

Henrietta the Homemaker, and 'Rosie the Riveter': Images of Women in Advertising in Maclean's Magazine, 1939-50

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Regina Public Library

That's what the war did, though. Got thousands, my goodness, tens of thousands of women and girls out of the home.... The war killed all this servant business, being a maid, and I think it did a lot to finish off the idea that a woman's place and her only place was in the home.... Husbands and boyfriends came back from the war and found their wives and girlfriends just weren't prepared to start washing dishes again. It must have been quite a shock.... You could almost say that women fought a war the same as their men, the war against them being women, household machines. And because of the circumstances I'd say they won it so easily that they didn't even realize that they were fighting it....

from *Six War Years*
Barry Broadfoot

Will they get me back to the kitchen after the war? ... Why, I never got out of it. When I am through with inspecting gun parts, I go home and do the housework as I always did.

Saturday Night

Introduction

Writers examining women's roles in the Canadian workforce often use 1941 as their starting point. Some writers go on to say that women's participation in the labour force during the Second World War was the main impetus behind the increasing number of women working since that time. Pat and Hugh Armstrong claim that "Since 1941, the female share of the labour force ... has doubled."¹ Barry Broadfoot argues that "Although the phrase had not been invented then, the war did wonders for the cause of

Women's Lib."² Katy LeRougetel similarly maintains that "Momentum gathered during the war years increased finally to explode in the women's liberation movement of the sixties."³

Other observers think differently. Ruth Pier-son argues that "the assumption of great gains made by women during World War II ... rest[s] on ... an inaccurate assessment of the degree to which attitudes towards women's proper role in society changed during the war."⁴ Betty Friedan observes that the portrayal of women in American mass magazines moved from images of a "new, independent woman" in the 1930s to that of a "happy housewife heroine" in the late 1940s. This, she suggests, is because "the new writers were all men, back from the war, who had been dreaming about home, and a cozy domestic life."⁵ By 1950, the new writers had succeeded in creating an image "where the woman has no independent self to hide in even in guilt; she exists only for and through her husband and children."⁶

These writers express contradictory points of view which give rise to a number of questions. Did attitudes towards women's roles in society change during the war? If so, did these changes in attitude outlast the war? Did women's changing roles in society during the war advance or set back the cause of women's emancipation?

This paper seeks to study these questions more closely by examining the roles of women as portrayed in magazine advertisements in *Maclean's* magazine during the 1940s. First, a description of the changing roles of the women of the 1940s is outlined, so that we may look at the ads within the context of their times. Then follows a discussion of the contribution of secondary source material to this paper, the use of advertisements as primary source material, and the methods used to find out what advertisements can tell us about women during the forties. After the ads themselves are examined, the findings are summarized and conclusions presented.

Background - Women during the 1940s

Canada entered the Second World War on September 10, 1939, on the heels of the Depression. As Canada's role in the war gained momentum, the high unemployment that characterized the end of the Depression was replaced by a shortage of workers. Canadian industry and government encouraged the entry of women into the war factories to overcome this labour shortage. Publicity was aimed first at single women, followed by married childless women, and as need grew, by married women with children.⁷ By 1944, 1,200,000 women were in the workforce, a total which was twice that of 1939.⁸ Moreover, a number of women had moved from traditional occupations (clerical, service and homemaker) to jobs such as turret lathe operators, punch press operators, drillers, grinders, welders, taxi cab drivers and streetcar operators, and they were proving highly competent at these jobs.⁹ Another place where women found employment was the Canadian Women's Army Corps (CWAC), established in August, 1942. The CWAC employed 45,000 women by the end of the war and although some of these women, (11.4%), were employed in non-traditional occupations as butchers, shoemakers, lithographers and welders, the overwhelming majority held jobs as clerks and cooks.¹⁰

The CWAC and munitions factories were not the only outlets for women who wanted to contribute to the war effort. All women were affected by rations on meat, sugar, tea, coffee, butter, gas and liquor, and shortages of other commodities. Women were called on to buy War Savings Bonds, to save everything from bacon fat to tin foil, to rent rooms to munitions workers and army "girls," to put up jam for Britain, and to write morale-building letters to their men overseas. On top of all that, many were doing volunteer work. There was emotional strain, too, for those women who both worked and ran households, and for those separated from sons, husbands and boyfriends.¹¹

As the war drew to a close in 1945, concern became focussed on the future. The central question for women was: would they retain their jobs? Speculation was wide. As one observer wrote in 1943, "Women, on the whole, are still stupid. They will rush to work now, and they will give up their work as soon as they are asked to."¹² Articles such as "Will Women Go Back to the Kitchen?"¹³ "No Women Being Hired,"¹⁴ "What Will War Women Do When It's All Over"¹⁵ appeared in every major magazine in Canada. An entire subcommittee of the 1944 Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, devoted to the post-war problems of women, predicted an "'irreducible minimum' of some 200,000 women who will remain after 400,000 other 'new' women workers have been removed from the employment market by normal channels, such as marriage, a desire to return to domesticity...."¹⁶ An effort was made to attract women away from "men's work" and towards more "womanly channels" such as service or clerical work.¹⁷ The role of women within the family was emphasized when the Dominion-Provincial War Time Day Nurseries Agreement ended with the cessation of the war,¹⁸ family allowances were introduced in 1944,¹⁹ and a special income tax concession for husbands with working wives came to an end in 1947.²⁰

Government's efforts to stream women back into the home proved successful as shown by employment reduction figures for men (5.3%) and for women (13.5%) in 1945.²¹ At the end of the war, women constituted 31.4% of the labour force. One year later, in 1946, women accounted for 22.7% of the labour force, a figure more consistent with pre-war trends of 20%.²² At the same time, birth rates and marriage rates escalated, "causing the now legendary baby boom which peaked in 1947."²³

Removing women from the labour force was only one aspect of the post-war problems of women. Whether women were working or not,

war had a pronounced effect on them. As expressed by one welfare worker:

War has made women more self-reliant; this maturity will appear as a threat to the husband when he first returns to his role as head of the family...²⁴

Marital adjustments threatened to confuse the vision of a secure future; and security was the hallmark of the post-war world.

The post-war generation quite understandably attempted to create a better society by preserving the shape and structure of social institutions as they existed before the conflict. The baby boom, the record number of housing starts - especially in the suburbs - and the rise in church attendance, all indicate a desire to reaffirm the values of middle class family life. In such a society, women's traditional role of wife, mother, and consumer could only be heightened in importance.²⁵

Another feature of post-war society, was that of a boom in production where "technology was made a war hero."²⁶ The technological boom produced by the war, made any direct return to pre-war values difficult, if not impossible. Though women may not be in full control of all the consumption attributed to them, their influence over purchases for the family was, and is, significant. It has recently been estimated that women make 80% of all household consumption decisions.²⁷

The 1940s were certainly years of change. In the first half of the decade, many women assumed more responsibility, some took jobs outside their homes for the first time and all women made do with less. The post-war world was characterized by the return of women to hearth and home, and by a flood of gadgets, appliances and other commodities which had not previously been available. One observer summed the decade up

this way, "It is said that Canadians spent the first part of the forties making war and the second half making babies."²⁸

Do the advertisements reflect the changes that women were experiencing during the 1940s?

Sources and Methodology

As already indicated secondary sources dealing with women in the 1940s are scattered. Ruth Pierson's various contributions on women during and after World War II, whether they be on the CWAC, on the recruitment of women into the labour force, or on the attempts to stream women out of the workforce after 1945, have proven invaluable. The article by Katy LeRougetel, "Mothers, Cats and Nut Tappers" helps to combine the situations described by Pierson and gives an overall view of women's advances during the 1940s. Betty Friedan's discussion of the relationship between the portrayal of women in mass magazines and women's attitudes from 1930 to 1960 adds to the summary supplied by LeRougetel. Both Pat and Hugh Armstrong's and Patricia Connelly's assessments of Canadian women's participation in the workforce since 1941 are helpful, but their discussion of women during the 1940s is limited. Barry Broadfoot, Stephen Franklin and articles in *Maclean's*, *Saturday Night*, *Canadian Forum*, *Canadian Home Journal* and *Canadian Welfare* provide a feeling for the atmosphere of the 1940s.

Of the secondary sources dealing with advertising, Stewart Ewen's book *Captains of Consciousness* (1976) has proven most helpful. Ewen discusses advertising trends of the 1940s, as they related to trends in the industry dating back to 1900. Robert Atwan, in *Edsels Luckies and Frigidaires* (1979), supplements this analysis with a visual history of advertising. Marshall McLuhan (1951) instructs the reader in how to find the hidden messages in advertisements. Ewen, Atwan and McLuhan are all critical in their approaches to advertising. Stephenson and McNaught's *His-*

tory of Advertising in Canada (1940) takes the opposite approach and explains how advertising has benefitted mankind. Another book from the advertisers' point of view, Daniel Starch's *Measuring Advertising Readership and Result* (1966) outlines techniques used by advertisers to increase their effectiveness.

Studies examining the relationship between advertisements and women are rare. The only source which discusses both women and advertising is Alice Embree's article "Media Images I: Madison Avenue" (1970). While this article discusses women, advertising, and the 1940s, it concentrates primarily on a general discussion of women and advertising.

In considering advertisements as the primary source of this paper, it is important to understand the history of advertising in the twentieth century. The mass production that developed in the early 1900s depended on mass consumption. The advertising industry's role in this was to create a society of mass consumers, and as such, advertisers had to "go beyond the 'horse sense' psychology that had characterized the earlier industry."²⁹ Advertisers had to get into the collective mind and create advertisements that to be effective "must embody the accepted values and attitudes of large numbers of people."³⁰ Stuart Ewen maintains that the goals of the advertising industry in the 1920s were not to be realized until the 1940s and 1950s as a result of the effects of depression and war upon production and consumption. By the 1940s, advertisers had stopped outlining the attributes of their products and were instead associating a desirable human quality or value, such as popularity, with that product. As such, advertising in the 1940s can tell us much about what advertisers thought was important to women.³¹

The advertisements used were those directed to women in *Maclean's* magazine for the years 1939 to 1950 (inclusive). While a study of *Canadian Home Journal* or *Chatelaine* may have in

some ways been more appropriate in analyzing attitudes towards women, *Maclean's* was chosen because it was a general news magazine which included but was not devoted exclusively to advertising focussed on women.

The circulation of *Maclean's* magazine in 1940 was 270,261,³² while the population of Canada, according to the 1941 census, was 11,506,655. For this reason, and because *Maclean's* was probably directed at a middle class audience, these ads may reflect the values and attitudes of a minority of the population, despite the best intentions of the advertisers. Moreover, many of the advertisements were placed by American corporations. Even though American ads mentioned Canadian themes, the advertisements *may* be more representative of an American way of life rather than a Canadian one. Despite these methodological lacunae, the advertising being analyzed here was directed at Canadian women and represents the norms of advertisers, and indirectly the aspirations being defined for Canadian women.

During the 1940s *Maclean's* published twice a month. March and April issues were systematically scrutinized for each year, with the exception of 1939, when September and October issues were looked at.

A model for the type of content analysis undertaken here was not found in the secondary literature. Therefore, the following strategy was adopted: a general survey of the advertisements that appeared in *Maclean's* was undertaken in an effort to ascertain the various ways that women are depicted by the advertisers. Four distinct roles emerge. These are housewife, working woman, single woman, and 'any woman.'

The role of housewife is further refined into three subcategories, including homemaker, wife, and mother. Ads directed at the homemaker include those concerned with household maintenance, i.e., cook, dishwasher, hostess, house-

cleaner, laundress, gardener, etc. Ads directed at the mother consist of those promoting childcare products, while ads aimed at the wife are those dealing with the consumption of products that promise or enhance marital relations.³³ The category 'housewife' is an amalgam of ads directed at the homemaker, wife and mother.

The category working women is also broken into three subcategories which reflect the main types of working women depicted in the ads. These are war worker, clerical worker, and career woman. Ads directed at the war worker include all ads aimed at women in war-related industries or occupations. The clerical worker subcategory includes ads directed at women employed as stenographers, typists, and 'office girls.' Ads included in the career woman subcategory consist of those directed at women who were employed as teachers, journalists and nurses.

The single woman category consists of ads dealing with the consumption of products aimed at 'catching a man,' i.e., beauty products, deodorants, etc. The 'any woman' category includes those ads directed at *all* women, regardless of age, role or marital status and which do not fit into any of the other categories or subcategories.³⁴

The definition of the roles in which women are depicted in the advertisements allows for two types of analysis, one quantitative and the other descriptive.

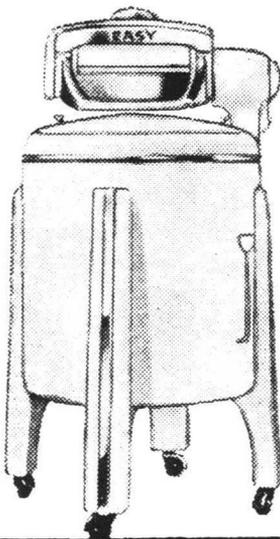
The quantitative analysis consisted of identifying each ad according to the appropriate subcategory. The number of ads belonging to each subcategory was totalled on a yearly basis. Percentage distribution of ads for each subcategory was then calculated. This made it possible to determine changing trends in the depiction of women's roles through the years 1939 to 1950.³⁵

In addition to the quantitative analysis, the content of representative advertisements was described in detail. These ads illustrate the



It may not be
QUITE LIKE THIS

This is our artist's idea of what may happen when EASY Vacuum Cup Washers are again available. But there are literally thousands of women who have made up their minds to have a new EASY at the earliest possible moment. We suggest you see your EASY dealer now and have your name listed for one of the new EASY's as soon as they arrive.



EASY

Vacuum-Cup **WASHER**



50% TO 75%
 EASIER ON CLOTHES

THE EASY WASHING MACHINE CO. LIMITED • TORONTO (10) CANADA

changing attitudes towards women as depicted by the advertisers. The themes that emerge amplify the quantitative findings.

Results

Ads directed to homemakers comprise the majority of advertisements between 1939 and 1950. The most common appeal made by the advertiser to the homemaker, regardless of the product he is trying to sell, is that of removing the drudgery from housework. Implicit in many advertisements, is the notion that advertisers care about the well-being of the homemaker and show "an unspoken recognition of just how difficult and boring housework can be."³⁶ An example of this is found in a 1940 ad for Knox Gelatine; "Housewives raise families, cook three meals a day, sew. They belong to clubs, they garden. They pick up toys. They chauffeur. And they get tired."³⁷

Advertisers do not always show their empathy for housewives in such a direct way but in attempting to remove the drudgery from homemakers' lives, they acknowledge the less pleasant aspects of housework. Gillet's Lye, as one advertisement claims, "makes easy work of dozens of hard cleaning tasks ... [and] saves you hours of household drudgery."³⁸ Another ad for Gillet's pictures 'Weary Myrt'; "Dissolved in tears was weary Myrt .../ But now Gillet's dissolves the dirt."³⁹ Both ads acknowledge the idea that housework is drudgery. Saving time is also seen by advertisers to be important to homemakers. This concern is reflected not only in ads depicting cleaning products, but in ads depicting any product used by the homemaker. For example, the General Electric Hotpoint (stove) includes a "Hi-Speed Calrod element [which] holds the time-record for cooking."⁴⁰

The war increased these concerns for homemakers and added yet another concern: that of saving money. Prior to the war, advertisers were ambivalent about what homemakers were sav-

ing time for, but during the war saving time, money and eliminating drudgery became duties. Ambiguity is replaced with purpose; it is now the homemaker's duty to put her left-over time and money into the war effort. Advertisers are eager to show the homemaker how she can do this. She could buy a Frigidaire, as one ad suggests: "Over \$10 a month that's what I'm saving with my Frigidaire! And it's going right into Victory Bonds and War Savings Certificates!"⁴¹ Or she could use Heinz products; Heinz understood that "Time enters into the problem too. Most of you busy homemakers are dedicating part of each day to patriotic service in one form or another, and that means less time to plan and prepare family meals."⁴² Housework gained renewed importance during the war for other reasons. In a 1943 Liquid Veneer Furniture Polish ad, the message is "Your Home! Keep it bright ... cheerful. An important contribution to VICTORY. Make it part of a winning 'home front'."⁴³ The tasks of homemaking were now imbued with patriotic duty.

In 1944, advertisers began painting rosy pictures of an appliance-filled future. Easy Washing Machines proclaim "There's a Great Day Coming. Some day, not far distant we hope, the truck will roll up to your door with the newer and finer EASY washer that you've been waiting for for so long."⁴⁴ Dominion Oilcloth and Linoleum is "Planning the New Homes of Peace."⁴⁵ Ads continue to reflect optimism for a 'Great Day Coming' until 1947, but gradually they reflect a sense of normalcy. Ads directed at homemakers continue to stress saving time, money and eliminating drudgery using the methods of 1939.

In 1948, we see a sudden change in the appeals made to homemakers. From 1948 to 1950 products do not merely liberate the homemaker from drudgery, - these products are now able to draw an astonishingly wide range of emotions from the homemaker. The 'new homemaker' created by the ads is depicted on the verge of

*“You're EASIER and FASTER, too...
OLD DUTCH CLEANSER, I Love You!”*

We've
ACTIVATED
Seismotite



in New Postwar Old Dutch Cleanser... to give you

FASTER-EASIER CLEANING

than any other cleanser you've ever used...and it's SAFE!

NEW GLIDING ACTION! Old Dutch gives you almost *effortless* cleaning. Polishes while it cleans... takes less work, less rubbing, thanks to **ACTIVATED Seismotite** (exclusive process, patent applied for).

PROVED FASTER, EASIER than all other leading cleansers in scientific tests! New Postwar Old Dutch cleansing action sweeps away **BOTH** stains and dirt with lightning speed!

NO GRITTY SEDIMENT! Pure, snowy white **OLD DUTCH** rinses away quickly. It's safe, kind to hands; economical, too, because just a touch does so much!

Made in Canada



**IT DISSOLVES GREASE
ON CONTACT!**

**Work-Saving Tip for
Cleaning Pots and Pans**
Cover bottom of pans with water, add 2 tablespoonsful of Old Dutch, let soak only a few minutes. Old Dutch dissolves grease on contact, loosens burned-on food. Greasy pots and pans come sparkling clean in a jiffy!

IN THE
SAME
FAMILIAR
PACKAGE

She was a Jewel of a Wife ...with just one flaw



She was guilty of the "ONE NEGLECT"
that mars many marriages . . . "LYSOL" helps avoid this

EVERYONE would admit that Mary was beautiful . . . a perfect housekeeper and mother. Why did her marriage turn out badly?

Even the most tolerant husband finds it difficult to forget or forgive a wife's carelessness about feminine hygiene. Do YOU use "Lysol" for intimate cleanliness?

More women should follow the "Lysol" method. "Lysol" is used by thousands of doctors, nurses, clinics, hospitals. Probably no other preparation has been so widely used by genera-

tions of women for feminine hygiene. "Lysol" is preferred because . . .

6 Special Features of "LYSOL"

1. **Non-Caustic** . . . "Lysol", in the proper dilution, is gentle and efficient, contains no harmful free caustic alkali.
2. **Effectiveness** . . . "Lysol" is a powerful *germicide*, active under practical conditions, effective in the presence of organic matter (such as dirt, mucus, serum, etc.).
3. **Spreading** . . . "Lysol" solutions *spread* because of low surface tension, and thus virtually *search out germs*.
4. **Economy** . . . Small bottle of "Lysol" makes almost 4 gallons of solution for feminine hygiene.
5. **Odor** . . . The cleanly odor of "Lysol" disappears after use.
6. **Stability** . . . "Lysol" keeps its full strength no matter how long it is kept, how often it is uncorked.

discovery - "HOUSEWIFE DISCOVERS! Amazing way to give clothes new lease on life."⁴⁶ She marvels at the wide choice of commodities available - "21 kinds of soup to choose from! How many do *you* know?"⁴⁷ Her life is filled with "thrilling experiences" such as using the General Electric Featherweight Automatic Iron.⁴⁸ Upon seeing the glow on her floor, "she blinks! she marvels!"⁴⁹ The 'new homemaker' sings to her cleanser "You're EASIER and FASTER, too .../ Old Dutch Cleanser, I love you!"⁵⁰ Her Hoover brings her "peace of mind" and "happiness."⁵¹ Truly the world of the homemaker is one of fulfillment. With discoveries, thrills, blinking, marvelling, and happiness that are part and parcel of the well-stocked homemaker, who would want anything else?

Another appeal that advertisers make to homemakers, though a less prevalent one than that of liberation from drudgery, is the appeal to social prestige. In 1941, Mason Temptrile asks the consumer "Ever been jealous? Of a neighbour's smartened up bathroom? That's a good wholesome, not to be ashamed of brand of jealousy that thousands of Canadians experience each year."⁵² The appeal to social prestige is absent during the war years, but is resumed in 1948. Maxwell House associates consumption of their coffee with social status when a Maxwell House user is described as being "the acknowledged leader of her 'set'."⁵³ A Crane-equipped bathroom is sure to be "the envy of your neighbours."⁵⁴

Ads directed at the homemaker constitute at least 39% of all ads directed to women in any given year from 1939 to 1950. The proportion of ads directed at the homemakers remains constant from 1939 to 1943 (at about 40%), but thereafter ads in this subcategory increase steadily until 1950. By 1950, ads directed at homemakers constitute 73% of all ads directed to women, showing an increase of 55.3% since 1943. (see Table 1 and Fig. 1)

Advertisements directed at the wife are concerned with the task of improving or saving a marriage. Undoubtedly, the worst offense that can be perpetrated by a wife is that of not paying proper attention to the sensitive issue of feminine hygiene. One such ad for Lysol Disinfectant shows a wife who has left her husband and gone home to mother. Mother gives sensible advice, which Mary follows by using Lysol. The next scene pictures "Joe and Mary together again and now their love is even more beautiful than at first!"⁵⁵ Lysol not only patches up a broken marriage, it promises even more beautiful love! Another ad shows the importance of soap in a good marriage. A soldier is pictured returning "Home to his June, devoted to him -and Woodbury!"⁵⁶ (It appears that this new husband will have to get used to the idea that his bride's affections are divided between him and a bar of soap!)

Food is another way to a husband's heart. One devotee of Campbell's Soup exclaims "Whew! Did I marry an Appetite!"⁵⁷ Husband equals Appetite; to keep a man happy, you must satisfy his appetite. Maxwell House Coffee promises to bring "Husbands Scurrying Home."⁵⁸ One wife advises "'Keep them happy with the cooking they like' is my motto ... and it certainly works well with Michael ... that's why I call my cook-book my 'guide to Michael!'"⁵⁹ Some food products go even further and alleviate marriage problems, as in this ad for Tenderleaf Tea: "There has never been a 'tea problem' in our married life - and this has helped to solve other little problems, too. I can't imagine Nicky and me failing to come to a perfect understanding over a cup of Tenderleaf Tea!"⁶⁰

Ads directed to wives show no change in content during the 1940s. They account for less than 4% of all ads directed at women from 1939 to 1950 and fluctuate very little during those years. (see Fig. 1)

Table 1
 Percentage of Advertisements
 Directed to Designated Roles
 of Women, 1939-50

Designated Role by Percentage (%)	Year											
	1939	'40	'41	'42	'43	'44	'45	'46	'47	'48	'49	'50
Homemaker	39.0	41.0	40.2	39.0	40.0	47.0	49.0	53.0	58.3	60.0	66.0	73.0
Wife	3.9	2.5	1.2	2.4	3.4	1.9	.9	1.6	3.5	3.25	2.9	1.3
Mother	19.8	19.2	8.8	10.9	9.5	9.6	12.0	8.6	8.7	5.7	8.7	3.8
HOUSEWIFE (total)	63.0	62.7	49.4	52.0	53.0	58.7	62.0	63.0	70.4	69.1	77.6	78.2
War Worker	1.3	0	0	4.8	14.0	10.6	0	0	0	0	0	0
Clerical Worker	0	0	5.0	2.4	2.0	1.9	0	6.25	2.6	0	0	0
Career Woman	0	2.5	0	0	0	2.9	1.9	.8	.9	0	0	0
WORKING WOMAN (total)	1.3	2.5	5.0	7.2	16.0	15.4	1.9	7.0	3.5	0	0	0
SINGLE WOMAN	6.5	7.7	11.0	7.3	8.0	2.9	4.6	5.5	1.7	5.7	3.8	0
'ANY WOMAN'	30.2	28.2	34.0	32.0	22.0	23.0	31.5	25.0	24.0	25.2	18.4	21.7

Compiled from: *Maclean's Magazine*, 1939-1950
 (see Figures 12, 17, 22, and 24.)

"Let's duck...here comes that nosey pest again!"



How Esther raised
her baby the modern way . . .
in spite of a snoopy neighbor



1. NEIGHBOR: Well, well, well . . . if it isn't our new mother . . . Did you take my advice about your baby, dear-r-r-R-R?
ESTHER: No, I didn't. I thought it was too old-fashioned.
BOB: (Under his breath) Atta girl!



2. NEIGHBOR: Why . . . what do you MEAN! I know *something* about children. I raised five of them, didn't I?
ESTHER: Yes, and you certainly made it hard for yourself. Me . . . I'm following *modern* methods.



3. NEIGHBOR: Modern methods? What kind of bosh is that?
ESTHER: It's not bosh. It's common sense. My doctor tells me that babies should get *special* care . . . all the way from *special* baby food to a *special* baby laxative.



4. NEIGHBOR: *Special* laxative? My dear! That's putting it on!
ESTHER: It is *not!* It stands to reason that if a baby's system is too delicate for adult foods . . . it can also be too delicate for an adult laxative. Yes, even in small doses.



5. ESTHER: That's why the doctor told me to buy *Castoria*. It's made *especially* and *ONLY* for children. There isn't a harmful ingredient in it. It won't upset a baby's stomach, and it works mostly in the lower bowel. It's gentle and *SAFE!*



LATER THAT DAY
6. BOB: Oh boy! . . . you sure told off that old snoop about *Castoria* . . . but why didn't you tell her how *swell* it tastes, too?
ESTHER: I should have! I wish she were here to see how the baby goes for it . . . the old buttinsky!

CASTORIA

The modern—SAFE—laxative made especially and **ONLY** for children



Maclean's Magazine, March 1, 1942

"PLEASE DON'T STARE AT MY PANTS..."

"Would you like to know why I wear trousers like the men when I go about the streets? Because I'm doing a man's job for my country's sake.

"My coveralls are my working clothes. I wear them for safety's sake. They are less likely to become entangled in the factory machinery.

"I work in a munitions plant. Every piece of war material I help to produce helps to keep the Nazis and the Japs away from our shores."

♦ ♦ ♦

On the streets, on the street cars and in the shops of our Canadian cities, you will see today many young ladies wearing blue trousers under their winter coats. They demonstrate the revival of the heroic spirit of the pioneers who laid the foundation of our country. The women folk in those days stood shoulder to shoulder with their men, either at the plow or the palisade. Today, these young women are again standing behind their men in the hour of their country's peril. In the months to come, the uniform of the blue trousers will be seen more and more frequently in our country because girls and women are contributing their skill and their delicacy of touch to the production of instruments of war for our fighting men.

This message is issued by the Department of Munitions and Supply for Canada



Maclean's, Mar. 1, 1942

Advertisements aimed at mothers show an overwhelming concern for the authority of doctors, dieticians and scientists. The advertisers remind mother that she no longer 'knows best.' Mother is assured, however, that her lack of expertise can be compensated for by the consumption of products endorsed by doctors. One such ad warns "Mother, be careful about giving your child unknown remedies. Be sure to ask the one *man* who really knows."⁶¹ (my italics).

Mothers are also reminded of the immense responsibility parenthood involves, as in this ad: "Life lies before them [your children's eyes]: beautiful or distorted, rich or impoverished, depending largely on your forethought and devotion."⁶² This ad goes on to imply that devoted mothers will immediately call their ophthalmologist or optometrist. McCoy's Tablets similarly warn "You are responsible for your child's future-the Skinny, Underdeveloped, Sickly Child is the Weakling of Tomorrow."⁶³

Like homemakers, mothers had a special role during the war. An ad for Lysol Disinfectant says "Every baby becomes more precious while health risks become greater - while the world is at war. *Infection* is an enemy always active on the home front - fight a Household War against germs, with LYSOL."⁶⁴ Later, Lysol suggests that something more than an apple a day is required to keep the doctor away, (in this case, Lysol), and that "the doctor's mighty grateful to mothers who keep their babies bouncing in wartime."⁶⁵ (The apple-a-day theme is similarly attacked by Pepto-Bismal;⁶⁶ once again mother's instinct is being dismissed.)

The most interesting ads directed to mothers are those done by Castoria, a special laxative intended only for use by children. These ads are presented in serial form and end with a moral. They show a young mother in heated debate about child-rearing with her husband or her neighbors or her mother-in-law. The young mother usually wins the argument, backed up,

of course, by the word of her doctor and 'modern child-raising methods.' Curiously, ads directed to mothers show an overall rate of decline in representation from 1939 to 1950. During 1939 and 1940, they account for 20% of all ads directed to women, and thereafter they represent approximately 10%, dropping in 1950 to only 3.8% of all ads. One possible explanation for this might be that gadgets were more prevalent in postwar industry than were baby products.

These three subcategories, homemaker, wife and mother, when put together, make up the housewife category. As such, ads directed to the housewife account for at least 50% of all ads examined from 1939 to 1950. The housewife category declines sharply in 1941 (partly due to the decline in ads directed at mothers), but by 1946 is back to where it was before the war (63%). From that point on it increases steadily (due to the increasing representation of ads directed to homemakers). (see Fig. 1)

Now we move from ads directed to housewives, to ads directed at women working outside the home. Ads directed at war workers exist from 1942 to 1944, inclusive. While these ads do not underestimate the contributions and sacrifices made by war workers, we are continually reminded that these women have feminine qualities. An ad by the Department of Munitions and Supplies had this caption, "PLEASE DON'T STARE AT MY PANTS." The woman pictured goes on to say "Would you like to know why I wear trousers like the men on the street? Because I'm doing a man's job for my country's sake." The ad continues by telling Canadians that such "women are contributing their skill and *delicacy of touch* to the production of instruments for our fighting men."⁶⁷ (my italics) While 'delicacy of touch' hardly seems congruous with working in a munitions factory, other advertisers are even more blatant about identifying the war worker with traditionally feminine images. For instance, Aspirin paints this picture of the war workers. "No time out for Headaches," warns Aspirin,



**"OKAY, SUGAR...
YOUR TIME'S RATIONED,
BUT YOU LOOK SWEET TO ME!"**

When Ted said that, my heart went haywire! Was I surprised and thrilled. I thought I looked a fright in my wrinkled work smock... my swell permanent tucked under my turban... and smudgy all over my face!

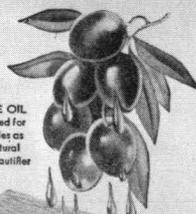
Jeepers! When I took this job at the plant, I figured I'd given up my complexion for my country. No time now for hours with beauty preparations! Just quick soap-and-water cleansing two minutes twice a day... with Palmolive Soap. I'd never trusted *only* Palmolive care before, so goodbye to glamour, I thought... Yet there was Ted, the handsomest man at the plant, asking for A DATE!

There really must be something in Palmolive skin care. Just goes to show you, a busy worker like myself needs only those *two minutes* twice a day with new, improved Palmolive... to keep skin fresh, glowing, and... sweet, like Ted said.

Yes, even with only 2 minutes twice a day, you can keep your skin radiant...with Palmolive!

It's a cinch to stay lovely with Palmolive Beauty Facials... so easy to keep dainty *all over* with Palmolive Beauty Baths. Why Palmolive? Because it's the only leading beauty soap made with the costliest blend of soothing Olive and Palm Oils—two of Nature's finest beauty aids. Mild, gentle Palmolive actually soothes as it cleanses deeply, thoroughly, without the slightest irritation. Yet Palmolive costs no more than ordinary soaps!

OLIVE OIL
treasured for
centuries as
a natural
skin beautifier



NOW MORE THAN EVER

I TRUST *Palmolive*

TO KEEP ME LOVELY—FOR HIM!

“So War-time seamstresses, sewing Tanks with Blow Torches take Aspirin for almost Instant Relief.”⁶⁸ Another Aspirin ad pictures a war worker “Rushing Battleship Bolts to her Boy-friend.”⁶⁹

While personal appearance was sacrificed by some war workers, it became even more vital for others. One war worker depicted in an ad says, “No more rosy red nail polish, no more glamorous hairdo’s, no more jewellery, ‘cause I’m in the army now.”⁷⁰ Other ads maintain that “When you’re in the armed forces, your hair demands even more care than in civilian life.”⁷¹ And one war worker, by using Palmolive soap for only four minutes a day is still able to attract the handsomest man in the plant, who approaches her, saying, “Okay, Sugar ... your time’s rationed but you look sweet to me.”⁷²

Ads directed to war workers account for 4.8%, 14% and 10.6% in the three years they appear (1942, 1943, and 1944). (see Fig. 2) Products featured in these ads are usually cosmetics or pharmaceutical items; the approach in both types of ads relies heavily on feminine images.

The central image in ads portraying clerical workers is the typewriter. These ads are usually directed at men (i.e., the bosses) and they imply that with consumption of a new typewriter, productivity will increase. One secretary proclaims “I took a beating every day,”⁷³ But the ‘beatings’ end with the purchase of a new Royal. In another ad, a husband is pictured saying, “Gosh, honey, you look tired” and his wife replies, “You’d look tired, too, if you had been pounding on an old typewriter every day.”⁷⁴

Some ads directed to clerical workers rely heavily on the ‘catching a man’ theme. Like the war worker who catches her man in a munitions factory, the secretary finds the office an arena for romance. The secretary has the makings of a good wife, for she knows that the way to this man’s heart is through his appetite.

Some ads describe the perfect secretary: “There’s plenty of gray matter behind those smiling gray eyes. Her clothes are sweet and neat and so is her work. She has the tact of a diplomat and grammar and spelling are her strong points. A smart girl - she knows that poise and confidence at all times are a must ...”⁷⁵ Remington Rand pays a tribute to the office girl, in the ad: “the millions of typists of today ... have made the Canadian office a warmer, more humane place.”⁷⁶

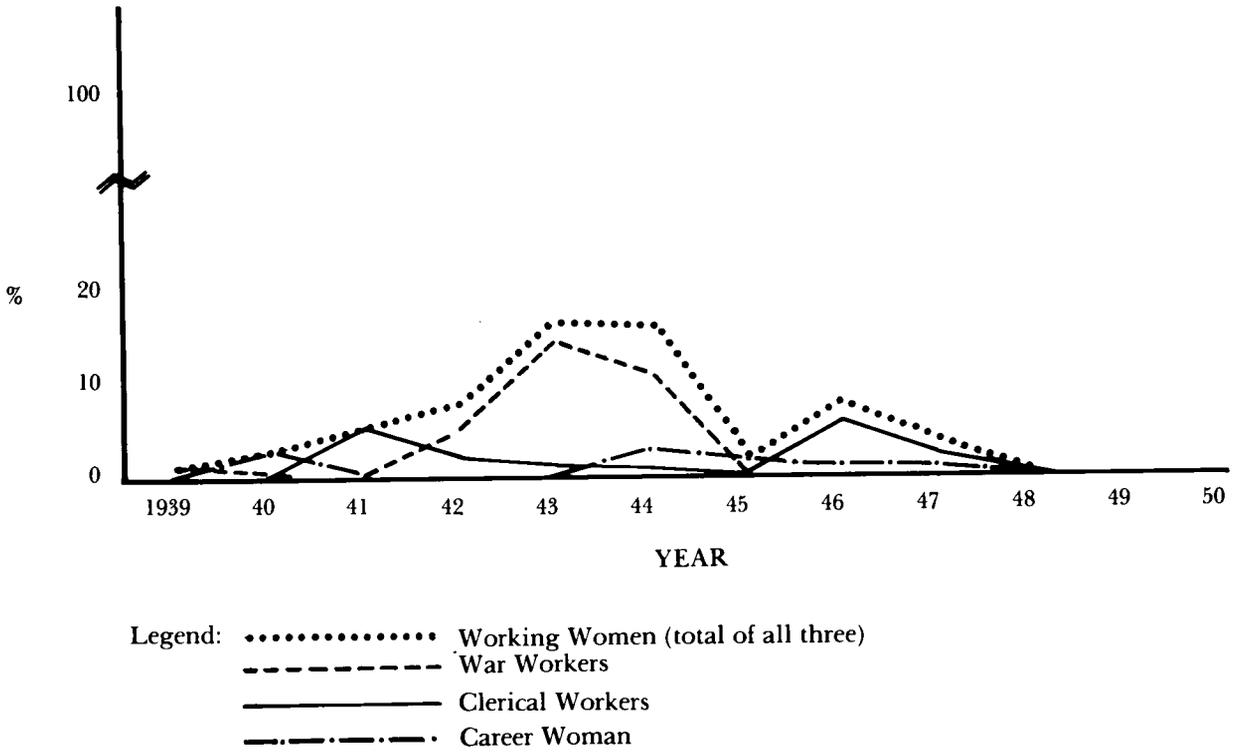
Ads directed to clerical workers make up no more than 7% of all ads looked at between 1939 and 1950, and are most significant during the war years and in 1946 and 1947 (when the government was trying to stream women into more ‘womanly channels.’) The ads directed to clerical women show a workplace made more humane by her presence, a place where it is possible to catch a man, and where an old typewriter is the symbol of drudgery. (see Fig. 2)

Of all ads directed to women, career women are represented the least. They account for no more than 3% of ads to women in 1944, when they show their highest representation. These ads portray highly energetic women who, because of extra demands on their life, must depend on certain products to keep their stamina up. Modess does a series of such ads, entitled “Go-Getter Gals” which include such occupations as teacher, nurse and journalist.

Ads directed to women outside the home are most highly represented during 1943 and 1944 (16 and 15.4%), figures which partly account for the decline in ads directed at the housewives during those years. In 1946, they account for 5.5% of all ads directed to women, and from 1948 on, working women are no longer seen in ads directed to women. (see Fig. 2)

Promises of romance and marriage are offered by advertisements aimed at the single woman. The ultimate prize of romance is available to any single woman who puts herself willingly into

FIGURE 2
Percentages of Advertisements Directed To
War Workers, Clerical Workers, and Career Women
1939-1950



Source: *Maclean's Magazine*, 1939-1950.

the hands of the advertisers. Two of the greatest hindrances standing in the way of romance are bad odour and bad breath. A Lifebuoy soap ad has this caption: "Just about to propose, but ... 'B.O.' came between them."⁷⁸ Colgate pictures a life of solitude for those who do not pay attention to ads: "Here's Lonesome Lou, knitting one, purling two/she thinks the bad breath ad means *you!*"⁷⁹

The single girl must also pay attention to her skin. Palmolive pleads, "Give Cupid more than an even break! Somewhere, someone is waiting to speak to you of love. Hasten that moment by giving your skin the exquisite, enticing charm of a school girl complexion."⁸⁰ Noxema asks the single girl, "Is poor complexion robbing you of romance?"⁸¹ Perhaps the most effective ads aimed at single girls, are those put out by Woodbury Soap. These ads, entitled "Woodbury Debs," and run in serial form, associate the use of Woodbury soap with the social success of a debutante. One example of the Woodbury approach follows, "The saying goes, 'All is fair in love.' So the debs take a 5 o'clock Beauty Cocktail with Woodbury to give them a head-and-heart start in the race to Love's Altar."⁸²

Cosmetics are seldom advertised; however, one ad for face powder informs single girls that "the wrong shade of powder can turn the right man away" and continues by saying that a shade that was 'right' for you four months ago may be "ALL WRONG for you now."⁸³

Single women do not receive much attention from advertisers (averaging at about 6% throughout). Figure 3 presents a picture of constant rises and declines for representation of single women in ads, with the overall trend being one of decline.

The "any woman" category takes care of all the leftovers, and as defined previously includes all women, regardless of age, role or marital status. The two main concerns of 'any woman'

are those pertaining to youth and beauty. An ad for hair colouring sets the tone for ads directed to "any woman": "GRAY HAIR KILLS ROMANCE! Don't let tell-tale gray hairs put you on the sidelines of life. In this streamlined business and social world, you've *got* to look young."⁸⁴

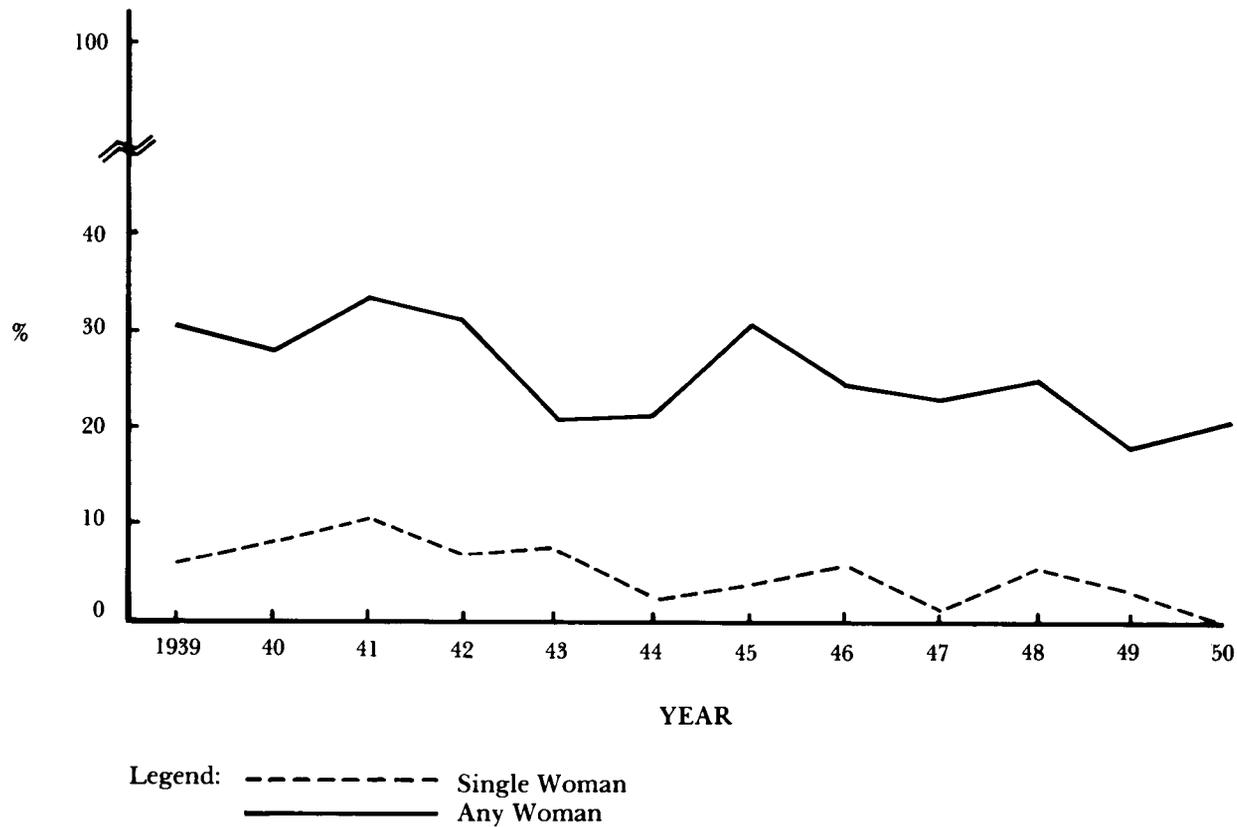
Thinking young, as well as looking young, is also important, as illustrated by this Tampax ad: "Perhaps you are the conservative kind - slow to change, loyal to old habits ... Well, plenty of women just like you have switched over to Tampax and you yourself will not probably forever resist the March of Improvement!"⁸⁵ Nuback corsets have patented backs which "relieve fatigue" and help women "who must feel young if they want to look young."⁸⁶

To be young is to be beautiful, too, as Elizabeth Arden says "Beauty (is) ... not inherited ... but achieved."⁸⁷ Noxema asks women: "Haven't you noticed that when you come from the hairdresser with your nails gleaming and your hair beautifully done ... you feel like a new woman ... more poised, *surer* of yourself?"⁸⁸ A sense of security is one of the promises of advertisers who are selling beauty and youth in bottles and jars.

The attributes of beauty and youth apply to women's figures, as well as to their faces. Arietta brassieres promise to give the bust "a charmingly rounded, as well as pointed, effect which ensures the delightful youthful appeal of today's modes."⁸⁹ Lelong Foundations, using Scarlett O'Hara's figure for inspiration, promise that their corsets will "take inches off your waistline, lift the bust, broaden the shoulder line, round the hips and give you the appealingly slenderized figure demanded by the modes of the 1940s."⁹⁰

War gave an impetus to the lipstick trade. Louis Phillipe, for example, introduces a new shade of lipstick, which has particular merit during war:

FIGURE 3
Percentages of Advertisements Directed To
Single Women and Any Woman,
1939-1950



Source: *Maclean's Magazine*, 1939-1950.

In Defense of Glamour - Patriot Red - the brave new shade for warm, pulsating lips ... today patriotism is in the air ... and the new spring clothes have military dash that's very young and *vital!* If you'll do justice to your new trim outfit, you *must* get a young new shade in lipstick, too! You'll love Patriot Red ... brilliant as St. George's cross in our own flag - exciting as the music in a military band!⁹¹

In 1943, Elizabeth Arden follows suit by introducing "Victory Red,"⁹² to be topped by "Winged Victory"⁹³ nail polish and lipstick in 1945.

Ads directed to the "any woman" category comprise an average of 24.5% of all ads directed to women, and are represented more than any other subcategory of women, with the exception of the homemaker subcategory. With the decline of the homemaker category in 1941, representation of ads in the "any woman" subcategory increases, but this increased representation does not continue through the war. Representation of the 'any woman' subcategory also increases in 1945. The increases in 1941 and 1945 may be due to a confusion on the part of advertisers as women's roles were changing in both those years. (see Fig. 3)

Overall, what do the changing images of women in advertising tell us? Do the ads reflect changes in women's roles and changes in attitudes towards women's changing roles during and after the war, or do they paint a different picture?

Summary and Conclusions

Advertisers do not use war images in their ads until 1941. This is explained by two factors. First, the Americans entered the war in December 1941 and the advertisements reflect their American origin. Secondly in 1942, the allied war effort gained momentum and women's paid labour became a source of increasing interest.⁹⁴ For the

purposes of this paper the years 1939 and 1940 can be seen as the 'pre-war' period. As such, the advertisements of 1939 and 1940 are of value, because they tell us what the advertisers see as *traditionally* important to women.

The themes that emerge in the ads of 1939 and 1940 indicate that (1) advertisers believe that elimination of drudgery and saving of time are important to homemakers, (2) the knowledge of doctors is seen to compensate for the lack of knowledge in mothers, in ads directed to that subcategory, (3) improving and saving a marriage is seen by the advertiser to be of prime concern to wives, (4) catching a man is seen to be the main goal of the single girl, (5) the pursuit of beauty and youth are necessary to single women and 'any woman' categories alike and (6) the attainment of social status or security is promised in ads directed at the homemaker, the single women and the 'any woman' categories.

During this period advertisements directed to housewives predominate, representing 63% of all ads directed to women. Within the housewife category, ads directed to homemakers account for about 40%, ads directed to mothers for about 20%, and ads directed to wives account for less than 4%, of all ads directed to women. Ads included in the 'any woman' category constitute about 30% of all ads examined, while ads directed to single women make up only 7% of ads directed to women. Ads aimed at working women account for about 2% of all ads. The prevalence of ads directed to housewives can be seen as typical of a period described as one where "women's place had been indisputably considered to be in the home."⁹⁴

In 1941, advertisers begin to recognize the centrality of war to Canadians and war images start to appear in advertisements. This recognition leads to a change in the roles represented by women in the advertisements between 1941 and 1944. There is a decrease of 13% in the number of ads directed to housewives (largely due to the

drop of 10% in the number of ads directed to mothers). Ads directed to working women increase almost 13% between 1940 and 1944 (mainly due to the increase in ads directed to war workers). Ads directed to the 'any women' category increase by 6% between 1940 and 1941, which may be due to confusion experienced by advertisers during this transitional period. (i.e., who are they advertising to?) These trends would suggest that attitudes towards women change during the war (at least those attitudes held by advertisers), but do the appeals advertisers make to women during the war period change as well?

Advertisers may have changed the roles of women portrayed in advertisements to reflect the reality of war, but the traditional themes of 1939 remain in the advertisements. Advertisers, by exploiting the prevailing feeling of patriotism, use war images in their ads to magnify the issues that they believe are important to women. This can be seen in ads directed to homemakers, wives, war workers and the 'any woman' category.

Advertisers portray homemakers who had less time because of their war-time activities. Because homemakers have less time, the traditional themes of eliminating drudgery and saving time become matters of even more concern. The same is true of mothers; if children become even more precious during war-time, as the ads maintain, then the duties and responsibilities of motherhood are stressed even more. Themes that are important in 1939, are given heightened importance in the ads of the war period.

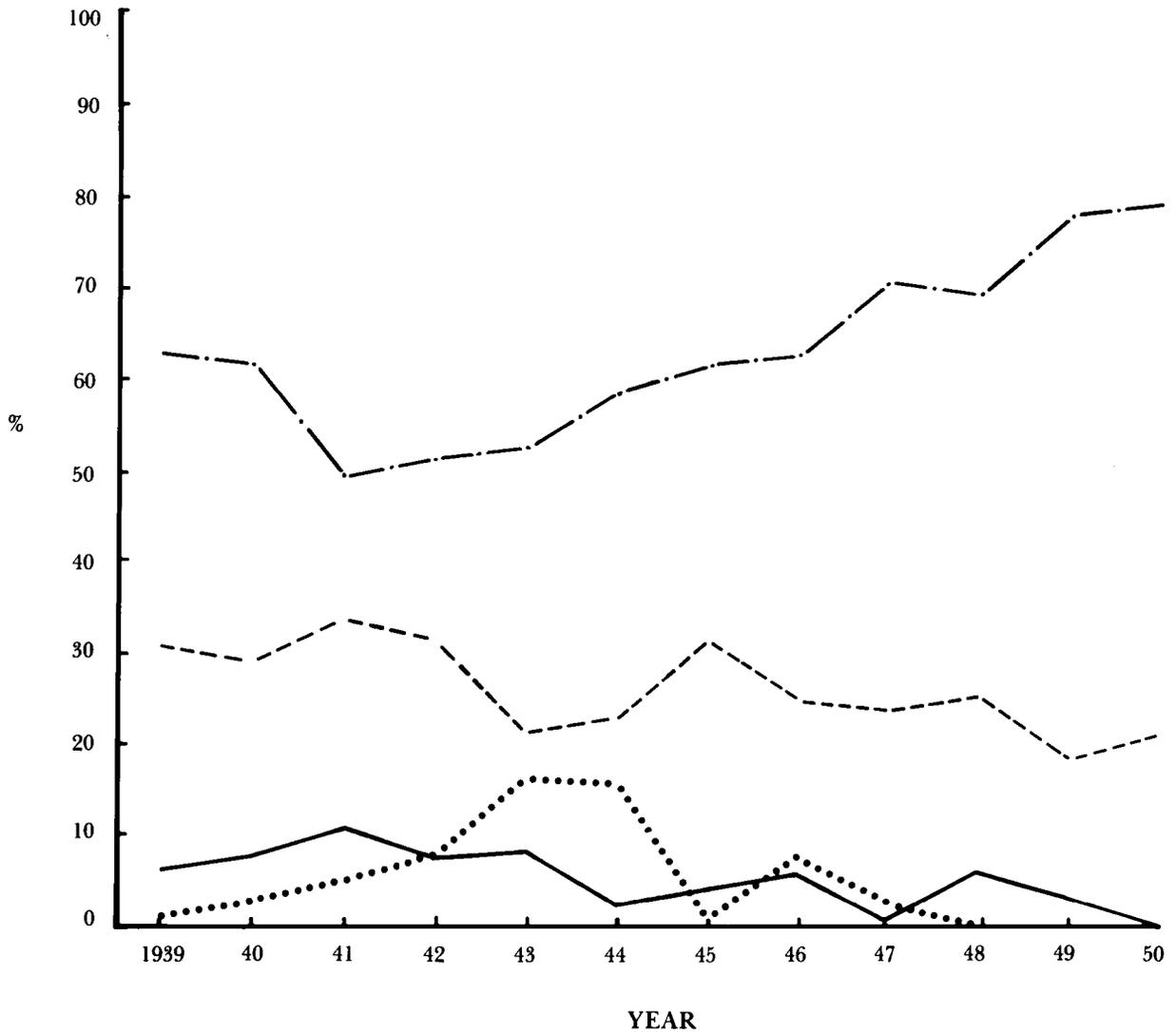
Ads directed to working women (particularly to war workers) applaud these women for their 'sacrifice' and contribution to the war effort. Their approval, however, serves to disguise the fact that their appeals make use of both feminine imagery and traditionally feminine aspirations. Ads directed to working women stress the idea that while women are doing "a man's job for [their] country's sake," it becomes doubly important for them to pursue the traditionally femi-

nine quest for beauty and for 'catching a man.' Ads promoting beauty products stress that it is even more important to keep your hair shining, etc., when you work in a munitions factory. Images such as war workers "sewing tanks" remind women, that whatever their role during wartime, they are women first and foremost. These themes can also be seen in advertisements directed to the 'any woman' category, where in one ad, glamour is *defended*. Advertisers during the war period saw their role as defenders of what they believed was important to women, in the face of changes that questioned the proper role of women in society.

During the post-war period, which for advertisers begins in 1944 and ends in 1947, we see a gradual return to the roles of women represented in the ads of 1939 and 1940. By 1946, 63% of all ads are directed to homemakers, showing a return to pre-war trends. Ads directed to working women show a sharp drop of 13.5% in representation from 1944 to 1945, but recover somewhat in 1946 and 1947. Ads directed to the 'any woman' category show a slight increase in 1945; again it was a time of transition. (see Fig. 4)

A feeling of optimism and a desire for security replaces the feeling of patriotism reflected in the advertisements of the war period. Advertisers rely on "the fear and loneliness experienced by so many ... women during World War II which heightened their already romantic notions of home and family."⁹⁶ Advertisers do not hesitate to remind women that because they have been deprived of products for so many years, that they now deserve the new commodities that are flooding the market as production resumes. Implied in the advertisements directed to women in the immediate post-war period, is the notion, that to be a part of this new world of prosperity and peace, you have to get out there and join the long lines of women who cannot wait to get their hands on new products, such as an Easy Washer. While the themes found in the ads of the pre-war period remain, consumers are told that the new

FIGURE 4
 Percentage of Advertisements Directed To
 Housewife, Working Woman, Single Woman, and Any Woman,
 1939-1950



Legend: — · — · — · Housewife (amalgamation of all three)
 ··········· Working Woman
 ————— Single Woman
 - - - - - Any Woman

Source: *Maclean's Magazine*, 1939-1950.

post-war products are faster, cheaper and better than ever before. The questions of magazine writers in 1944, such as "Will Women Go Back to the Kitchen?," are being answered in the post-war period, as shown by the increasing number of ads directed to homemakers and by the content of the ads of the post-war period.

Observation of advertisements after 1947 causes one to wonder if there has ever really been any question as to whether women would return to hearth and home. The advertisements of 1948 to 1950 suggest that there is no other place for women. In 1948, 69% of all ads directed to women are aimed at homemakers, 25.2% of ads are directed to 'any woman' and a mere 5.7% are directed to single women. No women working outside the home are portrayed in advertisements after 1947. By 1950, almost 80% of all ads are directed to housewives (made up mainly by ads directed to homemakers, (73%) and the remainder of ads are directed to the 'any women' category.

Moreover, these ads indicate that women who stay at home, are fulfilled women. If a woman does not experience "that mysterious orgasmic fulfillment the advertisements promised when waxing the kitchen floor"⁹⁷ then there is something wrong with her. By 1950, it is women's duty "to be glamorous, cheerful, efficient and so far as possible to run the home like an automatic factory."⁹⁸ Ads directed at the 'any woman' category show concern for women's desire for glamour, while ads aimed at the housewife recognize women's desire to be efficient. As reflected by the advertisements of this period, it is easy for women to be cheerful (ecstatic might be a more appropriate word) in the face of all these new and magical commodities.

According to the advertisements directed to women between 1939 and 1950, women's changing role in society during the war, does not "do wonders for the cause of Women's Lib." In fact, the women portrayed in the ads of 1950 are even

more domesticated, if that is possible, than the women portrayed in the ads of 1939. The women of 1950 are not only paragons of domesticity, they also show an unquestioning delight in their tasks, which is not evident in the portrayal of the women of 1939.

Advertisers, of course, recognized that women's roles had changed during the war, but this recognition did not produce an attitudinal change on their part. Reflected in the ads, was the advertiser's belief that women were still women, whether they wore denims and a kerchief or an apron. If they wore denims and a kerchief, then it was doubly important for them to remain feminine and if they wore an apron, then advertisers saw renewed importance bestowed upon the elimination of drudgery or the saving of money. Attitudes towards women's proper role in society, as reflected in advertisements, did not change during the war period.

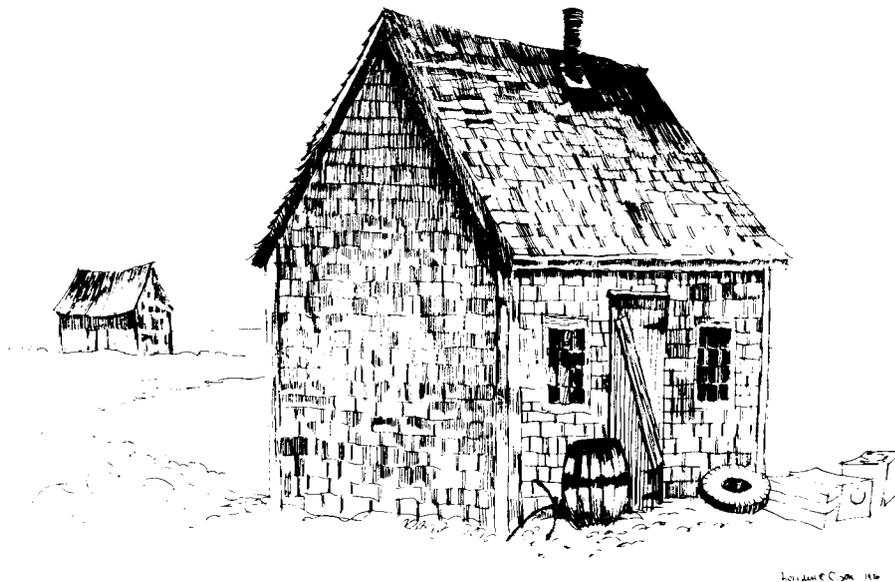
During the post-war period, advertisers were able to build upon the themes important to women during the pre-war and war periods. This they did by translating women's feelings of fear and loneliness, into visions of cozy home life. They capitalized on the deprivation of goods suffered by women during the depression and war by painting pictures of an appliance-filled future. By 1948, the dreams and visions of the advertisers had become a reality. Women were portrayed as happy housewife consumers. The brief emergence of 'Rosie the Riveter' in ads did nothing to threaten the dominant position of Henrietta the Homemaker, in fact, women's changing role during the war indirectly contributed to the upswing of the homemaker role. The women of 1945 were ready for the idea that their place was in the home and that it was both the duty of the homemaker to consume, and to be fulfilled and happy in the home.

NOTES

1. Armstrong, Pat and Hugh, *The Double Ghetto: Canadian Women and Their Segregated Work*, (Toronto: 1978), p. 16.

2. Broadfoot, Barry, *Six War Years, 1939-1945: Memories of Canadians at Home and Abroad*, (Toronto, 1974), p. 353.
 3. Katy LeRougetel, "Cats, Mothers, Nut Tappers," *Branching Out*, (July/August: 1979), p. 41.
 4. Ruth Pierson, "Women's Emancipation and the Recruitment of Women Into the Labour Force in World War II," in *The Neglected Majority*, ed. S. Trofimenkoff and A. Prentice, (Toronto: 1977), p. 125.
 5. Friedan, Betty, *The Feminine Mystique*, (New York: 1963), p.54.
 6. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
 7. Pierson, "Women's Emancipation ...," p. 125.
 8. Ann Fromer, "What War Women Will Do When It's All Over," *Saturday Night*, (June 24, 1944), p. 6.
 9. For a more detailed discussion of these trends, see, Pierson, "Women's Emancipation ..."; LeRougetel, "Cats, Mothers, Nut Tappers,," and Franklin, *A Time of Heroes*.
 10. For a more detailed discussion of the CWAC, see, Ruth Pierson, "'Jill Canuck': CWAC of All Trades, But No 'Pistol-Packing Momma,'" *Canadian Historical Association Historical Papers*, 1978, pp. 108-133.
 11. For a more detailed discussion, see, Franklin, *A Time of Heroes*; Broadfoot, *Six War Years*; and Bayley, "Mrs. Home-keeper-a war job Only You Can Do!"
 12. Dorothy Johnson, "Feminism, 1943," *Canadian Forum*, (March: 1943), p. 352.
 13. Rica McLean Farquharson, "Will Women Go Back to the Kitchen?" *Canadian Home Journal*, (January, 1944), p. 2.
 14. Hope Stoddard, "No Women Being Hired," *Canadian Forum*, (June, 1946), p. 3.
 15. Fromer, p. 6.
 16. *Ibid.*
 17. Ruth Pierson, "Home Aide: A Solution to Women's Unemployment After World War II," *Atlantis*, 2(2), Part 2 (Spring 1977), p. 87.
 18. Pierson, "Women's Emancipation ...," p. 144.
 19. Franklin, Stephen, *A Time of Heroes 1940-1950*. (Toronto: 1977), p. 9.
 20. Pierson, "Women's Emancipation ...," p. 135.
 21. LeRougetel, p. 41.
 22. Women as Percentage of the Labour Force By Selected Years.
- | Year | Percentage |
|------|------------|
| 1938 | 20.4 |
| 1939 | 20.6 |
| 1940 | 21.3 |
| 1941 | 22.3 |
| 1942 | 24.2 |
| 1943 | 30.3 |
| 1944 | 31.0 |
| 1945 | 31.4 |
| 1946 | 22.7 |
| 1951 | 22.5 |
- Source: Connelly, Pat, *Last Hired, First Fired*, (Toronto: 1978), p. 78.
23. LeRougetel, p. 41.
 24. Dora Wilensky, "War's Impact on Family Life," *Canadian Welfare* (11)4 (Sept. 1, 1945), p. 13.
 25. Atwan, Robert *et al.*, *Edsels, Luckies and Frigidaires: Advertising the American Way* (New York: 1979), p. 8.
 26. Alice Embree, "Media Images I: Madison Avenue," in *Sisterhood is Powerful*, ed. Robin Morgan, (New York: 1970), p. 175.
 27. Ewen, Stuart, *Captains of Consciousness: Advertising and the Social Roots of Consumer Society*, (New York: 1976), p. 167.
 28. Franklin, p. 9.
 29. Ewen, p. 33.
 30. Atwan *et al.*, p. xiii.
 31. Ewen, p. 191.
 32. Stephenson, Harold E. and Carleton McNaught, *The Story of Advertising in Canada*, (Toronto: 1940), p. 276.
 33. Ads in the wife subcategory include food, but only when that food product promises to improve marital relationships.
 34. Comparative size of ads representing different subcategories were not tabulated, but could tell us more about role representation in the advertisements.
 35. Some of the advertisements are directed at two of the subcategories (i.e., homemaker/mother), so it was occasionally difficult to make a decision about which subcategory the ad was directed to. This was resolved by determining the product the advertisement was trying to sell and by assigning the product to the most appropriate subcategory.
 36. Atwan *et al.*, p. 5.
 37. *Maclean's*, Mar. 1, 1940.
 38. *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1939.
 39. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1941.
 40. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1940.
 41. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1942.
 42. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1943.
 43. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1943.
 44. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1944.
 45. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1943.
 46. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1948.
 47. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1948.
 48. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1949.
 49. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1949.
 50. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1949.
 51. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1949.
 52. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1941.
 53. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1948.
 54. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1948.
 55. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1946.
 56. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1946.
 57. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1947.
 58. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1946.
 59. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1943.
 60. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1940.
 61. *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1939.
 62. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1947.
 63. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1945.
 64. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1943.
 65. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1945.
 66. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1945.
 67. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1942.
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 71. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1943.
 72. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1943.
 73. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1941.
 74. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1941.
 75. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1946.
 76. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1947.
 77. *Ibid.*, Apr. 15, 1947.
 78. *Ibid.*, Feb. 1, 1940.
 79. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1941.
 80. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1942.
 81. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1943.

82. *Ibid.*, Sept. 15, 1939.
83. *Ibid.*, Sept. 1, 1939.
84. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1941.
85. *Ibid.*, Mar. 15, 1946.
86. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1943.
87. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1950.
88. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1941.
89. *Ibid.*, Apr. 1, 1941.
90. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1940.
91. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1943.
92. *Ibid.*, Mar. 1, 1945.
93. Granatstein, J.L. and J.M. Hitsman, *Broken Promises: A History of Conscription in Canada*, (Toronto: 1977), p. 186.
94. LeRougetel, p. 28.
95. Broadfoot, p. 129.
96. Atwan *et al.*, p. 32.
97. Friedan, p. 5.
98. McLuhan, p. 32.



**"Fish Shack Rose Bay" by Lorraine Olson, Blue Rocks Studio Gallery
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