while simultaneously glorifying war work. As opposed to Figure 7.5, Figure 7.6 tones down the appeals to war workers in exchange for a more product-oriented message. The body copy reads:

Cadet Dorothy Forrester is studying at the California School of Nursing in Los Angeles, not far from her hometown in Vista. Her smooth, capable hands are learning to bring comfort at a touch. Eyes smile gratefully after her trim young figure in its white on-duty uniform—especially becoming with her glorious, dark hair and the soft, fresh-as-a-new-day look of her lovely complexion. (47)

This copy portrays the war worker nurse as sexually desirable much to the credit of her cold cream. In Figure 7.6, the war worker is protector of our armed forces and Pond's cold cream is the protector of her beauty, which is described as an essential element of her healing capabilities. The ad also presents a woman's participation in the war effort as sexually desirable. A caption reads,

'Charles is as glad as I am that I'm one of the Cadet Nurse Corps.,' Dorothy says, 'It makes us feel we're part of this war together. Dorothy wears the official Cadet Nurse suit of gray wool with red caplets and sleeve insignia. The beret matches the uniform and looks adorable with her soft-smooth Pond's complexion. (47)

Not only is the war effort patriotic, it's also sexy in Figure 7.6. Pond's ads continue spotlighting
bride-war workers through 1945. The campaign capitalizes on the popularity of patriotism in the ads.

In 1946, Ponds stopped making strong appeals to war work and returned to the generic “She's Engaged!” headline. Like the Camay campaign discussed earlier, the Pond's Cold Cream campaign made adjustments to its existing campaign when the social need was high to recruit women into the workplace. Once that need passed, it reverted to its civilian character and returns to appealing to social elitism, beauty, and the desire to marry.

Gem

The Gem campaign ran the famous “5 O'Clock shadow” in Collier's magazine from 1943-1946. Each Gem ad portrayed a man who regained his love life when he shaved with Gem razors. The women in Gem ads are always depicted with accentuated figures and are “head-over-heels” in love with their freshly shaved men. For the years studied, the Gem campaign also included wartime messages that addressed social needs, such as buying war bonds and boosting morale. The Gem campaign is also a rich source of sexualized soldiers, which are used from the campaign's first ad, which ran on August 14, 1943. It should be noted that the Gem campaign is inconsistent in their use of sexualized soldiers and wartime appeals. Some ads contain wartime messages with images of soldiers. Others show non-military men, but contain messages supporting the war. In other cases, the ad contains no soldier or wartime message, despite running during a war year.

Figure 8.1 is the first Gem ad to appear in Collier's for the time period studied. The headline reads, “Come out of that '5 O'Clock Shadow.'” The body copy warns the reader of the romantic perils of “5 O'Clock Shadow.” “You didn't think she noticed, did she? Man, that's a bad
Figure 8.1 Gem. Collier's. August 14, 1943: 51
GOODNIGHT held the drink in his hand and moved quickly to the door of the rear room. He threw it open before him and saw a table with a red cloth top. There was a plate on the table with a crescent half cut through and a cup of coffee half emptied. A chair stood away from the table, as though a man had hurriedly kicked it aside, had hurriedly departed. An open door at the rear of the saloon showed the direction of his departure. GOODNIGHT turned back and laid his whisky glass on the bar. The barkeep said, "You want that meal now?"

"Fry it up," said GOODNIGHT. He went swiftly over the saloon to the front door, and cast a sudden backward glance at the three men at the poker table as he left the place. They were sitting by; they were not in this deal. The barkeep had given the signal to the man eating in the rear room, but that was probably only the kind of protection he would have given a stranger on the run. It was a rule of the house. Coming to the road, he looked to both directions, made a quick decision and took the left, running the front width of the house and turning the corner of it sharply. It brought him to an alley lying between the saloon building and a small adjoining house. He saw a shape wheel at the far end and he heard the nagging of steps. He followed the alley and came out at the back edge of the town. He heard the faint crunch of a foot somewhere to his right, and looked that way and saw nothing. The man had disappeared in the darkness but a horse stood GOODNIGHT's horse, behind the hotel in the saloon. He opened the hotel wall and stepped toward the horse. When he came upon it and looked closely at its markings he knew he had caught up with Theo McSween. He was on the near side of the horse and reached out and untied the bridle and brought it over to the saddle and carried it on until he came against a pile of boxes and rubbish behind the saloon. He jumped the saddle in the pile and ran away. If McSween ran away now it would be bareback, he wouldn't get far before being overhauled.

GOODNIGHT paused a moment, trying to guess the man's actions. McSween was behind him, moving toward the other end of the building line, circling and retracing and trying for a fair shot. Therefore GOODNIGHT continued on until he reached the corner of the saloon building and crept along the side of its wall until he reached the road and the front edge of the building. He looked down the street and saw nothing and observed that the few lights which had been in this town when he had entered it were now dimmed down. 

Figure 8.2 Gem. Collier's. September 11, 1943: 36
error! Every woman notices '5 O'Clock Shadow' – that messy afternoon beard stubble.” The illustrated male in this ad wears an Army private's cover.

The Gem campaign not only sexualizes men in uniform, but women too. The ad in Figure 8.2 contained illustrations of two sexy, uniformed women. With hands out, palms forward, they declare, “We're against '5 O'Clock Shadow!'” The body copy follows the same pattern as in Figure 8.1. It reads,

"Take it from the Girls in blue and khaki that women like men who keep chin-smooth all the time. What unsightly "5 O'Clock Shadow" does to your appearance shouldn't happen to you—ever! (36)

Figure 8.2 also contains a message pertaining to war shortages, without specifically mentioning the war. A sentence in small print at the bottom of the ad reads, “Your Gem razor must last you for the duration, dry it carefully after each shave.” Short messages relating to the war appeared sporadically throughout the Gem campaign from 1943-1945.

Some Gem ads, while not depicting a soldier, still contained an explicit appeal to the war effort. The ad in Figure 8.3 shows an illustration of a buxom secretary who has fallen in love with her company's president. The caption reads, “But I don't want to go home since you got rid of that '5 O'Clock Shadow'!” In a second illustration, the president and secretary are walking down the church aisle in tuxedo and bridal gown, respectively. A box of text above the logo reads, “Let's all back the attack. Buy War Bonds!” The appeal to patriotism is explicit, yet the ad contains no sexualized soldier.

To further illustrate the inconsistency of the Gem campaign's use of sex appeals and wartime messages, consider the ad in Figure 8.4 from the February 26, 1944, issue of Collier's.

81 Gem. Collier's. August 14, 1943: 51
82 Gem. Collier's. September 11, 1943: 36
83 Gem. Collier's. September 11, 1943: 36
84 Gem. Collier's. January 11, 1944: 61
Figure 8.3 Gem. Collier's. January 22, 1944: 61
Two Parts Make a Whole

The welders went to work, and in a few days the parts were joined—the NO was whole again. Originally she had been an oiler job; now she was a hybrid, sister of her welder, and better than ever. She was part New York, where she was built originally, part San Francisco, which gave her her new section. And yet she came from places where it called her the Yawling when they didn’t call her, affectionately, the “NO.”

But she wasn’t through yet. Later, a new ship came into port, on route to Dry Island for repairs. They lifted out NO. I stayed and had it on a picture months later, a crane picked it up, lowered it into the new bow of the ship.

Around the Navy Yard they tell you: “The new bow wasn’t the main thing. Whole ship had been modernized, faster and more deadly fighting than ever. Today she’s at sea, in battle trim, looking for ‘em—this is a simple story of a stanchion that, torn into two and wounded almost to death, fought on and was kept alive by gallant and determined crew; of how she saved her and brought her home to war and fight again. Maybe one day there’ll be a grim coming down in the steaming channels, even the mangrove islands, when the colors of the Miracle Ship shout again. The END.

“I know I shouldn’t have turned out the lights, darling, but I’m trying to remember who told me about Gem Blades.”

You’ll be surprised how your luck and life will improve if you avoid ‘5 o’clock Shadow’.

Everyone likes the man with the clean chin.

Gem Singleedge Blades keep you face-put together longer because Gem’s deep wedge-edge is stopped to super-sharpen and stays that way for shave after shave. Next time try Gem!”

Avoid ‘5 o’clock Shadow’ with GEM RAZORS and BLADES

It’s just for the duration!

Collier’s for February 26, 1944
Figure 8.5 Gem. Collier's. April 8, 1944: 75
This ad makes explicit appeals to attractiveness and marriage without using a soldier or war message. Figure 8.4 contains two illustrations of a man and woman in a romantic setting. The first caption reads, “You mean you would said “Yes” before—if I'd got rid of my “5 O'Clock Shadow?” In the second illustration, the lovers are sitting cheek-to-cheek in the dark. No war messages or themes appeared in Figure 8.4.

An ad from the April 8, 1944 issue of Collier's depicts the male love interest as a sailor who has sneaked his lover on board his ship in a mailbag (see Figure 8.5). Later that month, in the April 22, 1944 issue, the ad is not about soldiers, but Eskimos (see Figure 8.6). Neither ad contains messages promoting the war. And yet, an ad appearing two months later in the June 24, 1944, issue contains a very strong, explicit war message.

The ad shown in Figure 8.7 is completely geared towards supporting the national bond drive. The illustration, set at a war bond drive, depicts a smiling G.I. in the embrace of a swooning, sexy booster. The caption reads, “I've been up against this ever since I got rid of my '5 O'Clock Shadow.'” The copy goes on to raise support for the war bond drive. “Back the Attack!,” it reads, “Buy more than before!” This blatant appeal to patriotism appeared occasionally, and without consistency, throughout the Gem campaign.

The razor company's ads in 1945 exhibited the same inconsistency in application of war appeals and depictions of sexualized soldiers. An ad from the July 23, 1945 issue of Collier's, shown in Figure 8.8, depicts a man in a suit who has attracted the attention of a highly accentuated bond booster. The sign behind her reads, “BUY BONDS! GET INTEREST!” The caption reads in the woman's voice, “How much interest??? Plenty—now that you're rid of your

80 Gem. Collier's. February 26, 1944: 59
87 Gem. Collier's. April 8, 1944: 75
88 Gem. Collier's. April 22, 1944: 73
89 Gem. Collier's. June 24, 1944: 73
Figure 8.6 Gem. *Collier’s*. April 22, 1944: 73
Figure 8.7 Gem. Collier's. June 24, 1944: 73
Figure 8.8 Gem. Collier’s. June 23, 1945: 58
'5 O'Clock Shadow’.” A text box contains a message encouraging the buying of war bonds. It reads, “7th War Loan. Get behind it for all you're worth!” Capitalizing on patriotic themes, Figure 8.8 differs from later ads in 1945 that depart from appeals to patriotism. An ad from the August 11, 1945, issue of Collier's, shown in Figure 8.9, contains an illustration depicting every man's dream: fishing in the loving embrace of a woman. At the bottom of the ad is a gray box. In previous Gem ads, this gray box was used for pro-war messages such as “The Enemy is Listening. Loose Talk Costs Lives” (see Figure 8.10). However, in Figure 8.9, the gray box space is used to promote a Tuesday evening radio show called “The Falcon.” From this point in time through the end of 1946, Gem returns to its civilian character, as soldiers stop appearing in the ads and wartime messages were replaced with “The Falcon.”

It is important to consider the purpose of advertising a men's shaving product in a women's magazines. Rather than selling men's razors to women, Gem sold the “5 O'Clock Shadow.” The advertiser sought to condition female audiences to become conscious and leery of mid-afternoon stubble through several years of repetition of themes. If the advertising were truly effective, then women would begin to prefer smooth faces and men would respond by purchasing Gem razors.

Hygiene ads from the time period make value propositions similar to the previous set of soap ads. As the United States becomes more involved in the war, patriotism also becomes one of these propositions. Advertisers promote use of beauty products is an act of patriotism itself. The advertisers position beauty maintenance, through using creams and toothpastes, as an important wartime duty. Some ads, such as the Ipana campaign, combine this use of patriotism with appeals to women to join the war workforce.

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91 Gem. Collier's. August 11, 1945: 73
These campaigns deliver a sexual promise, that the reader will either be rewarded with romance by using the products (Camay), or hindered by not using the product (Ipana “pink toothbrush”). During the war years, from 1942-1945, the male love interest depicted in these campaigns is an enlisted man. Similar to the soap campaigns, the male subject transitions from military to civilian in hygiene ads after the war concludes.
Figure 8.9 Gem. Collier's. August 11, 1945: 73
e rode into the ranch yard, hearing trouble coming the last he’d seen of it. He told her, sharply, so as to be sure. So, Tim rode in and Lottie stayed on the horse and turned it to. They’d never ever turned it, even if they had to, because... Lottie said, “Lottie, tell me Mr. Crimmin had asked for you. Your pa and I both expect you. You won’t be late, will you?”

Tim rode into the ranch yard later that same night. Mammy was alarmingly quiet. Tim seemed to be whispering, talking horses. “Pa says he’s put his hand into the fire, and he had something there he had to take out. Half didn’t go up, but he turned them out.”

She saw the word bit in the, he said gravely, but Mammy was quiet. “Well, I can’t say it isn’t good for the girls,” he said at Lottie, and those fiery blue eyes again in his eyes, but he said quietly and more away, “Pa,” the she said. “You don’t have to,” the cowboy answering, “you can see how nervous he’s made.”

I want you should go up tomorrow,” Pa said. “Pa said, “Mr. Tim, our go up to marry and he might as well know it now as to wait for all embarrassment later.”

while, thinking, he said at last, “I think you’re mountain out of a mousehill. Tim is a good neighbor and I’m not there insulting him. Not at this time. Not tomorrow either. The successful proud of one of our girls.”

He stood up quietly, folded her and touched her back hair with a hand.

“The only really wise thing,” she said, “for me to take the girls back to my house.” Pa perfunctorily left.

“You’re putting up a much better front, Herbert, since you got rid of that 5 o’clock Shadow?”

SO WILL YOU!

People don’t see your heart of gold. They do see your 5 o’clock Shadow. Avoid it! Shave with a genuine Gem Blade! Gem’s famous deep wedge-edge gets the beard at the base—makes you look your best and keeps you that way longer. Try Gem today!

AVOID ‘5 O’CLOCK SHADOW WITH GEM

AZORS AND BLADES

THE ENEMY IS LISTENING!

Loose Talk Costs Lives

Collier’s July 14, 1945

Figure 8.10 Gem. Collier’s. July 14, 1945: 69
4. MAKE-UP: TANGEE, MAX FACTOR, AND AVON

Make-up advertising campaigns prior to the war years made appeals to glamour and attractiveness. Indeed, these themes continue during the war but are accompanied by messages related to the war effort. Like the hygiene ads discussed earlier, make-up ads from this period of women’s magazines make the case for maintaining one’s beauty as part of one’s patriotic duty. Using, for example, Tangee lipstick was positioned as equally as important as war work. Campaigns also contained appeals to purchase war bonds and engage in other home front activities. These appeals to home front activities are consistent with other ads studied in this thesis, and also similarly, these appeals disappear from the campaign after the war’s conclusion.

**Tangee**

Tangee lipstick ads appeared in *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1941-1946. The campaign undertook stylistic changes discussed in this chapter. Throughout the years studied, Tangee promoted itself as the fashionable choice of a broad range of women, married and unmarried. From 1942-1945, the Tangee campaign used war appeals in the advertising. As the war progressed, the wartime themes become increasingly explicit. As war messages become more prominent in the campaign, the target demographic shifted from a broad base of women to women war workers. Then towards the end of the war, the target demographic shifted back to a broader market of women and messages containing wartime themes no long appear in Tangee ads. The war messages began to appear in 1942 with appeals to wartime fashionableness and
Figure 9.1 Tangee. *Ladies' Home Journal*. November 1941: 61
Figure 9.2 Tangee. *Ladies' Home Journal*. August 1942: 78
later began depicting war workers combined with appeals to purchasing war bonds. First, it is necessary to examine a prewar Tangee ad for reference.

The one-quarter page ad shown in Figure 9.1 contains appeals directed to married mothers and unwed teenagers. Three panels with captions tell the story of a woman who meets her future husband at a high school football game. The headline reads, “I met your Father at a Football Game...the first time I wore lipstick!” The narrative goes on to explain how Tangee Natural lipstick made her more attractive, landing her a handsome husband. The third panel makes appeals to teenagers. The caption reads, “Now you're leading the cheers...it's time to share my Tangee beauty secrets with you...Tangee's economical larger size is a blessing to a schoolgirl's allowance!” This ad makes strong appeals to attractiveness but contains no wartime themes. An ad from 1942 demonstrates a change in the campaign to include a war message to reach women war workers.

In a half-page advertisement, shown in Figure 9.2, that ran in the August 1942 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, an appeal to war workers can be observed. The body copy of the ad describes Tangee's beautifying properties: “Exciting color. Perfectly balanced texture...not too moist, not too dry.” This ad differs from its 1941 counterparts in that it makes no promise of romantic activity. While full of product claims, the ad does not mention how men will react to Tangee lipstick. Rather, it positions the product as the superior lipstick on the market. This ad contains the first mention of wartime conditions in a tiny sentence at the bottom of the page. In a separated text box, the ad lists different variants of Tangee lipstick, including Tangee Natural, which is described in the ad as, “‘Beauty for Duty...conservative make-up for women in uniform.” The advertiser assumed that women involved in the war effort would need a “work”

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lipstick, and positioned the very same shade as advertised in Figure 9.1 as the wartime solution for conservative lip color. This one sentence is the only war message in Figure 9.2. As the war accelerated, Tangee ads would contain more war messages.

The ad shown in Figure 9.3 shows a woman in a military uniform hat applying Tangee lipstick. It stresses the importance of looking attractive while serving the country. The headline reads, “Be Alert...and Alluring!” Attractiveness in uniform is further stressed in the body copy. “You needn't take off your attractiveness when you up on a uniform!”95 The pictured uniformed woman and body copy make for much stronger war themes. The change in war messages indicates that the advertiser has shifted target demographics, from a wide range of women including teenagers to the narrower market of war workers, perhaps because women war workers possessed increased buying power.

Figure 9.3 also contains a non-product message encouraging the purchase of war bonds. It reads, “Needle Hitler with your Pin Money—Buy War Bonds and Stamps.”96 Similar messages encouraging war bond purchases appear in other Tangee ads from 1944. For example, an ad from the June 1944 issue of Ladies’ Home Journal contains the message, “Every war bond you buy—shortens the war!”97 As shown in Figure 9.4, this ad too positioned Tangee as the preferred lipstick of war workers. The headline reads, “Giving all your time all the time? Tangee’s Satin-Finish Lipsticks will keep you Lovely, Longer!”98 The first sentence of the body copy makes an explicit appeal to war workers. “With wartime duties and your regular activities monopolizing more and more of your energy, it's no wonder that you are eager for any suggestion that will save you both TIME and WORRY.” The ads from 1944 in Figs. 9.2 and 9.3

A Tangee Satin-Finish Lipstick will help you
Be Alert...and Alluring!

BY CONSTANCE LUFT MUNN
HEAD OF THE HOUSE OF TANGEE

You needn’t take off your attractive tires when you put on a uniform!
That’s a suggestion I pass along to you from the many women
with whom a Tangee Satin-Finish Lipstick is always “indispensable.”

Here, at last, is a lipstick that
combines rich, natural coloring with
a softness and smoothness of texture
never before achieved. Whether
you choose Tangee Red-Red,
Tangee Theatrical Red, Tangee Medium-Red, or Tangee Natural...
you can trust it to keep that safiny
been despite hours on duty in all
kinds of weather!

And whether you’re “in the alert”...
or frankly alluring... don’t forget
to match your complexion with your
own right shade of the new Tangee
Satin-Finish Face Powder and the
companion rouge to your Tangee
Satin-Finish Lipstick!

TANGEE Lipsticks
with the new Satin-Finish

TANGEE Face Powder
with the new Satin-Finish

NEEDLE HITLER with YOUR PIN MONEY—LET WAR BURBS AND STAMPS

Figure 9.3 Tangee. Ladies' Home Journal. March 1944: 75
Giving all your time all the time?

Tangee's Satin-Finish Lipsticks will keep you Lovely, Longer!

By Constance Luft Huhn
Head of the House of Tangee

With wartime duties and your regular activities monopolizing more and more of your energy, it’s no wonder that you are eager for any suggestion that will save you both TIME and WORRY. Here is such a suggestion: choose your next lipstick from among Tangee’s Satin-Finish “quartet”…

Tangee Medium-Red, Tangee Natural, Tangee Lipsticks with the new Satin-Finish
Tangee Red-Red, Tangee Theatrical Red, Tangee Petal-Finish

Tangee Lipsticks with the new Satin-Finish
Tangee Petal-Finish Face Powder!

Figure 9.4 Tangee. *Ladies' Home Journal*. June 1944: 76
do not promise more attention from men, but rather the preservation of femininity in spite of the hardships and stress of war work. An ad from September 1944 further stressed the importance of preserving femininity in the face of war. The half-page ad, shown in Figure 9.5, makes a very explicit appeal to the preservation of femininity. The top half of the ad shows the faces of seven smiling, heavily-lipsticked uniformed women. In an assertion of femininity, the headline reads, “We are still the weaker sex.” The body copy begins with a sentence that reads, “Many of us may be serving shoulder to shoulder with America's fighting men—but we're still the weaker sex. It's still up to us to appear as alluring and lovely as possible.” Like many other campaigns for women's health and beauty products that appeared in *Ladies' Home Journal*, this ad reinforces the idea that part of a woman war worker's duty is to remain sexually attractive, despite difficult circumstances as a result of separation from lovers, war work, diminished free time, and home front activities.

In the May 1945 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, Tangee removes war messages completely from their campaign. As can be seen in Figure 9.6, Tangee returns to its style of positioning the brand as the preferred choice of lipsticks among women. Figure 9.6 contains no images of war workers, uniformed women, “beauty for duty” messages, or appeals to buy war bonds. Tangee advertisements from 1946 reaffirm that war messages were left out of the campaign.

The ad shown in Figure 9.7 describes Tangee lipstick as the preferred choice of Hollywood elite, who, according to the ad, are the most beautiful women. “In Hollywood—city of beautiful women—Tangee's newest color creation in lipsticks...Gay-Red...has made a sensational success.” The ad makes promises of beauty, but this time without mentioning war

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Figure 9.5 Tangee. *Ladies' Home Journal*. September 1944: 122
Lipstick Quiz for Smart Women

Right or Wrong?
Making up in public? Some etiquette books say yes, but most women say no. But the smartest women say necessarily. They use long-lasting Tangee Satin-Finish Lipstick.

How Many Colors in Tangee?
Four! Tangee Red-Red—very exciting! Tangee Theatrical Red—then your lips! Tangee Medium-Red and Tangee Natural.

Is She Old-Fashioned?
Yes, her dry lips are out-of-date. Tangee Satin-Finish insures smooth-careful lips that are not too dry—not too moist.

Who is She?
Connie Luft Hulsh, leading authority on beauty...head of the House of Tangee and creator of Tangee Satin-Finish Lipstick.

Figure 9.6 Tangee. Ladies' Home Journal. May 1945: 94
Figure 9.7 Tangee. *Ladies' Home Journal.* February 1946: 137
workers or women in the military. It can be inferred that after the war's end the advertiser wished to shift the target demographic again to a broader range of women. Anticipating victory in Europe and Japan, Tangee began pulling war messages in May 1945 and does not use them again throughout 1946.

Max Factor

Ads for Max Factor make-up appeared throughout Ladies' Home Journal from 1941-1945. The campaign, similar to the Lux Toilet Soap campaign, promotes the Max Factor brand as the preferred choice of make-up used by Hollywood actresses. The ads appeal to the viewer's desire to appear glamorous and attractive. Along with product claims, appeals to attractiveness can be found in these ads in illustrations of women who used the product and received attention from men. These men, usually dressed in formal clothes, began wearing uniforms in 1943, and continue to do so through to the campaign's end in December 1945. Beginning in 1942, Max Factor ads included messages encouraging the purchase of war bonds. These messages appear only sporadically in advertisements from 1942-1944.

The full page ad in Figure 10.1, from the October 1941 issue of Ladies' Home Journal, is typical of the Max Factor campaign. A movie star, in this case United Artist actress Ilona Massey, strikes a glamorous pose. Her photograph is surrounded by illustrations of women being adored by men. It should be noted that these men are not soldiers. While the illustrations promise more attractiveness, the ad's body copy conveys a sense of fashionableness and durability. “Your lovely image in tour mirror will thrill you the very first time you make up with this modern discovery. You'll see new complexion, beautiful in color, smooth as a pearl. Hours later you'll remark you haven't had to re-powder.”

It should be noted that this prewar ad contained no war messages or depictions of soldiers as romantic lovers. In contrast, 1942 Max

Figure 10.1 Max Factor. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. October 1941: 109
Figure 10.2 Max Factor. *Ladies' Home Journal*. December 1942: 44
is a small box that reads “For Victory BUY United States Savings Bonds and Stamps.” This identical war message appeared in the Max Factor campaign through March 1944.

The message “For Victory...” does not appear consistently from 1942-1944. The campaign does, however, consistently depict military men as sexual ideal through the campaign's duration. The ad in Figure 10.3 is a typical Max Factor ad. The actress, this time Barbara Stanwyck, is photographed in a glamorized pose. Her image is surrounded by illustrations of soldiers in romantic situations with smiling women. Figure 10.3, from the April 1943 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* contains the first occurrence of a sexualized soldier. The men in Max Factor ads would continue to be soldiers throughout 1945. It should be noted that the ad in Figure 10.3 does not make any appeal to purchasing war bonds. In contrast, the ad in Figure 10.4, from the March 1944 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* does in fact contain both sexualized soldiers and a “For Victory” message box.

A Max Factor ad that appeared in the November 1944 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal* is a bit of a stylistic oddball, as shown in Figure 10.5. The ad departs from the traditional layout. Rather than show a glamorized photograph of a female movie star, the ad shows a photographed scene from the set of the MGM production “Thirty Seconds Over Tokyo.” The ad depicts a Women's Army Corps officer spending some time on the set with actors and members of the movie production crew. The headline and subhead read:

*On the set for “THIRTY SECONDS OVER TOKYO” at M-G-M Studio. A Wac* gets an intimate glimpse of this Metro-Goldwyn-Mayer motion picture and visits with Van Johnson and Phyllis Thaxter, who play Capt. And Mrs. Ted W. Lawson, Marvyn LeRoy, the director, and Hal Rosson, the director of photography. *Women's Army Corps urgently needs you. Join the WAC now! (154)*

The wartime message in Figure 10.5 is the overall theme of the ad, rather than a side note as in
Look your loveliest... in just a few seconds

* It creates a lovely new complexion

* It helps conceal tiny complexion faults

* It stays on for hours without re-powdering

When you look in your mirror after you first try Pan-Cake Make-Up, you’ll be utterly fascinated with your own new beauty. You’ll see a new complexion, lovely in color, smooth as a pearl, and flawless... a perfect make-up that will remain fresh and lovely for hours without retouching. Originated for Technicolor pictures by Max Factor Hollywood, Pan-Cake Make-Up is now the popular fashion with millions of girls and women. Try it today... for a thrilling adventure in beauty.

PAN-CAKE* MAKE-UP

ORIGINATED BY

Max Factor * Hollywood

Figure 10.3 Max Factor. *Ladies’ Home Journal.* April 1943: 85
Figure 10.4 Max Factor. *Ladies' Home Journal*. March 1944: 79 Factor ads included messages
that promoted war bonds. This text and logo are seemingly unrelated to the rest of the content of the ad.

From September 1942 through December 1942, Max Factor augmented their traditional “movie star” make-up ads with brief messages that encouraged the purchase of war bonds. As shown in Figure 10.2, from the December 1942 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, the war message other Max Factor ads. The recruitment message does not reappear in Max Factor's 1941-1946 advertising campaign.

Max Factor did not use any observable war bond messages in their campaign after 1944. An ad from May 1945, shown in Figure 10.6, has no war message besides sexualized soldiers. Max Factor ads from 1945 would be similar. They contained images of movie stars, glamorized product claims, sexualized soldiers, and no war message.
Figure 10.5 Max Factor. *Ladies' Home Journal.* November 1944: 154
Here's a younger accent
for your beauty!...discover how easy it is to
add a touch of glamour with "Pan-Cake"

* It creates a lovely new complexion

* It helps conceal tiny complexion faults

* It stays on for hours
  without re-powdering

Now...in just a few seconds...you can
dramatize the appeal of your beauty...like
famous Hollywood screen stars do...with
"Pan-Cake". This modern make-up will give
you the thrill of a new complexion...soft,
smooth-as-a-pearl, and young-looking. And
remember, there is only one "Pan-Cake"
the original, created by Max Factor Hollywood
for Technicolor pictures, the screen stars and
for you. Try it today!

Pan-Cake Make-Up
AN EXCLUSIVE FORMULA PROTECTED BY U.S. PATENT NO. 2624979-9110973
ORIGINATED BY MAX FACTOR HOLLYWOOD

Figure 10.6 Max Factor. *Ladies' Home Journal.* May 1945: 89
Avon

The Avon campaign running in *Ladies' Home Journal* from 1941-1946 went through three distinct phases. In the first phase, Avon ads typically emphasized the brand's couture fashionableness, the wide variety of products, and the benefits of purchasing the beauty products through an official Avon sales representative. This first phase can be observed in Avon ads from 1941-1944. Beginning in June 1944, Avon ads drastically change. In phase two ads, Avon used their ad space to tell the story of an important woman in the history of American wars. Each ad from this phase contains a new story of a different woman. These ads glorified women at war and instilled a sense of patriotism for war work. These phase two ads also promoted Avon products, but this promotional message is secondary to the stories of women at war. In January 1946, the last ad to appear from this phase appeared. After January 1946, Avon ads returned to focusing on the product's benefits and sales representatives, and no longer contain war messages.

An ad from the October 1941 issue, shown in Figure 11.1, demonstrates the first phase formula. In the ad, a photographed model wears a big, straight designer hat. The headline reads, “Hats to go straight this fall,” says Lilly Dasche, noted hat designer.”103 The body copy further reinforces the couture nature of the brand. It reads,

> And straight to your heart will go this entrancing hat designed for Avon by Lilly Dache. Worn squarely on the head, it completes, from head to toe, the straighter slimmer figure silhouette for fall. Avon stylists, too, present cosmetics attuned to both fall fashion color and your own complexion requirements. These exquisite Avon beauty aids are custom styled for your type. (126)

The ad shown in Figure 11.2 is the first ad of the second phase of Avon advertising. These ads make explicit appeals to patriotism, while the messages about the product became secondary to the patriotic message. The headline in Figure 11.2 reads, “The Patriotism in her
“Hats to go straight this fall,” says Lilly Dache. "Avon.
Ladies' Home Journal. October 1941: 126
The Patriotism in her Heart
Burned Wheat Fields

It took courage that day in October 1941 for California
Schaper to carry the torch to
her husband's wheat fields, or that flood could not
fall into the hands of the enemy.

The flames have consumed the wheat fields on the Schaper estate near Sausalito burned with
no greater sincerity than the patriotism in
California Spirited Heart.

Today in the manner in which
women are facing the problems of
war there is a pride evident that
this spark of patriotism has never been
extinguished.

In addition to the desire of each to
be useful to her country in some way or to her
determination to be lovely at the same
time. This is why—so many of today's
busy women see the convenient
Avon method of obtaining cosmetics.

Selection of exquisite beauty aids is
made unhurriedly and pleasantly in
the home—bought there by a friendly Avon
representative whose sole purpose it is
to bring you new beauty.

BE HOSTESS TO LOVELINESS

Figure 11.2 Avon. Ladies' Home Journal. June 1944: 121
Heart Burned Wheat Fields.” 104 The body copy tells the story of Catherine Schuyler, who, according to the ad, burned down her wheat fields in October 1777 to keep enemy soldiers from having access to them. A paragraph of copy reinforces the appeal to patriotism. “Today in the manner in which women are facing the problems of war there is ample evidence that this spark of patriotism has never been extinguished.” 105

Avon continued to pursue a patriotic image in an ad from the January 1945 issue of *Ladies' Home Journal*, shown in Figure 11.3. The headline reads, “Her courage lives Today.” 106 An illustration depicts a woman in colonial men's clothing. The caption reads:

*Dressed as a man, Deborah Sampson Gannett volunteered her services in the American Revolutionary War in 1778. She fought with zeal and fervor and was twice wounded before her identity was discovered and she was given an honorable discharge by General Washington.* (64)  

While the story shared a rare depiction of a woman involved in such a masculine activity as combat, the body copy of the ad reinforces the status quo. It reads:

*Today, everything possible is done so that women may readily join the armed services. They are welcome because they are women, and as such, are lending loveliness and graciousness as well as courage and competence to each job they undertake.* (64)  

Beauty is, according to the Avon ad, a woman's patriotic duty. The ad positions Avon as the key to such lovely patriotism.

In March 1945, Avon ran a non-product ad, shown in Figure 11.4, which glorified the work of the Red Cross. The ad differs from other Avon ads in that it makes no mention of make-up. Keeping with the second phase theme, patriotism is the hallmark of Figure 11.4. The ad honors Elizabeth Schuller, a Red Cross worker who landed in Normandy, with the Avon

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Dressed as a man, Deborah Sampson Gunnell volunteered her services in the American Revolutionary War in 1778. The height, youth, and beauty of her body had been discovered and she was given an honorable discharge by General Washington.

Today, everything possible is done so that women may readily join the armed forces. They are welcome because they are women, and as such, are lending loveliness and gentleness as well as courage and competence to each job they undertake. The courage of Deborah Sampson Gunnell is symbolized by every one of these women in the armed forces and on the home front who desires to be useful to her country, and is determined to be lovely at the same time.

Avon’s patriotic pledge is to pave the road to new loveliness, a loveliness that becomes an integral part of your charm. The Avon way of selecting exquisite beauty aids appeals to busy women everywhere because they are purchased unhurriedly and pleasantly in the homes—bought there by a friendly Avon representative.

Figure 11.3 Avon. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. January 1945: 64
A tribute to the Red Cross

For outstanding service to the Red Cross and to America by materially aiding morale on the battlefield, Avon presents the Medallion of Honor for Women of Achievement to Miss Elizabeth Schuller of Montclair, N.J.

Miss Schuller’s devotion to duty is typical of the unstinting contribution that thousands of Red Cross workers, here and abroad, are making to alleviate the suffering of others. On all fronts the Red Cross is the first to bring comfort to fighting men and prisoners, and cheer to distressed civilians.

Our efforts at home must not slacken. Give generously NOW... KEEP YOUR RED CROSS AT HIS SIDE IN 1945!

Avon

COSMETICS • AT RADIO CITY, NEW YORK

Figure 11.4 Avon. *Ladies’ Home Journal*. March 1945: 106
Medallion of Honor. Avon continued to associate the brand with patriotism by awarding the Medallion of Honor each month until January 1946.

Avon ads did not appear again in *Ladies' Home Journal* until May 1946, when the third observable phase of advertising began. This ad, shown in Figure 11.5, showed an illustration of a woman in a long evening gown. The entire body copy reads:

*Gay, new excitement for lips, cheeks and fingertips. Avon's Leading Lady Red is a clear, brilliant red—perfect with the frosty pastels and gay freedom color of this Spring. Your Avon Representative will bring it to you. Welcome her when she calls. Be a hostess to loveliness.* (217)

The Avon campaign shifted completely away from appeals to patriotism and war themes, leaving them out entirely. Instead, this ad focuses on promoting a particular shade of lipstick, Leading Lady Red. Like the phase one ads, the ad in Figure 11.5 focuses on product benefits and the ubiquitous Avon sales representative. It is as if once the war was over, appeals to patriotism were either deemed unnecessary, ineffective, or both.

These make-up campaigns in 1946 demonstrate a clear shift away from including reminders of war in advertising in women’s magazines. The ads abruptly remove all war messages from their advertising. Max Factor removes appeals to buy war bonds. Tangee no longer portrays women as patriotic war workers. Avon stops using any appeals to patriotism altogether. The sudden disappearance of war messages in these make-up campaigns is consistent with patterns observed in soap and hygiene advertising of the same period.

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Figure 11.5 Avon. *Ladies' Home Journal*. May 1946: 217.
5. CONCLUSION

Ads for health and beauty products in women's magazines from 1941-1946, though different in how they apply sex appeals and wartime messages, follow some noticeable patterns. For example, the disappearance of the soldier in these advertising campaigns after the war's end is consistent throughout the campaigns included in this study. Perhaps this is because when fighting men came home, they took off their uniforms in exchange for suits and slacks. It is also possible that after the war, advertisers wanted to avoid unpleasant subjects, the war being the most unsavory memory in Americans’ minds in 1946. Whatever the intentions of the advertisers, the campaigns discussed in this study discontinued war messages by early 1946.

Another consideration is the function of the sexualized soldier. The campaigns covered in this thesis rely heavily on depictions of military lovers throughout the war years. It is important to note that often these ads appeared concurrently with fiction about romantic encounters with soldiers, sailors, and pilots. Honey wrote:

The campaign to mobilize women through popular fiction and advertising provides a model of how artists can attempt subtly to shape cultural attitudes, to effect a kind of social engineering through using frameworks with proven appeal. (9) Sexualized soldiers were part of this “proven appeal.” By including romanticized soldiers in advertising, the advertisers captured the attention-grabbing power of the military man's sexuality. Conversely, the pervasive idealization of soldiers reinforced the framework itself. It sent the message to millions of women that soldiers were indeed ideal partners.

The shift to civilian themes in the advertising after the war also reflects the advertisers'
opportunistic attitudes towards addressing social issues in their advertising. These campaigns use wartime messages to capitalize on the nation's patriotism. Patriotic themes were popular because they made the brand popular. When the need for patriotism receded, so did the social messages.

Women war workers are not observed in these ads to be particularly the focus of sex appeals in the advertising. More often in these ads, women are shown as either patriotic women taking on wartime roles, or women in positions of aspiration, such as Pond’s high-society wedding engagement ads or Max Factor’s Hollywood glamour campaign. Only in Gem’s cartoonish razor ads are there hyperbolized depictions of women as volunteers and in other wartime roles. These women are shown with exaggerated features and suggestive expressions with appeals to buy war bonds. The Gem campaign is fundamentally different from the other health and beauty campaigns of the World War II period. Gem razors are a men’s hygiene product, and therefore the ads may seek to appeal to male audiences. In the other campaigns studied, women are glamorized but are not presented to attract the male eye. Rather the women in health and beauty advertising of this period present a familiar woman whom the advertiser apparently thinks the reader might identify with or aspire to be.

Advertising from the war period addressed the increasing demand for women to take wartime jobs, and thus had to cope with conflicting traditional concepts of feminine work. The Ipana ad campaign demonstrates a shift in advertising from depictions of romantic military men, to addressing the country’s labor shortage and war front. Early Ipana ads suggest using the product will aid a woman in finding an ideal partner: an enlisted man. Women in these ads are young and seeking marriage to these idealized men. In later years, Ipana ads portrayed their target audience as proud war workers, tacitly implying that using the toothpaste too is part of the
war effort. These ads suggest that maintaining one’s beauty is an important wartime contribution to be considered alongside war work. Ipana ads reminded women that, despite taking on manual labor, they should still preserve their traditional feminine appearance.

The sex appeals in advertising studied in this thesis contain what Honey calls “cultural information” about beauty, attractiveness, and the ideal mate. The ads, consistent with the other content of the magazines, tend to target white, middle-to-upper class married and unmarried women. This is consistent with target audiences observed in advertising of this period from the years preceding and following the war. However, there is a key difference between the ads in the years directly before and after the war. As American involvement in the war escalates, the cultural information contained in the advertising begins to address warfront issues such as labor and materials shortages. Yet, the advertising simultaneously is able to maintain its previous value propositions within this wartime context. Home front themes emerge in the advertisers’ promises of attractiveness and romance.

This study observes a unique juxtaposition in the advertising of the period. While all the ads studied relay some information to place its context in wartime, some ads go further to address real home front issues, such as conservation of materials or pride in war work. Ads promise romance and attractiveness, while simultaneously promoting the war effort. In some ads, this dual message is explicit. The Palmolive and Camay campaigns contain copy, seemingly unrelated to the rest of the ad, stating the need to conserve soap. It is indeed curious that soap brands would promote using less soap. However, this message of conservation, in combination with an appeal for beauty, is wholly in line with other wartime advertising that addressed home front conditions. And as the war concludes, the campaign begins to use fewer war-related messages, opting for themes more closely resembling pre-war campaigns.
Messages in advertising from 1945 and after begin to shed their wartime contexts. For example, a blurb about conserving materials for the war in Palmolive soap ads later becomes an appeal for conserving for scarcity. The pattern is consistent in other advertising from the period. Lux’s glamorous campaign makes appeals to curb waste during wartime and after. However, the pre-1946 messages emphasize the war effort while ads from 1946 and after emphasize conservation.

In others, specifically the ones that portrayed enlisted men as ideal for courtship, the intermingling of sex appeal and the war remain in advertising immediately following the end of hostilities. Pond’s cold cream “She’s Lovely, She’s Engaged” campaign, throughout the period studied consistently employed appeals to marriage. As early as 1941, the campaign’s groom-to-be is depicted as a military man. In 1942, the campaign incorporates themes of war work and patriotism, and continues to do so throughout the war’s conclusion. After the war, the campaign continues to idealize the uniformed officer, but returns to themes of social aspiration. The campaign ceases to mention war work, volunteering, or any other patriotic call-to-action. The sex appeal of the uniformed man in the ad is the only lingering reminder of the war.

In conclusion, the campaigns studied in this thesis represent a unique period of art direction and copywriting in American advertising. From 1941 to 1946, one can observe changes in how advertisers applied sex appeals amidst a wartime environment. The idealization of the enlisted man is present in all of the soap, hygiene, and make-up ads studied. And as the war ends, advertisers seek to refrain from images or narratives of war and patriotism. This thesis would complement further research into mass media or consumer marketing in the United States during World War II.

**Limitations**
One limitation to this study is that there is no way to observe women’s reactions to advertising. Another limitation is that it only examines women’s magazines. It examines solely women’s magazines because it looks at how advertising addressed women’s issues, such as sexuality and work roles. By choosing women’s magazines, it can be more confidently assumed that the advertising is directed towards women. However, since no general interest or other magazines are examined, generalizations cannot be drawn towards all magazine advertising of the time.

**Future Research**

This study could be expanded by further research of advertising from World War II. One approach could involve obtaining business records of a large advertising agency from the period, such as J. Walter Thompson. This type of analysis would bring a richer understanding of the relationship between the people who made the ads and their client, and perhaps shed light on the motivations behind using sex appeals and wartime messages as they did. Another approach might be to observe other consumer product advertising from 1941-1946. Doing so would complement this thesis by creating an understanding of other advertising from the time period.
REFERENCES


