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A study and evaluation of the women's service magazines

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A STUDY AND EVALUATION OF THE WOMEN'S SERVICE MAGAZINES

BY

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CHAPTER I

THE PROBLEM AND DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

For the past 79 years a subtle battle has been waged between what are known in journalese as the quality magazines and the slicks. The quality magazines with their limited circulations have resented the rise and the growth of the popular slicks. It has been considered cheapening for the quality magazine to cater to popular taste.

Thus, these quality magazines try to ensnare advertisers by stating that although they have a limited circulation, it is a powerful one. And everyone knows that a small powerful circulation is much more attractive to an advertiser than a large impotent one.

Recently, a book was written by Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love,[1] which epitomizes the attitude of the quality magazines for the slicks. The critical reception of this book was serious and thoughtful over a widespread area and so far has received no reply.

This is the answer to Mrs. Hawes' study of the women's service magazines.

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1 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948), 277 pp.

I. THE PROBLEM

Statement of the problem. It was the purpose of this study to determine whether or not Mrs. Hawes' opinions concerning the women's service magazines[2] were founded on truth. Her last three books, Fashion is Spinach, Men Can Take It, and Why Women Cry, give rise to the possibility that she merely was interested in debunking a popular conception.

Importance of the study. As far as research indicates, the "shoe has always been on the other foot"; it has always been the quality magazines that have attacked the slicks. The time has come for a serious study of the slicks with the idea of giving them credit for what they have done and are doing for the American woman. This is not meant to be an attack on the quality magazines, but rather a defense of the slicks.

For the purpose of this thesis, Mrs. Hawes' criticisms of these magazines have been combined into one question:

HOW GROWN-UP ARE THE WOMEN'S SERVICE MAGAZINES?

and the answer to that question has been sought through a study and evaluation of these magazines.

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2 This is only one part of Mrs. Hawes'"frame of reference". A complete list includes magazines, movies, soap operas, non-fiction prescriptions for living, and Forever Amber. Ibid., pp. 3-5.

II. DEFINITIONS OF TERMS USED

Women's service magazines. This is the group of women's magazines which is devoted to service for the American woman and with which this study is concerned. They are four in number -- a specialized group. Their names and publishers are:

(1) McCALL'S MAGAZINE, published by McCall Corporation,

(2) WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION, published by The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company,

(3) LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, published by The Curtis Publishing Company,

(4) GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, published by Hearst Magazines Inc.[3]

A more complete explanation of the service afforded the American woman through these magazines will be found in Chapter III of this study.

Debunking. This expression, peculiar to writers, literally means freeing from deception. For example, if someone were to come up with absolute proof that General Robert E. Lee had composed the Gettysburg Address instead of Abraham Lincoln, it would "debunk" the popular conception and earn the writer a tidy sum.

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3 N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (N.W.Ayer & Son,Inc., Philadelphia, 1948), p.1283.

Used in connection with this study, the term refers to Mrs. Hawes' attempt to belittle the popular conception that it is helpful and not harmful for the American women to read the service magazines.

Slicks. The women's service magazines are sometimes referred to as "slicks", and the fiction found in them is known as the "slick story". This title was attached to these magazines (and others not concerned with this study) because the paper used in them is finished to have a glossy surface, implying a high grade content. When you read of the "slick story technique" you know it refers to the style found in these magazines as distinct from the pulp story or the Confession love story.

Hucksters. Frederic Wakeman made this term famous in his recent best seller, The Hucksters. He has used an expression which formerly meant (by the Webster's Dictionary definition) "one who retails small articles; a mean, tricky fellow" to mean anyone who advertises; an advertiser. This is the sense in which it is used in this study.

Lobbying. The idea behind this is not new; it goes back to the beginning of our Republic. But the name which has been attached to it has risen with our generation. People who are not satisfied with the status quo, who want to make this a better country, will sometimes lobby with no thought of a

personal reward. But there are the pressure groups who do lobby (solicit the votes of members of a legislature to carry a particular measure) with an eye toward gain for themselves.

What does lobbying have to do with the women's service magazines? Chapter IV of this thesis explains the connection.

III. ORGANIZATION OF REMAINDER OF THE THESIS

The first chapter of this study serves as an introduction; the second chapter gives an over-all picture of the administrative effects on the 1948 issues of the magazines, the biggest circulation year yet; chapter three is a flashback to the beginnings of these magazines and explains why and how they have grown; the fourth chapter is a survey of the three big divisions in each of these magazines; the fifth and last chapter brings to light the findings and conclusions of this particular study.

CHAPTER II

BOOM YEAR FOR THE BIG FOUR IN WOMEN'S MAGAZINES

(1948)

The Service Group.

> ". . . the Service Magazines . . . are only interested in the 'Prosperous' group who can afford anything, and in those who can afford all the necessary household equipment and 'occasional luxuries'; an occasional new house, new automobile, etc."[1]

This statement would appear to be true in view of the fact that when, in 1948, the "big four" in women's magazines, the service group, hit an all-time high in circulation,[2] (1) the average income per reader was from $3000 to $5000, (2) the average among readers owned his own home, and (3) the average among readers owned his own car.[3]

In America we call a man who earns from $3000 to $5000 and who owns his home and automobile, "prosperous", or at least, a member of the "higher middle class". (This is the man who can afford "occasional luxuries".)

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1 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company,Inc., 1948), p. 46.

2 N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (N.W.Ayer & Son,Inc.,Philadelphia,1948),p. 1271.

3 Gathered from surveys taken by these magazines.

Income and Outgo. Although one issue of the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL yielded $2,710,263 in advertising revenue and $1,028,273 in subscription and newsstand sales (which equals a take of $3,738,536); production, distribution, and sales costs equalled $3,781,287 (which makes a net loss of $42,751). The average reader might say, "How can a magazine go on publishing at a loss?" In this case, the figures misrepresent the facts. Although the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL lost money on this issue, The Curtis Publishing Company's net income on this issue of their combined magazines was $5,400,000.

For years all circulation revenue was plowed back into circulation and promotion. Advertising revenue paid for circulation fulfillment (seeing that the reader got the magazine after he subscribed to it).[4]

It has been supposed by the average reader that since advertising and circulation costs are high, the publishers of these magazines have fallen heir to a bonanza. But such is not the case. As these figures show, it costs money to make money. The magazines find it necessary to be continually looking for better ways of presenting what they have to say. The advantages

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4 Barron's National Business & Financial Weekly, (Boston-Barron's Publishing Co.) April 4, 1949 - p. 5.

go to their readers who get improvement at a moderate price.

Capital or Content. Was the swollen national income of $240-250 billion in 1948[5] responsible for the circulation boost of the women's service magazines or was it the content of the magazines which encouraged buying?

The door-to-door salesman in the '30s found it harder to sell magazines in those years when the national income fluctuated between bad and worse. He could offer the housewife a bargain, a premium for buying three magazines, or he could arouse her sympathy with the story that went, "I'm working my way through college."

National magazines were in the "growing-pains" stage then. But despite the rise in newsstand buying, the door-to-door salesman is still with us. He has a slightly different story since the end of World War II. He wears a small gold pin, and says, "I'm a veteran", and he finds that magazines are easier to sell.

He also finds that it is easier to sell the name of the magazine than it is to sell the content of the magazine. This is true because through advertising, the women's service

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5 Statistical Abstract of the United States (U. S. Department of Commerce, Washington, D.C. - 6th edition), p. 276. The national income has quadrupled since 1938.

magazines have built up their own prestige in the minds of American women. Prospective readers recognize the names of the magazines and know what they will find of particular interest to them in each one because of this expansive advertising program. The reader who thinks of the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL recalls, "Never underestimate the power of a woman". With GOOD HOUSEKEEPING the "Seal of Approval" immediately comes to mind. The WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION advertises its crusading. Its policy is to expose certain frauds, and comes out strongly against racial discrimination. McCALL'S claim to fame is in its patterns.

This advertising by "name" is not new. It started back in the Middle Ages with the use of the guild mark. Members of a guild would use producers' marks, intended to indicate the source or origin of the goods.

> "Their purpose, however, was to trace false or defective wares or to prevent the encroachment of foreign guilds, rather than the establishment of good will."[6]

Then, too, if a customer became dissatisfied with the article, through the guild mark he could return it. The guild mark was identification and protection. It is interesting to trace the evolution from guild mark to trademark, and to note

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6 The Story of Selling (The Crowell-Collier Publishing Company, New York, 1946), p. 13.

that today the one thing that advertisers want is "name recognition". It is the same thing that the guild members of the Middle Ages desired.

CHAPTER III

HISTORIES OF THE WOMEN'S SERVICE MAGAZINES

Reasons for Existence. It has been said that if one has no reason for existence he might as well be dead. Unless one keeps moving toward a goal he has no way of knowing whether he is living or dead. The same can be said about a magazine. If the magazine does not justify its existence it is worse than dead -- it is not read.

It is notable that the women's service magazines sprang into being in the twenty years after the Civil War. These dates are not coincidental, for in the years

> ". . . following the Civil War money was plentiful -- there was a mania of magazine-starting . . . there were improvements in presses, stereotyping, and engraving (. . .) . There were 700 periodicals in 1865; 1,200 in 1870 and twice that in 1880 and 3,300 in 1885".[1]

The women's magazines grew up in the period following the Civil War because of reform movements. Suffrage was the great issue, coupled with women's rights.

But the women's magazines were not founded without a struggle. Note the opinion of the New York Citizen which was not an uncommon one in that day. It asserted:

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1 Frank Luther Mott, A History of American Magazines (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1938) II, 5.

> ". . . for total disregard of all the restraints of propriety, 'there was nothing quite so shamefully disregardful as the journals edited by' strongminded women".[2]

Then in the Atlantic Monthly Thomas Wentworth Higginson wrote learnedly under the sarcastic heading "Shall Women Learn The Alphabet?" while Henry James carried on the battle of the sexes in Putnam's Magazine with his article on the "Natural Inequality Of The Sexes".[3]

Even intelligent women of the day fought against women's rights:

> "Harper's Monthly printed the dictum of Catherine E. Beecher, elder sister of Harriet Beecher Stowe: 'Woman's distinctive profession includes three departments -- the training of the mind in childhood, the nursing of infants and of the sick, and all the handicrafts and management of the family state'".[4]

Miss Beecher had forgotten that when Florence Nightingale began her career in nursing she received the same verbal abuse for attempting something "unwomanly".

When the Republic admitted that "a little knowledge of general politics is necessary"[5] to women, Dr. William A. Hammond found a voice in the North American. This was in 1883. He declared:

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2 Ibid., II, 96.

3 Ibid., I, 47.

4 Ibid., II, 92.

5 Ibid., I, 47.

> ". . . there were 'grave anatomical and physiological reasons' against women in politics. 'In the first place, the brain of man is larger than that of woman,' and besides 'a peculiar neurotic condition called the hysterical is grafted on the organ of woman'".[6]

According to the collected opinions of the day, if you were clever you ceased to be a woman. As these periodicals devoted to women flourished, the general magazines continued their debates on various phases of the "woman question". One of these phases was education:

> "Vassar Female College had been opened in 1865, and nearly every periodical in the country made its comment on the event. There had been 'female seminaries' before, but Vassar was the first conspicuous women's college. Such magazines as The Round Table, Scribner's Monthly, The National Quarterly, and Appleton's Journal had interesting comments".[7]

McCALL'S MAGAZINE, 1870. McCALL'S was born in 1870 when James McCall and his associates opened a shop at 543 Broadway, New York City, for the design and manufacture of dress patterns. Trow's Dictionary of New York for the year 1870 listed the originator of McCALL'S as: James McCall, Machines, 543 Broadway. The word "Machines" referred to the equipment used by James McCall for making dress patterns.

In the early days McCALL'S MAGAZINE was known as

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6 Ibid., II, 91.

7 Ibid., p. 101.

"THE QUEEN". It was a monthly fashion paper of eight pages edited by May Manton (Mrs. George H. Bladworth).

By 1891 "THE QUEEN" became "QUEEN OF FASHION", and at this period the business was none too prosperous. At the end of the panic in 1893 the company changed hands. The year 1894 saw the beginning of increased growth and popularity; the magazine expanded to twenty-four pages, and in 1896 the first full page of advertising appeared (August issue). It was a description of "Alma", a Canadian college for young women. The following year the "QUEEN OF FASHION" became McCALL'S MAGAZINE, the Queen of Fashion, and five years later it was given its final identification, McCALL'S MAGAZINE.

The ensuing years were so prosperous that by 1919 the circulation had grown to 1,171,093, the advertising lineage to 208,918 lines, and the advertising revenue to $855,698.

In 1919 the company began the production and distribution of the printed dress pattern with the printed cutting line and other instructions printed directly on the pattern pieces, a feature exclusive with McCALL'S patterns, this being the major and most revolutionary improvement in the paper dress pattern since 1863.

To provide more floor space, in 1923 ground was broken at Dayton, Ohio, for a new plant. Here the July, 1924, issue of McCALL'S MAGAZINE was printed. By 1927 the circulation of

McCALL'S was 2,207,723. An addition was built to the Dayton plant, and the production of patterns was begun there. In 1930 the building was again enlarged, and the entire production of patterns and publications was transferred to Dayton.

In 1936 another building was erected in which to store the paper used for magazine printing. In the early months of 1940 the McCall Corporation installed five of the latest type of printing presses available. By 1947 four more of these new presses were installed. These presses produce high-grade five-color letter-press work, printing on both sides of the sheet in one operation and deliver the product dry and folded into sections of from four pages to twenty-page units. Each of these presses stand about 19 feet high and from 75 to 100 feet long, and weigh approximately two hundred tons.

The new printing technique represents one of the greatest advances in the art of printing that has come about since the development of four-color process work. This is graphically illustrated by the comparison with the methods of printing as exemplified by the Washington hand press that now stands in front of the main entrance of the McCall plant as a monument to the beginning of the "art of preservation".

McCALL'S MAGAZINE is divided into three distinct section: (1) fiction and news, (2) homemaking, and (3) style and beauty. Articles come under fiction and news. Under the

fiction department also is a complete novel in every issue written by a top-rank author.

In the course of a year, McCALL subscribers get 400 or more new styles which are available in department stores throughout the country in McCall Printed Patterns; twelve complete novels; about half a dozen continued novels; 50 short stories; 50 articles and timely subjects; 300 new kitchen-tested recipes and menus plus many articles on homemaking, health and beauty.

McCALL'S service to the American woman falls into two divisions: (1) to help her spend her money wisely, and (2) to help her get the best possible use out of what she buys.

To these ends, McCALL'S has a staff of five home economists who test all new foods as they come out, and test recipes and originate methods of cooking so the consumer can get the maximum nutrition as well as flavor and enjoyment from food cooked.

On home appliances, McCALL'S employs a staff of engineers and technicians who test new household appliances, electrical, gas and mechanical, so the housewife can be advised about their use and will know how to face problems concerning them.

McCALL'S decorating staff shops to discover the best items for the particular purpose and price, fabrics are scrutinized, often tested to determine their suitability and

wearing qualities, and each room or decorating idea is constructed in McCALL'S studio before it is photographed.

Articles on health are written by the foremost authorities in the country on the subject. Articles on behavior and problems of family relations are also the work of the best possible authorities.

Frequently universities and colleges are called into consultation in order to further research and knowledge.

One of McCALL'S editors spends her time in various parts of the country talking with housewives and learning at first hand from them just what help they most need.

In 1894 when the "QUEEN OF FASHION" was a magazine of from eight to twenty pages with a staff of thirteen workers, the subscription price was fifty cents a year, and sale of advertising space yielded $1,468 for one issue.

Today when McCALL'S MAGAZINE features approximately 140 pages, the circulation is close to 3,750,000 copies per month,[8] the subscription price is $2.50 per year, and the advertising revenue per issue approximates $988,888.62.[9]

WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION, 1873. In 1873 The Ladies' Home Companion was founded in Ohio. This was a propitious

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8 N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (N.W.Ayer & Son,Inc.,Philadelphia, 1948), p.1271.

9 Figures and history of the magazine: Courtesy of McCALL'S MAGAZINE. (rewritten)

time for the birth of a national magazine, particularly a magazine for women. Clara Barton had just founded the American Red Cross, Frances E. Willard was just founding the Women's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), the first women's clubs, led by Sorosis in New York City, were being established. The woman suffrage movement, so long blanketed by the anti-slavery crusade, was exhibiting new power and determination. Vassar had been founded and Smith and Wellesley were opening.

The first LADIES' HOME COMPANION consisted of some thirty-two three-column pages. It was approximately the width of today's The American Magazine, but about an inch longer. It boasted no decorative covers, the printing was simple black and white; it came out twice a month, and the subscription price was fifty cents a year.

From its birth in November, 1873 to 1883, the circulation advanced to 18,000. At this time the magazine attracted the attention of three businessmen of Springfield, Ohio, who took it over and began to expand it. P. P. Mast supplied the printing plant but otherwise was largely a silent partner. J. S. Crowell was the business manager, T. J. Kirkpatrick was the editor-in-chief with assistant, J. F. Henderson, who later became editor.

In 1891 the page size was enlarged, and the first formal front cover appeared on the December 15th issue as

"Christmas Greetings" with a black and white drawing of a little girl carrying a wreath and a food basket. Also in this year among the articles two were outstanding: "Drunkenness A Curable Disease" and "Women's Financial Ability".

A new home was soon built for the expanding magazine, described as "a large four-story pressed-brick building with white stone trimmings -- one of the handsomest business structures in the middle west".

In March, 1896, the COMPANION became a monthly, and the special cover design became a regular feature. In January, 1897, the magazine dropped the word LADIES' and took the title it has had ever since. The editorial page explained the change as follows:

> "The indiscriminate use and abuse of the term 'lady' has robbed it of so much of its meaning that it has been in a measure tabooed by those who deserve the title in its best sense . . . . 'Woman' is an honest Anglo-Saxon word and has no synonym . . . . the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION presents itself to its readers with a slightly altered name but with confidence that the wisdom of the step will be generally recognized and commended".

Arthur T. Vance became editor-in-chief of the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION in 1902. A few years later a group headed by Joseph P. Knapp took over the publishing firm. The name became the Crowell Publishing Company, which remained unchanged until 1939, when, long after The American and Collier's had been taken into the fold, it became the Crowell-Collier

Publishing Company.

Early in the 1900's the COMPANION editorial offices were moved to New York. About this time the magazine became strongly illustration-minded.

New features included a department of letters from wives on making housework easier; a column of book reviews, a series on "Good Grooming" and a significant department "For the Girl Who Earns Her Own Living". This was written by Anna Steese Richardson[10], a New York newspaperwoman.

Gertrude B. Lane became the COMPANION'S fifth editor, and was connected with the magazine for the next thirty years of her life. She strengthened the practical departments on the principle that every word must be accurate and helpful. Reader correspondence was answered constructively. Women's urge toward economic independence was encouraged by counsel on small businesses, home enterprises and how-to-do-it articles.

This first decade of the twentieth century began the emergence of women from household drudgery. This was and continues to be a progressive movement. By improved house construction, labor-saving machines and devices, the ready-made clothing industry, the commercial preservation and

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10 The career of Anna Richardson, the lecturer, is discussed in Chapter IV of this study under The "Me-First" Principle.

distribution of all varieties of food, women's work in the home has been incredibly simplified and lightened. This freeing of women from household tasks is largely responsible for the success of women who have entered business, industry and the professions, earning and spending their own money, influencing legislation, affecting education and the whole economic life of the nation.

Woman was being educated in her home if she had not the freedom to get a formal education through the reading of COMPANION articles by such renowned persons as Waldemar Kaempffert, (today, science editor of the New York Times), Hudson Maxim, the widely known inventor, and Commander Booth-Tucker of the Salvation Army.

On the service side, the COMPANION started a new department of counsel to those with emotional or spiritual problems (a forerunner of today's psychiatric articles) by Mrs. Margaret E. Sangster.

In 1906 the COMPANION established a department destined to exert a profound influence on all subsequent homemaking throughout America. This led to the accurate standardization of the measures used today in all cooking. This scientific triumph was accomplished by Fannie Merritt Farmer, founder and head of the Boston Cooking School, and then in charge of COMPANION food pages.

Up to this time a "cup" of any ingredient meant any cup the cook happened to have handy and a "teaspoonful" or a "tablespoonful" did not specify level, rounded or heaped. Miss Farmer had already standardized the recipe measurements in her personal classes but this was a pathetically small sphere of influence compared to the hundreds of thousands she could reach through the COMPANION. Following Miss Farmer's lead, manufacturers quickly made and marketed measures of complete accuracy, range makers aided the work with efficient heat regulators and other equipment manufacturers took advantage of the new trend.

Also in 1906 the COMPANION started a campaign against child labor, a cause which has not yet been completely won.

Articles at this time appearing in the COMPANION recognized the inevitability of suffrage and the increase and permanence of women wage-earners. "Home Earning versus House Renting", "The Menace of the Credit System", "Choosing Your Bank" were articles keyed for the woman making and managing her own money.

Compare this with today's version of the woman "wage-earner":

> "'Unless you are an exceptional character, there are moments in your life when you could gladly curse the sacred memory of good old Frances Willard, and dear Susan Anthony, and sweet old Margaret Fuller.' For these are the best known among the women of the last century

who plugged for the idea that women could work at anything successfully"[11]

"One third of the women in the USA now work at paid jobs outside their homes. By 1975 the percentage will, according to its arithmetical progress since 1870, have gone to over 50%. Many of these women, according to polls, work from preference"[12]

"Things have come to a point where a lot of men, even husbands, think it is quite all right for women to go out to work. You may have no trouble at all continuing to work even after marriage. Watch your step".[13]

"The Dawn of World Peace" by President Taft (November, 1911) seems highly ironic, for the genial executive hailed the establishment of the World Court at The Hague as a sure bulwark against future wars.

The magazine's deep concern for the betterment of health, especially that of infants and young children, led to the establishment of the Better Babies Bureau. Guided by leading pediatricians, the magazine enlarged and developed a service to mothers across the nation. Today thousands of grown men and women who were brought up according to this friendly counsel are rearing their offspring with the aid of today's Our Children and Better Babies Department.

Nationwide suffrage for women came with the passing of the 19th Constitutional Amendment in 1920. The COMPANION established a Good Citizenship Bureau to aid the new and often

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11 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948), p. 48.

12 Ibid., p. 66.

13 Ibid., p. 48.

naïve voters to make the most of their opportunity.

In the mid-thirties a series of innovations were made in the COMPANION pages. First was the introduction of the Reader-Reporter panel, a cross-section of the COMPANION'S readership. Through the years these 2,000 reader-reporters have been changed constantly to reflect the changing times. They make it possible for the COMPANION editors to keep in touch with the actual day-to-day homemaking problems of their readers. In 1942 the COMPANION poll was introduced and every month since then reader-reporters have been asked to state their views on important or interesting topics,

The February, 1935, issue carried the first four-color pages printed with the new high-speed gravure presses that had been recently installed in the Springfield, Ohio plant.

A few months after the introduction of gravure the COMPANION opened the doors of its new Home Service Center, a model kitchen and equipment laboratory designed to test every recipe and household direction before it appeared in the pages of the magazine.

Miss Lane continued as editor of the COMPANION until 1941 when she died following a year's illness. She was succeeded a few months before her death by Willa Roberts, who had served for years as Miss Lane's managing editor.

Early in 1943, the Crowell-Collier management, headed by Thomas H. Beck, now chairman of the board, and Albert E. Winger,

now president, appointed a new publisher for the COMPANION -- Edward Anthony. A few months later, on the resignation of Miss Roberts, Mr. Anthony chose the seventh editor in the COMPANION'S history -- William A. H. Birnie.

Today THE WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION features approximately 176 pages, circulation is close to 3,699,793 copies per month,[14] the subscription price is $2.50 per year, and the advertising revenue is liable to be $774,415.35[15] for one issue. But the aim is still the same -- to serve the best interests of American women.

LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, 1883. Back in the days of the bustle a little weekly called "THE TRIBUNE & FARMER" sprang into existence. It was published in Philadelphia, across from Independence Hall, and the proprietor-editor was a young man from Maine named Curtis. One spring evening in 1883 he carried home a copy of "THE TRIBUNE & FARMER" to show his wife the women's department he had created that morning. The department consisted of two columns of clippings from other periodicals, and when Mrs. Curtis looked it over, she laughed.

In the history of the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, it says:

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14 N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (N.W.Ayer & Son,Inc.,Philadelphia,1948), p. 1271.

15 Figures and history of WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION: courtesy of that magazine (rewritten).

> "Her husband was rather hurt, and, perhaps suggested that if she thought his women's department was funny (which he hadn't meant it to be) she might like to try it herself".

That section in the next week's issue was signed by Louisa Knapp, which was Mrs. Curtis' maiden name, and in less than two months the women's department not only filled a full page but had brought in thousands of new subscribers, and was far and away the most popular feature of "THE TRIBUNE & FARMER".

Mr. Curtis' next move was to toss "THE TRIBUNE & FARMER" into the wastebasket and to display the women's page as an independent magazine. When the first issue was being set up, according to the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL, the head compositor came in to ask what the name of the new periodical was, and Mr. Curtis said, "Oh, call it anything you like; it's a sort of ladies' journal." In December, 1883, it came out with LADIES' JOURNAL at the masthead.

But the subscriptions that came pouring in after the first issue appeared, were all addressed to the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL. This was because the artist, in lettering his title design for the top of the front page, had made the word "Home" too large. It was meant to be the caption for the little domestic scene he had drawn between the two words, but rather than try to correct the misunderstanding on the part of their readers both editor and publisher decided to let it stand.

The modest eight-page monthly with its sober, type-

filled format, its quaint illustrations of ladies in tight bodices and flouncing skirts, and its advertising columns of incredible corsets, high button shoes and baby foods, would be looked upon today as a curiosity. Household and feminine problems of all kinds were tackled with plain-spoken simplicity, and the stories which are today dated, nevertheless are still alive and entertaining.

Mrs. Curtis guided the policy of the magazine and directed the editorial staff from her home by telephone (something new in those days) for the six years of her editorship. By the time she turned her job over in 1889 to the young man whom her husband had coaxed away from Scribner's, the circulation of the magazine had reached half a million.

The new editor's name was Edward W. Bok. He had for several years been operating a successful syndicated woman's page known among the thirty or more newspapers that bought it as "the Bok page". He had also been writing a weekly syndicated column of literary gossip, the first attempt of this kind ever made to popularize books through the personalities of their authors. While Mr. and Mrs. Curtis must have been aware of Bok's woman's page, it was because of the book-chat column, which appeared in the Philadelphia, The Press, that Mr. Curtis began to consider the young man as a possible successor to his editor-wife. Bok's regular job was then at Scribner's, in

New York, and although the publishing firm was loath to have him leave, and although his mother advised him very strongly against having anything to do with a magazine for women, he finally decided to accept the offer.

For the next thirty years Edward Bok edited and Mr. Curtis backed him as publisher. When Mrs. Curtis relinquished the reins, the JOURNAL was a magazine of twenty-four pages. Although it had tripled in size, it still resembled in its general appearance the JOURNAL of the early days -- a solid, substantial monthly diet of expert advice on everything pertaining to the home, from fancywork to flowers. The culinary side was as comprehensive as the recipes were rich. There were regular departments on fashions, dressmaking, the care and training of children, feminine diversions and the various aspects of health, hygiene and etiquette. And while fiction was given an important position in the magazine, the stories did not begin to occupy the amount of space, in proportion to the departments that they do now.

Gradually, the JOURNAL became more than a friendly acquaintance dropping in to call every four weeks with a fund of anecdotes and practical wisdom. It became an intimate and stimulating friend of the family. It became something vital in women's lives, not only as a confidant-consultant on their personal and domestic problems but as a link between themselves

and the affairs of the countryside, town, city, nation, world. It would arrive with an attack upon the patent-medicine menace,[16] or display the slatternly spots of our cities, or bitterly describe the mortality of the way the old fashioned Fourth of July was being celebrated.

Of course the magazine didn't come into the home as a crusader. It was still a source of entertainment, enlightenment and service. Month by month it brightened, broadened and grew more attractive. It brought in presidents to discuss the affairs of the nation and the government. It brought in the wives and daughters of great men to write about their famous husbands and fathers. It brought in architects of the day to break down the cluttered tradition of the late nineteenth century, and Frank Lloyd Wright proclaimed it the finest influence in American domestic architecture. It was responsible for getting rid of the "front parlor" and for stimulating an interest in our various Colonial styles, just as today it presents the possibilities of modern design and construction and offers a practical solution to the problems of financing and building new homes.

In the mid-nineties the advertising rates had increased from $200 a page of the first issues to $4,000 a page. The use of color in advertising had barely begun in 1896, and was con-

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16 See Under Chapter IV, The "Me-First" Principle.

fined entirely to the cover -- at that a momentous innovation in magazine making. It was the first periodical in the world to change its cover design each month; the first to introduce color photography as a means of presenting fashions, fabrics, foods, houses, gardens, and interiors.

Thirty years ago the JOURNAL on its monthly visits was bringing in the people who were giving color to that stormy period. President Wilson was making it a medium for his messages to the nation; H. G. Wells was describing and analyzing the new relationship between men and women which World War I was helping to hasten; while the Barrymores, Mary Garden, Bernhardt and many other bright lights of the theater and music were writing about themselves for JOURNAL readers. The advertising pages featured a race of cars now extinct, and women's sleeves were long and close fitting, with a little pouch at the wrist. There was a good deal of ruffing at the neck, women's hair was still piled up in pompadours, but there was considerably less cream and butter in the cooking.

In 1926 women's dresses were embarrassingly short; their hats were shaped like German helmets. Girls were flappers, radios had horns, and $5,000 houses were smaller than they were in the nineties. Kitchens and cars were still innocent of streamlining, and the dictionary was too; but there were electric refrigerators, and well-known women in

full-page ads had begun to recommend cosmetics.

Edward Bok had retired in 1919, and Barton W. Currie had taken his place as editor, the post to which Loring A. Schuler was to succeed in 1928. The JOURNAL had two and a half million subscribers, and advertisers were paying $9,000 a page for the privilege of addressing them. The circulation had increased a hundred-fold since the end of Mrs. Curtis' first year; there were twenty times as many pages, and though the advertising rates had been multiplied by forty-five, the cost was less per reader than it had ever been. The printing of many pages in color -- both advertising and editorial -- was by then a matter of course.

When Bruce and Beatrice Blackmar Gould assumed the editorship of the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL in July, 1935, they brought a unique distinction to the publication. This was the first time that a husband and wife had ever become editors of a major periodical. It is more than a mere coincidence that Beatrice Gould should have managed her share as much from her home as from the office, just as Mrs. Curtis had done fifty years ago. For it is probably as true now as it was then that keeping in close touch with the home is an important part of one phaseof JOURNAL editing.

By 1938 the JOURNAL had passed the three-million mark. Circulation was held in check during World War II by wartime restrictions on paper. The Goulds believed that to know and

express the temper, the interests and fundamental feelings of American women called for close personal contact with women all over the country, in their homes and in their jobs.

In line with this conviction, one of the Goulds' first moves was to have a Gallup poll taken on "What the Women of America Think", covering such problems as marriage, divorce, birth control, education, labor, politics and morals. The publication of these polls continued throughout 1938. In the same year the JOURNAL carried an outspoken article on syphillis, which did a great deal to bring into the open a subject which had always been whispered behind closed hands. Now it could be fought more effectively.

In that same year two of the most outstanding women in America became regular contributors to the JOURNAL. They were Eleanor Roosevelt[17] and Dorothy Thompson. To trace back the titles of Miss Thompson's editorials is to review all the controversial issues of the prewar period, the war itself, and the problems now presented by the peace -- clearing up for millions of women every month matters which are close to their lives and the lives of their countrymen.

Readers seldom have occasion to realize the forethought, planning and preparation required at the top to produce an

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17 Mrs. Roosevelt has left the JOURNAL to write for McCALL'S because the editors of the JOURNAL wanted too many changes in her "Memoirs", according to information found in Letters to the Editor, Newsweek Magazine - April 4, 1949 (Weekly Publications,Inc.,Dayton,Ohio) XXXII, pp 6-7.

issue of the JOURNAL. There are the decisions months in advance on a dozen different department projects to follow through with the editorial staff; the selection far ahead of stories, articles and illustrations, and most important of all, the constant creation of new ideas, without which a magazine withers. The copy you open may have taken months to prepare, print and distribute, but its vitality depends on the feeling it gives that it was conceived and put together the week before.

One major Gould idea back in 1939 has since made magazine history, for it was then that "How America Lives" was born. The first installment appeared in February, 1940, as the beginning of a series that was designed to run but a single year. Each month a different family in a different part of the United States was to be introduced to its neighbors all over the country. Each family was to be selected according to careful plans. Families representing every walk of life were to be chosen, with in-between income brackets, all kinds of living habits, family situations, all sorts of social, economic and occupational problems. Each family was to be portrayed in words and pictures against the background of their daily lives, and JOURNAL editors, specialists in home economics, fashion, beauty, health, housing, decorating and gardening, were to analyze the individual problems and

indicate solutions.

By 1946 this "one-year" series of articles was starting on its seventh year. More than eighty families, by the end of the first six years, had been covered in the most completely detailed cross-section of contemporary American family life ever attempted. And not only American, for in addition to a Mexican "good-neighbor" family the series has gone outside the country to include, during the war, three families abroad -- in England, France and Italy.

The JOURNAL revolutionized its own method for "How America Lives" by sending half its staff onto location each time a story was in action, and by focusing department features on the problems of each monthly family.

As early as January, 1944, even before the war was over, the JOURNAL had begun its series on the postwar house. When peace came, the JOURNAL still had the largest audited circulation of any magazine[18] -- a circulation further unique in that it was composed almost entirely of subscribers and single copy purchasers who were women.

In writing about anything as far-reaching as the JOURNAL there is a temptation to grow statistical, but the essential quality of the magazine does not come through clearly when told in terms of how many tons of ink and carloads of paper it takes

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18 Audit Bureau of Circulation figures.

to print more than fifty million copies a year, however fascinating the figures. There is much more meaning in the fact that from twenty-five to thirty thousand manuscripts are submitted to the JOURNAL annually, and that every one of them is carefully read by the editorial staff so that finally the editors may select approximately ninety pieces of fiction, fifty feature articles and eighty poems.

In addition to the short stories, serials, feature articles and verse, the JOURNAL publishes every year about 250 articles in the various departments, prepared by members of the staff. These departments consist of foods, homemaking, fashions, beauty, architecture, decoration, gardening, books, and the sub-deb. The latter department alone handles more than three hundred thousand items of correspondence a year -- an indication of what takes place behind the pages of the magazine itself. Most of these departments function in the JOURNAL'S Editorial Workshop, which occupies the top floor of the RKO Building in Rockefeller Center, New York City. The Workshop has been especially designed for the practical study of the many problems that face JOURNAL readers in matters of dress, appearance, cookery, housekeeping, home building and planning, continuing in this modern fashion the service which Mrs. Curtis began in a far more limited way sixty years ago.

From the point of view of the possible contributor, the JOURNAL today is interested in publishing not only the work of foremost writers of the present time but the work of writers who have yet to make their mark -- both being judged by the same standards of excellence, regardless of name. This work includes serials of from 20,000 to 60,000 words; short stories of outstanding quality from 4,000 to 9,000 words long; occasional short-short stories; feature articles by authorities on significant subjects, light and lyric verse of an authentic but non-esoteric nature, and well-written, informative articles by experts which supplement the material in the various departments.

Compare the eight-page folio of 1883 with the 260-page issue of today; subscription price back there was fifty cents a year while today with a greatly-multiplied value it is three dollars a year. The circulation in those days was close to half a million while today, it is pushing the five million mark (actual figure for 1948 -- 4,611,462[19]).[20]

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, 1885. In May, 1885, in Holyoke, Massachusetts, Clark W. Bryan started a magazine which he called GOOD HOUSEKEEPING. To quote its founder, it was

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19 N. W. Ayer & Son's Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals (N.W.Ayer & Son,Inc.,Philadelphia,1948), p. 1271.

20 History: Courtesy of LADIES' HOME JOURNAL (re-written).

"conducted in the interests of the higher life of the household", and designed "to produce or perpetuate perfection, or as near unto perfection, as may be obtained in the household". Coming at a time when the horizons of homemakers were broadening, the magazine prospered. After several changes in ownership, the magazine was bought in 1900 by the Phelps Publishing Company of Springfield, Massachusetts.

Almost immediately the Phelps Publishing Company organized a small "experiment station" or, as it was called, "The Bride's First Attempts". Here, a few women experimented with recipes and kitchen equipment in an effort to help young and inexperienced housekeepers. This feature soon resulted (in 1901) in the establishment of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Institute, an editorial department with special facilities and trained personnel for developing practical and accurate information on such problems as meal planning and management, the selection, use and care of household appliances and equipment, the wearing qualities of household textiles and clothing, laundering, and the care and cleaning of the house. The Institute's laboratories, kitchens, laundries, and other facilities occupy nearly a quarter acre of floor space.

In 1911 the magazine was bought by its present publishers, Hearst Magazines, Inc. This change brought the main offices into New York City where they are today.

In 1912, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING invited Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, chief chemist of the U. S. Department of Agriculture, to edit a new department of the magazine which was to be devoted mainly to problems of family health, with special emphasis on the scientific aspects of nutrition. This department was called GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Bureau. Dr. Wiley was then famous for his valiant and successful fight to have Congress enact the "Wiley Laws" -- The Pure Food and Drug Act of 1904.[21] GOOD HOUSEKEEPING gave Dr. Wiley laboratory facilities so he could continue his investigations of products. Today a large staff carries on the Bureau's investigations of foods, cosmetics, pharmaceuticals, and other products in its modern-equipped laboratory.

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S Fashion Department was added to the magazine in 1916. This department surveys and reports on fashion trends, also presenting on its pages clothes especially selected for their good wearing qualities as well as good fashion, which are sold in leading stores throughout the country. Fabrics to be featured in fashion pages are first sent to GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S Institute's textile laboratory and laundries, to have their wearing qualities investigated. The wearing qualities of each selected fabric then are described on the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S "Facts-First Fashion" tags which may be attached to garments by their manufacturers.

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21 See under Chapter IV, The "Me-First" Principle.

In 1922 GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Studio was established. This department's function was and is to investigate trends and offer advice, inspiration, and ideas in decorating and furnishing homes.

1927 saw the creation of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S Beauty Department and 1935, the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Beauty Clinic. The latter is a well-equipped beauty salon in which GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S beauty editor and her assistants can make first-hand studies of good-looks problems and investigate, under conditions of actual use, the efficacy of cosmetics and beauty preparations. About 250 girls and women are used as voluntary human "guinea pigs" in the experiments.

Another of the services of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING is the Baby Center, inaugurated in 1943. It has available a trained personnel for public consultation. Editorials on child care appear regularly in the magazine.

In 1945 the Building Forum was established. This department is devoted to the architecture and construction of houses, community planning, and similar activities designed to help readers build or buy houses that are soundly conceived, forward-looking in design, fully equipped for better living, and beautiful in appearance.

The importance of these histories in this study is threefold:

(1) to show the aims of the magazines; their reasons for existence,

(2) to show the close touch these magazines keep with the public through polls and correspondence and the close touch they keep with the homes of American women; one might say, in this respect, that the magazines are "guided" by the public,

(3) to explain the differences and likenesses among them and to give their real ages.

CHAPTER IV

FICTION AND FACT

The three main branches in these women's magazines are:

(a) advertising,

(b) articles,

(c) fiction.

The extra division of the service magazines is the household section devoted to service for the American woman. It includes ideas for making housework easier, beauty preparations and suggestions, architectural designs, and child care. McCALL'S uses a great deal of space for patterns and fashion notes.

In this chapter the three main branches of the magazines will be discussed.

I. THE HUCKSTERS

The women's service magazines depend heavily on their advertising revenue to carry the cost of their magazines. Advertising, needless to say, is attracted by circulation, as may be seen by a comparison of the amount of advertising in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING (which has the lowest circulation of the four) and LADIES' HOME JOURNAL. Perhaps the strongest

reason advertisers keep coming back to GOOD HOUSEKEEPING is the Seal of Approval which may be used after advertising in that magazine.

Before the Audit Bureau of Circulation (ABC) was founded, a magazine might blow up its circulation figures to attract advertisers. But not today when the circulation figures are audited and published for all to see.

The price of advertising in any of these magazines is based on: (1) circulation of the magazine, (2) amount of space desired, and (3) color advertising (depending on whether it is 1, 2, 3 or 4 colors) or black and white.

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING will not accept advertising until samples of the product to be advertised are submitted and investigated by GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Institute. Claims made for the product on the package, labels, and accompanying material must be found true before they will accept advertising for the product. These requirements are established because each product and service advertised in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING is guaranteed to this extent:

> "If not as advertised herein it will, upon request and verification of your complaint, be replaced or your money refunded."[1]

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1 GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Guaranty as found on Page 6 of any issue of that magazine.

The editorial-advertising balance in each of these magazines is kept close to the 50-50 margin which is considered the ideal.

The price to advertise in these magazines varies with the position desired by the advertiser. The back cover is usually the most expensive. The second and third covers run a close second on cost. These covers are, according to surveys, supposed to be the ones seen by most readers. The four-color pages are also high in cost because they are supposed to be seen more quickly than the black-and-white. Then come the two-color pages, one color and black, and finally the black-and-white advertisements.

For example the cost to advertise a four-color full page in each of the service magazines is displayed in Table I:

TABLE I

COST OF ADVERTISING IN WOMEN'S SERVICE MAGAZINES

Four-Color Full Page Advertising

NAME	COST[2]
GOOD HOUSEKEEPING	$10,000*
WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION	11,300
McCALL'S MAGAZINE	13,000
LADIES' HOME JOURNAL	over 15,000

*Note: These prices listed are not for preferred positions

[2] Obtained from individual advertising rate cards.

Since its circulation and advertising prices are the highest, a comparison of two issues of the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL[3] indicates the amount of advertising in this issue compared with the same month's issue ten years ago.

TABLE II

SURVEY OF LADIES' HOME JOURNAL ADVERTISING

Comparison of 1938 and 1948

PAGES	1948	1938
TOTAL PAGES IN ISSUE	284	126
Full page advertisements in color	69	24
Full page advertisements in black-and-white	12	11
Color advertisements (not full page)	73	5
Black-and-white advertisements (not full page)	216	117

Not only does this survey show a doubling in the amount of pages in the magazines, but a tripling of full page advertisements in color in the ten-year period. Note the closeness of the figures for full page black-and-white advertisements in the two issues. While the full page color advertisements have tripled, the full page black-and-white advertisements (not full pages) have doubled since 1938.

3 May, 1948 and May, 1938, issues were used.

This table shows the increase of the importance of advertising in this ten-year period, the rise in importance of color advertising, and the technological advance of the magazine in that period. The aim of these magazines is to give the best to their advertisers and to the readers for the least amount. The answer to this aim is research -- continual and expensive to the magazine, but necessary to its life.

Advertising for the women's service magazines is as specialized as its fiction and articles. An advertiser for men's shoes is not going to waste his money advertising in these magazines unless an angle can be worked out whereby women will be interested in buying men's shoes -- as birthday gifts or Christmas presents or perhaps for Father's Day. These days are boons to advertisers, and readers welcome suggestions of what to buy for whom. Sometimes they even suggest ways of making gifts which are money savers.

Products most often advertised in the service magazines include: food, babies' supplies, linens, supplies for the home (vacuum cleaners, washing machines, etc.), furniture, costly jewelry, cosmetics, women's clothing, insurance, and burial vaults.

The Appeal. Says Mrs. Hawes:

"Women's magazines are divided into many departments, all of which we are covering in this book. Among the departments are the Fiction and the Advertising departments, which, like every other department, seek to improve the reader. In material put out for the advertisers, the explanation is given like this: 'Our Magazine's editorial concept appeals to these five predominant interest of a young woman: 1. The woman herself, 2. Love, 3. Marriage, 4. Her family, 5. Her home.'

"The unique editorial distinction of all American Women's Magazines is that 'it is keyed to these young women readers' underlying urge for improvement . . . Self-Improvement in appearance and charm; love, not merely as an emotion, but as the natural fulfillment of a woman's life; marriage as the beginning of a woman's most desirable career; improvement for her family -- economic, spiritual, social, in health, in education, and cultural advantages; finally improvement of her home for all that it can mean to her family and herself."[4]

And again Mrs. Hawes says:

"The advertising and the fiction are equally full of glamour, sex, and Self-Improvement . . . so that no woman can 'miss the guiding spirit of self-betterment' which is in every ad and story."[5]

As Mrs. Hawes has subtly stated, many of the advertisements are put in fiction form since it was found that 65% of women readers interviewed in a recent survey named fiction as one of the four subjects of most interest to them in the magazines they read; 51% named food, 46% named style and beauty, 42% named home decoration, 39% named

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4 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948), p. 93.

5 Ibid., p. 94.

current events, 25% named pictures, 23% named advertising, 19% named social and economic, 19% named home management, 17% named gardening, and child care interested only 15%.[6]

Advertising ran a low seventh on this list. And so, the advertisers try to put the readers into the advertisements to attract their attention and to show why the product will interest them.

Below are listed various appeals which might be called "types" that the advertisers use to attract attention:[7]

(1) ADVERTISER PLACES PRODUCT IN DESIRABLE SETTING USING IT AS CENTER OR KEYNOTE OF PICTURE:
(Zenith Radio in a modern livingroom)

(2) SMALL COST IS PLAYED UP:
("I'm getting this new Premier (vacuum cleaner) for $54.95.")

(3) DESCRIPTION OF PRODUCT'S ADVANTAGES:
(Philco Refrigerator)

(4) CURIOSITY:
("My face got redder and redder")

(5) CONTEST:
(Pepsi-Cola. Send in an idea to help your neighbor in 50 words or less - $1,500 in prizes each and every month.)

(6) PRESTIGE AND CLASS:
("The best families have been serving Richardson's Mints for over 50 years.")

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[6] Ibid., p. 158.

[7] May, 1948, issue of LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

(7) TO CHILDREN:
("For Your 'Snow White Doll . . . if you send only four one-year LADIES' HOME JOURNAL subscription.")[8]

(8) OFFERS TO ATTRACT HOUSEWIVES:
("1¢ for this genuine quickut paring knife . . . and two Spic and Span boxtops.")[9]

(9) FEAR:
("Don't let dry skin make you look older. Woodbury Special Dry Skin Cream . . . ")

(10) SUGGESTION BY DECORATION:
(Cannon towels)

(11) PROMISE:
(Lovelier Skin in 14 days, Palmolive - with testimonials)

(12) RECIPES:
(Borden's Hasty-tasty Casserole)

(13) PRIDE:
(Fieldcrest Lace)

(14) CONVENIENCE:
(Knapp Monarch Double Grill Stove "fits the tiniest kitchens")

(15) CONTRAST:
(Johnson's Glo-Coat "with glo-coat" and "without glo-coat")

(16) TESTIMONIALS BY SOCIALLY PROMINENT PEOPLE:
(Mrs. John J. Astor says, "Pond's new beauty routine accomplishes wonders.")

(17) COMIC STRIP STORY:
(Metropolitan Life Insurance Company)

(18) FREE PAMPHLET:
(Rolly Poley custom-fit slip covers)

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8 May, 1938, issue of LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

9 May, 1948, issue of LADIES' HOME JOURNAL.

(19) GOOD WILL ADVERTISING:
(Coca-cola).

(20) APPEAL DIRECTED TO CLASS BY PRICE OF PRODUCT:
(Selby Arch Preserver Shoes - smart - sophisticated - $14.95 - $16.95)

(21) EXPERT:
("F. S. King, independent tobacco buyer of Lexington, Kentucky, has been a Lucky Strike smoker for 19 years" and testimonial)

(22) FREE SAMPLES:
("Gerber's 3 cereals. Write to Dept. 85-8, Gerber's, Fremont, Michigan")

(23) EDUCATION AND INSTRUCTION:
(Childcraft - books of instruction to guide your child)

(24) ATTRACTIVENESS OF DESIGN:
("Peek in at Morgan-Jones' - 'Princess' - newest bedspread in the Ruf-1-wick collection")

(25) FASHION STYLING IN AUTOMOBILES:
(Pauline Trigère appraises the 'basic styling' of the Kaiser and the Frazer)

(26) GUARANTEED BY SEALTEST AND GUARANTEED BY GOOD HOUSEKEEPING:
(a) Formulac, Infant Food
(b) Shasta Cream Shampoo.

Four of the more recent and most unusual appeals in advertising have been:

(1) the comic strip story,

(2) good will advertising,

(3) fashion styling in automobiles,

(4) advertising grave vaults, funeral services.

The comic strip originally was designed for the enjoyment of children. If they could not read, they could tell the story from looking at the pictures. They might even get some entertainment from the appearance of the characters in the strip. However, in recent years the comic strip has grown up. It has been used to educate the reader in an entertaining and simple way. This is quite an accomplishment. Education was once looked upon as an arduous task. It meant reading reams of dull material. Today the advertiser concentrates on saying as much as possible in as little space as is necessary. This is done through the comic strip story.

Good will advertising became popular during World War II. Advertisers were turning out war material, but they wanted to keep their names before the public. Coca-cola still uses this type of advertising. In this instance, the advertiser feels that he has risen above competitive advertising and merely needs to keep his name in the public's mind. He does not have to ennumerate the advantages of his product as they are familiar to the reader and prospective buyer.

Once upon a time it was Papa who bought the family automobile. In some families, he still does. But recent

surveys have shown that "seventy per cent of the nation's wealth is in the hands of women"[10] so the fashion styling in automobiles is emphasized for the woman's benefit. Papa used to want to know how many miles the automobile would go on a gallon of gasoline, what kind of tires it had, how the carburetor worked compared to the other makes. But Mama looks at the upholstery, the color of the paint, and decides whether or not it will match her summer outfit. This has revolutionized automobile advertising. It doesn't matter to Mama what is under the hood (that is, generally speaking) so long as the color of it is "pretty".

Advertising funeral services and grave vaults is a delicate and sensitive type of advertising. It requires the utmost skill in wording because the slightest error might turn a fine piece of prose into a farce. Just like the old-time religion, the old-time funeral is gone. Today it is an expensive gesture. Perhaps this type of advertising might be considered the most difficult in the trade.

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Seal of Approval. This is a product endorsement, "not given by GOOD HOUSEKEEPING but earned by the product that has it", according to literature written by that magazine.

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10 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948), p. 76.

The GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Guaranty is not unlike an endorsement on commercial paper, because it carries with it GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S assumption of a definite liability.

> "Although 'product endorsements' (in their more familiar form, testimonials) have been used since advertising began, up until recently no reliable measure of their influence had been made. Not long ago, therefore, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING asked Crossley, Inc. to make a true cross-section study of the influence of this advertising feature among women . . . . Crossley's study revealed that nearly two-thirds of all women felt they were influenced in their purchases by 'product endorsement'. And the study further disclosed that 47.5% of the women named the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Seal, as the 'product endorsement' they could think of without prompting, as compared with 10.9% for the next nearest, the Seal of the American Medical Association.
>
> "Since women, who influence 85% of the buying in America, express the opinion that they are influenced by the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Guaranty it would appear that advertisers in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING should incorporate this influence in their sales and advertising activities -- in newspaper and magazine advertising, in radio and television programs, in trade paper advertising, dealer broadsides and point of sale material, and should affix the Guaranty Seal to the merchandise itself.
>
> "In these days of lessening differences between brands of merchandise (and even between the prices of brands of merchandise) the use of the Guaranty affords an exclusive feature for GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S advertisers not enjoyed by non-GOOD HOUSEKEEPING advertisers. This exclusive feature is most important in the absence of retail sales people (i.e. supermarkets) and, where present, in their lack of ability adequately to present the particular virtues of any one brand of merchandise . . . .
>
> "For the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING advertiser there is no additional charge for this unique and powerful sales influence."[11]

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[11] The GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Seal and Legend, a pamphlet put out by this magazine, pp 3-4.

How does an advertiser receive the right to use the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Seal of Approval?

(1) he requests advertising space in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, submitting samples of his product or service with his application for space,

(2) these samples are investigated by the proper department in the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Institute,

(3) if the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Institute is satisfied that the product or service is good and that claims made for it upon its package, labels, and accompanying material as well as in the advertisements submitted for publication in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING are true,

(a) a schedule of advertising is set up in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING which, by generally accepted standards, will accomplish an advertising objective,

(b) the advertiser signs the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Guaranty Agreement which sets forth the terms and conditions of the use of the Seal.

The limitations of this Seal are obvious. The basis for the use of the GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Seal is advertising. The fact that the products which are advertised are first investigated raises the use to a service. However, the word "investigated" needs proper explanation. The product is investigated for two reasons: to see that the product is good (and there we run into another stumbling block). What GOOD HOUSEKEEPING means by good and what

Public Citizen Number One means by good might be two different interpretations. An article which is innocuous, harmless but ineffectual, certainly could not be claimed "good".

And the second reason the product is investigated is to see if the claims made for it upon its package, labels, and accompanying material as well as in the advertisements submitted for publication in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING are true.

Is it true, GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, that Ovaltine is a "scientific food creation, developed in Switzerland"; will it "almost make your child over during the summer months . . . and send him back to school in the fall greatly benefited"; does it "add to a child's weight usually at the rate of 8 ounces to 1½ pounds a week"? I mean, directly. These were the claims made for that magic drink in the June, 1934, issue of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING.[12] And then when Ovaltine tired of those claims, they found new reasons for the public to buy their potion. And GOOD HOUSEKEEPING was glad to publish them in the April, 1939, issue.[13] Here they said, "When taken at bedtime, Ovaltine helps to induce calm, restful sleep entirely without drugs".

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12 June, 1934, issue of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, p. 157.

13 April, 1939, issue of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, p. 236.

Another writer was reading GOOD HOUSEKEEPING about this time and decided to tell what he thought about it:

> "And as for publication of formulas, what about such a product as Ovaltine, which for years had been advertised in the class magazines as a mysterious sleep-inducing substance? If the formula were printed on the label, the world would find out that this mysterious aid to Morpheus was nothing more than chocolate malted milk with a little dried egg added".[14]

Not only did the Ovaltine advertisements bother him, but of the claims laid for Welch's Grape Juice, he said:

> ". . . the Federal Trade Commission, on May 28, 1937, announced that the Welch Grape Juice Company of Westfield, New York, had agreed to discontinue 'advertising inferentially or otherwise that Welch's Grape Juice is a cure for excess weight and that the product alone or in connection with any system of exercise and diet will enable one to control one's weight; that it protects one against anemia, will correct acidosis, and is the only grape juice that is certified as pure and pasteurized'. In December, 1937, seven months after the stipulation was entered, the Welch Grape Juice Company, advertising its product in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, dangled this attractive bait before the obese: 'Lose weight safely without suffering a hungry moment or taking strenuous exercises or drugs . . . If you would like to lose your disfiguring fat, try this thrilling new way: drink three-fourths of a glass of Welch's Grape Juice mixed with one-fourth of a glass of water before meals and at bed-time. Nothing could be easier, safer, or more pleasant.' Women readers were assured that Irene Rich, the movie actress, had sloughed seven pounds in one month in this delightful way."[15]

> "GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, a Hearst property, probably has benefited as much as any publication from proprietary food and drug advertising, and, of course, was outraged by the iniquitous Tugwell Bill.[16] Yet this magazine has

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14 Kenneth G. Crawford, The Pressure Boys (Julian Messner, Inc., New York, 1939), p. 84.

15 Ibid., p. 82.

16 Explained in The "Me-First" Principle section.

set up a 'GOOD HOUSEKEEPING Institute' which purports to be a reliable guide for consumers."[17]

The limitations of the Seal of Approval are the limits set upon how much you can or cannot say about the people who are feathering your nest. These women who answered the Crossley survey have been and are using the Seal of Approval as a substitute for Consumer's Research Magazine either because they have never heard of Consumer's Union, the magazine that protects the consumer, or because they do not understand the limitations of GOOD HOUSEKEEPING'S Seal. Consumer's Union makes no bones about the defect of a product. You will get an unbiased report made by people who have nothing to gain by deception. It is clearly stated by Consumer's Union that the "use of CR material for any advertising purpose is not permitted". This is the consumer's protection.

The "Me-First" Principle.[18] Before 1906, almost anything might be swept into a bottle of patent medicine. Whether it killed or cured was immaterial to the man who was making it. After he received his price, he was no longer concerned. But in 1906, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley put through Congress what were known as the "Wiley Laws".

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17 Crawford, loc. cit., p. 82.

18 Stuart Chase, Democracy Under Pressure (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945), p. 4.

However, by the time the bill was passed it had been rendered practically ineffective because of the loopholes. And in 1912, Dr. Wiley was invited to edit a new department for GOOD HOUSEKEEPING. That was the last heard of Dr. Wiley so far as crusading for pure foods and drugs.

In 1934, Rexford G. Tugwell who was then Assistant Secretary of Agriculture, urged W. G. Campbell, chief of the food and drug administration to draw up, "with the help of legal experts, a modern, streamlined version of the old 1906 law" which would tighten the

> "loopholes through which the medicine makers had been crawling, extended the supervisory powers of the government to cover cosmetics as well as food and drugs, and established for the first time the principle that all food and drug advertising, whether on the label or elsewhere, should be subject to supervision", and "under this proposed new law, too, the government was given limited powers to dictate what drugs could and what could not be stirred into patent medicines".[19]

The fight this set off was comparable to the fight for socialized medicine today. No names were omitted in the battle that followed. And these were the arguments used by those who were against the bill:

(1) if the bill were passed, the drug industry would be "sovietized",

(2) everyone would be thrown out of jobs,

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19 Crawford, op. cit., p. 76.

(3) valuable trade secrets would be confiscated by requiring the disclosure of formulas,

(4) it would deny the right of self-medication,

(5) it would prove as unenforceable as prohibition,

(6) make the Secretary of Agriculture a czar -- "judge, prosecutor and jury".

Among other powerful voices raised against what was popularly known as the Tugwell Bill (since he had been the originator of the idea), the American Medical Association denounced it, displaying "much the same devotion to the public welfare that it has in its bitter-end struggle against group health experiments".[20]

Frank Blair, who was the big man in Castoria, not only controlled "what babies cry for" but also such well-known proprietaries as Bayer's Aspirin. He considered the Tugwell Bill "the greatest legislative crime in history". In 1933 his association set up a publicity office and installed Earle A. Meyer, who was formerly of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency, to turn out canned editorials against the bill. Meyer's opinions turned up in such widely scattered papers as the New York Journal of Commerce, the Atlanta Journal and the Houston Post, as editorial

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20 Ibid., p. 88.

Blair called back the "red clause" which had been used so effectively against the Wiley Bill. This was a clause in advertising contracts which declared that enactment of the Tugwell Bill would be sufficient cause for cancellation. This served as a constant reminder to newspapers and magazines that "some of the butter would be scraped off their bread if advertisers were forced to tell the truth about their products".[21]

Charles Coolidge Parlin of the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL became spokesman for the National Publishers' Association, Inc. His duty was to protect the publishers' interests, and he had for helpers Fred A. Healy of the Curtis Publishing Company and Lee Maxwell of the Crowell Publishing Company. He was

> "extremely helpful in eliminating from the original Tugwell Bill the sections which would have required declarations of quality standard and formula on the labels of canned foods. What worried publishers most was the grading provisions. Many of the widely advertised brands of canned goods are proclaimed 'A' quality when actually they are 'B' or 'C'. What was the use, the canners asked their publisher allies, of spending thousands of dollars on lying advertising if one had to tell the whole truth about his product on the label? What, indeed?"[22]

Meanwhile Anna Steese Richardson, who was at that time Good Citizenship Editor of the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION

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21 Ibid., p. 79.

22 Ibid., p. 84.

was making a 12,000-mile lecture tour preaching Proprietary Association doctrine.

By the time the Tugwell Bill was passed it was weakened considerably, but it was acceptable because of the counter-lobbying activities of a group of women's origanizations. It will probably make it impossible for a preparation like Elixir Sulfanilamide (which killed 73 persons ever again to

> "cut a swath of death across the country, But it has not prevented and may never prevent the Welch Grape Juice Company from advertising its product as a reducer, even in highly respectable newspapers. Nor have the quacks taken it lying down. They are fighting its enforcement tooth and nail . . . . there are scores of live snake-oil men who see nothing wrong in exploitation of the ignorance and credulity of the sick if it contributes to their own personal prosperity".23

> "This is the baldest illustration of the 'Me-First' Principle I know of. The public interest is plain enough for an intelligent dog to see. Not only pill manufacturers and depilatory makers attack this interest, but the massed power of the press as well -- dailies, weeklies, monthlies, every medium which carries patent medicine and cosmetic advertising. They attack a proposal which would make it illegal to poison people, or to delude them into buying a cure which cannot cure them."24

II. THE SUGAR COATING

According to Mrs. Hawes, everything in the women's

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23 Ibid., p. 89.

24 Stuart Chase, Democracy Under Pressure (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1945), p. 42.

magazines today is treated in fiction style. This is all part of a trend to be discussed later.[25] But it has been successful. Articles have been given a sugar coating -- to ensure readability.

In following the histories of the magazines, at first articles were more popular than fiction. The main reason for this was that a crusade was going on. Women wanted to be emancipated. They wanted the right to vote, the right to go to college, the right of choosing their own styles, and the right to go out to work every day. They were eager to learn, and so instructive articles in the magazines devoted to women was the answer for those who did not have the time nor money for formal educations.

Within the space of one century the position of woman in American life has been reversed. And the women's magazines have played no small part. They were the answer to a woman's prayer. They came when she needed them, and they have remained, a closer tie between the country and the city, the learned and the illiterate.

In the last two years reader interest in non-fiction in all four women's service magazines has shown a sharp upswing, according to surveys taken. Articles in McCALL'S which might be considered out of the ordinary

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25 Under Chapter V of this study, The Art of Plain Talk.

included: "End of a Boy's Life" by John Bartlow Martin in the July, 1948, issue, "Tolerance Is Bad" by Louis Adamic in the August, 1948, issue, "The Mistake" by Morris Markey in the October, 1948, issue and "Our Fearful Youth" by Maxine Davis in the November, 1948, issue. "End of a Boy's Life" which many editors would not consider a woman's story came close to an all-time high in reading and noting. This proves the difficulty editors have in knowing whether or not a story will interest woman readers.

Lately the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION has been advertising on the strength of its articles. The validity of this advertising may be found in surveying the non-fiction in one issue of this magazine.[26]

(1) HOW TO RAISE YOUR HUSBAND'S SALARY by David L. Cohn, Author of Love in America (The COMPANION Marriage Clinic).

(a) you want your marriage to succeed,

(b) you are not an egoist convinced that your own affairs are ever more important than your husband's.

(c) you are not corroded by a feeling of inferiority which makes you feel that helping him puts you in a subservient role,

(d) work affirmatively; do not take away your husband's sense of pride and vanity in himself.

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[26] January, 1948, issue of the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION.

(2) COMPANIONABLY YOURS - The Editors.
About stories featured in this month's issue and their authors.

(3) HOLLYWOOD.
Pictorial reviews of new pictures.

(4) THE FIRST OYSTER AND OTHER FIRSTS by Morton Thompson.

(5) UNCLE SAM'S NIECES ARE NICE by Mary Van Rensselaer Thayer.

About government girls, what they do and how they like their work; salaries, training necessary to fill these positions with the government (an informal survey).

(6) HOW DO YOU FEEL ABOUT TIPPING? (61st COMPANION Poll).

Arguments for and against tipping based on a poll which is conducted monthly on issues guaranteed to interest readers.

"COMPANION Poll questions are submitted every month by mail to more than 2,000 readers, a group that was first selected in 1935 and which has been frequently revised since then, to give an accurate cross section of what our readers in more than 3,700,000 homes are thinking".[27]

(7) DREAM HOUSE COMES TRUE.
A modern home based "on the needs of our readers". Interior designed by Harriet Burket, design editor.

(8) GUARD YOUR HUSBAND'S HEART by Patricia Lochridge and
YOUR COMMUNITY CAN HELP TOO by Dr. Charles A. R. Conner, Medical Director, American Heart Association.
COMPANION pieces - one of the COMPANION'S public service program articles which warns against heart disease, gives symptoms, and offers suggestions for prevention and aid.

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27 January, 1948, issue of WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION, p. 14.

(9) THE WORLD'S NEEDIEST CASES - (The Editor)
"The human reasons why you are asked to conserve food". A world-wide picture of the condition our neighbors are in.

(10) HOW IT FEELS TO STARVE by W. L. White, author of Journey for Margaret and They Were Expendable.
A poignant explanation of the five stages of starvation done dramatically. Ends with a personal note - extravagance of Americans is killing people abroad.

(11) BOOTLEG DENTISTRY by Clive Howard.
An exposé of laboratory technicians doing dental work thereby endangering the health of their patients' teeth. One-time junk broker trained in a laboratory, worked on bridgework and plates for other dentists, and finally started doing work himself -- knowing it was illegal.

(12) MRS. RICHARDS WILL SHEAR YOUR CHILD AT HOME by Sarah Lindsay.
Showing the ingenuity of a housewife and mother who purchased a home barbering set and cut neighbor's children's hair to make extra money.

(13) HOW TO REMOVE CANDLE WAX - (COMPANION Equipment Center Feature)
Two suggested ways.

(14) THIS IS TOPSY-TURVY TOWN by Gil Andrews.
For children; suggesting in poetry that they drink milk and eat food that will benefit them or they'll be as thin as Miss Finnicky Flynn.

(15) PRICED TO FIT by Dorothy Kirk, Food Editor.
Appetizing colored pictures and recipes with a running story for a "week of satisfying dinners based on good taste, good health and a well-trimmed food allowance".

(16) FINDING THE FOOD MONEY by Elsie Stapleton.
How to plan a budget.

(17) RICE-RAISIN CUSTARD by Doris Tisdale, Home Service Center.

(18) HERE'S HOW TO GET THE MOST FROM WHAT YOU BUY - (pictorial).

(19) FOOD CALENDAR: AMERICAN FAVORITES by Nell B. Nichols.
A month's calendar of food suggestions.

(20) HOW TO COOK KIDNEYS by Julia Brown, Home Service Center. Four recipes for kidneys.

(21) FLICK A SWITCH by Elizabeth Beveridge, Home Equipment Editor.
Pictorial suggestions of the newest in electrical appliances for the home.

(22) TIME OUT FOR REST by Harriet Burket, Interior Design Editor.

(23) HERE'S YOUR TAILORED DRESS by Mary-Alice Hamory.
Six pretty dresses in the $17 to $25 class.

(24) ONE GOOD DRESS - ONE GOOD SUIT by Eleanore Merritt.
Patterns pictured on models.

(25) 48 STEPS TO GOOD LOOKS by Hazel Rawson Cades, Good-Looks Editor.
A "how to" article on grooming.

(26) WHAT KIND OF PARENTS DO CHILDREN WANT? by Anna Wolf, editor of Our Children and Better Babies.
A friendly editorial on what parents should and should not do in order to keep their children happy (turnabout).

(27) WHEN CHILDREN ASK ABOUT SEX - 16-page booklet prepared by the Child Study Association of America - (Anna W. M. Wolf is senior staff member of this group).

(28) OUR CHILDREN - three booklets to aid new parents.

(29) THE PICTURE COMPANION.

(a) For juniors - Ballet Baby,

(b) Interior Design - We can dream, can't we? What men's pet peeves are around the house. (Ben Stahl, posing).

(c) Food center - Chowder goes to a ski party.

(d) Equipment center - How to wash a lampshade.

(e) Fashions - Clothes for the sun.

(30) 372 DAYS TILL CHRISTMAS - (a teen feature). Do Christmas shopping early, and Teen's leaflet alley.

III. ESCAPE

The first fiction used in the women's service magazines was "corny" from today's viewpoint. It was not so highly stylized or technically perfect as today's "slick" fiction. But the women of that period loved it just as they do now. It gave them a chance to relax for awhile and to escape into someone else's life. They could identify themselves with the beautiful heroine even though the week's ironing was ahead of them.

This was the first time anyone had thought to write stories for women. They were recognized as individuals with needs and desires beyond what had been theirs until now. And this is Mrs. Hawes' description of how women became emancipated:

> "Once upon a time the primitive savage tilled, and even still tills, his field in common with his neighbors, the whole savage community participating in the utilization of the crops.
>
> "All the good in the world was associated with the fertility of the fields, as they produced the food and

without it one cannot live. So women, being fertile as the fields, were worshipped and they ruled the roost. They had all the virtues. The children were named after the mothers and nobody gave a damn who father was.

"The men went hunting and fishing and began domesticating animals who grazed in the fields. Then they went and fenced in the fields containing the animals and had wars to acquire the fields and animals of others. The men thus became masters of the food supply and refused any more to be ruled by women. Whoever controls the food supply, controls society.

"To make a long story short, the men were very angry at the women for having ruled all that time. The men became ruthless, turned the women into chattel slaves, and ordained that woman was inferior to man. The history of man's cruelty to women is one of the darkest chapters in the history of human kind. Church and state alike conspired to make women feel inferior. Woman's work was confined to menial and thankless drudgery. The arts and professions were closed to her and she was consigned to the kitchen.

"Like all slaves, women in typical patriarchal societies develop a slave morality of gossip, of malice, of sharp-tongued sarcasm, and of treachery, just like many of your friends.

"But after the men had taken over, what do you suppose happened? James Watt discovered the principle of the steam engine from watching a tea kettle. Machines came in and were refined and the more delicate the machines, the more handily women could use them.

"The power loom and the typewriter accomplished what centuries of feminist agitation had failed to do . . . . Thousands of spindles and typewriter keys clicked out the staccato barrage which women fired as their first offensive on the strongholds of masculine power. Someday this age will be known, not as that of stratospheric flights or atom bombs, but as the age of the emancipation of women".[28]

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28 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948) pp. 270-271.

Is the American woman deluded by enjoying fiction? Does it discontent her to read about millionaire playboys who fall in love with Cinderellas? Or is her reaction no more serious than that of a five-year-old's who reads of elves and lovely princesses in her Mother Goose stories and goes out into a world where elves really don't exist?

Requirements. The service magazines claim that they have no definite style in reference to their fiction. They publish fiction by well-known writers more often than by unfamiliar names only because the established writers more frequently write the better stories. However, the magazines are constantly on the lookout for new writers.

The criteria for story-buying is based on: (1) interest to the readers and (2) outstanding quality in the writing.

Too often a well-intended would-be writer will send a story to one of these magazines that does not even meet the minimum requirements. Either the story is not the length published in that particular magazine or it is fitted for a pulp like Detective Stories or a quality magazine such as Horizon. Although the service magazines say they have no definite style, they are a type. You will not find the same fiction in them that you will find in the Atlantic Monthly, for example, because all magazines are aimed at certain audiences.

Through surveys and polls, they have become acquainted with what this audience wants and does not want.

The fiction found in the service magazines is known as the slick story. The majority of these stories are highly polished and sophisticated love stories. They have definite plots. If the story deals with murder, it will be written with the finesse of Anna Katharine Green (one of the first woman writers of mystery stories).

An average number of fiction stories in any of these issues would be about five. All, except GOOD HOUSEKEEPING, feature novels or condensations of novels. Usually they have continued stories that run about three issues. An occasional short short may be found. The stories are light, breezy and modern. They are concerned with the romances of teen-agers, career girls and their heartaches, the wary bachelor and how he is caught, the young married set, problems of marriage, murder-mysteries with a glamorous touch, the pity of divorce, and stories about children phrased for grown-ups.

There is still the touch of the fairy tale, the whisper of the "morality story", the breath of sex in these stories. But they are subtle.

The Pioneering Spirit. Aside from what men readers often refer to as "problem" themes, these magazines like to

experiment in new fields of fiction. In this pioneering (which Mrs. Hawes might approve of if she had investigated) the writers have left the path of the formula story, which has a basic plot, to strike out into new ideas.

The LADIES' HOME JOURNAL has been one of the strongest leaders in these experimental stories. They have dared where others have dawdled. When Beatrice and Bruce Gould came to the JOURNAL they brought a new era in their wake. As Beatrice Gould said, "Every woman's magazine was in the same narrow rut. There was still a feeling that women's interests were confined to the home".[29]

The Goulds threw out the stuffy editorials, the colorless layouts, the long "short" stories; they crusaded for public health, clean politics and they campaigned against venereal disease.

Although these magazines like to say that their readers are always a jump ahead of them, the fact is that the service magazines, and the JOURNAL in particular, are out to educate women just as fast as they can. If the fiction is below the level of the articles, generally speaking, it is not because these magazines are not looking for new authors and new stories.

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29 The Press, Time Magazine (Time, Inc.) October 4, 1948 issue.

Among fiction stories of a somewhat experimental nature published recently in the LADIES' HOME JOURNAL were: The Heller by William Henning in the March, 1947, issue, The Boy Who Loved Bergman by Virginia Oakey in the June, 1948, issue, The Stinker & The Delink by Victor Ullman in the October, 1948, issue, The Wild Horse by Eleanor Shaler in the March, 1949, issue, and Special Story by James Yaffe in the April, 1949, issue. The Strong Man by Hannibal Coons will appear in the August, 1949 issue of the JOURNAL and is also of an experimental nature:

The March, 1949, issue of the JOURNAL is worthy of survey. The complete-in-one-issue condensed novel is Under the Quiet Water by Frances Shelley Wees. It is the story of a sheltered girl who took her father's place as editor of a small town paper when he died.

Applause of Thousands by Laurie Hillyer, one of the short stories, is about the daughter of a woman who might have been an actress, but who chose love and marriage instead.

We Always Have Each Other by Irma Phorylles relates the adventures of two teen-agers and their first love.

Not the Marrying Kind by Ware Torrey Budlong is the typical formula story. Instead of the career girl who doesn't want to get married, it is a career man who is afraid of being tied down by marriage. The story explains, via a gimmick, how the heroine manages to catch her bachelor.

Fraidy Cat by Val Teal is the story of a mother who was afraid of animals, but risked all to save what she thought was her youngest child and turned out to be a neighbor's dog. The ironic turn of the story came when the Animal Rescue League presented Mother with a medal for her kindness to animals.

The Wild Horse by Eleanor Shaler is the outstanding story in this issue. It is unusual and singular in style. Amy, the wife of Joe, has reached a crisis in their marriage. Joe, a fairly successful lawyer, is making a career of drinking. The story is told from Amy's viewpoint. She tries to keep the truth about her husband from her two children, Ruthie and Bet. It is an honest story that pulls no punches. The gimmick is a painting by Mazeppa of a man tied to a wild horse. It had become a symbol to Amy of Joe's drinking. It was all right as long as the driver had control of the horse -- or as long as Joe had had control of his drinking. But now Joe was the rider tied to The Wild Horse.

In the end Amy discovers that her children have known about their father's drinking, but they can't tell Amy because they feel that the elder generation "just can't face facts".

Keeping up with the JOURNAL'S tradition of the best

for their readers, the continued serial is Point of No Return, the best selling novel by John P. Marquand. It is the story of a man who let his career run away with him.

GOOD HOUSEKEEPING insists that in their fiction they eschew the formula, the hackneyed, the trivial, and their first requirement in fiction is writing style. They insist on narrative quality and expert characterization. Their only taboo in subject matter is bad taste. They make a distinction between stories and sketches. Atmospheric sketches or frail, tenuous characterizations are not for GOOD HOUSEKEEPING. Clarity and lucidity are two requisites.

In their experimental department, which they define as stories which they feel belong to literature, they have listed these stories in the 1948 issues: A Blade of Grass by Ernest Fulton Lyons in the January issue, From Sea To Sea by Victoria Lincoln and I Used To Know A Girl by J. D. Salinger in February, The Telling Of The Swan by Paul Horgan in March, The Echoing Vale by Victoria Lincoln in April, First Dawn by Richard McKelvey in June, Barrow Street by Richard Sherman in July, I Can't Be In Two Places by Ruth Portugal in September, Memory by Victoria Lincoln in October, and Distinguished by Gladys Schmitt in December.

The editors of the fiction department at the WOMAN'S

HOME COMPANION feel that "quality" or "literary" stories are being published by most of the large circulation magazines through the demand of the readers themselves. They feel that this process has been accelerated during the past ten years, as any comparison of the same magazines then and now will show.

They do not wish to call these "quality" stories experimental, as that term implies a new departure in technique or subject matter, and they doubt if any magazine can point to any innovations in technique among their stories. They feel that the racial discrimination story is the only experiment in subject matter that has been introduced in large magazines recently (with the publication of Laura Hobson's Gentleman's Agreement, in GOOD HOUSEKEEPING), and the other magazines jumped on the "band wagon" so fast, it could hardly be called an experiment. It was the temper of the times.

The WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION is proud of its literary or quality stories. These stories have themes which are of most general interest to women readers. They do not wish to put into the magazine, stories that will not be read by the majority of the readers. For this reason, the fiction editors at the COMPANION try to obtain from the outstanding literary figures of the day those stories and even those novels which they know will appeal to their readers as

strongly as the less brilliant stories of the more usual magazine writers. If they could get enough so-called literary stories by great or new authors, they say that they would probably publish them exclusively.

They try to offer a certain variety: humor, meaningful "problems", sheer dramatic entertainment -- and those usually having to do with love, marriage, the family, the working woman, the child. The sincerity and the quality of the story always comes first - they are not dogmatic about the theme.

During the past year the COMPANION has published these literary or quality stories: The Searching Heart by Kay Boyle in the January, 1948, issue, The Shark's Fin by Phyllis Bottome and A Gift for the Bride's Mother by Jessamyn West in the February, 1948, issue, All Our Lives by Sylvia Thompson in the July, 1948, issue (novel), Edge of Happiness by Charles Morgan, a serial in the September and October, 1948, issues, Chastity by Lin Yutang in the November, 1948, issue, The Slip-Over Sweater by Jesse Stuart and Children's Playground by Edwin Lanham in the January, 1949, issue, The Phantom Lover by Shirley Jackson in the February, 1949, issue, The Intolerable Portrait by Christopher LaFarge in the March, 1949, issue, and The River Journey by Robert Nathan serialized in the April and May, 1949, issues.

An experimental poet in the March, 1948, issue was

Kenneth Patchen: poem titled, See You In The Morning.

Month in and month out these four women's magazines make an honest effort to offer good fiction to their readers. The average is high, as has been seen through a survey of the fiction handled.

CHAPTER V

THE HAPPY ENDING

I. THE TWELVE-YEAR-OLD MIND

According to Rudolf Flesch[1] who has written two books on the art of reading, the women's service magazines are a part of the slick-paper magazine fiction group which is able to be read by sixth-graders. About 80% of Americans over 25 years of age (at this printing) have completed the sixth grade. This means that the potential reading audience of the women's service magazines includes 80% of our Americans.

A further research shows that the average education of the American woman is from seven to eight years of school. A table on the following page (Table III) gives the complete picture.

Another table worked out by Mr. Flesch seems to prove that a person's understanding of reading matter does not depend solely on the time he spent in school when he was young:

> "But in general, nowadays, a persons' education has a great deal to do with the kind of job

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1 Rudolf Flesch, The Art of Plain Talk (New York-London, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1946) 210 pp.

TABLE III

YEARS OF SCHOOL COMPLETED BY FEMALES 14-YEARS-OLD AND OVER IN U.S.[2]

TOTAL FEMALES 14 and OVER	ELEMENTARY SCHOOL		
	Less than 5 years	5 and 6 years	7 and 8 years
54,806,000	4,276,000	4,209,000	15,030,000

HIGH SCHOOL		COLLEGE	
1 to 3 years	Four years	1 to 3 years	Four or more years
11,502,000	13,402,000	3,706,000	2,129,000

2 The World Almanac and Book of Facts for 1949 (published annually by New York World-Telegram, 125 Barclay St., N.Y., 1949) taken from the Bureau of the Census: April, 1947, p.376.

> he can get, the kind of people he meets, the kind of life he lives on the whole, and, of course, his reading and speaking habits".[3]

This material is important and necessary to publishers who are putting out a magazine to attract 70 million women.[4] Naturally, the publishers want a high circulation in order to put out a good magazine -- a magazine that will be priced as low as possible, but which will cover costs and improvements.

Although a sixth-grader can read the women's service magazines, Mr. Flesch says that people do not really like to read things they just barely understand; "they prefer reading matter where they don't even feel any effort in reading".[5] So the average American, perfectly well-equipped to read such magazines as Reader's Digest will prefer the women's service magazines. This means that the seventh-grader will be reading sixth grade material. Or the age attracted by the women's service magazines goes up one notch to the twelve-year-old.

Does this mean that 80% of our Americans have twelve-year-old intelligence?

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3 Rudolf Flesch, The Art of Plain Talk (New York-London, Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1946) p. 135.

4 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company,Inc.,1948) p. 5.

5 Rudolf Flesch, The Art of Plain Talk (New York-London, Harper & Brothers, Publishers, 1946) p. 136.

> "I am talking about levels of reading ability, or language experience, or whatever you want to call it; I am not talking about levels of intelligence. This is where most amateur popularizers go wrong; they think they have to talk down. (Webster defines talking down as 'simplifying or adapting one's discourse for a lower level of intelligence') People are not just plain dumb; they may have little book learning, but they usually have a great deal of sense. For instance, they have sense enough to resent empty phrases, to laugh at phony stories, and to recognize folksiness as a fake."[6]

It is much more difficult for the writer to write for the reader of sixth grade prose than it is to "talk down" to the reader. This is because it takes a great deal of intelligence on the part of the writer. It means counting affixes, the number of words in an average sentence, the number of personal references in a given number of words. Mr. Flesch has worked out a yardstick[7] with which the writer can determine what audience his work will attract.

II. ANYTHING BUT LOVE

According to Mr. Flesch's yardstick, Mrs. Hawes' book is written to the sixth-grade level, or to the slick-fiction readers.

Aside from being an extremely amusing and clever piece of writing, her book is based on a false premise:

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6 Ibid., p. 137.

7 Ibid., p. 58.

> ". . . this book is a complete report on the rules for behavior handed out to 340 million women monthly, we refer to the approximately 120 million women who monthly attend the movies; and to the approximately 140 million women who monthly read the women's magazines, included in our frame of reference. You will recall that each magazine is read by three to five women, and that 35 million magazines are sold monthly. We have somewhat underestimated the actual numbers of pairs of female eyes and ears affected by this material. Clearly, since the total female population is only 70 million, most women expose themselves several times each month to one or more of the sources we have used".[8]

Refutation. The startling figures quoted by Mrs. Hawes give rise to the opinion that the American woman is being stalked by a monster in the shape of the magazines she reads, the movies she attends, and the soap operas she listens to.

Who gives out the rules for behavior to the American woman? Will the American woman take orders from anyone unless they coincide with what she believes? Tradition is the answer to the rules of behavior. Most of what the American woman does and thinks and reads is based upon what her mother taught her, with a few deviations of her own.

Is it the American woman who leads the magazines or the magazines that lead the American woman? The homes designed by architects and decorated by interior decorators which are found in the pages of these magazines are drawn with the American woman in mind. They are designed to save her steps, time, and

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8 Elizabeth Hawes, Anything but Love (New York-Toronto: Rinehart & Company, Inc., 1948) p. 5.

money. If they are considered expensive houses, it is because the magazines have found that the readers of their magazines can afford this kind of house. The magazines know their audience and try to supply them with what they need.

The responsibility of the magazines is questionable in regard to advertising. But when they have been on the wrong side of the fence (as they were when they fought the Tugwell Food and Drug Bill in the 30's), the American women have formed groups to fight the magazines as well as the poor legislation.

And Mrs. Hawes' statement that "the billions who have died by famine and disease caused by starvation are outside the frame of reference"[9] certainly cannot be accepted without question after reading under the articles in the WOMAN'S HOME COMPANION, "The World's Neediest Cases" and "How It Feels To Starve". These articles were written dramatically to point up the necessity for conserving food. By bringing home what it means to starve.

III. FINDINGS AND CONCLUSION

Through this study an attempt has been made to prove that the women's service magazines are grown-up and that they do bear responsibility.

The services they have given the American woman bear out this statement.

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9 Ibid., p. 232.

(1) They have broken ground journalistically by publishing articles on such important subjects as: venereal disease, women's rights, divorce, and gray market babies. By bringing these problems into public they have helped bring about action and solutions.

(2) They have set up correspondence bureaus for teenagers, brides, and expectant mothers. Here, as a part of their service, they distribute pamphlets and booklets on advice and information, and they also answer personally the thousands of questions they receive monthly,

(3) Their household departments have forwarded modern design and have brought about a closer tie between the people of the farmland and those of the cities. Such features as "How America Lives" have answered the needs of many average American families.

(4) The competent fiction found in the service magazines is aimed at the women readers. In this the editors have given their readers what they want (discovered through surveys and polls) plus the pioneering stories discussed earlier.

They lure their women readers with the slick fiction while exposing them to the quality material, thus gradually elevating the tastes of the readers. This is a service that the quality magazines cannot accomplish because the mass circulation cannot be attracted by the one-mindedness in quality magazine fiction.

These service magazines were founded to supply a need as has been shown in the histories. Their success in fulfilling this need can be proved by referring to their mass circulations of approximately 15,000,000.

The problem of surveying an audience of this size for reaction would be supposed impossible, but the service magazines have endeavored to keep their collective fingers on the pulse of the American women, thus ensuring a magazine that is as technically perfect as possible and one that will satisfy the readers.

In conclusion, the proof of whether or not the service magazines are grown-up lies within the magazines themselves, and the material they handle. Their preoccupation with serious and adult affairs does not leave a doubt in the reader's mind that these magazines are serving a necessary function in today's world.

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