

Smoke and Mirrors: Gender Representation in North American Tobacco and Alcohol Advertisements Before 1950

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Historians looking back at North America in the twentieth century will be hard-pressed to reconstruct its cultural dimensions without making reference to liquor, cigarettes, and advertising. In promoting alcohol to women, the purveyors of mass culture eliminated much of the stigma of female alcohol consumption. Tobacco consumption by women did not suffer the disgrace of alcohol, yet it infringed on masculine rituals and spaces. The freedom of women to smoke and drink was an inevitable development of the culture of consumerism. Cigarettes were inexpensive and instantly recognizable as emblems of maturity, rebellion, and liberty; advertisers used images of glamour, wealth, and sophistication to promote public drinking and those of domesticity and companionate marriage to encourage household consumption. For both habits, freedom came to be equated with the use of public space, or more precisely female incursions into male public space.

En se penchant sur l'Amérique du Nord du XX^e siècle, les historiens auront peine à reconstruire ses dimensions culturelles sans faire référence à l'alcool, à la cigarette et à la publicité. En faisant la promotion de l'alcool auprès des femmes, les pourvoyeurs de culture de masse ont éliminé en bonne partie le stigmate qui pesait sur la consommation d'alcool par les femmes. L'usage du tabac n'a pas subi chez les femmes la même disgrâce que la consommation d'alcool, mais il transgressait toutefois les rituels et l'espace des hommes. Dans la culture du consumérisme, la liberté de fumer et de boire des femmes devenait inévitable. La cigarette était un emblème bon marché et immédiatement reconnaissable de la maturité, de la rébellion et de la liberté. Les annonceurs recouraient au prestige, à la richesse et au raffinement pour promouvoir la consommation d'alcool hors du foyer et faisaient valoir la domesticité et l'union libre pour en encourager la consommation à la maison. Pour les deux habitudes, la liberté a fini par être

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assimilée à l'utilisation de l'espace public, ou plus précisément, aux incursions des femmes dans l'espace public des hommes.

HISTORIANS LOOKING BACK at North America in the twentieth century will be hard pressed to reconstruct its cultural dimensions without making reference to liquor, cigarettes, and advertising. It is a fascinating paradox that these ephemeral consumable goods have had influence of such lasting duration. The enactment of prohibitory legislation from the 1890s to the 1930s coincided with the explosion of the mass market, stimulated and created by advertising, the print media, radio, and soon the motion picture industry, as well as the greater availability of packaged goods and domestic appliances. The onset of the Great Depression dampened the market for the sale of material commodities, but not necessarily the sale of the image, as witnessed in the continued popularity of newspaper coverage and film stories of the so-called social elite.

Part of this image was the sophistication of women who drank and smoked cigarettes publicly. The economic potential of addicting one-half of the population to ethanol and nicotine was not lost upon advertisers. In promoting this new market, the purveyors of mass culture eliminated much of the stigma of female alcohol consumption. Tobacco consumption, which has had more devastating effects on the population and its health care facilities in this century, did not suffer the disgrace of alcohol, yet there was not as solid a tradition of comradeship, nor of ritual, in its use. Although these did indeed exist, they were masculine rituals. Therefore, it is important to look back, particularly to the twenties, thirties, and forties, when addiction became synonymous with freedom for women.

Sources for this study include the papers of the J. Walter Thompson Advertising Agency (the largest in the world), which serviced American Tobacco, a corporation that controlled over 90 per cent of the tobacco market in the United States from the 1890s to 1911, and the papers of Edward A. Bernays, one of the most successful public relations agents of the twentieth century. While I have engaged in content analysis based upon a thorough examination of the Thompson Papers Competitors' Advertisements files and of two of the most popular magazines in the thirties and forties, *Life* and *Saturday Evening Post*, I have not attempted a "scientifically quantifiable and systematic" search. Systematic searches (for example, every fifth advertisement in a given year) can be misleading since each magazine has a set list of advertisers which therefore are self-selected. What is important is that the most successful corporations used the most sophisticated, sensorily appealing advertisements. Images and values that were most appealing and found greatest resonance in the marketplace survived and were imitated. Those with minimal appeal or that were exceedingly controversial were not. The more an image was shown, the more familiar it became, thereby finding resonance in the marketplace. The advertisements chosen for this study reflect this dialectic.

A few non-alcoholic beverage advertisements are included for comparative purposes. Carbonated beverages were novel products and, like alcohol and tobacco, non-essential items for consumption, and advertisers faced similar challenges with respect to their marketing. At a J. Walter Thompson creative meeting in 1927, for instance, Vice-President Mims discussed the client's product, "Welch-ade", asserting that "Ultimately the home will prove a tremendous market. Just now the sale of carbonated drinks (pop) in the home is low because of the lack of confidence which the intelligent housewife [has] in these drinks."¹ Using similar marketing strategies for alcoholic as well as non-alcoholic beverages, the advertisers strove to reduce the stigma attached to liquor, especially in the period immediately following prohibition. As a result of their efforts, alcohol as well as tobacco products assumed (or resumed) an accepted role in many households, a role the temperance movement had for many decades successfully denied them.

Many scholars have considered the ramifications of the consumer-oriented culture which developed subsequently to the maturation of industrial capitalism, as well as the role of the advertising industry in that development. Early critics of advertising such as Thorstein Veblen and Vance Packard perceived it as mass deception, a threat to individual autonomy, and responsible for waste and environmental degradation. John Burnham contributed recently to this critique, arguing that the consumer culture in the twentieth century has resulted in a subversion and inversion of traditional Judeo-Christian values. In terms of minor vices, good and evil have been replaced by "cool" and "uncool", and "cool" as pleasure or immediate gratification and amoral sensory stimulation have prevailed. Burnham traced this inversion to the defeat in the United States of national prohibition by large corporate interests. Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen asserted that advertising encouraged the consolidation of social-democratic capitalism by supplying the imagery of success and happiness within the framework of consumerism. Lori Anne Loeb contended that consumerism was an essential element of democratization, since it emphasized egalitarianism. Jackson Lears argued that the critics of advertising, by valuing production over consumption, devalued the irrational and the aesthetic, as well as the universal predilection for humankind to invest material objects with symbolic qualities.²

1 Duke University Archives (Durham, N.C.), J. Walter Thompson Collection, Minutes of the Creative Staff Meeting, August 2, 1927, p. 5.

2 Thorstein Veblen, *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (New York: Funk & Wagnalls, 1967); Vance Packard, *The Hidden Persuaders* (New York: D. McKay, 1957); Jackson Lears, *Fables of Abundance: A Cultural History of Advertising in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), pp. 3-4; John C. Burnham, *Bad Habits: Drinking, Smoking, Taking Drugs, Gambling, Sexual Misbehavior and Swearing in American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), p. 4; Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire: Mass Images and the Shaping of American Consciousness* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), p. 37; Lori Anne Loeb, *Consuming Angels: Advertising and Victorian Women* (New York: Oxford, 1994), p. 164.

The critics of advertising often overlooked the gendered bias inherent in the weighing of social values, in that production remained predominantly the venue of male activity and consumption increasingly the female arena. Business corporations and their advertisers did not disregard this reality. As Betty Friedan perceived in 1963 in *The Feminine Mystique*:

Why is it never said that the really crucial function, the really important role that women serve as housewives is to buy more things for the house? In all the talk about femininity and woman's role, one forgets that the real business of America is Business. But the perpetuation of housewifery, the growth of the feminine mystique, makes sense (and dollars) when one realizes that women are the chief customers of American business.³

Following the Great War, writers and advertisers extolled the virtues of women returning to the home from the paid labour force, but to a new home where freedom of choice over domestic spending was deemed true autonomy.⁴ Indeed, a very important public space for women was the department store.⁵ When men relinquished control over how some of the money they earned was to be spent, this did not “signify a major shift in marital power relations”; rather it masked women's continued economic dependence upon men.⁶ American advertising also was ingenious in conveying “several decades' worth of drastic alterations in women's opportunities as citizens and workers, and in their freedoms of social behaviour and ideals and practices of marriage, as the inevitable product of technological improvement and economic expansion rather than the consequence of purposeful struggle to change gender hierarchy”.⁷

Whether for good or ill, the industries that marketed the products of the

3 Betty Friedan, *The Feminine Mystique* (New York: Dell, 1963), p. 197. See Kathryn Weibel, *Mirror, Mirror: Images of Women Reflected in Popular Culture* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Books, 1977), p. 165.

4 Ellen Wiley Todd, “Art, the ‘New Woman’, and Consumer Culture: Kenneth Hayes Miller and Reginald Marsh on Fourteenth Street, 1920–40”, in Barbara Melosh, ed., *Gender and American History since 1890* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 140; Jennifer Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings: The Ladies' Home Journal, Gender, and the Promises of Consumer Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p. 42. See also Nancy F. Cott, “The Modern Woman of the 1920s, American Style”, in Françoise Thebaud, ed., *A History of Women in the West, V: Toward a Cultural Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap, 1994), p. 90; Cynthia Wright, “‘Feminine Trifles of Vast Importance’: Writing Gender into the History of Consumption”, in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gender Conflicts: New Essays in Women's History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), p. 237.

5 Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 15; Luisa Passerini, “The Ambivalent Image of Woman in Mass Culture”, in Thebaud, ed., *History of Women in the West*, p. 329.

6 Helen Damon-Moore, *Magazines for the Millions: Gender and Commerce in the Ladies' Home Journal and the Saturday Evening Post 1880–1910* (Albany: State University of New York, 1994), p. 187.

7 Cott, “The Modern Woman”, p. 90.

corporations were fully cognizant of their influence. As Edward A. Bernays, one of the founders of modern public relations, wrote in 1928, “The conscious and intelligent manipulation of the organized habits and opinions of the masses is an important element in democratic society. Those who manipulate this unseen mechanism of society constitute an invisible government which is the true ruling power of our country.”⁸ A critic of advertising, writing in the seventies, described the campaigns of the thirties as displaying an “innocence and transparency in their vulgar designs ... because ... techniques of mass persuasion were so much less subtle — less poisonous — then.”⁹ Yet, within their own context, the advertisements of the twenties and thirties were extremely sophisticated and powerful in their manipulation, as they were the children and the parents of modern psychology. John B. Watson, one of the founders of behavioural psychology, was an account representative for the J. Walter Thompson agency from 1921 to 1935.¹⁰ Bernays was a nephew of Sigmund Freud and well versed in psychoanalytic theory. As early as 1895, the industry was aware of the importance of psychology, for “the advertising writer and the teacher have one great object in common — to influence the human mind”.¹¹ One of the bibles of the industry was Walter Dill Scott’s *Psychology of Advertising*. Scott, president of Northwestern University in 1920, applied pre-Freudian psychology to sales, noting “an advertisement has not accomplished its mission til it has instructed the possible customer concerning the goods and then has caused him to forget where he received his instruction.”¹² In the twenties, Watson was commissioned by J. Walter Thompson to present patterns of human behaviour useful for advertisers. His research taught the copywriter that soup is associated with the deepest “human need for nourishment and reassurance ... possibly rooted in pre-natal sensations”; that cigarette smoking, which is “forbidden in youth, becomes a symbol of independence [from] parents and provides a sense of guilt which is in itself pleasurable”; and that “beer is a middle-class drink meant for unpretentious sociability”. These homely insights remain evident in contemporary advertising.¹³

At creative staff meetings in 1927, the Thompson agency managers outlined their views of the public. “This is not an age of crusades, it is an age of vogues,” stated Vice-President Mims, “and we could not sell the

8 Edward L. Bernays, *Propaganda* (New York: Liveright, 1928), p. 9.

9 Fred Inglis, *The Imagery of Power: A Critique of Advertising* (London: Heinemann, 1972), p. 80.

10 Ellen G. Gartrell, “Living History: J. Walter Thompson Company Archives at Duke University”, *J. Walter Thompson Detroit Office Newsletter*, May–July 1991.

11 *Printer’s Ink*, October 1895. See James Playsted Wood, *The Story of Advertising* (New York: Ronald, 1958), p. 6.

12 Walter Dill Scott, *The Psychology of Advertising in Theory and Practice* (Boston: Small, Maynard & Co, 1902, 1921), p. 221.

13 Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, pp. 488–489.

moral responsibility of the age very easily, but we might sell the vogue very easily.”¹⁴ Marshall McLuhan condemned this use of “market research” as having “a strong totalitarian squint — that of the social engineer.... It aims not only at providing more and more sensation, but at the exploitation of all emotional sets and preferences as just so much raw material to be worked up by centralized control for purposes of super-profits.”¹⁵ As Mims prosaically informed his colleagues, “The public is conscious of things which influence its mind and appeal to its rather raw and crude emotions.”¹⁶

The consumer’s instructor most likely was male, Anglo-Saxon, under 40 years of age, college-educated, and living in a Northeastern city, probably New York. This minority would set the standards, usually based upon its own interests and preferences, for beauty, leisure, and sophistication disseminated in advertisements and articles throughout North America. By the twenties, the inundation of Canadian culture by American influences was complete. Eighty per cent of the radio programming listened to by Canadians and virtually all of the movies they saw were of American origin. By 1926 *Ladies’ Home Journal*, *Saturday Evening Post*, *Pictorial Review*, and *McCall’s* were read by more Canadians than any domestic magazine, and the total Canadian circulation for American magazines was 50 million.¹⁷

From the late 1880s through the 1940s, magazines were the most important (and for most of the period the sole) medium to reach a national audience regularly, in the case of the United States, and an international audience when these magazines expanded into the Canadian market. In both countries, national magazines, through advertising, accelerated the growth and success of recognized brands.¹⁸ McLuhan argued that picture magazines were an extremely influential medium for successful marketing since they encouraged the reader’s passivity and subliminal absorption of information in the context of other content.¹⁹

14 Duke University Archives, Minutes of Creative Staff Meeting, Vice-President Mims, July 26, 1927, p. 7.

15 Marshall McLuhan, “American Advertising” (1947), in Bernard Rosenberg and David Manning White, eds., *Mass Culture: The Popular Arts in America* (New York: Free Press, 1957), p. 436.

16 Duke University Archives, Minutes of Creative Staff Meeting, J. Walter Thompson, Vice-President Mims, August 2, 1927, p. 5.

17 Roland Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920–1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p. 33; John Herd Thompson and Allen Seager, *Canada 1922–1939: Decades of Discord* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1985), p. 183; Mary Vipond, “Canadian Nationalism and the Plight of Canadian Magazines in the 1920s”, *Canadian Historical Review*, vol. 58, no. 1 (March 1977), p. 43.

18 Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), p. 175; Paul Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), p. 125.

19 Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (New York: Signet, 1964), pp. 183, 202–203. See also Weibel, *Mirror, Mirror*, p. 169; Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 170.

In those 50 million periodicals as well as domestic publications like *MacLean's*, *Saturday Night*, and *Chatelaine*, Canadians were exposed to cigarette advertisements.²⁰ The first of the great cigarette brands, and the first to use saturation advertising, was R. J. Reynolds's Camels. American Tobacco's George Washington Hill, one of the great hucksters of the twentieth century, chose the brand Lucky Strike to compete. Through the use of the slogan "It's Toasted", to connote the cooking process which all tobacco undergoes, Lucky Strike had reached the 6 billion mark in sales within 18 months of its introduction. In 1925 the sales for American Tobacco cigarettes amounted to 17.4 billion, 34 billion Camels were sold, and Liggett & Myers's Chesterfield brand sold over 20 billion. These three brands would comprise 82 per cent of the American market. Cigarette sales increased steadily in both the United States and Canada, peaking in the early 1960s in the United States and the early 1980s in Canada.²¹

However, the male market was only the beginning. The media provided a tremendous boost for sales in 1904, when a woman was arrested in New York for smoking a cigarette in an automobile on Fifth Avenue. Women, particularly younger women, had been smoking within their homes, but this publicity encouraged advertisers to attempt to accelerate the change in social mores. Michael Schudson has argued that since "tens of thousands" of women began smoking in the twenties "before a single advertisement was directed toward them ... it is more accurate to observe that cigarette smoking among women led tobacco companies to advertise toward the female market than to suggest that advertising created the market in the first place." Yet it is difficult to determine the relative influence of advertisements aimed towards women compared with earlier pitches directed at men. Cigarette advertising could have shaped women's views of what was masculine and therefore what would be an attractive aspiration for "new women". As Carol Moog stated, advertising can shape the direction our beliefs, as well as our concepts of self, freedom, and rebellion, take.²²

Part of the challenge for advertisers was to alter the popular image of the woman who smoked. By the twenties, the association of smoking and

20 *Chatelaine* did not carry liquor advertisements until the 1960s. V. J. Korinek, "Your Best Medium to Sell Women: Advertising, Marketing and Gender in *Chatelaine*" (paper presented to the Canadian Historical Association, 1994), p. 9.

21 Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, p. 373; Roberta G. Ferrence, *Deadly Fashion: The Rise and Fall of Cigarette Smoking in North America* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1989), p. 48, Figure 2. Two major recent studies are Stanton A. Glantz et al., *The Cigarette Papers* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996); and Richard Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes: America's 100 Year Cigarette War, the Public Health, and the Unabashed Triumph of Philip Morris* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1996).

22 Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, p. 376; Michael Schudson, "Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising in the 1920s: A Study in the Sociology of Consumption", in Catherine L. Covert and John D. Stevens, eds., *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1984), p. 71; Carol Moog, "Are They Selling Her Lips?" *Advertising and Identity* (New York: William Morrow, 1990), p. 13.

drinking with disreputable women had been long entrenched. The word cigarette first appeared in French literature in Baudelaire's "Les Salons de 1848", where the habit was associated with lower-class prostitutes. Female smokers fared better in the Latin world (as personified by the popular operatic figure Carmen, the cigarette roller from Seville). Cigarette smoking by women was popular in Spain in the 1830s and in the Spanish colonies.²³

In contrast, attitudes towards female smoking in North America were usually negative. More health problems, for instance, were believed to be suffered by women who smoked. In 1873 James Neish, an Ontario physician, claimed that in some parts of Canada it was "not an uncommon thing to find women of the lower class addicted to smoking tobacco". This led to a litany of complaints, including dyspepsia, loss of vision, "anaemia, palpitation of the heart, neuralgia [and] nervous rheumatism". Among the "vulgar", Neish acknowledged, tobacco was believed to aid asthma and act as a prophylactic against contagious disease. Neish "was once met by this argument from an old farmer's wife who was smoking her pipe with great complacency and satisfaction". He concluded that "tobacco is sometimes good for the lungs, but always bad for the heart".²⁴

Cigarette smoking enjoyed an exotic connotation in popular culture. *The Catch of the Season*, a drama on the London stage (c.1890s–1900s), for instance, featured "The Cigarette Song".²⁵ The association of the cigarette with the *Femme Fatale* was of long duration. In the satirical English novel of the 1890s, *The Diary of a Nobody*, Miss Lillie Posh, with hair bleached and "a little painted round the eyes", smoked cigarettes with the men after dinner.²⁶ Theda Bara's vamp in *A Fool There Was* (1914) drank and smoked "with abandon" as she broke the hearts of respectable men. Nor was this image limited to the United States.²⁷ During World War II, Canadian

23 For more on attitudes towards female drinkers in the nineteenth century, see Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, "'Oh Lord, Pour a Cordial in her Wounded Heart': The Drinking Woman in Victorian and Edwardian Canada", in Cheryl Krasnick Warsh, ed., *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), *passim*; Richard Klein, *Cigarettes are Sublime* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1993), pp. 8, 114; Robert Sobel, *They Satisfy: The Cigarette in American Life* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1978), p. 9.

24 James Neish, "On Some Effects of Smoking among Women", *The Canadian Medical Times*, no. 9 (August 30, 1873), pp. 68–69.

25 The lyrics include: "Cigarette, forget/ Cigarette, and yet/ You are sweet while you last,/ But like love that is past./ When you're out altogether/ How bitter you get./ And you drop from my fingers/ A burnt-Cigarette." *The Play: An Illustrated Monthly*, vol. 1, no. 6 (n.d.), pp. 142–145. Thanks to Marni Stanley for this reference.

26 Sobel, *They Satisfy*, p. 9; George and Weedon Grossmith, *The Diary of a Nobody* (London: Penguin, 1892, 1965), pp. 226–227.

27 Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, p. 98. In Canada, this image was tenaciously maintained, and racism could be added to the disreputability of female smoking. In "The Black Canadian" (*Maclean's Magazine*, October 1911), Britton B. Cooke's polemic against African-

military posters warning of the dangers of venereal disease portrayed “Gonnie” and “Syph” as “a couple of short-skirted, heavily lip-sticked, cigarette-smoking “gals” (see Figure 1).²⁸ A 1918 advertisement in *Harper’s Bazaar* for Milo Violets was an interesting bridge between Victorian and post-World War I values (see Figure 2). The image of “the woman in recline” was a cliché in late Victorian commercial iconography, in that the product was associated with leisure, an essential aspect of Victorian domestic ideology. As Lori Anne Loeb concluded, however, “the focus [was] also the woman’s sensual pleasure. In Victorian commercial art, many advertisements prey[ed] upon the sensuous appeal of sybaritic luxuries ... and self-absorbed narcissists.”²⁹ That there was a female market for cigarettes to which Milo Violets were directed was evident by the existence of such products created for women. By its name, by its description as “delicately scented” and gold-tipped, and by its appeal to the “smart” woman with “tired nerves”, this brand was patterned after a wide range of cosmetic and pharmaceutical products made for the female market. In the illustration it is unclear what is in the steaming pot, but this advertisement exudes the ambiance of the opium den. By the twenties, mass advertising for cigarettes and lighters targeted Canadian women (Milo Violets were distributed through both New York and Montreal), although the act of purchasing the products was still novel.³⁰

Closely associated with the *Femme Fatale* image was the personification of tobacco with the figure of Lady Nicotine. As Allan Brandt noted, “This gendered vision of the cigarette symbolized both the allure (and the anxiety) of a historically specific dependence on tobacco.”³¹ Lady Nicotine was an excellent device for depicting the female body as a metaphor for sale. A

American communities in Canada, a photograph portraying a woman as slovenly and degenerate was labelled, “the lady smokes”. See Fraser Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic: A History of Canadian Magazines, 1789–1989* (Markham, Ont.: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1989), p. 141.

28 Ruth Roach Pierson, *“They’re Still Women After All”: The Second World War and Canadian Womanhood* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1986), p. 206.

29 Loeb, *Consuming Angels*, pp. 62, 156.

30 Similar campaigns were launched by Murad and other brands. Sobel, *They Satisfy*, p. 98. Regarding the women smokers’ market in Canada, one advertisement read, “Every United Cigar Store offers to ladies, as well as to the men, a courteous, intelligent and helpful service from *all* employees, at *all* times.” Quoted in Veronica Strong-Boag, *The New Day Recalled: Lives of Girls and Women in English Canada, 1919–1939* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), p. 85.

31 Allan M. Brandt, “From Nicotine to Nicotrol: Addictions, Cigarettes and American Culture” (paper presented to Historical Perspectives on Alcohol and Drug Use in American Society, 1800–1997, Philadelphia, 1997), p. 4. Richard Klein asserted that Carmen was an archetype for women smokers: “When she accepts a cigarette, the gesture unmistakably identifies as an outlaw sorceress, a demonic whore, who transcends all limits of feminine propriety.... Just as the goddess Diana assumes the hideous form of Hecate, the witch ... Carmen is the cigarette she takes ... perpetually turned to delicious smoke and bitter ash.” Such a sado-masochistic portrait was unlikely to expand the cigarette market beyond a limited group of women, and it certainly was not the image cigarette manufacturers wanted to depict. Klein, *Cigarettes are Sublime*, p. 114.



Figure 1 Canadian Army poster, April 1943 (DND/Public Archives of Canada, PA-141001)

Milo VIOLETS
DELICATELY SCENTED • GOLD TIPS

25¢ for 10 CIGARETTES
BOX DE LUXE OF 100 - \$2.50

The smart woman finds rest for tired nerves, in the never failing companionship of Milo Violets

If your dealer cannot supply you, write to
Dept. M.V., 8th floor, 1790 Broadway, New York, or
Dept. M.V., 38 Cathcart Street, Montreal, Canada

Figure 2 Harper's Bazaar, February 1918, Milo Violets (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

visually clever *Time* advertisement from 1941 for Chesterfield brand (see Figure 3) (Liggett & Myers's entry into the cigarette market led by Camel and Lucky Strike) features band singer Marion Hutton, "Today's most popular number". Hutton's microphone pickup is replaced with a package of Chesterfields.

Because of the disreputable image of the female smoker, cigarette manufacturers were leery about appealing directly to women. In his content analysis of three American periodicals published between 1925 and 1935,

MARION HUTTON
in Glenn Miller's Moonlight
Serenade, broadcasts...

*Today's most
popular number*

Chesterfield

There's a greater demand than ever for Chesterfields. Smokers who have tried them are asking for them again and again, and for the best of reasons... Chesterfields are cooler, better-tasting and definitely milder. Chesterfields are made for smokers like yourself... so tune in now for your 1941 smoking pleasure.

They Satisfy

Copyright 1941, LIGGETT & MYERS TOBACCO CO.

Figure 3 *Time*, January 6, 1941, Liggett & Myers Tobacco Co. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

**Mrs. Gail Borden
of Chicago**

*"There's more
pleasure in a Camel
...and more
smoking, too!"*

MRS. GAIL BORDEN—chic round-the-world traveler, much-sought-after member of Chicago's North Shore set—enjoys entertaining at home. As she herself says: "I love having friends in for dinner." And, since her friends include artists, musicians, and literary figures, her dinners are always great fun. One of her thoughtful table touches is the serving of Camel cigarettes...

"My guests prefer Camels," she points out. "They appreciate 'the long-burning cigarette'! As for me," Mrs. Borden continues, "well, Camels have been my favorite for many years. They have the most delicate taste I could want in a cigarette. And they're so much milder."



By burning 25% slower than the average of the 15 other of the largest-selling brands tested—slower than any of them—CAMELS give a smoking plus equal to

**5 EXTRA
SMOKES
PER PACK!**



*A few of the many distinguished women
who prefer Camel cigarettes*

- Mrs. Nicholas Biddle, Philadelphia
- Mrs. Alexander Black, Los Angeles
- Mrs. Fyrene Cahen, Boston
- Mrs. Thomas M. Carnegie, Jr., Philadelphia
- Mrs. J. Caroline Gooding, 2nd, Boston
- Mrs. Anthony J. Deane, 3rd, Philadelphia
- Mrs. Cortez de Gifford, Jr., New York
- Mrs. Chiswell Deane Longshore, Virginia
- Mrs. Nicholas Gilfillan, Baltimore
- Mrs. Louis Sulz, Jr., Chicago
- Mrs. William M. Van Kester, New York



Copyright, 1939, R. J. Reynolds
Tob. Co., Winston-Salem, N. C.

**MORE PLEASURE
PER PUFF . . .
MORE PUFFS
PER PACK!**

Penny for penny
your best
cigarette buy

Camels—Long-burning Costlier Tobaccos

February 1940 Good Housekeeping

Figure 4 Good Housekeeping, February 1940, R. J. Reynolds Tob. Co. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

Michael Schudson found no advertisements picturing or obviously appealing to women before the late twenties and concluded, “Cigarette manufacturers were cautious in appealing directly to women. Curtis Wessel, editor of the *U.S. Tobacco Journal*, wrote in 1924 that ‘all responsible tobacco opinion’ found the habit of women smoking [too] ‘novel’.”³² As the Milo Violets advertisement makes evident, however, advertising directed towards women did indeed predate the later 1920s.

By the thirties, Lady Nicotine had shed some of her exotic character. This was largely due to the efforts of marketers, most notably George Hill and his representative, Albert Lasker of New York’s Lord and Thomas Agency. One of the techniques they adopted was the celebrity testimonial, used to great effect for decades to sell other questionable as well as respectable products.³³ The celebrities sought to endorse products ranging from tonics to bed linens were often society figures.³⁴

A Camels advertisement in *Good Housekeeping* (1940) (see Figure 4) was an American testimonial directed towards the female market featuring Mrs. Gail Borden, the chic round-the-world traveller, with whom the average woman, or even her maid, could identify if she smoked Camels. Roland Marchand noted that “advertisers insisted upon the image of the ‘French maid’ [young, poised, and slender] as the standard of social respectability” despite the fact that the American domestic work force comprised blacks or recent immigrants, many of whom were over 35 years of age. There were serious shortages of domestic labour at the turn of the century in both the United States and Canada, where the Dominion government actively recruited Scottish women to immigrate as servants. Marchand added, “The French maid’s usual roles as dutiful, conscientious servant and ego-enhancing personal attendant offered readers a chance to retain in fantasy something that appliances-as-servants could not provide — the psychological pleasures of solicitous personal attention from an obvious subordinate.”³⁵

Yet there are other interesting elements to this advertisement. The French maid was a stock figure in Victorian pornography; young, attractive women in the household had an undercurrent of sexual intrigue, not to be overlooked by the male advertisers. There was also a constant reference in mass

32 Schudson, “Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising”, p. 77. I have yet to come across any discussion of the southern nature of the tobacco industry and whether this would make its leaders more conservative about accepting social changes such as women’s public smoking.

33 In the late nineteenth century, for instance, agents for Paine’s Celery Compound bought advertising space from newspapers which could provide “good, strong” testimonials for the patent medicine from local politicians. James H. Young, *The Toadstool Millionaires* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1961), p. 220; See Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 96.

34 See Daniel J. Boorstin, *The Image or What Happened to the American Dream* (New York: Atheneum, 1962), p. 219; Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 211.

35 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, pp. 202, 205; Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 202; See Marilyn Barber, “The Women Ontario Welcomed: Immigrant Domestic for Ontario Homes, 1870–1930”, *Ontario History*, vol. 72, no. 3 (1980), pp. 148–173.

culture to a “vague and unattainable ‘other’ model, [which] for American advertising [was] that of the dream French woman, to such a degree that many American products [were] described as derived from French and especially Parisian prototypes”.³⁶ In this advertisement as well, as an object of consumption — Mrs. Borden does not appear to have any function other than travelling and being decorative — the Fashionable Woman was easily replaceable. The audience for this democratic Cinderella story may identify not so much with the “lady” but with the “lady” once-removed: the new and improved consumable good. The two women in the Camel advertisement look very similar; they could be sisters. The maid’s face has an interesting mixture of deference and hatred which might be appropriate for a servant in “egalitarian” America in 1940. This is an example of an image which separated women and exploited anxieties. Similar anxieties were exploited in advertisements such as that for Imperial Tobacco, published in the *Nanaimo Daily Free Press* in 1939. The copy asked Canadian women: “Should a woman marry a man who does not smoke?” and replies (naturally in the negative) with a quote from Robert Louis Stevenson: “Whatever keeps a man in his front garden, whatever checks wandering fancy ... makes just as surely for domestic happiness.”³⁷

If cigarette smoking was to be a respectable activity for women, it would have to be a public one. The sybaritic luxury of smoking Milo Violets had remained domestic. Turkish and Russian brands of cigarettes had been used by sophisticated, affluent women in America since the 1850s, but these were smoked in privacy or even secretly. The controversy over women’s smoking in the twenties involved the gendered use of public space. Schudson concluded that “part of the reason for agitation by women for smoking inside was that smoking outside, in public, was still unacceptable.... As late as 1937, a market research firm found that 95 percent of male smokers smoked in the street, but that only 28 percent of them believed it right for women to do likewise.”³⁸ Consequently, women smoked in “places where men have never smoked — railroad diners, retail stores, and art galleries” and were criticized in the newspapers for starting fires carelessly. On the other hand, the *New York Times* reported as early as 1921 that the Canadian Pacific Railroad had installed smoking compartments for women in its cars, most likely for the benefit of American tourists.³⁹ The fire hazard argument is rather a specious one; many a saloon and club must have suffered damage from cigars before proprietors realized that brocade curtains and plush carpeting did not go well with tobacco ash. The male ritual of smoking was space-oriented, however: in bars, in clubs, or in dining rooms after dinner.

36 Passerini, “The Ambivalent Image”, p. 331.

37 *Nanaimo Daily Free Press*, April 22, 1939.

38 Sobel, *They Satisfy*, p. 13; Jack Jacobs Gottsegen, *Tobacco: A Study of its Consumption in the U.S.* (New York: Pitman, 1940), p. 151. Schudson, “Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising”, pp. 73, 75.

39 *New York Times*, July 15, 1921, p. 5. See Schudson, “Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising”, p. 74.

When women began to smoke in their spaces — shops, galleries, and colleges — they rendered effeminate a male ritual. As Edgeworth Smoking Tobacco claimed in 1931, “A man looks like a man when he smokes a pipe.”⁴⁰

Cigarette companies hoping to increase the female market therefore turned to the newly professionalized field of public relations and its manipulation of the mass media. Schudson has suggested “that the mass media played a role in spreading the cigarette habit among women, but that it was primarily the information conveyed in news stories, not the persuasion attempted in advertisements, that helped legitimate smoking among women in the 1920s”. Indeed, by 1921 the *New York Times* had printed enough items on the subject of women smoking that its *Annual Index* cited “women’s use” as a subcategory of “tobacco”.⁴¹ Many of the items may have been the contributions of Edward Bernays. As Bernays recounted, “The public relations counsel must not only supply news, he must create news. That function as the creator of news is even more important than his others.”⁴² Bernays worked hand-in-glove with G. W. Hill and Albert Lasker to create what Daniel Boorstin has termed “pseudo-events”, producing a social climate favourable to respectable cigarette consumption by women.⁴³ For instance, by 1928 Bernays was aiming press releases such as the following at the growing college market:

Seven out of every 10 coeds at Northwestern Like to Smoke.

These figures were computed on the basis of a petition signed by the women students living in houses on the women’s quadrangle. The petition, in protest against the established ban on smoking, asked the right to smoke.⁴⁴

Hill set the stage for a powerful association of women with cigarettes which is still a favourite weapon. As he recounted it:

I was sitting in the car and I looked at the corner and there was a great big

40 Quoted in Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 191; See also Sobel, *They Satisfy*, p. 91.

41 Schudson, “Women, Cigarettes, and Advertising”, pp. 71–72; Ronald J. Troyer and Gerald E. Markle, *Cigarettes: The Battle Over Smoking* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1983), p. 41.

42 Edward L. Bernays, *Crystallizing Public Opinion* (New York: Liveright, 1923, 1934), p. 183.

43 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 96. According to Boorstin, a pseudo-event is not spontaneous; it is planted for the immediate purpose of being reported or reproduced, is ambiguously related to the underlying reality of the situation, and is intended to be a self-fulfilling prophecy. Boorstin, *The Image*, p. 11.

44 Library of Congress, Manuscript Division (Washington D.C.), The Papers of Edward L. Bernays (hereafter Bernays Papers), Press Releases File, 1928–31, Box 84. The “Miss Reingold” campaign was a very popular event staged to increase beer consumption among women. From 1941 the beauty queen was chosen by ballot, and by 1957, 20 million ballots were cast nationally. The public’s involvement in the manufacture of this “pseudo-event” demonstrated the active participatory nature of successful public relations. Boorstin, *The Image*, p. 221.

stout lady chewing gum. And there was a taxicab — it was in the summertime — coming the other way. I looked, and there was a young lady sitting in the taxicab with a long cigarette holder in her mouth, and she had a very good figure.... But right then and there it hit me; there was the lady that was stout and chewing, and there was the young girl that was slim and smoking a cigarette. “Reach for a Lucky Instead of a Sweet.” There it was, right in front of you.⁴⁵

This became the most successful of all the Lucky Strike slogans, permanently characterizing cigarette smoking as a substitute for food. As a consequence, Lucky Strike outsold its competitors, and American Tobacco's annual earnings rose from \$12 million in 1926 to \$40 million in 1930. Women were a substantial element of this increase. In 1924, 6 per cent of American women were estimated to be smokers, increasing to 16 per cent in 1929, 18 per cent in 1935, and 36 per cent in 1944 (compared to 50 per cent of men in 1924 and 1929, 52 per cent in 1935, and 48 per cent in 1944).⁴⁶

The market into which Lucky Strike tapped reflected the radical shift in standards of female beauty which occurred in the twenties, exemplified by the stick figure Flapper Girls of illustrator John Held. As Roland Marchand argued, “women in [Art Deco] tableaux ... sometimes added more than a foot to their everyday heights and stretched their elongated eyes, fingers, legs, arms, and necks to grotesque proportions.” There have been a variety of interpretations of this aesthetic shift. Marchand associated the rectangular female shape with the skyscraper as a symbol of modernity and a rejection of maternal and lower-class images.⁴⁷ The Ewens argued that, by the twenties, “fashion had begun to emulate the logic of industrialism.... The young, agile, long-limbed girl ... was easily clothed by a standardized manufactured garment [while] the entry of woman into the world of work, or the world of public life in general, was seen as her masculinization.”⁴⁸ This masculinization took interesting forms. In Quebec, for instance, a fad reviled by conservative critics was known as “‘garçonisme’, which encouraged girls to behave and even dress like boys”.⁴⁹

45 Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, p. 377. Albert Lasker also took credit for the fantastically successful marketing strategy since his wife smoked to “kill her appetite and so cut down on calories”. Sobel, *They Satisfy*, p. 98.

46 Wood, *The Story of Advertising*, pp. 378–379. Proportionately, comparable rates in Canada tended to lag behind the United States by over 10 years. Ferrence, *Deadly Fashion*, pp. 41, 47; Bobbie Jacobson, *Beating the Ladykillers: Women and Smoking* (London: Pluto Press, 1986), p. 43.

47 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, pp. 155, 181, 184. For more on the persistence of the dogma of modernity in the popular press, see Rutherford, *A Victorian Authority*, pp. 156–157.

48 Stuart and Elizabeth Ewen, *Channels of Desire*, pp. 201, 204.

49 Andrée Levesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules: Women in Quebec 1919–1939*, trans. Yvonne M. Klein (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1994), p. 60.

The concept that masculinization and unchecked female sexual freedom could accompany economic freedom was limited in the image of the flapper who, although “young and eager to please”, lacked the stature of traditional motherhood and a mature sexuality that could consume men. “These images attacked women’s power and insisted upon men’s power to control sexual interactions.”⁵⁰ The advertising of the twenties “contained almost nothing but sweet young things”. One of the few female copywriters, Helen Rosen Woodward, wrote in 1926 that “in the United States men look on sophistication with fear”.⁵¹ The fragile figure of the flapper, the emphasis on short-term gratification, and the espousal of the value of fashion — ephemeral and unproductive — dissipated some of the anxieties caused by increasing public roles for women. Power was now defined as purchasing power, the goal of which was the traditional one of pleasing a man — to strive endlessly to fulfil “the old prescription of ‘beauty a duty’ ”. To feel beautiful and self-confident, however, women had to have experienced the emotions of being non-beautiful and insecure. “This oppositional strategy”, Ellen McCracken asserted, “helps to assure the continued purchase of commodities; one product or even several will never completely alleviate insecurities and the fear of being non-beautiful.”⁵² Susan Bordo has recognized the class bias inherent in the cultural preoccupation with the slender female form and in its psychopathic manifestation, anorexia: “Demonstrating an ability to ‘rise above’ the need to eat imparts moral or aesthetic superiority only where others are prone to overindulgence.”⁵³

When George Hill became enthused with the association of cigarettes with slimness, Edward Bernays initiated a comprehensive campaign. He first tried to ensure that the thin body type would remain the height of fashion. He enlisted fashion “mavens” such as Augusta Owen Patterson, art editor of *Town and Country* magazine, to remark in a press release subtitled “The Quest of the Slender Figure is the Holy Grail of Today’s Chic”: “I do not believe that the modern woman, now that she has discovered how to release herself from the bondage of middle-age over-weight, will ever consent to go

50 Christine Simmons, “Modern Sexuality and the Myth of Victorian Repression”, in Melosh, ed., *Gender and American History*, p. 33. See also Cott, “The Modern Woman”, p. 81; Lewis A. Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out: New York Nightlife and the Transformation of American Culture, 1890–1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), p. 168.

51 Quoted in Lears, *Fables of Abundance*, p. 187. See also Erenberg, *Steppin’ Out*, p. xiv.

52 Todd, “Art, the ‘New Woman’ and Consumer Culture”, p. 147; Kathy Peiss, “Making Faces: The Cosmetics Industry and the Cultural Construction of Gender, 1890–1930”, *Genders*, vol. 7 (Spring 1990), p. 147; Ellen McCracken, *Decoding Women’s Magazines: From Mademoiselle to Ms.* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 1993), p. 136. See also Passerini, “Ambivalent Image”, p. 336.

53 A theme used in tobacco advertising related to slimness, and appealing to men as well, was fitness. For instance, a pitch for Camels in 1935, “They Don’t Get Your Wind”, included an endorsement by George Barker, cross-country track star, and baseball’s Lou Gehrig: “Most of the pleasant things in life are doubly pleasant when you’re ‘in condition’.” Susan Bordo, *Unbearable Weight: Feminism, Western Culture, and the Body* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993), p. 62.

back to the days when the woman of 40 began to look like a stodgy piece of not too well upholstered furniture.”⁵⁴ Bernays then campaigned to promote smoking as an aid to dieting; medical directors of life insurance companies across the United States were sent the following questionnaire, with positive responses being quoted in press releases:

1. Are we correct in our belief that most overweight cases can be corrected by proper diet?
2. That in most cases such diet precludes sweets and starches?
3. That to smoke and to drink water in quantities will curb the craving for sweets and the desire for heavy eating?⁵⁵

For those women who were unsure as to how to incorporate cigarettes into a reducing plan, Bernays commissioned Ethel R. Peyser, “home economics expert and counsel on household equipment”, to create a series of “maintenance diet” menus conveniently placed in Lucky Strike packages. A sample lunch comprised: “5 oz. escalloped potatoes with cheese sauce; 1 glass skimmed milk; clear tea; Reach for a cigarette instead of dessert.”⁵⁶

The Thompson agency and its top advertising executive, Helen Resor,⁵⁷ were stymied in attempts to place tobacco advertising in one of the most popular women’s magazines, *Ladies’ Home Journal*, as a consequence of editor Edward Bok’s Advertising Code of 1910, banning submissions for tobacco products, as well as for instalment buying, alcohol, patent medicines, and playing cards. Resor also could not convince the *Journal* to publish “stronger” fiction which would portray heroines who smoked (an early example of product placement).⁵⁸ Yet the advertisers had the last word, burlesquing the *Journal*’s stand on the New Woman of the twenties, which began: “I believe in woman’s rights; but I believe in woman’s sacrifices also.”⁵⁹ The Lucky Strike campaign included a “vow” of the Ziegfeld Girls’ Curves, Charm and Contour Club:

I pledge myself to slenderness,
To a figure supple and lithe and slim,
To the grace of a finely proportioned body
That enables movement unhampered and free,

54 Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Bernays Papers, Press Releases File, 1928–31, Box 85.

55 Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Bernays Papers, correspondence, November 1928, Box 85.

56 *Ibid.*, November–December 1928, Box 85.

57 Helen Resor was the first to use sex appeal in American advertising with her successful campaign for Woodbury’s Soap for “A Skin You Love to Touch”. Scanlon noted the irony that the use of women as sexual objects in advertising was initiated by a woman (*Inarticulate Longings*, p. 175).

58 Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, pp. 192, 200.

59 Harriet Abbot, “What Newest New Woman Wants”, *Ladies’ Home Journal* (August 1920), p. 154. See Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 124.

I renounce the false pleasures of the table, —
 Fattening foods, drinks and cloying sweets,
 But I make no sacrifices:
 I shall smoke cigarettes.⁶⁰

Bernays's and Lasker's endeavours were eminently successful, as American Tobacco's profits increased one hundredfold in 1930 over 1929. The fun was somewhat dampened when in January 1930 the Federal Trade Commission ruled that American Tobacco "should no longer claim that smoking cigarettes would help people control their weight". The corporation's profits were not affected, however, since their messages still reached the public.⁶¹ The images of fashion created by New York and Hollywood were disseminated throughout North America through the syndicated press. As Ward Greene of King Features Syndicate informed the Thompson agency in 1933: "Women are in a large measure the principal readers of newspapers.... At the present time we are running the smartest fashions we can, furnished to us by *Harper's Bazaar*, on the theory that no matter how small the town or how poor the woman she usually likes to look at and read about the best."⁶² The leading Canadian dailies, including the *Toronto Star* and the *Vancouver Sun*, published the syndicated columns and comic strips, and their circulations consequently skyrocketed.⁶³

Liquor advertising faced other limitations. While American publications such as the *Ladies' Home Journal* chose not to run alcohol advertisements, Canadian publishers and advertisers were restricted by confusing and often contradictory government regulations. In the twenties and thirties, for instance, print advertising of beer and liquor products was banned in Ontario but legal in British Columbia and Quebec. Billboard and radio advertising, popular in the thirties, was banned in English Canada and legal in Quebec.⁶⁴ This led to creative, albeit not always successful, solutions by Canadian brewers and distillers. In 1940 E. P. Taylor, owner of Canadian Breweries, began publication of *New World Illustrated* and its French counterpart, *Nouveau Monde*, as competition for the American *Life* magazine. As these were published in Montreal, Taylor was able to take advantage of Quebec's liberal liquor laws and advertise his beer. Although *New World Illustrated* only lasted until 1948 and lost \$400,000, its 200,000 subscribers and their friends were exposed to Canadian Breweries' ads. Until liquor advertising was legalized in Ontario by the end of the forties,

60 Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, Bernays Papers, Press Releases File, 1928–31, Box 85.

61 Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 102; Stephen Fox, *The Mirror Makers: A History of American Advertising and its Creators* (New York: William Morrow, 1984), p. 116.

62 Duke University Archives, Minutes of Creative Staff Meeting, April 12, 1933, p. 8.

63 Thompson and Seager, *Canada: 1922–1939*, p. 186.

64 Robert A. Campbell, *Demon Rum or Easy Money: Government Control of Liquor in British Columbia from Prohibition to Privatization* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1991), p. 138.

Ontario-based magazines suffered an even more precarious existence. Roy Thomson, who once said, “What is editorial content? The stuff you separate the ads with,” lost money every month with *Canadian Liberty* (later *New Liberty*) magazine until, unfettered by liquor legislation banning advertising, he “ran enough beer and liquor ads to give the members of the WCTU the vapors”.⁶⁵ In the nation as a whole, the government liquor bans were ineffective as long as the vastly more popular American magazines were permitted in Canada with their beer and liquor advertising intact.

In the area of liquor sales, advertisers could appeal to a wide range of emotions and traditions after the defeat of prohibition. Instead of launching North America upon a journey towards the dry millennium, the passing of the prohibitory clause of the *War Measures Act* in Canada in 1914 and the 18th Amendment in the United States in 1918 proved to be the apogee of prohibitionist support. The glamorous figures of the post-war consumer culture were drinkers. The “lost generation” writers incorporated heavy alcohol consumption into their work and their lives, rendering drunkenness an attractive state and “promoting drinking as symbolic of political expression”.⁶⁶ The appeal of drinking as an anti-establishment activity in Prohibition Canada and the influence of American popular culture in the Dominion were both evident in the popularity of *The Goblin*. This satirical rag was first published by University of Toronto undergraduates, but achieved a national circulation of 47,000 and enjoyed the highest newsstand sales of any Canadian magazine during its short existence (1921–1930). *The Goblin*’s humour focused on flappers, vamps, and bootleggers. A typical gag went: “American Visitor — What does OTA [Ontario Temperance Act] mean? Native Son — \$6.00 a quart of Rye.”⁶⁷

The promotion of the leisure ethic over the work ethic in the culture of consumption was the foundation of liquor advertising, and it characterized the campaigns directed towards men. One technique for signifying leisure was the association of liquor with sports. From the 1850s to the 1940s, the “cult of manliness”, epitomized by success on the battlefields and the sports fields, “became a widely pervasive and inescapable feature of middle class culture in Britain and North America”.⁶⁸ Golf, tennis, and yachting, activities pursued by advertising executives, were frequently portrayed in alcohol and tobacco advertisements to promote a fun-loving, elegant lifestyle.⁶⁹ (These recreational activities were even more appealing to advertisers by the thirties, since the Depression forced many golf and

65 Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic*, pp. 121, 194–196.

66 Robin Room, quoted in Joseph C. Fisher, *Advertising, Alcohol Consumption and Abuse* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood, 1993), p. 30.

67 Sutherland, *The Monthly Epic*, p. 123; *The Goblin*, vol. 1, no. 2 (March 1921).

68 J. A. Mangan and James Walvin, “Introduction”, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800–1940* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), p. 2.

69 Matthew Schneirov, *The Dream of a New Social Order: Popular Magazines in America, 1893–1914* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1994), pp. 127, 134.

1933—THE YEAR OF REPEAL. In the famous Gold Cup Challenge Race, the winner thundered across the finish line after a record-breaking average speed of 60.227 mph! ... *And only 8 months after Repeal, Seagram's 7 Crown had attained a leading position in its price class—convincing proof of the unsurpassed smoothness and flavor this whiskey brings to every drink. Now finer than ever—Seagram's 7 Crown should be your choice today.*

Climax of **7** Sampling Years is
the Treat you Discover in
Seagram's 7 Crown
THE WHISKEY YOU WILL COME TO... AND STAY WITH

TODAY—7 YEARS AFTER REPEAL— think of all that's happened since then. Think, too, of how much you've learned about whiskey... how to judge and appreciate the many qualities that make a whiskey great.

Today you'll appreciate Seagram's 7 Crown—*Seagram's Finest American Whiskey*. Your 7 sip and sample years have tuned your taste for 7 Crown's superb richness and smoothness... its marvelous full flavor, without a hint of heaviness. From the very first sip you know that *this* is the one whiskey you've been seeking.

Yes, Seagram's 7 Crown is indeed a great whiskey... because Seagram has reserved for it only the very choicest of all its great American stocks. And the more whiskeys you have sampled the more you will realize, that this is *the whiskey you will come to—and stay with.*

Stick to **7**, the lucky number... Say Seagram's **7** Crown... for LUCK!

Seagram's
Seven 7 Crown
BLENDED WHISKEY
A whiskey of distinctive character smooth, rich, full-flavored without a trace of heaviness

BLENDED BY JOSEPH E. SEAGRAM & SONS, INC. LAWRENCEVILLE, N.C.

SEAGRAM'S 7 CROWN BLENDED WHISKEY. THE STRAIGHT WHISKIES IN THIS PRODUCT ARE 5 YEARS OR MORE OLD. 35% STRAIGHT WHISKIES, 65% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. 23% STRAIGHT WHISKIES 5 YEARS OLD, 12% STRAIGHT WHISKIES 6 YEARS OLD. 86.8 PROOF. © 1941. SEAGRAM-DISTILLERS CORP., N. Y.

Figure 5 *Life*, June 16, 1941, Seagram-Distillers Corp. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

drinking clubs to open their doors to women.) In an advertisement for Seagram 7 Crown Whisky in *Life* (1941) (see Figure 5) which celebrated 1933 — the year of repeal — the “famous” Gold Cup Challenge Race was described in which the winning speed-boat thundered across the finish line at a record-breaking average speed of 60.227 mph. It was part of a campaign produced for Seagrams in which men engaged in or watched exciting activities to which only the wealthy and the healthy could aspire. In this advertisement, alcohol is also portrayed as supplying the vicarious racers on the dock with a high similar to the racer’s adrenalin rush. It has been noted by Atkin and Block that the male bonding aspect of alcohol advertising tends to associate alcohol consumption with hazardous activities which could be extremely dangerous or fatal if the participants actually had alcohol in their bloodstreams.⁷⁰

The camaraderie of sport also allowed the employment of what Wilson Key referred to as “regression technique”:

Portrayed by an actor with whom the target audience can identify, the drinker is surrounded by friends and family who are accepting, forgiving, and undemanding. They accept the heavy drinker as he ... perceives himself ... a joyful companion.... Real life, of course, is never like this for incipient alcoholics. They are usually a painful embarrassment to friends, family, and employers, quite the opposite of their fantasy selves.⁷¹

Advertisers attempted to de-emphasize the fact that alcohol use could lead to addiction by depicting consumption as part of a special occasion, such as a world cup race, not as a daily or isolated routine. This is also part of the fantasy, because studies have consistently demonstrated that “alcohol ads are not directed at mere drinkers. They are aimed at *heavy* and *very heavy* drinkers,” and are pre-tested against these groups.⁷²

How did the liquor industry and its advertisers deal with the issue of alcohol-related problems? In the popular magazines of the post-Repeal era, articles published until the late thirties discussing the disease of alcoholism blamed factors in the environment, outside the alcoholic. By the forties, the causes were deemed to be internal and psychological. At the same time, support for the prevention of alcoholism through the control of alcohol sales declined from 50 per cent between 1900 and 1919 to 6 per cent by the 1960s. Burnham points out that much of this research was sponsored by the liquor industry.⁷³ In the *Time* advertisement, “That’s My Dad” (1939) (see Figure 6), Seagrams answers

70 Atkin and Block’s study is cited in Fisher, *Advertising, Alcohol Consumption and Abuse*, p. 44.

71 Wilson Bryan Key, *The Age of Manipulation* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1989), p. 81.

72 Fisher, *Advertising, Alcohol Consumption and Abuse*, p. 49; Key, *The Age of Manipulation*, p. 123.

73 Arnold Linsky, “Theories of Behavior and the Image of the Alcoholic in Popular Magazines 1900–1966”, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, no. 34 (1971), pp. 574–575, 579; Burnham, *Bad Habits*, pp. 83–4.



For a reproduction of the original painting in this advertisement, without advertising, write to Dept. T, Seagram-Distillers Corp., Chrysler Building, New York City

“THAT’S MY DAD”

EVERY father gets a warm feeling around his heart when he hears his son say “That’s my Dad”.

The spirit behind his words is so revealing—the look in his eyes and the tone in his voice—when he says “That’s my Dad”. In his boyish way he is proudly saluting his hero—the pal he adores and admires.

It’s a real responsibility to have a youngster say “That’s my Dad”. It calls for understanding and thoughtful control. It calls for moderation. When a

boy discovers for the first time that his father—his own Dad—has been using liquor unwisely—immoderately—something fine between them may be lost.

The House of Seagram selects “Father’s Day” as an appropriate time to repeat the viewpoint we have expressed so often in the past five years—“Fine whiskey is a luxury, one of the pleasures of life to be enjoyed *only* in moderation—*never* at the sacrifice of another person’s happiness.”

THE HOUSE OF SEAGRAM
Fine Whiskies Since 1857

Figure 6 *Time*, June 12, 1939, Seagram-Distillers Corp. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

Table 1 Deaths Attributed to Alcoholism and Liver Cirrhosis in Canada, 1921–1949

	Total	Male	Female	% Female
1920s	4,478	3,192	1,286	28.7
1930s	5,630	3,894	1,736	30.8
1940s	6,544	4,326	2,218	33.9

Source: Robert E. Popham and Wolfgang Schmidt, *Statistics of Alcohol Use and Alcoholism in Canada, 1871–1956* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 38.

Table 2 Convictions for Drunkenness in Canada, 1920–1955

	Total	Male	Female	% Female
1920s	348,692	338,346	10,346	2.97
1930s	288,564	275,135	13,429	4.65
1940s	533,597	498,277	35,320	6.62
1950–1955	522,044	486,742	35,302	6.76

Source: Popham and Schmidt, *Statistics of Alcohol Use and Alcoholism in Canada, 1871–1956*, p. 81.

the prohibitionist charge of alcohol being the “destroyer of families”: “In his boyish way he is proudly saluting his hero — the pal he adores and admires — When a boy discovers for the first time that his father — his own Dad — has been using liquor unwisely — immoderately — something fine between them may be lost.” Alcohol abuse was placed squarely on the shoulders of the individual; societal causes and therefore any efforts toward control were inappropriate.⁷⁴

Yet the growth market after the defeat of prohibition would be the woman drinker. In Canada between 1922 and 1930, the official *per capita* consumption rate increased over 60 per cent. In terms of female consumption, of those deaths attributed to alcoholism and cirrhosis of the liver occurring between 1921 and 1949, 29 per cent were women in the twenties, increasing to 31 per cent in the thirties and 34 per cent in the forties (see Table 1). In terms of convictions for drunkenness, 3 per cent involved women in the twenties, 4.7 per cent in the thirties, 6.6 per cent in the forties, and 6.8 per cent between 1950 and 1955 (see Table 2).⁷⁵ Clearly the majority of drinking women were not imbibing in public, or at least were less likely to be charged with liquor offences.

⁷⁴ The company was so proud of this advertisement that it was available in reproduction for customers.

⁷⁵ Robert E. Popham and Wolfgang Schmidt, *Statistics of Alcohol Use and Alcoholism in Canada, 1871–1956* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1958), p. 24. The 1940s rate would have been skewed due to male military enlistments in World War II. American women's drinking patterns are discussed in Catherine Gilbert Murdock, “Domesticating Drink: Women and Alcohol in Prohibition America, 1870–1940” (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1995).

The gendered patterns of alcohol consumption as a recreational activity, however, faced new challenges as the century progressed. The cinema, for instance, played a crucial role in levelling class outlooks, homogenizing ethnic and regional differences, and de-gendering habits of consumption. The cigarette and the cocktail became powerful visual props in the cinema and glamourized female consumption. From the comedic tipping of Nora Charles in the “Thin Man” series to the brazen sexuality of smokers like Marlene Dietrich, Lana Turner, and Lauren Bacall, symbols of modern elegance were taught to the young women who filled the movie palaces.⁷⁶

The popularity of the cinema affected drinking patterns in paradoxical ways. On one hand, the movie theatre replaced the saloon for a growing number of working-class men, a circumstance applauded by social workers.⁷⁷ On the other, the images portrayed in movies were not necessarily positive. Although from the twenties women had been depicted on the screen, in press releases, and in advertisements as drinkers, the image of the female alcoholic retained its Victorian overtones; women were still portrayed as sexually promiscuous and morally degraded. Melinda Kanner noted that alcoholic women appeared in feature films as “social obscenities, more humiliated, somehow harder to watch than alcoholic men”. The liquor industry, which benefited from the stylish representations of alcohol consumption in films, fought any attempt to show a realistic picture of alcoholism. The production of the 1945 film *The Lost Weekend*, which graphically portrayed a man’s descent into alcoholism, faced great opposition by “powerful and vocal alcohol lobbies who believed the film would be injurious to the reputation of the alcohol industry”.⁷⁸

Victorian views concerning women and public drinking coloured social practices and policies. After the end of Prohibition, the challenge for liquor advertisers was to establish a link between respectable womanhood and alcohol consumption. That link had been ruptured by the temperance movement and changing drinking patterns in the nineteenth century. Whereas liquor-selling had been a traditional avenue of charity for widows in Europe and in North America (Ernie Forbes termed rum-running an occupation of last resort during Prohibition in the impoverished Maritime provinces), tighter licensing practices closed the female-run kitchen grog

76 Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870–1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), pp. 191, 195–196; Erenburg, *Steppin’ Out*, p. 70; Sobel, *They Satisfy*, p. 112; Jacobson, *Beating the Ladykillers*, p. 43.

77 Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours*, pp. 62, 45.

78 Melinda Kanner, “That’s Why the Lady is a Drunk: Women, Alcoholism, and Popular Culture”, in Diane Raymond, ed., *Sexual Politics and Popular Culture* (Bowling Green, Ohio: Bowling Green University Popular Press, 1990), pp. 183, 186; Peter Roffman and Jim Purdy, *The Hollywood Social Problem: Film, Madness, Despair, and Politics from the Depression to the Fifties* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1981), pp. 257–259; Maurice Zolotow, *Billy Wilder in Hollywood* (New York: Limelight, 1987), pp. 125–133.

shops and spurred the growth of public working-class saloons. These became increasingly male leisure spaces. By the late nineteenth century, women were legally barred from saloons in many North American communities.⁷⁹

By the early twentieth century, respectable public drinking spaces in which women were accepted were rare, but included upscale urban nightclubs whose affluent clientele conveyed an image advertisers exploited. This is illustrated by the Pabst advertisement in *Cosmopolitan* (1939) (see Figure 7). Taverns, saloons, or other working-class drinking establishments maintained an image of virile masculinity inappropriate for the middle-class female target audience, which demonstrated that the liberated and free image of the new woman was maintained within carefully delineated boundaries.⁸⁰ Furthermore, from the twenties through World War II, women who entered beer parlours, especially alone, were commonly labelled prostitutes or disreputable women, and this was not limited to jurisdictions under prohibitory legislation. In 1925 Quebec, Alberta, and British Columbia were the only Canadian provinces not under prohibition. Regulations in Quebec banned women from taverns, while Alberta's legislation did not permit them to enter urban drinking establishments.⁸¹

By 1927 liquor officials in British Columbia found their ban to be unenforceable, and compromised with the establishment of separate spaces for Men and Ladies with Escorts. Even with the advent of the sexual revolution in the sixties, gender restrictions remained in public drinking establishments across Canada, supporting the view that fears over the loss of male space were stronger than those over the loss of feminine virtue. As Robert Campbell related:

As late as 1984 Quebec still had over 200 taverns that banned women, and in 1986 the Manitoba liquor board asked the province's Human Rights Commission to investigate the Roblin Hotel in Winnipeg. The operator still refused to serve women in the beer parlour. One of his customers moaned, "I have nothing against mixed hotels, but this is the only place in town a man can have a social beer with no one bothering him."⁸²

Within the world of consumption, however, women had always been wel-

79 Ernest R. Forbes, "The East-Coast Rum-Running Economy", in Warsh, ed., *Drink in Canada*, p. 166; Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours*, pp. 42–43, 45, 62.

80 Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours*, p. 63. For more on male spaces, see Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place: Cafés, Coffeeshops, Community Centers, Beauty Parlors, General Stores, Bars, Hangouts and How They Get You Through the Day* (New York: Paragon, 1989), p. 36; John M. MacKenzie, "The Imperial Pioneer and Hunter and the British Masculine Stereotype in late Victorian and Edwardian Times", in Mangan and Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality*, p. 180.

81 Robert A. Campbell, "Ladies and Escorts: Gender Segregation and Public Policy in British Columbia Beer Parlours, 1925–1945", *BC Studies*, no. 105–106 (Spring/Summer 1995), pp. 120–121.

82 *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 136–137.

Where the Smart World sets the Pace
Pabst
GETS THE CALL!
For Keener Refreshment..

From the dazzling sands of
The beach at Waikiki
To the swank Miami shoreline—
From the gay social whirl of
Westchester to the brightly
Shining stars of Hollywood—
Pabst Gets the Smart World's Call.
Because—it's Brisk-Bodied for
Keener Refreshment . . . streamlined
For a quicker, more sparkling
Lift in every delicious drop.
Nothing heavy or syrupy to
Slow up its invigorating action.
Just pale golden goodness you
Never tire of . . . brewed with
Matchless master skill to a
95-Year Tradition of Quality.
And—this is very important—
Pabst is thoroughly aged . . .
To precisely that peak point
Of soul-satisfying, thirst-
Quenching tang you find in
Rare old champagne.
No wonder Pabst Blue Ribbon
Is the Smart World's password
To keener, zestier living . . .
The Class of All Beers
In a Class by Itself!

PASS THE WORD...YOU WANT
Pabst BLUE RIBBON
For Keener Refreshment

Copyright 1939, Premier-Pabst Sales Co., Chicago

At the Coconut Grove, PABST Gets the Call. Acknowledged center of Hollywood smartness, Hotel Ambassador plays host to the brightest stars every night of life. Here keen living reigns supreme—and Pabst Blue Ribbon is the password to keener enjoyment of every golden moment.

At the Waldorf-Astoria, PABST Gets the Call... as seen in the famous 'Sally Dams, one of New York's smartest meeting places. Here, as in the swank restaurants of the Waldorf, the fashionable world relaxes, rests, rejoices with delicious Pabst Blue Ribbon.

Figure 7 *Cosmopolitan*, May 1939, Premier-Pabst Sales Co. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

comed. Even before Repeal had been formally enacted, they were targeted by merchandisers, especially in the United States. A Thompson agency employee canvassed the department stores of New York in December 1932 and found “a complete and handsome bar in Saks-Fifth Avenue window [and] a makeshift bar in a Bloomingdale window”. The bars were used as a setting for displaying so-called cocktail dresses.⁸³ Despite the approval of merchandisers, the alcohol industry would not soon forget the lessons of Prohibition and would become the leader in the application of euphemism, innuendo, and subterfuge in the sale of its products. Alcohol was not potent, it was “smooth”, “velvety”, and “full-bodied”. The industry developed a code of advertising which prohibited the appearance of women and children in liquor advertisements, but this was not seriously followed.⁸⁴

Liquor companies and their advertisers also considered that the safest route for marketing alcohol to women would be to promote private drinking — to reintroduce alcohol as a respectable activity in middle-class homes. Aiming at two markets — male drinkers no longer frequenting public drinking establishments and new female drinkers — liquor advertisers promoted drinking as an elegant, romantic domestic activity.⁸⁵ Despite the voluntary code prohibiting the depiction of women in alcohol advertising, women were present in advertisements such as that for Fleischmann’s Gin, published in the *Boston Traveler* (1934) one year after Repeal (see Figure 8). A young couple are in their kitchen in the midst of a house party. The wife says, “Mix up more Martinis, Darling, these people are simply devouring that Fleischmann’s Gin.” It has been noted that the paradox of Prohibition was that the increased cost of alcoholic beverages “made consumption obviously a badge of affluence.... Thus the cocktail, consumed at home or in the semi-private night club, became a sign of economic distinction.”⁸⁶ That the post-Prohibition liquor advertisers were directing their product towards the woman’s market is evident in the side-bar of the Fleischmann’s Gin advertisement, which outlines the correct way to mix three of the new cocktails: the Martini, the Tom Collins, and the Pink Lady.

Another early missile directed towards the domestic market was a Four

83 Duke University Archives, Minutes of Creative Staff Meeting, Miss Coester, December 14, 1932, p. 16.

84 Otis Pease, *The Responsibilities of American Advertising: Private Control and Public Influence, 1920–1940* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1958), p. 183. Both Stephen Fox and John Burnham have argued that “until 1958, a woman model could not even appear in a liquor advertisement”. Fox, *The Mirror Makers*, p. 292; Burnham, *Bad Habits*, p. 76.

85 Scott Haine has found a similar trend towards the portrayal of the companionate marriage in his study of liquor posters in France in the 1930s. It is unclear, however, whether American advertising agencies, which had moved into the European market, had influenced trends abroad. W. Scott Haine, “Sociability and Sophistication: Gender Representation in French Alcohol and Tobacco Advertisements, 1850–1950” (paper presented to the American Historical Association, Pacific Branch, Maui, 1995), p. 14; Scanlon, *Inarticulate Longings*, p. 39.

86 Burnham, *Bad Habits*, p. 63.

*"Mix up more Martinis,
Darling——"*

—these people are simply
devouring that Fleischmann's Gin"



A Martini should be stirred or mixed with a slow waltz-like motion—never shaken

**It takes an American Gin to make
this smooth American Cocktail**

ONLY 10 months since Repeal—yet already Fleischmann's has become one of America's biggest selling gins—everywhere! Here's the reason! Fleischmann's Gin makes a smooth, delicious Martini—without the slightest trace of bite or sting.

The Dry Martini is America's No. 1 drink today! It is by far the most popular drink in restaurants, hotels and cocktail bars—in homes, too.

To make a smooth Martini requires a smooth American gin—like Fleischmann's. A gin specially distilled to blend with other liquors and fruit juices.

Fleischmann's is an American gin—distilled from American grains—by an American company that makes gin—and nothing else.

- Buy a bottle for your next cocktail party. Mix up a shakerful of Martinis. You'll see why "it takes an American gin to make a smooth American cocktail."



**The correct way to mix
3 Popular Gin Drinks**

MARTINI (Use mixing glass.) A dash or two of Orange Bitters, two-thirds jigger Fleischmann's Gin, one-third jigger French Vermouth (Italian for a sweet Martini), a slice of lemon rind, ice. Stir in glass and serve with an olive in cocktail glass.

TOM COLLINS (Use Tom Collins glass.) Juice of one lemon, heaping teaspoon powdered sugar, jigger of Fleischmann's Gin, ice, fill balance of glass with club soda and stir.

PINK LADY (Use mixing glass.) Juice of one-half lime, equal amount of grenadine, tablespoon sweet cream, jigger of Fleischmann's Gin. Shake in cocktail shaker and strain and serve in cocktail glass.

Figure 8 *Boston Traveler*, September 20, 1934, Fleischmann's Gin (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

Roses Whiskey advertisement in *Collier's* (1935) (see Figure 9) for a brand-new, grand new toast to Thanksgiving with the Four Roses Cocktail. This advertisement is clearly advocating heavy drinking. The copy reads, “Lay in a goodly supply of Four Roses.” Although there are only two drinkers at this table, the recipe for the Four Roses Cocktail (to serve four) is a heady brew: 4 jiggers Whiskey, 2 jiggers French Vermouth, ½ jigger Creme de Menthe. Both this and the previous gin advertisement, produced shortly after Prohibition, encouraged heavy drinking by women. Beer and wine messages also were increasingly aimed towards women. For instance, the expensive full-colour advertisement for Valiant Wines appearing in the *Sunday News* (1945) (see Figure 10) promoted increased consumption by women and at home. The disembodied, well-manicured hand holding the glass, the domestic setting, and the text evoke glamour and advocate daily consumption: “Recapture Romance Every Night.” The man’s hands open and pour the bottle, the woman drinks — a powerful image within the context of female alcohol abuse being a domestic, hidden problem.

Another advertising technique which had a lengthy European heritage was the promotion of liquor as a health beverage. The use of stimulants in therapeutics had reached its peak in popularity among physicians in the 1860s and 1870s, but it persisted as a folk remedy. Liquor traditionally had been a home remedy for menstrual cramps and to aid lactation, so it was appropriate that the female market would be targeted in this way.⁸⁷ Some products were blatantly associated with health. Schweppes instructed customers to “Take three glasses of Schweppes cider a day — one before breakfast, one at eleven o’clock, and one before bed.” By 1938 Gordon’s Gin, which advertised “a ‘Lancet’ report on every bottle”, also directed its product to women.⁸⁸

In Canada, liquor was also marketed as healthful. In 1939 Vancouver Capilano’s Lager, which featured a bathing beauty posing in front of a spring in its advertisement, was described as “conditioned” with vitamins “B and G” to produce “the vitalizing qualities” characteristic of European beers.⁸⁹ In the same decade, Dow Old Stock Beer was advertised to French

87 See Cheryl Krasnick [Warsh], “Because There is Pain: Alcoholism, Temperance and the Victorian Physician”, *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History*, vol. 2, no. 1 (1985), pp. 1–22.

88 Marcus Grant, “Infallible Powers: A Study of Health Claims in Early British Alcohol Beverage Advertising”, in Susanna Barrows, Robin Room, and Jeffrey Verhey, eds., *The Social History of Alcohol: Drinking and Culture in Modern Society. Proceedings* (Berkeley: University of California, 1984), pp. 6, 7. Grant cited a Gordon’s Gin advertisement portraying a solicitous mother hovering over her teenaged daughter who bore a sad, pinched expression on her face. The mother advised, “My dear — Why don’t you do as I tell you? Go and get a drop of Gordon’s out of the bottle in the sideboard. You will find it will put you right at once, and is far more pleasant to take.” Here the value of gender-sensitive interpretation is apparent. Grant believed the girl’s facial expression to be anxiety over the pending war (p. 11). I recognized it as more likely due to menstrual cramps!

89 *Nanaimo Daily Free Press*, September 8, 1939, p. 7. Thanks to Davena Tarkanen for the reference.

A brand-new, grand new toast to Thanksgiving!
...THE FOUR ROSES COCKTAIL



*The new Four Roses Cocktail . . .
easy to make . . . a joy to take!*
(See recipe)
4 jiggers Four Roses Whiskey, 2 jiggers French Vermouth
3/4 jigger White Creme de Menthe, 1 dash Angostura Bitters
Shake well in cracked ice, strain into cock-
tail glasses, serve with twist of Lemon Peel.

THIS year, give your Thanksgiving dinner a glorious start to success with a brand-new cocktail—the Four Roses Cocktail!
It's a drink with all the alluring bouquet and all the full, satisfying flavor that have made Four Roses Whiskey the choice of connoisseurs.

For in Four Roses you have a whiskey made by the costliest method in the world—a method that takes more time and more grain. You have a whiskey so velvet-smooth, so mellow-rich, that it makes any drink taste better. . . So lay in a goodly supply of Four Roses. Let it help make this Thanksgiving the most pleasant you've ever known!

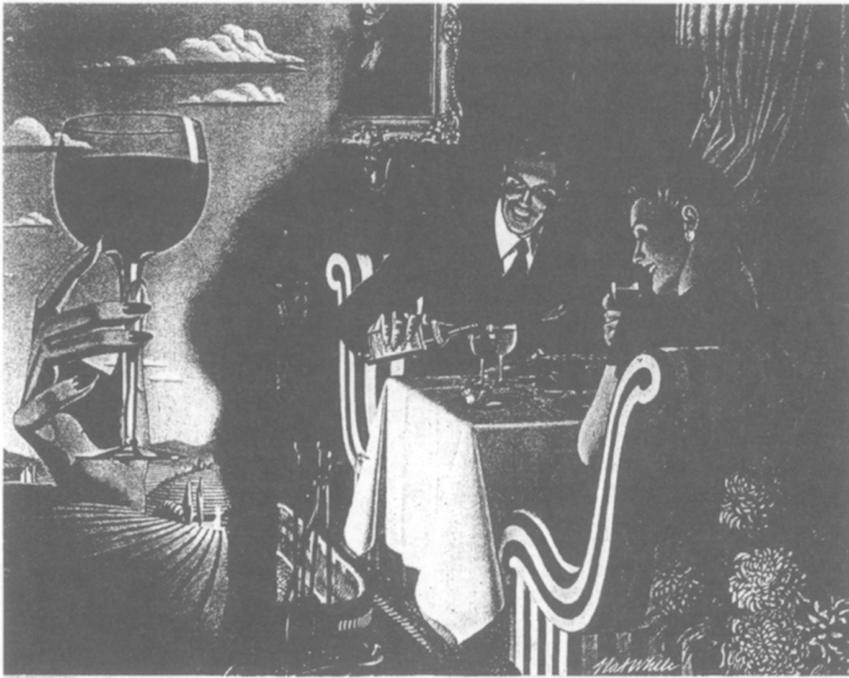
Three other famous Frankfurt whiskeys: PAUL JONES, Old Oscar Pepper, Mattingly & Moore—blends of straight whiskeys.

Send 10¢ in stamps for "Irvin S. Cobb's Own Recipe Book."



FOUR ROSES WHISKEY

Figure 9 *Collier's*, November 30, 1935, Four Roses Whiskey (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)



RECAPTURE ROMANCE

every night . . .

with *VALLIANT* Burgundy

You truly give dinner a honeymoon atmosphere when you serve Valliant California Burgundy! It is Burgundy at its finest. Smooth, well-rounded, full-flavored. For Valliant Burgundy boasts a European ancestry. And to protect its choice quality, it is bottled by the winery in California.

Sip Valliant Burgundy with food and you will quickly discover how perfectly its pleasant tartness blends with main course dishes. It adds new zest to the entire meal. Many people prefer Valliant Burgundy chilled slightly below room temperature. It is so fine you will enjoy it *every* night. Why not buy *several* bottles tomorrow?

Also try the Valliant California aperitif and dessert wines: Valliant Dry Sherry, Valliant Sherry, Valliant Port, Valliant Muscatel. W. A. Taylor & Company, New York City, Sole Distributors for U. S. A.

VALLIANT *and Son*

VINEYARDS

Under Vine Since 1849

GOOD TASTE WITH ANY FOOD

Few households keep an assortment of table wines. Many choose Burgundy because they like its flavor best. So—forget the “do’s and don’ts” you’ve heard about serving wine and just remember that “Valliant Burgundy is good taste with any food.”



Figure 10 *Sunday News*, November 18, 1945, Valliant and Son Vineyards, W. A. Taylor & Company, Distributors (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

Canadian women as an aid to the development of healthy fetuses (“Les Enzymes Developpent L’oiseau de l’oeuf”).⁹⁰

During World War II, an important subject for advertisers was the need for mass and immediate participation of women in the paid labour force, although this unleashed many contradictory reactions concerning the consequences of such significant social change. Commercial art exploited this ambivalence. On one hand, excitement and pride were most famously manifested in Norman Rockwell’s icon, Rosie the Riveter, a figure anything but child-like.⁹¹ This image had innumerable counterparts, including an advertisement for the soft drink Dr. Pepper in the *Saturday Evening Post* (1943) (see Figure 11), which depicted women in aircraft production, office work, and the soldiers’ lounge. On the other hand, there was general anxiety about the rising status of women, and advertisers exploited these anxieties by heightening emotional responses and then providing resolution.⁹² One approach was to devalue women’s wartime participation by associating women with animals, as demonstrated in a commercial cartoon strip published in 1943.⁹³ In “Sure, Women Look Swell in Plants!” (*Newark Evening News*, 1943), the mascot for Carstairs White Seal whisky, Whitey the seal, convinces the reluctant husband to allow his wife to take a war job, and helps him don an apron and wash the dishes (see Figure 12). Dehumanizing images could transmute into images of violence. In another Dr. Pepper advertisement entitled “No Swimming”, published in *U.S. Coast Guard Magazine* (1945) (see Figure 13), two women, naked and trespassing at a swimming hole, are threatened by a vagrant with a brutal phallic weapon, a spiked club positioned below his waist. The text reads: “When faithful fans want Dr Pepper, they don’t want anything else.” These women

90 *La revue moderne*, November 1931. See Levesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules*, p. 57. This claim was in striking contrast to the recent “demedicalization” of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome. As Janet Golden concluded, because of scientific data which posits a connection between FAS and very heavy alcohol consumption (eight ounces per day), “all women had to be taught by public health officials not to drink while pregnant”. Janet Golden, “Demedicalization: The Case of Fetal Alcohol Syndrome” (paper presented to Historical Perspectives on Alcohol and Drug Use in American Society, 1800–1997, Philadelphia, 1997), pp. 10, 23.

91 Melissa Dabakis, “Gendered Labor: Norman Rockwell’s *Rosie the Riveter* and the Discourses of Wartime Womanhood”, in Melosh, ed., *Gender and American History*, p. 187. See, for example, Pierson, “*They’re Still Women After All!*”; Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).

92 McCracken, *Decoding Women’s Magazines*, p. 2. See also Korinek, “*Your Best Medium*”, p. 16.

93 The cartoon strip was the obvious forerunner of the television commercial, and the innovation of the Ruthrauff and Ryan agency. The advertising agencies were well aware of the power of the cartoon — its use of progressive action, drama, humour. In 1932 Thompson copywriter Jessup presented to his colleagues a study of comics: “It is even stated that a comic strip has a power of suggestion so strong as to induce imitation in the lower I.Q. brackets. You can see the possibility of leading the reader through a series of steps right up to the point of sale, then having him go out to do the same thing in a sort of hypnotic trance. But there is no evidence that sales have been produced in that way.” Marchand, *Advertising the American Dream*, p. 111; Duke University Archives, Minutes of Creative Staff Meeting, March 12, 1932.



You can't eat a meal on the run...but you *can drink* a bite on the job

The war-time pace is exhausting. Rest alone will not relieve you. Only food will replace energy that's spent. Dr. Pepper is both a liquid bite to eat... and a sparkling, luscious mid-meal treat. Convenient; easy to get; to consume; to digest... a jiffy-quick energy lift to help fight fatigue.

The flavor is entirely unique; peculiarly appealing; strangely captivating. It's not just one flavor borrowed

from a single source, but myriad flavors subtly blended to create a new taste sensation.

Dr. Pepper was created in 1885. Consumers by the millions have been discovering it ever since.

★

To you in areas not now served by Dr. Pepper: war restrictions have delayed Dr. Pepper's distribution progress. After the return of peace... we'll get Dr. Pepper to you as soon as we can.

Drink A BITE TO EAT AT 10, 2 AND 4 O'CLOCK



Figure 11 *Saturday Evening Post*, September 25, 1943, Dr. Pepper Co. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

in Co-operation with the Womanpower Campaign

SURE, WOMEN LOOK SWELL IN PLANTS!



YOU MEAN MY WIFE OUGHTA TAKE A WAR JOB, WHITEY?

WHY NOT? YOUR YOUNGSTERS ARE OVER 14, AND HER WORKING WILL RELEASE A MAN FOR THE FRONT!



WELL, I SUPPOSE WE COULD ALL SHARE THE HOUSEWORK EASILY ENOUGH!

OF COURSE! IT'S GRAND TRAINING FOR THE KIDS- AND YOU'LL ALL BE FIGHTING THE FIGHT!



YOUR WIFE CAN GET DETAILS FROM YOUR LOCAL U.S. EMPLOYMENT SERVICE. THE MORE WOMEN AT WORK, THE SOONER WE'LL WIN!



This Space Contributed by

CARSTAIRS White Seal

THE PERFECTLY BALANCED BLEND

(OUR DISTILLING FACILITIES ARE 100% ON WAR PRODUCTION, YOU KNOW!)

BLENDED WHISKEY 86.8 Proof. 60% Grain Neutral Spirits. Carstairs Bros. Distilling Co., Inc., Baltimore, Md.



CEILING PRICES
4/5 Qt. \$ 2.93
Pt. \$ 1.85

Figure 12 Newark Evening News, November 3, 1943, Carstairs Bros. Distilling Co., Inc. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)



I'M HUNGRY, THIRSTY AND TIRED - JUST GIMME A NICKEL FOR A DR. PEPPER!

NO SWIMMING

MANAGER OF PX OR SHIP'S SERVICE STORES!

When faithful fans want Dr. Pepper, they don't want anything else—no substitute or second choice! Have you stocked this luxurious 5-cent drink? Around 10, 2 and 4 o'clock, your customers will begin to hanker for that rich, original flavor, that quick energy boost, that satisfaction which comes only from a "cold Doc"!—anytime they're hungry, thirsty or tired!

AT FOUNTAINS, TOO!



Dr. Pepper is bottled and distributed by Dr. Pepper Bottling Companies in the States. Address: Dr. Pepper Company, Dallas or Birmingham, U. S. A.



Figure 13 U.S. Coast Guard Magazine, November 1945, Dr. Pepper Co. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

will escape being raped and beaten because the vagrant is thirsty. From the contrast between two contemporaneous advertisements for the same product, it is apparent that the use of violent or degrading images was neither accidental nor anomalous. The bottlers of Dr. Pepper extolled the contributions of women in essential wartime production in the staid pages of the *Saturday Evening Post* while using violently sexual humour to exploit the persistent misogyny of military culture.

By the end of World War II, the image of the ultra-slim female returned in alcohol and cigarette advertisements, and has remained a remarkably persistent standard of beauty. Rosie the Riveter retired her biceps and the angular, distorted female image of the twenties returned, albeit without the conceit of the energizing power of thinness. In an advertisement for Three Feathers Whiskey (see Figure 14) in *Vogue* (1949), European dress designer Oleg Cassini has created the ultimate woman, a whisky bottle. The model is a pencilled drawing, since it would have been impossible to find a real woman whose upper body and waist so closely resembled the neck of the product. The cruelty of the image was that whisky will keep a woman thin (although, of course, she could smoke). A third generation of young women are now subjected to a body image promoted by the tobacco industry. The 1994 advertisement for Capri in *Elle*, which baldly stated, "There is no slimmer way to smoke", demonstrated the creative impoverishment of a nonetheless commercially successful concept.

The freedom for women to smoke and to drink was an inevitable development of the culture of consumerism. The acquisition of material goods, as they became mass-produced and therefore accessible to the majority of the population, became a banner of democracy and egalitarianism. Cigarettes, Edward Bernays's "torches of freedom", were ideal symbols of that democracy because they were inexpensive and instantly recognizable as emblems of maturity, rebellion, and liberty. The images presented of women consuming alcohol were more complex. In the post-Prohibition era, advertisers used images of glamour, wealth, and sophistication to promote public drinking and those of domesticity and companionate marriage to encourage household consumption. Films were particularly influential in portraying positive images of female alcohol use, although not of abuse. Healthful images were put forward of both male and female alcohol and tobacco consumption; however, the tobacco industry soon focused on smoking as a dieting aid. For both habits, freedom came to be equated with the use of public space, or more precisely, female incursions into male public space.

For similar goals of autonomy and liberation, cigarettes now appeal to children and adolescents. The anti-hierarchical nature of consumerism has led to movements for children's rights, strictures against corporal punishment, and the use of alcohol, cigarettes, and recreational drugs among the very young. At the same time, advertisements increasingly exploit children through depicting them in adult situations to sell adult products such as

THE
LIGHT
TOUCH
IS
THE
RIGHT
TOUCH



... and **OLEG CASSINI**
internationally-famed designer agrees!

... as he interprets a Cohama pure silk chiffon print inspired by the Three Feathers symbol, in sheer, swirling lightness—the brilliant touch preferred by women who rightly know fine fashion. It is this light touch that makes **THREE FEATHERS** the undisputed choice of those who rightly know fine entertaining. For in this artful blending of rare five, six and seven year old whiskies* and fine grain neutral spirits they consistently find the light touch that is the right touch for every occasion.

The light touch in
THREE FEATHERS
is the right touch

*RARE BLENDED WHISKEY, 86 PROOF. THE STRAIGHT WHISKIES IN THIS PRODUCT ARE FIVE YEARS OR MORE OLD. 35% STRAIGHT WHISKEY, 65% GRAIN NEUTRAL SPIRITS. 12% WHISKEY 5 YEARS OLD. 20% WHISKEY 6 YEARS OLD. 3% WHISKEY 7 YEARS OLD. THREE FEATHERS DISTRIBUTORS, INC., NEW YORK, N. Y.

Figure 14 *Vogue*, May 1949, Three Feathers Distributors, Inc. (Special Collections Department, William R. Perkins Library, Duke University)

cosmetics and perfumes. The influence of advertising upon young people is apparent; a 1987 American study found that more girls than boys (31 to 27 per cent) smoked between the ages of 15 and 18 years, while a 1986 Canadian study discovered that an equal number (21 per cent) of 15- to 19-year-olds smoked.⁹⁴ Recent victories by American legislators and public health officials to control cigarette advertising and compel tobacco companies to assume some of the costs of health care for smokers and ex-smokers should not obscure the growth potential of the foreign market, particularly in Asia and Eastern Europe. In the 1990s Philip Morris sold two cigarettes overseas for every cigarette sold in the United States.⁹⁵ Aggressive advertising over the decades, particularly that which promoted the slim ideal of female beauty, has had its effect and is expected to continue to do so.

As is the case for cigarettes, the new target market for liquor is adolescents. Spirits sweetened and carbonated to resemble soft drinks (for example, Canada's Mike's Hard Lemonade) or milkshakes (Britain's Moo in strawberry and banana flavours containing 5 per cent alcohol by volume) are now available.⁹⁶ Mass advertising has been the daily experience of at least three generations of North Americans. It would be surprising indeed to find that personal values, family relations, and images of self had not been affected by its influence.

94 Lorraine Greaves, *Background Paper on Women and Tobacco (1987) and Update (1990)* (Ottawa: Health and Welfare Canada, 1990), p. iii.

95 Kluger, *Ashes to Ashes*, p. 709.

96 Donna Weis, "From the President: Alcopops not an Adult Drink", *National Good Templar*, July-August 1997, p. 2; "International News", *National Good Templar*, July-August 1997, p. 3; Charles Arthur, "Got 'em on milk and alcohol", *The Independent*, May 25, 1997, p. 23.