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# VOGUE

## MAGAZINE

*Vogue* Magazine, 1935-1950: A Study of Gender and Social Class

By Rebecca Turpin

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## Introduction

The object of this thesis is to explore *British Vogue Magazine* during the years 1935-1950 with particular reference to gender and social class as seen through advertisement, photography, feature articles, text layout and overall tone of address. I will look at the changing roles of women over the pre-war through to the post-war period and at the seemingly conflicting messages that women's magazines conveyed to their readers. I will look at women's changing perceptions of themselves in relation to war-time demands and how this was conveyed through advertising in *Vogue* magazine. I will also look at the target readership of *Vogue* and try to ascertain through features and advertising if this was exclusive or merely an ideal audience, thus investigating the aspirational nature of *Vogue* magazine.

Magazines are a valid vehicle for conveying information about the values of a specified group at a specific time due to their popular nature and mass appeal. 'The woman's magazine has always been a crucial site for the negotiation and contestation of gender and class identity ... The world of the woman's magazine provides a privileged, if de-limited, space for the construction and investigation of the female self.' [Campling, 1991, flyleaf]

I chose *Vogue Magazine* as my primary source because it is presented from a particularly privileged feminine viewpoint, making it an accurate source for studying a certain view of femininity. *Vogue* is first and foremost a glamorous or glossy magazine, which makes it all the more interesting to see how it deals with the harsh effects of war and overall deprivation – the exact opposite to its usual ethic of opulence.

I chose the relatively small time period of 1935–1950 as I felt it would be interesting to investigate more subtle changes in society in greater depth than a larger time period would allow. I also think this period of social upheaval related to World War II will provide an interesting study of gender and class ideologies. The literature suggests that while the war did mean vast changes in women's lifestyles, this did not occur with the beginning of the war in 1939. I intend to examine whether the content of *Vogue* supports this.

In order to carry out this inquiry I will enlist the help of secondary sources. With this type of research it is important to maintain empirical



objectivity, and the main difficulty I have found was in finding objective reading material on *Vogue* magazine. However, I have found one useful book, *In Vogue* written by Georgina Howel, which is written directly on *Vogue* magazine since 1916. I have found chapters in various other books which refer directly to the woman's magazine and the Second World War and have been able to apply this material to make my own analysis of *Vogue* messages and attitudes. Studies in *Women's Worlds* by Sandra Hebron, and Elizabeth Frazer in the area of women's magazines and the female reader have been particularly useful to me. The former writer discussed early and mid twentieth century magazines and the latter discussed theory and method. I also found studies in *Nationalising Femininity* by Alison Oram, Janice Winship and particularly Pat Kirkham on women's appearance and femininity in wartime Britain very useful. Another useful book was the *Feminine Ideal* by Marianne Thesander, which gives insight into the changing feminine ideal.

I found these books' amalgamations of different author's articles invaluable in their depth of specialist study for my own research into gender and class issues as represented through war-time *Vogue*.

In relation to primary sources, *Vogue* magazines from the college archive go back as far as 1932. I intend to examine all twelve monthly issues during the years 1935, 1939, 1941 (July-Sept), 1942 (July-Sept), 1943, 1944, 1945, 1946, 1947, and 1950. I will look for interesting class and gender representations and the inevitable contradictions which arise in women's magazines around these areas. This will be addressed later in this investigation. I will look at advertisements, photographs and editorial features, tone of address, fashion, text type and layout. I will also include examples of advertisements and editorials from *Good Housekeeping* for purposes of contrast and general interest.

I find this thesis quite challenging as nothing has been written on gender and class objectively with particular reference to *Vogue*, so I have to rely on my own reading and assimilation of objective magazine theory and advertising in order to apply it to *Vogue*.





## Chapter 1 – Exploration of the role of women's magazines.

Women's magazines have long been a continuing presence in women's lives and due to their subjective nature, have become a subject for analysis and criticism. This chapter will attempt to ascertain the very nature of women's magazines and by this the extent to which they shape the roles and values to which women aspire. In particular I will look at the contradictory nature of magazines' representations of gender differences and feminine ideology as well as other forms of social identification such as class.

Women's magazines have historically been written from and for the feminine as opposed to the feminist point of view. The notion of femininity or 'the ideal woman' is the main topic on the magazine's agenda, addressing what is and what the magazine claims the reader 'ought' to desire to be. The feminine ideal is therefore a source of tension and anxiety to the female reader, yet also a source of pleasure because it is forever a desirable aspiration. Sandra Hebron, a feminist theorist, believes this is because the woman's magazine, while it 'perpetuates the myth of femininity, offers itself as a solution....' [Hebron, 1991, p.124]

The woman's magazine poses as friend, advisor and instructor on how to be a woman. It is this characterisation of magazines as the reader's friend that is the single most persistent element in all women's periodicals. This tone of intimacy is fundamental to the magazine in its gaining of the reader's confidence. The idea of the magazine as 'friend' therefore implicitly addresses the problem of femininity as one shared by all women.

Due to women's magazines' insular and specifically feminine outlook they have long been viewed as a stereotypical representation of gender. Marjorie Ferguson, another foremost feminist writer, continues to say that,

'these representations display crucially different assumptions about the respective positions of men and women in society, and the appropriate behaviour and collective attributes that such magazines foster among their female readership.' [Ferguson in O'Sullivan (Ed.), 1997, p. 134]

This belief system preserved by women's magazines thus reinforces their differences from men.





An important issue is the consistency of the women's magazines' representations of gender differences. 'While women's magazines have increasingly directed their terms of address to women with the specifics of class and status difference, they have continued to offer a fantasy of a mythic sexual divide between men and women.' [Campling, 1991, p.3]

The world of the magazine is one in which men and women are always in opposition, always in struggle but always in pursuit of each other. Relationships between them are beset by difficulty and frustration. They affirm the desirability of men in all women's lives alongside the equally consistent recognition of men as a problem for and threat to women. Men are portrayed as lazy, untidy, sometimes violent, requiring constant maintenance and upkeep both physically and mentally, prone to infidelity and, in recent years, sexist and oppressive. Thus men are a constant reference point; much of women's activity as defined by the magazine is directed toward responding suitably to men's anti-social behaviour. Men are the largely invisible 'other' in women's magazines. Common to all women's magazines in any era is the theme of themes: 'getting and keeping your man.'

There is also heavy emphasis placed upon the self, and the responsibility ethic laid upon every woman to be the producer of herself. Thus, the beauty theme is consistently dominant. It is given very considerable attention by women's magazine editors and advertisement direction. In society, as well as in magazines, the subject of female beauty is significant and this significance reflects the extent to which a woman's worth is governed by her appearance. But physical beauty is more than a goal in its own right. Margaret Allen puts forth the idea that 'Beauty symbolises a separate power structure within a female society. Among women, the differences lie between the "haves" and the "have-nots."' [Allen, 1981] Within the world of women's magazines, however, all followers of the cult of an idealised concept of femininity are potentially beautiful, so as not to alienate any member of its readership.

There is an obvious contradiction at work here; on the one hand women are reminded of the problems that men entail, but are at the same time urged to get and keep one, and to beautify themselves in order to achieve this goal, placing ultimate importance on her outward appearance. She is urged to



be self-sufficient and independent and yet her worth is governed by her appearance.

It is therefore very difficult to establish what the dominant ideology of femininity in magazines actually is. Is it that women are properly subordinate to men? Women are most frequently understood as acting in the service of men, as secretaries, cooks, mothers and wives. On the other hand, women's magazines devote considerable space and energy to asserting the intrinsic value of the feminine sphere. Often they feature powerful women in square-shouldered suits carrying briefcases and hailing taxis, leaving their men standing. Women's magazines contain, therefore, within single issues, many competing and contradictory notions of femininity.

Throughout their history, magazines have thus had to manage acutely contradictory models of masculinity and femininity. In fact, women's magazines embrace contradiction, as discussed by Elizabeth Frazer. Anything can co-exist with anything on the pages of the magazine. These contradictions do not ultimately harm magazines. In fact, the success of the woman's magazine is no doubt connected with its ability to encompass glaring contradictions coherently within its pages in order to appeal to a wider audience. Where a lot of research into magazines describe gender stereotypes, Elizabeth Frazer attempts to show the link between some traditional gender roles and the maintenance of social class. In her view,

'... the interests of capitalism are served by the oppression of women through ideology. The naturalising of women's domestic labour and of motherhood, ensures the reproduction and maintenance of both bourgeois and proletariat classes.' [Frazer, 1991, p. 20]

As well as the contradictions within magazines, different magazines continually stress the qualities that distinguish them from their rivals. It is here that the concept of social class manifests itself. It is in this light that we can read their protestations of 'exclusivity', their stress on the difference between a *Vogue* reader, for example, and the rest of the vast undifferentiated mass of (by implication) boring and conventional women. The *Vogue* reader is thus differentiated from her sisters by her consumption patterns or, as the industry terms it, 'lifestyle.'





It is important to consider, therefore, the cultural significance of which text one reads as an indicator of one's status in society. Texts, like other cultural artifacts such as shoes, have special meanings. To read women's magazines as opposed to another kind of text, such as a novel or a newspaper, is a choice that supposedly indicates something about the reader. Also, to read one title over another, to choose, say, *Vogue* over *Good Housekeeping*, defines the reader even more closely, as a participant, in the publisher's terms, in one lifestyle or another.

The 'lifestyle' and social class portrayed in different magazines are not, of course, the same as, the actual lifestyles or consumption patterns of the majority of readers of those magazines. Publishers and editors recognise their readers as 'aspirational', aspiring to a higher class and social bracket than they actually are. But despite status, wealth, and class distinctions, the magazine assumes a shared experience between women. However, despite the intimate tone of the magazine as already discussed, Sandra Hebron states that, 'the ideal or implied reader of women's magazines is middle class ...' [Hebron, 1991, p.9] However, from a study of the diversity of advertising in *Vogue*, it is clear that despite its target audience being upper middle class it still had an aspirational quality which made it so appealing across the class spectrum. This will be supported in later chapters with reference to Elizabeth Frazer's studies.

Women's magazines acknowledge or construct social class differences in terms of representations of lifestyle or consumption, but consistently deny the existence of class conflict in order not to alienate any of their readership.

In summary, it seems that the main role of women's magazines is to promote the feminine ideal using social aspiration as its driving force. The success of the woman's magazine is due to the un-achievable nature of the 'ideal', and the ultimately stimulating nature of the never ending quest.

The woman's magazine thus addresses all women and in doing so creates an intrinsic divide between the sexes. I will look at this, and the topic of contradiction in more detail in later chapters.



## Chapter Two: The 1930s and Introduction to Vogue

Over the years, the most consistently successful of the specialist fashion magazines has been *Vogue*, appealing, with superb presentation to 'the fashionable avant-garde.' [Dancyger, 1978, p.157] *Vogue* was founded in New York in 1892 as a society magazine and bought by Condé Nast in 1909. He turned it into America's leading fashion magazine and founded British *Vogue* in 1916.

As mentioned in chapter one, women's magazines are aimed at a specific target audience. The ideal reader of *Vogue* during the '30s was upper middle class and was thus targeted at a very limited stratum of society. Magazines construct social class differences in terms of 'lifestyle.' The popularity of *Vogue* lay in its aspirational lifestyle, and the connotations that went along with reading a copy of *Vogue* magazine. *Vogue* was elegantly presented, with glossy expensive paper and colourful photographs. In reading *Vogue*, a woman identified herself with a specific social class and thus it sought to mirror the aspirational qualities of the reader. *Vogue* was also totally up-to-the-minute regarding fashion, being only a month or so behind American *Vogue*. Thus *Vogue* magazine embodied all that was modern, fashionable and upmarket, making it a social barometer against which to measure the reader's own lifestyle.

Apart from these representations of the desired 'lifestyle' and social class, representations of gender (male and female relationships) played an enormous role in *Vogue* – as in most magazines. These representations of class and gender differences were portrayed through features, advertisements, fashion (including hair, make-up, body shape etc) and the overall layout. However, I am going to look at these representations with specific reference to their significance during the pre-Second World War climate.

In order to understand the significance of the war period for class and gender relations it is useful to know what the mood of the 1930s was like. Many transformations in women's lives were, in fact, already in progress in the 1930s. Until the late 1930s, the feminine ideal was constructed in terms of a comfortable but far from affluent domesticity. During the early 1930s, women were to be feminine, decent and muted. Both the clothes and the





posture of the models in *Vogue* magazine were youthful and very graceful (fig.1) apart from the hips, which were very flat and boyishly narrow. The corset still provided the base for this shape. Women's appearances had to be attractive 'but not sensual and under no circumstances to be offensive or show a desire for emancipation' [Thessander, 1997, p.46] Hairstyles were relatively short, but with soft waves or small curls; the cloche hat developed a brim in various sizes and the dress fell softly and gracefully around a slender 'natural' figure. (fig. 2) This is a feminine ideal that is similar to the one of most of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Mariannne Thesander writes:

'As during the Victorian era, beauty was associated with traditional female virtues such as respectability, decency and compliance – all of which were important for the maintenance of middle-class morality.' [Thesander, 1997, p. 46]

This is supported by a 1931 fashion article in *Vogue* where a comment reads,

'The ladylike and stylish look, no matter how remarkable it may sound in our sports and outdoor – loving age, is the feminine and fashion ideal of the moment. One must look like a Daughter of Eve and not look like the modern Adam'. [Thessander, 1997, p. 143]

The emancipated 1920s tomboy ideal without female curves was replaced by a more feminine ideal in the nineteen thirties.

*Vogue's* implied reader was married and her main concerns were her husband and looking attractive for him. This involved keeping to the current 1930s feminine ideal of looking slim and 'natural.' To keep the 'natural' look, ironically a corset was needed to shape the body and cosmetics were used to keep the skin looking 'youthful.' Three advertisements from *Vogue's* February 1935 edition illustrate these ideals. The corset advertisement by 'Miss Marian Jacks' corsets (fig. 3) takes up a tone of a somewhat bossy sales assistant, making no room for argument that a women must wear a corset or risk seeming unfinished or worse 'unattractive.' This kind of pressure made the corset essential for most women.

The second two advertisements from *Vogue* during the same year illustrates the emphasis placed on keeping a husband by looking attractive (figs.4, 5). The advertisements are a rap on the knuckles to married women who have 'let themselves go.' The husband's needs are made paramount in





fig. 1





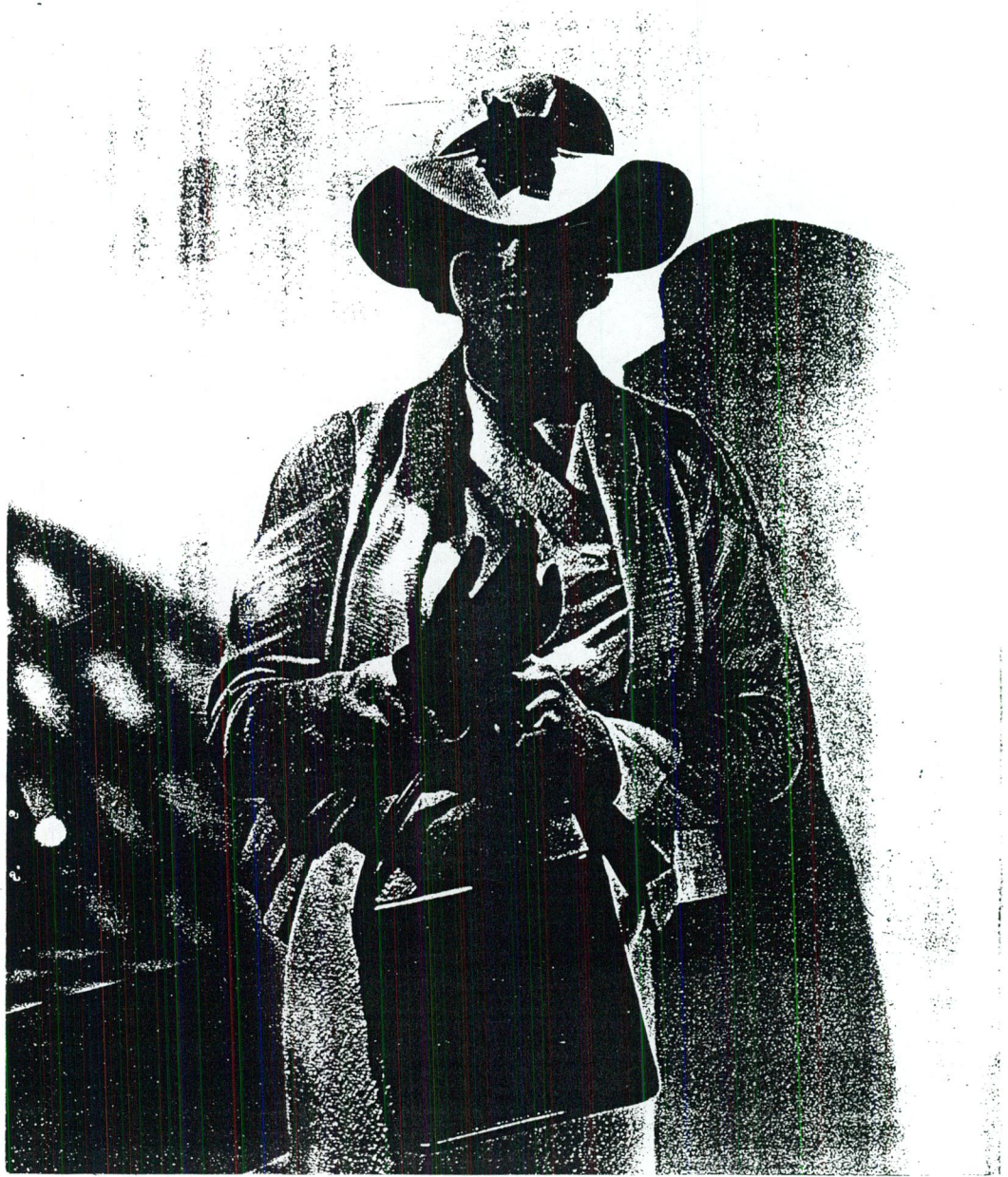


fig. 2





DRESS DESIGNED BY MADAME CHATELAIN

ou don't make up your face before you have your  
ath. You don't think of doing your hair before you  
egin to dress. Surely, Madam, we need not remind  
ou that a visit to **Miss Marian Jacks** in her salon at  
o. 24 Old Bond St., should precede the acquisition  
your Spring wardrobe. Corsets, after all, are c  
3.  
undation; and a foundation naturally comes first  
fig. 3





# how to be lovely —though married!

BY LILLIAN S. DODGE  
President of  
HARRIET HUBBARD AYER  
Beauty Preparations

Have you ever noticed how some women let themselves go once they are married? I know all the excuses—a home, children, less time, less money. But I do feel sorry for any man who meets a radiantly lovely girl—and finds that by marrying her, he has changed her into a Plain Jane.

And I blame the woman — every time.

Cut down, if you must, on some of the delightful, non-essential etceteras of beauty. *But never let your skin go!* The skin is the beginning of beauty — all other things are accessories after the fact.

And after all, why *should* your skin suffer? The Harriet Hubbard Ayer system is so quick, so easy, so inexpensive. Any woman in the world can use it. Here it is, briefly. First Luxuria to cleanse the pores and refresh the skin's natural oils. Then gentle, caressing massage with Skin and Tissue Cream—round the mouth and chin and forehead. Be very delicate in your touch round the eyes. Do not actually massage here, but tap the skin lightly with your finger-tips. Finish this night treatment with the slightest film of Beautifying Face Cream on the cheeks. This makes the skin shades lighter and clearer (and is also a wonderful foundation for the morning make-up).

Cleanse, massage and clarify — that is what this system does to your skin. And that's why it keeps you from those dreadful tell-tale wrinkles, makes your skin more supple and smooth and youthful. But do be



regular with this system, please, and don't miss a single night.

You will find it very helpful to have beside you that charming little book "All for Beauty." Please write for a free copy to Harriet Hubbard Ayer Limited, 130 Regent Street, London, W.1.

LUXURIA  
2/6 4/6 9/6 13/-  
SKIN AND TISSUE CREAM  
4/6 8/3 21/- 33/6  
BEAUTIFYING FACE CREAM  
4/6 8/3 21/- 33/6

fig. 4

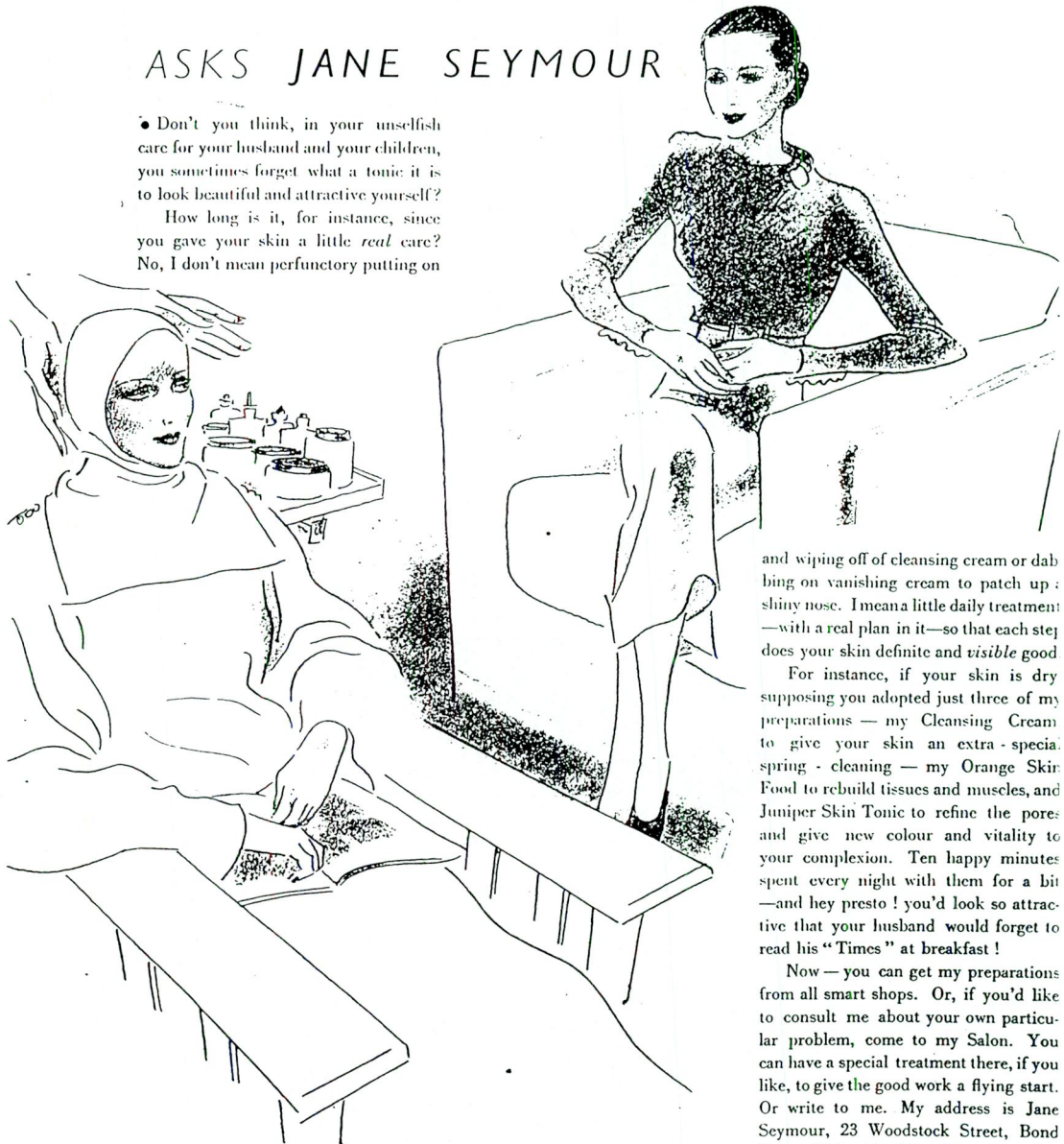


"HOW LONG SINCE YOUR HUSBAND  
PAID YOU A REAL COMPLIMENT...?"

ASKS JANE SEYMOUR

• Don't you think, in your unselfish care for your husband and your children, you sometimes forget what a tonic it is to look beautiful and attractive yourself?

How long is it, for instance, since you gave your skin a little *real* care? No, I don't mean perfunctory putting on



and wiping off of cleansing cream or dabbing on vanishing cream to patch up a shiny nose. I mean a little daily treatment — with a real plan in it — so that each step does your skin definite and *visible* good.

For instance, if your skin is dry supposing you adopted just three of my preparations — my Cleansing Cream to give your skin an extra-special spring-cleaning — my Orange Skin Food to rebuild tissues and muscles, and Juniper Skin Tonic to refine the pores and give new colour and vitality to your complexion. Ten happy minutes spent every night with them for a bit — and hey presto! you'd look so attractive that your husband would forget to read his "Times" at breakfast!

Now — you can get my preparations from all smart shops. Or, if you'd like to consult me about your own particular problem, come to my Salon. You can have a special treatment there, if you like, to give the good work a flying start. Or write to me. My address is Jane Seymour, 23 Woodstock Street, Bond Street, W.1. Mayfair 3712.

fig. 5





these advertisements while the main role as wife, homemaker and mother and the very relevant and limiting issues of time and money are reduced to 'excuses.' Thus the wife feels she is in the wrong if *Vogue* says so, and worthy of blame. The whole tone of the advertisements is one of scolding – a method of intimidation usually used for children. This type of censorious advertising did not encourage women to think in terms of emancipation.

The message we can glean from these two advertisements is that beauty is a definite asset, and was ultimately a means of attracting a husband on keeping her husband's interest. Within the realm of beauty, cosmetics played a large role and were increasingly used into the decade.

Beauty propaganda naturally increased women's self awareness and most of them tried to satisfy the ideals of beauty and slimness. Few had the ideal shape naturally but by healthy living, exercise and body care and the right kind of corsetry, the 'ideal' could be achieved. This interest in fitness and sports generated in the 1920s was increasing during the 1930s, on both sides of the Atlantic. Active photographs of women on ski slopes echoed the desire of many young women to lead a more dynamic and active life. Having a healthy body cost time and money however. This is shown in *Vogue's* May 1935 edition (fig. 6). Obviously only the upper classes or very well off, could afford to go skiing. However, women of the less monied set would have to find other ways of acquiring the fashionable 1930s feminine body aesthetic: healthy, slender, supple and sun tanned. This feature is an example of *Vogue's* upper middle class tone. However, it does not alienate the lower middle classes due to its inherent aspirational quality – making *Vogue* a very popular glossy magazine. While the lifestyle *Vogue* projected may have inspired envy among the lower middle classes this was still a motive to aspire to this lifestyle.

Those who had money were encouraged to spend it with a new freedom, on travel, sports and leisure pursuits. More of the body than ever before was exposed to the sun and a new slim, firm athleticism was pursued. 'Women were now to be reckoned with, no longer the sensitive, dominated creatures of the past!' [Lloyd, 1986, p. 14]

A good example of this is in Nancy Mitford's feature in May 1935 *Vogue* entitled 'The Great God Sport' (fig. 7) – a satirical piece with men as







MISS RITA LAYTON, VERY MODISH IN HER WHITE SKI-ING JACKET



MRS. W. S. MAAS DRESSED BY LEEUNG, HER PEKE BY HEFAMES



MLLE. SUZANNE LENGLEN AND MR. DOUGLAS FAIRBANKS

## HE AND SHE SKIING



CAPT. D'ARCY RUTHERFORD AND MME. SOKAL—A VIENNESE BEAUTY



GRAF VON TOLKWIN, BROTHER-IN-LAW OF THE DUCHESS OF KENT, WATCHES THE SKATING

fig. 6





# The Great God Sport

BY NANCY MITFORD

THERE is no other country in the world whose social habits pivot entirely round the comfort and convenience of the male sex as they do in England. France considers its women, America its children, and Germany its politicians; in England alone the whole structure of social and political life is centred round the head of the family and his especial deity—the Great God Sport. In the name of this hydra-headed monster and in pursuance of his cult Englishwomen gladly turn their backs upon their friends, their hairdressers, the warmth of the cinemas, the glories of the shops, for many months every year and join with their lords and masters in worshipping at his altar. It does not occur to them to complain of their fate, nor do they consider it an unusual one—their grandmothers, their mothers, they themselves as children knew no other; to them it is calmly accepted as the national state of affairs.

Besides, during three months of the year, are they not allowed to have everything their own way? Having spent autumn, winter and spring in the country, they are permitted—nay, even encouraged—by kind, unselfish husbands and



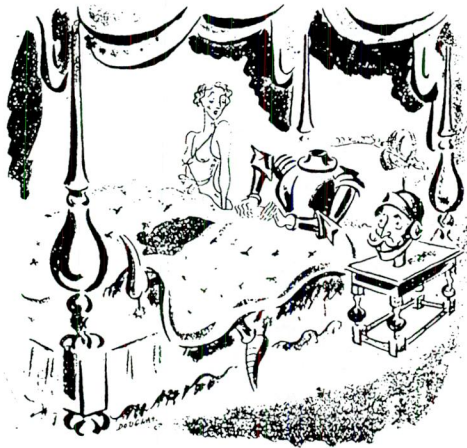
HERSELF, HER HUSBAND, AND HER HUSBAND'S DOGS

fathers to live in London during May, June and July. During these months alone, when the country is a jewelled paradise, the ladies of England may peacock to their hearts' content amid the arid streets and squares of London's West End. For at that season of the year the animals which it is so agreeable to slay must be given a respite during which they can mate and reproduce their species, while their pursuers, in order to save time, all meet in London and do likewise.

Thus New Year's Day, in the minds of Englishmen, might be said to occur not on the First of January but on the Twelfth of August, their year dragging to its dismal end not among the fogs and snows of Christmas time but on that dreadful day when, among the violets and wild roses of an April hedgerow, the last fox of the season is killed. As they watch him being chewed up they know only too well that for nearly four months life can hold nothing very sweet for them—a little dry fly fishing perhaps and some polo. Miserably they turn their backs upon a country-side where nothing remains for them to kill, reluctantly they turn their attentions to love and politics and leave, followed by their woman-kind, for London.

What, it may be asked, is the life of an Englishwoman between the day, late in July, when she can be seen laying in vast stores of wool, canvas and crewel needles (like a squirrel gathering nuts against its hibernation), and the day, late in April, when she can be seen ordering herself a quantity of new clothes in which to enjoy approaching gaieties? Let us follow her to her mysterious fastnesses and see what her life must be all these months from the bustle of civilisation.

Early in August she leaves the late summer, the hot blue cloudless days, the amber cornfields of England and plunges herself heroically into the beginnings of a winter which she



A HEADLESS KNIGHT SNUGGLED BENEATH YOUR EIDERDOWN

fig. 7





the main joke. The feature complains of the fact that society pivots around the 'comfort and convenience of the male sex.' The feature basically urges women to be less deferential to their 'lords and masters' and cultivate their own interests such as friends, shops, films, etc. This is an entirely new tone of voice in *Vogue*, and in the same month as the previous, male-oriented beauty advertisement (fig. 4). The wheels of change seemed to be turning. However, there is a lurking contradiction here. In the feature by Nancy Mitford women are urged to become self-sufficient and yet in order to keep her man, the beauty advertisement (fig. 4) tells her she must beautify herself, thus reducing women's worth as governed only by appearance. It is therefore very difficult to pinpoint what *Vogue's* ideology of femininity actually was.

As women became more active, legs became more visible. Different types of women's trousers became common, but only in the strictly casual category. The sweaters and slacks of the skiing feature (fig. 6) show the casual, masculine image borrowed from men's clothing. This look contrasted strangely with the highly artificial glamour and heavy make-up, particularly for evening-wear, of the early 1930s.

'It was perhaps a sub-conscious manifestation of the changes coming with the time, including the need to restore human values and for women to take on responsibilities and activities hitherto the prerogative of men.'

[Frissell, 1987]

By 1937, *Vogue* announced that, 'sex appeal is the prime motif of the Paris collections ... and sex appeal is no longer a master of subtle appeal.' 'Sequin flash like a glance from a bright eye, and kill their man at ten yards.' [Howell, 1975, p. 146] This last excerpt from a 1937 *Vogue* fashion feature is more aggressive in tone than for example an early 1930s excerpt, 'A sock on your head and your chic on your sleeve' [Howell, 1975, p. 132], promoting a more subtle approach to fashion. Glamour had never been so important and was designed to attract and overwhelm men placing the woman in a more dominant position or, it could be argued, placing the male in the more dominant position as the object of women's new glamorous look.

By 1938, colour was flooding through *Vogue*. The new looks were useful, factory looks, as if the designers already had war in mind. Hair was



pinned up in the 'ready-for-bath' style, hidden under headscarves. Suits were broad-shouldered and skimpy skirted and shoes had wedge heels. Hats were still extravagant, with huge brims draped with veiling falling to the waist, and make-up was still heavy and glamorous.

The 'decent' female type of the 1930s thus gave way to a more glamourised type with greater sexual appeal and heavier make-up. The corset made the bust higher and more pointed, the waist was more clearly defined and the slender hips became more rounded. This new modern ideal woman promoted alongside and in contrast to the respectable ideal woman gradually broke down the barriers of taboos and demands for decency, until in 1939 a generally sexier, feminine ideal came to the fore.

Women were now much more confident and much more on a par with men. The new 'masculine' look featured in much wartime dress, and the new feminine ideal of a more glamorous, sexier, ideal woman took over. This retention of glamour in pre-war fashion in the face of utility clothing or uniform served to maintain traditional gender conventions.

'In periods of crisis there is a greater need to maintain traditional values, and an attempt is made to re-establish some form of order in society and this happens for example by underlining sexual identity.'

[Kirkham, 1996, p. 3]

There were several motives behind the massive hype of the new feminine ideal. One was, in this period of crisis, to get the growing numbers of working women to focus more on traditional female attitudes. This was an effort by the government to maintain traditional gender conventions. *Vogue* worked closely with the government during the war years and in 1939 an advertisement came out stating that, 'It's fun to be feminine' (fig. 8), suggesting that hitherto traditional femininity was seen as a bore, or something imposed on women. Another advertisement from *Vogue* December 1939 illustrates a supposedly male point of view as regards women's new 'masculine' look (fig.9). There is a definite 'anti-trousers' feeling to the advertisement. It is an advertisement for Aristoc stockings. It is a little patronising as well – 'she'll soon be raising the national morale by showing her shapely legs once more, clad in Aristoc ...' The only morale here is the





IT'S FUN TO BE

*feminine*



*Wolsey*

The more active one's work during the day, the more pleasure it is to don one of these subtly feminine frocks for the evening. And though they are so chic they are practical too. This fine wool and angora jersey is light and yet warm, and it doesn't crush. In black and the new reds, greens, purples and blues. American sizes from all good shops. Wolsey Leicester.

fig. 8

20.





"Oh how she needs a gift  
of ARISTOC!"



IF SHE'S TAKEN TO WEARING TROUSERS, and you don't like them — GIVE HER SOME ARISTOC. She'll soon be raising the national morale by showing her shapely legs once more, clad in Aristoc's clinging, dim-surfaced (but long-wearing!) silk. If she's gone all sensible and blue-stockings. GIVE HER SOME ARISTOC, and see how these lovely silk stockings will revive her dress-sense. If she's still deliciously feminine, SHE'LL ASK FOR ARISTOC ANYWAY. So why not read her thoughts and get them now?



If with every pair of Aristoc you buy you are entitled to a gay little Cartonette, all ready for the post. Just slip in the Aristoc, address and post — and then sit back and wait for a rapturous "thank-you."

*Aristoc*

THE ARISTOCRAT OF CHRISTMAS STOCKINGS

OXFORD 3/11 • ARISTOC 4/11, 5/11, 7/11

fig. 9



male morale. The advertisement is from a totally male standpoint, and shows the uneasiness among men brought on by the switch in gender roles.

However, there were advertisements in *Vogue* which advocated the practical trousers look, for example 'Gordon Lowe's' advertisement for sailcloth (fig. 10), showing women in casual, relaxed attitudes wearing overalls but with elaborately done hairstyles, illustrating the inherent retention of the traditional female characteristic of glamour in the face of all these changes. The fact that these very different advertisements existed together within one issue is a testament to the magazine's habit of contradiction.

November *Vogue* of 1939 was the first issue entirely produced under war conditions. *Vogue's* wartime attitude can be deduced from this excerpt,

'It's your job to spend gallantly, (to keep the national economy going), to dress decoratively, to be groomed immaculately – in short to be a sight for sore eyes...' [Howell, 1975, p. 151]

and condemns slackness of appearance,

'we deplore the crop of young women who take war as an excuse for letting their back down and parading about in slacks. Slack we think is the word...' [Howell, 1975, p. 151]

*Vogue* shows its inherent conventionality here regarding gender roles in its condemnation of any donning of male clothing despite women's altered wartime roles. They are told by *Vogue* that their function is mainly decorative but also that it is their 'job' to 'spend gallantly (to keep the national economy going)', thus promoting both a contradictory passive *and* active role for women during war-time.

With reference to *Vogue's* idea of what social class the reader wanted to identify with, this photograph for a Bentley sports car is interesting to examine (fig. 11). It shows a modern, independent woman driving through her grand, upper-class gates. This is a perfect example of what *Vogue* found acceptable and aspirational regarding class and women's new-found independence. A May 1939 reminder of 'Important dates' (fig. 12) also illustrates this pre-occupation with social-class. A 'Yardley Lavender' advertisement (fig 13) also uses the fashionable world of 'functions' to sell its fragrance. The picture shows a couple inside Burlington house at the opening







AMERICAN SAIL-CLOTH IS OUR SPECIALITY  
HERE YOU SEE DUNGAREES AND SHIRT—PORTER'S  
COAT AND SLACKS ALL MADE OF IT IN VIVID COLOURS

Write for Beach and Garden Book with  
Attractive Coloured Drawings

# GORDON LOWE

fig. 10





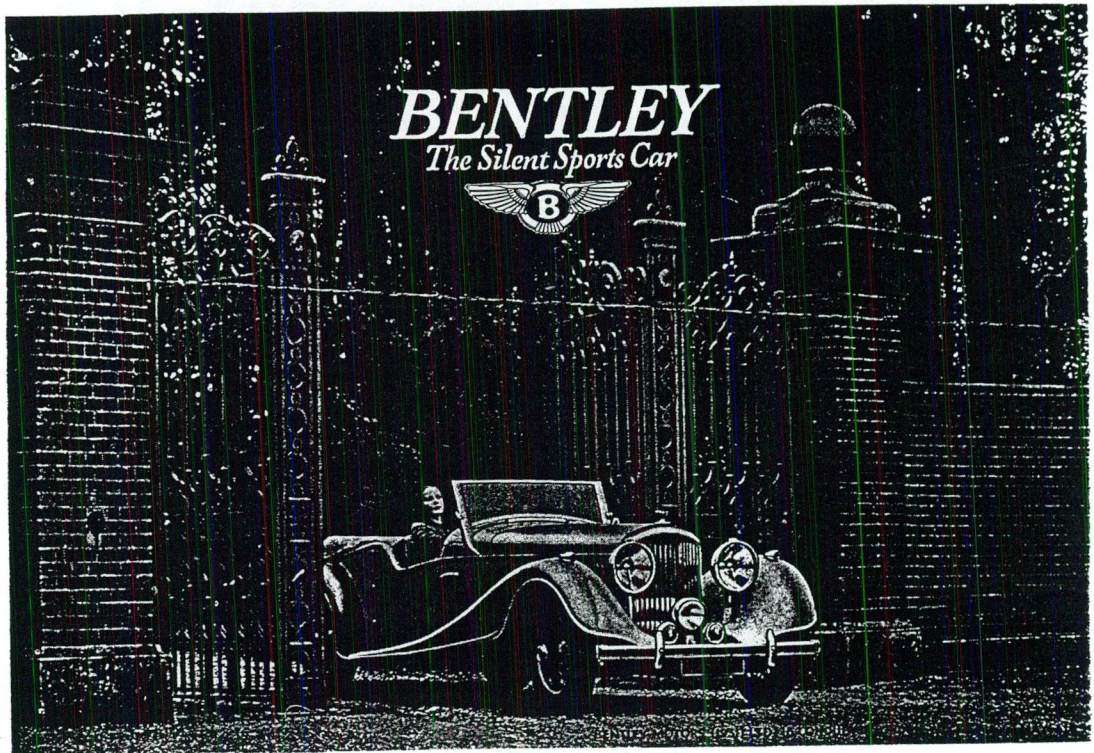
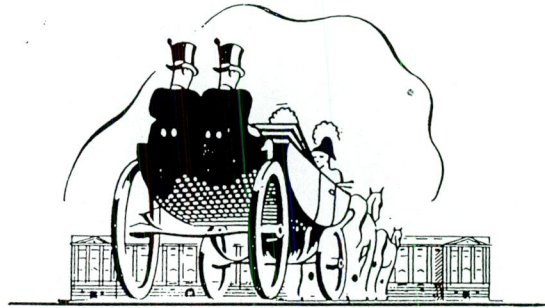


fig. 11

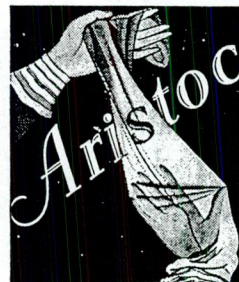




## Important Dates

<i>Their Majesties' Courts</i> . . . . .	JUNE 25-26
<i>State Banquet</i> . . . . .	MAY 6
<i>Trooping the Colour</i> . . . . .	JUNE 3
<i>State Balls</i> . . . . .	MAY 14, JUNE 13
<i>Processional Drives by Their Majesties through London</i> . . . . .	MAY 11, 18 and 25, JUNE 8
<i>Review by H.M. the King of the R.A.F. at Mildenhall</i> . . . . .	JULY 6
<i>Review by H.M. the King of the Army at Aldershot</i> . . . . .	JULY 13
<i>Review by H.M. the King of the Fleet at Spithead</i> . . . . .	JULY 16

★  
★  
★



*Regd. Trade Mark*

THE ARISTOCRAT OF SILK STOCKINGS

fig. 12





## PRIVATE VIEW . . . . .



The light, warmer days of approaching summer bring in their train these brilliant functions which all the fashionable world attends.

At such a gathering the cool, sweet fragrance of the Yardley Lavender strikes a delightful note of freshness and good taste which makes it the ideal perfume for daytime wear.

And for informal evening hours it has an especial charm.

Sprinkler Bottles 2/6 to 10/6. Larger Sizes up to 2 guineas. Lavender Soap—'The Luxury Soap of the World'—2/6 a box of three tablets, Lavender Face Powder 1/9, Compact 2/6, Lipstick 3/-, Bath Salts 2/6 to 10/6, Talc 1/2 and 2/6, Lavendomeal (the new Bath Luxury) 3/-, etc

Prices do not apply in the Irish Free State.



BY APPOINTMENT  
TO HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN



# YARDLEY LAVENDER

fig. 13



# Not so foreign affairs —

Or every woman her own Tabouis

By Alan Stewart

IF your neighbour at dinner announced that it was no use guaranteeing a country that was simply at Hitler's Beck and call, would you know enough to laugh? If he wondered what was at the end of the Corridor, would you merely blush, or would you come back by saying that there ought to be a sanitary cordon all round Danzig?

It seems there is a situation in Europe, and you can't cling to the dim convention that Foreign Affairs are a purely masculine foible. Since everybody talks politics, it is a social necessity to know about these things—and it's fun to work out a line of your own, and make a success of this new and exciting game. Instead of boring you, the talks and arguments that go round and round will become so much raw material to be checked against your own knowledge and ideas, and the thrill of watching your favourite theory come true will make the dulllest news column sparkle.

Don't be put off by the escapists who try to convince you that it is all too difficult for ordinary mortals to grasp; that unless you dine with Ambassadors or have a boy-friend in the Secret Service you won't know a thing. There isn't any mystery to it, and anybody who cares to spend a few shillings a week on newspapers, and a pound or two on books, can do a Tabouis. But you have to use your wits. Read as much as possible, but with profound scepticism. Don't accept any story, however plausible, until you have found the catch in it, and don't reject a theory of your own because it seems fantastically tortuous or impossibly cynical. Anything goes in the European mix-up, and nothing is too crude or too subtle when every State is busily double-crossing every other State, and more especially its own public. So abandon your faith in human nature, and find out what's going on.

If you lived in the United States, where the press is refreshingly bold and free, you wouldn't have to buy so many papers; but even in England you can discover almost all the news there is. If you cover a wide enough field, you will find that most things seep out somewhere—those who skim five dailies know much more than those who painstakingly read only one.

Don't limit yourself to the newspaper that encourages your wishful thinking. If you take *The Times* (and you must, because what *The Times* said yesterday will probably happen next week, even if the Government did deny it to-day), you should also take *The Daily Worker*. They are equally class-conscious, but the news is presented

rather differently. *The Daily Telegraph* and *The News Chronicle* also balance one another nicely, and you will find that you can't possibly do without *The Manchester Guardian*; it's probably the best paper in England and a survival from the great days of the press. With these five you will tap most of the shades of expression and opinion, and most of the news that can be printed. Remember that you are not going to read this alarming heap of newsprint; you are going to extract information, weigh the facts and sort out the evidence. Be firm with yourself, resist the fascinating correspondence on Little Owls, the promising sex crime, and stick to world politics. Run through the leading articles, give particular attention to Our Diplomatic Correspondent, and such features as A. J. Cummings' Spotlight on Politics in *The News Chronicle*, and cast a knowing eye on all the foreign news items.

Look out for denials. In these days the real facts are often concealed behind the formula that begins "nothing could be further from the truth than . . .", and when you learn that Signor Mussolini has made it known that he wouldn't know what to do with Gibraltar if he had it, you can deduce that the headquarters of the Calpé Hunt is high up on the Axis' fixture list.

The weeklies are particularly important as a crystallisation and interpretation of the news. Kingsley Martin in *The New Statesman*, Willson Harris and Harold Nicolson in *The Spectator*, will help you to sort things out, and you should see *Time and Tide* as well. Then there is *The Week*, that tendentious and shatteringly depressing newsletter. It is full of the dope that is going around but can't be printed; but its accuracy is alarming and most of its prophecies come true, so you must subscribe to it. The six roneo-ed pages arriving surreptitiously by post will become the event of the week, and give you that knowing and conspiratorial air.

And on the seventh day you shall certainly not rest, for Sunday is Garvin Day, and Madame Tabouis in *The Dispatch*, and you will have to check the discreet optimism of Scrutator in *The Sunday Times* against the uncompromising voice of *Reynolds*.

Vernon Bartlett's *World Review*, with its extracts from foreign newspapers and periodicals, must become your chosen monthly magazine. Then there is the Bulletin of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, an invaluable synopsis of events. This, like *Vogue*, is a fortnightly, but there the resemblance ends. (Continued on page 72)







of the Royal Academy summer exhibition. The advertisement is called 'Private View' indicating the exclusivity of using Yardley Lavender and hence being a member of the social elite.

Apart from women's outward physical appearance, *Vogue* urged women to become more interested in politics in the face of war. An advertisement entitled, 'Not so foreign affairs' illustrates this (fig.14). Politics are regarded as 'not a purely masculine foible,' inferring that this has been the dominant view and was something that all people should know about. However, the message comes across as not so much to improve women's minds as their social conversation, calling it a 'social necessity' and referring to it as 'a new and exciting game.' The tone is again, slightly patronising. However, it does indicate a change in society, particularly in male/female relationships, that they were now discussing the 'situation' in Europe as equals in knowledge.

In conclusion, it seems that by 1939 a marked shift in constrictions of femininity became apparent. In particular, women's roles as mothers, wives and workers were already under-debate while, for example, changes in fashion such as masculinisation signaled a redefinition of femininity emerging in the 1930s which are generally attributed to the war. The conspicuous retention of glamour however, served to maintain traditional gender conventions. The war can thus be seen as both a catalyst for changes already in the making and a preserver of traditional gender differences. Therefore, it can be seen that a sharp division did not really exist between wartime and the pre-war period.



### Chapter Three: Wartime Vogue (1939-45)

The Second World War had been declared in 1939 and brought about distinct changes in women's periodical press. During and after the war women's magazines demonstrated the ways in which messages were directed at women and how images of women were shaped by the media to meet the needs of the country. The content and advertising of women's magazines during the war strove to fill the jobs men had occupied, and immediately after the war to relocate women back in the home.

Throughout the war years, *Vogue* attempted to boost morale and unite all women in the common goal of the war effort. *Vogue* then became more egalitarian as the war went on and of course became less regular than it had been before the war. Recognising this slippage of publication frequency, *Good Housekeeping*, a social step down from *Vogue*, hoped to capture the usual *Vogue* reader and subsequently aimed its pages at a subtly higher social bracket, but only in order not to alienate their normal lower middle class readership – an issue to be considered later in this chapter.

Differences in social class were not directly addressed in *Vogue*, but disguised as difference in lifestyle that implied an element of choice. It was a difficult time for class-consciousness as 'making-do' was the by-word of the time (fig.38), and in the words of *Vogue* in October 1941, 'It looks wrong to look wealthy ... The woman well dressed in the meaning of today would not easily be rendered helpless or ridiculous' . [Howell, 1975, p. 161]

From the outset of war the magazine took what Pearson Phillips, a celebrated journalist of the time, has called, 'a positive and optimistic line.' [Phillips, 1975, p. 161] *Vogue* needed to take that line as early as October 1940, when, in, 'No margin for error', it discussed Sir Kingsley Woods' budget that slapped a new purchase price on clothes.

By 1941, *Vogue's* tone of voice had changed radically from 1939 when an editorial had rapped women over the knuckles for 'parading about town wearing open-toed sandals and slacks' [Howell, 1975, p. 1] A 1941 copy of *Vogue* stated,

'For the A.R.P. worker the new, short coiffure ... long hair can be tied into a net turban which will hide under a tin hat. For the face, no





make-up, but a non greasy, all purpose cream, dusted with powder ... save your cosmetics for evenings out ... that too-good-to-be-true look which only a personal maid can produce is absent – because the maid is absent on munitions.’

[Howell, 1975, p. 162]

This tone, however liberated and sacrificial it may sound, was written for the especial benefit of the upper class woman who is solely concerned with her unfortunate position without a maid. It also infers that the reader herself is not involved directly in the war effort.

However, as the war went on women became more active, and inevitably the high profile of gender issues presented a new challenge for a range of government and social agencies whose role it was to mobilise women. There was a need to address women as part of a national community pulling together in the interests of Britain at war.

‘The need to prepare a gendered population for huge changes in social and personal life and the reciprocal need to define women’s place in the war effort in terms which did not undermine established gender distinctions and connections, provided the framework for making new wartime policies.’ [Kirkham, 1996, p. 4]

‘Pulling together’ also implied women pulling together with men often literally – as women joined men on their ‘turf’ in factories, in the military and in the emergency services (fig. 15). But this conscription of women threw traditional gender roles into confusion as ‘joining’ men also meant replacing men and invading a sphere traditionally outside the province of women. However, women did not see themselves as taking over from men but rather as taking over jobs vacated by men or acting as helpers or ancillaries (fig 16).

In the early years of the war, it was thought women would be too intimidated to join in the war effort thinking that they would have no special skills to offer. A *Vogue* advertisement of September 1941 shows this (fig.17). This was a direct message from the Government recruiting all women into war-work.

During the war years woman’s magazines were directly recruited into the war effort with a close liaison being established between magazine





# UNARMED WARRIORS

Lee Miller, of Vogue's staff,  
first woman photographer to visit Normandy,  
brought back these pictures, this account  
of medical wonders behind the battle front



LEE MILLER

AS we flew into sight of France I swallowed hard on what were trying to be tears and remembered a movie actress kissing a handful of earth. My self-conscious analysis, was forgotten in greedily studying the soft, grey-skied panorama of nearly a thousand square miles of France . . . of freed France.

The sea and sky joined in a careless watercolour wash . . . below, two convoys speckled the fragile smooth surface of the Channel. Cherbourg was a misty bend far to the right, and ahead three planes were returning from dropping the bombs which made towering columns of smoke. That was the Front.

Acres of scarred, red-brown soil, pocked with confetti-sized rings was Navy shelling. Three-cornered tears and dots and dashes were the foxholes and slit trenches where the landing had been fought for and held. A green valley up from a wide, busy beach had been a battleground—at the top, a new cemetery was being dug for six thousand American dead. No other sign of war than neatly laid-out tents with dazzling Red Cross markers.

It was France. The trees were the same, with little pantaloons like eagles, and the walled farms, the austere Norman architecture. We strapped ourselves in for a bumpy landing on the airstrip, but set down more smoothly than we'd travelled. I found that it was no longer France, but a vast military area of planes, soldiers, and gargantuan material.

The highways were no longer placid, tree-bordered and grass-edged. New roads had been gouged and bulldozed out from here to there in a few days, and the traffic—monstrous dinosaurs and endless convoys—moved swiftly, unsnarled, in both directions. A sign warned that civilian cars should not drop below 35 miles an hour, but there were none anyway . . . and other boards along the hedges carried a red skull and crossbones with "attention aux mines" and "gefahr minen"

barring access to fields heavy with poppies and daisies.

The kilometrage had been painted over to miles on the signs and road-stones, and the hedges were draped with dozens of strands of wire—looped into each other like filigree. Crazy cats'-cradles of wire were overhead, and on the walls and crossing the arms of a roadside crucifix. Road gangs, civilian and military, were building a road under our passing wheels, and white tape strung by the side advertised that mines had been cleared only to the bank.

We turned through a gap in the dust-stained hedge-row to an Evacuation Hospital, where Major Esther McCafferty, Chief Nurse of the First Army and an old acquaintance, met us; and we shared the first real meal which the nurses and medical staff had had in 30 days. It was hot bully-beef, tinned peas, tomatoes, peaches. We ate on white enamel plates, drank from shallow, 6-inch basins, caught our breath, and asked questions.

A hospital is sited in an obvious, accessible, well-drained pasture which for safety's sake must be full of cattle. The cows are given a quick chase around and out, to disclose booby traps or mines, and the 400-bed tent city is receiving casualties in two and a half hours.

This Evac. had landed on D Day plus 5, had struggled up the hard-won valley, slept in foxholes, assembled transport and set up in this dung-spotted field where for a month 40 doctors and 40 nurses had averaged 100 operations every 24 hours on six operating tables, as well as caring for their 400 transient patients.

Every few minutes a dusty ambulance rolled in or out . . . full or empty. Medical soldiers unbuckled the litters, and with gentle synchronised movements carried them through the receiving tent, fanning out to the pre-ops, shock or X-ray tents, or wards.

From the outside all tents look alike . . . long, dark, greenish-brown, humped at the tent-poles like a dromedary saddle, and bearing on one top side an

fig. 15



**No woman  
will ever have peace  
in her heart until she  
helps this man !**



Would you hesitate ? . . . If you knew you could actively help to harass and confuse and frustrate the evil forces that threaten his life and yours . . . would you hesitate ? You know you wouldn't. And you *can* help to cripple the enemy now, by joining the A.T.S. You *can* do something vital and essential. Do not let anyone hold you back.

*Write for the full story of the A.T.S. and all the opportunities it offers you, to the AUXILIARY TERRITORIAL SERVICE, A.G.18/ 4b , Hobart House, Grosvenor Gardens, London, S.W.1 (on a p.c. please). Or call and have a friendly talk at an Employment Exchange or any A.T.S. or Army recruiting centre.*

**Because he  
needs help urgently  
join the A.T.S**

fig. 16 .





editions and the war ministries, with a view to maintaining *some* aspects of the peace-time norms. *Vogue* liaised directly with the government focusing on the three areas of women's culture traditionally associated with the construction and expression of femininity, namely, physical attractiveness, dress and body shape – all aspects affected by shortages and government regulations during the war.

Despite national austerity the government encouraged women to beautify themselves to maintain morale – not only the morale of the home front but also that of the men in the armed forces. 'Beauty as duty' became a recurrent theme in features and ads in *Vogue*. Femininity was foregrounded during this concerted effort to forge a common outlook and national identity amongst women.

By the outbreak of war, make-up had become so central to fashionable femininity that the government was unable to cease production of cosmetics. Cosmetics may seem of little relevance in wartime, but they had an important psychological part to play between 1939 and 1945. The government realised the necessity of keeping up the morale of women as they worked in the munitions factories or were engaged in other war work. Providing cosmetics became one relatively cheap way of making them look good and feel good. This is shown in a November 1942 *Vogue* advertisement for 'Gala' lipstick (fig. 18) showing the importance of cosmetics for a woman's confidence. The ideal woman became the one who, in the words of the Yardley advertisement 'No Surrender' of 1942 (fig.19), 'honoured the subtle bond between good looks and good morale.' The woman is depicted in a military style cap and the hint of a collar and tie.

Advertisers made extensive use of depictions of women in uniform or suitable dress for industrial work, particularly the overall and the boiler suit (fig.10) in contrast to the almost exclusively domestic settings before the war (fig. 13). A series of advertisements for 'Personality' soap show women in various different uniforms such as the W.M.T.C. of August 1941 (fig. 20) and the B.R.C.S. of July 1941 (fig. 21). A March 1943 advertisement (fig. 22) shows a woman in overalls and the tone is one of hard work and respect.

The pressure of editors advising women that they should maintain their femininity in these settings was thus quite a contradictory theme. The





## 'Is she clever enough for the **A.T.S?**'

Yes, of course, why shouldn't she be? Every one can do at least one thing very well. And probably, if they only knew, better than the next person. That is all the A.T.S. ask. "Come and do the thing you understand, come and use your gifts to help us to out-wit the enemy."

Perhaps you are good at maths, or games, or are clever with your hands. Come and use your skill in the A.T.S. They need scientists, they need good cooks, they need trained saleswomen, they need obliging waitresses. They need every kind of talent.

A great deal of the work is secret. Most of it is thrilling; all of it is absorbing. Come and work on Radiolocation. Locate the Nazi bomber hiding behind clouds and darkness, and expose him to the fire of our fighters. Help to improve our marksmanship, work on secret services, speed up communications.

If you are untrained they will train you. If you are already trained, you will be put into the job you know, and encouraged to get on as fast as you can.

Life in the A.T.S. is full, active and happy. Everyone starts

with an equal chance. Promotion is waiting for the girls and women who want it and work for it. You have good meals, good hours, good billets. Your leisure is your own and your work is appreciated and well rewarded.

And if you want personal answers to any questions about the A.T.S. call and have a friendly talk at the nearest Employment Exchange or A.T.S. or Army recruiting centre. You will find everyone very helpful.

### POST THIS COUPON TODAY

*(Unsealed envelope, penny stamp.)*

To The Auxiliary Territorial Service,  
AG18/54, 11 Hobart House, Grosvenor  
Gardens, London, S.W.1.

*Please send me full story of life  
in the A.T.S. and details of the  
opportunities it offers.*

NAME .....

ADDRESS .....

AGE.....  
*(in confidence)*

Age limits 17½ to 43. (Parents' consent  
needed under 18.) Ex-Service women  
may volunteer up to 50.

**Yes . . . if she has the  
will to help her country!**

fig. 17.







## C O N F I D E N C E

**C**ONFIDENCE plays an important part in our wartime lives, for it is confidence that makes good leaders and good workers. In a woman, confidence springs from both character and appearance, and it is for this reason that we recommend the use, in moderation, of Gala. For a touch of lively colour on the lips emphasises their character, and gives a feeling of self-confidence to the wearer.



*The Liveliest Lipstick in Town*

Gala Lipstick, 4/6. Refills (fit almost any case), 2/6. Gala Facial Cream & New size Powder, 4/6 each.

fig. 18







## *No surrender...*

War gives us a chance to show our mettle. We wanted equal rights with men; they took us at our word. We are proud to work for victory beside them. And work is not our only task. We must triumph over routine; keep the spirit of light-heartedness. Our faces must never reflect personal troubles. We must achieve masculine efficiency without hardness. Above all, we must guard against surrender to personal carelessness. Never must we consider careful grooming a quisling gesture. With leisure and beauty-aids so rare, looking our best is specially creditable. Let us face the future bravely and honour the subtle bond between good looks and good morale.

PUT YOUR BEST FACE FORWARD.. *Yardley*

fig. 19



*The Women of Britain...* W.M.T.C.



IT TONES AS  
IT CLEANSES

**Personality**  
TURTLE OIL SOAP

*More than a Soap - A Beauty Treatment*

PERSONALITY BEAUTY PRODUCTS, ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

fig. 20

*The Women of Britain...* D.H.G.C.



SAFEGUARD YOUR  
BEAUTY...use

**Personality**  
TURTLE OIL SOAP

*More than a Soap - A Beauty Treatment*

PERSONALITY BEAUTY PRODUCTS, ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

fig. 21



*So little leisure -  
but still a duty  
to preserve that  
loveliness with*

**Personality**  
TURTLE OIL SOAP

*Use carefully—like all good  
things it's scarce*

*More than a Soap -  
a Beauty Treatment*

**1/9**  
EACH LARGE TABLET  
8 CLOUDES



PERSONALITY BEAUTY PRODUCTS, ASHBY DE LA ZOUCH

fig. 22





makers of 'Bourjois Beauty Preparations' summed up the line taken by cosmetic and clothing manufacturers during the war:

'Being careful about her skin, her clothes, her hair, her hands, helps a woman to feel a match for all the hard work and worry in the world ... the practical men who run our war industries know it too ... In at least one Government Ordnance Factory, a special book of beauty hints is issued to women workers.'

The stress on the special steps needed to protect and enhance femininity in the war context emphasised that women were crossing into masculine territory and that this was exceptional and temporary. Thus the need to preserve some aspects of the peacetime norms was further emphasised. Magazines stressed it was women who should not lose hope but remain constant, transmitting encouragement to those in the military front or to others waiting at home.

This doctrine of femininity is shown in the Yardley advertisement (fig. 19) that, 'our faces must never reflect personal troubles. We must achieve masculine efficiency without hardness ... put your best face forward.' In another Yardley advertisement of 1942 (fig. 23) women are told that 'the slightest hint of a drooping spirit yields a point to the enemy.' In Ursula Bloom's weekly slot in *Vogue*, interestingly called 'In defence of beauty 1942', the importance of taking the material self in hand is stressed. Thus, 'proficiently fashioning the attractive face and body becomes the public masquerade that all is well with the nation.' [Winship, 1996, p. 130] A later Yardley advertisement of *Vogue* September 1943 (fig. 24) shows a pretty smiling face as opposed to the earlier Yardley faces full of determination. This indicates that the pursuit of beauty was harnessed to service in the war effort.

Although the skills of 'putting on a front' in terms of appearance were those acquired by most girls learning to be a woman, keeping up a good public appearance was more greatly entrenched in British middle-class culture than it was in that of the working class. Beauty as duty advertisements such as the ones for Yardley conveyed something of the stiff upper lip associated with the British upper classes.

Most accounts of women's wartime dress over-emphasise the extent to which it was different from what went before, depicting it as uniform,





*We can't have it both ways...*

Even if we were not called to help, we could not leave men to fight this war alone. We asked for equal rights and we cannot have it both ways. It is only fair that we should face the music side by side with our men. Total war makes heavy demands on us. We must submit to routine and still keep the sparkle of unfettered days. We must take risks and show no sign of fear. We must work hard and let no weariness appear. We must remember that the slightest hint of a drooping spirit yields a point to the enemy. Never must careless grooming reflect a 'don't care' mood. Now that leisure and beauty-aids are limited, we can take pride in looking our best. Face value is more than ever high. Never should we forget that good looks and good morale are the closest of good companions.

PUT YOUR BEST FACE FORWARD. *Yardley*

fig. 23





## *Put your best face forward...*

To look lovely while you 'look lively' is a big help to good morale,  
for good looks and a high heart go together. Remember, though  
Yardley beauty-things usually appear in wartime packings nowadays,  
they still have all the qualities you know and trust.

BOND STREET COMPLEXION POWDER  
BEAUTY CREAMS - HAND CREAMS  
TOILET SOAP (Lavender & Rose Complexion)  
LIPSTICK and Refill - ROUGE  
TALCUM POWDER (Lavender and April Violets)

They may be difficult to obtain, but they are worth searching for.



*If you have any war-time beauty problems write to Mary Foster, the Yardley Beauty Consultant. She will be very glad to help you*  
YARDLEY · 33 OLD BOND STREET · LONDON · W. 1

fig. 24





utilitarian and masculine, the latter sometimes crudely attributed to war economics and women taking over male jobs. The shift to women's acceptance of wartime simplicity can be seen in an excerpt of a statement by the American War Production Board referring to the new counter fashions coming from Paris in 1944, '... a flagrant violation of our imposed wartime silhouette.' [Howell, 1975, p. 189] As seen in chapter two, the adoption of elements of male dress by women was neither new nor necessarily linked to wartime. In fact, the most commonly quoted examples of the masculinisation of female dress *during* the Second World War – the wearing of trousers, tailored suits and wide shoulders – were present *before* the war. Both civilian dress and female uniforms were based on the fashionable up-to-date dress of the late 1930s which was not regarded as either unfeminine or de-feminised. Although there was some re-organisation and de-stabilisation of women's dress during the war, as compared to the 1930s the resultant dress was not considered unfeminine by the standards of the day.

Schiaparelli's collection of 1940 was the last Paris fashion in *Vogue* for some years and suits tended to be very military (fig.25). Fashion had now reached its lowest ebb and clothes rationing came into fore in June 1941. *Vogue* tried to make the best of things but bewailed the system. Utility clothes were now two-thirds of all the clothes you could buy, but *Vogue* was prepared to make concessions over appearance in sacrificial war-time spirit. In the August 1942 issue, the beauty column made the concessions,

'Today, you want to look as if you thought less about your face than about what you have to face, less about your figure than about how much you can do. You want to look as if you cared about your looks, yes, but cared more about being able to do a full day's work – whether it be in a factory on the land, ... You want to look beautiful certainly ... but you want to be a beauty that doesn't jar ... a beauty that is heart-lifting not heart-breaking, a beauty that is not beglamoured, and a beauty that is responsive – not a responsibility.'

[Howell, 1975, p. 163]

This effort to remind women not to preen too much, jarred a little with the previous Yardley advertisements (figs. 19, 23 & 24) of the same year. Subsequently, women did not throw away major aspects of their collective





Mili  
betwe  
tweed  
this su  
and Free

fig. 25





culture and individual identities just because there was a war on. It could be argued that it made them cling to what they knew more tenaciously than before. At the same time as certain aspects of dress became more rational and 'masculine', considerable care was taken to beautify and feminise female appearance. Make-up was an obvious method along with the use of scarves, jewellery, etc. *Vogue*'s 1944 advertisement for 'Wolsey Underwear' is a prime example of this thinking,

Keep beneath your dungaree

Dainty Femininity.

Wearing while you do your bit,

Wolsey undies fairy knit.

Emerging from your chrysalis

A wolsey jersey frock in bliss! [Kirkham, 1996, p. 152]

Wartime *Vogue* showed the body shape to feature neat waists, and natural rounded breast shapes. However, the New Look of 1947 supposedly brought back the naturally curvaceous figure. So why was it so dominant in the early '40s? It has somehow been assumed that the wartime female body was not 'feminine.' Yet this assumption has been purely based on fashion, largely due to the discussion of dress with no reference to the body shape.

There was no 'masculinisation' of women's body shape during the Second World War. One of the main features of the 'New Look' fashion, associated with a post-war reassertion of femininity, namely the small waist, was also a feature of the fashionable war-time body shape. Therefore it can be deduced that at no time before, during, or after the war was women's fashion whole-heartedly masculinised, despite the common belief that the three eras showed neat distinctions in dress reflecting changing attitudes.

Magazines provided the means by which it was possible to imagine the working woman without disrupting the image of woman as a homemaker (fig.26). At the same time, stresses and strains appeared in them as traditional images attempted to accommodate new social demands on women. Another of the assumed truths of the Second World War is that it involved a dramatic change in the organisation of the domestic sphere and women's roles. 'For some commentators at the time, such changes appeared as a measure of the effects of war.' [Kirkham, 1996, p. 152] Changes in women's lives were



# WORK AFTER A WOMAN'S OWN HEART

By Jeanne Healt

**A**FTER the war . . . It would be impossible, and unnatural, not to think of it sometimes. In daydream of fruit out of season, and blinding moon lights, and husbands who come home punctually every night to dinner. But what can we really expect?

The one thing to realise is that the things we are fighting for will be ours after we have won the peace, but not immediately after we have won the war. Men fight wars and women help them. Women are expected to win the peace, with the men as assistants.

So the question to debate is not "What shall we get?" but rather "What can we do?" when the lead is given back to us again.

It may very well be necessary to put in order the house next door before we can start in on our own. Europe is the house next door. And Europe's probable condition was summed up very well, back in 1912, by an American, who said:

"With victory achieved, our first concern must be for those whose sufferings have been almost beyond human endurance. When the armies of our enemies are beaten, the people of many countries will be starving and without means of procuring food; homeless and without means of building shelter; their fields scorched; their cattle slaughtered; their tools gone; their factories and mines destroyed; their roads and transport wrecked. Unknown millions will be far from their homes—prisoners of war, inmates of concentration camps, forced labourers in alien hands, refugees from battle, from cruelty, from starvation. Disease and danger of disease will lurk everywhere. In some countries confusion and chaos will follow the cessation of hostilities. Victory must be followed by effective action to meet these pressing needs."

European countries may be liberated piecemeal, in which case war will have to be waged alongside relief. But even if Europe falls as a whole, there will probably still be war, requiring transport and food and clothing, in the Far East. So the only things going to freed Europe will have to be priority necessities. But among those priority necessities must be women with a knowledge and ability to help the women freed from domination who will, for some time, be too weak and exhausted to help themselves.

The basic machinery for relief after the war is, mercifully, already in existence. Agricultural seed, livestock and implements, clothes, medicine and dehydrated foods, transport and industries are all being considered now. So is the rôle relief workers must play.

After the last war it was possible for a lot

of unqualified people to go to Europe. Relief work was very largely a free-for-all. "You and I might decide, on a sudden whim, to dress up smartly, buy a canteen, and trundle over to some nice warm place like the Riviera with it. Once there we might be useful or we might get badly in the way of some other, seriously qualified relief workers."

This possibility will not exist again. The controlling Leitch-Ross Committee is in touch with all the big organisations like the Red Cross, the Y.M.C.A., the Quakers, who will provide many of the right type of volunteers. Even the Allied Governments in England are putting through very severe tests their women over here who hope to go back with the vanguard to organise relief in their own countries.

Many women, British and Continental, are already training for the work they hope they may be allowed to do. The rest of us, behind the lines, will be required to support them by example, encouragement and self-denial. And on their success or failure will depend our immediate security, and the future peace of our children's lives.

Recently I went to meet some of these women. I found twenty-four of them in a large classroom overlooking the levelled bomb-sites of Central London. They represented every Allied European country, and they were waiting to hear an English doctor talk about starvation.

The first woman I talked with there was in force uniform with Poles on the sleeve. She told me she had been a concert pianist, but by the time war cracked over her head, she was organising the military hospital in Warsaw. She ran it right through the siege, as a prisoner, for eight months after the German occupation. She knows what death and starvation can do. She will not be surprised by anything she finds when she goes home. She talked about the terrible transport difficulties there will be in a Poland from which already the Germans have taken every car and bicycle and tram and horse.

And Allied Women who are pledged to do their part in making the fighting men who lead the way, they must be tough and kindness. There will be an exacting, but rewarding task.

Then there was a Czech girl. She was a student when the war broke, but she walked on Prague right through Yugoslavia, Greece, Syria to Marseilles and the last least out of Europe and a government job in London. I asked her if she resented the idea of English women, who know so comparatively little of all suffering, going to help "organise" the well-balanced outlook would be a godsend to her exhausted countrywomen. She said: "I don't mind. I'll go if I can. Only succeed. Only succeed."

she hoped that relief would remain neutral and not get mixed up with politics the way it did last time. "Vote for me, and I'll give you an extra loaf of bread" kind of thing. As soon as possible after the elections, administration should be transferred to the people of each country. These views were shared by all the women with whom I talked.

With a Belgian social welfare assistant I talked about the children. They will probably present the largest problem of all. Little children without schooling, children over nine who have been taken from their families to forced labour in Germany where they are being brought up as good little Nazis, over one hundred and fifty

(continued on page 129)



fig. 26

Illustrated by Jack Matthews





couched in temporary terms such as, 'for the duration only.' This message was as much to restore and maintain morale among the troops as it was to remind women of their rightful place:

'War was a time when men were primarily asked to, and able to, demonstrate those aspects of masculinity which have conventionally been held to mark them off most particularly from women.' [Kirkham, 1996]

However, there was a contradictory message here. A 1944 *Good Housekeeping* advertisement for the W.A.A.F. (fig. 27) shows a man as being proud of his wife or girlfriend as she works for the war effort and 'gets her stripe soon', indicating a high class, officer status, thus encouraging women of the lower middle classes to aspire to a higher class through work. This is an example of the inherent aspirational quality of women's magazines. An advertisement from the *Vogue* September 1944 issue shows this aspirational quality as it re-assures the uniformed woman that she will look as good as 'the most distinguished civilian' (fig. 28).

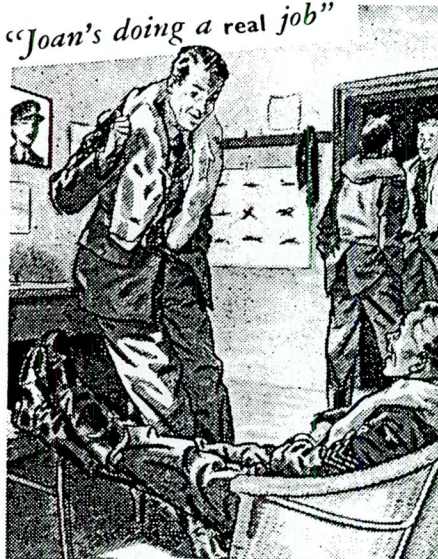
This message of fig. 27 was obviously to remind women that men at the front were grateful and proud, which was no doubt true, but there must have been a sub-conscious worry among the troops that things would be greatly changed when they returned home. By 1944 the British had nearly won the war, and *Vogue's* tone was one of congratulation and a job well done (figs. 29 & 30). An 'Austin Reed' advertisement of *Vogue* 1944 shows a new sense of equality with men (fig. 31). Considerable efforts were made to re-assure men that the changes in women's roles were only for the duration, that there would be no fundamental change in their domestic arrangements, that the family and marriage were still viewed as women's primary responsibility and concern. However, they were warned that their wives or girlfriends might have achieved a higher level of independence and might not be willing to give it up at once.

A *Good Housekeeping* advertisement of 1944 for Elizabeth Arden shows the awareness of women, also that things would be different after the war. Entitled, 'Then, Now, When?' (fig. 32), the advertisement shows an awareness of the emergence of a 'New Woman' type. She has worked hard and now can relax back into glamour knowing she has done her bit –





*"Joan's doing a real job"*



*"That's what I like about her. She's not playing at war work. Once she heard my story of what women could do for our chaps she was off like a flash to join the W.A.A.F. Gets her stripe soon . . . and deserves it."*

The R.A.F. wants more women like Joan . . . and that means more women like *You*. You'll wear a proud uniform. You'll get a close-up of the war. And you'll share responsibility with airmen who are making history.

*These jobs need recruits most of all . . .*

**NURSING ORDERLY**  
**BALLOON OPERATOR**  
**ADMINISTRATIVE AIRWOMAN**  
**RADIO OPERATOR**  
**METEOROLOGIST**  
**CLERK**

The age limits for all trades are 17½ to 43 with few exceptions. Go to the R.A.F. Section of the nearest Combined Recruiting Centre (address from any Employment Exchange) or fill in the coupon for leaflet giving full particulars.

**JOIN THE**

**WAAF**

To Air Ministry Information Bureau, Kingsway, London, W.C.2. Please send me full details of service with the W.A.A.F.

I am interested in ..... trade

Mrs / Miss .....

Address .....

WF236/Jan.

fig. 27



## A UNIFORM of DISTINCTION



W.R.N.S.  
Officer's Uniform in  
Serge or 'Superfine' cloth

The Uniform of a  
W.R.N.S. Officer if  
cut and fitted by a  
master tailor can vie

in elegance with the most distinguished civilian "Tailor-made". Years of experience in military outfitting and ladies' tailoring are combined at Moss Bros. to produce just such an effect. We will make to your measure at the shortest notice, and what is more, supply every other detail of your service outfit to correct standards.

*Please write for Women's price list.*

Uniforms and full equipment for Officers in the A.T.S.,  
W.A.A.F. and all Women's Services are equally available.

# MOSS BROS

& CO. LTD.  
NAVAL, MILITARY AND R.A.F. OUTFITTERS  
COVENT GARDEN

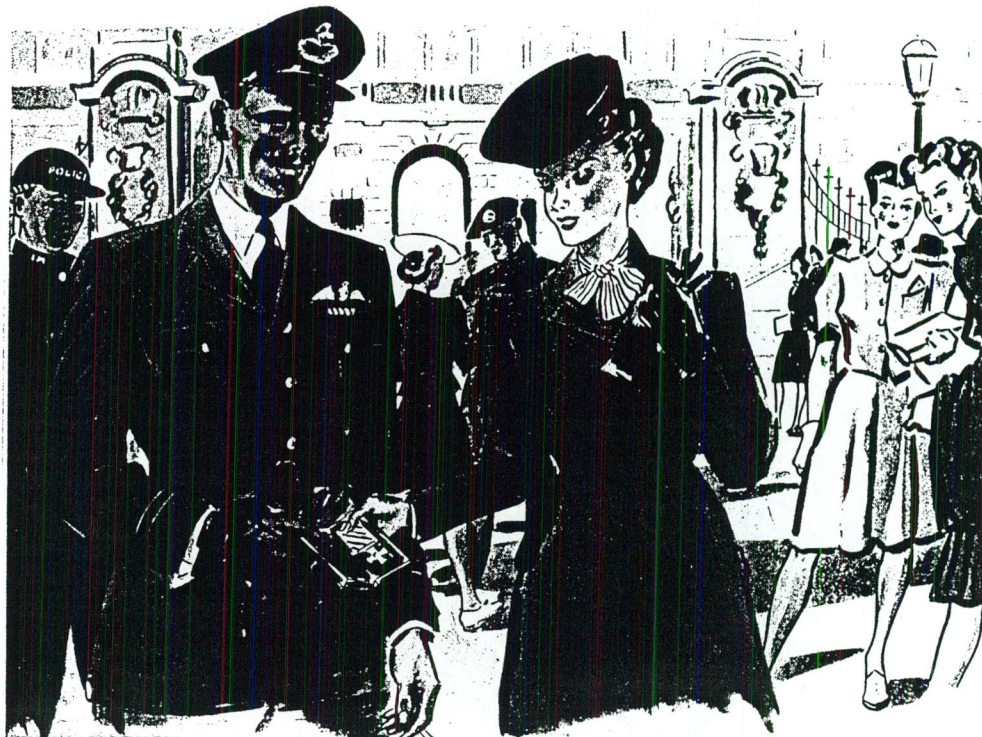
Corner of King St. & Bedford St., W.C.2.

TEmpLe Bar 4477 (12 lines)

fig. 28







*Entrances and Exits . . .* The world is full of people—yet on this day there is only one woman and one man. Together and happy—walking away with merit rewarded. Such a day is one to be remembered, a day when above all others you must walk your best—with the ease and comfort, for instance, that Vani-tred shoes give. . . .

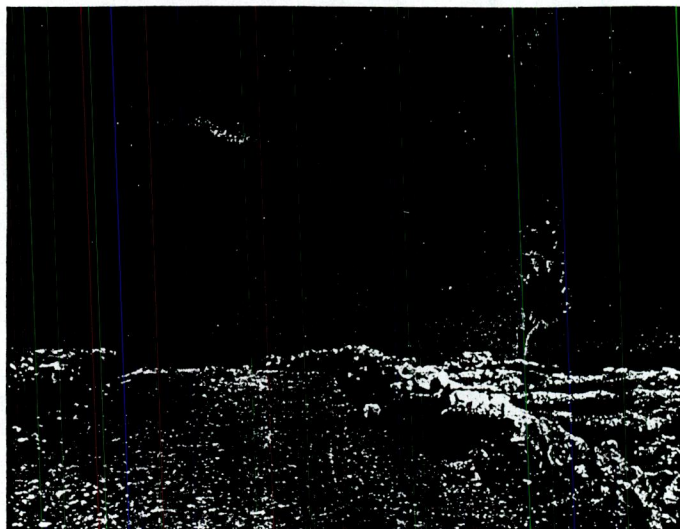


*Balanced Walking* **Vani-TRED** *Shoes*

VANI-TRED SHOES (A.V.B) 17/18 OLD BOND STREET, LONDON, W.1. (WHOLESALE ONLY)

fig. 29





## THE WAY AHEAD

At last we can see it. At last we can think and talk of what lies at the end of it.  
At last we can tread it. The way ahead . . .

The way ahead for our men in France and Italy and the Far East. The hard way  
but the clear way to victory. And the way home . . .

The way ahead for the young: who will bring out of this war both youth and  
experience, with which to tackle the larger problems of peace; and for the younger still,  
whose way ahead must be secure from war and want, while wide open to adventure . . .

The way ahead for all of us: long denied (and willingly) so many of life's graces.  
This Beauty and Younger Generation issue takes you a few steps along the road . . .

fig. 30



## ***Equal Shares***

Our years of experience in making suits and uniforms for men have enabled us to give to officers in the women's services all the qualities they demand in well-cut tailor-made clothes. Now women officers have an equal share with men in the Austin Reed Service.



**AUSTIN REED** *of Regent Street*

LONDON AND PRINCIPAL CITIES

London Telephone: Regent 6789

fig. 31







To-morrow takes a bow! Yesterday's self was glamorous—to-day's is serious and hardworking. To-morrow's—with the consciousness of work well done—will shine forth in the beauty and gaiety that is every woman's birth-right. Three different selves—yet, in one respect at least, they are very much the same. In times of war as in days of peace, you have remained faithful to the simple, satisfactory beauty regime Miss Arden has laid down. You've kept your freshness and your air of youth. To-morrow's self will be a woman whose smile we are proud to receive.

*Elizabeth Arden*

25 OLD BOND STREET, W.1 MAYFAIR 8211

fig. 32



reinforcing prior gender norms. A similar advertisement appears in *Vogue* in September 1944 depicting a quite unglamorous representation of a woman beside the, 'now' caption, thus appealing to all classes of women (fig. 33). It is interesting that *Vogue* and *Good Housekeeping* used similar images. As the war draws to an end, a related advertisement appears in *Vogue* in 1945 (fig. 34), with text that reconciles beauty with a new sense and understanding of 'more serious things.' This advertisement shows the new emphasis on the importance of being well informed and of having strong opinions, which first took root in *Vogue* in 1939 (fig. 14) with the beginning of war. Most specifically, this advertisement shows a picture of a woman in riding hat on the back of a horse beside the 'then' caption, indicating the supposed previous or pre-war lifestyle of the reader. However, this is a *Good Housekeeping* advertisement, and this was a most unlikely lifestyle for the typical reader, unless it is geared to the usual *Vogue* readers, perusing its pages instead, or at their own readers' aspirational tendencies. Either way, the advertisement is successful. These advertisements suggest to women that life will not dramatically change, indicating women's possible willingness to return to a certain degree of domesticity.

'Moss Bros' advertisements from *Vogue* 1943 and 1945 show the different classes and attitudes of *Vogue's* wartime readership. The March 1943 advertisement (fig.35) shows a uniformed woman doing her bit, while the July 1944 advertisement (fig. 36) shows a woman in full riding gear, indicating that county life continued unchanged.

Women realised that men returning from war were likely to face problems of adjustment and would need compassion and understanding. This is shown in *Good Housekeeping* of 1945 in an article by Louise Morgan entitled, 'When they come back' (fig. 37).

*Vogue's* tone during the war had been one of sacrifice and of 'making do' (fig. 38). Now, in August 1945 *Vogue's* tone was wearily patient, 'When you read of beautiful fabrics and models being made "for export only", you would hardly be human if you did not feel a pang that they should be going out of your reach – and probably to women with fuller wardrobes than your own. But if your second thought can be, "there go the means of bringing in food and raw materials and the thousand things that England needs to live",







New responsibilities and anxieties, yet the stress of life finds no reflection in her calm serenity. Confidence is there and a quiet assurance that lends courage and inspiration to those around her. No time today for elaborate measures to preserve her delicate charm—and no need. Close observance of the simple rules laid down by Elizabeth Arden embraces all that is essential. When the hand of Time moves on to begin a new chapter of peace and the Elizabeth Arden preparations she uses so sparingly today are in abundance for all, the same youthful freshness will be hers.

*Elizabeth Arden*

fig. 33





Reflection of the past—projection into the future. Will you be a very different woman when the lights go up again and the peace you've worked for and deserved come back again to earth? Different in some respects perhaps, changed opinions, a deeper understanding of more serious things, but outwardly unchanged! Today Elizabeth Arden is a synonym for the rare and precious, yet your observance of the simple beauty regime devised by Miss Arden will have enabled you to retain the youthful freshness and distinction that has always been yours . . . you will have bridged the years triumphantly.

*Elizabeth Arden*

25 OLD BOND STREET, LONDON, W.1 MAYFAIR B211

fig. 34





*The French  
had a word  
for it....*

"Chic" seems hardly a suitable word to apply to a woman's uniform. Yet though the A.T.S. officer's uniform photographed conforms most strictly to standard it might well be said to merit such a description. We can make an equally distinguished-looking uniform for any officer of the A.T.S., W.R.N.S., W.A.A.F. and all other Womens' Services in the shortest possible time. And we have a full range of uniforms and all accessories ready for immediate wear.

**MOSS BROS** & CO. LTD.  
Naval, Military, R.A.F. and General Outfitters

**COVENT GARDEN**  
Corner of King St., and Bedford St., W.C.2.  
TEMPLE BAR 4477 (12 lines)

*Also at Manchester, Bristol, Aldershot, Portsmouth, Camberley, York, Hove, Bournemouth, Heysham, Harrogate, Southend-on-Sea, Salisbury, Dorking, Shrewsbury, Droitwich, Tunbridge, Shoreham, Grantham, Llandrindod Wells, Tisbury.*

fig. 35



## *Riding in Wartime*

Horse lovers still manage to get some riding, and so keep fit "to do their bit." They may be glad to know that we still supply most items of Riding Kit—Jodhpurs, Breeches, and also Saddlery.

**MOSS BROS** & CO LTD

NAVAL, MILITARY, R.A.F. AND GENERAL OUTFITTERS

**COVENT GARDEN**  
Corner of King St. and Bedford St., W.C.2. TEMPLE BAR 4477

*Also at Manchester, Bristol, Aldershot, Portsmouth, Camberley, York, Hove, Bournemouth, Heysham, etc.*

fig. 36





**T**AGGING away in the heart of thousands of women are two questions: "Will they come back?" and "When they come home again, will they be changed?"

Whether their loved ones are in the Services, evacuated, directed to war jobs or prisoners of war, there is a constant dread of change. To us women it is always unwelcome, since for us it so often means loss—of youth, of looks, of love. We must realise, however, that this question can have only one answer—a ringing, emphatic "Yes." All those who have been away from home will have changed, and changed radically. But this change can be the harbinger of a greatly enriched relationship, if we are prepared for it.

Repatriated prisoners of war and civilian internees have already shown some of the problems that can arise, and when demobilisation and the re-orientation of industry really start, we shall meet many more. However, a difficulty understood is a difficulty half-conquered, and things will be much easier if we women who have remained at home try to realise what has happened to the character of those who have been away for years, with only a few brief, unreal leaves or holidays.

The fighting man will present the worst problem. There is no getting away from the fact that we who have stayed at home, no matter how much we have endured through privation and bombing, have not changed as much as he. Once a man joins up, he is at once deliberately isolated from civilian life, and locked up in the entirely different existence of the national fighting machine.

At one go he gives up his personality, his free will, his privacy, his personal belongings, his varied activities, his responsibilities as family man and citizen. He becomes a cog in the machine, taking orders without blinking, and obeying them instantly, eating, sleeping, and bathing in public, owning practically nothing except Service issue, following a whittled-down routine of "shooting and saluting"; a mechanised man, trained to do one thing only—kill the enemy.

The thing which finally cuts the fighting man off from civilian life is the comradeship of a unique and wholly satisfying kind which his new world offers during every hour of the day.

All the usual barriers—class, occupation, wealth, dress, religion, geographical origin—are down. Everything is shared on equal terms, men invent their own private language and their own secret mythology, as in the R.A.F.'s gremlins. The feeling of "belonging," of solidarity, gets in their blood, fires their imaginations.

Then, when they reach the front line, their sense of comradeship produces some of the finest flowers in the garden of humanity. Men give up their lives for each other. They experience over and over again the ecstasy of surviving mortal danger together. They sacrifice their comfort for a wounded comrade, with all the tenderness of a mother for her child.

From these heights a man learns to scorn the petty competitions and jealousies of civilian life. His capacity for unselfish love and self-sacrifice is developed to a degree impossible in ordinary circumstances. This is what no woman must ever forget, for it marks the chief difference between her and the man who has come back to her from the front.

The shock will thus be great when he runs up against the cut-throat principle of civilian life—"each man for himself."

He will feel hurt, angry, profoundly homesick for what he has lost, and he will be in for a cynical period which may make him difficult to get along with and very unhappy in himself, if his family does not realise what he is experiencing, and give him constructive help. We can do this only by the warmest and most demonstrative possible response to his homecoming. I think your best guide might be to regard your husband or

son as a boy home from school: for a while, you spoil him a bit, and it's good for him.

Then, when you have lapped him round with the comfort of your love and understanding, drawn out his whole story—if he wishes to tell it—and proved to him that he still "fits" into family life, you can safely begin to assert yourself a bit, to allow him to see that you, too, have been through it in your own way, but that you have developed, and are ready to build a new life with him.

Think of the task as an emergency engineering job. The black, swift river of wartime absence flows between you, and only you can bridge it. So you start your tough (Continued on page 190)

# When They Come Back

By Louise Morgan

"THE first morning he got here the Hunt turned up, and he was too upset to contain himself. That there were people at home who were content to spend money and time keeping horses and hounds, and using petrol in some cases, in the world of to-day, was beyond his comprehension. The thought of a fox being hunted was unbearable to him. He said 'It's like a prisoner of war facing a firing squad.'"

That was a repatriated prisoner, whose words typify to some extent the changed outlook of all those returning to ordinary civilian life. What can we do to make things easier for them?

fig. 37



## PULLING IN YOUR BELT

I'll face up to anything the New Year may bring;

I'll pull in my belt, if need be, without grumbling.

I'll stick to a 30-mile limit to save tyres.

I'll get and give food value in my cooking,  
with meals delicious as economical (p. 57).

I'll turn off lights when I leave a room.

I'll keep my various salvage *separate*.

remembering razor blades in the kit-  
chen waste do pigs no good at all.

I'll buy War Bonds till it hurts.

I'll do my own; make my own;  
and I'll keep my standards.



I'll pull in my  
belt but I'll never  
pull out an electric light cord  
roughly again. I'll pamper  
my equipment. I'll wash up as  
tenderly as one bathes a baby; and  
dry precious glass and china with  
hands safe as a Test Match cricketer's.

However few my clothes, I'll have fun  
with them. If I'm due for a new frock I'll  
venture with the deep neckline which gives  
short dresses that festive feeling (page 31).

I vow at least once a week to dress my prettiest;  
good for the boys on leave, and good for me (p. 34).

When my clothes grow old, I'll do more than "make do",

I'll make *new*, by on-purpose patches (page 51) and  
by clever renovations aided by simple patterns (page 60).

And I'll do more, much more. If I did voluntary jobs

I'll try and switch to regular part-time. If I did part-time,

I'll try and make it full-time (for unusual jobs, pp. 40 and 44).

I'll realise that even if technically exempt, I have a personal  
responsibility; that this is total war and that I am totally involved.

fig. 38





perhaps you won't feel so badly about it'. This theme acquires a sharper note by November – 'these genius – thwarting austerity restrictions!' [Howell, 1975, p. 192]

'For all women the conditions of war marked a deeper step into modernity, by enabling a partial break from the assumption that they were only housewives and mothers and by facilitating various moves out of the family and community. Wartime also extended the ethos of domestic efficiency across all social classes, invigorating it with a new rationale.' [Winship, 1996, p. 129]

Thus, during the war, the virtues of domestic efficiency flourished and its regime was thought appropriate for women across the class spectrum. However, *Vogue* had succeeded in its main wartime role – to unite all women in the war effort and to maintain morale.



#### Chapter Four: Post-War Vogue (1945-50)

When the war ended in 1945, *Vogue's* pages were full of images of women as the central focus with a strong sexual flavour, yet with a powerful stance, as in the advertisement for 'Jaeger' (fig. 39). Images of women in sharp, business-like suits were plentiful as shown in a shoe advertisement (fig. 40). The woman is being presented with a shoe on a tray in a 'Cinderella' format - subtly intimating women's right to a reward of sorts after a hard time.

Fashion can still be seen to be quite stiff and regimented as shown in a 'Hebe Sports' advertisement (fig. 41), yet the woman looks liberated and comfortable with herself unlike the earlier photograph of 1940 (fig. 25) already shown, in which the model's attitude is one of stiffness, despite the very similar suit.

A March 1947 advertisement for 'Deréta' (fig. 42) shows the feeling of equality between men and women that was inherent after the war. However, this image of the new, powerful woman soon had a strong sexual quality. This was the first step towards re-instating former gender roles. This is shown in a March 1947 advertisement for 'Wolsey Nylons' (fig. 43) where the blatant use of female sex appeal becomes apparent. The legs are used as a lure for the small, insignificant looking man, and disregards the rest of the woman as unimportant. This is quite a contradictory message. The advertisement incorporates the words, 'alluring' and 'enduring', instilling the idea of 'luring' a man with the use of glamour and sex appeal and thus making the relationship 'endure' - possibly leading to marriage. The desired male reaction to this use of sex appeal is shown in a 1947 advertisement for a corset (fig. 44). It depicts two leering men with cameras commenting on a girl's 'lovely figure.' Underneath it shows a married couple again inferring that a good figure will secure a husband thus strengthening the growing emphasis on domesticity in marriage.

A later advertisement of April 1947, for 'Arch Preserver' shoes (fig. 45) shows a secretary looking after her boss or 'chief' - a very different tone to the previous shoe advertisements. Contradicting this again, is a 'Clarks' advertisement also of April 1947 (fig. 46) depicting a giant-like woman





# JAEGER



fig. 39







fig. 40







Hebe Sports Suits are at all the exclusive shops.

Brochure on request to 64 Grosvenor Street, London, W.1

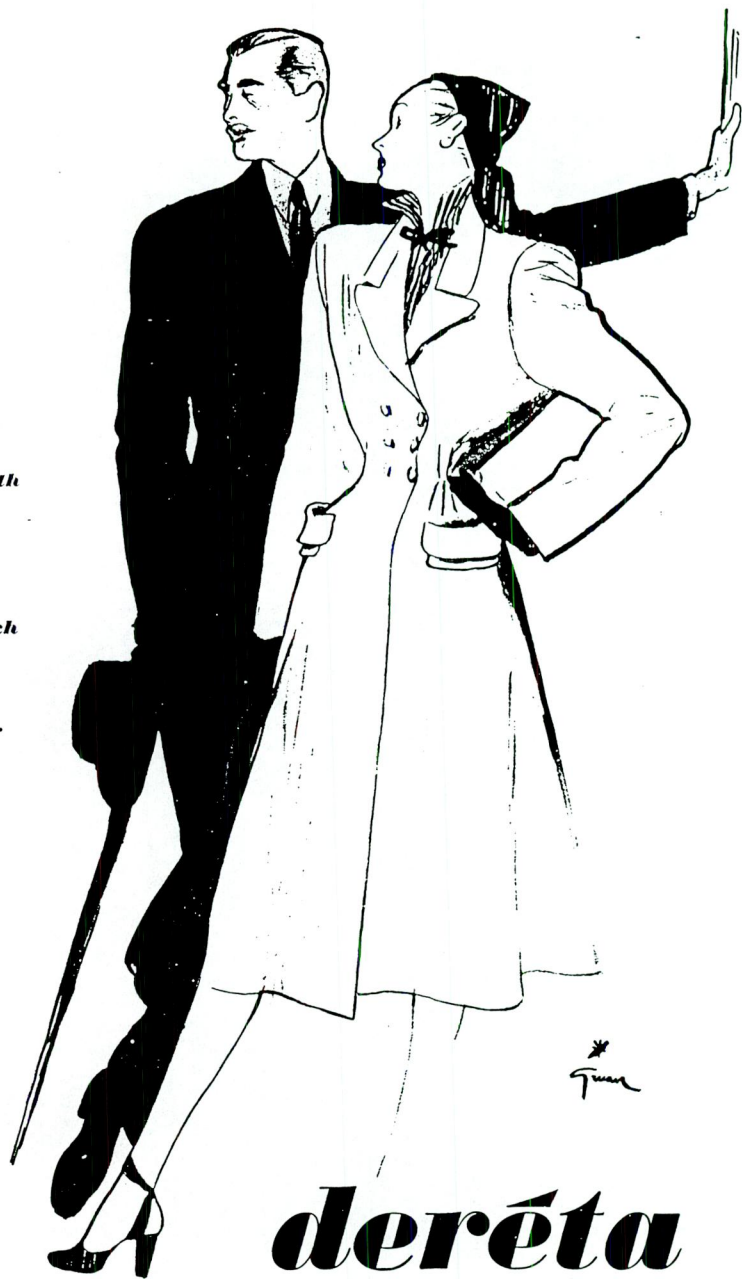
**HEBE  
SPORTS**

fig. 41





*Elegance  
in **Coleman** cloth  
creates the mood,  
highlighted by  
graceful lines which  
proudly bear the  
label of distinction.*



***deréta***

fig. 42





fig. 43





THAT'S  
WHAT  
I CALL  
A  
LOVELY  
FIGURE!



... (and only she  
knows the secret is a

*JB* foundation)

fig. 44







*"I've seen to everything..*

*..... there's a sleeper reserved for you. A car will meet you at the other end. The conference notes are in your brief-case. I've rushed around and seen to everything".*

Ever vigilant on her chief's behalf, this zealous secretary lives strenuous days. How glad she is that Arch Preserver Shoes are watching *her* interests, relieving the strain imposed upon her active feet.

★ The famous comfort features do the trick.



★ Steel arch bridge for firm support.

★ Individually placed metatarsal pad for comfort.


★ Perfectly flat innersole for comfort-plus.

SELBERITE **ARCH PRESERVER** SHOES  
17-18 OLD BOND STREET, LONDON, W.1

fig. 45







A discerning eye for detail—in the playing of a role, in the construction of a 'set', in the art of dressing well . . . lovely Valerie Hobson, starring in 'Great Expectations', chooses a toeless, platform-soled shoe by **Clarks** to wear with her beaver coat.

*Coat by Albert Hart  
Photograph by Wilfred New*

C. & J. CLARK, LTD. (WHOLESALE ONLY), STREET, SOMERSET

fig. 46





receiving flowers from a crouching man. This says a great deal about the new post-war attitude to women.

However, in May 1947, *Vogue* featured another advertisement (fig. 47) featuring a woman displaying extremely differential treatment to her husband or boyfriend, when she asks, 'how much may I pack?' This is not in keeping with women's new, powerful image, rather it denotes a return to old, pre-war attitudes and ideals. Perhaps there was uncertainty in the advertising agencies about how to appeal to the new post-war woman.

The 'Personality Soap' advertisements show a continued divergence of the sexes and are very different in tone from the early 1940s ones. The first is entitled, 'Woman – the inscrutable' (fig. 48), the second, 'Woman – the mystery' (fig. 49) and the third, 'Woman – the V.I.P.' (fig. 50) When read, every one of these advertisements seem to incorporate a mocking tone – however this may only be to a 1990s eye. The advertisements are a very interesting manifestation of a blatant effort to divide and alienate the sexes. The first two ads were shown in 1947 *Vogue* issues and the last in a 1948 edition. There is a distinct difference between the two. The first two are written in a verbose manner presenting women as slightly silly and solely decorative, 'Why, ever supremely beautiful, she bothers to make herself even lovelier is a somewhat profound mystery.' It also makes strange the fact that women 'seem seriously to rate facial beauty of great importance in her scheme of things' – forgetting the huge emphasis placed on female beauty and hence morale during the war. This is a prime example of a contradictory process at work. The woman in these first two ads is portrayed as a bit of a 'glamour puss', while the last 1948 advertisement takes on a more respectful tone – 'woman likes to be admired for her beauty ... as well as for what she *does*. Contrasting with the previous year's glamorous representation of 'woman', 1948 shows her in a domestic scene, standing beside some curtains holding a flower arrangement. The advertisement also makes mention of her children, indicating a hoped for return of women to their 'rightful place.'

Also, the soap seems to have been aimed at a certain class of woman due to its 'exclusive quality' and the fact it was only sold from Britain's 'nicer' and 'best shops.' This displays a re-affirmation of a class-oriented society. This is shown directly in an advertisement for a 'Eugène permanent





Much more than you think ! Free baggage allowance on all Speedbird routes is 66 lb., plus what you carry — overcoat, handbag and books. About 46 lb. of your 66 lb. could include, say, a lightweight case with lounge suit, tweeds and flannels or dinner jacket— 2 tropical suits— 3 pairs of shoes— 16 shirts— and all you need in the way of pyjamas, underclothes, socks, handkerchiefs, collars and ties. Leaving 20 lb. for a smaller case with toilet kit and extras.

**B·O·A·C** **SPEEDBIRD ROUTES ACROSS THE WORLD**  
 BRITISH OVERSEAS AIRWAYS CORPORATION IN ASSOCIATION WITH Q.E.A., S.A.A., T.E.A.

Speedbird Routes to:  
 Canada · U.S.A · Middle East · South, East & West  
 Africa · India · Far East · Australia · New Zealand

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fig. 47





## WOMAN — the inscrutable

Woman has little use for values involving matters of high principle. But the ideas of "good" and "bad", "right" and "wrong" are employed by her as efficient servants of a masterly philosophy of self-interest. Woman indeed is a remarkable phenomenon! With such a formidable intellect it is difficult to understand why she concerns herself at all with mere physical attractiveness. No doubt she has her inscrutable motives—just as she has more obvious reasons for preferring Personality Turtle Oil Soap as a helpful means of enhancing her allure and loveliness.

*Personality* a soap of exclusive quality, is sold only by the best shops. It costs 1/10 a tablet and two rations.

PERSONALITY BEAUTY PRODUCTS LTD. ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

fig. 48

## Woman



## — the mystery

The workings of the mind of woman are beyond man's understanding. Reason is a word inadequate to define her astonishing mental processes, especially in her handling of the masculine mind. Why, ever supremely beautiful, she bothers to make herself even lovelier is a somewhat profound mystery. Yet she does, and seems seriously to rate facial beauty of great importance in her scheme of things. All of which probably—but by no means certainly!—explains her preference for Personality Turtle Oil Soap as a means to her end.

*Personality* a soap of exclusive quality, is sold only by the best shops. It costs 2/1 a tablet and two rations.

PERSONALITY BEAUTY PRODUCTS LTD. ASHBY-DE-LA-ZOUCH

fig. 49

## Woman - the V.I.P.



As a change from being praised as guide, philosopher, and friend, nurse, cook, and keeper of the privy

purse, woman likes to be admired for herself—for her beauty as well as her ability—for the Very Important Person she is, as well as for what she does.

She may buy Personality Soap because it is long-lasting, kind to her children's skin, and lathers freely in the hardest of cold water.

But she also knows that it is uncommonly good for her own complexion as well.

## Personality

More than a Soap—a Beauty Treatment  
2/3 PER TABLET (2 RATIONS)  
Only from Britain's nicer Shops

fig. 50





wave' (fig.51). A couple are shown about to enter a chandeliered ballroom, in full evening attire – an occasion only for the upper middle classes or upper classes. All these advertisements indicate a change in society with a view to reinstating some semblance of normality which meant a return to some pre-war attitudes.

Government planning of post-war reconstruction began as early as 1942. Post-war reconstruction and a return to social stability were presented as having particular resonance for women. In July 1942, the 'Women's Freedom League' expressed the hope that 'out of women's enormous contributions to the war effort there would come greater recognition of their status as equal citizens with men' [Oram, 1996, p. 53] (fig. 31). Women had already achieved full citizenship status, economic, legal and symbolic independence from fathers and husbands. However, this revolution in gender seems to have been the cause of a crisis of masculine identity.

Women were reminded of the uniqueness of the female role (fig. 52 & 53). They were encouraged to fall back into domestic life since the children of the next generation were said to be the key to national reconstruction. They were told it was their civic duty to return home just as it had been their civic duty a few years earlier to join the workplace. However, 'this rather too neat move from change to containment risks constructing the Second World War in terms of an extraordinary set of "mould-breaking" conditions and events entirely distinct from the pre-war or post-war period.' [Gledhill & Swanson, 1996, p.2]

Signs of, or hopes for a return to earlier models of femininity are found in the post-war reconstruction of women's roles. Nevertheless, just as sharp divisions did not exist between wartime and the pre-war period, so it proved impossible in the post-war period to simply erase the new demands made on and by women as a consequence of war-time upheavals. Alison Oram shows that war conditions and government policies led to modernising as well as conservative trends in post-war Britain.

'During the Second World War women were treated as citizens who owed certain "masculine" responsibilities towards the state; they were called up into the auxiliary defense services and conscription into industry as workers for the war effort. Despite the



*There's beauty magic in a Eugène wave*

eugène

*-permanently yours*



Come and see us at the  
Ideal Home Exhibition - Stand  
204 (Beauty Section) Empire  
Hall. We have something very  
lovely to show you.

fig. 51







A happy home depends on a cheerful mother. But if a woman suffers with her feet, she snaps at her children, she can't cope with her housekeeping, lives in an atmosphere of gloom and muddle.

Why, oh why, if you have a persistent corn, callous, crooked toe or any other foot trouble, don't you come and have it properly attended to? Our experts at Scholl Foot Service will examine your feet carefully—find the true cause of the ailment and bring you swift ease. Then, with painless, soothing treatment, they will gradually persuade the foot back to normality and perfect balance. Advice is free. Treatment quite inexpensive.

Scholl Foot Aids and Appliances for men, women and children are obtainable at Scholl Depots, all good chemists, shoe dealers and stores.

**FOOTNOTES BY SCHOLL**

fig. 52





fig. 53

## TRUST A MAN...



...to find the easiest way  
of doing a job...

He's not really lazy, he's just demonstrating to his wife that there is no longer any need for her to grovel about on her hands and knees, polishing floors. The JUNO Electric Floor Polisher does it all — does it better—does it quicker. Wood, linoleum and tiles . . . surrounds as well as large floors . . . all with lightly guided one-hand operation.

In rich chocolate brown £19.13.9 Tax Paid  
Or gleaming chrome £22.6.3 Tax Paid  
Complete with polishing felt for final finish.

**JUNO** ELECTRIC  
FLOOR  
POLISHER

*Outshines all others!*

TRUVOX ENGINEERING CO. LTD.  
EXHIBITION GROUNDS, WEMBLEY, MIDDX.  
Send full details of the JUNO Electric Floor Polisher

NAME  
(BLOCK LETTERS) .....

ADDRESS .....

- \* No smears or patterns
- \* No brushes to change
- \* No belts to stretch
- \* No radio interference



fig. 54





representation of this participation as temporary and ideologically restricted a rhetoric of equal contribution and equal sacrifice was attached to women's new roles, and this allowed an opportunity for new "equal rights" desires to be voiced and old ones to be put more forcefully and effectively.' [Oram, 1996, p.54]

At the same time, the home war also emphasised gender *differences* very powerfully. Men went off to the battlefield, while woman maintained the home front. Although in reality women's traditional sphere of influence, the home was underpinned by the war, the connection between femininity and family life was probably strengthened as an iconic representation of the future for which the nation was fighting (fig. 52 & 55).

Thus, the 1950s saw the emergence of the housewife. In the post-war reconstruction these working women found little support in magazines including *Vogue*, which advocated a return to an exclusive concentration on homemaking as the feminine norm (fig. 54). Work could only be a prelude to women's 'proper' career as wife and mother. This ambition of the post-war years to get back to normal can be seen in women's interest in and appetite for the New Look of 1947. Its appeal can now be seen to be nostalgic, a reaction against the androgynous clothes of wartime and the drudgery of home and work without a man around:

'...the war and its drab aftermath seems to be over at last ... at the end of the 1947 New Look Show, Englishwomen could be seen tugging their skimpy shirts down over their knees feeling suddenly uncomfortable in their square – shouldered 'man-tailored' wartime suits.' [Howell, 1975, p. 198]

It is hardly surprising given women's avid acceptance of the ultra-feminine 'New Look' that a new emphasis on domesticity, the flip side of the feminine coin became apparent. The nostalgia which had provoked the New Look and made its success inevitably affected men's fashion too. For the first time in living memory, it was fashionable for men to be fashionable. Mature men became 'The New Mayfair Edwardians' (fig. 56) as their apparel owed something to Edwardian Fashion. Men's apparel of the 1950s could not have been more different than the pre-war years when a well dressed man had to be







fig. 55





fig. 56





remarkably inconspicuous – ‘indistinguishable from his gardener’ [Howell, 1975, p. 205] indicating a certain egalitarianism.

Among the teenagers it was the men’s clothes rather than the girl’s that identified their group, whether it was Italian jacket, the fluorescent socks and winkle-pickers of the East Enders or the shaggy sweaters, beards and sandals of the beatniks. It was a reversal of *Vogue*’s world in which women wore the conspicuous fashion and men were the decorous background. The girls from any of the groups might wear a buttoned cardigan with a string of beads and a narrow skirt or a sloppy jo and tight jeans or a tight sweater and full skirt over layers of petticoats.

In the period after the Second World War, *Vogue* increasingly extended the work of beautification beyond the traditional areas of dress and fashion or care of the hair and complexion, into the purchase and skilful application of make-up and beauty products. ‘Make-up’ became not just a morale booster, but an essential for feminine beauty (fig. 57). Also, in the years following the war problems and issues of male - female relationships came to be more explicitly and perhaps more sympathetically addressed (fig. 58).

Post-war articles in *Vogue* feature politics in such a way that it seems taken for granted that women are better informed. Type-face is more conservative and smaller print is used, probably because after the war it was seen as less necessary to try and make politics interesting for women with use of an unusual or larger type-face. Women were expected to be well informed so a conservative typeface was probably deemed more appropriate. This can be illustrated by a comparison of an article on President Truman (fig. 59) with an earlier article of 1939 called, ‘Not so foreign affairs’ (fig. 14), with its playful tone and fanciful typography in the title. This view is not supported, however, by François Thebaud who states that, ‘this generation of women had little interest in politics in the usual sense’ [Thebaud, 1994, p. 8] For them the 1950s saw the emergence of the housewife cult ‘ideological conditioning by the media – to say nothing of psychoanalysis...’, Betty Friedan announced in *The Feminine Mystique* [Thebaud, 1994, p.8]

Clearly women were subject to a number of contradictory pressures both during and after the war and the question of women’s position remained



# Seven 'secret' shades



The secret of loveliness lies in the correct choice of cosmetics and their careful use. Just as there is a precise shade of lipstick to meet your particular wish—so you will find in the complete range of Number Seven preparations a perfect answer to your every beauty need

*Lipstick and Rouge Cream Shades*  
 FIREFLY, PERSIAN RED, CHERRY RIPE,  
 GARNET, TROPIC TAN, MAY PINK, FUCHSIA.  
 Lipstick in chromium container price 7/6d.  
 Rouge Cream in plastic container price 3/-.

## Number Seven

BEAUTY PREPARATIONS

*Obtainable only from*

*Boots*

fig. 57

NI 655-128

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# Love Quiz

Love and infatuation share many symptoms, but if contemplating matrimony it is well to know which you've got. Maybe this test will help you. Answer it truthfully, "yes" or "no", then turn to page 90.

- |   |                          |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|---|--------------------------|
| 1. Do you feel stuck when you have danced with him twice around the room?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 15. Have you suddenly acquired an extra number of new beaux?  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. When he makes a wittier remark than you ever could—do you wish that you had said it?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 16. Are you using less lipstick?  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. Are you losing weight?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 17. Do you want everyone in the room to know that he is in love with you?   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. Do you like him a little less when you are with friends who don't like him?  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 18. When other women make a fuss over him, are you darkly jealous?  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. Is everyone telling you how well you look?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 19. Is he entirely different from the type of man you were always sure you'd fall for?                                  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 6. Do you prefer being seen out and about with him to just dining and talking at home?  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 20. Can you hear his voice in a crowd?  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 7. Do you manage to bring his name and opinions into irrelevant conversations?  | <input type="checkbox"/> | 21. Would you much rather hear him make love to you under a moon, than to listen to his plans for his future?           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 8. Do you laugh at his jokes because you want him to think he is funny?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 22. Has it struck you lately that popular songs are fraught with pure poetry?   | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 9. Do you laugh at his jokes because you can't help yourself?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 23. When writing his name in your diary, do you find yourself mysteriously scribbling his initials instead of his name? | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 10. When he is at home on leave, do you plan that he will spend all his time with you, without leaving a minute for his family? | <input type="checkbox"/> | 24. Instead of avoiding too much thought about him and the war, do you feel the dramatics of giving him up?             | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 11. Do you make a point of playing with your friends' children when he is around?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 25. Do you find that you both think exactly alike on every point that's important to you?                               | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 12. When telling him the ordinary events of your day, do you trim up what happened to make him think how glamorous you are?     | <input type="checkbox"/> | 26. Do you sometimes feel that if your eyes met, you, for one, might fall apart?  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 13. When passing a jeweller's window, do you drag him over for a good gaze?   | <input type="checkbox"/> | 27. Do you feel certain that he loves you, even though he is not sure himself?  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 14. Have you taken a sudden new interest in men's clothes? Do you find yourself riveted to the windows of men's shops?          | <input type="checkbox"/> | 28. Did you take this test because you are not quite sure whether you <i>really</i> love him?                           | <input type="checkbox"/> |

fig. 58





# WHERE THE AMERICAN ROAD LEADS

Frank Dobie, Professor in the University of Texas,  
writes of America's policy—and President

PRESIDENT TRUMAN has by word and act repeatedly committed himself to the Roosevelt policy, both in national and international affairs. He has disappointed surgent economic reactionaries and diminishing isolationists by not walking to the right of centre. Yet, however golden the arrow signs any president boxes his compass to, he has to cut his own road through this world-wilderness "where ignorant armies clash by night."

The American people have been educated far down the road of managed economy and international co-operation, but they understand the businesses of making war with partners and making money alone better than they understand the global complexities of political economy and its intimacies with wars and their own long-range prosperity. For all that, convictions now deeply embedded make them want to go full length down the road of international co-operation.

No road that society travels is ever straight for long distances while it is being travelled; it has many curves, seems at times to be heading away from its own direction. It is only by looking back down a long road that one can summon confidence to predict the general direction that its travellers will keep on going.

At the time that Thomas Jefferson, revolutionist and author of the American Declaration of Independence, declared America to be "the hope of the world," he would, no doubt, have defined free enterprise in very different terms from those inherent in the acts of the Harding business administration, which let the League of Nations die, and of Mr. Jesse Jones who, as Secretary of Commerce under Franklin D. Roosevelt, did all he could to cut the New Deal's throat. The knife was taken from him because he could not muster enough strength to hold it. In Jefferson's time, America was the most Leftish stable government on earth. Today, America is the most conservative of the powerful nations. She had been a nation for a quarter of a century before Russia officially accepted her. It took Twentieth-Century America almost an equal span of years to accept, officially, the revolutionary government of Russia.

Revolutionists throw stones; when a citizen gets bay windows to his comfortable, well-stored house, he does not want change. Yet he may have sense enough to recognise the inevitability of change. Also, in nations as well as in individuals, traditional philosophy as much as possessions can be counted on to direct action. America has a tradition that is always breaking out beyond the limitations of material power and correlative conservatism.

While America was booming with her own industrial revolution and in her way of life was racing away from Jefferson's ideal of an agricultural society devoted to the cultivation of an "aristocracy of virtue and talent," she halted dead in her tracks to fight the Civil War. That war, though highly complicated in its causes, was based on the wrongness of slavery and the rightness of liberty. It

asserted the old dream of freedom for all men.

Then came the driving, expansionist, epic decades of making the sun rise in the West and subduing a continent—the Gilded Age, in which monopolies and millions tended to define "success." Where was the road going? As the climax of this age approached, a voice out of the West, the isolationist Mid-West, went to crying, "You shall not crucify mankind upon a cross of gold."

The cause of humanity as advocated by William Jennings Bryan found its real champion in Woodrow Wilson, scholar and philosopher. Greed called him an idealist; he called upon his people not to forget their dream. They did not forget it, but they did not understand it, and Wilson's plan to make the world safe for democracy was repudiated by the very people who had historically inspired it. The plan had to wait, while America turned backward to look for "normalcy"—something made out of mud and metal—something, also, more insubstantial than any Queen Mab dream.

While "normalcy" sank in its own mud, there arose the greatest representative of the American people since Abraham Lincoln, and the greatest advocate of global humanity who has ever spoken from political office. When he died on April 12, 1945, more millions of people from all the nations regarded him as their friend than has ever contemporaneously so regarded any other man on earth. He had broken all American precedents by being elected President three, then four times. And he had educated the popular mind as no President preceding him had ever educated it.

The elements of inward-looking materialism and of outward-looking idealism are not always consistently blended in American life; often the two elements do not seem to mix at all. But now look back down the road of history from 1776, when the American people declared their allegiance to the dream that all men have inalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Regard that road, with its reversals, up to 1945, when almost at the hour of his death, Franklin D. Roosevelt expressed faith in "our power to conquer the doubts and fears, the ignorance and greed, which have made the horrors of war possible," and which have barred perfecting "the science of human relationships." Despite murky stretches, you see a consistent continuance, sometimes dimming, but always coming back to brightness, of the dream—a dream not at all for America alone, but for the race.

Two factors warrant the trust that the American people will keep the direction they were travelling when the latest of their dreamers left his leadership to others. One factor is historical consistency; the other is education. President Truman, though he would be the last man on earth to regard himself as world-compeller, may have the satisfaction of knowing that no other President has ever inherited leadership for a generation so aware of realities, so settled in conviction, as to its direction.

fig. 59



a subject of debate and struggle. While many of the changes women experienced during the war undermined gendered ideologies, the war had also reinforced gendered ideologies foregrounding the ways in which women were the carers, mothers, girlfriends, etc., and the basic definitions of those roles after the war did not change.





## Conclusion

*Vogue* reflected issues of gender and social class through advertisements, photography, feature articles, text layout and overall tone of address. Advertising however gives most insight into the attitudes prevalent between 1935 and 1950 as it was created to appeal to the reader's own ideas and attitudes.

In the 1930s, advertising was deferential to the male but by the late 1930s, less so. It concentrated more on promoting a powerful and sexually attractive image of woman, mainly from a male-oriented view. During the war, the retention of glamour was promoted and this served to maintain traditional gender conventions. However, at the same time advertising in *Vogue* depicted women as strong uniformed citizens thus indicating contradictory pressures to maintain femininity. Advertising in *Vogue* changed again and depicted women as strong uniformed citizens showing pressures to maintain femininity to be contradictory. Women were crossing over into masculine territory and advertising attempted to maintain feminine pre-war norms. Men did not figure so much in advertising and then only in the light of needy comrades. After the war women were presented as powerful and glamorous while men were shown as no more than equal, if not less so in most cases. Post-war advertising promoted women's return to domesticity and this was accepted.

The main function of women's magazines and *Vogue* in particular was to promote the Feminine Ideal. The changing ideal is evident in fashions for clothes, hair, make-up and to a lesser degree body shape, over the pre and post-war periods. This ideal was essentially an unattainable goal as it was constantly changing. This aspirational quality of *Vogue* magazine was, however, centred mainly around the issue of class and desired lifestyle as projected in text and advertisements. It was aimed at upper middle-class women but was also aware of its middle class and lower middle class aspirational readership, and had no wish to alienate these readers. This aspirational nature of *Vogue* made it very popular among a wide readership.

The Second World War was a catalyst for changes that *were already in the making* before the war and not the direct cause of them as is more



generally believed. Many women were, in fact quite active and self-sufficient *before* the war, but the *Vogue* emphasis was pre-dominantly on leisure. During the war, women were just as active, but it was necessity-driven. Nevertheless this pre-war self-sufficiency of women was contradicted by the retention of a glamorous, feminine appearance and messages about the necessity of beauty to gain a husband. This conscious effort to cling to an acceptable feminine ideal in the face of ever more masculine fashion and wartime demands was a contradictory message for women. It also indicated women's unwillingness to disregard the traditional feminine ideal and thus their willingness to reclaim their femininity and return to traditional domesticity after the war. Contradiction was thus a very notable feature of *Vogue* and other women's magazines.

*Vogue* was inherently a conventional magazine and during the war, reflected the British government's policy in its emphasis on constant making-do and in its morale-boosting tone. After the war, women returned to the home and *Vogue* supported this return to domesticity. Government policy was also reflected in the emphasis advertising placed on the importance of being feminine in the face of utility clothing.

Thus, the most potent visual impact of *Vogue* comes through its advertising. Before the war advertising was geared more toward fun and leisure with an upper class atmosphere. As the war progressed, advertising was aimed at women in an effort to unite them all for the war effort. The role of advertising in *Vogue* during the war is a point not dealt with by other commentators, yet it was through advertising more than text that the attitudes of *Vogue* towards gender and class were most clearly presented.





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