

Consuming Beauty: The Impact of Prescriptive Beauty  
Literature on College Women, 1940-1950

Rosemary Elizabeth Zlokas

Thesis submitted to the faculty of the Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State  
University in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts  
In  
History

Kathleen Jones, Chair  
Marian Mollin  
David Cline  
LaDale Winling

May 4, 2015

Blacksburg, Virginia

Keywords: Beauty Culture; Consumer Culture; Higher Education; College Women;  
Gender; Campus Culture; Beauty Queens

Copyright 2015, Rosemary Elizabeth Zlokas

Consuming Beauty: The Impact of Prescriptive Beauty  
Literature on College Women, 1940-1950

Rosemary Zlokas

**ABSTRACT**

My thesis looks at prescriptive beauty messages generated during 1940-1950 by using a case study of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College. I look at formal prescriptive beauty messages (advertisements, beauty manuals) and informal beauty messages (college yearbooks, newspapers, and beauty queen campaigns) to see what types of messages were created and why. I situate changes in these messages in a timeline of national culture, as it existed before, during, and after World War II. I then compare these messages by looking at which prescriptions were adapted by MMCC women as a group. I argue that these young women adopted an “adapted” version of the two prescriptions by following the advice given on a national level but also shaping their appearances based on what was occurring on campus. I infer that one set of prescriptions cannot exist in a vacuum; there will be a set of overarching goals to strive for, as well as a set based on standards within her immediate environment.

The digital component to this project is available at [www.consumingbeauty.com](http://www.consumingbeauty.com).



## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Firstly, I would like to thank my thesis committee in helping me complete this project. Dr. Jones, thank you for completing countless line-edits, translating my jumbled thoughts into coherent ideas, and telling me there is no such thing as having done “enough” research. Dr. Mollin, thank you for always pushing me to ask “So what?” Dr. Cline, thank you for helping me keep things light-hearted and teaching me that everything a historian does can be public history. Dr. Winling, thank you for all of your expertise and assistance with website revisions and for helping me navigate what it means to be a digital historian.

I would also like to thank the History Department at Virginia Tech for providing all of us in the 2015 graduating class with the tools, structure, and funding to undertake and complete projects as intense as a thesis. Thanks to all of the other 2015 History M.A.’s for braving the thesis battlefield together.

On a more personal note, I would also like to acknowledge my friends and family. Celia Eddy, thank you for keeping me in snacks, the constant pressure to go get frozen novelties with you, and your reassuring words after stressful days. Joseph Rapolla, thank you for your unwavering support, your time spent sitting in cold and boring archives with me, and always making me smile. And thank you to my parents, Charlene and Eli Zlokas, for your constant encouragement, support, and reminders to “always do your best” over the past twenty-four years.

**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

INTRODUCTION .....	1
CHAPTER 1: “Beauty Is Your Duty”: Formal Prescriptive Messages, 1940-1950.....	20
CHAPTER 2: Beauty Queens and Campus Beauty Duty.....	45
CONCLUSION.....	66
BIBLIOGRAPHY .....	72

## LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 1: Ivory Soap advertisement from <i>Women's Home Companion</i> , 1942 .....	20
Figure 2: Botany Lanolin advertisement form <i>Harper's Bazaar</i> , 1941 .....	24
Figure 3: Drene shampoo advertisement from <i>Cosmopolitan</i> , 1941 .....	26
Figure 4: Palmolive Soap advertisement form <i>Sunday News</i> , 1942 .....	31
Figure 5: Dorothy Gray advertisement from <i>Good Housekeeping</i> , 1943 .....	33
Figure 6: DuBarry Success-O-Plan advertisement from <i>Vogue</i> , 1945 .....	35
Figure 7: "How Much Time and Money for Attractiveness?" from Joan Bennett's <i>How to Be Attractive</i> , 1944 .....	37
Figure 8: Palmolive Soap advertisement from <i>Cosmopolitan</i> , 1946 .....	40
Figure 9: Lustre-Crème Shampoo advertisement from <i>Modern Scene</i> , 1949 .....	42
Figure 10: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1941 .....	49
Figure 11: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1940 .....	50
Figure 12: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1942 .....	55
Figure 13: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1941 .....	56
Figure 14: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1941 .....	57
Figure 15: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1945 .....	59
Figure 16: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1947 .....	62
Figure 17: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1948 .....	63
Figure 18: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1942 .....	68
Figure 19: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1946 .....	69
Figure 20: Image from <i>The Tartan</i> yearbook, 1948 .....	70

## INTRODUCTION

*"The smart college girl majors in beauty. Not a snap course, you say? Of course not...but what results you get! Not mere passing marks, mind you...but cum laude and with honors that aren't just written on parchment. No indeed...the college girl who applies herself to better looks as diligently as she applies herself to chemistry or athletics is going to have honors as long as she likes. She's smart enough to take care of her skin and hair and figure NOW, building the future...instead of waiting until faults begin to show, troubles get out of hand. She follows the beauty routine planned for her young skin by Elizabeth Arden...she chooses makeup and diet and exercise with care...and she knows she'll never be an "old grad"—as far as looks go, anyhow."*

- Elizabeth Arden, Advertisement, August 5, 1944, *New Yorker* <sup>1</sup>

This advertisement, published near the end of World War II, is representative of literature prescribing young women a specific beauty culture for grounded in the purchase and use of mass-produced aids. Magazine articles and beauty guides told young women what shade of lipstick to wear to look sexy, how much to spend on mascara, and even when to wash their hair. These texts set appearance standards for college women during 1940 to 1950.

Elizabeth Arden, a company that manufactured a comprehensive line of cosmetics for women, was only one of the many manufacturers that addressed consumer demand for beauty products and, through advertising advice, helped to shape beauty standards. The messages in advertisements and in beauty advice manuals offered young women "formal" guidelines for adorning face and hair, to appear youthful and alluring to young men. This thesis is a case study of the advice presented to women over the decade of the 1940s.

---

<sup>1</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1370 (Elizabeth Arden Advertisement, *New Yorker*, August 5,

Kathy Peiss defines “beauty culture” as a type of commerce, but also “as a system of meaning that helped women navigate the changing conditions of modern social experience.”<sup>2</sup> I agree with this definition, but will also add that women take part in this system for specific reasons, making choices each time they do or do not change their physical appearance based on prescriptive literature or advice from other women. Beauty culture is intertwined with what Lizabeth Cohen calls consumer culture. “Consumer culture,” according to Cohen is “an economy, culture, and politics built around the promises of mass consumption, both in terms of material life and the more idealistic goals of greater freedom, democracy, and equality.”<sup>3</sup> For this thesis, I will understand “consumer culture” as not only based on mass consumption, but will also discuss it as “personal” consumption in which an individual consumer responds to certain ideas suggested by prescriptive sources.

This thesis asks about the formation of a specific beauty culture. I argue that “beauty culture” is historically contingent; advice about beauty was molded by expectations about the social roles prescribed for women by advertising agencies, local influences, and national culture. To explore these ideas, I will look at messages aimed at young women during the 1940s. I chose to look at the 1940s because gender roles changed drastically in response to a society moving from the Great Depression, to war, to postwar economic security and domesticity throughout this decade. Given how eventful these years were, the idea of beauty fluctuated significantly and especially varied according to the type of prescription. Specifically,

---

<sup>2</sup> Kathy Peiss, *Hope in a Jar The Making of America's Beauty Culture* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1998), 6.

<sup>3</sup> Lizabeth Cohen, *Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003), 7.

formal messages were mainstream pieces of advice found in magazines, advertisements, and beauty manuals and informal messages were generated on a smaller scale, such as in college campus publications. This thesis, therefore, is about formal and informal messages to consumers, individual female behavior, and the relationship between these ideas during 1940 to 1950.

The America that existed on college campuses at the start of the decade changed drastically as men trained in high volumes and then departed for war, leaving women to make up a larger portion of the student body. College campuses changed significantly, once again, after the war because of the influx of males attending school through the GI Bill.

I will also use a case study, a particular group of messages aimed at consumers, young college women. Margaret Morrison Carnegie College was a women's college within the Carnegie Institute of Technology (now Carnegie Mellon University) in Pittsburgh, PA. The women of MMCC participated in extracurricular activities, attended social events, and shared a campus with the men of CIT. I was able to isolate archive records that were blatantly geared toward MMCC women, while also evaluating other sources in light of how these women interacted with men.

Using beauty culture as a lens to better understand women's individual decisions about appearance, I ask: what were the beauty messages (both formal and informal) and how and why did they change over the decade? How were these messages conveyed to young women and, more importantly, how did beauty culture reflect gender roles? By examining photographs of "ordinary" college women as

evidence of how they chose to be remembered, I will also look at the reception of the messages and ask: How did women act on these two types of consumer culture when making personal beauty choices?

The questions posed here are significant because they illustrate how manufacturers targeted specific segments of the population, specifically college women aged 18 to 24, during 1940 to 1950. This thesis sheds light on the growing significance of the youth market, particularly young college women during 1940 to 1950, and how these women were a target for beauty advertisements and therefore a factor in economic growth. This thesis shows that young women represented an important market in the decade and suggests that “women” were not an unknown category to advertising companies and corporations.

By using beauty culture to examine the relationship between consumer culture and women in higher education, this thesis elucidates how prescriptive literature was geared toward college women, for what purposes, and to what end. As such, this thesis explains how companies saw women as an important market, further implying that “women” were not all the same to advertising companies and corporations. Instead, college women comprised enough of a consumer base to define a niche market for cosmetic companies, which reveals the importance increasingly attached to women attending college. These significant ideas add a new connection to the understanding of the elusive relationship between advertising and consumption. My research shows that women responded to both formal and informal messages, which ultimately leads to a better understanding of how women received prescriptive messages.

My method for approaching beauty culture is to look at how formal and informal prescriptive literature described and defined gender roles of campus beauty culture. In dissecting prescriptive literature, I look at this material as part of consumer culture and as expressions of gender ideology. By analyzing the rhetoric in the advertisements and manuals and reading photographs for evidence of expressions of beauty culture, I point to change over time, while also comparing formal and informal sources. Particularly, I examine generalizations on eye makeup, lipstick, and hairstyles in posed photographs. I chart how these beauty messages changed over time and suggest ways to assess the influence of the messages on personal beauty choices.

To understand what types of messages were prescribed in formal settings, I utilize sources created in many cases by cosmetic companies, specifically advertisements and beauty guides. Duke University has an excellent Beauty and Hygiene (1911-1956) collection, which includes a significant amount of advertisements. I also consult beauty guides, such as *The Original Bonomo Hollywood Success Course through Beauty of Face and Form*, published in 1945.<sup>4</sup> I compiled records from about twenty other beauty manuals published between 1940 to 1950, many of which break down different aspects of beauty culture into specific chapters with explicit advice and a variety of pictures. At the National Museum of American History Archives, I consulted: Breck Girl Collection, 1936-1995, Celebrity Endorsements Collection, Revlon Advertising Collection, 1936-1986, and Arden Collection, 1884-1950. To illustrate my argument, I include images representative

---

<sup>4</sup> Joe Bonomo, *The Original Bonomo Hollywood Success Course through Beauty of Face and Form* (New York: Bonomo Culture Institute, 1945).



of salient points, although I consulted a plethora of items from these collections in order to draw larger conclusions on prescriptive messages.

To shed light on informal prescriptions, I explore student-generated and school administration-generated sources gathered from the Carnegie Mellon University archives. I look at the weekly student newspaper, *The Tartan*, and the student yearbook, *The Thistle*, from 1940 to 1950. Newspaper articles, specifically those related to dances, beauty pageants, and Greek life, reflect an “informal” set of standards prescribed on campus. The beauty queen portraits and campaign images elucidate this informal beauty culture. I have consulted headshots, candid photographs, and group photographs in the yearbook to compare women’s personal appearance choices to prescriptive messages. I have gathered a plethora of admissions and administration records to contextualize the student body, registrar records, course catalogs and bulletins, and a collection detailing changes during WWII, such as the accelerated training program that took place on campus.

## **LITERATURE REVIEW**

My study falls at the intersection of three bodies of literature: consumer culture, higher education, and the link between beauty culture and gender ideology during 1940 to 1950. Bringing together these three historiographies is a way to address the relationship between advertising messages and personal behavior.

Typically, historians look at consumer culture in light of the history of advertising and what it has meant to consumers. While Juliann Sivukka explains advertising’s impact and Lizabeth Cohen explains how the effects shapess consumer

choices, these scholars do not look specifically at college women, how messages were received on personal levels, or the role of gender ideologies.

Sivulka's *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising*, (1998) provides a detailed cultural history of advertising in America. By looking at this history, Sivulka argues that "advertising has provided a means by which people have learned about new products and, in the process, shaped mass behavior and desires—desires that are a driving force in a consumer economy."<sup>5</sup> While Sivulka's argument does make an important connection to the consumer economy, she lacks enough connection to consumer culture, specifically. Additionally, by looking at cosmetics as a part of advertising history, I will incorporate new elements of gender into this vein of scholarship. I seek to understand how advertising was directed at a specific group of women and, by addressing both gender and youth, my thesis will add to the literature on the ways corporations chose to target specific markets.

Lizabeth Cohen's *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America* is a groundbreaking work that has been widely cited by scholars since its publication in 2003. Cohen looks at the underlying social and cultural factors that have led to American policies that promote mass consumption and how this has impacted American consumers accordingly. Cohen argues that "in the aftermath of World War II, a fundamental shift in America's economy, politics, and culture took place, with major consequences" for Americans and their conceptions of citizenship.<sup>6</sup> Cohen's work provides the foundation for understanding how

---

<sup>5</sup> Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1998), xii

<sup>6</sup> Cohen, *Consumers' Republic*, 8.

pervasive consumer culture has become in American culture, and how it shapes a major part of society. While the value of this text cannot be overlooked, its influence can be further extended. I add to the literature on consumer culture by not only specifically looking at college women as consumers, but also by tracing how these messages were displayed on a personal level. By using beauty culture as a lens, I further examine how consumer culture can manifest its influences on a smaller scale and then use this idea to connect it back to the larger narrative about what this says about the role of consumer culture in American history.<sup>7</sup>

As I am looking at female consumer behavior specific to college students, I also seek to place my thesis within the context of literature on women in higher education. Recently, historians writing on women in higher education have looked at the postwar period and have included gender into their frameworks. Yet, when historians look at women in higher education, they have neither seen these co-eds as consumers nor do they study the impact of gender dynamics on campus; this is a void I address.

In “Remaking the Image: Promotional Literature of Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Wellesley Colleges in the Mid-to-Late 1940s,” Deborah M. Olsen argues that colleges often sent mixed messages about gender roles in their promotional literature, “reflecting the ongoing dilemma in American culture about women’s roles and the

---

<sup>7</sup> Other significant consumer culture texts include:

Gary S. Cross, *An All-Consuming Society: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000); Mike Featherstone, “Body, Image and Affect in Consumer Culture” in *Body & Culture* 16.1. (March 2010); Lawrence B Glickman, *Consumer Society in American History: A Reader* (Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1999); Marchand Roland, *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920-1940* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Susan Strasser, *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989); Sharon Zukin, *Point of Purchase: How Shopping Changed American Culture* (New York: Routledge, 2004).

proper level and goal of women's education."<sup>8</sup> I build on Olsen's scholarship by using college-generated sources, but instead looking at how consumer culture contributed to the messages portrayed in brochures, course catalogs, etc.

Published in 2012, Babette Faehmel's *College Women in the Nuclear Age: Cultural Literacy and Female Identity, 1940-1960* studies the relationship between college women and how Betty Friedan's portrayal of domesticity.<sup>9</sup> By looking at the process through which educated young women came to adopt particular definitions of their gender roles after the upheaval of World War II, Faehmel argues that "women actively participated in the definition of their gender role and forcefully promoted ideas of difference for their own complex and strategic reasons."<sup>10</sup> I build on Faehmel's work by not only looking at gender roles of college women, but also situating my study in how beauty products helped shape these gender roles and vice versa.<sup>11</sup>

---

<sup>8</sup> Deborah M. Olsen, "Remaking the Image of Promotional Literature of Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Wellesley Colleges in the Mid-to-Late 1940s," *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 4 (Winter, 2000), 420.

<sup>9</sup> For more information on the ideology of the domestic housewife, and how this idea compared to opportunities for education, see: Joanne Meyerowitz, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994).

<sup>10</sup> Babette Faehmel, *College Women in the Nuclear Age: Cultural Literacy and Female Identity, 1940-1960* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012), 2.

<sup>11</sup> Other significant texts on women in higher education include:

Elizabeth Boyd, "Sister Act: Sorority Rush as Feminine Performance," *Southern Cultures* Vol. 5, No. 3 (Fall 1999); Patricia Albjerg Graham, "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education," *Signs* Vol. 70, No. 4 (March 1978); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*, (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988); Lynn Peril, *College Girls: Bluestockings, Sex Kittens, and Coeds, Then and Now* (New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006); Kelly, Ritter *To Know Her Own History: Writing at the Woman's College, 1943-1963*, (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012); Barbara Solomon, *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985); Judith, Stacey, ed., *And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education* (New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1974); John R. Thelin, *A History of American Higher Education* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004); Karen Whitney Tice, *Queens of Academe: Beauty Pageantry, Student Bodies, and College Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012).

The historians who have looked at beauty culture have done well to trace the impact of race, class, and other social factors on how beauty technologies and markets have involved. Yet, there remains more work to be done in how the messages behind these products reach and are adapted by consumers. In 1998, Kathy Peiss's innovative work *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture* established the idea of "beauty culture." Drawing upon a broad array of sources, she argues that the act of beautifying often became a "lightening rod" for larger conflicts over female autonomy and social roles.<sup>12</sup> In my own work, I situate personal choices surrounding beauty products as responses to prescriptive messages.

In *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930* (2003), Margaret A. Lowe asserts that women consciously chose specific physical practices that show an awareness of their social identities as college women. Lowe wrote, "They deliberately used their bodies to project messages about their sense of self and what they wanted—whether vocation, husband, social acclaim, safety, health, or sensual pleasure."<sup>13</sup> I further her ideas by focusing on beauty culture, a more specific facet of physical appearance that raises the issue of women as consumers more so than women as dieters. Also, by looking at the decade of the 1940s, I show how major national changes that included first the absence and then the inclusion of the presence of men on campus impacted the emphasis women put on researching certain aesthetic goals.

---

<sup>12</sup> Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 7.

<sup>13</sup> Margaret A. Lowe, *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003), 156-157.

Written in 2004, Teresa Riordan's *Inventing Beauty: A History of the Innovations That Have Made Us Beautiful* looks at the intersection between science, fashion, and business where standards of beauty are created and finds that "for generations, social trends and technological innovations have fueled a non-stop assembly line of potions and contraptions that women have enthusiastically put to use in the quest for feminine flawlessness."<sup>14</sup> Riordan understands cosmetics as inventions and innovations, parts of technical progress geared specifically toward beauty culture. I focus on how trends and consumer messages impacted the ways in which women adapted these products. Furthermore, by employing Peiss's definition of beauty culture as a "system of meaning," I trace how specific beauty products fit into this system according to consumer messages.<sup>15</sup>

Advertisers of beauty products purposefully targeted college women during 1940 to 1950 as a major part of their consumer audience. Within the "formal" prescriptive literature deliberately aimed at these women, certain "necessary" standards of beauty culture were set and advertisers insisted that by following the guidelines, these standards would be achievable.<sup>16</sup> As to comply with dominant

---

<sup>14</sup> Teresa Riordan, *Inventing Beauty: A History of the Innovations That Have Made Us Beautiful!* (New York: Broadway Books, 2004), jacket.

<sup>15</sup> Other significant texts on beauty culture include:

Richard, Corson, *Fashions in Makeup from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York: Universe Books, 1972); Rita Freedman, *Beauty Bound* (Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1986); Mary Lisa Gavenas, *Color Stories Behind the Scenes of America's Billion-Dollar Beauty Industry*. (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002); Fenja, Gunn, *The Artificial Face: A History of Cosmetics* (New York: Hippocrene Books, 1973); Natalia Ilyin, *Blonde Like Me: The Roots of the Blonde Myth in Our Culture* (New York: Touchstone, 2000); Robin Tolmach Lakoff, and Raquel L. Scherr, *Face Value: The Politics of Beauty* (Boston: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1984); Phillip Scranton, ed., *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America* (New York: Routledge, 2001); Lindy. Woodhead, *War Paint: Madame Helena Rubinstein and Miss Elizabeth Arden: Their Lives, Their Times, Their Rivalry* (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2003).

<sup>16</sup> In this instance, prescriptive literature will be understood as beauty guides, advertisements, and magazine articles.

ideologies on gender and domesticity, women participated in these rituals to appear youthful, oblige certain peer pressures, and appear to be marriage material.

Similarly, there was an “informal” consumer culture created by standards propagated on campus, as seen in student-generated sources and beauty queen contests. These messages came, in part, from a “trickle-down” of formal consumer culture and ideals of gender that were visible on a larger scale, meaning there was sometimes overlap in the messages. The informal prescriptions found on the campus of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College and the Carnegie Institute of Technology were unique to this setting, standards, and ideals.

I argue that the women at Margaret Morrison Carnegie College recognized both formal and informal messages of consumer culture, adapting their behavior and personal appearances to an “adapted” version of the two sets of beauty prescriptions. In effect, these women made personal appearance choices in the form of an “adapted” version of these two messages, understanding the significance of beauty products, but adopting beauty regimens based on the gender culture of campus life in the 1940s.

As a public historian, my methodology also includes developing avenues for presenting scholarly research to a broad and diverse audience. Consequently, I have used this thesis research to create a website that presents my argument and research in an easily accessible format. The web component is titled “Consuming Beauty: College Women and Beauty How-To’s in 1940s America” and can be found

at [www.consumingbeauty.com](http://www.consumingbeauty.com).<sup>17</sup> Public History is a very effective way to enhance traditional scholarship, such as using digital publications, publishing in non-monograph form including oral histories, or putting together an exhibition. I used my thesis research to create a digitized product for public consumption.

There has been remarkable progress in web-based history work in the past two decades, as tracing the progression of theory and practice makes apparent. Much of this progress has occurred thanks to the emergence of digital scholarship labs at universities, along with a significant increase in audience understanding what “doing” digital history means thanks to manuals and other written resources. “Digital history” refers to the strategic use of digital tools in pursuit of a newfound historical understanding for oneself and an audience. Digital history projects come in many forms, from online archives, to content delivery, to interactive maps—just to name a few.

In Edward L. Ayers, in “The Pasts and Futures of Digital History,” (published 1999) wrote one of the earliest pieces of critical theory and issued “a call for using digital media to revive the monograph.”<sup>18</sup> According to Ayers, scholars should not rely on digital tools to replace their work, but instead to find new audiences to the topic. Ayers was one of the first to lay the groundwork for acceptance of digital history as a scholarly endeavor.

Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzeig published *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (2006) in response to the

---

<sup>17</sup> This website is hard-coded as hypertext markup language (HTML) pages and formatted using a cascading style sheet (CSS). I am using the TextWrangler application as a text editor to write coding, and PhotoShop and Adobe Illustrator to generate graphics.

<sup>18</sup> Edward A. Ayers, “The Past and Futures of Digital History,” University of Virginia (1999).



rise in digital scholarship and to provide advice for digitally inclined academics. They argue that historians should think of themselves more like “architects” than “plumbers,” meaning that digital historians must focus on the analytical framework and structure of design on their projects, rather than exclusively on the technological process.<sup>19</sup> Since advising this “architectural” approach, many scholars have followed their advice, myself included, in approaching digital history projects. I agree that historians need to create a structure before creating the technological bulk of the project. Cohen and Rosenzweig’s point is indeed one that all beginning scholars must recognize before delving too deeply into this medium. As an extension of this argument, scholars should also recognize the relevant theory on why digital history matters before getting to the “architect” stage and subsequently the “plumbing” part—all of these steps are key to “doing” digital history.<sup>20</sup>

In 2008, the *Journal of American History* featured an “Interchange” discussion in which several scholars were placed in conversation with one another on “The Promise of Digital History.” One comment by Dr. William Thomas III raises an especially thought-provoking point on the fluidity or impermanence of the medium, explaining that digital scholars often cannot stop continually revising their projects; this can be especially pertinent when it comes to continually expanding the audience for a historical scholarship project. Thomas considers digital sites to be “open research platforms where scholars can stage problems and continually modify their work, readers can view the research as it develops, and both can

---

<sup>19</sup> Daniel J. Cohen and Roy Rosenzweig, *Digital History: A Guide to Gathering, Preserving, and Presenting the Past on the Web* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press: 2006), 56.

<sup>20</sup> For a collection of more recent essays, see: Roy Rosenzweig, *Clio Wired: The Future of the Past in the Digital Age* (New York: Columbia University, 2011).

continually assemble new associations as an interpretative model is built.”<sup>21</sup> This idea of fluidity should figure into any thought process, framework, and actual “doing.” The ways in which a historian looks at a topic are always subject to change based on methodology and research. A digital project should remain adaptable to improvements from the historian’s thought processes, new research, an increase in resources that can be devoted to the site, and new technologies.<sup>22</sup>

In order to show how my digital project has built upon previous work, I trace the progress of history projects done on the web by discussing a few representative samples. In evaluating these projects, I look at the key contributions both in terms of educational strategies and technology. *The Valley of the Shadow* project by Edward L. Ayers begun in 1993 was one of the first digital history projects. This collaboration is a digital archive of primary resources that document the lives of people in Augusta County, VA and Franklin County, PA during the Civil War. Ayers describes his project as “more like a library than a book.” This project was originally conceived as a book; taking this work to the next level through digital medium was ground breaking for humanists at the time. Although the database and HTML (hypertext mark-up language) technology involved are very basic by today’s web

---

<sup>21</sup>“Interchange: The Promise of Digital History,” *Journal of American History* 95, no. 2 (Sept. 2008): 5-6.

<sup>22</sup> For example, the following manuals and resources are now available: D. Antonio Cantu and Wilson J. Warren, *Teaching History in the Digital Classroom*: Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2003); Anne Kelly Knowles, ed., *Placing History: How Maps, Spatial Data, and GIS Are Changing Historical Scholarship* (Redlands, CA: Esri Press, 2008); ); Mark Greengrass and Lorna Hughes, eds., *The Virtual Representation of the Past* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate Publishing Company, 2008); Daniel I. Greenstein, *A Historian’s Guide to Computing* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994); David W. Park, Nicholas W. Jankowski, and Steve Jones, *The Long History of New Media: Technology, Historiography, and Contextualizing Newness* (New York: Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2011); Lauren Rabinovitz and Abraham Geil, eds. *Memory Bytes: History Technology, and Digital Culture* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004); Dennis A. Trinkle and Scott A. Merriman, eds., *The History Highway: A Guide to Internet Resources* (Armonk, NY: M.E. Sharpe, 2002).

development standards, it was one of the first of its kind and illustrated how accessible the web made historical records.<sup>23</sup>

*The Great Chicago Fire & The Web of Memory* website created by Carl Smith in 1996 was part historical narrative and collection of memories of the events involved. The website provided a comprehensive mix of interpretative essays and an impressive archive of primary sources that can reach a variety of audiences. A 2002 review noted, “While attractive, this Web site does not excel in graphic or programming sophistication. It does excel in substance, navigability, and readability, and these are more important qualities” [than simply a flashy presentation].<sup>24</sup> It is difficult to comment on the technological innovations of this project since it has been so heavily revised since then; regardless, the inclusion of interpretive materials was a major step forward in progress on digital history.<sup>25</sup>

The *Digital History Reader*, launched by Virginia Tech faculty in 2007, was aimed at delivering American and European history in an interactive manner through modules that can be used in conjunction with or separate from a large survey course, while also teaching strategies for historical inquiry. Content was very accessible in the multimedia environment including audio, images, and videos. It was the inquiry-based learning model in which each section is designed to include primary sources helpful in answering questions on the topic. The educational strategies behind *The Digital History Reader* were very innovative. This website can

---

<sup>23</sup> Edward L Ayers, Valley of the Shadow, <http://valley.lib.virginia.edu/VoS/usingvalley/valleyguide.html> (accessed December 12).

<sup>24</sup> Phillip J. Ethington, “Web Site Review,” *Journal of American History* 89, no. 1 (June 2002): 328-29.

<sup>25</sup> Carl Smith, *The Great Chicago Fire and the Web on Memory*, <http://www.chicagohs.org/fire> (accessed December 12).

thus be both a resource for understanding the past and a tool for approaching the study history.<sup>26</sup>

Created in 2012, *Visualizing Emancipation* was a website that used geospatial analysis to create an interactive map showing tagged emancipation events that occurred during the Civil War. This project, directed by Scott Nesbit through the University of Richmond, shows how advancements in technology have significantly redefined what digital historians can create. *Visualizing Emancipation* builds on similar educational principles (including a “For Teachers” section) as previous projects and excels at creating a very user-friendly interface using a map and time slider. Remaining grounded in the educational principles of earlier work and theory, *Visualizing Emancipation* has made key contributions by providing resources with an excellent inclusion of metadata and user interactivity features superseding virtually all previous projects.<sup>27</sup> Overall, important trends in digital projects have included: ease of access to primary resources, technological improvements to attract different audiences, inclusion of sufficient context, and framing the information with educational goals in mind. These digital history projects represent key strengths that have arisen during significant progress over the past two decades.<sup>28</sup>

---

<sup>26</sup> Tom Ewing, Digital History Reader, <http://www.dhr.history.vt.edu> (accessed December 13).

<sup>27</sup> Scott Nesbit, Visualizing Emancipation, <http://dsl.richmond.edu/emancipation/> (accessed December 13).

<sup>28</sup> There are many other important examples produced over time: *Internet History Sourcebook Project* (1996); *Mapping Congress* (2014); *Mapping Inequality* (2014); *Race and Place* (2002); *Lewis and Clark Across Missouri* (2002); *Dolley Madison Project* (2005); *Old Bailey online projects* (2003). There are also larger institutions using digital history in extraordinary ways to provide comprehensive, such as the *FSA-OWI* collection and the *American Memory* projects through the Library of Congress.

The field of digital history has a bright future, but digital historians need to continue to develop both theory and projects. Historians must understand the important principles that go into building a project, such as proper planning, creating a project that complements traditional scholarship, and having educational goals in mind. Digital historians will benefit from learning from past projects and prevalent trends, but should also work to create new and better trends with future projects. One day, it could be the norm for a digital product to accompany all traditional works and a project for each topic that a teacher wishes to teach. Easy access to online archives has revolutionized how scholars can easily conduct research. Emerging technologies have allowed for a more thorough understanding and improved methods for engaging audiences. Successful digital history projects emerge from weaving together these concepts.

In [consumingbeauty.com](http://consumingbeauty.com), I present this thesis research in an alternative format. I employ hard-coded hypertext markup language and a cascading style sheet to format this coded material, along with a carefully compiled archive of images and a writing style designed for web reading. The content is organized into aesthetically pleasing, clearly demarcated boxes, using headings such as “What is beauty culture?” and “What are prescriptive beauty messages?” The website includes many images, both from advertising collections and yearbooks, which are rich in depth and make the site more visually appealing. Many of these images are organized within a timeline where visitors can access each year and see how America and college women have changed. Lastly, my work includes a “Reading Images” section where visitors can see examples of the methodology I used to

interpret my sources. The inclusion of a methodological analysis of my sources in a format geared toward reaching diverse audiences is perhaps the most unique part of my project.

## CHAPTER ONE: “Beauty Is Your Duty”: Formal Prescriptive Messages, 1940-1950



Figure 1: Ivory Soap advertisement from *Women's Home Companion*, 1942

In 1942, just after the United States entered World War II, the manufacturers of Ivory Soap advised women to “Keep your beauty on duty”.<sup>29</sup> While men were off

<sup>29</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH0904 (Ivory Soap Advertisement, *Women's Home Companion*, 1942), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

fighting in the “Good War,” women also had important wartime responsibilities. Women played a part in the war effort by working in factories on the home front and selling war bonds, but these responsibilities extended further to personal appearance.<sup>30</sup> Advertisers expected women to follow certain rules and look the part of a beautiful American citizen supporting her troops by making the “right” beauty choices.<sup>31</sup> As roles and responsibilities changed over the decade of the 1940s, so did the advice about a woman’s “beauty duty.” In this chapter, I look at the construction of formal messages to show changes and continuity in prescriptions as expectations of women’s public responsibilities shifted from the Depression, to war, to postwar domesticity.

“Formal” prescriptive messages are explicit and intentional messages coming from published advertisements and beauty manuals targeting women with hair and makeup advice.<sup>32</sup> Specifically, I focus on advertisements that might have appealed to women of college age in order to show the significance of age in the production of beauty advertisements. Formal prescriptions defined “beauty duties” in ways that made beauty into a civic responsibility. Different appeals appeared at different times throughout the decade, yet the advice made the continuous struggle of aspiring to be a constant feminine responsibility.

### ***Prewar Femininity (1940-1941)***

---

<sup>30</sup> Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 23.

<sup>31</sup> Kate De Castelbajac, *The Face of the Century” 100 Years of Makeup and Style* (New York: Umbra Editions, Inc., 1995), 94,

<sup>32</sup> The next chapter will create a distinction between formal and informal.



Prescriptive messages from 1940 and 1941 indicated that women should appear joyous, radiant, and feminine because they were happy to be coming out of the Great Depression and living in a more optimistic version of America. During the Depression, women and their families faced unemployment and with little help from government recovery programs, many couples postponed marriage.<sup>33</sup> American industry still manufactured vast numbers of products, but fewer Americans could afford luxuries and other consumer goods.<sup>34</sup> As late as 1941, *LIFE* magazine featured a “typical” housewife “as the sort of woman who keeps her figure, her husband, her makeup and her humor no matter how tough the going”. Based on the “constant propaganda” influencing millions of U.S. Women to follow its dictates, this article explained the impact of mainstream culture, specifically modern advertising. *LIFE* attested to the force of popular culture, especially modern advertising, according to historian Melissa A. McEuen.<sup>35</sup> Although still in the shadow of the Great Depression the economy had begun to improve as more jobs were created to make supplies for the war occurring in European theaters through purchasing power available of American families increased and non-essential goods were worked back into American budgets.

Manufactured beauty products were well represented in the 1940s. By 1941, Americans spent more than half a billion dollars on cosmetics. This included twenty

---

<sup>33</sup> Susan M. Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s* (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982), 16.

<sup>34</sup> Juliann Sivulka, *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1998), 194-5.

<sup>35</sup> *LIFE*, September 22, 1941 1078-85, discussed in Melissa A. McEuen, *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941-1945* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011), 6-7.

million dollars' worth of lipstick and sixty million dollars' worth of cold cream.<sup>36</sup> To sell these products advertisers created prescriptive messages that linked beauty with feminine identity and fulfillment and stressed the importance of a flawless appearance. A fresh complexion and a little lipstick were the characteristic signs of beauty in advertisements and advice from these years.<sup>37</sup>

I characterize the beauty culture of American women during 1940 to 1941 as "prewar femininity." Advertisements featuring women with romantic gazes, radiant skin, and beaming smiles represented this culture. The advertisements appeared to romanticize more than sexualize the models, while prescribing that a woman's beauty should be natural, smooth, soft, and effortless. Women were to carry out the "beauty duty" to maintain this air of cheerful femininity in the face of economic turmoil whether married or single.

Advertisers seemingly designed these principles to reflect the context of national events. Such dictates conveyed the idea that women, though the country was entering better economic times, should continue to look responsibly "natural" rather than appear as someone who spends unnecessary precious resources on cosmetics. The women featured in the ads displayed an air of optimism, hope, and domesticity.

The advertisements that illustrate pre-war femininity showed women wearing the front section of their hair pinned back toward the crown of the head and with the unpinned remainder in soft curls flowing to the shoulder. Lipstick was

---

<sup>36</sup> Richard Corson, *Fashions in Makeup from Ancient to Modern Times* (New York: Universe Books, 1972), 520. \*

<sup>37</sup> Hartmann, *The Home Front and Beyond*, 1-16

subtle, a light shade of red that did not overly accentuate the lips. Women were to wear light but noticeable eye makeup with long eyelashes. The gazes of models shown in advertisements were generally straight-on, but did not include the narrow-eyed, sultry looks of more sexualized models seen during the war.



Figure 2: Botany Lanolin advertisement from *Harper's Bazaar*, 1941

The qualities of prewar femininity, a natural, flawless beauty promising romance, are evident in this ad for Botany Lanolin Beauty Aids soap. Appearing in a 1940 issue of *Harper's Bazaar*, the advertisement explains that cosmetics can be “nature’s aids to loveliness” and that “constant use brings a rose petal smoothness to the

skin.” By situating the model behind flower branches, the advertisement equates female beauty with nature. Here, the model pictured displays the makeup and hairstyle characteristic to prewar femininity and exudes an air of natural radiance and beauty. She has dewy, clear skin, but with lightly brushed rouge. Her alluring brown eyes are accented with subtle eyeliner, and her lips are painted in a soft shade of red. Although this advertisement is for soap, something that was still considered a necessity during the Depression, her air of radiance illustrates that she is following appearance duty of a woman during 1941.<sup>38</sup> Soap, “nature’s aid to loveliness,” promised the prewar young women that she, too, could fulfill her beauty duty through purchasing a “necessity” rather than a luxury.

---

<sup>38</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1449 (Botany Lanolin Beauty Ads Advertisement, *Harper's Bazaar* 1940), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

These Dancing Highlights  
**MAKE MEN NOTICE**  
 The Loveliness Of Your Hair

ILLUSTRATES  
SOAP-WASHED  
HAIR



ILLUSTRATES  
DRENE-WASHED  
HAIR



Amazing Drene Shampoo Reveals Up To  
**33% MORE LUSTRE IN YOUR HAIR**  
 After Washing Than Any Soap . . . Most Liquid Shampoos

**I**f you want men to notice and women to envy your hair . . . be sure to bring out all of its natural loveliness with your next shampoo.

Soaps and most liquid shampoos can't do it full justice. That's because even the finest soap combines with minerals in water to leave a "bath-tub ring" . . . an undesirable film that hides the natural loveliness and color-brilliance of each strand of hair . . . just as a frosted window-pane hides the true beauty of the great outdoors.

■ Drene is thrillingly different . . . its *patented* cleansing ingredient does *not* combine with minerals in water to form this dulling film. As a result, tests in our laboratory prove Drene reveals up to 33% more lustre than even the finest soaps. Drene makes highlights dance and sparkle . . . brings out the depth of color . . . leaves hair smooth and silky.

Drene is economical—because it makes 5 times as much lather as soap in hardest water. Get Drene at your drug, department, or 10¢ store. Use it for your next shampoo . . . vivacious highlights will dance to make men notice your loveliness!

Trade Mark Reg. U. S. Pat. Off.

**EMIL RONDE** of Edgewater Beach Hotel Salon,  
*Chicago, says:*  
 "Look at the photos of the model above—coiffured in my salon. My experience with Drene has been that it reveals the natural beauty and brilliance in all colors of hair—as illustrated by these photos."



**Other Famous Hairstylists Using Drene include:**  
 Stani Marr  
 St. Regis Hotel, New York  
 Marc Gortman  
 Chicago  
 Burton Skiles  
 Hollywood, Hollywood  
 Don Martinez  
 St. Louis

**Does Shampooing Do This To Your Hair?**  
**BLONDE:** If your hair has a *canary* color instead of its *true blonde* look it may be due to dulling film. See what a difference Drene makes.  
**BRUNETTE:** Lime soap film leaves brunette hair with a drab, "mousey" look. Drene leaves no such film.  
**RED:** If dulling film leaves your hair dark instead of bringing out its reddish warmth, try Drene.  
**GRAY:** If lime-soap film leaves an ugly yellowish cast use Drene. It reveals the natural dignity and allure of gray hair.  
**SPECIAL—**for normal or dry hair  
**REGULAR—**for oily hair



Refuse substitutes; insist on Advertised Brand

10  
*Cosmopolitan, June 1941*

Figure 3: Drene shampoo advertisement from *Cosmopolitan*, 1941

In an advertisement from 1941 for Drene shampoo, the phrase “These Dancing Highlights Make Men Notice The Loveliness Of Your Hair” explains that the key to beauty is to “reveal” the natural luster of a woman’s hair. Luster, the advertisement promises, will “make men notice,” a goal of beauty duty that was evident throughout the decade. The advertisement features an expert, Emil Ronde of Edgewater Beach

Hotel Salon, to confirm the effectiveness of the product. The inclusion of “expert” testimony was often used in advertisements, as seen in the soap advertisement, in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. But, in keeping with the ad’s promise, the expert is a male. The imagery here is more romantic than sexual and suggested that for women romance was the important element in any heterosexual relationship. This advertisement implies that Drene shampoo, because it is “thrillingly different,” brings out the loveliness that your hair already ought have “natural luster.” As with the 1940 Botany ad, this Drene model is, however, not naturally produced. Instead, her appearance reflects intervention with a hair product.<sup>39</sup>

In addition to advertisements, beauty advice books also provided prescriptive messages about appearance and behavior. Generally, these manuals did not promote any one specific product, because they were “ad-free.” Their advice, along with the images of beauty they constructed, was represented as “objective,” neutral suggestions, offered to help women fulfill a beauty obligation, not sell a product.<sup>40</sup> In *Beauty and Health: A Course in Loveliness*, (1941) J. Howard Crum, M.D. asserts that a quest for beauty was part of a woman’s nature and being beautiful was key to female happiness. The manual explained:

The woman of today is privileged to take advantage of increased knowledge and improved techniques in the field of beauty culture. But the modern woman desires beauty in the same way as all women have since the days of Mother Eve. It is ingrained in her very fiber... It cannot be disputed that every woman's happiness depends, in large measure, on her ability to increase and

---

<sup>39</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH0408 (Drene Shampoo Advertisement, *Cosmopolitan*, 1941), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

<sup>40</sup> However, there were a select amount of manuals blatantly produced by manufacturers.

maintain her feminine birthright- individual grace and loveliness need for trustworthy beauty advice.<sup>41</sup>

Crum gives advice on many different types of beauty practices and explained how any woman can look like the models in beauty product ads. Wear eye shadow correctly: "Eye shadow should be used as the name implies--it should whisper, not shout!" Select the right shade of lipstick: "Lipstick should be made up to look full and luscious...shape it to the natural outline of your lips."<sup>42</sup> Crum's advice was consistent with prescriptive advertisements from the prewar years, but he did more than simply mimic the advertisements. He instructed women on how to become the image seen in the advertisements and thus how to fulfill their beauty duty.

Although the U.S. did not enter World War II until the attack on Pearl Harbor at the very end of 1941, prewar femininity positioned women to represent a radiant and natural (i.e. free) beautiful society worth defending. In the wake of the Depression and the rise of fascism, the "naturally" made-up woman symbolized, in Crum's words, the "American way of life."<sup>43</sup> Women were to carry the "beauty duty" to maintain this flawless image even in a politically-charged war. As the nation began what would be several long years of brutal warfare, women were asked to take on new roles and responsibilities, one of which was a new form of "beauty duty."

### ***Propagandized Beauty (1942-1945)***

---

<sup>41</sup> J. Howard Crum, M.D., *Beauty and Health: A Course in Loveliness* (New York: Merit Publications, 1941), 1-2.

<sup>42</sup> Crum, *Beauty and Health*, 289.

<sup>43</sup> Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 239.



Once America entered World War II, beauty messages insisted that women carry out a new type of "beauty duty" as patriotic citizens. Women represented the home front, "faces worth fighting for." Their appearances served to boost national morale.<sup>44</sup> I characterize the prescriptive beauty culture of women during 1942 to 1945 as "propagandized beauty." To maintain the fighting man's morale, female beauty was sexualized, with bold colors, and it prescribed as obligatory to national culture. This era was the most sexualized of the decade, yet ads also called on women to display stoic optimism in the face of wartime demands and wartime losses, implying "Keep your best face forward" in the face of wartime demands and wartime losses.<sup>45</sup> The advice from these years might be characterized as a duty to express stoic optimism. Although beauty was sexualized during the war, beauty duty also demanded that a women's appearance could guard her morality while the men were away at war.

During the war, the need for women to take over in factories the work previously preformed by men ironically pushed beauty duty to the forefront of female responsibilities. Gender historian Kathy Peiss explains that psychiatrists and efficiency experts testified to the importance of cosmetics in "countering fatigue, improving morale, and increasing productivity."<sup>46</sup> Cultural historian De Castelbajac suggests that many women found solace in beauty practice rituals during, understanding the need to dream and indulge during such a tumultuous

---

<sup>44</sup> McEuen, *Making War, Making Women*, 2.

<sup>45</sup> A message seen in other advertisements at this time

<sup>46</sup> Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 241-242.



time.<sup>47</sup> The advertisers promised that by fulfilling her beauty duty—by appearing beautiful even in work clothes—women workers had not abandoned their gender divisions that separated men and women during peacetime. By remaining beautiful in plants and factories, the women workers remained women first, never abandoning gender divisions separating public and private roles.<sup>48</sup> Working women had money to spend- cosmetics companies hoped this beauty duty would lead them to spend it on makeup and shampoo.

When advertisers juxtaposed a woman outside of her role as wife and mother, beauty duty was central to the advertiser's message as they intended to reinforce the traditional feminine role sure to be reestablished once the war ended. Meg Cohen Ragas, expert on the cultural history of lipstick, explains that wearing lipstick transforms a woman from her private to her public self and prepares her for the world. Advice encouraged women to make themselves something worth fighting for, while also fulfilling the duty to be a good citizen. Prescriptive messages implied that rewards for this behavior might include comfortable homes and a husband for those who applied the advice even in factories.

Advertisements during the war showed lipstick being worn more explicitly, typically with shades of red that accentuated the lips.<sup>49</sup> Eye makeup was applied more explicitly, with women wearing darker shades and more obvious eyeliner. Hairstyles had looser curls, often softer than prewar, almost straight (possibly due

---

<sup>47</sup> De Castelbajac, *Face of the Century*, 92.

<sup>48</sup> Mary Martha Thomas, *Riveting and Rationing in Dixie: Alabama Women and the Second World War* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987), 115-116.

<sup>49</sup> Meg Cohen Ragas and Karen Kozlowski, *Read My Lips: A Cultural History of Lipstick* (San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1998), 84.

to a shortage of perm ingredients) and a little bit longer, to nearly shoulder length. Some styles displayed bangs, others were simply pulled half back. All hair, however, was very lustrous and shiny.



Figure 4: Palmolive Soap advertisement from *Sunday News*, 1942

This advertisement from a 1942 edition of *Sunday News* reads: “I pledge myself to guard every bit of Beauty that he cherishes in me.” Written above is “For him...” referring to the three men representing the Army, the Marines, and the Navy. In this ad, beauty is her wartime responsibility, helping not just “him” but all men fighting

for America. There is no particular type of beauty for one branch of the military, but, rather, a type that would appeal to all American fighting men. This ad is suggesting that Palmolive is *necessary* for this woman to carry out her beauty duties according to this era of “propagandized beauty” during the war. The advertisement also reads: “Today, those moments with him are fleeting, rare, and... infinitely precious. For his sake, and yours, be at your lovely best, whenever you’re together.” Understandably, women wanted to leave their man (or men in general) with a beautiful memory as they left for the war. The Palmolive model is pictured with her hair down in very loose curls/waves, falling about shoulder length. Her glossy red lips are very bold and she is wearing noticeable eye makeup, that highlights a gaze into the future.<sup>50</sup>

---

<sup>50</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1296 (Palmolive Soap Advertisement, *Sunday News*, 1942), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

Headline your pretty lips with

# Dorothy Gray

**HEADLINE RED**

IT'S a scoop for Dorothy Gray—*Headline Red*—a good-news shade of lipstick and rouge! A clear and true red, it livens up your complexion . . . meets a man's idea of what your lips should be . . . healthy-red, soft, desirable. *Headline Red* is happy with any costume color. Like all Dorothy Gray lipsticks, it's creamy, non-drying . . . indelible as can be. \$1. Matching Compact or Cream Rouge, each \$1. *Plus tax.*

**SPECIAL DRY-SKIN MIXTURE**—the famous Dorothy Gray night cream. Richly lubricating, its fine oils help smooth away end-of-summer dryness and weather-lines. Overnight, skin feels smoother, more pliant! \$2.25. *Plus tax.*

Copyright, 1943, by Dorothy Gray, Ltd.

Buy more War Bonds and Stamps!

Dorothy Gray.. American design of Beauty.. 683 Fifth Avenue.. New York

November 1943 Good Housekeeping

Figure 5: Dorothy Gray advertisement from *Good Housekeeping*, 1943

“Headline your pretty lips with Dorothy Gray HEADLINE RED,” reads this advertisement from *Good Housekeeping* in 1943. “It’s a scoop for Dorothy Gray—*Headline Red*—a good-news shade of lipstick and rouge! A clear and true red, it livens up your complexion... meets a man’s idea of what your lips should be...healthy-red, soft, desirable. *Headline Red* is happy with any costume color.” The advertisement copy promises that wearing this shade of lipstick will not only satisfy a man’s expectations, but also associates this shade with “good-news” that will

undoubtedly turn into an American victory. War efforts were not going very well for the U.S. in 1943, yet this advertisement suggests that wearing *Headline Red* will help create a victory. As in the Palmolive ad, the model's hair is a little bit longer than shoulder length in loose waves, partially pulled back with a bow. The eyeliner in contrast is very noticeable, extending past eyelid line to form a cat-eye.<sup>51</sup> The messages in this advertisement illustrate the conflicting representations of home front women as both sexually alluring yet morally pure.

This model's lips are full and dark with lipstick, which was surprisingly easy to come by during war. When the United States entered World War II, rationing councils questioned whether women should continue to seek "glamour as usual" during such a tumultuous time, but lipstick quickly became, as the Dorothy Gray ad says, a "badge of courage" signifying "the red blood of the true American woman."<sup>52</sup> In an effort to decide whether to ration beauty products for the duration, the War Production Board questioned magazine editors and consumers. Many women stated their willingness "to give up wrinkle eradicators, nail polish, and what not if it will help sock the Axis." Women over forty declared that most beauty preparations were inessential, as they had grown up before cosmetics became a mass industry or were widely advertised. Younger women, however, viewed powder, rouge, and cold cream as necessities. And there was one item deemed indispensable by nearly all—

---

<sup>51</sup>Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1711 (Dorothy Gray Cosmetics Advertisement, *Good Housekeeping*, 1943), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

<sup>52</sup> Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 239.



lipstick.<sup>53</sup> The board rescinded its order and called for women to curtail cosmetic purchases voluntarily.

When He Comes Back, It's a

*Honeymoon in Mexico*

*Crisp gleaming baby dress, Dresses by Samuel Calaganes*

*She's chosen this Mexican-inspired dirndl in sultry, wadded shades of rayon jersey*

The minute her husband wires the word, Peggy Shields is off across the continent. Then it's south of the border for a postponed honeymoon.

"He has built up a regular dream-girl in these months he's been away. I can't disappoint him," says Mrs. Shields. "So I've taken the DuBarry Success Course...and discovered a plan for the professional care of my skin with DuBarry Beauty Preparations and Makeup...that has done such wonders for me, I'm following it for life."

More than 175,000 women have used DuBarry Beauty Preparations exclusively in this famous Course. Like Mrs. Shields, they know that DuBarry Preparations contain no ingredients known to cause common skin allergies...know that they are co-related to work together for greater effectiveness...know why they are accepted for advertising in publications of the American Medical Association.

Wouldn't you like to see what DuBarry Beauty Preparations can do for you? Then ask at any good cosmetic counter for the DuBarry Success O-Plan.

**Du BARRY** THE BEAUTY PREPARATIONS OF THE SUCCESS SCHOOL

BY *Richard Hudnut*

*DuBarry Beauty Preparations at better cosmetic counters*

Figure 6: DuBarry Success-O-Plan advertisement from *Vogue*, 1945

Featured in a 1945 issue of *Vogue*, this DuBarry Success-O-Plan advertisement promises “When He Comes Back, It’s a Honeymoon in Mexico.” It continues to explain, “He has built up a regular dream-girl in these months he’s been away. I can’t disappoint him,” says Mrs. Shields. ‘So I’ve taken the DuBarry Success

<sup>53</sup> “Brief Supporting Toiletry and Cosmetic Order and Schedules, 29 June 1942, “ 2, War Production Board Production Board Records, box 174, Record Group 179, National Archives; *Business Week*, 25 July 1942, 72; “Face Powder and Lipstick, Tops Among ‘Indispensables,’” *PI* 199 (24 April 1942): 13-14, as discussed in Peiss’s *Hope in a Jar*.

Course...". "Mrs. Shields" is wearing noticeable, bold makeup with visible medium eye makeup, bold lipstick, and highlighted cheekbones. She is beaming because, as the text would suggest, she held up her "beauty duty" during the war and will soon be rewarded with her husband's safe return and a happy marriage. Presumably, Mr. And Mrs. Shields rushed to the altar before he departed for war and they will now celebrate the honeymoon they did not have before his departure. The tone of this advertisement is very cheery and even more optimistic than others during this time. Just at the 1942 ad was about a man leaving with a sexually charged woman in mind, this one is about coming home to a beautiful domestic woman. This beauty culture, especially given its sexualized nature, also promised men something to look forward to when they return victorious.<sup>54</sup>

Advice manuals, too, contributed to the sense of beauty as patriotic duty in wartime. *How to Be Attractive*, written by Joan Bennett in 1944, explains the importance of beauty: "Attractive women are happier women. Attractive women get attention--about as necessary a food for the human spirit as there is."<sup>55</sup> The author asserts the need for beauty during wartime and links it to victory:

The woman who neglects her well-being today is as guilty and may be as dangerous to national safety as the saboteur, the sleeping sentry, the deserter. She deserves the almost moral punishment of being left alone. She is a hangover from another age. The languid lily should and will live alone. And, believe me, she won't like it.<sup>56</sup>

---

<sup>54</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1905 (DuBarry Success-O-Plan Advertisement, *Vogue*, 1945), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

<sup>55</sup> Joan Bennett, *How to Be Attractive* (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1944), 6-7.

<sup>56</sup> Bennett, *How to Be Attractive*, 47.

Bennett, eager for readers to follow her rigid advice, even provides a detailed chart on exactly how to carry it out:

"AS OLD AS SHE LOOKS"

*How Much Time and Money for Attractiveness?*

TIME

Morning, 10 minutes for face- and neck-cleansing and make-up.  
 Noon, 2 minutes for repair.  
 Evening, 5 minutes for face conservation and hand-care.

MONEY

Minimum		Average		For the Luxury Extras	
Rouge	.10	Rouge	.50	Eye cream	??
Lipstick	.10	Lipstick	.50	Extra colors of	
Powder	.25	Powder	1.00	lipstick	??
"Tools"	1.50	"Tools"	2.00	Extra colors of	
Powder base	.10	Powder base	.50	nail polish	??
Cleansing cream	.50	Cleansing cream	.50	Luscious-smelling, beautiful, fully packed	
Nail polish	.10	Nail polish	.10	creams	??
Polish remover	.10	Remover	.10		
Astringent	.10	Astringent	.25		
		Cuticle cream	.10		
	\$2.85	Mascara	.10		
		Eye-shadow	.10		
			\$5.75		

That's seventeen minutes and about the cost of a couple of phone calls each day, since the equipment lasts for thirty to sixty days.

[ 45 ]

Figure 7: "How Much Time and Money for Attractiveness?" from Joan Bennett's *How to Be Attractive*, 1944

While specific messages fluctuated, the prescription and manifestation of beauty culture remained constant throughout the war. American women were instructed



to carry “beauty duties” in line with what the nation needed at that time, fitting with other ideas of the need for propagandized patriotism. This obligation to beautify was thrust upon women for a number of reasons, as the messages found in the prescriptive literature imply. Women took on a variety of tasks to directly help the war effort, but all women were called upon to show (and even create) patriotism by following through on what this should look like. Women who were working on factory floors were to counteract their sometimes-masculine work by appearing feminine at all times, and thus not completely overturn gender roles. Additionally, working women had the financial resources to purchase cosmetics and get a salon haircut, a serious change from empty pocketbooks during the Depression.

### ***Postwar Femininity (1946-1950)***

When soldiers returned home from war and reassumed their public roles, beauty prescriptions changed for women as well.<sup>57</sup> After the U.S. emerged from World War II victorious, beauty culture prescriptions returned to looks of natural and radiant femininity. I label the beauty culture of 1946 to 1950 as “postwar femininity.” It was a prescriptive look intertwined with advice intended to reinforce domesticity as the postwar culture reasserted an “unshaken claim of family,” to use the words of historian Susan Ware.<sup>58</sup> After men returned home, there was a shift in the domestic expectations of women.

---

<sup>57</sup> Joanne, ed., Meyerowitz, *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945-1960* (Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994), 3.

<sup>58</sup> Susan Ware, *Modern American Women: A Documentary History* (New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2002), 184.

In the immediate postwar era, women had the “beauty duty” to present themselves as ready and available for marriage and family life. In advertisements, women appeared more domestic, also reaping the benefits of a postwar economic boom and consumer culture. Like many other consumer industries, cosmetic companies began to produce new products, colors, and styles, hoping for a surge in customers. They got what they hoped for. In 1946, Americans spent nearly \$30 million for five thousand tons of lipstick—or, as *Life* put it, “enough to pay the President’s salary for 77 years.”<sup>59</sup> By 1948, 80 to 90 percent of adult American women used lipstick, about two-thirds used rouge, and one in four wore eye makeup.<sup>60</sup>

Manufacturers recognized that this generation of American women had more money to spend—and that they were willing to spend it on cosmetics, as well as food, clothes, homes, and cars.<sup>61</sup> According to Phillip Scranton, advertisers “saturated” the marketplace with beauty advice that required the use of their particular product.<sup>62</sup>

In the ad, a model’s skin glows radiant with smooth complexions and pink, peachy highlights on the cheeks. Lipstick is visible on every model, but softer in comparison to the bold wartime beauty shades. Even the darker shades of lipstick appeared understated. Eye make up has been toned down, with light eye shadow visible in subtler hues than previously seen. In line with the new domesticity,

---

<sup>59</sup> Ragas, *Read My Lips: A Cultural History of Lipstick*, 53.

<sup>60</sup> Peiss, *Hope in a Jar*, 245.

<sup>61</sup> Sivulka *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes*, 245.

<sup>62</sup> Phillip Scranton, *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America* (New York: Routledge, 2001), 199.

beauty prescriptions after 1946 might be characterized as more “domestic,” less overtly sexualized than during war, but with a hint of sexuality as part of the “normal female psyche,” according to Scranton.<sup>63</sup> The stance and gazes of the models shown were amorous, as if longing for romance and family. Advertisers suggested that cosmetics could contribute to an air of romance, appealing to female fantasies about heterosexual relations and marriage.

**DOCTORS PROVE**  
**2 out of 3 women**  
**can have**  
*Lovelier Skin in 14 days!*

*"Oops! Sorry! I said to my Mirror!"*  
 says Rosalind McDonald of Detroit. "I've certainly let my complexion get over on the oily side. As a matter of fact, it's definitely dingy and coarse-looking, too. So when I was invited to try the 14-Day Palmolive Plan, I accepted... in a hurry!"

*"1284 other Women tried"*  
 the Palmolive Plan, too—women of all ages from fifteen to fifty. My group reported to a leading Detroit skin specialist. Some of us had dry skins; some oily; some normal. After a careful skin examination, we were given the Palmolive Plan to use at home for 14 days.

*"Here's all you do!"*  
 Wash your face with Palmolive Soap. Then, for 60 seconds, massage with Palmolive's soft, lovely lather. Rinse! Do this 3 times a day for 14 days. This cleansing massage brings your skin Palmolive's full beautifying effect. After just 14 days, my doctor agreed my complexion was finer looking, brighter—even less oily. See what the Palmolive Plan can do for you!"

**You, too, may look for these skin improvements in only 14 Days!** If you want a complexion the envy of every woman—the admiration of every man—start the 14-Day Palmolive Plan today! Remember, 36 doctors—leading skin specialists—tested this Plan on 1285 women of all ages, from fifteen to fifty, and with all types of skin. Dry? Oily? Normal! Young! Older! And 2 out of 3 of these women got noticeable complexion improvement in just 14 days! No matter what skin care they had used before! Do start this new Beauty Plan with Palmolive Soap... today!

**Palmolive comes in a New, Big Bath Size, too!**  
 Try it—for tub or shower. It's solid. Thrifty. Long lasting.

**DOCTORS PROVE PALMOLIVE'S BEAUTY RESULTS!**

- Less Oily.....
- Smoother, Younger looking.....
- Less Coarse-looking.....
- Fewer Tiny Blemishes.....
- Less Incipient Blackheads.....
- Fresher.....
- Brighter, Clearer Color.....

Figure 8: Palmolive Soap advertisement from *Cosmopolitan*, 1946

<sup>63</sup> Scranton, *Beauty and Business*, 199 and Beth L. Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1988), 41.

The Palmolive Soap advertisement published in *Cosmopolitan* in 1946 features a woman embarrassed by the current state of her complexion. She rushes out to buy Palmolive soap so she can have lovelier, younger looking, fresher, and brighter skin in fourteen days and be “the envy of every woman—and the admiration of every man.” She is initially shown rushing around by herself, but after she achieves lovelier skin that complies with the prescriptions of 1946, she is shown standing very close with a man. The couple is smiling affectionately at each other. Their body language promises both a romantic and sexual relationship. This model’s appearance illustrates the beauty duty of “postwar femininity”: radiant and fresh faced, loose curls and waves, very subtle eye makeup, colored but understated lipstick—an appearance of domestic bliss.<sup>64</sup>

---

<sup>64</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1101 (Palmolive Soap Advertisement, *Cosmopolitan*, 1946), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC, <http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.



Figure 9: Lustre-Crème Shampoo advertisement from *Modern Scene*, 1949

Published in *Modern Screen* in 1949, the advertisement for Lustre-Creme Shampoo features a model with very similar lipstick, eye makeup, radiant skin, and hairstyle. The tagline reads: “Tonight!... Show him how much lovelier your hair can look...after a Lustre-Creme Shampoo.” The “Tonight!” likely refers to a date night for an unmarried woman, but might also be directing women to beautify themselves for husbands. The model’s sexualized gaze is “longing” and suggestive and her slight smile is flirtatious.<sup>65</sup>

<sup>65</sup> Ad\*Access On-Line Project - Ad #BH1101 (Lustre-Crème Shampoo Advertisement, *Modern Screen*, 1949), John W. Hartman Center for Sales, Advertising & Marketing History, David M. Rubenstein Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Duke University, Durham, NC,

Advice manuals continue to advise women to be both lovely and domestic. *Best Face Forward*, written by Adrienne Ames in 1947, tailors advice around an important principle: "As you all know, the trend is toward the natural look."<sup>66</sup> Her advice is in line with the looks seen in cosmetic advertisements during this postwar period, such as lips that are neither too thin or too obviously made up and to avoid dark lipstick colors that are no longer fashionable. Ames explains how makeup should be used to enhance natural and feminine features, explaining, "Makeup used correctly, accentuates and emphasizes attractive features and makes a beautiful face more beautiful" and "Even today, when we're all trying to do our own particular jobs as well as we can. Love and beauty are still important. And pretty much related too."<sup>67</sup> Ames advises her readers on how to achieve these goals through prescribed beauty rituals and how to put their "best face foreword" through the right looks.

## **CONCLUSION**

In sum, during the decade of the 1940s, advertisements and advice manuals constructed ways for women to fulfill a responsibility to enhance the personal appearance. This responsibility, gleaned from the ad I used to begin the chapter, assigned all women a beauty duty as a patriotic, civic responsibility that was best met by investing in certain products that, if used as directed, would result in a model of female beauty. Beauty culture, then, as this chapter shows, was by the 1940s an integral part of consumer culture, just as consumption was the means by which a

---

<http://library.duke.edu/digitalcollections/adaccess/>.

<sup>66</sup> Adrienne Ames, *Best Face Forward* (Rudolph Field. 1947), 26.

<sup>67</sup> Ames, *Best Face Forward*, 37-38.

young women became beautiful. These formal messages gave young women specific directions for beautification. In the next chapter, in contrast, I look at the “informal” ways that reinforced a beauty culture, messages that were aimed specifically at college women during the 1940s.

## CHAPTER TWO: Beauty Queens and Campus Beauty Duty

Women on college campuses represented a unique beauty culture. While they were a part of the beauty culture promoted in advertisements and manuals and developed a “look” influenced by the formal messages, they were also part of an “informal” culture, one with its own standards of beauty. The beauty duties required of all American women were supplemented on campus by a special obligation to represent the college woman as an image of beauty.

By using school records, newspapers, and yearbooks, this chapter reconstructs the “informal” beauty culture that defined beauty duties at one particular institution—Margaret Morrison Carnegie College—located in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. MMCC shared a campus and affiliation with Carnegie Institute of Technology. The college began in 1912 as one of four schools that comprised Carnegie Institute of Technology (later Carnegie Mellon University). The women’s college opened as a trade and technical school designed for women working in Pittsburgh and expanded over the years to offer professional, liberal arts, and science degrees.<sup>68</sup> Between the Great Depression and World War II, Carnegie Tech and Margaret Morrison both experienced cutbacks in resources and enrollment. The financial hardships and competition from other colleges forced MMCC to phase out their Nursing and Social Work programs. Other programs, such as Home Economics, Secretarial Studies, and General Studies, remained strong.<sup>69</sup>

---

<sup>68</sup> Edwin Fenton, *1906-73 The Maggie Murphys: A History of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College* (Pittsburgh: Carnegie Mellon University, 2003), 6.

<sup>69</sup> Fenton 39, could also include something from chart



Enrollment fluctuated throughout the decade of the 1940s, with enrollment numbers of 566 in 1940-1941, 450 in 1945-1946, and 552 in 1950-1951. Initially, most women lived within commuting distance to the college. By 1944, 56 percent were from Pittsburgh, 20 percent from Allegheny County, 20 percent from the rest of Pennsylvania, and 12 percent from other states.<sup>70</sup> As the student body expanded and became more diverse, beauty was a way to create a campus female identity.

Women attended college for a variety of professional and personal reasons; some came on a career path and others came to snag an MRS.<sup>71</sup> Some came to pursue a career while others saw college as an interlude between high school and an opportunity to find a mate. Regardless of the reason for attending, college women would have been aware of a campus model of beauty—represented by the school’s beauty queens. Beauty queens, I argue, presented college women with informal messages about beauty duty, messages that seemed to demand a less intense display than that required by advertisers.

I use the image of the beauty queen to examine the relationship between advertising advice for all female consumers and the characteristics that passed as “beautiful” on campus. I argue that the competitions and the appearance of the winners mediated between prescriptive literature and everyday campus beauty culture. MMCC had one or more campus beauty pageants each year that set beauty standards and then made these standards visible.<sup>72</sup> These pageants were not only a

---

<sup>70</sup> Admissions Records Collection, (1941), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

<sup>71</sup> An “MRS degree” refers to the instance where a woman attends college to find a spouse, i.e. become a “Mrs.”

<sup>72</sup> The judging of pageants varied over the years, ranging from student body votes to guest celebrity judges.

way to boost morale and bring the student body together, but also sent an informal message as to what constituted as ideal beauty on campus. While not the models of feminine beauty seen in formal advertisements, beauty queens none the less performed beauty for a public audience. Winning the crown validated their beauty; the student newspaper, photos, and full-page images in the yearbook immortalized their crowns and spread this message to the student body. Campus pageants and contestants themselves differed throughout 1940-1950 and, as such, served as barometers for differences in beauty standards in campus culture.

Karen Whitney Tice, who has studied pageant culture, suggests that these contests can serve as windows on shifting idealizations of femininity, beauty culture, and women's place in higher education. The presentation of each queen signified the ideal construction of beauty on campus at that particular time, thus implying that other co-eds should seek to adopt a similar look.<sup>73</sup> By limiting what could be on display, these contests neutralized the threat of too much overt sexuality on campus and highlighted the normative gender constructions of mind, body, and personality.

At MMCC, pageants occurred throughout the decade, 1940 to 1950. The school newspaper, *The Tartan*, announced social events, such as dances, fundraisers, and beauty queen pageants. *The Thistle*, the yearbook, included full-page pictures of beauty queens and, when applicable, their courts. Some years included short bibliographic details about the winners. While the descriptions sometimes included a note about the particular pageant that crowned the queen, most yearbooks did not differentiate at what event the queen was elected or, if the additional women

---

<sup>73</sup> Karen Whitney Tice, *Queens of Academe: Beauty Pageantry, Student Bodies, and College Life* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 29.

pictured were separate winners or her court. These inconsistencies in presentation of the beauties are indicative of the informal beauty messaging of the pageants. *The Thistle* also captured these activities by including group photos of teams, sororities, and other extracurricular activities labeled under proper headings, sometimes including captions with lists of members.

### ***Youthful Faces in Prewar Times***

The photos of beauty queens in yearbooks might easily be mistaken for the models in cosmetics, soap, and shampoo ads. However, a closer look reveals subtle differences that were the markers of campus beauty. MMCC student Margaret Sullivan, for example, gave off the same glow fresh-faced radiance that the women in advertisers do, but her look was created with fewer products, less hairstyling, and more youthfulness. Margaret appeared to be a younger version of the advertisers' models. Campus beauty was, above all else, youthful.<sup>74</sup> The prewar years, 1940 to 1941, included many sorority events, dances, and other social activities for the women of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College. Women attended classes, many majoring in stereotypically feminine subjects such as art, drama, secretarial studies, and home economics. Co-eds also participated in many campus activities such as student council, sororities, and yearbook club.

---

<sup>74</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1941), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.



Figure 10: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1941



Figure 11: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1940

Fresh-faced young women, the queens, like Marisse Forbes, chose lighter eye makeup or none at all as appears to be the case with Hilda Horner. Her eyes sparkled but without the promise of romance seen in the formal advertisements.<sup>75</sup>

All of the women wore noticeable lipstick, with a few wearing medium shades and the rest wearing rather neutral shades. All of the queens shown for 1940 and 1941 had their hair curled in loose to medium curls, a majority had chin length haircuts and a few had shoulder-length haircuts, a stylish though understated version of the models in the ads.

<sup>75</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1940), Carnegie Mellon University Archives.

Along with the amount of makeup worn, the body language of the queen in her formal portrait was also important. The gazes of these prewar queens were generally more demure than sexualized. Margaret Sullivan was looking right at the camera, but in a feminine and non-sexualized manner. Hilda Horner and Marisse Forbes were both looking away from the camera, not catching the eyes of the photographer. In comparison, the gazes of models from advertisements were similarly not sexualized, but the models' gazes were romanticized.

The beauty queens were a part of, and participated in, the beauty culture promoted by the advertisers. Yet, the co-eds did so in a way that marked them as young women for whom beauty was only one part of their public duty. The campus culture called for a subtler appearance that while not as sexual, nonetheless appeared to provide the college women with other modes of femininity. Women may have exhibited a nuanced version of prescriptive beauty messages because of financial constraints on how much a college woman could spend on cosmetics and because wearing as much make-up as an aspirational advertisement prescribed was excessive for daily campus life. In effect, campus beauty queens adopted looks consistent with prewar advertising ideals, but adapted these looks to the unique environment of the campus.

As World War II began, the campus environment would quickly change as a result. Men went off to fight and women quickly took on new roles, such as to fundraise, plan social events, and generally boost morale on campus. Campus women adapted their own capabilities to the responsibilities prescribed on a national level, along with their own version of the national beauty duty.

### ***A Women's College at War***

The war opened new possibilities for MMCC women to engage with the culture of beauty. In 1942, the *Tartan* announced “Manpower Commission To Control Tech’s Students.” Jurisdiction over undergraduates had been transferred by presidential order. The article reminded students that “the winning of the war remains the prime objective of this Nation and the resources and facilities of the Carnegie Institute of Technology will continue to be used to that end.”<sup>76</sup>

A year later, the *Tartan* informed students, “Soldiers Invited, Army Moves In”:

The time has come for all good Tech women to come to the air of their country. For the second time in its history, Carnegie Tech is playing host to the army for the duration, but this time the co-eds will be able to add the women’s touch to campus affairs.<sup>77</sup>

Informal beauty messages also took on the wartime imagery seen in advertisements on a national level.

Social activity did not stop during the war and, instead, war-related civilian activities helped define campus culture. The Students’ Wartime Activities Council established itself on campus to “create more enthusiasm about the war effort at Carnegie, to aid existing drives, and to organize new campaigns.”<sup>78</sup> MMCC women helped out on the home front by hosting a blood drive in October of 1942, a victory dance in 1943, a war fund campaign in October 1944, war bond sales in January of 1945, and several other blood drives and stamp sales in 1945.

---

<sup>76</sup> Tartan Collection, (December 8, 1942), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA. <http://doi.library.cmu.edu>.

<sup>77</sup> Tartan Collection (May 25, 1943), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA. <http://doi.library.cmu.edu>.

<sup>78</sup> Tartan Collection, (February 2, 1943), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA. <http://doi.library.cmu.edu>.

Supporting the war also shaped other forms of socializing during 1942-1945. Mr. Chworowsky, a faculty member, explained the importance of maintaining social programs during the war in a September 29, 1942 *Tartan* article entitled "Social Relations Program Does Not Retard Student Wartime Efficiency." Chworowsky explained:

While it would simplify matters much if we could band all our efforts to win the war and forget about everything else until this prime objective was realized, the nature of the present conflict is too ultimately bound up with the complex thrust of living as it rushes headlong from the past, through the present, into the future that we must all strive to the utmost to see the fast developing situation as a whole and not permit ourselves to lose our sense of perspective while we struggle with might and main to defeat the enemy as soon as possible.<sup>79</sup>

In line with Mr. Chworowsky's advice, social activities did not stop as the war progressed. In 1942, women organized a tea dance, a military ball, an all campus-hop, a harvest festival, homecoming, a fashion show, a senior ball, and more. 1943 included a Christmas dance, a hop, several council parties, a pool party, a military ball, a costume ball, a carnival, a color assembly, and several other dances. 1944 was also a busy social year with events such as a post-holiday dance, a freshman tea dance, a valentine party, a swimming party, school shamrock swing, and square dancing. Finally, women organized additional events in 1945, such as canteen parties, dinner dances, a valentine party, square dances, dinners, a banquet, all-school dances, bridge parties, an engineer banquet, a swimming party ("big splash of the year"), chocolate hour, a snowball, and many other such events.

---

<sup>79</sup> Tartan Collection, (September 29, 1942), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA. <http://doi.library.cmu.edu>.



Margaret Carter, who attended Margaret Morrison during 1939-1943, recalled years later:

My years on campus included our country's entry into World War II. From then on, there was a palpable difference in our lives. An undercurrent of seriousness developed. This, however, did not keep us from having fun and participating in caps activities. There were the famous big bands at Spring Carnival, Greek Sing, the last of the big intercollegiate football games, and dormitory life.<sup>80</sup>

Women were at the forefront of planning social events, especially when it came to a function that ultimately helped the boys abroad (and those training on campus).

Such a bevy of social functions gave college women an opportunity to put their best face forward and celebrate beauty in a public way that lifted morale. The events allowed women an opportunity to celebrate beauty at a time that called for austerity.

In this campus microculture, beauty was tied to the wartime role of women as home front support. Just as it did in the formal ads, beauty in the informal campus messages also enhanced female sexuality, replacing the romantic gaze with one that invited greater physical engagement. Yet these looks were adapted to a nuanced version tailored to campus culture. Photos of campus queens promised sexuality through the boldness of the makeup. The campus beauty of 1942 is a prime example.

---

<sup>80</sup> Fenton, *The Maggie Murphys*, 54.



Figure 12: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1942

There was only one queen featured in this year's yearbook. Peggy Stuchellm, chosen as the Honorary Cadet Colonel of the Military Ball, was described as "The perfect woman to reign over Tech's Spring Carnival." Peggy was the picture of the sexualized campus woman and a "glowing socialite" with her bold lipstick, light eye make up, and pulled back shoulder length curls. Bold makeup competed with the look of "the girl left behind and waiting for her soldier to return." Yet Peggy was also presented a silver bracelet for "being an all-around 'good-girl'". Furthermore, the yearbook page described Peggy as "lovely" and "her delightful smile is known to everyone."<sup>81</sup>

<sup>81</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1942), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

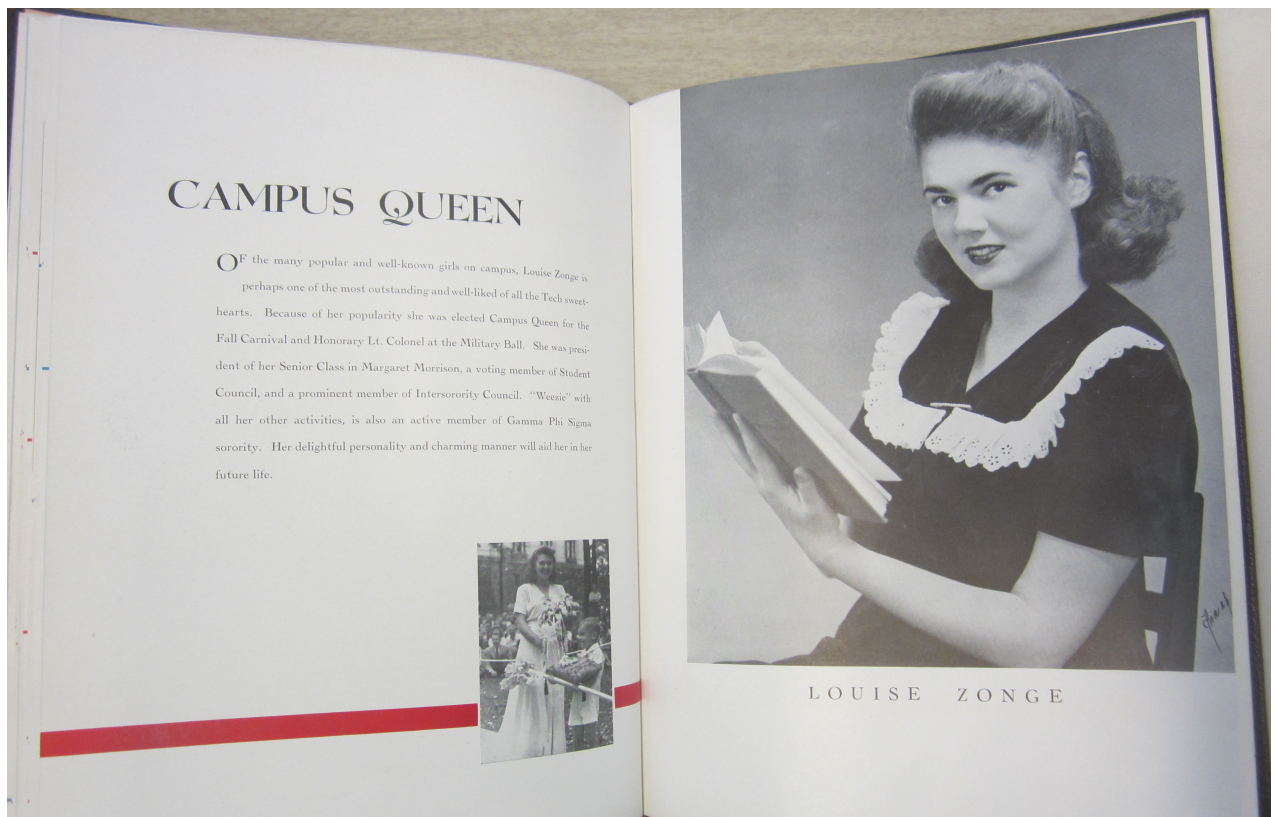


Figure 13: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1941

The following year, Louise Zonge was elected Campus Queen. Louise was also cited for her popularity, campus involvement, and winning the title of Lt. Colonel at the Military Ball. A similar trend of campus involvement continued with the Campus Queens of 1944 and 1945.

# The Carnegie Tartan

Vol. 36. No. 3

CARNEGIE INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, PITTSBURGH, PA.

TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1942

## CAMPUS QUEEN CANDIDATES

Record Breaking Vote Expected Today To Select Tech's Favorite. Result To Be Announced At Mortar Board Tea Dance at 5:30. See Story on Page 3.



Barbara Burns



Christina Clinton



Maureen Dyer



Sara Gehrett



Marianna Hogg



Suzanne O'Brien



Lucille Orr



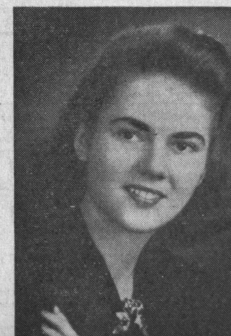
Martha Sekey



Mary Ellen Smith



Marjorie Weatherwax



Louise Zonge

Figure 14: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1941

In their poses for yearbook photos, the beauty queens and court members wore their hair pinned back in soft curls falling to mostly shoulder height or slightly longer in length. Eye makeup was noticeably darker than during 1940 to 1941. Lipstick is also noticeably bolder. The darker red lips that appeared in the pages of the *Thistle* reflected the same increase in boldness seen in formal prescriptions.<sup>82</sup>

This look of boldness remained constant during the war. Hairstyles became a little bit longer and looser, but the bold lipstick and light eye makeup trend continued, as seen with the Campus Queens of 1945. Compared to the prewar queens, Doris Fast's gaze was very sexualized in the way she stared straight into the camera with a suggestive grin and slightly narrowed eyes. Her body language was consistent with the sexual nature of wartime advertisements.

---

<sup>82</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1945), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.



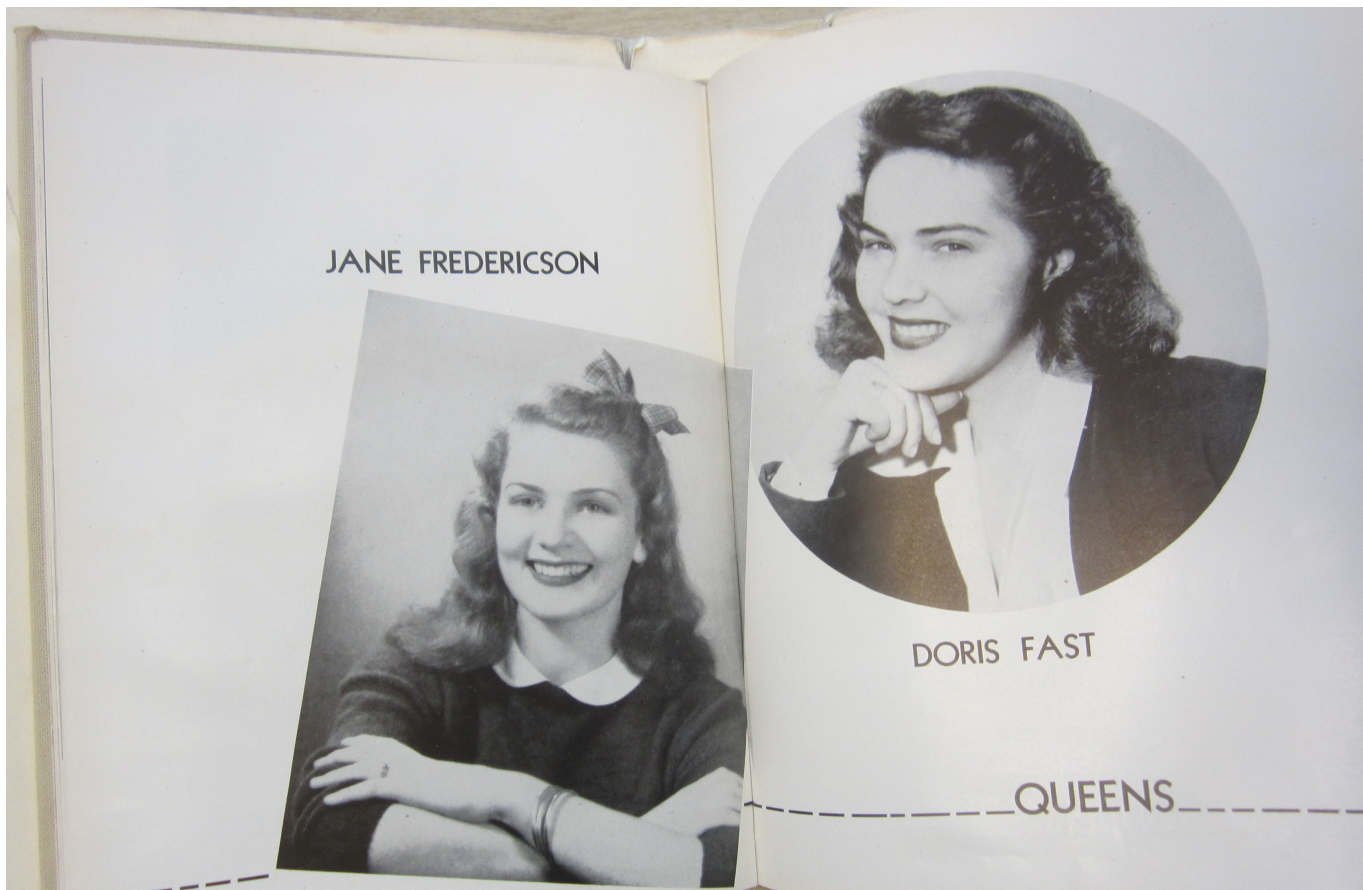


Figure 15: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1945

In sum, displaying hair and makeup that reflected formal wartime advice, the campus queens offered all MMCC women an informal model of ideal wartime beauty—one consistent with, though less bold, less brazenly sexual than, the appearance of models in ads. Nonetheless, romance remained a part of the informal beauty culture on campus. Beauty queens employed makeup to look the role of a young woman left behind, waiting for her GI. Photos also reminded soldiers that a potential marriage partner was waiting for their return from war.

### ***Femininity on Campus***

Historian Robert Francis Saxe explains how the country changed with the return of G.I.s:

Notions of stability, the focus on the family, the need for community over individuality, and the understanding of the United States as a force for freedom were all part of the home front's conception of the war and the role of veterans upon their return. Veterans enthusiastically supported many consensus norms, especially notions of prescribed gender roles and the need to settle into a good job.<sup>83</sup>

Americans focused on the return of veterans, overjoyed about the victory and curious how the nation would change as a result of their return home. The microculture of Carnegie Institute of Technology and Margaret Morrison Carnegie College's campus was no exception. The beauty culture of campus quickly changed, and informal messages directed women on how they should plan to change their looks as a result of the major shift in national and campus dynamics.

In the postwar years, campus beauty queens wore significantly less makeup than during wartime in terms of lipstick, rouge, and, most notably, eye makeup. The campus queen portraits in the yearbooks revealed that women still wore noticeable traces of cosmetics, as to appear polished but still fit with the domestically conservative postwar, "husband-hunting" culture.

The women's college offered classes set up to provide women the tools—and set expectations—to become happy homemakers in the domestically conservative postwar era. According to a 1946 to 1947 course bulletin, MMCC offered a Food and Nutrient major, which consisted of courses such as Home Economics, Cookery, Food

---

<sup>83</sup> Robert Francis Saxe, *Settling Down: World War II Veterans' Challenge to the Postwar Consensus* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 18.

Buying, Nutrition, Home Management, Child Development, and Food Economics.

These course offerings were more homemaker-centered than those found in a 1944 to 1945 course bulletin and the plan of study included fewer classes from Science and English disciplines than did the 1942-1943 bulletin.<sup>84</sup> The institution, and thus campus culture, provided students with a gendered framework of classes geared toward providing women with the skills necessary to fulfill household duties. As such, the informal prescriptive beauty messages provided women with advice on how to look the part.

The 1947 *Thistle* yearbook described that year's pageant. The pageant was judged by a variety of authorities deemed to have knowledge of what made a young woman worthy of the title of queen:

The judges were Professor H.A. Bierck; Sergeant Ince, of the ROTC staff, Francine, of Gimbels' Department Store; and Professor N.H. Dawes, who acted as master of ceremonies. Before the judges made their decision, each candidate was asked two questions which was answered by expressing her opinion on such problems as C.I.T. sports, Student Council representation, school spirit, and personal habits such as breaking dates, smoking and drinking, and wearing slacks and jeans to school. Then, on the merits of her answers, personal appearance, poise, and carriage, the queen and her court were selected.<sup>85</sup>

This year, the judges looked at issues very sensitive to the times, such as how a woman should appear and act. Now that women were no longer working in factories, women did not wear slacks as much and those who did were considered to have a less feminine fashion sense. Although her opinions on slacks or her answers to these questions are unknown, June Hawke's beauty choices were certainly consistent with other informal beauty prescriptions for 1947:

---

<sup>84</sup> Bulletins Collection, Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

<sup>85</sup> *Thistle* Yearbook Collection, (1947), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.





Figure 16: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1947

June Hawk wore very light makeup, with no visible rouge, possibly no eye makeup, and understated neutral lipstick. Her hair was partially pulled back and her waves came to shoulder level. Her gaze was straight on to the camera, although her facial expression was not sexualized. Overall, June appeared very natural,

especially when compared to wartime culture. She even had less of a cosmetically “polished” look than that of prewar queens’ “natural” beauty. Her look was surprisingly plain compared to the wartime beauty of campus women, but was consistent with other queens of 1947.<sup>86</sup>

Similar to June Hawk, Helen Zimmerman also looked natural with a very smooth and youthful complexion in 1948:

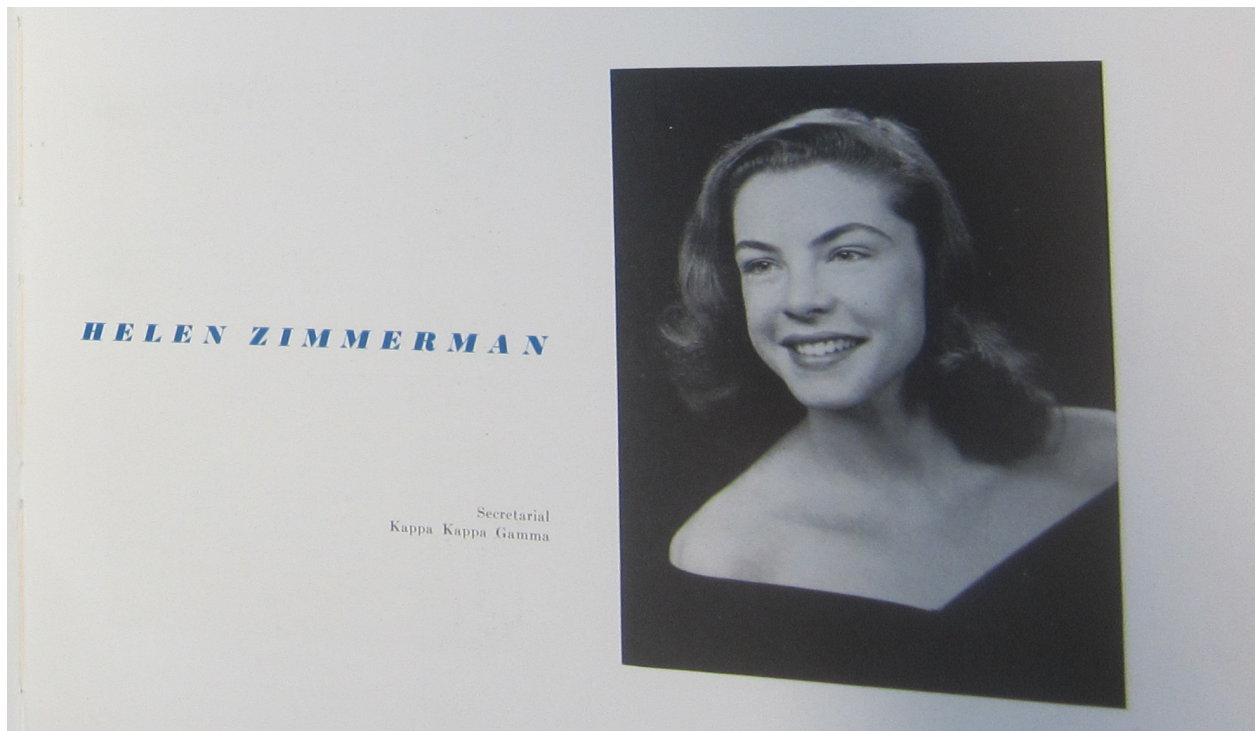


Figure 17: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1948

Helen was not wearing any visible rouge or eye makeup and wore only a light, neutral lipstick. If Helen was wearing more cosmetics than a simple lipstick, these products were barely visible. Helen’s lustrous hair was mostly straight, curled and falling directly above her shoulders. She appeared very joyous, clean, and

---

<sup>86</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1947), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

polished—all qualities that that fit with the postwar “marriage material” young woman.<sup>87</sup>

Margaret Morrison Carnegie College’s campus beauty queens seemed to be turning away from the glamorized and heavy makeup look seen during World War II. As the institution promoted the development of home economic skills, women wore less makeup. The informal beauty prescriptions at MMCC echoed the advertisers’ return to the prewar standards with men back at home and women back *in* the home.

## **CONCLUSION:**

In sum, these “informal” prescriptions of beauty found in the pageant queens reinforced the trends in national standards, although the campus beauty queens adapted a more nuanced version of national advertisements as their unique beauty culture. During 1940 to 1941, campus women reflected the post-Depression and prewar joyfulness, yet the toned down version of their looks suggests that they still had other priorities, such as campus involvement, or perhaps the surge in economic prosperity had not yet reached their own pocketbooks. From 1942 to 1945, informal beauty prescriptions reflected women’s role in maintaining wartime moral, and an increase in how boldly cosmetics were worn. These looks conveyed less sexuality and goals more consistent with young women, such as the girl left behind waiting for GIs to return. After the war ended, women turned their attention to student goals of postwar marriage. Beauty and the activities through which beauty

---

<sup>87</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1948), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

was performed, such as pageants, celebrated campus spirit as it conveyed the roles young women expected to fulfill.

The women of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College were presented with these informal prescriptions of beauty, yet were not immune to also seeing formal prescriptions through advertisements in magazines, beauty guides passed around the dormitories, and life outside of campus. In my conclusion, I ask: to what extent did the formal and informal messages influence the appearance of the “average” MMCC woman?

## CONCLUSION

The women of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College were exposed to both formal and informal messages of consumer culture and I have argued that while published formal beauty advice offered a set of standards, the informal advice was more sensitive to the dynamics of campus culture.

In my first chapter, I argued women were told to take part in a set “beauty duties” out of obligation to help their country and to fulfill a set of gender roles. Advertisements and beauty manuals targeted women to adopt specific beauty practices to fulfill a national duty. During 1940 to 1941, female consumers were advised to express the hope and optimism of economic recovery by appearing radiant, feminine, and joyous. From 1942 to 1945, advertisers targeted women with a “propagandized beauty” culture, suggesting bold and sexualized makeup choices to represent a “face worth fighting for.” Additionally, “propagandized beauty” meant that women should still uphold an air of femininity implying that they were upholding gender stereotypes on the home front and that men would return home to orderly postwar gender roles. The postwar era, 1946-1950, saw a renewed look of radiant and romanticized femininity. This beauty culture of “postwar femininity” painted women as icons of domestic conservatism and flawless perfection. These series of formal beauty prescriptions instilled in consumer audiences that women were obligated to adopt these ideals if they wanted to be good American citizens.

In my second chapter, I argued that the campus environment of Margaret Morrison Carnegie College adapted its own set of beauty standards during 1940-1950. The campus can be better understood as a “micro nation,” the culture of

which was dictated by what was occurring both on university grounds and within the context of national events. I suggest that the “informal” prescriptive messages were a nuanced version of the formal messages found in mainstream consumer culture. The obligations, standards, and ideals specific to campus culture and unique to this setting shaped the looks of beauty queens. The prewar, wartime, and postwar eras followed a version of formal prescriptions, although the age and situation of these women allowed for a nuanced version; this was because these women were younger and not expected to spend as much money and energy on cosmetics. Additionally, these women fulfilled their “beauty duties” in other ways, such as fundraising for war efforts abroad. Campus queens stood at the intersection of message and application, displaying a nuanced version of advertisers’ ideas of national beauty culture.

I want to conclude by suggesting how the average MMCC woman might have applied the rules and standards seen in the formal and informal messages. Headshots provide one way to explore the beauty culture of “average” women; that is, women who were not campus beauty queens. While these photographs cannot explain what college women actually *thought*, these sources can shed light on how they *acted*. These sources, it is also important to note, displayed these women as how they wanted to be remembered according to the makeup and hairstyles they elected to wear that day. Yearbook pictures were not necessarily representative of everyday looks, but I find the headshots are still very telling sources to help interpret the impact of beauty prescriptions.

There is an overall trend that the general student body wore more makeup than



campus beauty queens, but still relatively less than the women shown in advertisements—what might be called an “adapted” beauty culture.

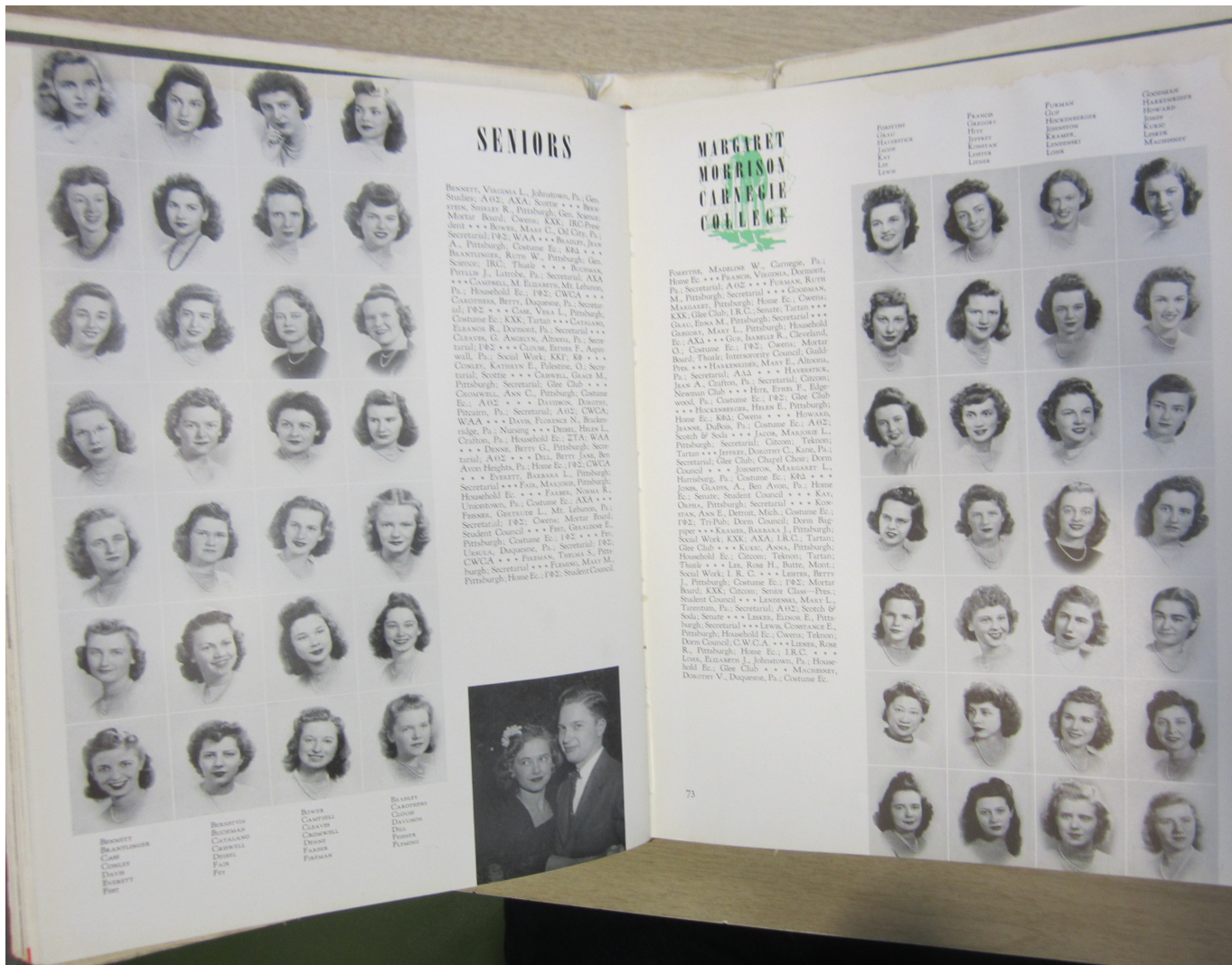


Figure 18: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1942

As shown in these headshot photographs from the 1942 yearbook, women wore noticeably more makeup than the queen picture previously discussed. In contrast, these women wore less eye makeup and less bold of a lipstick color than the models shown in advertisements for this year. Campus queen Peggy Stuchell wore

noticeable lipstick, but very light eye make up and she wore her hair in loose curls. This sampling of women, on the other hand, are wore their hair in tighter curls, more lipstick, and a little bit more eye make up.<sup>88</sup>



Figure 19: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1946

Seen here is a similar version of MMCC campus women settling on a look between formal and informal prescriptions.<sup>89</sup> This group of women pledges from the Chi Omega sorority also displayed an “adapted” beauty culture. Their hairstyles were in line with the styles of both beauty queens and those seen in advertisements, such as the 1946 Palmolive soap advertisement. The general amount and shades of lipstick worn by these women was more intense than that of beauty queens, but not as intense as what was seen in advertisements.

<sup>88</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1942), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

<sup>89</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1946), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.





Figure 20: Image from *The Tartan* yearbook, 1948

These campus beauties—beautifying right before the photographer’s eyes—wore more (freshly applied) lipstick than 1948 queen Helen Zimmerman, who was pictured in a much subtler shade.<sup>90</sup> Similarly, these young women wore more eye makeup than Helen but not as much as was seen in national campaigns or discussed in beauty manuals. Despite the fact that the yearbook captioned this candid photograph “You snapped it too soon!” this image shows the often communal nature of beautification and how women likely took joy in finding just the right look with their dormitory mates or sorority sisters. Perhaps influenced by beautifying together along with the general culture of campus, these women displayed “adapted” beauty culture.

Examining the beauty culture of MMCC women, then, ultimately not only deepens our understanding of the impact of beauty prescriptions but also opens a window into understanding how college women made decisions at this time. I have

---

<sup>90</sup> Thistle Yearbook Collection, (1948), Carnegie Mellon University Archives, Pittsburgh, PA.

argued that women are vulnerable to different messages and strive to satisfy multiple beauty prescriptions. These co-eds' choices were based on the larger picture of culture gender on a national scale and a local scale. Therefore, I infer that women at this time are not impervious to different messages. Prescriptive messages cannot exist within a vacuum and women will attempt to make necessary accommodations to satisfy multiple threads of suggestions. Based on my argument, I have also established on a more general basis that college women were not impervious to different types of messages. One set of prescriptions cannot exist in a vacuum; there will be a set of overarching goals to strive for, as well as a set based on standards within her immediate environment. This mode of interpretation, then, can be applied to understanding other choices women make at this time, such as how a housewife can balance national demands of maintaining a certain standard of perfection in her home, but also meet the demands of what is required by her local community.

## **Primary Source Bibliography**

### **National Museum of American History**

Ayers Advertising Agency Records, 1849-1851; 1869-1996

Breck Girl Collection, 1936-1995

Revlon Advertising Collection, 1936-1986

Sandra & Gary Baden Collection of Celebrity Endorsements in Advertising, 1897-1979

Warshaw Collection of Business Americana, 1724-1965

### **Duke University**

Beauty and Hygiene Collection, 1911-1956

### **Carnegie Mellon University**

*The Thistle* (Yearbooks, 1940-1950)

Admissions Collection

Course Bulletins Collection

Fraternity Collection

Registrar Collection

Sororities Collection

World War II Collection

*The Tartan* (Newspapers, 1940-1950, accessed online)

### **Beauty Manuals**

*She's Off to College* (1940)

*Beauty and Health: A Course in Loveliness* (1941)

*Good Grooming* (1942)

*How to Be Attractive* (1944 and 1945)

*Face and Figure Fascination: The Complete Guide to Beauty and Charm* (1945)

*The Original Bonomo Hollywood Success Course through Beauty of Face and Form* (1945)

*A Wonderful You* (1946)

*Best Face Foreword* (1947)

*Lessons in Loveliness* (1947)

*Some Social Aspects of Residence Halls for College Women* (1947)

*Pretty Please* (1948)

*Quick Steps to Beauty and Charm* (1948)

*The Modern Way to Beauty* (1948)

*Guide to Glamour: Terry Hunt's Handbook of Beauty, Charm, and Poise* (1949)

*Hollywood Shortcuts to Glamour* (1949)

*Sally Young's Home Book of Beauty and Charm* (1950)

## **Secondary Source Bibliography:**

### **Beauty Culture:**

- Corson, Richard. *Fashions in Makeup from Ancient to Modern Times*. New York: Universe Books, 1972.
- De Castelbajac, Kate. *The Face of the Century" 100 Years of Makeup and Style*. New York: Umbra Editions, Inc., 1995.
- Estrin, Norman F. and James M. Akerson, eds. *Cosmetic Regulation in a Competitive Environment*. New York: Marcel Dekker, 2000.
- Freedman, Rita. *Beauty Bound*. Lexington: D.C. Heath and Company, 1986.
- Gavenas, Mary Lisa. *Color Stories: Behind the Scenes of America's Billion-Dollar Beauty Industry*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2002.
- Gunn, Fenja. *The Artificial Face: A History of Cosmetics*. New York: Hippocrene Books, 1973.
- Ilyin, Natalia. *Blonde Like Me: The Roots of the Blonde Myth in Our Culture*. New York: Touchstone, 2000.
- Jackson, Carole. *Color Me Beautiful: Discover Your Beauty through the Colors that Make You Look Great & Feel Fabulous!* Washington, D.C.: Acropolis Books Ltd., 1985.
- Jones, Geoffrey. *Beauty Imagined: A History of the Global Beauty Industry*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010.
- Lakoff, Robin Tolmach and Raquel L. Scherr. *Face Value: The Politics of Beauty*. Boston: Routledge & Keegan Paul, 1984.
- Lauder, Estée. *Estée: A Success Story*. New York: Random House, 1985.
- Lowe, Margaret A. *Looking Good: College Women and Body Image, 1875-1930*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2003.
- Peiss, Kathy. *Hope in a Jar: The Making of America's Beauty Culture*. New York: Henry Holt and Company, Inc., 1998.
- Ragas, Meg Cohen and Karen Kozlowski. *Read My Lips: A Cultural History of Lipstick*. San Francisco, CA: Chronicle Books, 1998.

Riordan, Teresa. *Inventing Beauty: A History of the Innovations That Have Made Us Beautiful!* New York: Broadway Books, 2004.

Shuker, Nancy. *Elizabeth Arden: Cosmetics Entrepreneur*. Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Silver Burdett, 1989.

Scranton, Phillip. *Beauty and Business: Commerce, Gender, and Culture in Modern America*. New York: Routledge, 2001.

Stamelman, Richard Howard. *Perfume: Joy, Obsession, Scandal, Sin: A Cultural History of Fragrance from 1750 to the Present*. New York: Rizzoli, 2006.

Willett, Julie A. *Permanent Waves: The Making of the American Beauty Shop*. New York: New York University Press, 2000.

Wolf, Naomi. *The Beauty Myth: How Images of Beauty Are Used Against Women*. New York: Anchor Books, 1991.

Woodhead, Lindy. *War Paint: Madame Helena Rubinstein and Miss Elizabeth Arden: Their Lives, Their Times, Their Rivalry*. Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2003.

### **Consumerism and Advertising:**

Cohen, Lizabeth. *A Consumers' Republic: The Politics of Mass Consumption in Postwar America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2003.

Cross, Gary S. *An All-Consuming Society: Why Commercialism Won in Modern America*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2000.

De Vries, Jan. *The Industrious Revolution: Consumer Behavior and the Household Economy, 1650 to the Present*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Dittmar, Heiga. *Consumer Culture, Identity and Well-being: The Search for the "Body Perfect."* New York: Psychology Press, 2008.

Featherstone, Mike. "Body, Image and Affect in Consumer Culture" in *Body & Culture* 16.1. (March 2010).

Glickman, Lawrence B. *Consumer Society in American History: A Reader* Ithaca, N.Y., Cornell University Press, 1999.

Leach, William. *Land of Desire: Merchants, Power, and the Rise of a New American Culture*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1993.

Marchand, Roland. *Advertising the American Dream: Making Way for Modernity, 1920- 1940*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985.

- McCracken, Ellen. *Decoding Women's Magazines from Mademoiselle to Ms.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1993.
- Schor, Juliet B. *Born to Buy: The Commercialized Child and the New Consumer Culture.* New York: Scribner, 2004.
- Sherry, Jr., John F. and Eileen Fischer. *Explorations in Consumer Culture Theory.* New York: Routledge, 2009
- Sivulka, Juliann. *Soap, Sex, and Cigarettes: A Cultural History of American Advertising.* Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1998.
- Strasser, Susan. *Satisfaction Guaranteed: The Making of the American Mass Market.* New York: Pantheon Books, 1989.
- Turow, Joseph and Matthew P. McAllister. *The Advertising and Consumer Culture Reader.* New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Walker, Nancy A. *Women's Magazines 1940-1960: Gender Roles and the Popular Press.* Boston: Bedford/St. Martin's, 1998.
- Zukin, Sharon. *Point of Purchase: How Shopping Changed American Culture.* New York: Routledge, 2004.

### **Education:**

- Boyd, Elizabeth. "Sister Act: Sorority Rush as Feminine Performance," *Southern Cultures* Vol. 5, No. 3 (Fall 1999).
- DeSantis, Alan D. *Inside Greek U.: Fraternities, Sororities, and the Pursuit of Pleasure, Power, and Prestige.* Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 2007.
- Eisenmann, Linda. *Higher Education for Women in Postwar America, 1945-1965.* Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2006.
- Faehmel, Babette. *College Women in the Nuclear Age: Cultural Literacy and Female Identity.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 2012.
- Glasscock, Jean, ed. *Wellesley College: 1875-1975.* Wellesley: Wellesley College, 1975.
- Graham, Patricia Albjerg. "Expansion and Exclusion: A History of Women in American Higher Education." *Signs* Vol. 70, No. 4 (March 1978).

- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from the Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1984.
- Horowitz, Helen Lefkowitz. *Campus Life: Undergraduate Cultures from the End of the Eighteenth Century to the Present*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Nuwer, Hank, ed. *The Hazing Reader*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004.
- Nuwer, Hank. *Wrongs of Passage: Fraternities, Sororities, Hazing, and Binge Drinking*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Olsen, Deborah M. "Remaking the Image of Promotional Literature of Mount Holyoke, Smith, and Wellesley Colleges in the Mid-to-Late 1940s," *History of Education Quarterly* Vol. 40, No. 4 (Winter, 2000).
- Peril, Lynn. *College Girls: Bluestockings, Sex Kittens, and Coeds, Then and Now*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc., 2006.
- Ritter, Kelly. *To Know Her Own History: Writing at the Woman's College, 1943-1963*. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2012.
- Scott, William Abbott. *Values and Organizations: A Study of Fraternities and Sororities*. Chicago: Rand McNally, 1965.
- Solomon, Barbara. *In the Company of Educated Women: A History of Women and Higher Education in America*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1985.
- Stacey, Judith, ed. *And Jill Came Tumbling After: Sexism in American Education*. New York: Dell Publishing Co., 1974.
- Thelin, John R. *A History of American Higher Education*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 2004.
- Tice, Karen Whitney. *Queens of Academe: Beauty Pageantry, Student Bodies, and College Life*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2012.
- Winston, Jr., Roger B., William R. Nettles III, John H. Opper, Jr., eds. *Fraternities and Sororities on the Contemporary College Campus*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1987.

## **Gender, Sexuality, and Womanhood**

- Bailey, Beth L. *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America*. Baltimore: The John Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Bailey, Beth. *Sex in the Heartland*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2002.
- Bossar, James Herbert Siward and Eleanor Stoker Boll. *The Girl that You Marry*. Philadelphia, Macrae Smith, 1960.
- Breines, Wini. *Young, White, and Miserable: Growing Up Female in the Fifties*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1992.
- Friedman, Jean E. and William G. Shade. *Our American Sisters: Women in American Life and Thought*. Lexington, MA: D.C. Heath and Company, 1982.
- Hartmann, Susan M. *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.
- Harvey, Brett. *The Fifties: A Women's Oral History*. HarperCollins Publishers, 1993.
- Horowitz, Daniel. *Betty Friedan and the Making of the Feminine Mystique: The American Left, The Cold War, and Modern Feminism*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1998.
- Kaledin, Eugina. *Mothers and More: American Women in the 1950s*. Boston, Twayne Publishers, 1984.
- May, Elaine Tyler. *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era*. New York: Basic Books, 1988.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne, ed., *Not June Cleaver: Women and Gender in Postwar America, 1945- 1960*. Philadelphia, Temple University Press, 1994.
- Meyerowitz, Joanne "Beyond the Feminine Mystique: A Reassessment of Postwar Mass Culture," *The Journal of American History* Vol. 79, No. 4 (1993).
- Peril, Lynn. *Pink Think: Being a Woman in Many Uneasy Lessons*. New York: W.W. Norton & Company, Inc.
- Scott, Joan "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *The American Historical Review* Vol. 91, No. 5 (1986).
- Ware, Susan. *Modern American Women: A Documentary History*. New York: McGraw-Hill Higher Education, 2002.



## Women during WWII:

- Albrecht, Donald, ed. *World War II and the American Dream*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1995.
- Adkins Covert, Tawnya J. *Manipulating Images: World War II Mobilization of Women through Magazine Advertising*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011.
- Anderson, Karen. *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relations, and the Status of Women during World War II*. Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981.
- Bentley, Amy. *Eating for Victory: Food rationing and the Politics of Domesticity*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1998.
- Brumburg, Joan Jacobs. *The Body Project: An Intimate History of American Girls*. New York: Vintage Books, 1998.
- Childers, Thomas. *Soldier from the War Returning: the Greatest Generation's Troubled Homecoming from World War II*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2009.
- Colman, Penny. *Rosie the Riveter: Women Working on the Homefront in World War II*. New York: Crown Publishers, 1995.
- Covert, Tawnya J. Adkins. *Manipulating Images: World War II, Mobilization of Women through Magazine Advertising*. Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2011.
- Gambone, Michael D. *The Greatest Generation Comes Home: the Veteran in American Society*. College Station: Texas A & M University Press, 2005.
- Goodman, Philomena. *Women, Sexuality, and War*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Goossen, Rachel Waltner. *Women Against the Good War: Conscientious Objection and Gender on the American Home Front, 1941-1947*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry. Committee on the College Student. *Sex and the College Student; A Developmental Perspective on Sexual Issues on the Campus; Some Guidelines for Administrative Policy and Understanding of Sexual Issues, formulated by the Committee on the College Student, Group for the Advancement of Psychiatry*. New York: New York Atheneum, 1966.
- Hartmann, Susan M. *The Home Front and Beyond: American Women in the 1940s*. Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1982.

- Hegarty, Marilyn E. *Victory Girls, Khaki-Wackies, and Patrioututes: the Regulation of Female Sexuality During World War II*. New York: New York University Press, 2008.
- Heacock, Nan. *Battle Stations!: The Homefront World War II*. Ames: Iowa State University Press, 1992.
- Honey, Maureen. *Creating Rosie the Riveter: Class, Gender, and Propaganda during World War II*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1984.
- Knaff, Donna B. *Beyond Rosie the Riveter: Women of World War II in American Popular Graphic Art*. Lawrence: University of Kansas, 2012.
- Leder, Jane Mersky. *Thanks for the Memories: Love, Sex, and World War II*. Westport, CT: Praeger Publishers, 2006.
- Litoff, Judy Barrett and David C. Smith, eds. *Since You Went Away: World War II Letters from American Women on the Home Front*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Lorentzen, Lois Ann and Jennifer Turpin, eds. *The Women and War Reader*. New York: New York University Press, 1998.
- McEuen Melissa A. *Making War, Making Women: Femininity and Duty on the American Home Front, 1941-1945*. Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011.
- Pfau, Ann Elizabeth. *Miss Yourlovin: GIs, Gender, and Domesticity during World War II*. New York: Columbia University Press, 2007.
- Saxe, Robert Francis. *Settling Down: World War II Veterans' Challenge to the Postwar Consensus*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007.
- Schrump, Kelly. *Some Wore Bobby Sox: The Emergency of Teenage Girls' Culture, 1920-1945*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Yellin, Emily. *Our Mothers' War: American Women at Home and at the Front during World War II*. New York: Free Press, 2004.